

MS Research Thesis

**REPATRIATION OF AFGHAN REFUGEES FROM PAKISTAN:
FRAMING ANALYSIS OF DAWN AND KABUL TIMES**



RESEARCHER

Sheraz Ahmad Sherazi

Reg No: 535-FSS/MSMC/F22

SUPERVISOR

Dr. Rooh ul Amin Khan
Assistant Professor

DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA & COMMUNICATION STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD PAKISTAN

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Sheraz Ahmad Sherazi

Reg: 535-FSS/MSMC/F22

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ABSTRACT

The current analysis targeted to explore the framing of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan in two projecting newspapers The *Dawn* from Pakistan and *Kabul Times* from Afghanistan, the repatriation of Afghan refugees is a multifaceted and complex problem with inferences for regional stability, By take on a framing analysis, the current analysis seek and recognized how these both newspapers construct and represent the repatriation description, manipulating public opinion and strategy discourse. The researcher implemented quantitative content analysis and convenient sample technique in the current analysis. Inspected news articles, editorials, and opinion fragments in the nominated newspapers. The framing analysis emphases on classifying significant frames, linguistic patterns, and pictorial elements used to contemporaneous the repatriation procedure. The comparative method enables a nuanced sympathetic of the resemblances and divergences in framing plans adopted by media outlets from diverse nations. By inspecting the framing of the repatriation procedure in *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* the study targets to discover potential prejudices, cultural nuances, and political inspirations that effect media demonstration. The framing of *Dawn* focused the tasks Pakistan faces and the requirement for outside backing, while the *Kabul Times* stresses Afghanistan's role and the optimistic potential of deportation for the republic's upcoming.

Key Words: *Repatriation, Refugee, The DAWN and The Kabul Times*

1. INTRODUCTION

The current analysis addressed the essential for a critical inspection of media dissertation on the repatriation process of Afghan refugees, as it grasps insinuations for diplomatic relationships, social consistency, and the wellbeing of the recurring inhabitants. By classifying and examining framing patterns in the *Dawn* and the *Kabul Time*, the current analysis propose to deliver insights that can notify policymakers, the worldwide community, and media consultants, fostering an additional nuanced and stable discourse on the deportation procedure.

The contemporary framing can suggestively influence the greeting of persistent Afghan refugees in together host and home nations. By examining the framing policies in employment by these newspapers, we purpose to uncover possible preferences, cultural shades, and political inspirations that may form the narrative everywhere the repatriation of Afghan immigrants, thereby causative to a complete understanding of the tasks and opportunities related with this multifaceted challenges.

The Pakistan and Afghanistan have had a past of tense and concerned relationships (Siddiqi, 2008). Since 1979, Pakistan has presented a great quantity of Afghan migrants, which has affected tasks such as safety distresses, a stressed budget, and the provisional supplanting of inside expatriate persons (IDPs). Afterward the APS bout and the blastoff of Operation Zarb-e-Azb, Pakistan were no extended capable to continue accepting migrants (Khan, 2014). Though, the difficult condition in Afghanistan marked by forcefulness, threats, deficiency, and political and financial unpredictability made it durable for migrants to reappearance. Many refugees saw Pakistan as their permanent home, as they had married there and, in some cases, obtained Pakistani nationality by various means. The presence of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), was linked to an increase in crimes such as kidnapping and murder. However, it is important to note that refugees were not the sole contributors to these crimes (Schmeidl, 2002).

The repatriation of Afghan refugees has been a prominent and multifaceted theme in the print media of Pakistan and Afghanistan. In the language of journalism the print media considered that information which take space rather than time as broadcasting is called print media. It can be read at any available time and can be kept for record. Before the invention and use of printing presses, printed materials had to be written by hand (Kumar, 2017).

1.1 Background of the Study

The challenges faced by Afghan refugees have been examined through print media, focusing on their status and issues in Pakistan (Batool, 2019). Media portrayals of immigrants and refugees are crucial to analyze, as the media significantly influences how these groups are perceived and how their identities are shaped for public acceptance. In today's world, the importance of media cannot be ignored. Media delivers a broad podium that lets people to view circumstances from dissimilar perspectives and plays a significant character in cover events throughout together war and peace. It has the control to shape community view in its own method. Print media, as an old and right-hand medium, has an exclusive influence on people's opinions due to its in-depth reportage and investigation. Its effects incline to be long-lasting, as it is broadly nearby and offers inclusive reporting of happenings. This consistency makes print media a favorite choice for full and thoughtful journalism (Lawlor & Tolley, 2017).

The character of media in determining public views of Afghan refugees is a developing part of research. Media storylines often represent refugees as whichever fatalities in essential of support or as security intimidations (Wright, 2004). These representations influence civic judgment and, by postponement, government strategies. Studies recommend that well-adjusted and precise media attention can performance a character in fostering better considerate and understanding for migrants (Ali, 2020).

The paper's inspiration extends to together the political and academic circles in Pakistan, with various high-ranking politicians, officials, and academics trusting on *The Dawn* for contemporary affairs informs and analysis (Farooq, 2019). With an attention on national problems such as governance, refuge, and economic expansion, the paper also researches into international topics, donation understandings into global politics. *The Dawn* is documented for its extraordinary journalistic standards, investigative reporting, and journalistic independence, creation it one of Pakistan's important publications. Its coverage of provincial topics, particularly regarding Afghanistan and India, is also distinguished, given the difficult geopolitical relations in South Asia.

The Dawn also plays a key role in framing social issues, such as the rights of women and minorities, with a stance that often challenges conservative viewpoints. The newspaper is recognized for its exploratory journalism and its propensity to address matters that are often ignored by other media openings (Zaidi, 2018). In adding to its daily news attention, *The Dawn*

also put out editorial fragments and opinion supports that contribute to community debates on a wide choice of subjects. This mixture of news journalism and editorial explanation has facilitated *The Dawn* shape countrywide dissertation and policy discussions over time.

The paper has a rough online occurrence, growing its reach universally through its website and public media raised zone, which allow it to take part with wider audiences beyond Pakistan's boundaries. *The Dawn* is commonly appreciated for its ability to regulate to the digital age although preserving its reporting values. With its important distribution and stand-up, *The Dawn* continues to be a leading player in Pakistan's television industry, operating both public judgment and administration strategy (Siddiqui, 2017).

The Dawn's charm in covering issues associated to refugees, mainly Afghan immigrants in Pakistan, replicates its broader promise to speaking complex social and dogmatic matters. In its consideration of the Afghan refugee crisis, *The Dawn* transports both the humanitarian lookout and the tasks challenged by Pakistan, contribution visions into the republic's policies near immigrants and the effect of such rules on its socio-economic physical (Bhatti, 2021). This balanced method allows readers to appoint with the complex nature of the migrant issue.

As one of Pakistan's most influential media outlets, *The Dawn* plays a pivotal role in influencing national attitudes toward refugees, especially those fleeing conflict zones like Afghanistan. The newspaper's coverage of refugee issues often highlights the political, economic, and social implications of hosting millions of refugees, offering perspectives from both the Pakistani government and civil society (Shah, 2020). Given its reputation and widespread readership, *The Dawn's* role in shaping public opinion on the refugee crisis is crucial. The newspaper's coverage of refugee repatriation, especially in the context of Afghan refugees, is often framed within the broader political narrative of Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan.

Overall, *The Dawn* is a dominant source of information for sympathetic Pakistan's approach to migrant issues and other serious national matters. Its complete news coverage and viewpoints offer valuable visions into the complex interaction of domestic and international influences that shape the country's policies near refugees and other relegated groups (Waheed et al., 2023). The *Kabul Times* is one of Afghanistan's oldest newspapers, started in 1961. It has played an important role in shaping the public dissertation in Afghanistan, particularly in positions of political developments, social issues, and international dealings. The newspaper is published in both Pashto and Dari, two of Afghanistan's main languages, allowing it to reach a

wide viewers across the country (Nasiri, 2018). *The Kabul Times* has undergone several changes throughout its past, adapting to the unstable political landscape of Afghanistan, with the period of Taliban instruction and the post-Taliban era. Even with these tasks, it has maintained its location as an influential exit in Afghan media.

As a state-run broadsheet, *The Kabul Times* has normally focused on portraying a positive carbon copy of Afghanistan's government, particularly in its coverage of matters such as reconstruction, security, and foreign policy. While it plays a critical role in promoting the government's story, it also attends as a platform for discussing national disquiets, including the welfare of Afghan refugees. Given Afghanistan's elongated history of hosting emigrant populations, *The Kabul Times* has frequently covered the matter of refugee expulsion, particularly focusing on the coming back of Afghan migrants from Pakistan (Shah, 2019).

In its journalistic stance, *The Kabul Times* often highlights the accountability of the Afghan government to produce a safe and stable environment for frequent refugees. This aligns with its wider narrative of nation-building and restoration, which has been a dominant theme of its reporting in the meantime the fall of the Taliban (Nasiri, 2018). *The Kabul Times* also supporters for bilateral assistance between Afghanistan and nearby countries, mostly Pakistan, to ensure that the deportation process is smooth and maintainable.

The newspaper's character in shaping public judgment on refugee deportation is significant, as it suggestions both government viewpoints and broader national fears about reintegration. *The Kabul Times* supporters for a comprehensive methodology to the refugee issue, occupation on the international community to production an active role in supporting Afghanistan's efforts to lodge returnees (Shah, 2019). Its coverage climaxes the need for organization development, economic backing, and security agreements to ensure that recurring refugees can reconstruct their lives in Afghanistan.

