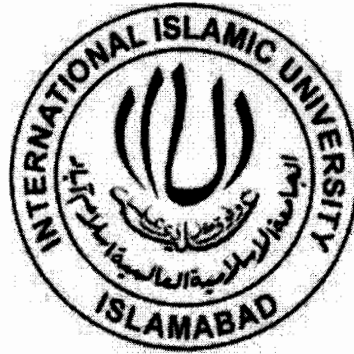


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**Conflicts, Constitutional and Developmental News
Coverage in Local Newspapers of Gilgit-Baltistan**

Content Analysis of the weekly Azan, Naqara and K-2

M.Sc. Thesis



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Final Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis submitted by Rashid Hussain. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic university Islamabad for the Master Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

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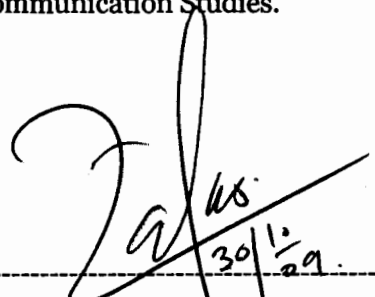
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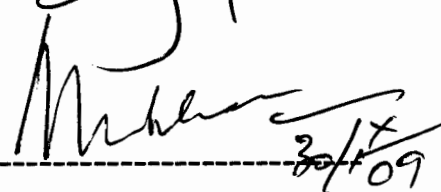
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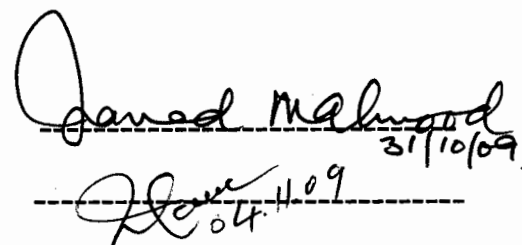


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04/11/09

Declaration

This thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of master in media and communication studies to the Center for Media and Communication studies. I solemnly declare that this is my original work and I have not plagiarized any material and whatever I quoted from a secondary source proper citation and references have been made.

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Abstract

Media and journalism in the Gilgit-Baltistan are operating under some of the worst conditions in the world. Government control of media, illiteracy, and lack of access to information as well as financial and social constraints are some of the issues limiting the populations' access to truthful and thorough information. The main objective of this study is to investigate the local newspapers' coverage on constitutional status of Gilgit-Baltistan, Development news coverage and conflicts coverage especially sectarian conflicts' coverage in local newspapers of Gilgit-Baltistan. The nature of research is content analysis of selected local newspapers

To my parents

Only when we want, the world can be changed

(Thank you for teaching me this lesson)

Acknowledgment

This thesis is the laborious endeavor of two months which I did after the completion of the course at the Center for Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University, Islamabad. I am deeply indebted to my supervisor Dr. Zafar Iqbal, whose patience and kindness has been valuable to me, in the preparation of this thesis.

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Thanks to my parents emotional, moral and of course financial support– during my educational career.

Rashid Hussain Saami
August 31, 2009

Chapter One:

Introduction

The Northern Areas of Pakistan are the Northern most region of the territory under the Pakistani control. It is also known as Gilgit-Baltistan. This area is constitutionally under a Legal Frame Work Order LFO. It is directly ruled from Islamabad through the Northern areas Legislative Council which is convened only when Pakistan's Federal Minister for Kashmir affairs calls it. India does not recognize it as part of Pakistan and calls its part of Pakistani administrated Kashmir (Aman, 1998, pp.30-46).

The story of the Northern Areas is the story of the deprived people who are struggling fro their rights. To declare the Northern Areas as fifth province of the Pakistan is the long standing demand of the people. Political parties are also demanding that if not possible to make it fifth province under the United Nation Resolution on Kashmir, then government, at least, should give Northern Areas the same constitutional status as being enjoyed by Pakistani Kashmir. Some nationalist parties, nonetheless, are struggling for an independent state and they are also catching attraction of the people because of complex legal and constitutional situation of the Northern Areas.

Some residents of northern areas filed writ petition in the high court of the Pakistan administered Kashmir under the section 44 of its interim constitution claiming they were the subjects of the Pakistan administrated Kashmir .The high court decided that the Northern Areas are the part of Pakistani Kashmir .However, the supreme court said that the High Court had no jurisdiction to issue such verdict (Dani, 2003, p.24).

There is no industry in Northern Areas a part of tourism, which has also badly suffered in wake of 9/11 events. It has very low literacy rate; 14 percent for man and 3.5 percent for women. According to a survey, conducted by Aga Khan Foundation, there were 674 educational

instructions in public sector in 1988. According to another survey, there were 522 primary schools, 337 for boys and 185 for girls, in 2002. There were some 38,000 students enrolled in these schools while there were 1,300 teachers in these primary schools. There were 86 middle schools, 57, high schools, 49 for boys and 8 for girls, 26,978 students and only 690 teachers. There are hundreds of villages which don't have even a primary school while the school in lucky villages faces severe problems.

There is shortage of teachers in hundreds of schools; about 20 per cent of schools are without teachers. Hundreds of schools do not have furniture and sources of schools, buildings are in very poor state, there are just 7 intermediate colleges, 2 degree colleges and only one university which is recently established with the name of Karakoram International University. It is very strange that there is no medical or engineering college in Northern Areas. As compared to this, there were 2 universities and 75 colleges in the Pakistani-administered Kashmir (Rana et al., pp.7-8).

