

**Op-Ed Coverage of TTP: A Comparative Analysis of *Jang & Dawn***

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my parents and sisters who taught me to trust on ALLAH and who supported and encouraged me to believe in myself.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praises to Almighty ALLAH, who has blessed and guided me so that I am able to accomplish this thesis.

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## **Abstract**

*The study aims to analyze the portrayal of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in leading Urdu and English dailies of Pakistan (Jang&Dawn). Through content analysis of the editorials, sub-editorials, columns, articles and letters to editor involving issues related to TTP, farming of coverage, and slant as being favorable, unfavorable and neutral were studied. Chi-Square test for data analysis was used for correct finding of results. The study after its completion provided a clear picture of the way Pakistani media portrays Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and sets agenda for Pakistani society. It would guide and help future research projects and provided a guideline for media organizations to analyze their standing as being the gate-keepers of Pakistani society.*

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Talibanization in Pakistan

Talibanization is an obscurantist ideology aiming at capturing power through violent means for reconstruction of State and society in the name of Islam. Violence and fear are major tactics to further this cause. The whole idea is wrapped in the Islamic concept of Jihad tailor made with the Pashtun and Arab tribal traditions. Madaris (Seminaries) by providing intellectual base and battleground fodder are at the core of movement though Muslim intelligentsia at large denounces such interpretation of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

Term Taliban is used in Pashto for the students of religious school or institution. It is pertinent to note that Taliban movement is controlled by followers of Deobandi sect if not limited to it. Deobandi – the term refers to a 19th century revivalist campaign within Hanafi Sunni Islam with the intention of preserving Islam and withstanding the occupation by the British. It comprises of five major principles including Toheed, Sunnah, Ittiba'us Sahaabah, Taqlid wal-Ittiba and Jihad fi Sabeelillah.

The Deobandi scholars have been vigilant in refuting deviant sects and erroneous thought (*Shirk and Bidd'a*). The Deobandi movement and particularly the Dar-ul-Uloom system were established to provide structure in the areas of education and politics for the Muslims of the subcontinent. Strict obedience to Hanafi fiqh was strengthened to create religious discipline and eliminate the evils in Muslim communities. Deobandi sect makes the majority of Pashtuns in Afghanistan, Fata and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. Talibs of

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<sup>1</sup> Retrieved on December 5, 2014, from <http://www.newslinemagazine.com/2009/09/terror's-training-ground/>

Deobandi madaris in the region are predominately rural and poor. Tribal traditions, vagaries of cold war and deprivation of worldly studies or religious discipline contribute in their strict and extreme interpretation of Islam and formed a peculiar world view. In the 80's these century old Islamic institutions were introduced to militarization in the wake of Afghan Jihad. Heavy funding from the gulf Arab states draws their version of Islam close to Wahabism. They had no political program at hand and relied on foreign fighters mostly Arabs from Al-Qaeda for intellectual input. Though they preached Shariah but there were no coherent writings on Shariah from Taliban leaders. There were different groups of clerics dominating their respective areas without common set of objectives or political philosophy. They were clueless what type of nation they want to bring in to existence by executing their specific Shariah.

In the mid 90's Sufi Muhammad started a violent movement in Malakand region to establish then and there justice system locally.<sup>2</sup> His son in law Fazlullah famed Mullah Radio resumed it in post 9/11. There was no scholarly work presented except various edicts and orders relayed on radio to promote virtue and abolish vice. He captured Swat in 2008 before taken to task in 2009 and he fled to Afghanistan. Currently he is the Amir of TTP. Similarly seven agencies of Fata were controlled by their respective clerics. Lal masjid brothers in the heart of Islamabad also tried their own version of Amr Bil Maroof Wa Nahi Anil Munkar (the promotion of morality and eradication of immorality). First Baituluh Mehsud and later Hakeemulah Mehsud turned Waziristan into their fiefdom termed as Islamic state of Waziristan. Commonalities they had are harassing the population with violence, sectarianism, harboring criminals, providing sanctuaries to national/international terrorists.

In the mainland Pakistan Talibanization takes a different shape. . But there is no denying the fact even if Madaris were not linked to militancy directly; they helped provide an

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<sup>2</sup> Retrieved on December 5, 2014, from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/asia/2009/02/2009216111023410105.html>

environment sympathetic to the Taliban mindset. People of other religions and even from other sects are portrayed as infidel and threat to the religion. This breeds intolerance. Brutal killing of Christian couple in Kasur is most recent example.<sup>3</sup> Similarly mass executions of religious minorities had taken in many areas of the country in recent times. Another manifestation of Talibanization in the country is sectarian violence. Groups involved in sectarian violence have direct links with the militants operating in the FATA. According to HRCP (Human rights commission of Pakistan) 687 people have been killed in more than 200 sectarian attacks in 2013 alone, a rise of 22 per cent on 2012, while 1,319 people were injured, a 46 per cent rise on 2012. In big urban centers like Karachi and Lahore criminals linked with Taliban are involved in extortion and kidnapping for ransom to finance their war against the state.

## **1.2 Historical Background**

Taliban movement in Pakistan has its inspiration in Afghan Taliban model. Growing incidents of religious extremism, fundamentalism and sectarianism, are manifestation of Talibanization as it occurred in Afghanistan. The Pakistani State itself is responsible for the mess in which it finds today viz-a-viz Talibanization. Religious parties and deeni madaris provide breeding grounds to religious fanaticism. To understand Taliban phenomenon we have to look back to 1979, when the Soviet Union captured Afghanistan. It was the time when General Zia ul Haq had overthrown the democratic government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in military coup after a mass movement of religious parties for Nizam-i-Mustafa (Shariah Law). American Bloc, for their own interests supported the war of Afghan freedom fighters against Soviet forces. Pakistan was mired in domestic problems after the execution of former Prime Minister Bhutto. There was an intense pressure to restore democracy both internally and externally. At that time General Zia tried to attain political advantages out of it. He

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<sup>3</sup>Retrieved on December 5, 2014, from <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=255727>

decided to go with the American plan to ease international pressure and started an Islamisation drive to legitimize his government on domestic front. The support of religious right was crucial to gain this objective. The Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) was the first one to jump on the bandwagon. JI had already found Zia as ideologue to turn Pakistan as theocratic state when he took over in 1977<sup>4</sup>. Pakistan under the leadership of Zia extended support to the Afghan Mujahideen. Prominent leader among Mujahideen was Gulbadin Hikmatyar of Hizb-i-Islami who was in Pakistan since early 70's. JI also had an ideological bind with him. For Gulbadin it was opportunity to claim Afghan leadership whereas Zia-ul-Haq, found a good chance to set up a friendly government in Kabul to have strategic depth against archrival India and work for the development of an Islamic wing extending from Pakistan to Central Asia. This was the beginning of Afghan Jihad. JI and religious seminaries were used to market this idea of military regime.

In Pakistan, Akora Khattak, (KP), the Jaamia Darul-Uloom-Haqqania was one of the major seminaries to assume this holy task which is run by Maulana Sami-ul-Haq of Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam, JUI (S), and Later on Sami ul Haq established hundreds of new madaris across the country to flex his religious and political muscles), another madrassa of the JUI (S) is Jamiat-ul-Uloom-ul-Islam, situated in Binori Town (Karachi Similarly a good number of madaris are run by Molana Fazal ul Rehman JUIF in different areas of KP and Baluchistan. In addition there are a large number of madaris situated in different parts of the country which are run by different people or groups. These madaris have student clientele from Afghanistan; Central Asia, Middle East and other parts of the world. Molana Sami ulHaq proudly call him Father of Taliban. After Soviet occupation a large number of madaris shifted from Afghanistan to FATA and other areas of KP. Famous Haqqani network drives it strength from these very madaris. Saudi funding was there in abundance to establish such

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<sup>4</sup> Retrieved on December 7, 2014, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1038961>

madaris and Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan to prepare and train foot soldiers for Afghan Jihad. Generous funding in the name of Jihad from Muslim countries followed in by an increased growth of madaris. For displaced Afghans and poverty stricken populace of Fata and KP it was perfect refuge in these madaris which not only provide food and shelter but impart military training as well. According to an estimate, there were less than 2000 madaris in Pakistan in 1979; the number stands around 24000 registered madaris today along with many other unregistered. These madaris have deep sectarian and political divide among them. Gun culture and militancy brought in through Afghan jihad had its impact on the society. Space captured by these madaris and religious parties was the domain of civil society otherwise. Sectarian harmony was the first causality post 1979.

Taliban captured Kabul in 1996 which inspired produce of Jihad industry to emulate the same model in Pakistan. Local Taliban started their activities in FATA and adjoining districts of KP. They banned VCR, burned CD shops and killed barbers who used to shave beards. State turned blind eyes towards them for larger objective of strategic depth and tried to co-habitat with them. FATA comprises of seven agencies namely Mohmand, Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, Bajaur, North Waziristan and South Waziristan. There are six frontier regions addition to it. From Bajaur to South Waziristan region stretches about 230 kilometers where these forces had a virtual control. After the fall of Taliban in Kabul in 2001, these forces come in direct confrontation with state of Pakistan for supporting ISAF forces in Pakistan.

The Pakistani military has launched many military operations against Taliban and Al-Qaida terrorists who took sanctuary in this area. The first major operation conducted by Pakistan military against Taliban was Operation Al-Mizan from 2002-2006 in South Waziristan. Gravity of the situation can be gauged by the fact that over 300 officers and men reportedly face disciplinary action for refusing to take up arms against fellow Muslims. This shows the strength of Taliban narrative in the beginning. State of Pakistan then entered into a pact with

militants which they violated at will. Subsequently in 2007 thirteen major Taliban group formed an umbrella organization called Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. The main purposes of TTP are refusal of Pakistani state, imposition of Shariah and a strategy to be united against NATO-led forces in Afghanistan. So far ten major military operations have been launched against Taliban. It includes Operation Al-Mizan in SWA (2002-2006), Operation Rah e Haq in Swat (2007), Operation Zalzala in SWA (2008), Operation Black Thunderstorm in Buner- Dir (2009), Operation Raah-e-Raast in Swat (2009), Operation Sher Dil in Bajaur (2008- 09), Operation Rah-e-Nijat in SWA (2009), Operation Koh-e- Safaid in Kurram (2011), Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem in Khyber (2014) and Operation Zarb-e-Azb (2014).<sup>5</sup> Operations in NWA and Khyber are underway. These operations has forced Taliban fled Afghanistan though ideology remains to be defeated.

Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM) was another movement in the Malakand Division headed by Sufi Mohammad; it gave a tough time to the Governments since 1995. The objective of the organization was the imposition of Shariah in the division. The Frontier Corps were deployed to retake the control of the area. With the increase pressure from this organization The Shariah courts were established in the Malakand Division by the Government in 1995-6, Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e- Mohammadi (TNSM) reemerged in 2002 under new leader Mullah Fazlullah. He ran an FM radio to preach his ideology in the beginning. Gradually enhanced it influence in the area by opposing anti-polio drive and formed a parallel justice system. He captured Swat in 2007 and affiliated it movement with TTP. He fled Afghanistan in 2009 after a successful military operation. Currently he heads TTP after the killing of Hakeemullah Mehsud.

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<sup>5</sup> Retrieved on December 7, 2014, from <http://defence.pk/threads/comparing-pakistan%E2%80%99s-past-military-operations-with-operation-zarb-e-azb-pkkh-tv.328771/>



Influence of Talibanization was so lethal that political parties opposing insurgents in the tribal area were routed in the election 2013. Political parties in favor of negotiations with them resume power in three of four provinces. Parliament termed these elements an important stake holder and religious parties along with rightist leaning opinion makers in the media termed their struggle for the enforcement of Shariah. Whereas political parties on the right of centre gave American presence and drone strikes as reason behind their militancy. Almost a year was lost before the launch of current operation Zarb-e-Azb in their stronghold NWA. This period was used by these elements to regroup and relocate their resources to preserve their militant muscles for the long run. Taliban entire leadership is fled in Afghanistan. Peshawar school incident where 131 school children were butchered by Taliban in the name of Islam brought Nation to a consensus against them. National Action Plan (NAP) ensued the incidents. NAP has twenty points including the establishment of military courts, madaris reforms and challenging their narrative. As the time goes by religious parties have started campaigning against NAP for being anti madaris and anti Islamist.