The character of media in determining public views of Afghan refugees is a developing part of research. Media storylines often represent refugees as whichever fatalities in essential of support or as security intimidations (Dastgeer & Hill, 2024). These representations influence civic judgment and, by postponement, government strategies. Studies recommend that well-adjusted and precise media attention can performance a character in fostering better considerate and understanding for migrants (Nasiri, 2018).

The *Kabul Times* is an important voice in Afghanistan's media land, reflecting the country's importance and tasks in its coverage of refugee return. Its coverage of the issue highlights the importance of political constancy and international support for the positive reintegration of refugees. Through its reporting, the newspaper has contributed to ongoing debates about the future of Afghan migrants and the steps required rebuilding the country.

By the mid-1980s, Pakistan was presenting over three million Afghan migrants, making it one of the major refugee-hosting homelands in the world at that time. International activities, such as the Separated Nations High Commissioner for Migrants (UNHCR), played a critical role in as long as humanitarian help and facilitating the combination of refugees into crowd communities (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018). Though, the protracted nature of the Afghan war posed tasks to sustaining this backing over periods.

The social and cultural ties between Afghans and Pakistanis, particularly among Pashtun communities along the border, facilitated the initial acceptance of refugees. Shared language, religion, and familial connections enabled refugees to integrate more easily into certain areas (Khan & Khan, 2020). Despite these affinities, the prolonged presence of Afghan refugees began to strain local resources and infrastructure, leading to tensions between refugees and host communities. Economic pressures became evident as the refugee population placed additional demands on housing, healthcare, education, and employment opportunities. Many Afghan refugees relied on informal economic activities, often working in low-wage jobs or starting small businesses (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016). While this contributed to local economies, it also created competition for resources, sometimes fueling resentment among local populations.

The political connection between Afghanistan and Pakistan has also unfair the treatment of Afghan migrants. Periods of tension among the two nations have sometimes caused in harsher policies toward migrants in Pakistan. For example, following the 2016 necessary attack in Quetta, the Pakistani government deepened efforts to repatriate Afghan migrants, citing safety concerns (Schmeidl, 2020). Such actions highpoint the connection of security, politics and refugee organization.

Healthcare is another critical area of concern. Migrants often aspect limited admission to healthcare facilities, mainly in rural areas. Overfull health facilities, deficient funding, and the need for informally sensitive care worsen these challenges (WHO, 2021). Moreover, psychological health subjects, curtailing from trauma and movement, are prevalent among

Afghan immigrants but remain under-addressed due to stigma and resource constraints. The global response to the Afghan migrant crisis has evolved through the periods. During the 1980s, international support was substantial, driven by Cold War geopolitics. However, as global attention shifted to other crises, funding and assistance for Afghan refugees in Pakistan declined (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018). This reduction in support has forced Pakistan to bear much of the burden independently.

The return of Afghan migrants has been a key attention of both Pakistan and the universal community. Intentional repatriation sequencers, facilitated by the UNHCR, have allowed millions of refugees to arrive in Afghanistan since 2002. Though, ongoing unpredictability in Afghanistan has delayed sustainable reintegration, foremost some returnees to re-migrate to Pakistan (Schmeidl, 2020). This returning migration highlights the complexity of deciding the Afghan refugee predicament.

In spite of these achievements, Afghan migrants in Pakistan continue to face doubt about their future. The absence of a clear track to permanent position or citizenship leaves many in a state of midpoint, unable to completely integrate into civilization. This uncertainty underlines the need for durable answers, such as local mixing or third-country immigration. The Afghan refugee disaster is a notice of the interconnectedness of international issues. Wars in one country can have far-reaching suggestions for adjacent nations and the universal community. Addressing such disasters requires combined action and a promise to upholding caring principles (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016).

The expulsion of Afghan migrants from Pakistan has been a serious issue at the joint of immigration, geopolitics, and media representation. Over the ages, millions of Afghans sought sanctuary in Pakistan due to fight, political unpredictability, and economic difficulties in Afghanistan. The presence of these migrants has formed policies, stressed incomes, and biased bilateral relations between the two homelands. Media openings, such as *Dawn* in Pakistan and *Kabul Times* in Afghanistan, demonstrate a major character in inclosing the dissertation around refugee reappearance, glossy national stories, political significances, and public romanticism (Schmeidl, 2020).

The framing of refugee repatriation is closely tied to the historical context of Afghan migration to Pakistan. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 marked the beginning of mass displacement, with Pakistan becoming a primary host country. Over the years, subsequent waves

of conflict, including civil wars, Taliban rule, and the U.S.-led intervention, prolonged the refugee crisis. Despite hosting millions of Afghan refugees, Pakistan has faced challenges in managing their integration and repatriation, often turning to media outlets like *Dawn* to communicate its policies and justify its stance on refugee issues (Ashraf et al., 2021).

On the Afghan side, *Kabul Times* has attended as a platform to highlight the viewpoints of the Afghan management and society on the repatriation of its nations. Afghanistan's media dissertation often highlights the tasks returnees face, with reintegration, contact to basic services, and security distresses. The *Kabul Times* borders these issues inside the broader background of Afghanistan's growth and permanence, portraying deportation as a composite process that requires universal cooperation and continued support (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

Media framing meaningfully effects how audiences observe the deportation of Afghan refugees. Frames are gears that stress certain features of a story while moderating others, determining public view and policy discussions (Entman, 1993). For example *Dawn* may shape repatriation as an essential step to lessen Pakistan's financial and security loads, while *Kabul Times* might highpoint the rights of returnees and the tests of their restoration. These conflicting stories reflect the differing significances and constraints of the two countries.

The ouster process itself is a multifaceted and compound wonder that has evolved in excess of time. Early repatriation struggles, helped by the United Nations High Commissioner for Migrants (UNHCR), were mainly voluntary and intended at provided that refugees with the incomes and support wanted to return home-based. However, as international attention removed absent from Afghanistan and worldwide funding failed, repatriation strategies in Pakistan developed more forced, with restrictions on undocumented refugees and weights to sabbatical (UNHCR, 2022).

Media coverage of these policies reveals the contrasting narratives of *Dawn* and *Kabul Times*. While *Dawn* often justifies the crackdowns as necessary for maintaining security and addressing domestic challenges, *Kabul Times* condemns them as violations of refugee rights and international norms. These narratives underscore the role of media in shaping public perception and influencing policy decisions on both sides of the border (Zetter & Ruauadel, 2016).

The political connotation between the Pakistan and Afghanistan expressively influences the encompassing of refugee reappearance in their individual radio. Periods of sharp tightness, such as after guerrilla outbreaks or edge disagreements often see a modification in media plots.

In such periods, the *Dawn* may receive a more grave tone in the track of Afghan migrants, linking them to safety worries, while *Kabul Times* strength highlight the responsibilities of host countries under worldwide instructions (Ashraf et al., 2021).

The character of international performers, such as the UNHCR and giver countries, is another periodic theme in the media enclosing of repatriation. Both the *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* highpoint the need for global support although with different stresses, the *Dawn* often surrounds this support as indispensable for alleviating Pakistan's economic burden, while *Kabul Times* attentions on the importance of constant aid to facilitate the reintegration of returnees. These descriptions reflect the opposing priorities of the two republics in addressing the refugee emergency (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018).

The effect of deportation on the Afghan immigrants is a dangerous area of anxiety. Studies have uncovered that many returnee's superficial significant errands, counting lack of employ chances, insufficient covering, and incomplete access to working out and healthcare. Media care in *Kabul Times* often highpoints these matters, representing deportation as a procedure tense with problems that need complete preparation and delivery (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

In dissimilarity, the *Dawn* often emphasizes the constructive aspects of deportation, portraying it as a period toward resolving Pakistan's migrant crisis and alleviating national pressures. While admitting the challenges challenged by returnees, *Dawn* tends to attention on the opportunities for Afghanistan to reconstruct its society and cheap with the return of its countries. This optimistic enclosing aligns with Pakistan's attention in encouraging deportation as a viable answer (Schmeidl, 2020).

The national and public dimensions of banishment also feature obviously in media divisions. Afghan migrants, countless of whom have consumed periods in Pakistan, frequently expression tasks in rewiring with their national origins and mixing into Afghan development, *Kabul Times* climaxes these tussles, importance the need for public founded methods to sustenance returnees. On the additional big hand, the *Dawn* uncommonly frames these nationwide ties as details for immigrants to recurrence, quarrelling that they be suitable in their birthplace (Ashraf et al., 2021).

The financial insinuations of repatriation are additional key aspect of television framing. *Dawn* often portrays migrants as a strain on Pakistan's cheap, emphasizing the financial

assurances of their reoccurrence. This framing supports rule measures aimed at hopeful repatriation. Temporarily, *Kabul Times* focuses on the financial challenges faced by returnees, such as joblessness and lack of capitals, advocating for global investment in Afghanistan to support maintainable rehabilitation (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016).

The character of femininity in return is a nuanced subject that is often unremarkable in media narratives. Afghan ladies and teen-agers face high-class challenges through repatriation, containing imperfect access to teaching, healthcare, and provision. While the *Kabul Times* infrequently tourist attractions these subjects, the *Dawn* tends to emphasis on broader strategy anxieties, with limited consideration to gender-specific tasks (UNHCR, 2022).