The Northern Areas are geo-strategically very important. To its north is China, towards the North West Tajikistan, in the west Afghanistan whereas Pakistani administered Kashmir lies to the east. In the past, Russia and Great Britain competed to gain control of these areas. Now this area is completely under the control of Pakistan although India still keeps an eye on these areas. The United States of America, too, is getting interested in the area. The Americans could be interested to monitor and block this route for Chinese.

There are eight major ethnic groups namely Baltis, Sheens, Yashkuns, Moghals, Kashmiris, Pathans, Ladakhis and Turkish speaking the delicacies of Balti, Brushaski Khawar, Wakhi, Turki Tibeti, Pushto, Urdu and Persian. The four major Muslim sects are here: the Shias, Sunni, Ismailies and Nourbakhshies who have been living for centuries in an environment of tolerance, harmony though over the past two decades there have been frequent causes of sectarian violence at its peak.

In the south of Brushal was the civilization of Dardistan, which absorbed part of Broshal. In the fifth century, Balawaristan, which consisted of Ladakh and Baltistan, took over Dardistan. The capital of Dardistan was in Kohistan, while that of Balawaristan was Skardu. In the later centuries, the kingdom of Balawaristan started disintegrating into small states; they also coincided with the entrance of Islam in the region.

During the middle ages, the Northern Areas were divided into small city or valley-states, which were ruled by small chieftains until the beginning of the 19th century. Like elsewhere, they were in constant conflicts. The internal conflicts weakened them. In the view of this, the Sikhs of Punjab unsuccessfully tried to occupy the part of Northern Areas on several occasion. The middle ages came to an end and the modern era began with the British colonialism in the subcontinent. The modern history of Northern Areas is the history of the Sikh and later British struggle to subjugate the Northern Areas, first through the maharaja of the state of the Jammu and Kashmir and, later directly.

The political Agency of Gligit was established during 1877 under the charge of British agent. It was withdrawn a couple of years later. The princely states of Hunza, Nagar and small principalities of Yasin, Punyal, Ishkoman and Gupis were made to pay allegiance to the British agent leaving them nominally independent. In 1935 The British acquire the Gilgit wazarat on lease for a 60 year period from the maharaja of Kashmir. However; the British cancelled their lease on the eve of their departure from the subcontinent. Assistant political agent at Chilas administrated Diامر district. He had to travel a long distance by sea, road and on horse back as well as on foot before reaching Chilas where the arduous journey ended after months of travel. The British continued to invade and subjugate or annex territories beyond Gilgit-Baltistan. The people and the rulers of the Northern Areas had been constantly struggling for freedom from the

Dogra and the British rulers in the 19th century. Their struggle was not aimed at only fighting the aggressors but also to keep their Islamic identity.

Geography of the Northern Areas

The area spread over 72'496² kilometers populated by about one million (0.574 million; census 1981) indicating population density of 10 person per sq kilometer. The Northern Regions are as fascinating as its southern regions. Amidst towering snow-clad peaks with highest varying from 1,000 meters to 8,000 meters, the regions of Gilgit, Hunza and Baltistan recall Shangri-la. Nowhere in the world is such great concentration of high mountains, peaks, glaciers and passes except Pakistan.

Five of the eight thousands (above 8,000 peaks) of the world are in the Northern Areas. There are several high altitude lakes in the Northern Areas, Shosar Lake in Deosai plains, Sadpara Lake in Skardu, Shangirila in Skardu, Borith Lake in upper Hunza, and Rama Lake near Astore.

In the northwest, it borders Afghanistan's Wakhan Strip, in the northeast, it borders China's Sinkiang. In the southeast it borders the Indian administered state of Jammu and Kashmir. It borders Pakistan's NWFP in the west. The Northern Areas comprise six districts in two regions: the two Balti districts of Skardu and Ghanche, and the four Gilgit districts of Diamer, Ghizer, Gilgit and Astore. The main political centers are the towns of Gilgit and Skardu.

The entire region is severely divided on sectarian lines since late eighties, after a group of Jihadis attacked a Shia village called Jalalabad, located at the periphery of Gilgit city and burnt it down, killing men, women, children and even animals, without discrimination. The exact number of people killed in these brutal attacks on civilians in Gilgit- Baltistan is not known. Neither have we known anything about the perpetrators, executioners, financiers and the planners of the attack. No one has been punished, needless to say, Justice has not been done.

After that attack, launched in 1988, there have been several sectarian riots in the region. Members of opposite sects (including Shias and Ismailies) have been slaughtered on the Karakoram Highway, shot in the streets of Gilgit city and tormented throughout the region. This is not to mean that only the Sunnis are taking guns in hands, the Shias have also killed members of their opposite sects. Several Ismailies have also been killed in the “cross fire”.

In past various political regimes ignore in developmental sector. But when Parveez Musharrf came in to the power the developmental activities started with full speed.

Though the Government of PPP claims to have increased the annual budgetary allocations for the NA from Pakistani Rs.600 million to one billion, the NA continues to be in a state of negligence, with three-fourths of the population estimated to be below the poverty line. It provides water for Punjab's agriculture, but there are no adequate irrigation facilities for its own agriculture. There is always an acute shortage of electricity and only now China has been helping in the construction of some small power stations. About 70 Chinese engineers are working on the construction of these projects. For want of power, there is no industry. Apart from the Karakoram Highway (1284 km) constructed by the Chinese in return for Pakistan's transfer of some of the territory in the NA to Xingjian, no new road construction has been undertaken due to the difficulty of the engineering works involved, particularly for the construction of tunnels. The North Korean Army has offered assistance for the construction of tunnels and in 2001 a North Korean team of military engineers had visited the area for studying the feasibility. The work is yet to be started. In the absence of any development, the principal means of livelihood for the local people were service in the Armed Forces and in the tourism industry. The tourism industry has been affected post-9/11 by the fighting in Afghanistan and the attack on a tourist bus carrying European tourists by suspected Al-Qaeda elements, while it was going to Xinjiang along the Karakoram Highway. Economic conditions are poor in the POK too, but those