If Talibanization is a final product, it has following ingredients and process of manufacture.

- Islamisation drive of Zia ulHaq in collaboration with religious forces
- Influence of religious forces in the decision making in military regime of Zia ul Haq.
- Militarization of society courtesy Afghan Jihad which promoted intolerance.
- Men and material provided by international community to the seminaries with the purpose to wage jihad against USSR.
- Ban on democratic forces and encouraging religious forces to capture political space in the name of religion and pan Islamism.
- State policy to use proxies as foreign policy tools.
- Ill found idea of strategic depth in Afghanistan and beyond.

- Changes in curriculum to inculcate a mindset pliant to the narrative of radical forces.
- State failure to socio economic uplift of the marginalized section of society.
- State co-existence with private militia in violation of article 256 of the constitution which states, “No private organization capable of functioning as a military organization shall be formed, and any such organization shall be illegal.”

### **1.3 Talibanization and Media**

There is an old saying, “The Pen is mightier than the sword”. Role of media as mover and shaker of public opinion is beyond any question. For or against terrorism is essentially a battle for hearts and mind. Mass media is the main tool to sell this narrative. Media more often than not grapple with stark choices when it comes to the issue of terrorism or extremism. On one hand there are all the more publicity hungry terrorists and its own commercial hunger for sensational news at the other. Coverage of suicide bombing, sabotage and other terrorist activities are often debated viz-a-viz national interest.

When it comes to Talibanization, successive governments have been urging media to be cognizant of the situation. They demands to play up the successes of the security forces and play down its setbacks in national interest. The objective reporting of the news without contributing to violence or promoting narrative of extremism is an ongoing challenge for the Pakistan media. By and large Pakistani media has been divided over the issue until recently.

Issue of Talibanization has been the fodder of debate between so called rightists and liberal fascist. These wrangling have revealed failures of the media on many levels. English media in general have been portraying Taliban as threat to national security and democracy whereas powerful voices of Urdu media have been helping their narrative. The focus of media has always been on breaking news than on detailed analysis. Until recently, Urdu media has been downplaying the emergence of Taliban and other extremist elements as direct threat to

security. Before the launch of the military operation (Zarb-e-Azb) in NWA, Major newspaper reports and talk shows were resisting military action and justifying the unconstitutional demands of the Taliban when they had completely ended the writ of the state in FATA. At that time many media voices were of the opinion of reaching an agreement with the Taliban or surrendering more area to them.

Before Swat operation in 2009, a senior reporter working for a leading media group supported the torture of the girl in Swat. He said in a live program that the punishment conformed to Islamic injunctions. He slammed those who referred to the incident as barbaric. Same journalist turned analysts condemn the arrest of Hizb-i-Tehrir activist in Islamabad in 2009.

Some of the popular spin given by these Taliban apologists is:

Shift the focus away from Taliban atrocities and reminding us the excesses of west in the name of war against terror. Pakistan decision to join the war is given as reason rather justification of the crimes and emphasis is placed to get out of global war against terrorism.

Another spin giver in favor of Talibanization is condemning the incident not the perpetrators. Following Peshawar incident, no religious and right leaning political parties name the Taliban to condemn the attacks. They used to say “whosoever” committed the crime is condemnable even if Taliban take responsibility for it. Involvement of foreign hand or an external dimension of terrorism is coined soon after a terrorist incident thus absolving Taliban of their crimes. Spin like a Muslim cannot kill fellow Muslim, these are definitely agents of RAW, Mossad and Black Water as is obvious from the body found in a terrorist attack in Peshawar with a tattoo. How can a true Pakistani Muslim have tattoos on the body? Similarly terrorist gunned down in Swat were not circumcised.

On the other extreme there are elements, termed as liberal fascist by religious elements, who demand to ban any type of religious expression to curb militancy thereby agonizing commoner religious person sitting on the fringes. There could be lot of criticism on media given its role viz-a-viz talibanization. But media has always been a soft target of state and militants alike.

Many newspapers in their reports write “militants” instead of “terrorists” and avoid mentioning the terrorist organizations by their name by only using the term “a banned organization. Many media experts says that Pakistani media do not see the Taliban as a threat to the state or its people in spite of killing thousands of innocent people and violate the rights and protection guaranteed by the constitution of the state. Before the launch of the Army operation in Swat, innumerable newspaper reports and television talk shows were opposing military action or justifying the illegal and unconstitutional demands of the Taliban when they had effectively ended the writ of the state in Malakand division and were quite literally martyring security forces, leaders and common people . At that time, there were many voices in the media either calling for reaching an understanding or an agreement with the Taliban and surrendering more area to them, or even writing and airing positive reports, either out of fear or on the instructions of establishment. Elements in the establishment are still interested in a favorable reporting of the Taliban and other extremists.

Post Peshawar incident, national consensus against obscurantist has bolstered media to play its role independently. Though there are issues of capacity, the voices of code of ethics have gained strength from within media.

## 1.4 Problem Statement

The purpose of the study is to analyze frames given to Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in leading Urdu and English dailies of Pakistan (*Dawn&Jang*) and the extent of coverage by the selected newspapers during the selected timeline by assessing relevant contents of Editorial Page, sieved by purposive method of Sampling, through Content Analysis. Difference between extent of coverage and framing of the issue will also be measured between the selected newspapers by using Chi-square statistical test. The final data will be presented in tables and graphs to be interpreted accordingly.

## 1.5 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

1. Find out the **extent of coverage** given to the Tehreek-e-taliban Pakistan during the selected timeline in *Jang and Dawn*.
2. To explore how the newspapers **framed** the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan.
3. To find out the difference in the **extent of coverage and treatment** given to TTP by the selected newspapers.
4. To investigate the **frames and slants** given on Op-Ed pages of the selected newspapers about the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan.

## 1.6 Significance of the Study

Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan has been considered as the potential threat to country's security, and law and order. Due to suicide attacks and other terrorist activities of this outfit has put Pakistan into the worst ever socio-economic crisis in its history. This study would analyze the portrayal of TTP in leading Urdu and English newspapers of Pakistan to analyze the framing of different issues related to Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. The study after its completion would

provide a clear picture of the way Pakistani media portrays Tehreek-e-Taliban and sets agenda for Pakistani society. It would guide and help future research projects and provide a guideline for media organizations to analyze their standing as being the gate-keepers of Pakistani society.

## Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Review of the Literature

The issue of Taliban has been covered worldwide through many media outlets. Start of the war on terror after the US-led NATO invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001 at one hand demolished and destabilized large amount of the organizational power of Taliban in Afghanistan while on the other hand, it provided for regrouping of besieged Taliban and Al-Qaeda fighters in the FATA region over a period of years, spreading of extremist ideology in the northern Pakistan that later on gave rise to Tehreek-e-Taliban a joint-venture of the militant groups and local warlords.

Pakistani society is undergoing a fear of terrorism since 2007. Terrorists have attacked political leaders, tribal leaders, the military and police, Shias and schools. In many countries, clear majorities of Muslims reject violence in the name of Islam. How media frame the issue of Taliban in past and in present and how it would frame it in the future is important to understand. The news of Taliban has been covered worldwide by all media outlets.

Media cannot detach itself from the development going on across the country. The Taliban groups may have been outlawed in Pakistan but it could not stop them of getting coverage in media (Yusufzai, 2008). Print and electronic media continued giving ample space and on-air time to TTP. They carry out blasts and suicide attacks and quickly claim responsibility of such attacks in the media. TTP doesn't need any help to spread its message. Both print and electronic media blatantly promote the Taliban.

The Taliban image in Pakistani newspapers has been constructed negatively over the last few years (Malik & Iqbal, 2011). Most of the Op-Ed coverage of the major English and Urdu

newspapers portray negative and violent image of Taliban. The paper describes the editorial discourses of Dawn and The News from 1<sup>st</sup> February 2009 to 31<sup>st</sup> march 2009. The method used to investigate the discourses of TTP in both the newspapers was discourse analysis. According to the paper, The News presents the image of Taliban in national context and in more violent ways than Dawn.

The Article, “The difference between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda” states that the Taliban and Al-Qaeda are two different organizations having very different and distinct goals(Schott, 2012). The article examines how and why both groups started, their goals, operations and cultural, ethnic and geographical background.<sup>6</sup> The policy of Afghan Taliban is just to limit their fight to Afghanistan’s territory while Al-Qaeda is intended for terrorist attacks in foreign countries especially against America and its allies. Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan is also defined as a guerrilla insurgency by emphasizing on socio-political disturbances prevailing on Pakistani society and a sense of inequity prevailing in the areas where Taliban have a major influence (Siddique, 2010).

The security situation in Pakistan is worst in connection with terrorist activities across the country including attacks on military installments, target killings and suicide bombings in major cities. Since the formation of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, the law and order situation in a developing country like Pakistan has always been alarming (Sheikh, 2009). TTP claims the responsibility of all such attacks, and validates its activities as being lawful.

Today, when Pakistan has emerged as an absolute democratic state, with civilian governments in dominant control of decision-making various matters, many of the most important areas regarding security and foreign policy are still restrained by the military leadership alone. Most of times, a perception has prevailed that Pakistan’s military

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<sup>6</sup> Retrieved on October 15, 2014, from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/8170142.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8170142.stm)



establishment and the civilian government in Islamabad have not been on the same page when it comes to the question of terrorism in the country.

Presently, Pakistan faces frightening infrastructural tribulations with grave threats to already an awkward law and order situation. In terms of security there has been always a perception that if not a failed state, Pakistan can become a failed state at anytime (Panwar, 2010). With the TTP uprising in the country, a faction of them, the Punjabi Taliban prominently appeared on media screens after 2008-2009 terrorist attacks in the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi, and Lahore, the capital of Punjab province. Tribal belt of Pakistan has been a sanctuary for most of the local and foreign terrorists and their activities across the Durand Line. A few interviews in 2010 with the vigorous Taliban commanders have stated that during 2004–2006, its spy masters had actively encouraged the revival of Taliban in the region<sup>7</sup> and assisted their war struggle against the US-led NATO forces (Waldman, 2010).

It would be significant to be aware of the fact that if Taliban came in power in Afghanistan, would they afford to provide again a sanctuary to the Al-Qaeda militants in their country as they did before or not. The role of Pakistani military and ISI is also viewed as suspicious by the international community based on the facts that they showed reluctance in the past to launch military operations against various militant factions like Haqqani Network besides of the continuing demand of 'do more' by the America and its allies in the war on terrorism.

Various studies in Pakistan by the International Republican Institute (IRI) and Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) point out that the people of Pakistan support the military operations against terrorists than the peace talks. And also without public support and backing for the military operations, the crackdown against the terrorists by the Pakistan Army will stay in suspicion.