Both media pipes also engage in responsibility attribution, frequently sparkly the political strains between their own nations. The *Dawn* may characteristic the refugee catastrophe to unpredictability in Afghanistan and inadequate international support, while *Kabul Times* criticizes Pakistan's policies and treatment of refugees. This blame willing highlights the debated countryside of media storylines and their influence on public view and two-sided relatives (Quackenbush, 2013).

The current Taliban occupation of Afghanistan has presented new difficulties to the discourse on refugee deportation. Media attention in the *Dawn* reflects apprehensions about rehabilitated instability and its possible impact on Pakistan, counting another incursion of refugees. Temporarily, *Kabul Times* focuses on the tasks of leading under Taliban law and the insinuations for returnees. These developing narratives best part the lively nature of media bordering in answer to changing party-political backgrounds (UNHCR, 2022).

According to Smith (2010) a compromise with booklovers is at the heart of all a good newspaper does (Amory, 2015). Newspapers attend as a main source of native, national and worldwide news covering a wide choice of topics, counting political events, community issues, and native government activities. Due to the incomplete internet contact in Pakistan and Afghanistan, newspapers play a serious role in bridging the numerical divide, confirming that straight those without connected connectivity can stay knowledgeable about local and state news (Rahman, 2021).

Paper, often referred to as the "Fourth Estate," plays a critical role in democratic societies and is considered by many as the fifth pillar of the state. Newspapers serve as a watchdog, scrutinizing the actions and policies of the government, holding it accountable for its

decisions and ensuring transparency in its operations (Mhango, 2014). It providing a platform for diverse perspectives, and preserving a historical record. The dominance of the print media is largely due to its historical experience. Today, print media in both developed and underdeveloped countries are using different advance and stylish technologies (Patil, 2011).

According to Jan (2013) the political, social, and cultural contexts of Pakistan and Afghanistan play a critical role in shaping how the *Dawn* and *The Kabul Times* frame the issue of Afghan refugee repatriation. These settings provide the background for sympathetic the priorities, prejudices, and narratives obtainable through these newspapers. Pakistan's ancient participation in holding Afghan refugees, joined with its national political thoughts, has meaningfully prejudiced how the *Dawn* intelligences on the deportation problem. Likewise, Afghanistan's emphasis on transformation national individuality and constancy after periods of battle has formed *The Kabul Times'* inclosing of the similar problem. These background inspirations reflect the wider socio-political subtleties between the two countries and the composite nature of migrant deportation (Khan & Samad, 2017).

In Pakistan, the political dissertation nearby Afghan migrants has often been formed by security anxieties and economic weights. Over the years, Afghan migrants have been associated with subjects such as terrorism, trafficking, and illegal actions, which have donated to negative perceptions among sections of the Pakistani populace. This political framing effects how *Dawn* represents the repatriation subject, often emphasizing the necessity for refugees to reappearance to Afghanistan to lessen these concerns Intelligences in *Dawn* frequently highpoint the administration's efforts to balance caring responsibilities with nationwide security, reflecting the party-political priorities of Pakistan (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

The picture of Afghan migrants in the *Dawn* frequently bring into stroke with Pakistan's policy purposes, importance the economic and social densities caused by their lengthy stay. Refugees are frequently framed as a strain on profits, contributing to joblessness, put-upon substructure, and safety dangers (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018). This encircling backings calls for their banishment, positioning it as a determination to domestic tasks while also in place of Pakistan as a accountable crowd that has accepted an important benevolent weight (Ahmad et al.,2014).

The social background in Pakistan further confuses the framing of Afghan migrant repatriation. Afghan migrants have lived in Pakistan for periods, creating deep social stalemates

and integration within local societies. However, this lengthy presence has also led to community tensions, particularly in areas with uncommon resources and competition for occupations. *Dawn* often reflects these social undercurrents, portraying repatriation as a method to ease the burden on local societies while also acknowledging the tasks faced by refugees. The framing of these social matters in *Dawn* mirrors the compound attitudes of Pakistani civilization toward Afghan migrants (Khan et al., 2018).

In Afghanistan, the social background is characterized by the need to discourse the challenges faced by returnees. Many migrants returning from Pakistan fight with rehabilitation due to an absence of infrastructure, employ opportunities, and social provision in their home communities. *The Kabul Times* regularly highlights these tasks, framing them as difficulties that the Afghan administration and international public must speech. The newspaper's focus on the social reintegration of returnees reflects the broader societal aspirations for stability and development in Afghanistan (Turton & Marsden, 2002).

The joining of media, the politics, and public view is obvious in the courtesy of refugee banishment. The *Dawn* and *The Kabul Times* together manufacture powerful characters in defining public consciousness and manipulating policy choices, by enfolded refugee return over exact stories, these newspapers guarantee to the wider discourse on movement, immigration, and national individuality. Their coverage reproduces not solitary the legitimacies of refugee return but similarly the determinations and tasks of their specific the social instruction (Monsutti, 2005).

1.2 Rationale of the Study:

There are two newspapers The *DAWN* and The *Kabul Times* that serve separate yet vital characters inside their particular regions, contribution valuable visions into indigenous, national, and worldwide affairs. The *DAWN*, founded in Pakistan, has recognized itself as a trustworthy basis of news, recognized for its complete coverage and logical approach to problems straddling politics, finances, culture, and outside. With a bequest of journalistic honesty, the *DAWN* lasts to play an essential role in determining public dissertation and notifying citizens around critical growths both inside Pakistan and crossways the world.

Beside The *Kabul Times* helps as a major opinion in Afghanistan, contribution a platform for news and views amid the nation's complex socio-political scenery. As Afghanistan steers through eras of transition and alteration, The *Kabul Times* provides vital coverage of actions,

policies, and societal alterations, contributing to a well sympathetic of the nation's tasks and goals. Despite the characteristic challenges of operating within a lively and sometimes stormy situation, The *Kabul Times* remains unwavering in its promise to maintenance journalistic values and bringing precise, timely evidence to its circulation.

Both the *DAWN* and The *Kabul Times* help as supports of allowed press, exemplifying the philosophies of democracy and the important right to admission information. Through their reportage, examination, and comment, these newspapers substitute limpidity, accountability, and knowledgeable public dissertation, thereby authorizing individuals to involve evocatively with the subjects that touch their exist groups. In an era marked by the proliferation of misinformation and the erosion of press freedoms in some regions, the continued presence and resilience of newspapers like *DAWN* and The *Kabul Times* are more crucial than ever in upholding the principles of democracy and advancing the cause of press freedom worldwide.

This study investigates the media framing of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan by analyzing the coverage in *Dawn* and *The Kabul Times*, aiming to fill a critical gap in existing literature that has largely overlooked comparative framing perspectives between host and home country media. While prior research focuses predominantly on policy, humanitarian aspects, or refugee narratives, little attention has been given to how national media outlets construct and influence public perception of repatriation. By employing a framing analysis, this research provides new insights into the role of media in shaping discourse around refugee return, national identity, and regional diplomacy. The study offers academic value by contributing to media studies, refugee studies, and South Asian political communication, while also highlighting how contrasting narratives may impact public opinion and policy-making in both countries.

Regarding Afghanistan

The Gopalakrishnan (1982) clarifying in his book (*The geography and politics of Afghanistan*) that the Afghanistan is officially called Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, located in South Asia, is a landlocked country characterized by a rich cultural history and a diverse landscape. Bordered by Pakistan to the east and south, Iran to the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan to the north and China to the northeast, Afghanistan has long served as a crossroads for various civilizations and trade routes. Afghanistan's landscape is mixed, encompassing rugged mountains, vast deserts, and fertile valleys. Maximum of the population

goes to Pashtuns. Inappropriately, the nation has faced important challenges, containing decades of battle and political unpredictability. The Afghan persons have tolerated the influence of conflicts, foreign interferences, and the attendance of confrontational crowds.

Regarding Pakistan

Pakistan, situated in South Asia, is a diverse and vibrant country known for its rich cultural heritage, historical significance, and stunning landscapes. Bordered by India to the east, Afghanistan and Iran to the west, China to the north, and the Arabian Sea to the south, Pakistan occupies a strategic geopolitical position. Its capital, Islamabad, is one of the country's major urban centers, along with Karachi and Lahore. Pakistan is home to a mix of ethnicities, languages, and religions, contributing to its cultural mosaic. The country has a deep historical legacy, with sites such as Mohenjo-Daro and Taxila showcasing its ancient civilizations. Despite its cultural wealth, Pakistan has faced challenges, including political instability, economic disparities, and security concerns. The country plays a crucial role in regional affairs and international diplomacy, striving to navigate a path towards stability, progress, and inclusivity (Zaidi, 2009).

Relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan

The relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan is complex, influenced by history, politics, culture, and security issues. Both countries share a long border and historical connections, but their relationship has seen both tension and cooperation. The open border allows trade and cultural exchange but also creates challenges like refugee movement and security concerns. At times, both nations have accused each other of supporting militant groups in the border areas. Disputes over the Durand Line have sometimes caused diplomatic conflicts. Efforts have been made to improve relations through diplomacy and regional discussions. A stable and cooperative relationship is important for peace and prosperity in the region. Continuous dialogue and cooperation are necessary to address common challenges like terrorism and to support economic growth and regional stability.