affected, including those displaced by the construction of the Mangla Dam, have migrated in their hundreds to the Gulf and Western Europe to earn their living. The rigorous enforcement of the FCRs by the Army has even closed the door for migration abroad for the people of the NAs. The entire region is severely divided on sectarian lines since late eighties, after a group of Jihadis attacked a Shia village called Jalalabad, located at the periphery of Gilgit city, and burnt it down, killing men, women, children and even animals, without discrimination. The remnants of Afghan “Jihad” wanted to capture the Northern Areas and establish their rule in the region. The exact number of people killed in that most brutal of attacks on civilians in Gilgit- Baltistan is not known. Neither have we known anything about the perpetrators, executioners, financiers and the planners of the attack. No one has been punished, needless to say. Justice has not been done. Nowhere else, in the entire region, are the sectarian divisions more visible than Gilgit city. There are Sunni localities and then there are strictly Shia localities. These localities become no – go areas during times of sectarian clashes¹

After that attack, launched in 1988, there have been several sectarian riots in the region. Members of opposite sects (including Shias and Ismailies) have been slaughtered on the Karakoram Highway, shot in the streets of Gilgit city and tormented throughout the region. This is not to mean that only the Sunnis are taking guns in hands, the Shias have also killed members of their opposite sects. Several Ismailies have also been killed in the “cross fire”. On January 8, 2005, after the murder of Agha Zia-ud-Din Rizvi, an influential local leader of the Shia community, eighteen people, including director of a government department, were killed in broad daylight in Gilgit city. Schools, colleges and the region’s only university, the Karakoram International University, remained closed for more than ninety days because of the resulting

¹ This can be viewed on www.southasiaanalysis.org. We retrieved it on Apr, 29, 2009.

sectarian tension built. The most relevant question might be who is behind all this Sectarian killings in Gilgit – Baltistan are recent phenomena. People in the region had been living in peace for centuries, with negligible or no sectarian rift; what has suddenly changed in the region that the peaceful people have turned into extremist sect lovers. Nationalists and other centrifugal forces point fingers at the establishment, the agencies and other government elements, as is the ‘norm’ in other parts of the country as well. Some segments of the society blame the Indians and other world powers for the sectarian history of Gilgit- Baltistan. The position of the government is not known, because any inquiries, if held, are not shared with the public.

Nationalists argue that through sectarianism the region is kept divided, to avert attention from the denied constitutional rights of the region. This lack of transparency and justice has fueled suspicion and brewed alienation from the state, to a threatening degree. Lack of justice has coupled with the feeling of betrayal triggered by the state’s refusal to bring the region into the national political mainstream, has helped create an environment where the state is looked at with suspicion and distrust. Trained sectarian militias exist in the region, because of this feeling of insecurity.

Historical Background of Press in Gilgit-Baltistan

Media in Gilgit-Baltistan has a century old background. Basically, it was started by some Britishers in 1907 that came as agents of British rule in sub-continent. They started a pamphlet-magazine “*Spinker*” which is considered the first print medium in the region. In those days many newspapers and magazines were brought to Gilgit from Kashmir by post while the Kashmir-Gilgit road often remained uncertain on account of extremely variable weather conditions. Owing those news materials reached here after a couple of week, people of the region fulfilled their curiosity of information by reading these out dated materials (Barcha, 2003 p.11).

By the process of time, in the development continuum of journalism, the Karakoram, a periodical

literary magazine was introduced in 1970 by Federal Government Degree College Skardu under the editorship of Ghulam Hussain on yearly basis. By the starting of the Karakoram, the first printing press was also established in the region in 1970 with the name of Hunza Printing Press. Publishing of other periodical magazines started from Gilgit-Baltistan after the popularity of the aforesaid magazine. Up till 1987, only periodical magazines had been published. But in January 1988, a weekly newspaper named “Nawa-i-Gilgit” started its publication under the editorship of Mushtaq Ahmad Advocate. After publishing of “Nawa-i-Gilgit” a series of newspapers and magazines started their publications one after another.

Recent Developments in the field of Press

With the increase in literacy, now a great deal of daily and weekly newspapers is being published in English and Urdu from Gilgit-Baltistan and Islamabad. Apart from many obstacles and pressures these papers are playing their due role at their level best. However, no private television channel has yet been launched due to small market. Above all, two radio stations established in Gilgit and Skardu with the frequency of 1512 kHz are also playing a vital role in broadcasting the awareness regarding local, national and international affairs.

The daily and weekly published newspapers

Daily “**Muhasib**” the first ever weekly news paper being published from Gilgit city.

Daily “**K2**” started publication in May 1996 and being published from Islamabad.

Weekly “**Naqara**” printing at Islamabad started publication in Jan, 2007.

Weekly “**Waddi**” printing at Islamabad started publication in Sep, 2000.

Weekly “**Siachin**” printing at Skardu started publication in Nov 1988.

Weekly “**Mountain times**” printing at Islamabad started publication in May, 2007.

Weekly “**Sada-i-Gilgit**” printing at Islamabad started publication in Nov, 2004.

Weekly “**Badi-i-Shmal**” printing at Islamabad started publication in June, 1999.

Weekly “**Chatan**” printing at Islamabad started publication in June, 2004.

Weekly “**Azan**” printing at Islamabad started publication in Sep, 2006.

Weekly “**Bang-i-Sahar**” printing at Islamabad started publication in July, 2004.

Weekly “**Gilgit Today**” printing at Islamabad started publication in March, 2007.