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<sup>7</sup> Retrieved on October 15, 2014, from <http://www.aljazeera.com/mitems/Documents/2010/6/13/20106138531279734lse-isi-taliban.pdf>

According to various studies,<sup>8</sup> Pakistan is the most dangerous country in the world. But during last one decade, Pakistan has also been criticized for accommodating terrorists including Al-Qaeda chief Osama Bin Laden who was killed by the US Special Forces sting operation in Abbottabad near Pakistan Military Academy. Pakistan's then President Gen. (R.) Pervez Musharraf not only supported and joined hands with U.S and NATO forces in their so-called War on Terror in Afghanistan against Taliban and Al-Qaeda, but also started to launch military operations against terrorists in FATA. He was not limited to it and also conducted an operation against Lal Masjid in Islamabad and Jamia Hafsa, a religious-education imparting school of girls adjacent to Lal Masjid, perceived to be as supportive of the terrorists. After the Lal Masjid Operation, the Pakistani Taliban appeared to be as more powerful force that challenged the writ of state. It is necessary to comprehend the connection flanked by religion, confrontation, lawlessness across the country and the political and social actions and reaction in the society during that era.

With the creation of the TTP, rifts between Pakistan and America with respect to the dealing of the Taliban had flared up, and there were grave distinction appearing between the US and the different power centers in Pakistan which could negatively affect the whole region (Rashid, 2009). These disparities manifest as the US and its allies stake a huge amount of political prestige on promptly improving law and order situation in Afghanistan and getting more collaboration from Pakistan on fighting the Taliban in both countries.

While Islamabad administration has been infuriated about the utilization of drone attacks within the country, and insisted that the Americans share the technology with them, Western diplomatic circles have always asserted that Pakistan decided to fight only those Taliban who have threatened the state, but rejecting to fight against those Taliban which are fighting in Afghanistan.”

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<sup>8</sup> Weekly *Economist* Jan 03, 2008 & Daily *Dawn* May 4, 2014

Yet 2010 saw a sudden surge in Pakistani military activity against the militants. Major targets such as Mullah Omar and Gulbuddin Hekmatyar have been still at large. Haqqani network, which is the real strength of the Taliban, has largely been active. According to (Giustozzi, 2009) this network should be viewed as a strong part from the larger insurgency inside Pakistan.

Recently the increased number of drone attacks in the FATA region damaging the capabilities of Taliban with the death of bin Laden in 2011, and unceasing killings of many major leaders of TTP and Al-Qaeda (Semple, 2011). It would be our misunderstanding to expect an end to the ongoing dispute in Afghanistan is in sight or expect a decrease in jihadist activity in FATA. Haqqani network and Taliban will never cease to fight - these pressure groups depend on the ongoing struggle, for their survival they depend on the jihad and thus have to refuse any agreement. After all, they have no reason for being if there's no war in Afghanistan.

## **2.2 Frame Themes**

### **TTP as Extremist**

Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan is perceived as Islamic extremists. Because they consider Shariah (Islamic law) to be the only truly legal form of governance and refuse democracy and human rights values.

TTP carry out blasts on schools, madressah, media, music shops and other entertainment facilities, massacre several hundred innocents and also carry out attacks on security and military personnel. They also think that non-Muslims want to harm Muslims and killing them at will is their right. They are also against television and female education. They follow an extreme Deobandi-Wahabi ideology. They have been involved in attacking liberal political

parties and other human rights activists to promote their brand of Islam on gunpoint. They even attacked and murdered prominent religious scholars who challenged their extreme ideology. Pluralism amounts to infidelity in their views.

### **TTP as Terrorists**

Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan is portrayed as terrorists because TTP is a major threat to Pakistan's national security and its territorial integrity. They are responsible for the suicide attacks in the country, killing people and spreading anarchy in the country. They have also never honored peace agreements in the past. It has been involved in kidnapping for ransom to fund their extreme agenda. It has also been involved in bank robberies and other crimes in urban centers especially Karachi.

### **TTP as Friends**

Old obsession of Pakistan establishment, the strategic depth in Afghanistan, TTP have been helpful in accommodating and furthering the cause of Afghan Taliban by providing sanctuaries and foot soldiers for the war against anti-Pakistan elements in Afghanistan. Some countries of the regions have been alleging Pakistan for using non state actors as foreign policy tools.

### **TTP as Global Threat**

Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan considers themselves as Jihadists without honoring the territorial integrity of the nation states. They have pan Islamic agenda. They have been harboring jihadists from across the globe. Jihadists from China, Central Asia, Europe, sub-Sahara, Middle East and as far as America are attracted to the regions under their control to further the global cause of Al-Qaida. Khorasan ideology is at the core of their pan Islamic mission. Khorasan is the historic name used by militants for an area covering, Pakistan, Afghanistan

and some parts of India. They narrate a hadith in the favor of their ideology. Al-Qaeda and Taliban believe that the movement for the establishment of Islamic state of Khorasan will emerge from the region comprising the Kunar and Nuristan provinces of Afghanistan and Malakand region of Pakistan. They consider Khorasan as base camp of international jihad from where they will be expanding the Islamic state into other non-Muslim lands. Surname of Khorasan is common among militants.

### **TTP as Sectarian**

Anti-Shia militants provide an organized network to TTP across Pakistan. Sunni extremist militant groups linked to Taliban and Al-Qaeda terrorist groups are involved in attacks on Shia communities. TTP attack Shia scholars, Pilgrims, Imam bargahs and processions of Shias.

### **TTP as Anti-State**

TTP violates state sovereignty and security. They openly challenge the writ of state. They attack on defense institutions and installations of the state. TTP actually want to take over Pakistan by interfering in the internal affairs of the government. TTP threaten government for its alleged support to US in the region.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

The study is based on the framing theory of mass communication. After 9/11, the media reported extensively about extremism, fundamentalism and terrorism. This changed the opinion of people regarding different Jihadi movements. This also resulted in defamation of Islam.

Mass media are the means through which information is disseminated to a larger number of audiences. Media can play a key role in constructing and changing people's opinion towards society and politics. In communication, framing explains that how news media can influence mass opinion by utilizing particular frames. Framing has been defined differently by various scholars. Goffman (1986) was the first to define the framing theory. According to him people understand what is going on around them through their primary framework. This framework influences the choices people make about how to process that information.

Framing is a process which helps people in developing particular understanding and perception of an issue or rebuilds their thoughts regarding that issue. We see the world as media frames it for us and believes what reporters bring for us. A number of studies have been conducted on how media frames different events and personalities. Media make and unmake the events. Gitlin (1980) says in his book that mass communication is mobile spotlights, not passive mirrors of the society, perception is the instrument of their action. Any news story assumes a certain frame and rejects material that is contradictory.

In communication there can be positive or negative Framing. It depends on how the information is presented. Frame building refers to mechanisms that deal with message building and not with media effects. But there are various interests of different groups, policymakers and journalists who have their impacts in framing various contents. Entman (1993) referred framing as "a scattered conceptualization." According to Gamson et al. (1989), Media discourse is part of a procedure by which people build meaning, and public views are part of the process through which reporters construct and crystallize meaning in individuals discourse.

Any information travels from one step the other and from one source to the other. From the originator of information to publisher, the content goes through many changes. As it was

according to Taliban who claim that media is biased and represent them in very negative frames. The Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) advised the government to make an ordinance to regulate the media from publishing or broadcasting any statement of the Taliban.<sup>9</sup>

The current study will examine that how the newspapers of the study differ in coverage, slant and news frames of the issue of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and how alternative but both mainstream newspapers portray similar event.

## **2.4 Types of Frames**

There are various types of media frames which journalists employ in coverage of any issue. Episodic frame explains an issue by presenting specific example or report (for e.g. poverty by presenting a story on the plight of a particular poor child). On the other hand, thematic frame presents an issue in broader context; the issues which affect the whole society context (e.g., covering illiteracy by reporting on the latest illiteracy figure and offering commentary by educationists or public officials on the impact of illiteracy on society). These are the ways of telling the readers about the issue and make them understandable. Gamson et al. (1992) defines such frames as a lens by which people receive and see the images of the surrounding world. The current study focuses on the frames that are specific to the issue of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. These frames may be employed by the journalists in coverage of any sort of issue.

For current study content analysis will categorically highlight the coverage of selected issue and will measure it accordingly. First is the episodic frame, such as events like blasts by TTP, suicide attacks and kidnappings will be measured. Selected frames will be placed according to themes; i-e in all such attacks how TTP was perceived (TTP as Extremist, TTP as global

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<sup>9</sup> Retrieved on October 28, 2013, from <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-233762-MQM-suggests-media-ban-on-Taliban-statements>

threat, TTP as terrorist, TTP as friends, TTP as backer of sectarianism & TTP as violator of state sovereign). Secondly thematic frames will be measured by writing which will include overall impact of TTP activities on society. Such as the notation of TTP as global threat will be explained and then how it will be perceived. The impacts of these events on society will also be assessed. For example, when in September 22, 2013 two suicide bombers blew themselves up outside All Saints Church in Peshawar when people were leaving the church after Sunday prayers.96 people were killed in the attack. TTP accepted responsibility for that attack. A representative of TTP said that Christians are the enemies of Islam and Pakistan. Therefore they have targeted them and will continue their attacks on non-Muslims on Pakistani land.<sup>10</sup> That suicide attack was specific incident but the impact of such attacks is on the whole society and country. Not only Christian community but Muslim community across the country condemns such attacks.

The current study will analyze how much information regarding TTP activities presented through Op-Ed coverage of both selected newspapers.

## **2.5 Research Questions**

- 1. What was the extent of coverage given to the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in leading Urdu and English dailies of Pakistan (*Jang&Dawn*)?**
- 2. What are the frames and slants given in the selected newspaper's coverage to the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan?**
- 3. Is the coverage of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan is mostly negative in leading Urdu and English language dailies of Pakistan?**
- 4. Is the image of TTP is exaggerated in leading English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan (*Jang and Dawn*)?**

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<sup>10</sup>Retrieved on October 28, 2014, from <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-204006-Muavia-led-Punjabi-Taliban-behind-church-bombing>



5. What were the dominant frames of TTP in the coverage of *Jang* and *Dawn*?

## 2.6 Hypothesis

H1: The slant of *Dawn* is more favorable towards Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan than the *Jang*.

H2: The slant of *Jang* is more unfavorable towards Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan than the *Dawn*.

H3: There are more foe frames in the coverage of *Jang* on the issue of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan than friend frames.

H4: The overall coverage given to TTP is light in *Dawn* than in *Jang*.

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Design

This study is qualitative and quantitative in nature and examines the relevant contents of Editorial Pages of English and Urdu Newspaper; i.e., *Jang* and *Dawn*. It has been felt apt to incorporate both the methods as the data we intend to gather can better be interpreted applying both the methods.

#### 3.2 Research Method

Content analysis is used as research method to examine coverage of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in the two selected newspapers; *Jang* and *Dawn* from Sep 02 to Dec 2013.

Media content analysis is a reputed research methodology which has defined differently by different scholars. Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as a systematic method of studying and analyzing any communication in objective, systematic and quantitative manner for the purpose to measure variables. Content analysis has been described as, “the primary message centered methodology”(Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). Content analysis is the analysis of content produced by the media including transcripts and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines (Neuendorf, 2002).

#### 3.3 Population

The research population for present study comprised Rawalpindi/Islamabad edition of *Jang* and *Dawn*. The editorials and columns of the selected newspapers retrieved from archives of the newspapers and online editions. The four months timeline is specified from September 02

to December 2013. Editorials, sub-editorials, columns, articles and letter to editor containing content related to the issue of Taliban added in the current analyses.

### **3.4 Sample Frame**

The study analyzes Islamabad and Rawalpindi edition of both selected newspapers as sample frame. The period of this research study is the selected timeline of the Op-ed coverage of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, from Sep 02 to Dec 2013. The purpose behind the selection of the specific timeline is because Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan remained very active during the selected timeline of the study. Their activities were on the peak during these four months due to which TTP received extreme coverage on Op-Ed pages of both newspapers during the selected timeline and the government was also concerned regarding talks with TTP to overcome terrorism in the region. The study analyzes 463 stories from both newspapers.

### **3.5 Sampling Method Used**

The sample of this study will be editorial (editorial notes, shazrah), column, articles and letters to the editor published on the editorial pages of *Jang* and *Dawn* during the selected timeline.