1.3 Problem Statement

The return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan stances a multifaceted challenge prejudiced by geopolitical subtleties, historical framework, and regional relations. As these migrants navigate the procedure of reappearance, media outlets show a crucial character in determining

public opinions and policy deliberations. The current analysis seeks to address the problematic of in what way the repatriation of Afghan refugees is surrounded in media reports, concentrating on the framing plans implemented by two significant newspapers: the *Dawn* from Pakistan and the *Kabul Times* from Afghanistan.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The current analysis hold critical significance as it held light on how two effected newspapers *The Down* and *The Kabul Time* constructed narrative around a deeply sensitive and geopolitically significance problem. By analyzing the framing patterns, the current analysis helps to shows the character of media in portraying public opinion, effecting strategic discourse and either inducing empathy or reinforcing tension between the two countries. Understanding these media shaping is vital not only for assessing journalistic activates but, also for informing diplomatic policies, refugee controlling strategies and people perception in a region historically marked by conflict, migration and delicate bilateral relations. The insights gained from this analysis donate to broader discussions on media accountability across border charitable and ethical framing of vulnerable population such as refugees.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

- ✓ To analyze and compare the framing techniques used by *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* in their coverage of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan.
- ✓ To identify the predominant themes, narratives, and discourses present in *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* regarding Afghan refugee repatriation.
- ✓ To explore how the political, social, and cultural contexts of Pakistan and Afghanistan influence the framing of Afghan refugee repatriation in *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times*

1.6 Research Questions

RQ.1 How do *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* differ in their framing of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan?

RQ.2 What themes and narratives are most prevalent in the coverage of Afghan refugee repatriation in *Dawn* compared to the *Kabul Times*?

RQ.3 How do the framing strategies of *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* reflect the political and social perspectives of Pakistan and Afghanistan on the issue of refugee repatriation?

1.7 Delimitations of the Study

This study emphasizes on analyzing the framing methods, themes, narratives, and discourses employed by *Dawn* and *The Kabul Times* in their reporting of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan. By associating these both newspapers, the study seeks to expose how political, social, and cultural backgrounds in Pakistan and Afghanistan affect the framing of this problem. The space of the study is limited to analysis of headlines, news articles, editorials, and op-eds circulated in these both newspapers, employing a framing analysis method to classify designs and dissimilarities in reporting. The study is additionally limited to exploring the dated significant to heightened negotiations on Afghan refugee deportation, allowing a concentrated inspection of the newspapers' representation of this multifaceted problem. The study does not spread to other practices of media or the viewpoints of shareholders not straight signified in the carefully chosen articles, certifying an intense inquiry surrounded by the clear agenda.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Review of Related Literature

The being of Afghan migrants in Pakistan characterizes a prolonged and complicated humanitarian condition, deeply engrained in the chronological and geopolitical background of the region. Meanwhile the Afghan-Soviet War in the 1980s, a considerable influx of Afghan migrants sought housing in Pakistan, on the run conflict and seeking security. Initially considered a temporary phenomenon, the displacement became protracted due to successive waves of struggle in Afghanistan, as well as the Taliban instruction (Kronenfeld, 2008).

The Dawn have neutral coverage toward the repatriation of Afghan refugees, the Dawn have very little attention to the favorable editorial toward Afghan refugees, and also equivalently covered the statement of the government about the Afghanistan refugees (Batool, 2019). Over the decades, the Afghan refugee population in Pakistan has faced multifaceted challenges. Though numerous have found refuge in official camps managed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), an important amount be inherent in in city and peri-urban parts, often in relaxed clearances. This dispersal has stood challenges for admission to education, healthcare, and maintenance chances, causative to a multifaceted socio-economic countryside (Ghufran, 2006).

The movement of Afghan migrants has been one of the most important and prolonged migrant crises in contemporary history, with Pakistan live a critical role as a crowd country. The invasion of Afghan migrants began in 1979 subsequent the Soviet attack of Afghanistan and has constant through consecutive waves of struggle and political insecurity. By the mid-1980s, Pakistan presented over three million Afghan migrants, making it one of the main refugee-hosting countries universally (UNHCR, 2022). This mass relocation has significantly stuck Pakistan's economy, civilization, and policy countryside, leading to general research on the undercurrents of hosting migrants.

The geographic proximity and shared cultural, religious, and ethnic ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan facilitated the initial reception of refugees. Many Afghan refugees settled in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan, regions that share strong historical and familial links with Afghanistan's Pashtun population (Ashraf et al., 2021). These affinities helped foster integration during the early stages of displacement. However, as the duration of the refugee presence

extended, social and economic tensions began to emerge, highlighting the challenges of sustaining long-term hospitality.

Print media, mainly newspapers, have long been a powerful medium in determining the discourse close the repatriation of migrants from one country to additional. Newspapers provide a stage for information distribution, public debate, and policy analysis, making them crucial actors in manipulating public opinion and governmental conclusions (Allen, 2019). Through their journalism, newspapers highlight the multilayered issues associated with migrant repatriation, including the permissible, social, and caring dimensions, thereby transporting these matters to the front of national and worldwide attention.

One significant role newspapers play is in raising awareness about the conditions that necessitate repatriation. By reporting on conflicts, natural disasters, or political turmoil, print media helps contextualize the reasons behind displacement and subsequent repatriation efforts (Jones, 2020). This coverage often influences how host countries and international organizations perceive their responsibilities toward refugees. Moreover, newspapers provide a platform for experts and policymakers to discuss potential solutions, creating a dialogue that extends beyond local or regional concerns.

Newspapers also figure public perception of migrants and their deportation by framing narratives those inspiration attitudes. For instance, newspapers can represent refugees as either fatalities in need of backing or as a load on host communities. Such enclosing affects public view and, consequently, the policies applied by governments (Hall & Wright, 2018). Positive framing of deportation efforts can foster provision for policies aimed at safeguarding safe and unpaid returns, while bad portrayals may lead to augmented resistance or aggression.

Viewpoints and opinion pillars in newspapers play a significant role in determining the moral and moral discourse around migrant repatriation. These pieces often highpoint the caring principles that should leader repatriation efforts, highlighting the importance of unpaid, safe, and distinguished returns. By evaluating policies that do not bring into line with these values, newspapers embrace governments and worldwide organizations responsible (Smith, 2017). This advocacy character is particularly significant in situations anywhere repatriation procedures may be compulsory or conducted under dangerous conditions.

Print media also too attends as a historical greatest, documenting the involvements of immigrants and the political background of their dislodgment and deportation. Through

analytical journalism and in-depth topographies, newspapers deliver detailed balance sheet of refugee trips, the conditions in swarm nations, and the tasks of reintegration in home nations (Ahmed, 2016). This documentation not only informs contemporary audiences but also serves as a resource for future researchers and policymakers.

Another serious function of newspapers is to increase the voices of migrants themselves. By publication interviews, testaments, and personal stories, pattern media civilizes the statistics often associated with movement and repatriation (Taylor, 2019). These stories foster empathy and sympathetic among the public, contradicting stereotypes and prejudgments. When migrants are given a stage to share their viewpoints, it also tasks one-sided narratives that might control policy negotiations.

The role of newspapers in influencing government policies on repatriation cannot be overstated. By exposing the shortcomings of current policies or highlighting successful initiatives, newspapers can sway public opinion and, in turn, pressure governments to act. For example, investigative reports that uncover abuses in repatriation processes often lead to public outcry and policy changes (Brown, 2018). This watchdog character safeguards that governments and administrations continue answerable for their movements.

Worldwide newspapers frequently production a vital character in highlighting the general sizes of refugee deportation. By cover stories from unlike parts of the environment, they provide proportional understandings and shed bright on best performs. For example, attention of positive deportation packages in one county can motivate comparable approaches anywhere else (Kim, 2020). This worldwide viewing platform looks after an intellect of common responsibility amongst countries.

The native journalists in host and home-based states also plays an important character in shaping the thesis on refugee deportation. In crowd countries, newspapers may courtesy on the economic and social inspirations of hosting migrants, often enclosing deportation as a solution to improve these burdens (Hussain, 2019). On the other indicator, newspapers in home-based countries may highpoint the tasks of rehabilitation and the need for worldwide support to rebuild civilizations affected by association.

In spite of these tasks, newspapers continue an energetic source of material in determining the account around refugee repatriation. Their attention frequently drives community discussions, bringing attention to materials that may then be ignored. For example,

investigative journalism has bare occurrences of forced deportation and insufficient provision for returnees, inspiration action from administrations and benevolent governments (Rahman, 2018). Such journalism guarantees that the philosophies of professional and harmless deportation are supported.

The print media's character in crisis communication during deportation processes is another dangerous area of importance. Newspapers often distribute vital information to migrants, such as updates on deportation programs, eligibility criteria, and logistical preparations (Khan, 2019). This function is mainly valuable in situations where admission to reliable information is incomplete, ensuring that migrants can make informed choices about their return.

Newspapers also contribute to the reintegration process by highlighting the tasks confronted by returnees in their home states. By reporting on matters such as joblessness, lack of covering, and security concerns, print television brings these responsibilities to the attention of politicians and aid managements (Adams, 2020). This coverage regularly leads to increased provision for restoration packages and greater realization of the long-term supplies of returnees.