Research Question

The purpose of this study was to investigate the coverage of local newspapers on major issues of NAs, especially developmental news coverage, news coverage on conflicts, and coverage of local newspapers on the constitutional status of the area.

This research addressed the question such as what is the proportion of the developmental news in three local newspapers. Do the local newspapers giving high proportion of space on sectarian conflicts? Do the local newspapers provide higher proportion of space for the development news? What is the proportion of conflicts, specially sectarian, political and ethnic in local newspapers? Do the local newspapers provide higher proportion of space on constitutional status of the area and the constitutional rights of the people?

Chapter Two:

Literature Review

The term “development journalism” is used to refer to two different types of journalism. The first is a new school of journalism which began to appear in the 1960s. The idea behind this type of development journalism is similar to investigative reporting, but it focuses on conditions in developing nations and ways to improve them. The other type of development journalism involves heavy influence from the government of the nation involved. While this type of development journalism can be a powerful tool for local education and empowerment, it can also be a means of suppressing information and restricting journalists. Attempts to document the conditions within a country so that the larger world can understand them. Journalists are encouraged to travel to remote areas, interact with the citizens of the country, and report back. This type of development journalism also looks at proposed government projects to improve conditions in the country, and analyzes whether or not they will be effective. Ultimately, the journalist may come up with proposed solutions and actions in the piece, suggesting ways in which they might be implemented. Often, this type of development journalism encourages a cooperative effort between citizens of the nation and the outside world.

The second type of development journalism can walk a thin line. On the one hand, government participation in mass media can help get important information spread throughout the nation. Governments can help to educate their citizens and enlist cooperation on major development projects. However, a government can also use the idea of “development” to restrict freedom of speech for journalists. Journalists are told not to report on certain issues because it will impact the “development” of the nation in question, and therefore citizens are not actually being given access to the whole picture.

As a tool for social justice, development journalism can be very valuable. By speaking for those who cannot, a development journalist can inform the rest of the world about important issues within developing nations. Looking at the strengths and weaknesses of a country may also help identify ways in which the nation can be helped. This style of development journalism is a tool for empowerment.

How development journalism should be practiced depends largely on how the term 'development' is defined. Scholars following the dominant paradigm in the 1950s constructed the top-down approach to development and communication as one-way flow of information. Scholars of the dependency paradigm in the 1960s pointed out the need for the developing countries to separate themselves from western countries in order to reach an advanced level of development. They promoted a balanced flow of information in and out of developing countries and articulated the New World information and communication order. Scholars of an alternative paradigm rejected the top-down, one-way and centralized approach and focus on two-way interactive and participatory communication (Singhal & Sthapianoanda, 1996).

Development is a complex phenomenon and development communication is systematic use of communication for national development (Lent, 1979). As Signal & Rogers (2001) mention:

“Development is widely participatory process of directed social change in society, intended to bring about both social and material advancement (including greater quality of freedom, and other valued qualities) for the majority of people through their gaining greater control over their environment (p.33)”.

Many countries justify government control over the media in the name of national security, religious and cultural harmony and the name of systematic use of the media to promote governmental agenda for development. As McDaniel (1986) has pointed out, politicians in developing countries “wish to be seen as champions of development issues” and warned “it might undermine development as a responsibility of the whole

population, picturing it instead as an activity of the influential and politically powerful”

(p. 170).

Both the government and privately owned media in developing countries present a higher proportion of development news. However, newspapers have different views about which aspect of development deserves their primary attention and how the news should be presented. Social welfare and national and international economics were most emphasized and official sources were most often quoted in the Indian dailies (Shah, 1990), whereas rural Georgian weekly newspapers devoted less space to development news, emphasized physical facilities development and rarely quoted government sources (Griswold & Swenson, 1992).

Development news should examine development plans critically, evaluate and point out disparities between the original plan and actual implementation (Aggarwala, 1979). Studies on media ownership and proportion of development news coverage showed that conglomerate-controlled newspapers cover more governmental news than development news in comparison to independent newspapers (Vilonia, 1979b) and very little of All India Radio newscasts were devoted to development news (Shah, 1988).

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

Interests can diverge in many ways: Over resources territory, money, energy sources, food and how they should be distributed. Over power, how control and participation in political decision-making are allocated. Over identity, concerning the cultural, social and political communities to

which people feel tied. Over status, whether people believe they are treated with respect and dignity and whether their traditions and social position are respected. Over values, particularly those embodied in systems of government, religion, or ideology Incompatibilities can be seen in changes in objective circumstances a lowered standard of living; demographic changes or population movements; technological changes that alter communications, material capacities, weaponry and relative power. Subjective changes can also generate conflict through, for instance, newly felt social resentments or a rising new nationalist ideology; these subjectively felt changes can arise whether or not objective changes have occurred. The parties' emotional states and mental outlooks influence conflict. Time is a factor as well: observers note that with time, a conflict's subjective content gains importance as its objective basis is obscured. A group or nation's objective circumstances do not themselves cause violent conflicts. Conflicts only arise out of these conditions or changes in them when it is perceived that interests are threatened by some other party (Burton, 1993,pp. 54-44).

It has become common to describe conflicts as passing through a series of phases. The potential for conflict exists whenever people have different needs, values, or interests; this is the "latent" conflict stage. The conflict may not become apparent until a "triggering event" leads to the emergence (or beginning) of the obvious conflict. Emergence may be followed quickly by settlement or resolution, or it may be followed by escalation, which can become very destructive²(Eric Brahm, 2003).