### **3.6 Sampling Technique**

For current study, we are using Purposive sampling technique which have also been referred to as non- probability sampling or purposeful sampling or 'qualitative sampling.'

Purposive sampling includes techniques that involve selection of certain units or cases 'based on the specific purpose rather than randomly' (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). A purposive, sampling is one that is selected based on the knowledge of a population having some purpose in the mind.

For example, in the current study, our purpose is to analyze content that has relevance to TTP. The researcher selected each newspaper to collect relevant content related to TTP on Op-Ed pages of both newspapers.

### **3.7 Units of Analysis**

Each, editorial (editorial note/shazrah), column, article and letter to the editor which have any sort of content regarding Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan during the selected timeline will be the Unit of analysis. The basic unit of text which is classified in content analyses is called unit of analysis.

### **3.8 Recording Units**

The paragraphs will be the Recording units for identifying frame and slant in the story. .

### **3.9 Selection of Newspapers**

One Urdu (*Jang*) and one English (*Dawn*) newspaper selected for the study. The editorial pages of the two selected newspapers would be studied. The timeline of the study is September to December 2013. Editorials, columns and letters to the editor from editorial pages would be studied in this research study.

### **3.10 Jang**

The Daily Jang was founded in 1939. It is the oldest Urdu language newspaper of Pakistan. The daily Jang has a circulation of over 800,000, copies per day. Current Group Chief of daily Jang is Mir Shakil-ur- Rehman. Daily Jang is considered a radical, open and a bit progressive newspaper. Daily Jang has the distinction to be teamed by the most experienced journalists of the country. The head office of Jang is located in Karachi with Bureaus in all other stations of Pakistan.

### **3.11 Dawn**

Dawn newspaper was founded by Muhammad Ali Jinnah on 26 October 1941 being the mouthpiece of Muslim league. Now it is extensively read English language newspaper, mostly read by elites and diplomatic circles due to English language. It is published under the flagship of Dawn group of newspapers. Dawn has neutral, moderate and suggestive editorial policy. The Dawn is read by the highly educated class and policy makers. Dawn has been at the forefront of many events that constitute Pakistan's history.

### **3.12 Justification of Newspapers**

Jang and Dawn are widely circulated newspapers in Pakistan. Both newspapers are the oldest newspapers of Pakistan. And the coverage of both newspapers is entirely different.

### **3.13 Variables**

Variables selected for this study are Coverage, Type of piece, Frame and Slant. Following is the detail of these variables.

#### **Coverage**

This will measure how much coverage Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan received in both newspapers i.e. *Jang&Dawn*? Difference between the extents of coverage of the issue will also be measured between the selected newspapers. The current study will do comparative analyses between Op-Ed coverage of both selected newspapers including editorial (editorial notes commonly known as, 'Shazra' in Urdu language newspapers) columns, articles and letter to editor. Both five categories of Op-Ed pages will be measured by analyzing how much space (number of columns, articles, letter to editor) and importance given to the coverage of TTP in *Dawn* and *Jang*.

## **Type of Piece**

For the current study, editorials/editorial-notes, columns, articles and letters to the editor which have any sort of relation with TTP will be studied which show the policy of newspaper.

## **Slant**

Slant shows that how an issue is reported. In the current study, slant refers to the writer's point of view in the story towards Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan. The slant of the selected newspapers in the current study will be categorized as Favorable, Unfavorable and Neutral for all the variables above.

## **Favorable**

Business dictionary defines favorable as promising, positive and pleasant.<sup>11</sup> The word also means giving a result that is in one's favor. Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary defines favorable as making people have a good opinion of somebody/something.<sup>12</sup> Positive and showing your good opinion of somebody/something. Good for something and making it likely to be successful or have an advantage.

## **Unfavorable**

Unfavorable means expressing or showing a lack of approval or support towards someone/something. According to Oxford Advance Learner's Dictionary, Unfavorable means showing that you do not approve of or like somebody/something; an unfavorable comment.<sup>13</sup> Merriam-Webster define unfavorable as expressing disapproval, not propitious, disadvantageous and not pleasing.

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<sup>11</sup>Retrieved on November 10, 2014 from <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/favorable.html>

<sup>12</sup>Retrieved on November 11, 2014 from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/favourable>

<sup>13</sup>Retrieved on November 12, 2014 from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/unfavourable>

## **Neutral**

Oxford Dictionary defines Neutral as not supporting or helping only one side in any conflict, disagreement etc.<sup>14</sup> Macmillan Dictionary defines Neutral as not supporting a particular side in an argument or disagreement.

### **3.14 Conceptualization of Frames**

#### **1. TTP as Extremist**

Extremist is a person who holds highest level of immorality and extreme political, religious and social views especially one who supports immoral, illegal, unconstitutional and violent actions.<sup>15</sup>

#### **2. TTP as Terrorist**

An individual who use aggressive action in order to attain political aims by forcing government to take action are called terrorists.<sup>16</sup>

#### **3. TTP as Global Threat**

The term has been defined as a warning by a person to cause pain, damage, injury or other unsympathetic action on someone in revenge for something done or not done.

#### **4. TTP as Friends**

A person with whom one has a bond of mutual affection, a person someone knows well and like.

<sup>14</sup>Retrieved on November 13, 2014 from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/neutral>

<sup>15</sup>Retrieved on November 13, 2014 from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/extremist>

<sup>16</sup>Retrieved on November 14, 2014 from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/terrorist>

## **5. TTP as Sectarian**

Sectarian refers to sect. People who rigidly follow the doctrine of a sect or other group are known as sectarian.

## **6. TTP as Anti-State**

A person opposed to a particular policy, activity or idea.

### **3.15 Operationalization of Frames**

#### **1. TTP as Extremist**

In this study the researcher used the frame 'extremist' and operationalize it as TTP carry out suicide attacks and blasts and kill innocent people to implement their own ideology based on shariah in Pakistani society.

#### **2. TTP as Terrorists**

The researcher defines the frame 'TTP as terrorist' in the way that TTP is spreading anarchy in the country by rejecting peace talks with the government. They are responsible for all the suicide attacks and killing of innocent people and military personnel.

#### **3. TTP as Global Threat**

Taliban consider themselves as Jihadists. They provide sanctuaries to other militants outside Pakistan to achieve their purpose globally.



#### **4. TTP as Friends**

Pakistan's establishment has always been interested in establishing Pakistan's strategic depth in Afghanistan. Taliban supported Pakistan to achieve this task by providing sanctuaries to Afghan Taliban and in furthering the cause of war against anti-Pakistan elements.

#### **5. TTP as Sectarian**

TTP specifically target Shia community of Pakistan because they are extreme believers of Deobandi & Wahabi ideology. They also claim responsibility of such attacks on Shias.

#### **6. TTP as Anti-State**

TTP challenge the writ of the democratically elected government. They want to impose their own writ and ideology. For this purpose, they attack national security and sovereignty.

### **3.16 Instruction Rules for Coders**

**Newspaper ID:** Jang, 1 Dawn, 2

**Type of the piece:** Editorial, 1 Sub-editorial/ Shazrah, 2 Column, 3 Articles, 4 Letters to editor, 5.

**Slant:** Favorable to TTP, 1, unfavorable to TTP, 2 and neutral, 3

**Frames:** Value 1 is for 'TTP as extremist' value 2 is for 'TTP as terrorist' 'value 3 is for 'TTP as global threat' value 4 is for 'TTP as friend' value 5 is for 'TTP as sectarian' & value 6 is for 'TTP as anti- state'.

**Frame Type:** Value 1 is for episodic frame, value 2 is for thematic frame.

## Chapter 4

### RESULTS AND FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Analysis and Results

The present study looked at the overall and differences in coverage of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in leading Urdu and English language newspapers of Pakistan, i.e.; *Jang* and *Dawn*. Content analysis was done to compare differences in type of piece, slant, measurements, and frames used in these newspapers regarding TTP.

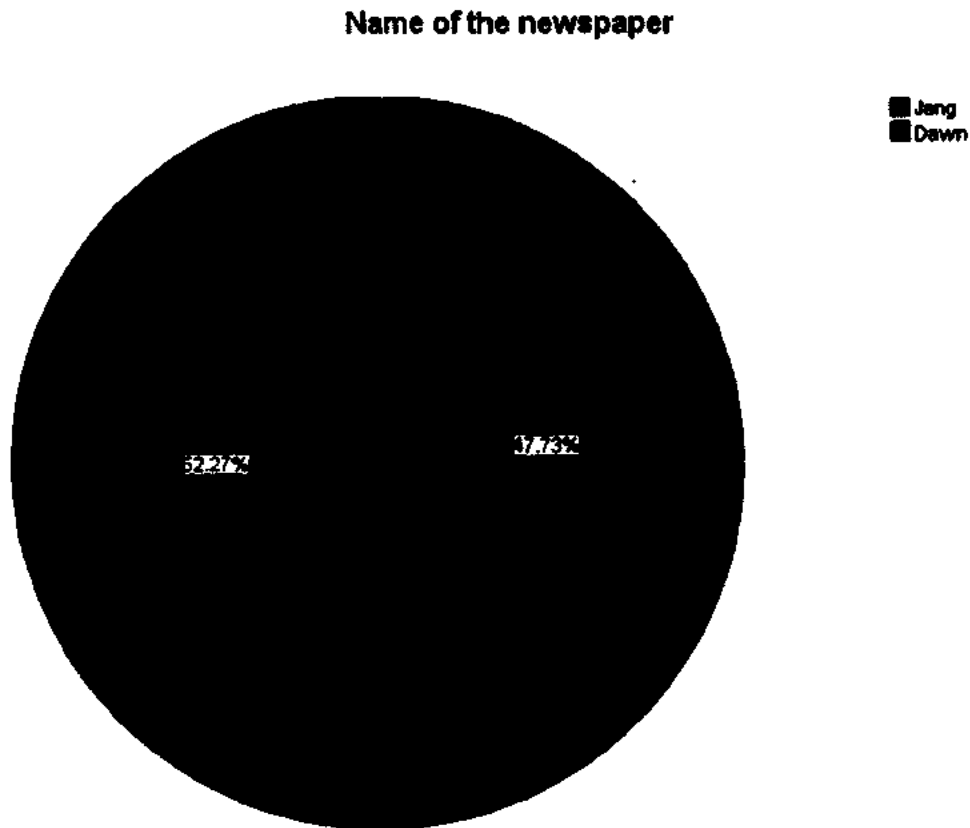
After all the coding of articles was completed, the data was entered into SPSS computer program file. From there, difference of proportions tests was run on the data. Each hypothesis was tested and conclusions were made regarding the content of two newspapers. Overall data were gathered from the coding sheets.

**Table No. 4.1: Overall Coverage to TTP**

| <b>Newspaper</b> | <b>Frequency</b>   |
|------------------|--------------------|
| Jang             | 221(47.7%)         |
| Dawn             | 242(52.3%)         |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>463(100.0%)</b> |

Table 4.1 shows the overall coverage given to the issue of TTP. A total of 463 stories published on Op-Ed pages of the selected newspapers. *Dawn* has given the higher coverage that is 242 (52.3%), followed by *Jang* with 221 (47.7%) stories.

**Figure 1: Overall Coverage Given to TTP in *Jang&Dawn***



### **Research Questions**

**RQ 1 - What was the extent of coverage given to the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in leading Urdu and English dailies of Pakistan (*Jang&Dawn*)?**

In the two selected newspapers overall 463 stories were found from the editorial pages including editorial, sub-editorial, columns, articles and letter to editor. *Dawn* led in the coverage of TTP by publishing 242(52.3) stories, followed by 221(47.7) stories by *Jang*(See Table 4.1).Both newspapers published 79 editorials, 30 sub-editorials/shazrah, 120 columns, 111 articles and 123 letters to editor (See Table 4.2).