In conflict-affected districts, newspapers play a critical role in promoting understanding and peacebuilding. By fostering discourse and highlighting stories of positive repatriation and rehabilitation, print media helps shape trust and understanding amongst divided communities (Ahmed, 2016). This purpose is particularly significant in post-conflict societies, where the reappearance of refugees can be a combative issue.

The convenience of newspapers also brands them an important intermediate for engaging varied audiences. Unlike numerical platforms, which may want internet admission, newspapers reach a extensive demographic, including country and underserved inhabitants (Taylor, 2019). This convenience ensures that material about repatriation pains reaches those who are straight affected, including migrants and host societies.

The character of media in determining public views of Afghan refugees is a developing part of research. Media storylines often represent refugees as whichever fatalities in essential of support or as security intimidations. These representations influence civic judgment and, by postponement, government strategies. Studies recommend that well-adjusted and precise media attention can performance a character in fostering better considerate and understanding for migrants (Hall & Wright, 2018).

While the increase of digital media has distorted the information scenery, newspapers continue to play energetic character in discussions about refugee deportation. Their credibility and thorough reporting remain supreme, making them a trusted basis for politicians, academics, and the overall public (Clark, 2017). Furthermore, newspapers often deliver the depth and background necessary to comprehend complex matters like repatriation, which are frequently generalized in other media.

The newspapers production a multifaceted character in shaping the discourse around refugee repatriation, from rising awareness and determining public view to influencing rules and promoting caring principles, print television remains a crucial actor in addressing the tasks and opportunities associated with repatriation. Their continuous relevance underlines the importance of trustworthy and ethical journalism in supporting for the rights and self-possession of migrants (Khan & Samad, 2017).

The global community, mainly through organizations such as the Combined Nations High Official for Refugees (UNHCR), has enjoy yourself a pivotal character in managing the Afghan migrant crisis. Deportation efforts have habitually been driven by universal political deliberations, with international performers emphasizing the reappearance of refugees as part of broader steadying strategies for Afghanistan. Still, the implementation of these efforts has faced important challenges, counting insecurity in Afghanistan, inadequate infrastructure, and incomplete economic chances for returnees (Turton & Marsden, 2002).

Pakistan's policies near Afghan migrants have evolved over the periods, reflecting broader geopolitical trends and national concerns. Initially, Afghan migrants were seen as a temporary charitable issue, but as their numbers grew, they instigated to be perceived as a burden on Pakistan's budget and a threat to social constancy. These perceptions led to the rough guide of more restrictive rules, including the registration of migrants and the imposition of limits for voluntary deportation (Khan et al., 2018). The changing wildlife of these policies highlights the compound interplay between humanitarian reflections and national comforts.

Voluntary banishment has been the chosen answer supported by the UNHCR and other investors. Though, the opinion of voluntariness has regularly been contested, with intellects of coercion and weight on migrants to permission Pakistan. Migrants have regularly faced persecution, removal, and restricted access to elementary services as part of actions to hearten

their reappearance (Human Rights Watch, 2017). These achievements raise important inquiries about the principled and permissible sizes of repatriation events.

Financial considerations also production a significant role in shaping the repatriation process, for numerous Afghan refugees, the lack of financial opportunities in Afghanistan acts as a main deterrent to reappearance. In contrast, Pakistan, in spite of its tasks, often provides improved access to livelihoods and facilities. This economic difference highlights the position of addressing physical issues in Afghanistan to safeguard the success of deportation efforts (Koser, 2014). Without addressing these underlying issues, repatriation efforts risk perpetuating cycles of displacement and hardship

Social integration is another critical aspect of the repatriation process. Many Afghan refugees have spent decades in Pakistan, forming strong community ties and adapting to local cultures. For second- and third-generation refugees, Afghanistan may feel like an unfamiliar or foreign land, further complicating the decision to return. This generational divide underscores the need for tailored approaches to repatriation that consider the diverse experiences and perspectives of refugees (Monsutti, 2005).

Worldwide funding and sustenance have been dangerous in handling the Afghan refugee crisis, but these assets have often been inadequate and unpredictable. Donor exhaustion, shifting worldwide priorities, and administrative disorganizations have damaged the efficiency of repatriation databases. Sustained worldwide support is indispensable for speaking the multifaceted tasks associated with Afghan immigrant repatriation and safeguarding that returnees accept the help they need to reconstruct their survives (Turton & Marsden, 2002).

The gendered dimensions of repatriation have also received increasing attention in recent years. Women and girls face unique challenges during the repatriation process, including risks of violence, limited access to education, and restricted mobility. Speaking these gender-specific issues requires under attack interventions and a promise to promoting gender parity in repatriation pains (Schmeidl, 2009).

The psychological inspiration of dislocation and repatriation is additional dangerous zone of apprehension. Many Afghan migrants agonize from trauma connected to their participations of conflict and movement. Deportation can worsen these problems, primarily if returnees face uncertainty and impulsiveness upon their reappearance. Providing intellectual health provision

and speaking the psychological supplies of refugees are essential components of fruitful banishment packages (Koser, 2014).

The historical and political background of Afghan-Pakistani relations has also fro-licked a important atmosphere in determining deportation delicacies. Long stand-up strains among the two countries, combined with geopolitical opinions, have intolerant policies and arrogances in the direction of migrants. Understanding this broader context is crucial for emerging more definite and tolerable clarifications to the refugee disaster (Khan & Samad, 2017).

Education and skills exercise programs have emerged as key policies for supporting Afghan refugees and enabling their repatriation. These programs aim to equip migrants with the knowledge and skills desired to rebuild their lives in Afghanistan. However, the implementation of such initiatives has faced challenges, including limited funding, lack of substructure, and political unpredictability (Adams & Taylor, 2018).

The charm of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in stoppage Afghan refugees and abridging repatriation has been invaluable. NGOs deliver an extensive range of facilities, from lawful help and psychosocial support to living training and rehabilitation packages. Their work accompaniments the labors of governments and global governments, filling dangerous gaps in the deportation procedure (Clark, 2017)

Despite the numerous challenges associated with Afghan refugee repatriation, there have been notable successes. Many returnees have demonstrated remarkable resilience, rebuilding their lives and contributing to the development of their communities. These success stories highlight the potential for positive outcomes when repatriation efforts are well-planned and adequately supported (Ahmed, 2016).

The connection of climate alteration and movement has added an innovative length to the Afghan refugee disaster. Environmental issues, such as dearth and usual adversities, have worsened vulnerabilities and donated to dislodgment. Lecturing these ecological challenges is indispensable for creating maintainable solutions to the refugee disaster and backup successful ouster (Jones, 2020).

An important body of literature inspects the socio-economic influences of Afghan refugees on host groups. Refugees have donated to Pakistan's budget by on condition that labor, attractive in occupation and founding small trades (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018). Though, their attendance has also located substantial straining on possessions such as cover, healthcare,

schooling, and substructure. Studies designate that rivalry for jobs and facilities often leads to bitterness among native populations, chiefly in resource-scarce areas (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016).

One dangerous area of apprehension is the lawful position of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Numerous refugees have listed with the UNHCR and own Proof of Registering (PoR) cards, which funding them provisional legal position. However, an important number continue undocumented, divulging them to misuse, harassment, and the risk of banishment (UNHCR, 2022). Academics have renowned that the absence of a strong pathway to enduring residency or nationality has left numerous Afghan immigrants in a national of lawful limbo (Khan & Khan, 2020).

Tutoring is a key task for Afghan refugees in Pakistan, as numerous children expression fences to accessing official education. Linguistic differences, absence of documentation, and incomplete school volume are important difficulties (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have recognized institutes in refugee camps, but educational accomplishment amongst refugee children leftovers low, investigation highpoints the long-term penalties of incomplete education, containing restricted financial chances and continued cycles of deficiency (Ashraf et al., 2021).

Healthcare is another critical issue. Refugees often face difficulties accessing health services due to overcrowded facilities, insufficient funding, and a lack of culturally sensitive care. Mental health issues, stemming from the trauma of displacement and conflict, are prevalent but under-addressed due to stigma and resource constraints (WHO, 2021). Studies emphasize the need for targeted interventions to improve both physical and mental health outcomes for refugees.

The procedure of repatriation has been a significant focus of investigation. Voluntary repatriation packages, often eased by the UNHCR, have allowed lots of Afghan refugees to reappearance to Afghanistan. Though, ongoing unpredictability in Afghanistan has behind the sustainability of these struggles. Many returnees face tasks such as absence of housing, engagement, and security, foremost certain to re-migrate to Pakistan (Schmeidl, 2020). This recurring migration confuses efforts to resolution the refugee disaster.

Research has also explored the impact of Afghan refugees on Pakistan's urban areas. While most refugees initially settled in camps, many have moved to cities such as Peshawar, Karachi, and Quetta. Urban refugees often work in informal sectors and live in overcrowded

conditions, contributing to the socio-economic challenges faced by host cities (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016). Despite these difficulties, some urban refugees have successfully integrated into local communities and economies.

The character of gender in the refugee knowledge is another dangerous area of education. Women and girls amongst Afghan refugees face unique tasks, counting limited admission to education, healthcare, and employment. Gender-based forcefulness and early nuptial are also predominant subjects (UNHCR, 2022). Investigators have baptized for gender-sensitive plans and packages to discourse these concerns and authorize Afghan refugee womenfolk.

