

Coverage of Swat Military Operation in the Regional Newspapers

A Study of Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj Peshawar



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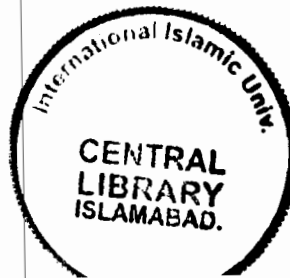
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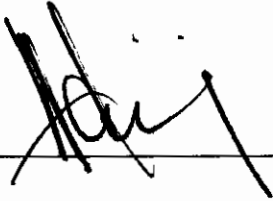
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Final Approval

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate my research work to my Father Farid Ullah (Late) & my loving Mother.

**Coverage of Swat Military Operation in the regional
Newspapers a Study of Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj
Peshawar**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Media and
Communication studies in Faculty of Social Sciences at International Islamic University,
Islamabad.

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Abstract

The basic objective of this research Study was to investigate the coverage of Swat Military operation against the Militants in the regional newspapers Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj. This study particularly analyzed the frame and slant used to describe the coverage given to swat military operation against militants. Swat was an important spot selected by militants to carry on their terroristic activities. Not only the local people were affected but also the journalists and people working in all aspects of life faced the problem. For this reason content analysis method was used to find out how these newspapers covered and portrayed the military operation in swat. Through content analysis the positive, negative or neutral coverage of the regional newspapers were analyzed. The time period selected for the analysis is from May, 2008 to August, 2008 that covers the whole military Operation.

The results of the collected data revealed that the both the regional newspapers have given more coverage to the Military operation against the Militants in Swat. A content of 485 news items were examined, of which 339 were favorable whereas 80 news items were unfavorable and 66 were neutral relating to Military operation in both the regional newspapers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa over a period of whole military Operation (from May, 2008 to August, 2008). Three hypotheses were developed and tested. The analyzed data solidly supported the deduction of entire three hypotheses. These two regional newspapers have given 69.89% favorable coverage to the Military operation in Swat. Similarly, both the newspapers covered and framed 87.42% the Pakistan Army as friend to the society and for the inhabitants of the area while on the other hand Militants were covered and frame 12.57% as foe to the society and portrayed as threat to the interest of Pakistan. Moreover, it was examined that both the regional newspapers positively and favorably covered the Military operation against the militants.

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Chapter No 1

(Part 1)

Introduction

The media is the most influential means of communication. It gives a true exposure to the assistances of mass about what is exact or erroneous. It helps much as well to inform us about realities. The media has a useful responsibility to play for the general public. Today the channels and even some print media are the representative of some social issues, which helps us to guess the truthfulness of the lives. The media played an important part in order to concentrate on the social issues in almost each era. But the fact is that in every time, media were not given free and even not given a chance to explore the issues of the society more that it is given now; but we cannot reject this reality that the problems were always increased in order to provide justice to the people. The media in our country increased his network during this period, and much of the cases were brought below the umbrella, that are present to us even today, which must be sought.

Now, the time has arrived, when we need to re-think about our attitudes towards society. Pakistan has a vibrant media landscape, which in spite of political pressure and direct bans that they are sometimes subject to from the state; the media enjoys independence to a large extent. After having been liberalized in 2002, the television sector experienced a media boom. Now, time has come, when we must reconsider about our attitudes towards the public. Pakistan has a vibrating landscape of media, which in hatred of the political pressure and of direct prohibitions which they are prone sometimes in state; the media largely enjoy independence after being liberalized in 2002, and the sector of television expanded in large scale.

In this condition of ferocious competition that followed by the commercial interests became essential and quality journalism took to the sensational one. Although the sector of radio did not see the similar growth, the FM radios are many and considered very important sources of information particularly in the rural areas.

In Pakistan media's landscape imitates a multi-linguistics, ethnic and corporation of divided class. We can see a clear division between the Urdu and the English media. The media of Urdu, notably the newspapers, are read widely by the masses especially in the rural sectors. The English media are urban and read by elite class of society, are more liberal and professional in comparison of the media of Urdu language. The English print and electronic media have smaller audiences than their counterparts of Urdu, but to have the biggest effect among the opinion leaders, the politicians, the business markets, and elite class of the society.

Media in Pakistan

The history of Media in Pakistan is old as pre-partition years of British India, A number of newspapers were started to support a partition agenda at that time. Quaid-e-Azam started newspaper daily Dawn, and first published in 1941, was committed to counteract "anti-Muslim propaganda" and encouraged for an independent Pakistan. The Pakistani army is one of the supporters and it is seen as the protector of the national identity which has beside preparedness/hostility towards India, the national religion, Islam, and the national language, Urdu, as its basis. This web of these national protectors had a huge control on Pakistani media as they struggled to control media to secure their interests and the national identity (Azam, Muhammad, 2008).

The Pakistani media is an enthusiastic member of the new warrior clan of the 21st century and despite belonging to war-torn country, is playing active role in keeping with the demands of the modern times. By airing divergent views and engaging in cross questioning on significant national and social issues the media reflects and informs public opinion and practically shares the task of the parliament. Investigative reporting and live discussions can undermine the spell of many a magicians.

The mass media play a critical part in constructing the image of societies and their peoples, as Navasky, (2002), noted that,

“It is based largely on journalism that we make up our national mind”

The Role of the Media

The media plays an extremely important role in transmitting the claims of social, economic political movements to the decision-makers and the public. A free press and electronic media is an essential attribute today of a democratic polity because only these sources of information can keep not only information flowing freely but also help maintain a constant dialogue between the policy makers and the masses.

McLaughlin. E, (2002) stated that in his study the role of the media is very important. To use military jargon, the media is in the battle space not a partial or impartial observer or arbiter to one side. The media forum, in fact, takes precedence over parliament. The politics of television, the global television cockpit, are discussed only episodically. News rarely happens in the studio

itself. The Taliban insurgents essentially are mountain fighters. Unless the insurgency is defeated in the tribal areas of Pakistan, the insurgency in Afghanistan will not be defeated. The soldiers are fighting with great élan. They are fighting a battle that has to be won the battle for Pakistan. Media organizations do not just passively broadcast information repeating the words of the official sources or conveying exactly the incidents of an event. They also do not select or reject the day's news in proportion to reality. Through their selection and display of the news stories, the reporters and the editors focus their attention and influence the public's perceptions of what are the most important issues of the day. Our pictures of the world are shaped and refined in the way journalists frame their news stories. This function of media is called the agenda-setting function of media (McCombs 2002).

Ideology of Media

Cohen, Stephen,(2004), study show, media has played a major role in framing an issue to the public. Media shows an event in a variety of shapes. It can give positive, negative and neutral coverage to the issue. All this is dependent on the ideology of the news media.

After having been free in 2002 in the Musharraf Government, the television sector practiced a media mushroom. The Pakistani media reflects a multi-linguistic, multi-ethnic and class-divided society. There is a clear divide between Urdu and English media. Mostly the Urdu media or press, are generally read by the masses in rural areas. Pakistan has a dynamic media background, due to the political pressure and direct restrictions by the state; however, the media have freedom to a large extent. The English media is urban and for elite class, is more liberal and specialized in

contrast to the Urdu. English print, television and radio channels have far lesser audiences than their Urdu complement (Cohen, Stephen, 2004).

Media Role in Conflicts

The US and coalition forces jointly attacked on Afghanistan after the incident of 9/11 in the super power country America, which ended the Taliban's Government in the country. The Taliban of that time have not the power to oppose these powerful forces led by the superpower US and compelled the Taliban supreme commander Mulla Omer.

It is noticed that the Afghan Taliban, their Supporters and other Islamist groups found the Pakistan and Afghan borders as a safe place that compelled the Pakistan Government of Pakistan to conduct a military operation in 2004 in the Waziristan agency(Kronstadt, 2007).

Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, one of the most dominant and dangerous groups of Pakistan Taliban, affirmed a battle against Pakistan Army. Afterward, the terrorist activities extend to other part of the country, resulting in several losses. (Kronstadt, 2007) noted, Pakistan as the most dangerous country in the world for journalists.

Swat the battle field

District Swat of Malakand Division situated in the northwest of Pakistan was known once principally for his charming beauty and for the attraction of tourists as a magnet, but during the previous few years it observed the violence more atrocious and bleeding resulted the appearance of militant extremism in the country.

Personnel of civil and security publicly was killed and blown with bombs, the State surrendered ant in the result gave the authority to the armed groups of hooligans, winding the whole

administration and judicial systems, replacing prisoners and capitulating generally to mass murderers; and the destruction of schools and the population movement on an unprecedented ladder, District Swat saw it all since 2006.

Malakand Division has seven districts of Malakand, Swat, Shangla, Buner, Upper Dir, Lower Dir, and Chitral. Swat, Buner, Upper Dir and Lower Dir have been the districts worst hit by the militancy (Rom, S 2006).

History of Swat

Swat had been established for two thousand years ago. The first residents settled in the towns well planned. In 327 BC, Alexander the Great attacked Udegram and faced the storm and its Barikot niches. In Greek, these people have been identified as OraBazira. Around the second century BC, the region was taken over by Buddhists, who were captivated by the harmony and peaceful land. Many of them were highly qualified, well-known as sculptors and architects. In the early eighth century, the royal family Gabari Tajikistan advance Laghmanat, Ningarhar, Dir and Swat, crushed Bhudist attacked and Hindus. This battle was leaded by Sultan PakhalGabari. Soon after some Dilazaken bended the area and established among Gabaris, who were expelled by the Yousafzai which was supported by Mughal BadshahZahiruddin Muhammad Baber then the super power in 1519 and 1520 (Hay, W. R 1933).

Hussain .A (2001), in Malakand agency the (FCR) Frontier Crimes Regulation was applicable before the merging with the Settle division, Malakand Division later on merged in Pakistan in 1969. In 1971, Provincial Administrative Tribal Area (PATA) policy was established in the

division. Simultaneously, efforts were made to launch regulation of the settle areas into the division. In 1969, 1971, 1973, and 1975 some laws were respectively established.

According to Hussain .A (2001),

“In constitution of Pakistan, article 247 (3), (4) provided special procedures for extension of laws and the powers of the president and governor for the legislation of good governance in Malakand division”

The above constitutional article created two parallel judicial systems. By this some matters were decided by sessions and civil courts while others remained in the hand of Jirga.

