

**Conflict Reporting in Pakistan: Identifying Ideological and Structural
Determinants**



Research Scholar
Asad Ullah
Reg # 241-SS/MSMC/S-15

Supervisor
Dr. Shabbir Hussain

Department of Media and Communication Studies
Faculty of Social Science
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD
2017



Accession No TH18659 ^{Wm}

MS
070.4333
ASC

War correspondents.
War news - Journalism.

**Conflict Reporting in Pakistan: Identifying Ideological and Structural
Determinants**

By

Asad Ullah

MS Media and Communication, 2017



**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of The Requirement for The Degree of Master of
Science in The**

Department of Media and Communication Studies

Faculty of Social Science

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

September 2017

International Islamic University Islamabad
Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Media and Communication Studies

Date: 20th September, 2017.

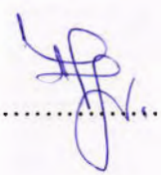
Certificate of Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis entitled "Conflict Reporting in Pakistan: Identifying Ideological and Structural Determinants" submitted by Asad Ullah. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan for the award of MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

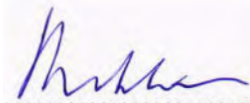
Committee

Supervisor

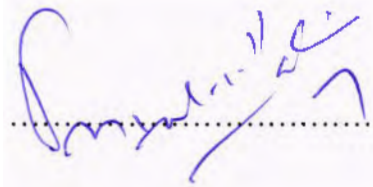
Dr. Shabbir Hussain



External Examiner



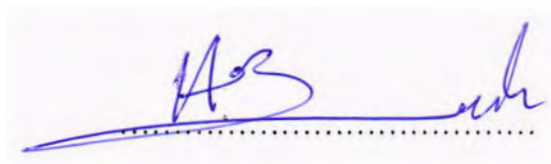
¹²
Internal Examiner



Chairman DMCS, IIUI



Dean FSS, IIUI



Acknowledgement

I am thankful to Allah Almighty the most Merciful, most Beneficial, Who helps and guides me in every sphere of life. I am thankful that He gave me birth in a Muslim family. I am thankful that He gave me vision to understand His message. Indeed, I am grateful for all blessings Allah has bestowed upon me and also for those things, which He did not give me for my betterment.

I dedicate my study to the greatest human of all times, Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH), who gave the lesson of peace and taught that how peace could prevail in the world. He (PBUH) is the first man in the human history to eliminate all kinds of differences prevalent in the contemporary society. When Prophet (PBUH) addressed His last sermon, He (PBUH) gave the final law of equality by saying that all the whites and the blacks are equal.

Secondly, I dedicate my study to my Mother. She educated me to become a good human being and what I am today is the outcome of her struggle and her prayers. She motivated and encouraged me when I was nothing. I am thankful to my father, whose silent prayers are pushing me towards achieving my goals. My brothers and sisters are my real inspiration and I feel their love everywhere.

I am also grateful to my teachers, colleagues and friends. Their support empowered me to achieve this title. Throughout my life, I was never afraid of any challenge because I knew Allah Almighty, the Creator of everything, is with me and even a leaf cannot move without His permission. I have not been appreciated for anything and that is the main reason behind my achievements. I am grateful to both the universities, GCUF and IIUI, because they played a vital role in my accomplishments.

Now, I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Shabbir Hussain, Assistant Professor, Department of Media and Communications Studies, International Islamic University Islamabad for his continuous support, guidance and encouragement. He is a man of principles and has immense knowledge of research in general and his subject in particular.

Asad Ullah

Declaration

I, Asad Ullah S/o Muhammad Sadiq, registration # 241-SS/MSMC/S15, student of M.S Media and Communication, International Islamic University Islamabad. I solemnly declared that the material published in this thesis "Conflict Reporting in Pakistan: Identifying Ideological and Structural Determinants" has submitted for the gratification of my M.S degree and it is mine individual exertion and this has not been published and submitted anywhere afore this degree. I am liable for its originality at any stage if it is proved plagiarized. It can be objected for the refusal of my degree.