Constantine and define conflict as the fundamental disagreement between two parties of which a dispute is one possible outcome. (Conciliation, conflict avoidance, or capitulations are other

² This can be viewed on www.beyondintractability.org/essay/conflict_stages/?nid=1068.we retrieved it on, September, 2009.

outcomes). This is similar that conflict is a state, rather than a process. People who have opposing interests, values, or needs are in a state of conflict, which may be latent (meaning not acted upon).

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

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

“Ethnic conflicts are such conflicts, in which the goals of at least one conflict party are defined in (exclusively) ethnic terms”³

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

³ This can be viewed on www.en.wikipedia.org/sectrainism. We retrieved it on, 2009.

These conflicts arise, according to arguments of Bakker (as quoted in Szarka 1998), because the majority or dominant national government wants to establish the same conditions in regions where the majority population belongs to a minority as in other regions of that state. He presumes minority's ability for political articulations and formulation of its specific cultural, educational, and self-governance demands. Consequently, he defines a minority conflict "... as a form of active antagonism between the government of a state and representatives of a minority over the extent of opportunities of minorities to influence the use and organization of the (sub-state) territories they inhabit" ⁴

Hypothesis

This study examined whether or not this was true of local newspapers. Thus,

- H1: Newspapers from Gligit-Baltistan are not relatively giving enough coverage to the issues concerning the constitutional status of the area.
- H2: Developmental coverage is seldom seen in local newspapers of Gligit-Baltistan.
- H3: Development news receive more front- page coverage in weekly K-2 and weekly Naqara than weekly Azan.
- H4: Local newspapers provide high proportion of space to the conflicts especially that of Sectarian nature.
- H5: All the three newspapers giving high proportion of space on conflicts as compared to Developmental news coverage.

⁴ This can be viewed on www.hungarianquarterly.com/no150/130.html .We retrieved it on 1989.

The local newspapers Studied

This present study conducted is a content analysis of local Urdu newspapers from Gilgit Baltistan-the weekly Azan (Gilgit), the daily k-2 and the weekly Naqara. The three printed editions are among the highest circulated Urdu daily and weekly newspapers in Gilgit-Baltistan are of the same in terms of complexity of content choice.

Weekly Azan

Weekly Azan started publication from Islamabad containing four pages in Urdu language appeared on September, 2006 under the editorship of Khushee Muhammad Tariq. Its reporters are present in each district of Gilgit-Baltistan and also in capital. It is a private newspaper. Its readership is also in Karachi, Islamabad and various other cities of Pakistan where the people of Northern Areas exist. The publication of the newspaper which could appropriately reflect the present political, religious, cultural literary and national aspiration was the long felt need of the people of the NA. It catered the requirements of representation of voices of the people from NA to the ruling class. It deeply assisted in developing the political consciousness in the circle of the educated people of the area.

Azan is praised for its presentation, effectiveness, accuracy of language by the most learned Urdu writers. Its most reputed items are editorials that are appreciated in all corner of the NA. This newspaper often loaded the voice for constitutional rights of the people of NA. Advertisement is the main source of the income for the newspaper. Without advertisement, a paper could not continue its publication. Advertisement is given to this newspaper from both the government and the private sector. Columnists of these newspapers present attractive columns through their journalistic writing.

The main objective of this newspaper is to highlight the constitutional status of the Northern Areas and to raise the awareness about the hazards of sectarianism among the people of the Northern Areas

Weekly Naqara

Weekly Naqara printing at Islamabad started publication in 2004 under the editorship of renowned journalist of the region Raja Hussain Khan Maqpoon. The language of this news paper is Urdu. Weekly Naqara is also considered effective newspaper of the region. Slogan of this paper is (Gilgit -Baltistan ke awam ki awaz). Main objective of this paper is to focus the real issues of Gilgit-Baltistan, especially focusing developmental issues and constitutional status of the area. Content of this newspaper is based on local news and having only on editorial space and there is no space for columns and letter to editor. Government and influential personalities also appear in news stories. Circulation of this paper is also very high as compared to other local newspapers. This newspaper defines the socio, religious problem and also writes about rights for the people of the NA. The first page contains very important news related to Gilgit-Baltistan and inner page carries less important news.

Both the government and the private sector give advertisements to this newspaper. This newspaper is playing an important role to create political awareness among the people of the region. Weekly Naqara now merged into Karakoram Publishing Network. Head office is located in Islamabad and regional offices are in Skardu and Gilgit.

Weekly K-2

“K-2” started its publication from May 1996 Islamabad. This news papers is consider one of the highest circulated news papers of Gilgit Baltistan. The slogan of this paper is (Jabroo-Istehsal K Khilaff Barsar- e -Paikar) with the passage of time this newspaper made a respectable status in

the mind of local readers because the agenda setter of this paper defined that the main objective of this paper is to fight against the social evils.

K-2 is published under the karakoram publishing network. As compared to other local newspapers, circulation of this newspaper is highest. The main page of K-2 carries national news and some news items related to the Gilgit- Baltistan and second page of this paper gives full coverage of Gilgit-Baltistan related news. The title of the second page (Gilgit Baltistan kay Qaryya Qaryya say) which focus only regional news related to various towns and villages of Gilgit-Baltistan. Copies of this newspaper are sent to various cities of Pakistan including Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Karachi and Azad-Kashmir.

TH-64 57.
Content of this news paper is based on local news, related to Gilgit-Baltistan, According to senior management official of K-2 in Islamabad, the newspapers has been receiving threats from sectarian puppets. According to him, religious establishment which is based on Shias and Sunnis demand high proportion of coverage as compare to each other. General perception regarding this paper in public is positive. Due to successful 13, years of publication and highest circulation now weekly K-2 turned into daily newspaper and it has been publishing from various cities including Islamabad, Karachi and Azad-Kashmir.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

This study used content analysis which is defined as a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description on the manifest content of communication (Burlison, 1952p.18).