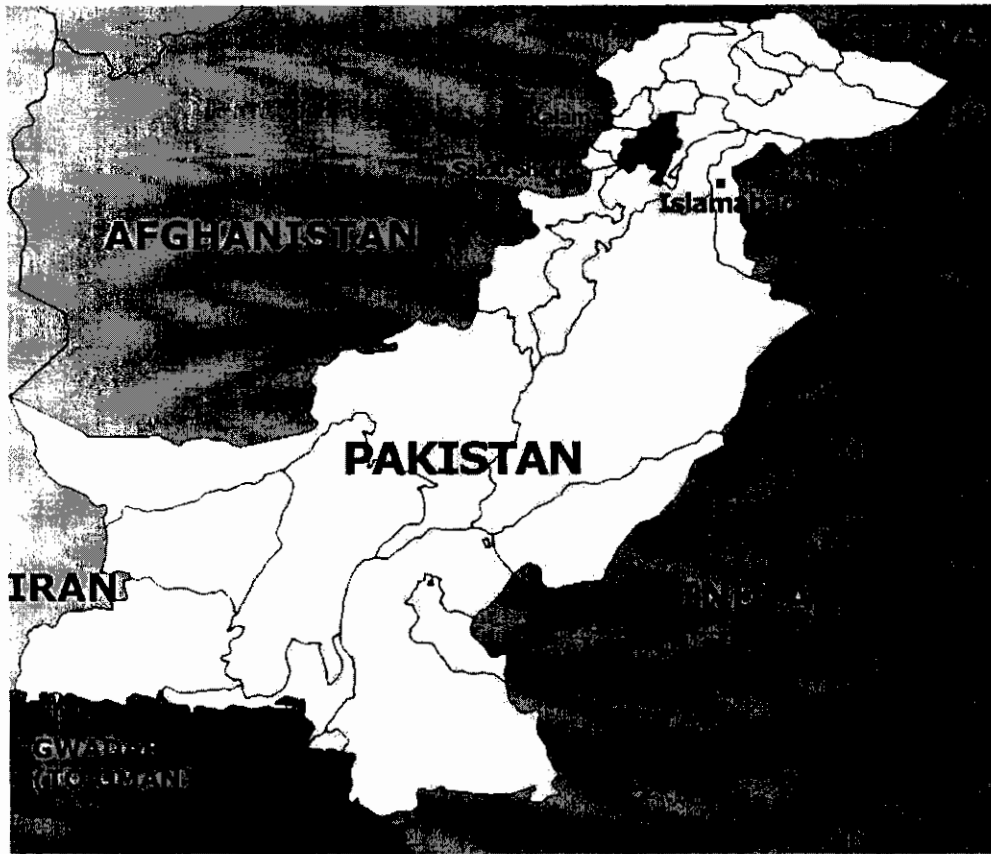
These Jirga was authorized for all offences except offences against the state, relating to the armed forces, election hearing etc. The Jirga could give a ruling on all disputes of criminal cases.

A Naibtehsildar could control over the Jirga trial under traditional law. The punishment for murder was life imprisonment, not death penalty.

Hussain .A (2001), stated in their study for administrative purposes districts and agencies of Malakand division were divided into sub-divisions. The district was govern by the deputy commissioner and the political agent (PA) was to control the agency. The (AC) assistant commissioners and assistant political agents (APA) were control the administration of the sub-divisions. There is also a police force to control the law and order situation under the supervision of district administrations, while in the agency area Levis force control the law and order situation. The administration could also call upon the service of the Frontier Constabulary as well, Dir Scouts, Bajaur scouts and Chitral Scouts.

Procedure (Special Provisions) and Law Regulation of 1975 remained operational until February 1994, when the Supreme Court endorsed the ruling of the Peshawar High Court affirms some of their provisions in violation of Article 25 of the Constitution,(Hussain .A, 2001).

Figure 1



Judicial system

The basic judicial system of Swat at that time was not Islamic in reality as mostly believed. It was a combination of the conventional rules, similar with Islamic norms with the traditional codes, and rules, the orders and the words of the Leader. The Leader had authority and final supremacies and the traditional codes have the second level. The Islamic law was subordinated to them. The Leader was bound to Sharia. That system was an effective one. The processes

were quick and inexpensive, and the decisions properly were executed. The cases were commonly solved in one hearing or on the second time.

Religion

In Swat most of the people religion is Islam and have a sect of Sunny. The people of Swat are very religious and influenced by the Islamic leader called Mullah and Ulema.

Post military operation

The Human Right Commission of Pakistan reported that the law and order situation has improved after the Military operation against the Militants in swat, before the military operation the Swat was under control of Militants, the civil and security personnel were killed and the dead bodies of them were threw on the road. HRCP interviewed most of the people in Swat they stated that the conditions of security was comparable better than the last year in the Swat after 2009, the successful Military operation named Rah-e- Rast.

Most of the interviewed people pay tribute to the security forces to crush the militant network. On the other hand, they expressed hesitations that relative peace in Swat attains following the major military campaign could not be possible and that once the army withdraws region that the Taliban could group together of new one and could resume their terror reign.

Peace agreement in Swat

The government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa made a agreement with the TNSM in Swat on 16 February, 2009, when the peace agreement was done the army role was completely negated and the TNSM became as champion for the people of Swat. The people attracted toward the TNSM and Taliban Movement which was based on terroristic and extremist approaches and believed

that they were on the right path. With this agreement the local civil administration was came under the influence of TNSM and Taliban.

The TNSM real face came to the people when they openly supported the TTP Swat and said that Pakistan constitution is unislamic and the system is against the Islamic rules, the TNSM also supported the brutality of TTP Swat and then the TTP Swat expanded to the other Districts of Malakand Division.

Environment and Necessities of Army operation

The peace deal signed with the TNSM/Taliban with the Government was broken down by the Taliban in only 53 days as they expanded to the other Districts of Malakand Division i.e. Buner, Shangla, Dir Lower. They had started again the insurgencies in Swat and the harassed the people in the bazaars and markets with the weapons and started the patrolling with the weapons.

The Sufi Mohammad said on 9 April, 209 that the government not fulfilling the promised of imposing the Nizam-e-Adl Regulation in Malakand Division. As they expanded their brutalities and terroristic activities to the other Districts to the mid of the month of April, they started the attacked on the police and FC point and convoy.

The Taliban with the supported of TNSM started bomb blasting and killing the innocent people and threw their dead bodies in the public places with the letter written on it that if someone did not supported and worked for the TTP Swat that will be the consequences of that person.

The flogging of a young girl in front of people was the sign of their open brutalities and terroristic activities. TTP Swat leader Fazalullah continue used of FM radio channel and harassed

the people, killing and torturing the people who did not accepted their policies was became the daily routine in Swat. The cutting heads of the people and threw them in the open public places hanging their dead bodies in road side was also the adopted brutalities of the TTP Swat. Suicide attacked in the Masques, Markets, Janaza, Police, Army, and every place where they want.

Military Operation and its outcomes

After the successful Military Operation against the Militants in Swat and with the Call of Swat as a safe for the people the IDPs return to their homes and the life has come back to the normalcy. The working of civil Administration was restored and it has been possible to conduct some cultural activities.

Objectives of the study

This study has been designed to achieve the following objectives:

- 1 The purpose of the study is to interpret, understand, evaluate and investigate the issue of the militancy in swat.
- 2 How the militants emerge, what are the causes of their emergence.
- 3 How the people of swat respond them and why they respond like that.
- 4 Why the military operation were launch.
- 5 What were the other options of solving the issue?
- 6 How the regional newspapers show the image of the military operation in swat.
- 7 How the people of the Swat respond the military operations against the Militants.
- 8 How daily AAJ and daily Mashriq covered the military operation in Swat.

Significance of study

- 1 The Study will provide focus on the role of media in crises situation.
- 2 The study will provide the flow of the news in the crises situation.
- 3 What the role of the regional newspapers.
- 4 Study will show why the media play biased role in the crises situation.
- 5 Study will show why the media give favor to one side.
- 6 The study will analyze how the regional newspapers give more coverage to the issue.
- 7 The peoples will know what is the responsibility the regional newspapers in issue.

Chapter 1
(Part 2)
Background of the Issue

“Cold War” The Phenomena of Talibanization

The Afghan war of 1978-92 was a cause of increase regional and human rights violations. The resulted were the Taliban's which strengthened and came out as a powerful force. It effects were so that it extended to the FATA region of Pakistan, due to which mass reorganization in the shape of the new Taliban took place, (Rana .A, 2009).

To expel the Soviets Union forces from Afghanistan by applying a Jihadi model. IT was not kept in consideration that how deep the consequences may be. As a result those Taliban's occupied most tribal and settle territory of Pakistan.

As a result of this, local Jihadi and jobless youth in these areas, impressed by popularity of Taliban's joined the network of afghan war veterans belonging to all nationalities. The Pakistani government started military operation more active alternative incursion into Kashmir and Afghanistan after the beginning of jihad in opposition to the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

During the jihad against Soviets in Afghanistan, Taliban engaged the thoughts of the people due to which the groom of Taliban's aroused in the region. The Taliban's were so committed in their cause that local of these areas were impressed by their will and commitment towards the jihad against the soviets,(Singh, B, 2007).

Parting from that history in 2001, after a breakup of the Taliban network, a new jihad or war against the allies' forces of US in Afghanistan was started. This time the circumstances and the battle field was the tribal belt of Pakistan that is attached to Afghanistan. When they ended up their war/jihad against the soviets, Taliban established safe heavens in Pakistan mainly in the tribal areas of FATA and Waziristan.

This time they were not limited to only Afghanistan rather they activate their self in the settled areas of Pakistan like Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, and Swat, and the capital of Pakistan, etc. these Taliban's were given a new name "The Pakistani Taliban" (Ahmar, 2011).

The emergence of Taliban in Pakistan, (TTP)

Ahmad Rashid, (2000), who says that, the traits between Pakistani Taliban's and those who had ruled over Afghanistan after the defeat of soviets in 1990 resembles the same.

When in rule, Afghani Taliban in 1996 forced Islamic laws and Pashto culture.

When the incident of 9/11 took place, Pakistan took a U-turn when General Pervaiz Musharraf military government aligned their self with the US led war against terror. Due to the alignment of Pakistani government with the US mission, Pakistani Taliban's were provoked that resulted in attacks on the Pakistani law enforcement agencies and security forces. Such attacks were carried out with the help of Afghanistan Taliban as well.

The intensity of such attacks increased to such a level that it compelled the government of Pakistan to launch an operation against the terrorists in Pakistan. Many civilians and military

personals of Pakistan army lost their lives in this war. However, on the other hand many of the militants were killed and arrested.

Anwar .S, (2008), highlights the reason behind the Taliban's attack on Pakistani military and civilians. He says that the Taliban were having two main aims. First, they consider Pakistan as a supporter of their enemy the "US and it allies".

Ahmad. R, (2000), in his study showed fears that society of Pakistan is give way to Talibanization as the clash between the (state) and (Taliban) come into a critical phase. Taliban are being condemned for engaging a rigid view of Islam and the fear that Taliban success would move the country into the dark ages. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, gross human rights excesses have been made by the security forces in the concerned areas.