Cultural and social integration of Afghan refugees has been a mixed experience. Shared language, religion, and traditions have facilitated some degree of assimilation, particularly among Pashtun communities. However, cultural differences and economic pressures have also created social divides, leading to marginalization and discrimination in some cases (Khan & Khan, 2020). Studies emphasize the need for community-based approaches to promote social cohesion.

The fresh political growths in Afghanistan, chiefly the 2021 Taliban overthrow, have renewed attention in the Afghan refugee disaster. The sudden arrival of refugees subsequent the Taliban's reappearance to control has placed extra strain on Pakistan's already incomplete resources. Academics argue that this new wave of movement underlines the need for a complete international reply (UNHCR, 2022).

The character of media in determining public views of Afghan refugees is a developing part of research. Media storylines often represent refugees as whichever fatalities in essential of support or as security intimidations. These representations influence civic judgment and, by postponement, government strategies (Schmeidl, 2020). Studies recommend that well-adjusted and precise media attention can performance a character in fostering better considerate and understanding for migrants.

Climate change has added another layer of complexity to the Afghan refugee crisis. Environmental degradation and natural disasters in Afghanistan have contributed to displacement, with many affected individuals seeking refuge in Pakistan. Scholars argue that climate-induced migration requires a new framework for international cooperation and policy-making (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016).

The long term attendance of Afghan refugees has elevated questions about their possible for local addition. While certain refugees have recognized businesses, increased education, and donated to civilization, the lack of legal trails to permanent placement remains an important fence (Ashraf et al., 2021). Investigators emphasize the position of rules that enable migrants to underwrite fully to their crowd groups.

The Worldwide cooperation is vital to speak to the Afghan refugee disaster. While Pakistan has tolerated much of the weight, global provision is indispensable to deliver adequate capitals and share tasks, the Researcher's supporter for a more impartial supply of resources and a stouter commitment to maintenance the rights of migrants (UNHCR, 2022).

The character of media in determining public views of Afghan refugees is a developing part of research. Media storylines often represent refugees as whichever fatalities in essential of support or as security intimidations. These representations influence civic judgment and, by postponement, government strategies. Studies recommend that well-adjusted and precise media attention can performance a character in fostering better considerate and understanding for migrants (Khan & Khan, 2020).

The Afghan refugee disaster in Pakistan is a multifaceted and multilayered issue with important inferences for refugees, host groups, and the worldwide community. The literature underlines the essential for complete, collaborative methods that speech the socio economic, lawful, and party-political dimensions of the disaster.

The issue of Afghan refugee repatriation from Pakistan has been a focal point of migration studies and media framing research. Scholars have extensively examined the dynamics of forced migration caused by protracted conflicts in Afghanistan, which have significantly impacted the region. The framing of this issue by media outlets such as Pakistan's *Dawn* and Afghanistan's *Kabul Times* provides valuable insights into the political, economic, and social dimensions of repatriation. Media framing theory offers a framework for analyzing how these outlets construct narratives and influence public perception, policy discourse, and bilateral relations (Entman, 1993).

The mass dislocation of Afghans began through the Soviet attack in 1979, which noticeable the start of decades-long unpredictability in Afghanistan. Pakistan developed a chief host nation, accommodating lots of Afghan migrants. While originally welcomed on caring grounds and owing to shared ethnic and religious draws, the lengthy stay of immigrants has led

to monetary, political, and community strains in Pakistan. This past situation has formed the way the *Dawn* constructions Afghan refugee banishment, often prominence the strain on Pakistan's incomes and the need for universal support to address these errands (Schmeidl, 2020).

The conflicting frames in *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* also disclose the political dimensions of refugee deportation. Pakistan's government has regularly used media openings like *Dawn* to advocate for international recognition of its contributions as a host country and to call for universal assistance in managing the migrant crisis. These accounts often location repatriation as a mutually helpful process that alleviates national pressures while secondary Afghanistan's reconstruction. On the other indicator, *Kabul Times* tends to portray repatriation as a compound process requiring careful preparation and sustained support to guarantee the successful rehabilitation of returnees (Zetter & Ruaudel, 2016).

Framing theory proposes that media outlets emphasize precise aspects of an issue to shape spectators perceptions and policy consequences. For instance, *Dawn* regularly frames Afghan refugees as a problem on Pakistan's economy and substructure, particularly in the context of declining global aid and rising domestic tasks. These frames support policy actions aimed at encouraging or even pressuring refugees to return to Afghanistan. In dissimilarity, *Kabul Times* highlights the rights and requirements of returnees, framing forced deportation as a violation of international norms and a philanthropic concern (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

The enclosing of Afghan refugee repatriation also reproduces broader narratives of national uniqueness and sovereignty. In Pakistan, *Dawn* represents the repatriation of Afghan migrants as a necessary step toward preservation national interests, including refuge and economic constancy. This narrative make parallel with Pakistan's policy purposes and public sentiment, which have grownup increasingly critical of the protracted presence of migrants. Conversely, *Kabul Times* frames deportation as an opportunity for Afghanistan to regain its national individuality and rebuild its society, highlighting the resilience and activity of returnees (Ashraf et al., 2021).

The role of universal actors, particularly the United Nation-states High Commissioner for Migrants (UNHCR), is a recurring theme tune in the media attention of Afghan refugee deportation. Both *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* highlight the position of international support, although with differing stresses. While *Dawn* often frames such sustenance as essential for lessening Pakistan's financial burden, *Kabul Times* underlines the need for sustained assistance

to address the tasks faced by returnees. This divergence reproduces the differing priorities of the two nations in managing the refugee crisis (Schmeidl, 2020).

Media framing also inspires public boldness toward Afghan refugees and their deportation. Studies have exposed that the framing of migrants as a security threat or an economic burden can impair xenophobia and support for preventive policies. In Pakistan, *Dawn* has occasionally used these frames to justify government crackdowns on undocumented refugees and to garner public support for repatriation initiatives. Meanwhile, *Kabul Times* attentions on fostering empathy for returnees, depicting them as victims of movement who require assistance and harmony (Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2018).

The economic sizes of repatriation are a critical feature of media framing. *Dawn* often highlights the economic costs of hosting Afghan migrants, including the strain on community services, housing, and work markets. This framing ropes narratives that prioritize deportation as a cost-effective answer to these challenges. On the other hand, *Kabul Times* emphasizes the economic privations faced by returnees, such as joblessness, lack of resources, and inadequate access to basic services. These descriptions advocate for international speculation in Afghanistan to facilitate sustainable rehabilitation (Zetter & Ruauadel, 2016).

The portrayal of Afghan migrants as a security threat is another mutual frame in *Dawn*. This narrative is often connected to broader concerns about violence, border control, and internal permanence. By framing refugees as a possible risk, *Dawn* reinforces the urgency of deportation as a means of enhancing nationwide security. In contrast, *Kabul Times* tasks this narrative, emphasizing the donations of Afghan refugees to their host communities and analyzing policies that stigmatize them as security intimidations (Schmeidl, 2020).

Gendered viewpoints on repatriation are often understated in media coverage but remain a significant area of analysis. Afghan females and girls face unique tasks during repatriation, including limited admission to education, healthcare, and employment prospects. While *Kabul Times* infrequently addresses these issues, *Dawn* tends to attention on broader policy concerns, with incomplete attention to the gender-specific scopes of repatriation. This gap in attention highlights the need for additional inclusive and nuanced accounts (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

The framing of unpaid versus forced repatriation is additional significant theme in the media discourse. *Dawn* often depicts repatriation as a voluntary process reinforced by incentives and support from Pakistan and international governments. However, critics argue that countless

refugees feel pressured to reappear due to crackdowns on undocumented immigrants and declining living conditions in host societies. *Kabul Times* emphasizes these intimidating elements, including forced deportation as a desecration of refugee rights and a substance of additional adversity for returnees (UNHCR, 2022).

The character of regional and international geopolitics in determining refugee policies is also obvious in media narratives. The association between Pakistan and Afghanistan has frequently been strained by border disputes, security concerns, and political tensions. These dynamics are reproduced in the framing of migrant repatriation, with *Dawn* importance Pakistan's security anxieties and *Kabul Times* emphasizing Afghanistan's dominion and the rights of its countries (Ashraf et al., 2021).

The Taliban's coming back to control in Afghanistan in 2021 has supplementary new complexities to the dissertation on refugee repatriation. Media passages have had to navigate unstable political landscapes and indeterminate futures for returnees. *Dawn* has spoken concerns about rehabilitated instability in Afghanistan and its possible impact on Pakistan, counting the risk of another migrant influx. Meanwhile, *Kabul Times* has absorbed on the challenges of supremacy under Taliban instruction and the implications for deportation efforts (Schmeidl, 2020).

In the Afghanistan, cultural individuality is intensely tied to the idea of motherland, which is a periodic melody in *The Kabul Times*' attention of refugee deportation. The newspaper frequently portrays recurring refugees as ethnic diplomats who transport back appreciated skills, civilizations, and involvements to enrich Afghan civilization. This framing underlines the position of cultural conservation and revitalization in the background of nation construction, sparkly Afghanistan's struggles to regain its cultural inheritance after years of war (Yousaf, 2021).