The purpose of this study was to investigate the coverage of local newspapers on major issues of NA, especially developmental news coverage, news coverage on conflicts, and coverage of local newspapers on the constitutional status and constitutional rights of the area.

This research addressed the question such as what is the proportion of the developmental news in three local newspapers. What are the content characteristics of development news? Do the local newspapers provide higher proportion of space for the development news? What is the proportion of conflicts, specially sectarian, political and ethnic in local newspapers?

Do the local newspapers provide higher proportion of space on constitutional status of the area and the constitutional rights of the people?

Sampling and variables

Guido H. Stempel III (1952) found that increasing the sample size beyond 12 does not produced marked differences in the results" (p.33) This study used the criteria suggested by Stempel and the sampling technique used by Vilanilm (1967),with some modification.

This research covered 6 month and the sampling fallowed by two steps:

First, the whole year was divided into 52 weeks and 26 were selected using random sampling. Second, from the 26 weeks were selected randomly to construct a 6 month. Thus, there were 26 weeks in sample. All news stories related to variables in front and back page (except

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advertisement and supplementary materials) published each newspapers on the selected weeks were coded and analyzed. The unit of analysis in this study was a news story like; Story placement (front page and back page); length of the story, type of the story i.e. development, conflict or constitutional.

Operational Definitions:

The definition of development news used by John V. Vilanilam (1979a) was adopted as an operational definition for this study. He defined development news as,

“News relating to the primary, secondary, and tertiary needs of a developing country. Primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. Secondary needs are Development of agriculture, industry and all economic activity which lead the fulfillment of the primary needs, plus development of education, literacy, health Environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labor welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are development of mass media, transportation, telecommunication, activities (p.34)”.

Conflict has definitions in the conflict resolution literature that range from bad thoughts to genocide. Conflict is present when two or more parties perceive that their interests are incompatible, express hostile attitudes, or pursue their interests through actions that damage the other parties. Sectarianism is bigotry, discrimination or hatred arising from attaching importance to perceived differences between subdivisions within a group, such as between different denominations of a religion or the factions of a political movement.

Ethnicity refers to the behavior and feeling (about oneself and others) that supposedly emanates from membership of an ethnic group. Ethnic conflict has come to mean cleavages between groups based on differentiations in ethnic identities⁵

⁵ This can be viewed on www.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu12ee/uu12ee06.htm, we retrieved it on, 2006.

Chapter Four:

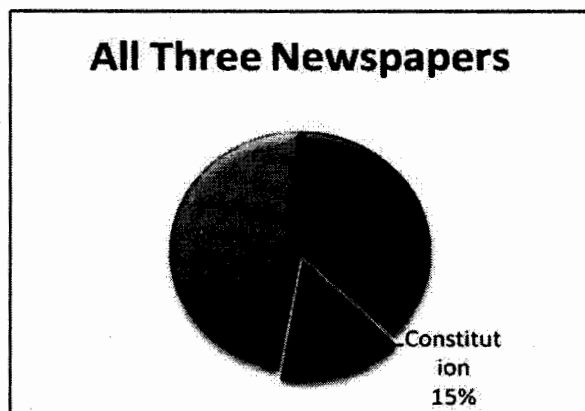
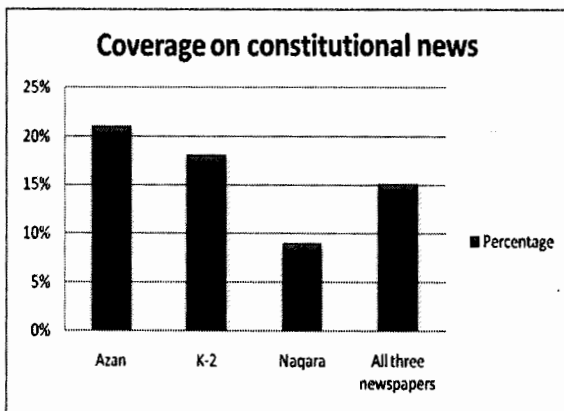
Findings and Discussion

Space devoted to Constitutional News coverage in local newspapers

Table 1 shows that the weekly Azan published highest proportion of space on constitutional status of the area (21%) followed by the Daily K-2 (18%) and the weekly Naqara (9%). However the total space of coverage on constitutional issue in all the three newspapers is only (15%), which confirms our hypothesis trueness that the local newspapers in Gilgit-Baltistan are not relatively giving enough coverage to the issue concerning the constitutional status of the area. The proportional ratio of constitutional news coverage in all the three news papers has limited to (15%) with 113 news stories.

Table 1: Space devoted to Constitutional News coverage

Coverage on constitutional news	Azan	K-2	Naqara	All three newspapers
Number of news	46	49	18	113
Size of News (cm ²)	3278.04	2369.5	1673.25	7320.79
Percentage	21%	18%	9%	15%

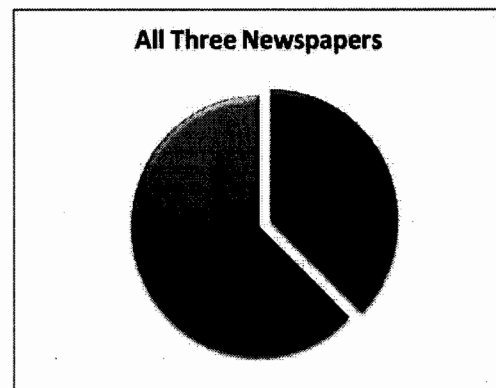
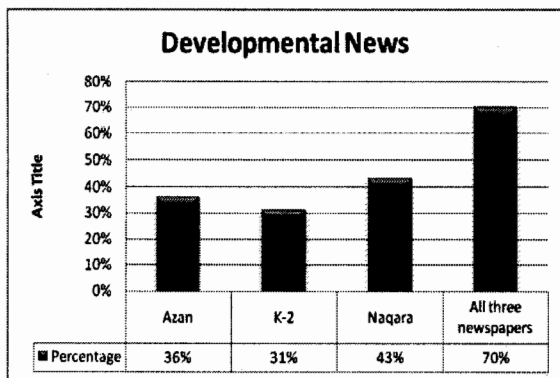