History of War on Terror

According to Wanta, (2004), on 11th Sep, 2001, Al-Qaeda hijacked two airplanes and smashed those on to the World Trade Center and Pentagon thousands of people were killed. That was marked as an extraordinary event in the history of the United States. Attacks of similar extent never happened in United States against civilians (Gannon 2001). This act of terror was condemned by the world leaders; they described the attacks as an act like a war.

Wanta, (2004) reported that panic was twisted across different states of the world. He says that the strength of the Al-Qaeda and other terror groups established necessitate for a more global agenda.

In the sphere of these attacks, U.S. launched an attack on Afghanistan and Iraq, which is commonly known as the beginning of the "War on Terrorism", (wikipedia.org 2006).

In less than twenty hour of attacks on the W.T.C in New York and Washington. NATO under Article 5 of the NAT affirmed that the attacks were an attack on all 19 NATO member countries and not only against United States.

The slogan of "War on Terrorism" was first used by the Western media to submit to the attempts by Russian and European governments to stop assault by anarchists beside international political leaders.

Most of the anarchists explained themselves as terrorists and the term had a positive value for them at the time, (wikipedia.org 2006).

U.S. President Ronald Reagan often used the phrase "War on Terrorism" in the 1980s. In his speech in U.N. General Assembly in 1986, he said, that the United States considers that the Tokyo summit made a good beginning in the direction of global unity on the war on terror, (Wikipedia.org, 2006).

The press countenances a marvelous mission in reporting on the events and progresses after September 11. He comments the press of the United States also hurried to fill in all the blank spaces in the national awareness resulting from the shortage of worldwide news in past (Kent, 2004).

Taliban in Swat and Launching of Operation

Buneri .S, (2009), says that the situation in Swat deteriorated when MaulanaFazlullah (basically a chairlift operator), age 32 years, old Taliban commander who operated an illegally FM radio

station started to preach religious “bigotry” of the Swat Valley. The situation in July 2007, become very serious after that.

He stressed upon the need to discourage girls' education, non use of polio vaccines and musical expression equated with obscenity. Fazlullah pressed on the presence of NATO troops under U.S. command in Afghanistan and the growing injustices prevalent in Pakistani society. Thus he called for the introduction of Islamic Sharia in the region and to get people to the cause of jihad against "infidels."

Buneri .S, (2009), a research by the I.R. P.R.T showed that poverty moved public opinion to support terrorists. In 2008, in response to owners, landless peasants were forced to work for little or no pay; Taliban fighters attacked Jamal Nasir Khan, a leading owner in the Swat valley. These militants were young people who were marginalized from local and respected communities. Further they were Poverty and unemployment stricken thus they were easily exposed to the message of the Taliban's.

During that phase, changes were imposed on people. Beauty parlors, barber shops and the offices of Western aid agencies came under severe pressure from militants. Cheena Bazaar merchants were the targets of hate mail for selling cosmetics, perfumes, and women dresses Buneri, S. (2009).

Buneri .S, (2009), says that, such routine harassment and bombings against security forces intensified that people at police stations, and those offering of funeral processions were afraid of militant's attacks.

In December 2008, the Mingora central Green Square was nicknamed as the "Bloody Square", where militants threw dead bodies of people, including police officers, politicians and security forces.

Buneri .S, (2009), In April 2009 the Taliban captured Buner, a neighboring valley in front of a row of hills of Swat. A month after his arrival in Buner Taliban began Pakistani armed forces launched a major offensive to regain the valley, with helicopter gunships and warplanes and force thousands to flee their homes and force the Taliban back in their strongholds, at least for now.

Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariati-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) and Taliban

Maulana Sufi Muhammad the leader of Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariati-e-Muhammadi, had clear objectives. Sufi Muhammad, who was Ex. district council member, turned against the local government system and overall democracy as well. Sufi Muhammad considered great religious leader by their Ulema askafir(Non Muslim). In Sufi Muhammad's words: "many religious leaders, including, MaulanaFazlurRehman, QaziHussain Ahmad and MaulanaSamiulHaq, are trying to find Sharia in democracy".

In March 2009, three opponent Taliban groups agreed to form an alliance in opposition to international forces in Afghanistan. This new Taliban coalition is known as the Shura of Ittihad-ul-Mujahideen, or Council of United Holy fighters, which support the TTP Swat wing for the enforcement of Sharia (Shah 2009).

Some Reasons of increased Taliban's activities

The crisis in the Swat valley has become not only the increased, but significant after 9/11 incident. The process can be seen in its way, but in many other parts of the KPK mounting template, where the Taliban have begun to increase their activitiesBuneri.S, (2009).

- Little attention was given at first, to the Taliban by the Government in the Swat Valley.
- Policy from the various political parties in Swat has also provided fuel to the activities of the Taliban.
- In Bajaur Agency, attacks by United States, is another major cause of the Talibanization of Swat.
- The government's reluctance to accept the early reaction is also one of the causes in order to give enough opportunity to Taliban.
- The mixture of cultural traditions popular with Islamic teachings proved another reason for the emergence of the Taliban in the Swat valley, this approach allowed the Taliban to mobilize popular support in the region.
- The print and electronic media has also performed important functions for the Taliban as showed as heroes in the beginning.

(OPERATION RAH-E-RAST) The Military Operation against Militants

ISPR, (2009) reported that The operation, called the Thunder-I started, April 27, 2009 at Maidan in Lower Dir, the LalQuila fort was captured with heavy casualties on the militants. On April 29, 2009, the airborne troops landed in Dagger Bunir district headquarters, while the ground troops

moved in two axes. Through Ambela intense battle fought with security forces at the front of 13 suicide vehicles. On May 3, 2009, security forces launched operation in Shangla.

On May 17, 2009, SGS has landed at Peochar, the stronghold of militants and the seat of FazalUllah. Since these are the forces of militant hard core training "with many facilities to make improvised explosive devices and bomb factories, tunnels and knocked on 100 meters long by huge quantity of arms and ammunition (ISPR, 2009).

According to ISPR (2009), the security forces at that time, the militants had surrounded the four directions, Lower Dir, Bunir, Peochar and Shangla come. Then the security forces captured ŽiarBana Baba, a member of the training center and started the operation to the same time each DurekshelaMatta and Khawazakhela. Meanwhile, security forces entered to Barikot.

ISPR, (2009), reported that with this operation, all input and output channels of militants sealed. The security forces entered in Matta and TakhtabandKunju and west and south and north of PeocharSultanwas press the knot. Later, May 27, 2009, joined forces in Mingora, in the tooth MalamJabba said. Forces Movement road safety of the road could go in Mingora. At the same time, Charbagh and Kanju obtained after a long resistance followed Kabbalah. Later, another outbreak of terrorist and Tutan Bandai Sirsanai after an intense battle has been registered. Security forces are too Sakhra connections with the North Valley and the forces called in Peochar. After the link to the last bastion of terrorists in the safe north valley Bihrain, June 22, 2009 and in the western part of the Swat (Shamozai, June 23, 2009).

The social base of the Taliban in Swat

Sartaj.K, (2009), Islamism erects at the cost of the liberal-left, secular nationalist movement. The Awami National Party the Pushtun nationalism and the MMA, Islamic reformism failed to face the ruling elite, mostly due to their class character. The anti-imperialist oratory of the Taliban mostly displaced the secular nationalists; represents rulers as marionette responsible for the poverty and other misery in the country.

Sartaj.K, (2009), Islam and Islamic leaders could go beyond the borders of a society subjugated by cultural, ethnic, and tribal ancestries, uniting the people in a common cause. Class wellbeing could be dispersed in the name of Islam and sharia.

Rahimullah Yusufzai, a senior journalist said,

“The militants justify the attacks by alleging that the Khans committed excesses on the common and landless people in the past”

ISPR and NEWS Flow

In all the military actions and Operations the news flow is from military side i.e. ISPR (inter Services Public Relation). ISPR is the basic news Provider of the Events. In the swat military operation against the militants the news was control and news flow was from the ISPR. All the local correspondents of the media were out the spot and they did not cover the event themselves. The media was dependent on ISPR for the news and Events in the Swat military operation against militants.

All the swat based newspapers were closed their operation in the swat and they were shifted to some other places. The Daily Azadi, and Daily Chand Were shifted to the other cities of Pakistan

and their correspondent were also displaced due to the military operation and due to threats to their lives and families. Some journalists were torture by the militants while one journalist Eisakhankhel working with the GEO news was shot dead by the militants in the swat.

The ISSUE

The purpose of the study is to show how the military operation in swat against the militants Covered by the regional newspapers with special emphasis on the coverage, frame and Slant of stories published in the regional newspapers.

The current study objective is to examine the media strategy in reporting the clash between the Taliban and the security forces. Taking ideas from the original Galtung model of peace journalism, this study endeavors to help media strategy.

This research evaluates the framing of swat operation by the regional Newspapers i.e. Daily Mashriq and Daily AJJ Peshawar. The overall operation time period is taken in to consideration for the analysis. The coverage given by these newspapers to the swat issue and how it was portrayed to the public will highlight the stance of the regional newspapers in crisis situation in Pakistan.

Statement of the problem

Studying the above background the study has been designed to investigate the coverage of the Swat Military Operation in the regional newspapers Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj Peshawar, particularly;the study will analyze the variables frame and slant of the regional newspapers.

The study was to examine the coverage of Military Operation affects on the people of Swat and

how the Regional Newspapers portrayed that to the people.

The two Newspapers Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj were selected for the Study as they both have smart circulations and huge well qualified staff. The time period of the Study was four months which covered whole operation duration. The study was based on the content analysis of whole stories related to the Military Operation in Swat, published by the newspapers i.e. News stories, Features, Columns and Editorials.

Research Questions

RQ1: How the military campaign was portrayed in The Daily Mashriq and the Daily AAJ during SWAT Operation?

RQ2: What was the stance of these newspapers towards military Campaign during Swat Operation?

RQ3: What were the frame and slant of these newspapers in the coverage of Swat military operation?

Chapter No 2

(Part 1)

Literature Review

Framing of War and Conflict situation

After change in the nature of war to the conflicts it also changed the role of media and politics. The media became the channel for the politics, the media have a large affects not only on the audiences but on all the factors whose involve with the conflicts and media, the War on Terrorism is the main example of media politics (Brown 2003).

To change the behavior of the target audience it could be religions, terror campaigns, economic policies, advertisements or propaganda media has the great role in it. To mobilized, informed or persuaded the people are the main part of fighting the war to day. And the internet, mobile and satellite television is the media of the modern society to get the results (Mcluhan, 1964).

Fahmy (2005), in her research article titled a longitudinal analysis of how embeds assess influences & performance in reporting the Iraq war determine how fine entrenched reporters seeming while they covered the Iraq War and whether those information approaches have altered over time. While, findings of the study recommended embeds sustain to judge their generally responsibility as positively in 2005/06 as 2004, respondents mainly known problems with the embedding procedure. Data analysis pointed out after the official announcement of success, embedded reporters became importantly less likely to agree that embeds was capable for

their job. Professional ethics, values and norms seemed as the big factors in reporting the war, as recommended in both surveys. Embedded reporters had known personal level factors, and ideological factors as more significant on their reporting after President Bush affirmed victory in May 2003 than before that announcement (Brown, 2003).