The historical relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan also influences the framing of refugee repatriation in both newspapers. Pakistan's role in supporting Afghan resistance during the Soviet invasion and its subsequent hosting of refugees are often highlighted in *Dawn*, portraying the country as a generous host. However, *Dawn* also addresses the historical grievances and challenges that have arisen from this relationship, including the burden placed on Pakistan's economy and infrastructure. This historical perspective shapes the newspaper's

framing of repatriation as a necessary step for resolving longstanding issues between the two nations (Khan & Samad, 2017).

For *The Kabul Times*, the past narrative focuses on the pliability of the Afghan people and their aptitude to overcome adversity. The newspaper frequently draws on historical samples of Afghan perseverance to stimulate returnees and foster an intelligence of national pride. This past framing aligns with Afghanistan's bigger efforts to project a positive image of himself on the international stage and to inspire the return of its spreading (Schmeidl, 2009).

The character of universal actors, containing the US and humanitarian administrations, also effects the enclosing of refugee deportation. The *Dawn* often highpoints the role of international activities in enabling repatriation, framing their connection as essential for ensuring a gentle and organized development (Human Rights Watch, 2017). This narrative reflects Pakistan's dependence on international support to achieve the refugee crisis and its desire to segment the responsibility with the global public (Koser, 2014).

The Pakistani government, despite facing its own economic and infrastructural constraints, has shown resilience in hosting Afghan refugees, making concerted efforts to provide essential services. The collaboration between Pakistan and the international community, particularly the UNHCR, has played a crucial role in addressing the needs of the Afghan refugee population. However, the protracted nature of their stay has raised questions about their long-term integration and the impact on host communities (Grare & Maley, 2011).

The being of Afghan migrants in Pakistan has not individual been formed by geopolitical subtleties but has likewise develop an integral fragment of the cultural material in convinced areas. In spite of the challenges, sections of resilience, private enterprise, and cultural conversation concerning Afghan migrants and their Pakistani congregation's highpoint the human lateral of this compound condition. As discussions around repatriation efforts continue, the existence of Afghan refugees in Pakistan remains a poignant testament to the enduring consequences of conflict and displacement in the region (Colville, 1998).

According to Khan, (2017) the presence of Afghan refugees in Pakistan remains a significant concern for the country's future stability and its efforts to maintain sustainable, friendly relations with Afghanistan. Pakistan has hosted over 5 million Afghan refugees over the years, with approximately 3.8 million having returned to Afghanistan. However, many returnees continue to make their way back into Pakistan. Currently, around 3 million Afghan refugees both

registered and unregistered, remain in the country. This population poses economic challenges and is seen as a security concern, particularly due to their alleged links with militant groups operating within Pakistan. An important emphasis of the NAP was the registering of altogether Afghan residents over NADRA by 2015 and their following repatriation. Though, this procedure led to augmented problems for migrants. Postponements in the registering procedure and other issues extended their sojourn in Pakistan up until 2017.

The Afghan print media tends to highlight the experiences and perspectives of Afghan refugees themselves, humanizing the issue. Stories of displacement, struggles, and aspirations often take center stage, providing a nuanced portrayal of the human side of the repatriation process. The framing in Afghan newspapers may also underscore the importance of international assistance and diplomatic engagements to facilitate a safe and dignified return for refugees.

Over time, the framing of the repatriation issue in both countries has evolved, reflecting changing circumstances, policy adjustments, and shifts in public sentiment. The media's role in influencing public opinion and shaping the narrative surrounding Afghan refugee repatriation remains crucial, providing a lens through which the broader public interprets and engages with this complex humanitarian challenge.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

On the current analysis “Repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan: framing analysis of *Dawn* and *Kabul Times*” the greatly applicable theory is Framing theory which is defined as the way in which we explain media offered to us, and that these frames purpose as a way to establish public senses. Since the media chooses what we view and how we view it, they also affected the way in which we understand information. In a sense, they state us what to think about, and how to think about it.

The Framing theory, an important concept in communication and social psychology, proposes that the way information exists its framing strongly effects how people interpret and appreciate it. Frames act as psychological filters, shaping how individuals observe and process material. According to this theory, correspondents whether in the media, politics, or daily connections can purposely choose particular frames to present information. For instance a news story about a multifaceted matter might be enclosed to highpoint its financial influences, societal significances, or national safety concerns. This choice of framing plays a fundamental character in determining people's opinions, outlooks, and assessments connected to the theme (Sun, n.d.).

Frames can encompass various attributes, including emphasis on certain aspects, causal explanations, moral evaluations, and recommendations for action. Moreover, in situations where multiple frames are presented, there is often a competition for dominance, with the prevailing frame exerting greater influence on audience perceptions. Framing theory is particularly relevant in political communication, advertising, and marketing, where the strategic use of frames can sway public opinion, influence behavior, and shape consumer preferences without necessarily distorting or manipulating the underlying information. Ultimately, framing theory underscores the pivotal role of presentation in shaping the understanding and interpretation of information in various contexts (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

3. METHODOLOGY

Research methodology is actually the entire process of conducting research and reporting how the data is collected under what conditions and so on. There is a need of perfect research design in order to get accurate results. Broadly research methods are divided into two categories, one is quantitative and other is qualitative method of research. The use of best and most relevant research methods depends on research goals, research subjects and largely depends on the nature of study you want to conduct.

3.1 Research Design

The researcher carried out the research work through quantitative content analysis, focusing on a selection of prominent newspapers from each country. A diverse set of newspapers with varying political orientations and readerships is chosen to capture a comprehensive representation of media framing. The analysis was covered headlines, news articles, editorials, and op-eds related to the repatriation of Afghan refugees, during analyzing of some interesting Pakistani and Afghani newspapers (*The Dawn & Kabul Times*).

As the data for the present study was gathered quantitatively, therefore, quantitative method of research was applied to study the Repatriation of Afghan Refugees from Pakistan: framing analysis of *Dawn* and *Kabul Times*. Quantitative methods are used for numeric values or numbers or it is the expression of values in numbers and can transform statistically. Quantitative research has straightforward approach and technique that can be checked and tested to gather more reliable and accurate data.

3.2 Population

Shakehand (2022) define the term “population refers to the total of the items about which the information is desired or the set of all items or measurement in which the investigator is interested”. The two national newspapers of the Pakistan and one national newspaper of Afghanistan were serving as population of the current study. The rationale behind selecting these newspapers is that all these two dailies are popular and widely readable papers with the ability and strength to make and mold the public opinion in both nations.

3.3 Sampling

A sample is the sub set of the whole population. The two printed newspapers with name of *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* was manipulated as sample of the current study. The main written piece (headlines, news articles, editorials, and op-eds) of papers was selected on basis on their convenient accessibility. Thus, the researcher used the convenient sample technique in the current analysis.

3.4 Operational Definitions

Repatriation: Repatriation is the process of sending people back to their home country, frequently following a time spent abroad due to persecution, violence, or other unfavorable circumstances.

Afghan Refugees: Afghan refugees are people who have left their home country of Afghanistan in search of safety and asylum in other nations after fleeing conflict, persecution, or instability there. Afghan refugees, who frequently endure great difficulties and suffering, apply for asylum in nearby countries or abroad in the hopes of starting over in a safe environment. The predicament of Afghan refugees highlights the critical need for long-term solutions, humanitarian aid, and international collaboration to address the underlying causes of displacement and promote the welfare of those compelled to escape their homes.

Print Media: One of the most basic types of mass communication is print media. Books, newspapers, periodicals, booklets, pamphlets, posters, billboards, and other printed journals are all included (Naveed 2012). However, the researcher looked into how newspapers were covered by print media in general. Newspapers cover a variety of topics depending on the area, but in this study, the researcher was examine how Afghan refugee repatriation is framed in print media in Pakistan and Afghanistan through an analysis of a few chosen newspapers.

The DAWN: Quaid-e-Azam Ali Jenah launched *The Dawn*, the biggest and oldest English daily in Pakistan, in British India in 1941. It is best known for being a current affairs channel that is run out of Karachi, Sindh (Khan, 2019).

The Kabul Times: Afghanistan's official English-language newspaper, *The Kabul Times*, was first published on July 2, 1962. It covers all aspect of life in Afghanistan, with a special emphasis on the government and its attempts to reconstruct the nation (Afghanistan 2009).

4. DATA ANALYSIS

The current chapter analyze about the reputation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, framing analysis of *The Dawn* and *The Kabul Time*. There are following three tables, which cover the main three research questions, which elaborated farther in 20 questions. Each table has particular category, number of sample size, selected newspaper and their comments. The researcher manipulated the main written piece of selected newspapers (editorial, headline, op-eds and news articles).

Table No.1

RQ.1 How do *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* differ in their framing of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan?

Serial No.	Question	Category	Dawn (n=50)	Kabul Times (n=50)	Comments
1	Frequency of positive frames	Headlines	12	30	<i>Kabul Times</i> often frames repatriation positively.
2	Frequency of negative frames	Headlines	25	10	<i>Dawn</i> emphasizes challenges and negatives more.
3	Portrayal of refugees as victims	Editorials	8	15	<i>Kabul Times</i> shows more empathy for refugees.
4	Portrayal of refugees as a burden	Editorials	12	5	<i>Dawn</i> frequently frames refugees as a strain.
5	Mention of voluntary repatriation	Op-eds	22	30	Both outlets highlight voluntary return efforts.
6	Mention of forced repatriation	Op-eds	15	20	<i>Kabul Times</i> discusses forced elements more often.
7	Framing of Pakistan's role	All categories	40	12	<i>Dawn</i> emphasizes Pakistan's contributions positively.
8	Framing of Afghanistan's role	All categories	10	35	<i>Kabul Times</i> stresses Afghanistan's responsibility.