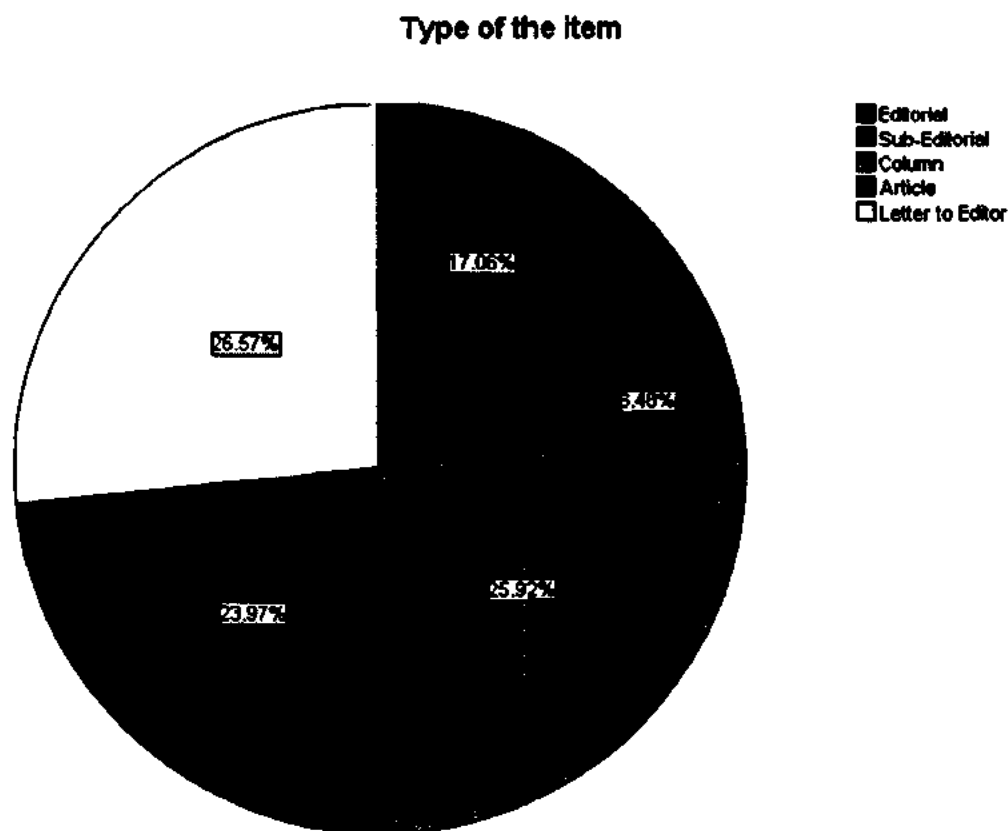
**Table 4.2: Type of Story**

| <b>Story</b>     | <b>Frequency</b>  |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Editorial        | 79(17.1%)         |
| Sub-Editorial    | 30(6.5%)          |
| Column           | 120(25.9%)        |
| Article          | 111(24.0%)        |
| Letter to Editor | 123(26.6%)        |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>463 (100%)</b> |

Total space given to the coverage of TTP was 41890cm in *Jang* and 49462cm in *Dawn*. But *Jang* seems to give more coverage to its articles on TTP that appears on the Op-Ed pages of the newspaper. It is interesting to know that *Dawn* has given more coverage and space to letter to editor that appears on the Op-Ed pages of the newspaper. Overall *Dawn* appears to give more coverage and highlight the issue of TTP so, people have written more letters to editor on the issue of TTP during the selected timeline.

The overall findings shows that *Jang* has given more space to article writers to write on the issue of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan compared with *Dawn* on the issue of TTP. Hence both newspapers seem to be equating each other.

**Figure 2: Type of Piece in *Jang&Dawn***



**RQ 2- What are the slants and frames given in the selected newspaper's coverage to the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan?**

Most of the stories of the study carried unfavorable slant towards Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. Out of 463 stories 386(83.4%) stories were unfavorable towards the issue of TTP whereas 15(3.2%) stories appeared favorable to TTP and 62(13.4%) stories were neutral (See Table 4.3).

Out of 386 unfavorable stories to TTP, 189 stories came from *Jang* followed by 197 stories from *Dawn*. 62 neutral stories were found out of which 23 came from *Jang* followed by 39 from *Dawn*.

*Jang* carries 39 editorials out of which 32 editorials carries unfavorable slant, 6 editorials are favorable and only 1 editorial carries neutral slant towards the issue of TTP. Out of 12 sub-editorial/ shazrah, 11 sub-editorials contains unfavorable slant, 1 neutral slant and not even a single sub-editorial contains favorable slant towards TTP in *Jang*. Out of 60 Columns appear in *Jang* during the selected timeline are 60, there is not a single column in *Jang* that carries favorable slant towards TTP. 53 columns are unfavorable to TTP and 7 appear to be neutral to TTP. There are more articles written in *Jang* on the issue. Out of 79 articles, 65 articles are unfavorable to TTP, 6 are favorable and 8 articles are neutral to TTP. There are total 31 letter to editor are written in *Jang* on the issue. Out of 31 letters to editor 28 appears to be unfavorable to TTP, 2 appear favorable and only 1 letter to editor appears Neutral towards TTP. There is more unfavorable slant given to the coverage of TTP on Op-Ed Pages *Jang*.

*Dawn* has given more coverage to the issue of TTP compared with *Jang*. There are 40 editorials written in *Dawn* during the selected time period out of which 33 carries unfavorable slant, 2 carries favorable slant and 5 neutral slants given to TTP that is near to the coverage of *Jang*. Out of 18 sub-editorials in *Dawn*, 17 are unfavorable, 1 I favorable and not a single sub-editorial in *Dawn* is neutral towards TTP. Overall 60 columns are written in *Dawn* during four months. Out of which 48 columns are unfavorable to TTP, column is favorable and 11 columns are neutral towards TTP. 32 articles are written in *Dawn*. 25 articles are unfavorable towards TTP, 6 are neutral and only 1 article is favorable to TTP. There are more letter to editor appears in *Dawn* compared with *Jang*. Out of 92 letters to editor 74 appears to be unfavorable towards TTP, 1 appears to be neutral and only 1 letter to editor carries favorable slant towards TTP (See table 4.3 & 4.4). *Dawn* gives more coverage to TTP that is why people read it and write more about it.

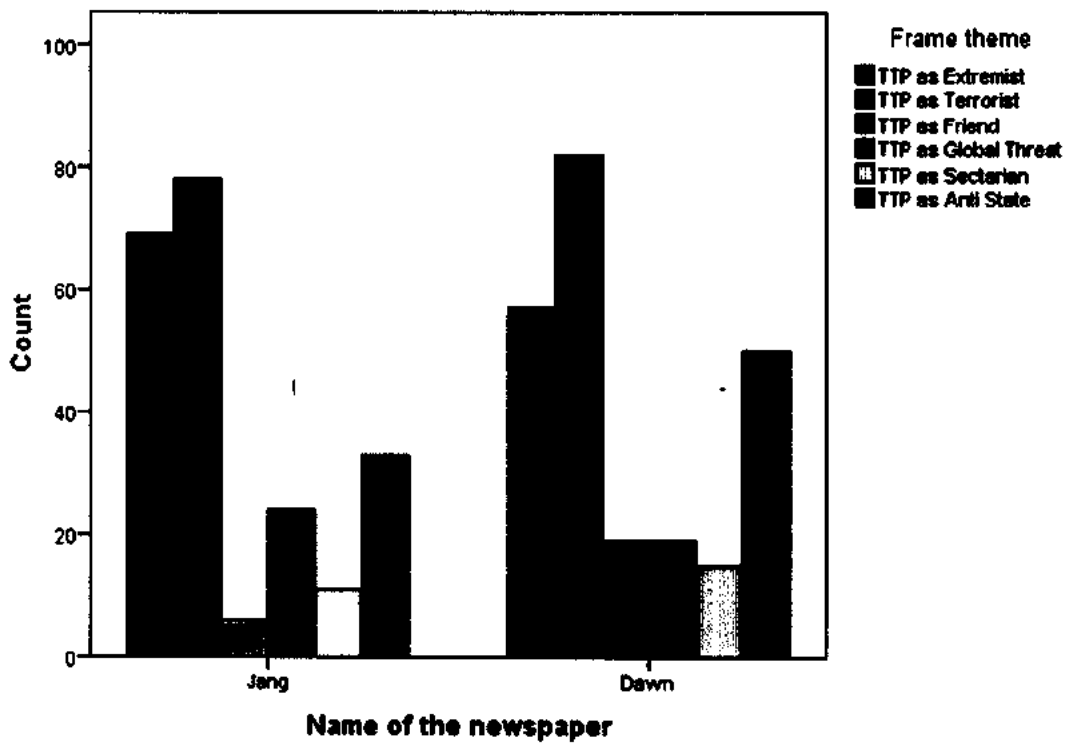
**Table No. 4.3: Type of the Item \* Slant \* Name of the Newspaper Cross Tabulation**

| Name of the Newspaper |                         |                         | Slant      |              |           | Total      |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|------------|
|                       |                         |                         | Favourable | Unfavourable | Neutral   |            |
| <b>Jang</b>           | <b>Type of the Item</b> | <b>Editorial</b>        | 1          | 32           | 6         | 39         |
|                       |                         | <b>Sub-Editorial</b>    | 0          | 11           | 1         | 12         |
|                       |                         | <b>Column</b>           | 0          | 53           | 7         | 60         |
|                       |                         | <b>Article</b>          | 6          | 65           | 8         | 79         |
|                       |                         | <b>Letter to Editor</b> | 2          | 28           | 1         | 31         |
|                       | <b>Total</b>            |                         | <b>9</b>   | <b>189</b>   | <b>23</b> | <b>221</b> |
| <b>Dawn</b>           | <b>Type of the Item</b> | <b>Editorial</b>        | 2          | 33           | 5         | 40         |
|                       |                         | <b>Sub-Editorial</b>    | 1          | 17           | 0         | 18         |
|                       |                         | <b>Column</b>           | 1          | 48           | 11        | 60         |
|                       |                         | <b>Article</b>          | 1          | 25           | 6         | 32         |
|                       |                         | <b>Letter to Editor</b> | 1          | 74           | 17        | 92         |
|                       | <b>Total</b>            |                         | <b>6</b>   | <b>197</b>   | <b>39</b> | <b>242</b> |