Crimean War, 1854-56

William Howard was a reporter with "The Time" reported the warfare of Crimean war in all aspects including the Human aspects. He was very critical to the British Military and covered the human tragedies and the stories of innocents people in the war, so he with the other journalists who were also very critical to the British Army were dismissed from the jobs and thus the censorship of the media was imposed for the first time in 1856 (McLaughlin, 2002).

Sri Lanka Conflicts 1983-2009

The civil war of Tamil Tigers against Sri Lankan Army started in 1983 resulted more than 80,000 deaths has finally won by Government of Sri Lanka. The media in the country played different role to frame the longest civil war (Jaffrelot 2009).

Maslog, (2005), accomplished that in Pakistan and Indian Media adopted the approached the war journalism while the Sri Lankan press followed the peace journalism to frame the conflicts. In Pakistan the English print media published and proposed the surrender of Tamil Tigers as political solution of the conflicts (Dawn, May 2009).

The Kargil Conflict

The Coverage of the Kargil war between the Pakistan and India was not enough from the Pakistani media while the Indian media frame the issue as an attacked by the Pakistani Army. There were no such TV reports and Print media coverage to show that it was an aggression from the Indian side and frames the positive role of the Pakistan (Siraj 2007).

Indian TV channels covered so enough that the people of Pakistan had even tuned the Indian channel for updates, the Indian media thus constructed the soft image of the India to the world on the Kargil crises thus the western media also showed the Indian stance on the issue (Mazari, 2003).

The War in Somalia- 1992

The US Government was depended on the media especially on CNN News to made decisions about the War (H, Stephan, 2004). CNN framing was basic factor in decision making process in US to send troops to Somalia to assist and feed hungry people there, US government to make a decision to withdraw from Somalia when CNN showed the dead bodies of the US soldiers pulled around. The US secretary of State said that the media has an effect on the decision maker as the media were present there at the field of War (Hess Stephen, Kalib Marvin, 2004).

Media Role in the Iraq War

McLaughlin, (2002), Initial reports from Iraq regarding the embedded program were largely admiring because the system presented reporters with extraordinary access to military camps and

nearly complete freedom to cover the war against Iraq, postmortem analysis be inclined to be significantly more critical. Critics challenged that the policies and regulation set up for the embedded process were not planned to guarantee reporters full access to military troops, but mainly to ensure the war was covered from a U.S viewpoint. Embedded reporters were bounded to travel alone, which means they had rely on U.S soldiers who were instruct in how to answer questions. Journalists assured to bear censorship and officers had the authority to censor and restrict electronic transmissions for security(McLaughlin, 2002).

McLaughlin, (2002) charged that journalists were stayed day by day with the same people, on whom they depended on for their basic safety, food, shelter and transportation, where they would lose objectivity and became subjective with those they were embedded. Studies have long recommended that the media focused on the national government's policy in international coverage (de Beer & Merrill, 2004).

Most of the scholars and researchers suggested that from the incident of 9/11, reporting has become mostly patriotic and that embedding reporters praised the military campaign and portrayed soldiers as national heroes.

Fahmy, Johnson, (2005) reported that most of embeds reporters agreed that journalists provided only small piece of the war and about 2/3 journalists reports were subjective. However, they did not necessarily identify this as a fault of embed, embeds said, their editors would collect their reports with those of other embeds and independent to present a more exact image of the war.

Researchers studies suggested that have compared the coverage of embedded reporters with reporters not connected to a military unit or independent reporters, found that the embed process

presented only a fragment of the entire picture, one more positive than the one presented by the unilateral (Cooper and Kuyper, 2004; Aday et al., 2005).

Media and Tamil Nadu conflict

The media coverage of Dalit related issues in Tamil Nadu has improved in the last 2 centuries. In the early years the typical behavior/ attitude to Dalit issues were, one of complacency, as in every other State. Because that time the Republican announced no attachments was abolished all over India, the media, and the political establishment, civil society start to understand that the problems related this people have been resolved.

Viswanathan, (2010), in the early years of independence, in Tamil Nadu, the struggle for the rights of poor and backward classes in public employment has become the main item on the agenda of the Dravidian party. Therefore, when the state was captured by the activities of violence involving Dalits and caste of southern Tamil Nadu in the 1950s, the media and political parties have been a mutiny on the two groups. In Kosovo, there were activities and "host" terrible stories of the refugees showed unexpectedly accurate. However, the consequences of it there were a mixture of evidence, not quite a reliable report. Most media institutions have taken sides, and they were clearly on the side of those affected.

Media and Coverage of Naxal Activities

The Naxal movement initiated in the sixties, the movement did not create regular violent activities until the opening of the new century? The frequent violent activities of these groups have involved much media consideration. This movement was given the first page and above the

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cover of the flag in the print and electronic media on television in prime time. While the impression was covering the Maoist crisis, even before this period, and the recent television coverage of the issue has been politicized and sensitive. Vijay (2010), stated in his study that Normally collected sensational news has highest concentration of viewers on TV channels, which had Naxal about news and more viewers turn, had become rather popular. It should be noted that the news about conflicts will always be sensitive, but the media, especially satellite media has a negative sensation of violent Naxal activities. Unlike print media, satellite radio, not by their nature attract the attention of the public so much. The Naxal Terror Watch, an online blog about the Maoist insurgency, has documented specific coverage in the print media since 2000.

Media and the Vietnam War

During the Korean War, the television audience was much lower. Only 9% of households had a television in 1950. But that number rose to 93% in 1966. If the popularity of television in the company grew, citizens began; the Americans get their television news from other sources (Bonior, Champlin, Kolly, 1984). 58% people of America said that television were the primary source of our News; 56%, newspapers; 26%, radio; and 8%, magazines in 1964. By 1972, sixty four percent said television while the number of respondents who mostly relied on newspapers for the information and news felled to 50% Thus, as the Vietnam War pulled on, most of American people turned to television as their prime source for news (Hallin, 1986).

Operation of “Desert Cloud” and Media

Maj Gen Patrick Brady, (former Public Relations Chief of US Army), In August 1990, Iraq attacked on Kuwait. In the six months before the war began, the Pentagon, the military and the media worked together to develop plans that covered the Gulf War in time of war the most comprehensive news coverage of the story. It was also the most massive conspiracy of the history to date (Brady, P.1990).

In the beginning night of the U.S. invade on Iraq, ABC broadcaster Peter Jennings made what was perhaps a Freudian slip, referred incorrectly at the beginning of "Operation Desert Cloud" instead of "the Operation Desert Storm ".The problem was not basically that the Pentagon and the U.S. government tricked the media but the media usually taken no doubt that the military and the U.S. government to distribute them. They reduce the amount of the stenographer. When the truth began to leak in the wake of the war, it was too late to be the dominant image of an unavoidable, clean, and bloodless, to eliminate high technology war.

Chapter 2

(Part 2)

Theoretical frame work

This study is based on framing theory and analyzes how the issues are frame under the conflict situation. This research was supported by the framing theory, in particular, news framing, in a crisis situation. Framing is one of the most important factors in the news.

Framing process is the element of agenda setting in mass media. It is a creation of journalist, presented in a way that affects the public perception of a subject to make public opinion / image of specific positive or negative. Framing has traditionally been seen as the demand for selection, the mass in respite, interpretation and excluding aspects of a perceived reality and make the most of the projection(Entman, 1993).

Journalistic frames are attention to the aspect of reality, while ignoring others; the most important members of the public react differently to different settings. However, researchers frame, but has been criticized on a lot of packets, such as news stories context and implications of this framework to the public (hearing) (frame of reference) and not enough on the factors that influence how building journalists a frame (frame building)(Caragee&Roefs, 2004; Scheufele, 1999; 2000).

Shoemaker and Reese (1996) advanced a model hierarchy to review the impact of macro forces and micro-level that affect the process of gathering news: at the individual, media routines level of the organizational, extra-wide media and ideological level (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Each level has its own range of influences, but is implicit in the effects of high-level factors. For example, the concepts of objectivity and journalists about the proper role of journalists

(individual) from the newsroom socialization that are developed to meet the standards of organization and objectives organizational level. The organization and goals are the pressure of external forces, such as advertisers and public sources, competition, governmental and economic forces (extra-media level) and the ideological and cultural imperatives to own the role of media in society (ideological). Not all studies support this hierarchical model, However, Berkowitz and Limor (2003) found that the level of organizational factors (the needs of the role and reactions to the editor) less influential factors at the individual level (exercise decisions based on values-based professional staff), the level occupational / (views on appropriate professional and ethical) and the level of society (to what extent the decision to serve the public interest). Research shows that during the war is a hierarchy of effects model releases during the war are expected to bend the rules of objectivity and to support the troops and their government's stance on the war (Fahmi 2005). Embed process; however, is designed specifically to improve access hierarchy-of-influence. Pentagon realized if those reporters embedded with Special Forces, the process of living and working alongside the soldiers, they will identify with the soldiers, who collected and reduced standards of objectivity in favor of a sense of patriotism (Third Infantry, 2006). However, studies have shown that the perception of journalists, professional norms and values play a big role in how the report of the war, and ideological factors such as knowledge of Iraqi culture and Arabic language, the small difference (Fahmy & Johnson, 2005).But later research showed that perhaps the role of media workers an additional source of information for their value underestimated. For example, while most of the closes denied practicing self-censorship, they adhered to the anchor line, where the news was dimmed during sensitive times, such as the upcoming invasion (Johnson& Fahmy, 2005).

Hypotheses of the Study

The issue of militancy was given significant coverage and importance by both the regional newspapers, covered it in smart detailed and framed for adopting the practical action against the militancy. The central point is to how the issue is framed and slanted it. The following three hypotheses were developed to examine the coverage of military operation.

H: 1. Both the newspapers portray the military operation as positive.

H: 2 Coverage of both the newspapers cover and frame the militants as foe and Pak Army as Friend.

H: 3 Slant in the coverage of both the newspapers favorable toward the Pakistan Army and unfavorable to the militants.

Chapter No 3

Research Methodology

This study is based on the method of content analysis of the regional newspapers during the operation from May to August 2009. Two regional newspapers Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj Peshawar were selected for the study to examine the coverage of Swat Military operation.

In this chapter the Period of research, Selection of newspapers and population sampling are discussed. While the variables, formation of its categories and the rules which are defined for the variables are also come under discussion in this chapter. In the last section of this chapter the coding unit of the study, unit of analysis and a sample of code sheet is also mention.

The study is primarily a content analysis, which will qualitatively and quantitatively examine publication of the specified news categories in the selected Pakistani regional newspapers; i.e., The Daily Mashriq and the Daily Aaj. The period for this study is the whole Military operation which was four Months from May 2009 to August 2009.