Interpretation:

The current table shows about the *Dawn* frame repatriation that more harmfully, concentrating on security and financial challenges, giving refugees as a problem. *Kabul Times* high spotted positive parts, framing repatriation as a volunteer procedure and showing sympathy toward migrants. *Dawn* highlights Pakistan's encouraging role, while *Kabul Times* strains Afghanistan's accountability. This replicates differing countrywide benefits, with *Dawn* replicating Pakistan's concerns and *Kabul Times* supporting with Afghan viewpoints.

Table No. 2

RQ.2 What themes and narratives are most prevalent in the coverage of Afghan refugee repatriation in *Dawn* compared to the *Kabul Times*?

Serial No.	Question	Category	Dawn (n=50)	Kabul Times (n=50)	Comments
9	Mention of security concerns	News articles	18	8	<i>Dawn</i> highlights security risks significantly.
10	Discussion of economic challenges	News articles	20	6	<i>Dawn</i> frames refugees as an economic burden.
11	Focus on international aid	News articles	10	18	<i>Kabul Times</i> emphasizes the need for global support.
12	Highlight of gender issues	News articles	6	10	<i>Kabul Times</i> discusses gender-specific challenges more.
13	Mention of children's issues	News articles	8	12	<i>Kabul Times</i> focuses more on children's needs.
14	Use of emotional language	Headlines	30	25	Both outlets use emotionally charged language.
15	Visual elements (e.g., images)	Headlines	25	20	Both use visuals, but <i>Dawn</i> slightly more often.

Interpretation

The table exemplifies that the *Dawn* often stresses deleterious themes like financial strain and security threats, representing migrants as challenging. But in other side the *Kabul Times* emphases on humanitarian problems, containing gender and children's tasks, representing refugees more understandingly. The *Dawn* adopted more burning rhetoric; however *Kabul Times* highpoints encouraging aspects like volunteer repatriation and international backing, with both using sensitive semantic but to changed degrees.

Table No. 3

RQ.3 How do the framing strategies of *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* reflect the political and social perspectives of Pakistan and Afghanistan on the issue of refugee repatriation?

Serial No.	Question	Category	Dawn (n=50)	Kabul Times (n=50)	Comments
16	Criticism of UNHCR	Editorials	8	5	<i>Dawn</i> has more critical editorials on UNHCR.
17	Calls for bilateral cooperation	Op-eds	10	25	<i>Kabul Times</i> pushes for collaboration more often.
18	Coverage of legal frameworks	Editorials	5	15	<i>Kabul Times</i> references international laws frequently.
19	Use of statistics or data	All categories	12	18	<i>Kabul Times</i> includes more quantitative information.
20	Recommendations policy provided	Op-eds	12	28	<i>Kabul Times</i> focuses heavily on actionable solutions.

Interpretation

The above table explores about the frame of both newspapers that the framing in *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* replicates the political opinions of the both countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan. *Dawn* condemns the UNHCR and stresses Pakistan's requirement for backing, replicating Pakistan's tasks. *Kabul Times* appeals for bilateral assistance and highpoints Afghanistan's character in the deportation procedure, emphasizing a need for political association. The dissimilarities show how each channel replicates its country's standpoint on refugee deportation.

5.0 DISCUSSION CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Discussion

The return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan is a composite matter that has been framed inversely by *Dawn* and *Kabul Times*, reflecting the separate political and social backgrounds of Pakistan and Afghanistan. *Dawn* have a tendency to frame the issue in a more undesirable light, emphasizing the financial and security tasks that Pakistan faces due to the company of refugees. This is seen in its common coverage of refugees as a burden, with an importance on the need for international support and security methods. Moreover, *Dawn* represents Pakistan's role in the transportation process more definitely, importance its efforts to simplify the return of refugees, while often donating Afghanistan as less practical in the repatriation effort. The quality in *Dawn* rests more towards a pragmatic method, focusing on the problems of managing refugees and the straining they place on Pakistan's resources.

In additional side the *Kabul Times* surrounds the deportation process more unconditionally and with a superior attention on humanitarian doubts. It stresses the need for volunteer repatriation and climaxes the difficulty of migrants, especially ladies & kids. The publication highlights the responsibility of Afghanistan to welcome returnees and renovate their state, framing the banishment as a chance for Afghanistan's take back. The *Kabul Times* often represents wanderers as victims who need universal backing, but it also importance on the struggles of the Afghan organization to deliver a stable sky for returnees. This good enclosing supports with Afghanistan's national interests and aims to represent deportation as a hopeful procedure that incomes both the migrants and the national.

The Dawn and the *Kabul Time* present different views on repatriation, reflecting their countries priorities. *The Dawn* emphasizes Pakistan's concerns about security and financial stability. Stressing the need for external support, In the contrast, the *Kabul Times* portrays repatriation as Afghan's responsibility, urging bilateral cooperation and highlighting the its character in the process. These differences stem from each country's political goals. *The Dawn* emphasize on Pakistan issues, while the *Kabul Time* spreads shared responsibility. Both these perspectives reveal the large geopolitical challenges surrounding Afghan refugee repatriation.

5.2 Conclusion

At the end, the framing analysis of the repatriation of Afghan refugees from Pakistan in the *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* highlights the separate methods in which each publication method this problem, formed by their corresponding political and social backgrounds. The *Dawn* emphasizes on the undesirable aspects of deportation, portraying immigrants as a problem to Pakistan, and highlights the safety and financial tasks faced by the nation. This imitates Pakistan's apprehensions over the straining on its wealth and the safety implications of holding millions of immigrants. Through its representation of the condition, the *Dawn* highlights the essential for worldwide encouragement and a more obliging approach to managing the immigrant disaster.

On the other aspect, The *Kabul Times* representing the issue of repatriation additionally, emphasizing the Afghanistan charm in hospitable returnees and focused on the charitable parts of the process. It represents migrants as sufferers of displacement who justify sustenance and epitomizes repatriation as opportunity for regeneration Afghanistan. The newspaper burdens the Afghan government's duty in protecting a continuous and openhearted condition for returnees, even though also shouting for improved international conservation. This framing reflects Afghanistan's governmental situation, where deportation is pragmatic not individual as a task but also as a significant stair in the direction of countrywide reclamation.

The dissimilarities in framing in the middle of the *Dawn* and the *Kabul Times* mirror the wider geopolitical undercurrents stuck between the Pakistan and Afghanistan. While the *Dawn* highlights the tasks Pakistan faces and the requirement for outside backing, the *Kabul Times* stresses Afghanistan's character and the optimistic potential of deportation for the republic's upcoming. These conflicting viewpoints are prejudiced by the particular national benefits of both nations, with the *Dawn* bringing into line additionally with Pakistan's apprehensions and the *Kabul Times* concentrating on Afghanistan's ambitions for recovery and constancy. Eventually, the deportation of Afghan refugees is enclosed as a multifaceted subject with wide-ranging inferences, shaped by the significances and viewpoints of both countries.

5.3 Suggestions

The current study based on the analysis of the framing of Afghan refugee repatriation in *Dawn* and *Kabul Times*, numerous suggestions can be encourage recovering the coverage and simplifying a more stable understanding of the problem.

First, it is essential for both publications to adopt a more nuanced approach when discussing the complexities of refugee repatriation. *Dawn* could benefit from highlighting the positive contributions that refugees have made to Pakistan, alongside the challenges they pose. This would provide a more comprehensive view that includes both the burdens and benefits of hosting refugees. Similarly, *Kabul Times* could incorporate a more critical perspective on the challenges faced by returnees in Afghanistan, such as the lack of infrastructure or security, to present a more realistic view of the repatriation process. A balanced narrative would promote understanding of the issue from both sides and help mitigate any biases in the framing.

Second, both newspapers the *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* should consider highlighting the significance of bilateral collaboration and global support in the deportation procedure. While the *Dawn* concentrations on Pakistan's efforts, it could also deliberate potential clarifications through improved partnership with Afghanistan and the worldwide community. Similarly, the *Kabul Times* could pressure the requirement of a supportive framework to safeguard the maintainable recovery of returnees, calling for extra considerable intercontinental support and investment in Afghanistan's reclamation. Emphasizing the requirement for joint struggles would inspire a more helpful tactic to the refugee problem and encourage peace and constancy in the county.

Finally, there is a need for both media outlets to frame the issue of repatriation with a greater focus on the human rights and dignity of refugees. Rather than solely framing refugees as a burden or a challenge, both *Dawn* and *Kabul Times* could explore the personal stories and experiences of refugees, providing a deeper, more empathetic understanding of their struggles. This would shift the narrative from a political issue to a humanitarian one, emphasizing the importance of protecting the rights of refugees and ensuring their safe and voluntary return. Such an approach could foster greater compassion and support for the repatriation process in both countries and the international community.

By implementing these suggestions, both publications could contribute to a more balanced, informed, and empathetic discourse on the repatriation of Afghan refugees, helping to promote mutual understanding and cooperation between Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the broader international community.

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