Number of stories on Development News

Table 2 shows that weekly Naqara provide high proportion of space for the Development News stories.(43%) followed by the weekly Azan (36%) and Daily K-2 (31%). Total coverage of all the three newspapers in developmental news (70), which indicate that the hypothesis, Developmental news coverage is seldom seen in local newspapers, is false. Because all the newspapers giving high proportion of space on development news. The proportional ratio of developmental news coverage in all the three news papers has been (70%) with 428 news items.

Table: 2 Number Developmental News items in selected newspapers

Coverage on Developmental news	Azan	K-2	Naqara	All three newspapers
Number of news	132	141	155	428
Size of News (cm ²)	57432.2	4065.5	8031.56	69529.26
Percentage	36%	31%	43%	70%

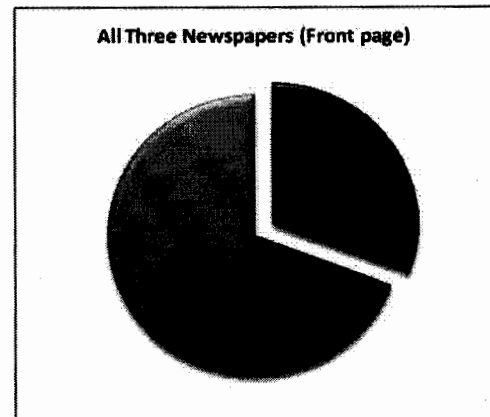
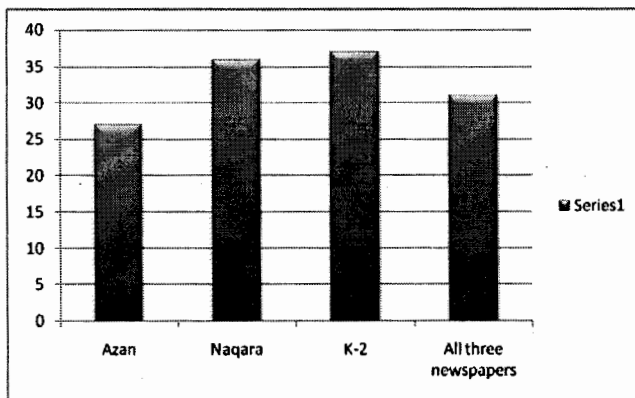


Development news coverage on front page of local newspapers

Table 3 shows that the Daily K-2 published high proportion of development news (37%) in front page, followed by weekly Naqara (36%) and weekly Azan (27%). Daily K-2 published 77 news items in front page, Naqara published 70 and Azan published 57 news items in front page. After these finding the hypothesis, Daily K-2 and weekly Naqara giving high percentage of space for the development news in front page then weekly Azan is prove true by the percentage and news.

Table: 3.Front page coverage of development news space devoted in local newspapers

Front page Coverage on Developmental news	Azan	Naqara	K-2	All three newspapers
Number of news	57	70	77	204
Size of News (cm ²)	3037.3	4041.79	4065.5	11144.59
Percentage	27%	36%	37%	31

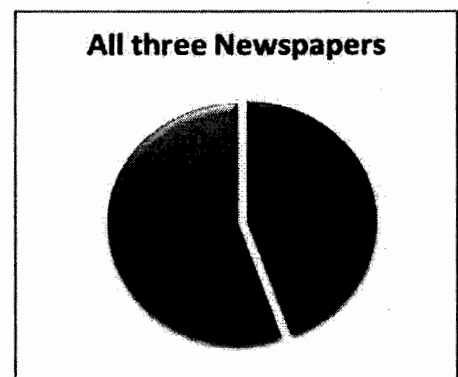
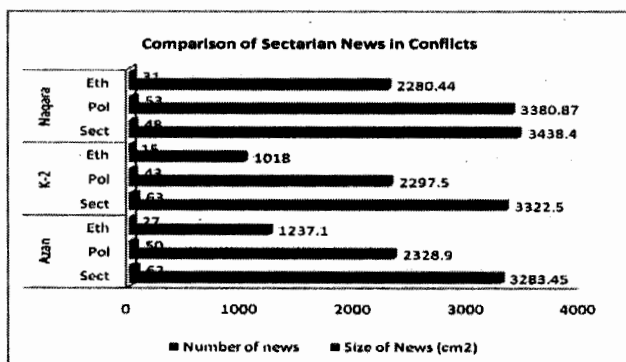


Local newspapers coverage on conflicts

Table 4 shows that Daily K-2 giving high proportion of space on conflicts especially sectarian nature. Daily K-2 published total 121 news items on conflicts. K-2 Published 63 news stories on sectarian conflicts, 24 news items on political conflict and 15 news items on ethnic conflicts. According to percentage (50%) on sectarian conflicts (35%) political conflicts and (15%) on ethnic conflicts coverage found in Daily K-2. Weekly Azan published 137 news items on conflicts (48) on sectarian conflicts (34%) political conflict and (18%) on ethnic conflicts. Weekly Naqara published 132 news items on conflicts (38%) on sect rein (37%) on political and (25%) ethnic. all the three newspapers published 392 stories on conflicts. out of 392 173 news stories on sectarian conflicts and percent of (45%),146 on political conflicts (35%) and 73 on ethnic(20%). Findings after this analysis hypothesis which claims the local newspapers giving high proportion of space on the conflicts especially sectarian nature proved true.