Berelson (1952) concluded that the Content analysis is a practice for exploring the research objective, and systematic, contents.

Krippendorff (1980) describes content analysis is a method of research that make the scholar contingent replicable and concrete data in context and Compared with other search methods/procedure. Paisley, J (1964), Content analysis is a procedure in which the communication of the message, the objective and systematic evaluation of the policy, the data can be recorded and compared to each other.

Danielson (1963) defines content analysis and descriptive findings. While exploring the more descriptive content analysis, while the conclusions of the analysis are summarized the results of a study on the population. In other words, links, events in the environment.

Period of Research Study

The period for this study is the whole Military operation which was four months from May 2009 to August 2009. This period has been chosen to know that how the regional Newspapers gave coverage to the issue and how they portray the operation to the people of Pakistan. .

Study Population and Sampling

The population for this study will be all types of news stories (News, Features, Columns and Editorial), related to Military operation in Swat published in The Daily Mashriq Peshawar and the Daily Aaj Peshawar, during the entire Military operation duration. The news stories of the Daily Mashriq and the Daily Aaj were retrieved from public library.

Unit of analysis

The all types of stories published in newspapers were the contextual unit and topics, frame, slant, byline and source covered by the newspaper were the unit of analysis.

Reliability and Validity

To get the reliability and validity of the sample and variables inter coder reliability test for the slant, frame, and topics were conducted to achieve the recommended reliability. The study

variables appearance validity adequately exists, besides each story was coded and explained by rules in the following lines.

Purposive Sampling

The sampling used for this study was purposive sample methods as social sciences scholars discover how to choose method of study professionally and intelligently, and to decide the analysis to answer certain questions (Bernard 2002). As one grows to be more common with a method of study, an advanced ability is probable to be attained (Bridges, 2006). Purposive sampling is type of skills that must be used and practiced so as to be most favorable.

Perhaps at the beginning, the scholar would still be lookout in the method, knowing the concepts but a bit hesitant and worried. Specialists in purposive sampling are confident to talk about and determine paths of finding the best type of informant for every research, in addition to the strength and weaknesses of these methods of studies (Seidler, 1974).

Selection of the Newspapers

The Daily Aajand the Daily Mashriq have been selected for this study because they are the leading regional newspapers and circulated widely across the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and across the country as well. High officials, researcher, media related people in Pakistan also read these newspapers for critical regional issues. Both papers are conversant, stern, and autonomous. They are financially established and professional staffed newspapers.

The Daily AAJ Peshawar

AAJ is an Urdu language daily newspaper published simultaneously from regional Peshawar, Islamabad and Abbott Abad in Pakistan since 1989.

The newspaper has a great popularity because of the common belief that it has become an objective approach to events in the province and country. At present it is considered the most widespread newspaper of KPK.

AAJ is published and its parent company AAA Publications (Pvt) Ltd., printed (Say: Triple A Limited Liability Company Publications) have three A's in the name of the company, the word deep Aaj, the "Today" in Urdu and English presence for his company has always used AAAJ company that would otherwise have been influenced AAJ means.

Abdul Wahid Yousafi, a leading journalist in the province is the founder / owner and editor of the newspaper. A.W. Yousafi also received the Pride of Performance in 2008 for his contribution to life unique to his profession

This journal is among the people of KPK for his impartial attitude toward the news, unlike its rivals, the Daily Mashriq, whose owner are businessmen and politicians as well, who did his job, who liked to the popularity of partial AAJ. Expressed in editorials, essays will be read eagerly the columns and responded quickly by the neighborhoods involved, including senior-high federal and state and government policy reflects.

The daily Mashriq Peshawar

Daily Mashriq was launched in 1963 by Mr. InayatUllah shareholder Kohestan far. In 1964, the daily Mashriq was taken over by the national trust press. Mashriq has started the new trend of

popular journalism in the country after the fall of Kohistan eventually led to its closure. It was the newspaper's best-selling daily in Punjab at least.

But its role as a leading journal has been affected by the advent of newspapers as Masawat, Azad, and Nida-e-Millit in Lahore in the wake of political activities. And an election campaign 1970th currently published from Peshawar Mashriq. The daily Mashriq is a leading journal in Urdu Pakhtunkhwa city of the province, Peshawar. He is currently the largest Urdu newspaper from Peshawar provides for its action. Daily Mashriq heard of the group's newspaper Mashriq, Syed AyazBadshah its editor.

It contains everything that contains within it as entertainment, news, politics and current affairs, sports, children, etc. The daily Mashriq publishes special supplements on a daily basis; these supplements are issuing this new information on Deeni question and Islam.

Siyasi edition contains the output information, news and articles on politics and current events.

Sport edition, this edition includes all the latest news and information on sports.

Khawateen edition which include news, articles and other reading material related to women.

Showbiz edition, this edition covered the news and information on entertainment.

Daily Mashriq and its electronic version on the internet, this edition can be easily accessed from any part of the world.

Justification

Both the selected regional newspapers for investigating and analyzing the study are highly circulated in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, both the newspapers are mostly circulated in the militancy affected areas. The selected regional newspapers are famous for the factual reporting

as they are independent newspapers they are not affiliated to any political party. They are also famous for objective reporting. Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj have good experience staff and have an organized and well structured organization. Both the regional newspapers have huge network of correspondents and particularly in affected areas.

Variables

Variables selected for this study are Topic, Slant, Frames, byline and sources of the story. Following are the details of these variables.

Coding Unit

The specific segment of content that is characterized by placing it in a given category is known as coding unit.

Using paragraph as unit of analysis to investigate slant is some time difficult. For example, a story may carry six(6) paragraphs in which three (3) carry pro-Pakistan slant while the other three (3) carry anti-Pakistan slant. Such story is most likely to be coded as neutral in slant. However, in this case it should be coded either favorable or unfavorable if the headline contains such slant.

Frames will be recognized in the entire story from the contextual point of view. The frames identified in this study are: Friend, Foe.

Instructions rules for Coders

The Daily Mashriq and the Daily Aaj are the sample newspapers. All items on military operation in Swat appearing in the selected papers will be coded.

Table 1

Content category and coding scheme

<p>1. Topic</p> <p>Topic can be defined as a review label of the area of social experiences covered by a story. Zheng (2006). Topic is the broad representation of a news story. Topic contains main theme of a story.</p>	<p>a) Military operation</p> <p>b) Militants/AsskariatPasand/ShiddatPasand/ Taliban attacks</p> <p>c) Shaheed</p> <p>d) Halak</p> <p>• Janbahaq/ Maraygai</p> <p>e) Amman Lashker/ MuqamiRazakar</p>	<p>If the story contains words like military movement, deployment of army in different areas of Swat and action against militants it will be coded as military story.</p> <p>The story containing the blasts, militants attack on the Army check posts it will implied as story of Militants.</p> <p>In the story publish in the regional newspapers the words HALAK used for Pak Arm will show negative</p>
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	<p>f) Food and Medicine</p> <p>g) Curfew</p> <p>h) Attack of Public Places</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MussalahGushat by militants • Control Sambhalna 	<p>and SHAHEED will show positively portrayed of Pak Army.</p> <p>If the Words Janbahaq/ Maraygai are used for the Militants is will be Coded as negative.</p> <p>In the stories the making of the Amman LASHKER by the Peoples of the SWAT and the Distribution of FOOD and MEDICINS will also be consider as Positively Portrayed by newspapers..</p>
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		<p>The CURFEW imposed by the Army will be considering as Positively Portrayed in the newspapers</p> <p>The reaction of militants in form of PUBLIC ATTACK and PUBLIC PLACES attack will be consider as Negatively Portrayed in the Regional newspapers</p> <p>The Word MussalahGushat will be coded negative if it is</p>
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		<p>used for the militants and will consider positive if it is used for the Pak Army.</p> <p>The Word Control Sambhalna will be coded negative if it is used for the militants and will consider positive if it is used for the Pak Army.</p>
2. Length of story	<p>a) Space: refer as news story in centimeters.</p> <p>b) Volume: refer to columns.</p>	Length of a story will be measured by wordage in the story on ratio level.
3. Frame To identify frame in this study such as Military operation being friend', foe',	a) Foe	a) The foe frame would show that militants

<p>Khalid (2001) described to identify frames; the whole story will be examined from the textual point of view.</p>	<p>b) Friend</p>	<p>are the enemy of Swat.</p> <p>b) The friend frame would portray the Pak army is the adherent of the people of Swat.</p>
<p>4. Types of story</p> <p>In this study types of story refers to as news story, feature and editorial etc, in the newspapers</p>	<p>a) News</p> <p>b) Editorial</p> <p>c) Feature</p>	<p>a) News will be considering as the story publish on the front page of the news papers.</p> <p>b) The story Publish on</p>

	d) Letter to the editor	the editorial page will be considering as editorial. c) A prominent story in a newspaper. d) This type of story will be coded as story received to the editor from any common person.
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<p>5. By line</p> <p>Byline story means which Person and through which Credit line is filed the story.</p>	<p>a) Staff reporter</p> <p>b) News agencies</p> <p>c) Foreign reporter</p> <p>d) Foreign agencies</p>	<p>a) The story cover by the newspaper from staff of the newspapers and published this story will be consider as staff reporter.</p> <p>b) The story publish from the source of any Pakistani news agency will be consider as story of news agencies.</p> <p>c) If the source of</p>
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		<p>the news story is a reporter outside of Pakistan it will be consider as story from foreign reporter.</p> <p>d) The story publish from the source of any outside Pakistan news agency will be consider as story of Foreign agencies.</p>
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<p>6. Source:</p> <p>Its refer to who is the Main News Provider</p>	<p>e) ISPR</p> <p>f) Private</p>	<p>e) If the story publish by the newspaper through the credit line of ISPR or Swat media center this will be consider as story of ISPR.</p> <p>f) If the Story Publish by the Newspaper s as independen t Source this will be consider as Private source story.</p>
<p>7. Slant</p>	<p>a) Favorable</p>	<p>a) The story</p>

<p>Slant refers to the writer's approach in the story towards Military operation. The study follows the existing studies by dividing slant into three categories; i.e. Favorable, neutral and unfavorable</p>	<p>Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary (1913) Pro is favorable, which contributes, to promote or facilitate beneficial and practical. Subject also means positive, positive approval, approval, free practice, then, good, good, friendly,</p> <p>b) Unfavorable: WorldNet dictionary unfavorable means, it tends to obstruct or oppose, not encouraging or approving or pleasing, it also means a reference admonitory, harmful, bad, bad, in fact, denied critical, discriminatory, and dangerous.</p> <p>c) Neutral: Wikipedia, the neutral point of view requires that when there are conflicting views, they must be fairly presented</p>	<p>will be considered as favorable if it gives more coverage to military campaign in the newspapers</p> <p>b) The story will be considered as unfavorable if it gives more coverage militants in the swat operation.</p>
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		c) The story will be considered as neutral if the story gives equal coverage to both sides.
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Table 2

Sample Code Sheet

Date	Newspapers	No of Stories	Topics	Frame	Story types	Byline		Source		Slant		
						Friend	Foe	Private	ISPR	F	UnF	N

Keys

Source of the News Source of news means whether the story has been filed by the Pakistani source or foreign source.