**Table 4.4: Distribution of Stories by Slant and Newspaper**

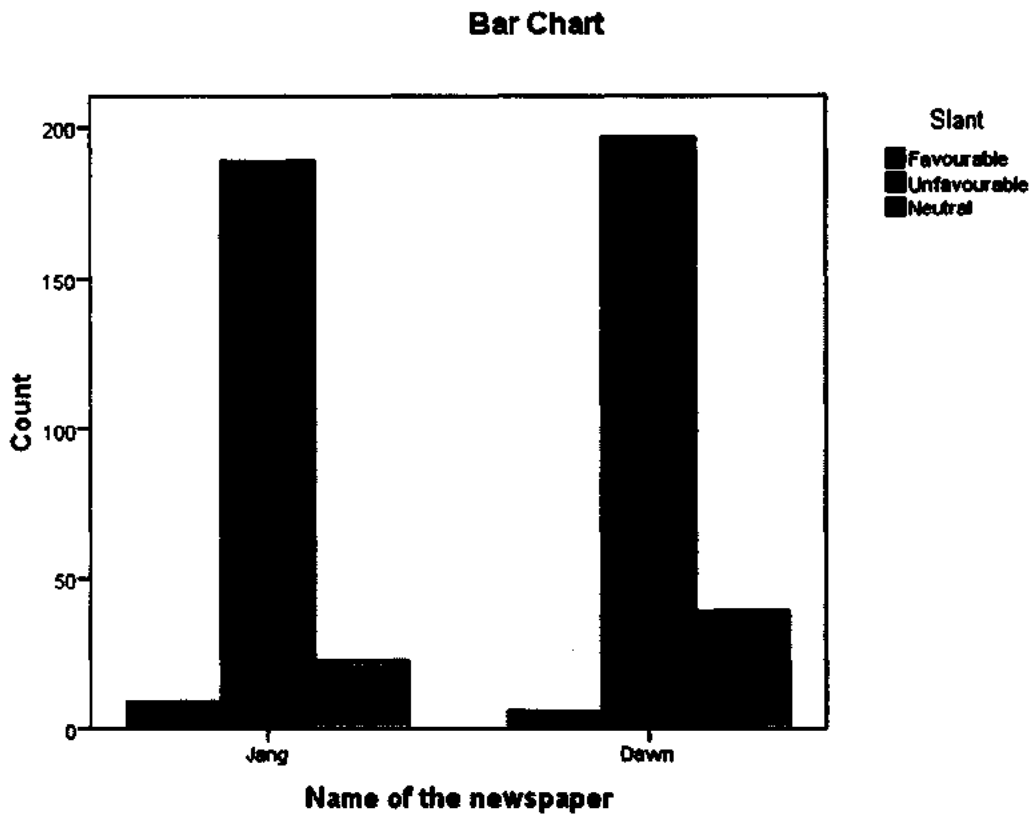
| Newspaper    | Slant     |             |           | Total      |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|
|              | Favorable | Unfavorable | Neutral   |            |
| Jang         | 9         | 189         | 23        | 221        |
| Dawn         | 6         | 197         | 39        | 242        |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>15</b> | <b>386</b>  | <b>62</b> | <b>463</b> |

**Comparative Display of Frames by Jang and Dawn**



**Figure 3: Comparative Display of Frame themes by Jang&Dawn**





**Figure 4: Comparative Display of Slant by Jang & Dawn**

**RQ 3- Is the coverage of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan is mostly negative in leading Urdu and English language dailies of Pakistan?**

Most of the stories 386 (83.4%) were unfavorable, followed by favorable 15(3.2%).

Altogether 62 (13.4%) stories were neutral (See Table 4.5).

**Table No. 4.5**

| <b>Slant</b>       | <b>Frequency</b> | <b>Percent</b> |
|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| <b>Favorable</b>   | 15               | 3.2            |
| <b>Unfavorable</b> | 386              | 83.4           |
| <b>Neutral</b>     | 62               | 13.4           |
| <b>Total</b>       | <b>463</b>       | <b>100.0</b>   |

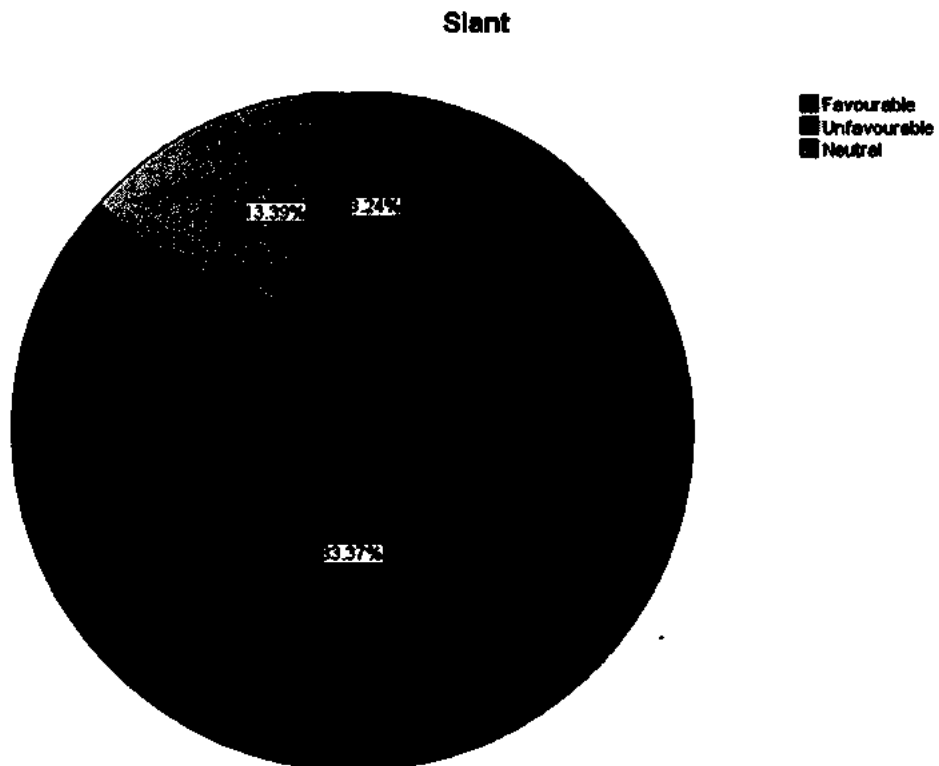
**RQ 4- Is the image of TTP is exaggerated in leading English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan (*Jang* and *Dawn*)?**

The overall coverage of TTP in English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan (*Jang* and *Dawn*) shows that English newspaper i.e.; *Dawn* exaggerated the image of TTP more than Urdu daily i.e.; *Jang*. Out of 242(52.3%) stories on TTP in *Dawn* during the selected timeline (Sep 02 to Dec 2013) 82 stories frames 'TTP as terrorists.' *Jang* contains 221(47.7%) stories on TTP. Out of which 78 stories frames 'TTP as terrorists.' Total 160(34.6) stories frame TTP as terrorist. Out of all stories 386(33.37%) stories from both newspapers consider TTP as unfavorable in their coverage. In the overall publication of both newspapers, out of 463 publications, 160 stories frame 'TTP as terrorist', 82 stories which frame 'TTP as terrorist' appears on *Dawn* while 78 stories appear in *Jang* (See Table 4.6).

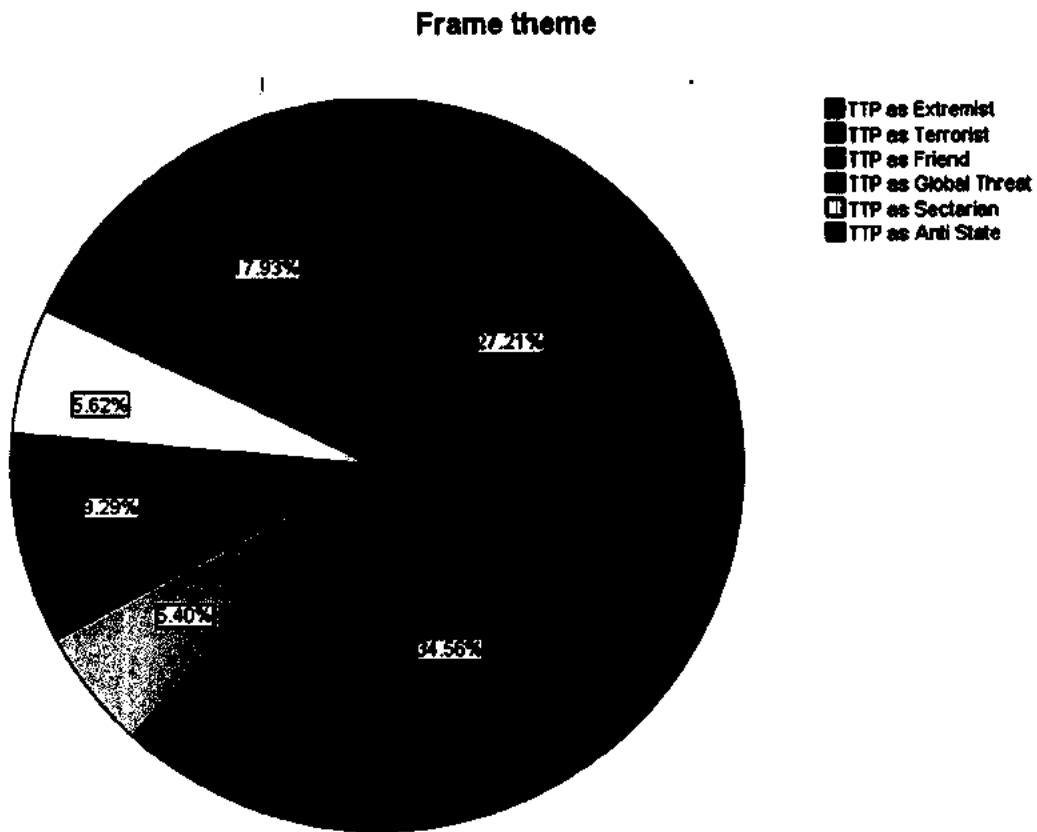
**Table No. 4.6: Publication of the Newspaper Frame Theme**

| Publication of the Newspaper | Frame Theme      |                  |               |                      |                  |                   | Total      |
|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|
|                              | TTP as Extremist | TTP as Terrorist | TTP as Friend | TTP as Global Threat | TTP as Sectarian | TTP as Anti State |            |
| Urdu                         | 69               | 78               | 6             | 24                   | 11               | 33                | 221        |
| English                      | 57               | 82               | 19            | 19                   | 15               | 50                | 242        |
| <b>Total</b>                 | <b>126</b>       | <b>160</b>       | <b>25</b>     | <b>43</b>            | <b>26</b>        | <b>83</b>         | <b>463</b> |

**Figure 5: Overall Display of Slant by Jang & Dawn**



**Figure 6: Display of Frames Given to TTP**



**RQ 5- What were the dominant frames of TTP in the coverage of *Jang* and *Dawn*?**

Most of the stories 160(34.6%) carried the frame 'TTP as terrorists' followed by 126(27.2) frame TTP as Extremist, 83(17.9) TTP as Anti State, 43(9.3) TTP as Global Threat, 26(5.6) TTP as Sectarian and 25(5.4) stories framed TTP as Friend (See table 4.7).

**Table No. 4.7: Frame Theme**

| <b>Frame Theme</b>   | <b>Frequency</b>  |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| TTP as Extremist     | 126(27.2%)        |
| TTP as Terrorist     | 160(34.6%)        |
| TTP as Friend        | 25(5.4%)          |
| TTP as Global Threat | 43(9.3%)          |
| TTP as Sectarian     | 26(5.6%)          |
| TTP as Anti State    | 83(17.9%)         |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>463 (100%)</b> |

### **Testing of Hypothesis**

**H1:** The slant of *Dawn* is more favorable towards Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan than the *Jang*.

Chi-square statistics were used to test the hypothesis in question. The calculated value of chi-square has been found to be  $\chi^2=3.950$  at  $\alpha=0.05$ . The calculated value is lower than the critical value of  $\chi^2$  which is 5.991 at  $df=2$ . This indicates that our collected data do not support our hypothesis. Hence, hypothesis stands disapproved.

**H2:** The slant of *Jang* is more unfavorable towards Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan than the *Dawn*.

The difference between the coverage of both newspapers i.e.; *Jang&Dawn* is insignificant. The calculated value of chi-square is  $\chi^2=3.950$  at  $\alpha=0.05$ . The calculated value is lower than the critical value of  $\chi^2$  which is 5.991 at  $df=2$ . Our tabulation indicates that both the newspapers have somehow same stance towards TTP. In other words, there is visibly some degree of difference in the measured instances of slant of the two newspapers, but there

percentages as per the proportion of the data collected have not been found to be at difference.

**H3:** There are more foe frames in the coverage of *Jang* on the issue of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan than friend frames.

The calculated value of  $\chi^2$  is lower than the critical value of  $\chi^2$  which is 5.991 at  $df=2$ . Overall 463 stories were studied, out of which 160 foe frames (TTP as terrorist) given to Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan in both newspapers than friend frames (TTP as friend) which is given only in 25 stories. Thus the hypothesis 3 is supported.