Table: 4 Coverage of conflict comparison with sectarian issues

Coverage on / conflicts news	Azan			K-2			Naqara			All three newspapers		
	Sect	Pol	Eth	Sect	Pol	Eth	Sect	Pol	Eth	Sect	Pol	Eth
Number of news	62	50	27	63	43	15	48	53	31	173	146	73
Size of News (cm ²)	3283.45	2328.9	1237.1	3322.5	2297.5	1018	3438.4	3380.87	2280.44	10044.35	8007.27	4535.54
Percentage	48	34	18	50	35	15	38	37	25	45	35	20



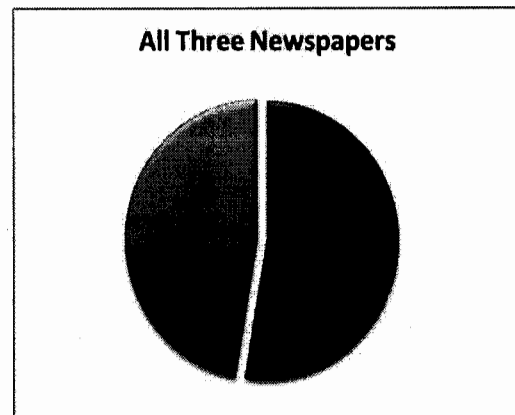
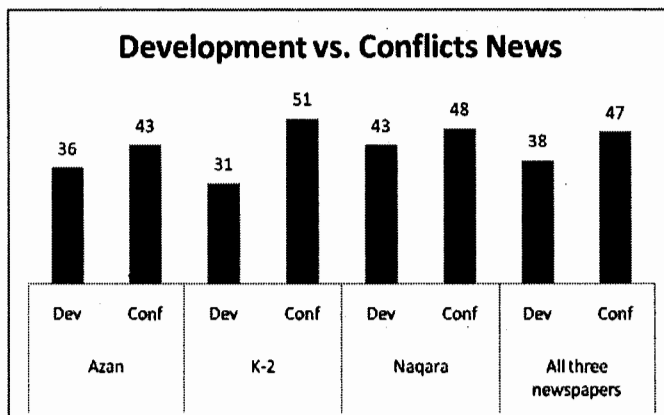
Coverage of conflict and development news in local Newspapers (comparison)

Table: 5 shows that the Daily K-2 given (51%) space on conflicts and (31%) space on developmental news. Weekly Azan given (43%) space on conflicts as compared to developmental news is (36%). Weekly Nqara given (48%) space on conflicts and (43%) on developmental news. All the three newspapers given high proportion of the space which is (47%) as compared to developmental news coverage is (38%).

In the light of these findings this hypothesis proved true that all the news paper given high proportion of space given on conflicts as compared to developmental news coverage. These findings can be justified through the number of stories which published on these news papers. All three newspapers (392) stories on conflicts and (365) stories on developmental news.

Table: 5 Comparison of Developmental and Conflict issues

development news vs. conflicts	Azan		K-2		Naqara		All three newspapers	
	Dev	Conf	Dev	Conf	Dev	Conf	Dev	Conf
Number of news	132	139	77	121	156	132	365	392
Size of News (cm ²)	5743.2	6849.43	4065.5	6638	8031.56	9099.71	17840.26	22587.14
Percentage	36	43	31	51	43	48	38	47



Chapter Five:

Conclusion

Based on the findings discussed above, in the present study reveals four out of five hypotheses' are true regarding conflicts, constitutional and developmental news coverage in local newspapers of Gilgit-Baltistan. One hypothesis that Developmental news coverage is seldom seen in local newspapers is false because the local newspapers cover such news.

This study shows that local newspapers give more coverage to conflicts especially sectarian one which are sensitive enough in Northern Areas and due to high proportion of space spared for such news in local newspapers, this issue can become more visible and harmful for the social and regional harmony. It is also found that constitutional issues are not in the priorities of local press i.e. only 7% collectively in all the three newspapers. Governmental and local stakeholders may be responsible for this low coverage to constitutional issue. The selected three newspapers give high proportion of space to developmental issues and activities which is a good sign for the regional developmental activities like education, structural development, health, agriculture & food, environment, transportation, telecommunication and water.

Based on finding we discussed above the present study supports that the finding that local newspapers of northern areas given high proportion of space on conflicts especially sectarian nature conflicts. Coverage of local newspapers on development news is quite satisfactory and coverage on status of the area is less than 15% which point out the negligence of local press towards this major issue of the region.

Recommendations

After the content analysis of local newspapers of Gilgit-Baltistan here I recommend:

- Sectarianism is sensitive issue in Gilgit-Baltistan local press should give less coverage on sectarian issue for the reduction of sectarian nature conflicts.
- Local newspapers neglect the sectarian puppets who acquire more space on papers due to the sectarian influence.
- Local press deal sectarian issue direct with mass instead of individuals and no favor would be given to specific sect.
- Local press adopt the method of peace journalism instead of war journalism while covering different sorts of conflicts in the region.
- Government assists local press through advertisement, training and set workshop for the local journalists.
- Local press should highlight social issues of the area and development issues coverage in investigative journalistic sense.
- Local press should give proportion of space on constitutional status and rights of the people of the region. While focusing this issue press should highlight those people who wants their constitutional rights and autonomy under the Pakistani flag instead of those who are fighting for the own purposes and foreign agenda in the name of constitutional struggle.

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