Topics: Mentions of the dominant theme of the topic in the story's headline and lead will be assigned value in the following order.

1. Military operation
2. Militants/AsskariatPasand/ ShiddatPasand/ Taliban attacks
3. Shaheed, Halak, Janbahaq/ Maraygai
4. Amman Lashker
5. Curfew
6. MussalahGushat by militants

7. Control Sambhalna

8. Food and Medicine

Slant: Value 1, 2, and 3 will be assigned for favorable, neutral and unfavorable respectively.

Frames: Pakistan army as friend framed will assign value 1 and Militants as foe will assign value

2.

Chapter No 4

Data Analysis

After examining the regional newspapers daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj through content analysis method the follow data extracted out of it. The total number of News stories on the issue of Military operation against Militants in Swat covered by both the Newspapers was (N 485) in which 250 (51.56%) were published in the Daily Mashriq Peshawar and 235 (48.54%) were covered by the daily Aaj Peshawar. This showed that Daily Mashriq gave more coverage than daily Aaj to the Military operation in Swat.

Table 3

Coverage of Swat Military Operation in Daily Aaj

Total No of stories:		235		
Types of stories	NEWS 200 (85.10%)	Features 13(5.53%)	Column 16(6.8%)	Editorial 6(2.55%)
Byline:	NEWS agencies 125(53.19%)		Staff reporter 110 (46.80%)	
Source:	Private 145 (61.70%)		ISPR/ Govt 90 (38.29%)	
Frame:	Pakistan Army Friend 197(53.82%)		Militants Foe 38(16.17%)	
Slant:	Favorable 169 (71.91%)		Unfavorable 37(15.7%)	Neutral 29 (12.34%)

Note: chi square for type of stories = 453.698^a, p= .000. Mean= 172.17, STD Div= 66.673

Chi square for byline= .957^a, p= .328. Mean= 117.98, STD Div= 7.501

Chi square for Source=12 .872^a, p= .000. Mean= 123.94, STD Div= 26.796

Chi square for Frame= 107.579^a, p= .000. Mean= 171.29, STD Div= 58.665

Chi square for slant= 157.821^a, p= .000. Mean= 130.94, STD Div= 61.069

The above table 1 showed that total 235 number of news items were covered by the Daily Aaj related to the Swat military operation during the whole operation time period, in which 200 (85.10%) were News stories, 13(5.53%) were features, 16(6.8%) were columns and 6(2.55%) were editorial written by the newspapers which showed the policy regarding the issue. In this coverage 125(53.19%) reported by news agencies while 110 (46.80%) were reported by the Staff reporter which showed that during the conflict in the region the access to the news were not possible to the reporter and thus most of the stories were reported by the different news agencies. The source of those news items was mostly private and 145 (61.70%) stories related to the issue source were private while 90 (38.29%) news items source was ISPR or government.

The theme of the overall coverage toward the issue in the daily Aaj were Pakistan Army friendly and the Daily Aaj 197(53.82%) framed the Pakistan Army as friend and give least coverage to the militants and 38(16.17%) covered and frame the militants and foe to the society.

The daily Aaj gave favorable coverage to the issue than the other newspapers of Pakistan and portrayed 169 (71.91%) favorable the Swat military operation, covered 37(15.7%) unfavorable while covered 29 (12.34%) neutral the issue in the Swat.

Table 4

Coverage of Military Operation in Daily Mashriq

Total No of stories:	250			
Types of stories:	NEWS 204(81.6%)	Features 16(6.4%)	Column 22(8.8%)	Editorial 8(3.2%)
Byline:	NEWS agencies 157(62.8%)		Staff reporter 93(37.2%)	
Source:	Private 176(70.4%)		ISPR/ Govt 74(29.6%)	
Frame:	Pakistan Army Friend 196(78.4%)		Militants Foe 54(21.6%)	
Slant:	Favorable 170(68%)		Unfavorable 45(18%)	
			Neutral 35(14%)	

Note: chi square for type of stories = 428.720^a, p= .000. Mean= 169.68, STD Div= 72.453

Chi square for byline= 16.384^a, p= .000. Mean= 133.19, STD Div= 30.996

Chi square for Source=41 .616^a, p= .000. Mean= 147.81, STD Div= 46.655

Chi square for Frame= 80.656^a, p= .000. Mean= 165.33, STD Div= 58.552

Chi square for slant= 135.800^a, p= .000. Mean= 128.60, STD Div= 60.537

The above table 2 showed that total 250 number of news items were covered by the Daily Mashriq related military operation in Swat during the whole operation time period which was

four months, in which 204 (81.6%) were News stories covered during the time period, 16(6.4%) were features stories, 22(8.8%) were columns written by columnist and 8(3.2%) were editorial written by the newspapers which showed the policy regarding the issue. Daily Mashriq wrote more editorial than the daily Aaj and showed their concern about the issue.

During the coverage of the issue in Swat 157(62.8%) reported by news agencies while 93(37.2%) were reported by the Staff reporter which showed that during the conflict in the region the access to the news were not possible to the reporter and thus most of the stories were reported by the different news agencies.

The source of those news items was mostly private and 176(70.4%) stories related to the issue source were private while 74(29.6%) news items source was ISPR or government. Which shows that both the newspapers rely on the private sources when there is a government related issues are publish for the authentication of the news.

The theme of the overall coverage toward the issue in the daily Aaj were Pakistan Army friendly and the Daily Mashriq 196(78.4%) framed the Pakistan Army as friend and give least coverage to the militants and 54(21.6%) covered and frame the militants and foe to the society.

The daily Mashriq gave favorable coverage to the issue than the other newspapers of Pakistan and portrayed 170(68%) favorable the Swat military operation, covered 45(18%) unfavorable while covered 35(14%) neutral the issue in the Swat.

Daily Mashriq Coverage

In this section the monthly coverage given by the Daily Mashriq Peshawar to the Military operation in Swat, during the four months is discussed.

The coverage of Daily Mashriq published in May 2009 shows that total 62 stories covered discussing Swat military operation in which 49(79%) were News stories, 5(8%) were Features stories, 6(9%) were Column and 2(3%) were editorial story.

In these stories 70% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 30% stories were Staff reporters. The 85% stories' sources were Private and 15% stories Source were ISPR or government. The Daily Mashriq covered and framed 70% Pakistan Army as friend and covered, framed 30% Foe the Militants. The direction or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 43 (69%) stories were reported Favorable and 9 (14%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 10(16%) stories were published Neutral.

During the month of in June 2009 daily Mashriq, total 65 stories were covered related to Swat military operation in which 55 were News stories, 4 were Features stories, 5 were Column and 1 were editorial story. In these stories 55% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 45% stories were Staff reporters. The 60% stories' sources were Private and 40% stories Source were ISPR or government. The Daily Mashriq covered the Pak Army and framed 80% as friend and 20% covered Militants and framed as Foe. The direction or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 39 (60%) stories were reported Favorable and 14 stories of 21% were portrayal Unfavorable while 12(18%) stories were published Neutral.

The Daily Mashriq published in July 2009 shows that total 60 stories covered discussing Swat military operation in which 49(81%) were News stories, 5(8%) were Features stories, 6(9%) were Column and 2(3%) were editorial story.

In these stories 70% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 30% stories were Staff reporters. The 85% stories' sources were Private and 15% stories Source were ISPR or

government. The Daily Mashriq covered and framed 80% Pakistan Army as friend and gave 20% coverage to the militants and framed as Foe.

The direction or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 43 (69%) stories were reported Favorable and 9 (15%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 10(17%) stories were published Neutral.

While examining the Daily Mashriq published in August 2009 showed that total 63 stories covered discussing Swat military operation in which 51(80.1%) were News stories, 2(3.7%) were Features stories, 7(11.12%) were Column and 3(5.8%) were editorial story.

In these stories 60% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 40% stories were Staff reporters. The 55% stories' sources were Private and 45% stories Source were ISPR or government. The regional newspaper Daily Mashriq gave 85% coverage to the Pak Army in the operation 2009 and framed as friend while covered 15% the militants and framed as Foe.

The Slant or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 45 (71.5%) stories were reported Favorable and 13 (20.7%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 5(7.8%) stories were published Neutral.

Daily Aaj Coverage

While investigating the coverage of the Military operation against Militants in Swat of Daily Aaj The follow are the month wise content analysis of Swat military operation against militants related stories covered by Daily Aaj Peshawar during operation in Swat.

The daily Aaj published in May 2009 shows that total 103 stories covered discussing Swat military operation in which 85(82%) were News stories, 5(4.7%) were Features stories, 8(7.4%) were Column and 5(4.86%) were editorial story.

In these stories 60% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 40% stories were Staff reporters. The 65% stories' sources were Private and 35% stories Source were ISPR or government.

The Daily Aaj in the month of May gave 90% coverage to the Pak Army and framed as friend and covered 10% the activities of Militants during the operation and framed as Foe. The Slant or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 69 (66.99%) stories were reported Favorable and 23 (22.33%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 11(10.76%) stories were published Neutral.

The daily Aaj published in June 2009, shows that total 37 stories covered related to Swat military operation in which 32(86.48%) were News stories, 2(5.45%) were Features stories, 2(5.4%) were Column and 1(2.702%) were editorial story.

In these stories 30% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 70% stories were Staff reporters. The 60% stories' sources were Private and 40% stories Source were ISPR or government. The Daily Aaj covered and framed 80% Pakistan Army as friend while gave 20% coverage to the Militants and framed as Foe the activities of the Militants.

The Slant or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 28 (75.67%) stories were reported Favorable and 2(5.40%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 7(18.91%) stories were published Neutral.

Daily Aaj published in July 2009, shows that total 57 stories covered discussing the military operation in Swat against militants in which 49(85.96%) were News stories,3(5.26%) were Features stories, 5(8.77%) were Column and no editorial story.

In these stories 60% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 40% stories were Staff reporters. The 55% stories' sources were Private and 45% stories Source were ISPR or government. The regional newspaper Daily Aaj covered 85% to Pakistan Army framing as friend and gave 15% coverage to the militants during the operation and framed as Foe.

The Slant or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Aaj in June 2009, 41 (71.92%) stories were reported Favorable and 8 (14.03%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 8 (14.03%) stories were published Neutral.

The Daily Aaj published in July 2009, shows that total 38 stories covered discussing the military operation in Swat against militants in which 34(89.47%) were News stories,3(7.89%) were Features stories, 1(2.63%) were Column and no editorial story.