**H4:** The overall coverage given to TTP is light in *Dawn* than in *Jang*.

Comparatively both newspapers gave more unfavorable slant to Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. According to the calculated value of chi-square which is  $\chi^2=3.950$  at  $\alpha=0.05$  and is lower than the critical value of  $\chi^2$  which is 5.991 at  $df=2$ . The ratio of TTP stories in *Dawn* was higher than *Jang*. *Dawn* gave more unfavorable slant to TTP stories than *Jang*. This shows that our collected data did not support our hypothesis.

There are many dominant metaphors appeared in the Op-Ed coverage of both newspapers i.e. *Jang and Dawn*. These metaphors include religion metaphors, legal metaphors, human metaphors and other metaphors used for Taliban as global and security threat.

It seems that all the dominant metaphors used by both newspapers in their Op-Ed coverage are negative towards Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. The metaphorical statements used for Taliban indicates that media see TTP as a threat to the whole world and humanity.

Metaphors like 'jihadi militants', 'islam dushman anasir', 'saffaqqatil', 'perpetrators of violence', 'enemies of peace', and 'killers' etc. fall in the category of religious metaphors. Islam disallows any act of terrorism in the name of religion.

The metaphorical statements like 'offenders', 'extortionists', 'enemy of the state', 'jangjoo group', 'bandooq bardar taliban', 'qaladam tanzeemain' comes in the category of legal metaphors. The in-depth meanings of all the above mentioned metaphors show that they are used to define illegal acts. According to the constitution of Pakistan, any organization who works as a military organization is illegal.<sup>17</sup>

The labels or metaphors such as, 'target killers', 'terrorists', 'insurgents', 'militants', 'rebellious terrorists', 'enemy of the state' etc. in *Dawn* and 'intihapasand', 'shidatpasand', 'sharapasand', 'Pakistan kay dushman' etc in *Jang*, shows Taliban activities as a global threat because the impact of such incidents is globally.

Editorials of both newspapers also used some other metaphors with negative connotations for Taliban and which fall under the category of metaphors which have human tendency. This include metaphors like: 'aatish mizaj taliban', 'wehshi taliban', 'saffaq qatil', 'bayhis dehshatgard', etc. and 'cruel killers of humanity', 'enemies of humanity', 'killers', 'criminals' etc.

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<sup>17</sup>Retrieved on November 18, 2015, from <http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/part12.ch4.html>

## Chapter 5

### 5.1 Discussion and Conclusion

The study discussed the coverage of the two leading newspapers (*Jang&Dawn*) on the issue of TTP from Sep 02 to Dec 2013 (the most important time when the activities of TTP in Pakistan were on the rise) by using framing theory of media.

In the overall coverage, TTP received more unfavorable slant and framed more as terrorists than friends. *Dawn* published more unfavorable stories to TTP as compared to *Jang*. Both the newspapers have not only been more unfavorable but also they gave more coverage to the issue of TTP on Op-Ed pages during the selected timeline. It is also worth mentioning that the TTP issue was the most frequent topic appeared in the newspapers which conforms to the previous study of (Yusufzai, 2008) who concluded that the Media cannot keep itself away from the ongoing developments and events across the country. Nothing could stop Taliban of getting coverage in media. Print and electronic media continued giving ample space and on-air time to TTP. Taliban quickly claim responsibility of their activities by appearing or providing statements on media.

In current study, we see the coverage of Taliban in both newspapers as almost same. There is no big difference between them. But somehow *Dawn* gave more coverage to the issue than *Jang*. The portrayal of TTP issue in *Jang* is more Episodic while *Dawn* seems more Thematic towards TTP issue.

The unfavorable slant about Taliban in the newspapers was more as Taliban have brought many areas under their control over the last few years by violating the writ of the state. Thus the study conforms to other studies undertaken by various researchers using the same theoretical model like (Shaista Malik, 2013) who concluded in her study that Pakistani media



has been given negative coverage to Taliban over last few years. According to the scholars most of the Op-Ed pages of leading English and Urdu newspapers construct negative image of Taliban. Thus the previous study supports the current study.

As far as type of piece is concerned, the total number of articles and letters to editor were higher in the coverage than editorials/sub-editorials and columns. The English highlighted the issue more than the Urdu press.

In the present study, the most frequently appeared frame was 'TTP as terrorist'. Other five frames used to analyze the stories were 'TTP as extremist', 'TTP as friend', 'TTP as global threat', 'TTP as anti-state' and 'TTP as Sectarian.' The friend frame contained stories in which Taliban appeared as friendly to Pakistani state. But out of 463 stories in both newspapers, only 25 stories contained friend frame like(Siddique, 2010)used the term 'guerrilla warfare' to define Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan by emphasizing on socio-political disturbances prevailing on Pakistani society and a sense of inequity prevailing in the areas where Taliban have a major influence. Not surprisingly Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan viewed as unfavorable. Both newspapers portrayed more unfavorable stories on TTP.

The analysis of the current study concluded 'TTP as terrorists as claimed by (Sheikh, 2009) in their research that TTP activities include attacks on military installments, target killings and suicide bombings in major cities. The researcher also concluded in his study that the security situation in the country has always been alarming since the formation of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan.

It can be concluded at the end that the image of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan is negative in media. However mixed slants and frames observed regarding TTP. The coverage of *Jang&Dawn* strongly criticized the role of TTP. It is observed that TTP has always been involved in violent activities. Both newspapers look Talibanisation in Pakistan as a threat to

the overall system of the state. And they do not see the issue of TTP particular to an area but in broadest level.

## **5.2 Limitations/ Recommendations and Further Research**

The study has some limitations. First this study analyzed only Op-Ed pages *Jang* and *Dawn* because due to time and resources it was not possible to analyze all the content of the newspapers. A further study can be examined analyzing framing of issue in the news stories.

This study included analyses of TTP activities during specific timeline. But the activities of TTP are an ongoing phenomenon so further studies on similar area can be conducted.

The study included two newspapers one Urdu and one English. So further study can include more newspapers and can check the editorial policies of all selected newspapers because it is easy at data analysis stage to check the variance between two groups.

Finally, this study analyses the print media of Pakistan. Future studies can be done on Pakistani electronic media on Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan.

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**Annexure – A**

**1. Coding Sheet**

| <b>Newspaper<br/>ID</b> | <b>Type<br/>Of<br/>Piece</b> | <b>Measures</b> | <b>Frame<br/>theme</b> | <b>Slant</b> | <b>Writer</b> | <b>Metaphor</b> | <b>Frame<br/>Type</b> |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
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|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |
|                         |                              |                 |                        |              |               |                 |                       |

**Instruction rules for coders:**

**Newspaper ID:** Jang, 1 Dawn, 2

**Type of the piece:** editorial, 1 Sub-editorial, 2 column, 3 articles, 4 letters to editor, 5

**Slant:** favorable to TTP, 1, unfavorable to TTP, 2 and neutral, 3

**Frame theme**

Value 1 is for 'TTP as extremist' value 2 is for 'TTP as terrorists' value 3 is for 'TTP as friends' value 4 is for 'TTP as global threat' value 5 is for 'TTP as sectarian' & value 6 is for 'TTP as anti- state'.

**Frame type:**

Value 1 is for episodic frame, value 2 is for thematic frame.

## Coding Sheet of Jang

| Type of Piece | Measures | Frame Theme | Slant | Metaphors                     | Frame Type |
|---------------|----------|-------------|-------|-------------------------------|------------|
| 1             | 112cm    | 2           | 3     | Kathan ore paicheeda          | 2          |
| 4             | 340cm    | 2           | 2     | Bhayanak haqqaeq              | 1          |
| 1             | 72cm     | 2           | 2     | Kham maal                     | 1          |
| 3             | 247cm    | 2           | 3     | Nimatnay kay liye             | 1          |
| 4             | 112cm    | 6           | 3     | Hamnawa ya aalakaar           | 2          |
| 1             | 153cm    | 1           | 2     | Sargaram amal                 | 1          |
| 3             | 273cm    | 6           | 2     | intihapasandi/ dehshatistaan  | 2          |
| 4             | 315cm    | 2           | 3     | Talibanization                | 2          |
| 5             | 40cm     | 6           | 2     | Dehshatgardi ka poda          | 2          |
| 4             | 216cm    | 1           | 2     | Shiddat pasand                | 2          |
| 4             | 221cm    | 6           | 2     | Islami khilafati nizam        | 2          |
| 4             | 323cm    | 2           | 2     | bay lachak rawaiya            | 2          |
| 4             | 280cm    | 2           | 3     | qilaqama                      | 2          |
| 1             | 242cm    | 6           | 2     | Musallah shiddat pasand       | 2          |
| 5             | 40cm     | 1           | 2     | Dushman                       | 2          |
| 1             | 72cm     | 3           | 3     | Aman ka gehwara               | 1          |
| 4             | 250cm    | 6           | 2     | Sharpasand quwatain           | 1          |
| 5             | 36cm     | 2           | 2     | Apahaj                        | 2          |
| 3             | 160cm    | 1           | 2     | Khatarnak musalah group       | 2          |
| 3             | 247cm    | 2           | 2     | Askariat pasand               | 1          |
| 4             | 624cm    | 3           | 2     | Islami intihapasand           | 1          |
| 1             | 120cm    | 2           | 2     | Dehshatgardi kay khilaf jang, | 2          |
| 5             | 180cm    | 2           | 2     | Askariat pasand               | 2          |

|   |       |   |   |                                 |   |
|---|-------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| 4 | 252cm | 1 | 1 | dehshatgard group               | 2 |
| 3 | 260cm | 2 | 3 | Jang Aazmaye                    | 2 |
| 3 | 240cm | 2 | 3 | Tehreek e talibankagarh         | 2 |
| 3 | 240cm | 5 | 2 | intihapasandi ore jihadi soch   | 2 |
| 3 | 224cm | 6 | 2 | muzakrat main utar charhao      | 2 |
| 4 | 285cm | 1 | 2 | Dehshatgardi ka masla           | 1 |
| 1 | 153cm | 2 | 2 | Munazam network                 | 1 |
| 3 | 273cm | 1 | 2 | Askariat pasand                 | 2 |
| 3 | 255cm | 6 | 2 | Askariat pasand                 | 2 |
| 1 | 276cm | 2 | 3 | jalti par tail ka kam           | 2 |
| 5 | 36cm  | 6 | 3 | Sabotage                        | 2 |
| 1 | 153cm | 6 | 2 | Agenda                          | 1 |
| 3 | 250cm | 1 | 2 | Sakht geerTaliban               | 2 |
| 2 | 81cm  | 2 | 3 | Bahmi kashhedgi                 | 1 |
| 4 | 200cm | 1 | 1 | Sharpasand afraad               | 2 |
| 3 | 260cm | 1 | 2 | Ceasefire                       | 2 |
| 3 | 228cm | 2 | 2 | Ghambeer mamla                  | 2 |
| 3 | 228cm | 1 | 2 | shareef operation               | 1 |
| 5 | 136cm | 2 | 2 | Makhdoosh sooratehal            | 2 |
| 1 | 153cm | 1 | 2 | sharpasand                      | 2 |
| 3 | 273cm | 1 | 2 | Baloch askariatpasand           | 1 |
| 3 | 273cm | 2 | 2 | Aatishmizaj Taliban             | 2 |
| 1 | 153cm | 4 | 3 | Tehreek e taliban Afghanistan   | 2 |
| 5 | 36cm  | 2 | 2 | Riasat Pakistan kay khilaf jang | 2 |
| 4 | 243cm | 6 | 2 | bohran, intihapasand garoh      | 2 |
| 1 | 312cm | 1 | 1 | khudkash bam dhamakay           | 1 |
| 4 | 250cm | 1 | 2 | Zamini haqqaeq                  | 1 |