In these stories 50% were provided by News Agencies and bylines of 50% stories were Staff reporters. The 65% stories' sources were Private and 35% stories Source were ISPR or government. The Daily Aaj framed the Pak Army as friend while giving 70% coverage and gave 30% coverage to the militants and framed as Foe during the month of August.

The Slant or the theme of these stories covered by the Daily Mashriq in June 2009, 31 (81.57%) stories were reported Favorable and 4 (10.52%) stories were portrayal Unfavorable while 3 (7.80%) stories were published Neutral.

Analysis of Research Questions

After analyzing the coverage given by both the regional Newspapers i.e. daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj Peshawar to the Military operation in Swat it concluded that the daily Mashriq covered the issue more than the Aaj. The overall coverage showed that Mashriq covered 250(51.56%) stories in which 202 were News stories, 16 features were published by the newspaper frequently, the columnist also wrote about the issue in daily Mashriq during the operation and 24 numbers of columns were published by the newspaper while the daily Mashriq also published 8 numbers of editorials about the issue to show their policy about the Military Operation in Swat.

While examining the overall coverage of daily Aaj it could be concluded that covered 225(48.45%) stories which was less than the daily Mashriq, the data showed that 190 were News stories published in the newspaper mostly on the front and back page, total 13 features were published by the newspaper, the columnist also wrote about the issue in daily Aaj during the operation and 16 numbers of columns were published by the newspaper while the daily Aaj also published 6 numbers of editorials about the issue to show their policy about the Military Operation in Swat.

Table 5

Over all coverage

Total Stories Covered By both the Regional Newspapers N = 485			
Mashriq	250(51.54%)		
Aaj	235(48.45%)		
Frame	Pak Army as Friend	Militant as Foe	
	424 (87.42%)	61 (12.577%)	
Slant	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
	339 (69.89%)	80 (16.49%)	66 (13.608%)

Note: Chi Square for Frame = 271.689^a P=.000, Mean = 378.34 STD div = 120.93
 Chi square for slant = 271.689^a P= .000, Mean = 306.42 STD div = 85.971

From the above result which showed overall view of the coverage to the operation in Swat, it is examined that the coverage given by the regional newspapers to the Military operation against the Militants is Positive and both the Newspapers framed 87.42% the Pakistanis Army and as friend and 12.57% coverage given to the militants and framed the Militants as foe. The Slant of the News coverage is 69.89% favorable to Pakistan Army and 80 (16.49%) unfavorable to the militants. Hence the entire three Hypotheses are accepted.

The above table shows the overall coverage given to the Swat Military operation by the regional Newspapers. The study examined that total 485 different types of stories are covered by the both the regional newspapers, the coverage showed that both the regional newspapers framed the Pakistan Army as friend to the society and of the people of Pakistan and Swat while framed militants as foe and threat to the society and to the people of the region, 424 (87.42%) stories were in favor of the Military operation and Pak Army while only 61(12.57%) stories were against the Military operation in Swat. The Study showed that Military operation was a cry of the people of that region.

The data collected through content analysis method examined that Militants were against the society and the inhabitation of that area.

The theme of the stories examined by the content analysis method that the Military operation against the Militants reported favorable as 339(69.89%) stories were in favor of operation and 80 (16.49%) were unfavorable while 66 (13.608%) stories were reported neutral.

The variable “Topic” covered by both the newspapers daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj was as following.

Table 6

Topic coverage

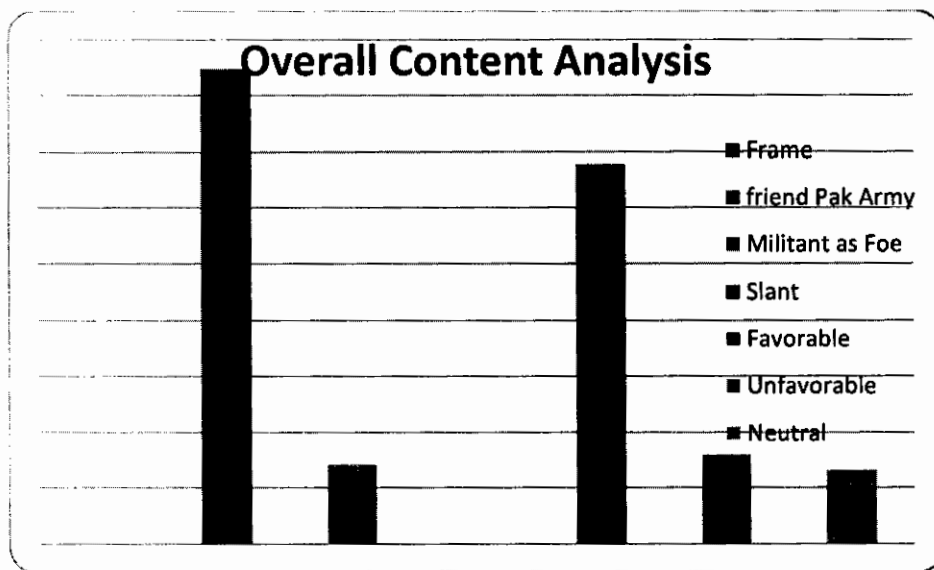
Variables	MashriqAaj	
No of Stories	250(51.54%)	235 (48.45%)
Topics		
Military operation	20 (8%)	40(17.02%)
Militants attacks	29(11.6%)	45(19.14%)
Shaheed, Halak, Janbahaq/ Maraygai	12 (4.8%)	22(9.66%)
Amman Lashkar	17(6.8%)	12(5.33%)
Curfew	19(7.6%)	30(13.33%)
MussalahGashth by militants	25(10%)	45(20%)
Control Sambhalna	10(4%)	7(3.11%)
Food and Medicine	4(1.6%)	6(2.66%)

Note: Aaj: Chi Square = 27.294^a, P = .000, Mean = 20.41, STD Div = 6.619

Mashriq: Chi Square = 175.565^a P = .000 Mean = 35.09, STD Div = 12.336

While the analysis of the Frame and Slant variables were as following.

Figure 2



The overall coverage showed that Daily Mashriq has been more periodic and thematic while the Daily Aaj adopted the systematic approach to address the issue of Military operation during the period of operation. The Mashriq published an editorial mostly on every major events of the operation. The Daily Aaj published more columns to adopt a neutral point of view about the issue than the Daily Mashriq.

The coverage examined that the topic of Militants attacks on the public places and on the Pak army by the Militants/Taliban was covered more i.e. 74(15.5%) in the news coverage by both the Newspapers. The Mashriq published 29(11.6%) the Militants attacks and committed upon the terroristic activities like killing the local people, stopping the female from the schools and

forcing the them to stay in home and don't went to the markets and bazaar, targeting the Pak Army, Bomb blasting on the civilians, kidnapping and harassments of female.

The Mashriq also covered the Militants terroristic activity of a young girl flogging in the front of people (Mashriq, 4 April 2009). The Daily Aaj also covered that terroristic activity of Militants after a day from Daily Mashriq (Aaj, 5 April 2009).

The event attracted the huge attention on national and across the world as well which showed the hostile and terroristic mind of the Taliban and got the Government's attention toward the anti state/terroristic activities of TTP of Swat.

On the other hand Daily Aaj gave 45(19.14%) coverage to the militant's terroristic activities in Swat; it showed the activities of Taliban in an antagonistic and anti society manner. The overall slant or tone of the text/ language of the stories regarding this Military operation against Militants in Swat were anti Militants and showed that the Militants were the anti society and anti state the slant and frame also showed that the Taliban/ Militants were anti government and not the friend of the society. The Published stories in both the Newspaper were right against the Taliban and were in the favor of Military operation in Swat.

The Military operation of the Pak Army in Swat against the Militants were covered by both the newspaper with smart details in the total stories of 485, and the topic Military operation were covered in details i.e. Daily Mashriq published 20 (8%) while Daily Aaj covered the said topic 40(17.77%) and both the newspaper support the action of Pak Army against the Taliban/Militants. The Aaj also showed some doubt about the casualties of civilians in the operation, due to the flow of news from the ISPR side.

The Amman Lashkar made by the civil people of Swat against the Militants were also sufficiently covered by both the regional newspapers as Daily Mashriq discuss 17(6.8%) times and Daily Aaj 12(5.33%) covered and supported the Amman Lashkar and the action of it.

Both the regional newspapers slant and frame were in favor of Amman Lashkar and the text of the Newspapers showed that the Amman Lashkar was the need of the time and it was in the favor of the society.

The Curfew imposed by the Army was neutrally covered by both the Newspapers. The text of the stories Published by the Daily Mashriq 19 (7.6%), showed that the Curfew were in the favor of the society but it also created some problems for the people as they were escaped from the Swat and the people have to bring foods and other needs for living as the curfew were imposed for long time during the operation. The daily Aaj also adopted neutral slant about the curfew and covered 30(13.33%).

The Daily Mashriq published the word Shaheed/Janbahaq for the Pak Army soldiers and covered 12 (4.8%) the topic and used the word Maraygai (Neutral) for Militants. The theme of the stories published by the Daily Mashriq was neutral for this topic and used the word Maraygai for the Militants. The theme or crux of the text/language published 22(9.66%) by the Daily Aaj was also showed graveness for the Pak Army soldiers and used the word Shaheed but the Daily Aaj also adopted neutral approach to the militants and used the word/text Maraygai.

The topic MussalahGashth by militants were covered by the Daily Mashriq 25(10%) and portrayed it against the people of the region and fully criticized the MussalahGashth by militants, the Daily Aaj also not supported and covered the topic 45(20%) the Aaj also condemned the

MussalahGashth by militants while both the newspaper supported the MussalahGashth by Pak Army in swat and showed it as in favor of the society.