|   |       |   |   |                                 |   |
|---|-------|---|---|---------------------------------|---|
| 1 | 153cm | 1 | 2 | Islam ki taleemat k khilaf      | 1 |
| 3 | 260cm | 1 | 2 | Dehshatgardi ki makrooh wardaat | 1 |
| 5 | 50cm  | 6 | 2 | Haiwaniyat ki intiha            | 1 |
| 1 | 72cm  | 2 | 2 | jangjoo group                   | 1 |
| 2 | 72cm  | 2 | 2 | Takhreebi sargarmiisan          | 1 |
| 3 | 250cm | 6 | 2 | Jarihana azaaem                 | 1 |
| 4 | 300cm | 4 | 2 | Taliban ka falsafa deen         | 2 |
| 4 | 261cm | 4 | 2 | achay ore buray dehshatgard     | 1 |
| 4 | 247cm | 2 | 2 | islami jihadi musallahgaroh     | 1 |
| 5 | 36cm  | 2 | 2 | war on terror                   | 2 |
| 3 | 247cm | 2 | 2 | askariatpasand                  | 1 |
| 3 | 288cm | 1 | 2 | secular qatil                   | 1 |
| 4 | 208cm | 1 | 2 | Insan k hi roop main shaitan    | 1 |
| 4 | 221cm | 4 | 2 | Hardliners                      | 1 |
| 2 | 81cm  | 2 | 2 | mushtarka agenda                | 2 |
| 4 | 195cm | 4 | 2 | Muzakrat ka lever               | 2 |
| 4 | 231cm | 4 | 2 | Taliban nawaz hawari partiyan   | 1 |
| 3 | 260cm | 2 | 2 | jangjoo                         | 2 |
| 4 | 168cm | 5 | 2 | sharpassand                     | 1 |
| 4 | 182cm | 6 | 2 | Mukhalfeen                      | 1 |
| 5 | 36cm  | 1 | 1 | Dilkharash hadsa                | 1 |
| 5 | 36cm  | 2 | 2 | Ochay hathkanday                | 1 |
| 4 | 36cm  | 2 | 2 | Dehshatgardi ki fasal           | 1 |
| 3 | 240cm | 4 | 2 | Askariat pasand                 | 2 |
| 4 | 120cm | 1 | 2 | Mulk dushman anasir             | 1 |
| 1 | 153cm | 4 | 2 | Dehshatgardi kay khilaf jang    | 2 |

|   |       |   |   |                         |   |
|---|-------|---|---|-------------------------|---|
| 2 | 72cm  | 2 | 2 | Aatishfishan sooratehal | 1 |
| 5 | 112cm | 1 | 2 | Islam dushman anasir    | 1 |
| 3 | 168cm | 2 | 2 | Mujrim garoh            | 2 |

### Coding Sheet of *Dawn*

| Type of piece | Measures | Frame Theme | Slant | Metaphors                             | Frame type |
|---------------|----------|-------------|-------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 5             | 60cm     | 2           | 3     | offenders, political affiliation      | 1          |
| 5             | 24cm     | 1           | 2     | Extortionists                         | 2          |
| 1             | 152cm    | 4           | 1     | reconciled groups                     | 1          |
| 3             | 320cm    | 6           | 3     | no one gets left behind               | 1          |
| 4             | 320cm    | 6           | 3     | war of revenge against India          | 2          |
| 1             | 152cm    | 3           | 3     | good Taliban bad t=Taliban'           | 1          |
| 5             | 64cm     | 2           | 2     | menace of militancy                   | 1          |
| 5             | 80cm     | 3           | 3     | withdrawal of US troops               | 1          |
| 3             | 296cm    | 2           | 3     | Taliban are not the only killers      | 1          |
| 1             | 160cm    | 5           | 2     | target killings                       | 2          |
| 5             | 56cm     | 2           | 2     | Ongoing Lyari unrest                  | 1          |
| 5             | 40cm     | 1           | 2     | Extremism and terrorism               | 2          |
| 5             | 160cm    | 2           | 3     | state threatening security challenges | 1          |
| 2             | 112cm    | 1           | 2     | lament the militants' savagery        | 1          |
| 5             | 80cm     | 6           | 3     | bolt from the blue                    | 1          |
| 4             | 320cm    | 5           | 2     | law and order problem                 | 2          |
| 3             | 368cm    | 1           | 2     | imbalanced ideological attitudes      | 2          |
| 1             | 160cm    | 4           | 3     | game changer                          | 1          |

|   |       |   |   |  |   |
|---|-------|---|---|--|---|
| 3 | 384cm | 2 | 2 | zero tolerance policy                    | 1 |
| 5 | 140cm | 3 | 2 | target of the CIA is weakening Al Qaeda  | 1 |
| 1 | 160cm | 5 | 3 | Political leadership is pusillanimous    | 1 |
| 3 | 374cm | 3 | 2 | chaos and mayhem in Afghanistan          | 1 |
| 3 | 280cm | 1 | 2 | rebuild Jinnah's Pakistan                | 1 |
| 1 | 168cm | 6 | 3 | law and order situation in Karachi       | 1 |
| 3 | 352cm | 2 | 3 | attack on D. I. Khan prison              | 1 |
| 1 | 160cm | 5 | 3 | TTP is hardly bashful about its exploits | 2 |
| 2 | 136cm | 5 | 2 | Rangers be given more powers             | 1 |
| 3 | 304cm | 5 | 2 | targeted operations                      | 1 |
| 5 | 64cm  | 6 | 3 | cruel killers of humanity                | 1 |
| 4 | 228cm | 2 | 2 | ambivalent when it comes to terrorism    | 2 |
| 5 | 228cm | 3 | 3 | aggressive move will met with full force | 1 |
| 5 | 270cm | 6 | 3 | Taliban welcomed the talks offer         | 1 |
| 5 | 54cm  | 2 | 3 | all-out war & attack on strategic assets | 1 |
| 5 | 80cm  | 6 | 2 | peace in the country                     | 2 |
| 3 | 344cm | 1 | 2 | their own likeness                       | 2 |
| 5 | 56cm  | 6 | 2 | Dialogue with talibans                   | 1 |
| 1 | 160cm | 2 | 2 | preconditions for talks                  | 1 |
| 3 | 368cm | 4 | 3 | manufactured without a 'turn off' switch | 2 |
| 1 | 160cm | 1 | 2 | it is a fight, war even, against         | 2 |

|   |       |   |   | militancy                                |   |
|---|-------|---|---|--|---|
| 3 | 336cm | 2 | 2 | Taliban type militants                   | 1 |
| 4 | 357cm | 2 | 3 | perpetrators of the attacks              | 2 |
| 5 | 36cm  | 2 | 3 | insurgents must be paid in the same coin | 1 |
| 5 | 72cm  | 2 | 2 | Why do we pamper the Taliban?            | 1 |
| 5 | 42cm  | 2 | 2 | following the deviant path of Kharjees   | 2 |
| 5 | 42cm  | 2 | 2 | the terrorists will have to be stopped   | 2 |
| 5 | 42cm  | 1 | 2 | heinous crimes                           | 1 |
| 5 | 42cm  | 6 | 2 | major breakthrough                       | 1 |
| 5 | 65cm  | 2 | 2 | target killers                           | 1 |
| 2 | 98cm  | 3 | 2 | Safe haven for mujahideen in Pakistan"   | 2 |
| 5 | 32cm  | 2 | 2 | militants in north Waziristan            | 1 |
| 5 | 48cm  | 1 | 2 | hardliners of north Waziristan           | 1 |
| 5 | 76cm  | 6 | 3 | Taliban apologists                       | 1 |
| 5 | 56cm  | 2 | 2 | terrorists and terrorised (state)        | 2 |
| 5 | 39cm  | 2 | 2 | peace deals with these elements          | 1 |
| 4 | 320cm | 2 | 2 | liberals and reactionaries               | 1 |
| 1 | 112cm | 2 | 2 | zeroed in on anyone they see as a threat | 1 |
| 2 | 320cm | 2 | 2 | damaging for Pakistan                    | 1 |
| 5 | 130cm | 3 | 2 | Qaeda use all sorts of weapons           | 2 |
| 5 | 40 cm | 2 | 2 | militants and attackers                  | 2 |
| 5 | 45cm  | 2 | 2 | a show to tackle the issue               | 2 |
| 5 | 35cm  | 6 | 2 | unidentified groups                      | 1 |

|   |       |   |   |  |   |
|---|-------|---|---|--|---|
| 5 | 15cm  | 1 | 2 | military operations                      | 1 |
| 5 | 196cm | 6 | 2 | ceasefire by both                        | 2 |
| 5 | 280cm | 2 | 3 | language of bullets                      | 2 |
| 1 | 160cm | 1 | 2 | 33000 absconders                         | 1 |
| 3 | 384cm | 3 | 2 | Al Qaeda remains in the driving seat     | 2 |
| 2 | 128cm | 3 | 2 | the Afghan Taliban's                     | 2 |
| 3 | 288cm | 3 | 2 | Fidayeen attackers                       | 2 |
| 1 | 160cm | 5 | 2 | violent extremists                       | 1 |
| 3 | 368cm | 2 | 2 | fall beyond the writ of the constitution | 2 |
| 5 | 140cm | 2 | 2 | Mullah Baradar important Taliban figure  | 1 |
| 3 | 480cm | 6 | 2 | war ravaged country                      | 1 |
| 5 | 35cm  | 1 | 2 | hardliners                               | 1 |
| 5 | 135cm | 2 | 2 | enemies of humanity, guerilla warfare    | 1 |
| 5 | 30cm  | 1 | 2 | enemies of peace and humanity            | 1 |
| 3 | 328cm | 6 | 2 | unknown organization                     | 2 |
| 1 | 152cm | 6 | 2 | negotiations with the TTP                | 2 |
| 4 | 304cm | 3 | 2 | agenda of global jihadism                | 2 |
| 2 | 120cm | 1 | 2 | crimes against the state                 | 1 |
| 5 | 96cm  | 2 | 2 | don't operate in an organized manner     | 1 |
| 5 | 35cm  | 2 | 2 | heavily armed terrorists                 | 1 |
| 5 | 100cm | 5 | 2 | massacre of the Hazara community         | 1 |
| 5 | 60cm  | 1 | 2 | brutal, inhuman terrorist attacks        | 1 |
| 5 | 35cm  | 2 | 2 | terrorist groups celebrate success       | 1 |
| 4 | 112cm | 2 | 2 | rebellious terrorists                    | 1 |

|   |       |   |   |   |   |
|---|-------|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 320cm | 5 | 2 | abuse of the Islamic concept of Jihad     | 2 |
| 5 | 182cm | 6 | 2 | a group of vagabonds                      | 2 |
| 5 | 126cm | 6 | 2 | terrorist outfits                         | 1 |
| 5 | 40cm  | 2 | 2 | dastardly Taliban                         | 1 |
| 3 | 320cm | 1 | 2 | religious militants                       | 1 |
| 3 | 320cm | 2 | 2 | good Taliban talking to the "bad Taliban' | 2 |
| 5 | 96cm  | 6 | 2 | twisted and bloody brand of shariah       | 2 |
| 5 | 40cm  | 2 | 2 | military operation against terrorists     | 1 |
| 5 | 120cm | 4 | 3 | Afghan Taliban                            | 1 |
| 5 | 96cm  | 5 | 2 | misguided militants                       | 1 |
| 1 | 189cm | 3 |   | militancy and terrorism                   | 2 |
| 3 | 320cm | 4 | 3 | Punjabi Taliban                           | 2 |
| 3 | 352cm | 6 | 2 | good jihad -1980s bad jihad post 9-11     | 1 |