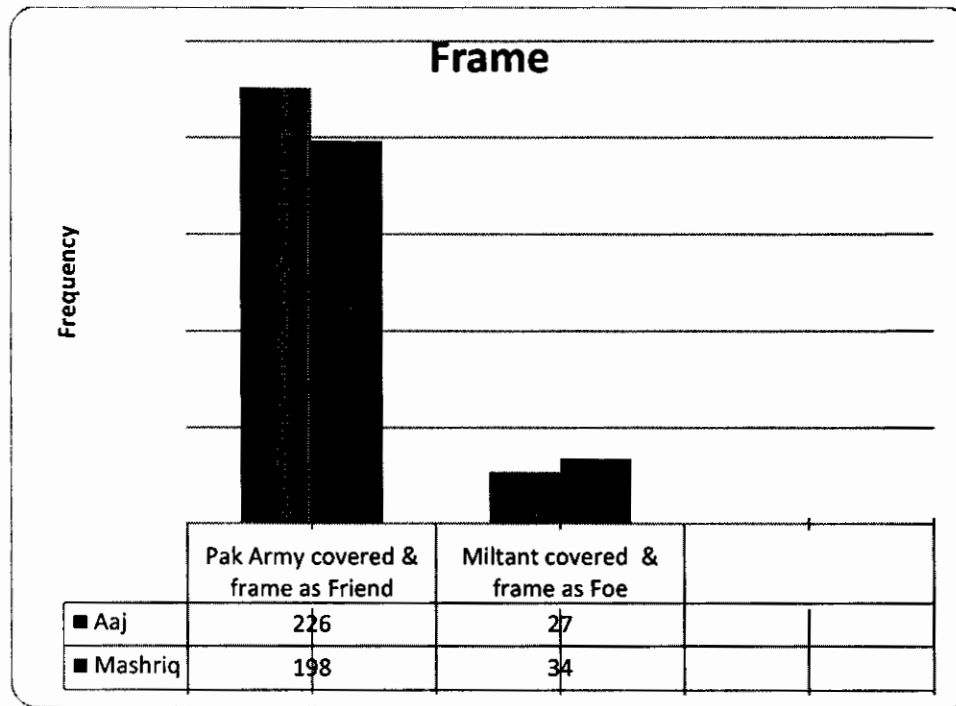
During the operation both the newspapers published the topics Control Sambhalna and food/medicines were covered frequently and adopted the approach that when the control Sambhalna and food/ medicines were related to the Pak Army it were portrayed favorable/positively while if that were from the Militants side that were not got the favor of both the newspapers.

Both the regional Newspapers published various facets of the Militancy in Swat and published supported stance to the Military operation.

Framing of Pak Army and Militant/Taliban

Analyzing the content of both the Newspapers frame the militant/Taliban completely negative and give less coverage by both the newspapers. Total 485 stories were covered by both the newspapers during the operation and 61 (12.577%) covered the Militants and portrayed negatively or framed as foe. While Pak Army have given more coverage of 424 (87.42%) and frame as friend and portrayed as predominantly positive.

Figure 3



Both the regional newspapers covered the major events and actions of Militants/ Taliban likes flogging the girl in public place, killing the people and threw the dead body on the road, while gave no place to the Militants claimed of killing the soldiers and police personals in the papers.

Test of Hypotheses

H: 1 Both the newspapers portray the military operation as positive.

After analyzing the content of both the newspapers it was examined that both the regional newspaper i.e. Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj portrayed the military operation as Positive, both the news highlighted the military operation in the favor of society and showed that militants/Taliban

were against the society and interest of Pakistan, the highlighted the activities of militants likes killing the people and then threw the dead bodies on the roads with a letter accepting the brutalities and kidnapping the young girls.

H: 2 Coverage of both the newspapers cover and frame the militants as foe and Pak Army as Friend.

The content analysis of the newspapers showed that both the regional newspapers covered more the Pak Army and framed as Friend as 485 stories were covered discussing the military operation in Swat in which 424 (87.42%) stories covered the Pak Army and Framed as Friend. While 61(12.57%) covered the Militants and framed them as Foe.

H: 3 Slant in the coverage of both the newspapers favorable toward the Pakistan Army and unfavorable to the militants.

The content analysis of both the regional newspapers endeavored that the 339 (69.89%)Pak Army framed as favorable and portrayed 80 (16.49%) the militants as unfavorable. Both the regional newspapers gave more coverage to the Pak Army and highlighted the action taken for the safety and survival of the society. They also highlighted the militant brutality and pictured them as a threat to the society.

Hence the entire three Hypotheses are accepted.

Chapter No 5

Discussion and conclusion

The acceptance of Hypotheses and the result of research questions has showed that the coverage given by the regional Newspapers i.e. Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to the Swat Military operation against Militants as positive/favorable analyzing the content of the Newspapers. This study has analyzed the coverage of four months of the Military operation i.e. May 2009 to August 2009 in the regional newspapers Daily Mashriq and Daily Aaj Peshawar.

Analyzing the content of both the regional newspapers showed that they frame the Pak Army as friend and the Militants/ Taliban as foe, total 485 stories were covered discussing the 2009 Military operation in Swat in which 424(87.42%) stories covered and frame the Pak Army as friend while the 61(12.57%) stories covered the Militants and frame as foe to the society. Both the regional newspapers portrayed the action taken by the Pak Army in the favor of the society and highlighted the sacrifices and struggles of the soldiers. They showed that the Militants challenged the writ of the Government and create their own kingdom rejecting the constitution of Pakistan, continued the brutality on the people of Swat. The overall coverage showed that Militants were not in favor of people of Swat and Pakistan.

The Militants blown up the school, female shopping Markets, Governments and civil buildings even they made suicides attacked in the Masques while discussing the background of Militancy in Swat. They created the fears in the hearts of people of the area and all the people accepted the illegal demands due to that fears. The regional newspapers published that Militants stopped the females not to go out from the home and stopped the girls from the schools claimed that it is

opposite to the Islam. They also covered the flogging of a girl by the militants openly and published the anti state activities and act of the Militants and portrayed the Militants threats to the society. They published that the Militants did all these with the name of Islam.

The study also showed that both the newspapers gave mostly front page and lead coverage which showed that press were very focused on the issue of militancy and operation while examining the contents of the newspapers. Features, columns and editorials were randomly published in both the newspapers to give investigative and explorative view of the issue to the people of the area about the Military operation in the Swat. The opinions published in the both the newspapers were also favorable to the Military and showed that Militants were foe to the society.

The study supports the “Social Responsibility Theory” (1956) that the media should play a responsible role in the conflicts and disaster situations. In the said conflict the media play a responsible role and portrayed the Militants as anti state and against the interest of Pakistan, and Pictured the Pak Army in the interest of state.

This study also supports the “Agenda Setting theory” (1972) the way Government most likely tried to set the agenda of the people and the world that Militants were against the State and also set the agenda about the peace agreement with the militants that Government want peace in the region. The media also set the agenda of the Government address immediately the issue of militancy in swat by portraying continuing and increasing brutal activities of the militants. The editorial of both the newspapers undertook the role of “Gate Keepers” to grant salience to this most important issue being faced by the country during the period and thus forcing government and people to counter it. The research endeavor that the regional newspapers framed the swat issue in a way to forward its importance and limit the non basics also point out those aspects

which were considered to be significant for the region and for the country as a whole. The columns, letter to the editor were the feedback for the editorial to modifying the frames which were available in very large quantity due to the development of media and social media in particular.

In the coverage of Swat operation against the militants there were some doubts raised during the operation because of no access to the spot or battle field, but both the newspapers tried to overcome that and the adopted the policy that to got the news from two to three different sources and from ISPR as well. Both the regional newspapers relied on the western media as well for some instant to get the optimum objectivity. But as the regional newspaper have large sources than the western media the covered all the stories from their local government and private sources.

The regional newspapers published the features about the issue frequently and showed the reasons, causes, outcomes and consequences of the conflicts. To give the full profile of the conflict different thoughts were discussed in these features.

The features discussed the conflict as the most important issue of the history for the sovereignty of the country and adopted the approached that the Militants must be finished for the survival of the country and showed serious concern that if the Pak Army could not smashed the militants Swat and Pakistan will be in trouble. Some writers said in the features that we, as a nation are writing the history while fighting the war on terror in Swat like fight of Independence War of 1957.

Gramsci (1971), Wittgenstein (1958), said about the media role while in conflict and war situation that direct access to the spot of the event is not possible they concluded that different

type of approaches were adopted by the media organization so we have to understand the world in the mediated realities.

The researchers concluded that media around the world generally recommended the peace or reconciliation and played a responsible role to show the solution of the issues adopted the multi featured approaches. While in Pakistani media play the role of war journalism more than the peace journalism and adopted the approach of focusing the war than the peace. As in Swat the issue has been resolved and the militants are eliminated but in Pakistan we have some areas especially in tribal areas (FATA) the issue of militancy. The media should adopt the policy of reconciliation at every time for the interested of Pakistan.

The research also showed that both the newspapers gave 66 (13.608%) neutral coverage to the 2009 operation against the militants in Swat. It concluded that both the regional newspapers adopt a neutral approach toward some issues in military operation. The extra judicial killing, collateral damages and the killing of innocent people during the operation were covered neutrally. The curfew imposed by the Pak Army to handle the crisis situation during the operation as it is a factor used in the war time were covered and portrayed as neutral because there were difficulties faced by the local people in the time of leaving the area as about 2.9 million people were IDPs from the Swat. The curfew also creates problems for the people to get utilities for the survival during the operation as sometimes the curfew was imposed for a long time.

The study also adopts neutral approach toward the IDPs as about 2.9 million people were displaced during the conflict both the regional newspapers covered neutrally because they published that it was the most important time for the sovereignty of Pakistan and the people must

face the problems for the survival of Pakistan as it was the war in the interest of state.. The regional newspapers published several columns and editorial about the IDPs displacement discussing their problems but covered it as neutral. They also criticized on the Government for not giving full facilities to IDPs.

This research create an opportunities to highlight the issues facing by the media men in reporting the conflicts or crises situations. The study was an effort to point out several areas for further studies and point out some solutions about the issues to the reporter in the crises situation or conflict situations as well.

Recommendations and Suggestions

The process of communication is an ongoing process which cannot be stopped, as we know that salience is also a communication. The content of the media is directly or indirectly connected to the feedback from the society because communication does not happen in the vacuum (McQuail, 2002).

The coverage of Swat military operation using the method of content analysis can further be research through other methods of research i.e. Survey or audience perception analysis. On the other hand coverage can be seen in the national newspaper or English media using the methods of content analysis or Survey analysis. It can be researched in the electronic media like News channels or radio channels.

Some suggestions are discussed as following while reporting the crisis or conflicts situation.

Local media can play an important function while reporting of conflicts.

- a. Journalists in the region should matter when the conflict-oriented event in the foreign press is truly right for them in their reporting of conflict.
- b. There is a burning need to conduct training programs that not only teach, but also develop skills of journalists in local areas.
- c. A short time of replacing program of journalists working in urban media exchange positions with the journalists of local media to provide understanding of each other, professional practices.
- d. Media coverage on crisis situations may provide different understandings of the world of journalism education, which promotes alternative methods of negotiation and teamwork.
- e. Journalists frequently pay no attention to people at the community level. Whose can bring many different points of view and these perspectives will lead balance in the stories.
- f. Local peoples should use the media to participate in developments, reconciliation and peace building.
- g. Concluding the suggestions I can say that a powerful, independent local media journalist is essential in peace building for the region.

Implications

The study has authenticated the framing theory through the method of content analysis it can be restudy by the method of Survey research or audience perception analysis on militancy and

extremism. This study has submitted some suggestions for the reporter or journalist while reporting the conflict zone or crisis situation.

This study have a detailed background of militancy and in Pakistan how the media portrayed the militants and how they covered it, the research also give number of references and studies on the conflicts faced by different countries and how the government tackled that and how the media frame and portrayed them. So this can be helpful for the further study on the issue of militancy in Swat.

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