Asad Ullah

Registration # 241-SS/MSMC/S15

masabij2@gmail.com

Abstract

This study identifies the various ideological and structural factors that influence reporting of three different conflicts in Pakistan, different conflicts are reported differently so this study enhance the knowledge to understand the dynamics of conflict reporting in Pakistan. Study identifies that how Pakistani media reporting different conflicts in Pakistan and how different ideologies and organizational issues are influencing journalists. The study has been designed in Pakistani setting and gives an idea to understand that what factors are influencing reporters and their news stories. Study explores the Taliban conflict, the Karachi conflict and the political conflict of Panama leaks. Through in-depth interviews with journalists of major news channels and newspapers who covering the Taliban conflict, the ethno-political conflict in Karachi and the political conflict on Panama scandal, the researcher found that nationalistic and commercial considerations determine media reporting, National Action Plan (NAP) stopped to report the other side of picture in Taliban conflict and Karachi operation. It was also found that threats from state and non-state groups, commercial interests of media industries, personal ideologies of journalists and political affiliations of media houses are the other important factors that influence how the three conflicts are reported.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
1.1. Conflicts.....	4
1.1.1 The Taliban Conflict.....	4
1.1.2 The Karachi Conflict.....	6
1.1.3 Political Conflict on Panama Leaks.....	9
1.1.4 Electronic and Print Media of Pakistan an Overview.....	11
1.2. Problem Statement.....	14
1.3. Significance of Study.....	14
1.4. Objectives of the study.....	15
2. Literature Review	16
2.1. Theatrical framework.....	28
2.2. Research Questions.....	32
3. Research Methodology	32
3.1. Description of the Design of the Methodology.....	34
3.2. Demographics of Journalists.....	35
4. Data Analysis	36
4.1 Taliban Conflict.....	37
4.2 Karachi Conflict.....	41
4.3 Political Conflict of Panama leaks.....	43
5. Conclusion and Discussions	47
References.....	51

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

Conflict reporting is considered as oldest journalistic genres in commercial and political beat assignments and it has much importance in all media organizations of the globe which have covered very important and serious kind of issues across the world. In fact, since 19th century, all the important issues like different wars mega corruption cases, different disasters and other conflicts which took place among different countries and in different groups all these types of serious conflicts have been reported by dedicated war correspondents as we have seen in recent Afghan and Iraq war and now in Syria. As (jack) argued that the significance of this beat has generally increased, in media around the world, with the passage of time (Jake, 2016)

If we see towards the western media that has some different working style, as (Ghilzai) argued that the western media has been running through a proper system and mechanism which we can see in it and the state has proper and reasonable check on the reporting and they have proper mechanism about media ethics and they well aware about the importance and limits of media but in Pakistan the conditions are quite opposite we have freedom of media which has often been misunderstood (Ghilzai, 2013) The role and its importance has been especially highlighted in last few years as it played positive role in conflict management and highlighted different mega issues and presented some serious results which gave much hype to main stream media across the globe and undoubtedly media is facing much obstacles in conflict zones such as war and political conflicts and some time it has been restricted over different issues by security departments which creates some other challenges for media and for journalists. The journalists are facing variety of hurdles: some are structural and some are ideological (Amanullah, 2013)

If we talk about the structural hurdles or factors which have influence on reporters or in other words the factors which creating hurdles for journalists during the coverage of different conflicts, we normally refer it as an organizational pressure, environment of news rooms, policy of organization, political and religious affiliation of owners of organizations, editorial board of any media house, pressure of hire and firing, economic interests of organizations which normally have major role in policy of any organization, there are so many other things which are being considered as structural determinants in journalism.

As (Shabbir) argued that the structural determinants or factors which are influencing the role of journalists in different conflicts, like journalists are facing pressure of institutional requirements of journalist profession, commercial interests of media industry which considered as main source of revenue or back bone of any media house, professional flak emanating from media ethics, termination from job, pressure of elites, pressure of owners, fear regarding violation of organizational policy, he further argued that the financial interests of organizations are also bothering journalists in their work, and further like the fear of diminish the chance of promotion and professional biasness among different journalists of same organization and so on (Hussein, 2015)

While we talk about the other factors which influenced the role of journalists in different conflict and which creating challenges for them in their work, that called ideological factors or ideological determinants like journalists faces flak of being framed as unpatriotic by the people and other media organizations and other departments, traitor on issues of national security and other matter which have direct link with ideology of nation, being framed as foreign spy by the people, security departments and other media houses as we have seen in different cases in

Pakistan and other countries. Threat to journalists and their families on their personal ideological affiliation or on other issues which have links with their work, killing of reporters on political and religious affiliations, public pressure, fear of being dubbed as anarchist by the public and other media houses to a journalist, being framed sectionalist in coverage of conflict or allegations of favoring one party in conflict, security persecutions for journalists which have been issued by military or some powerful pressure groups during the coverage of different conflicts as in recent few years we have seen in coverage of conflict in FATA, the tribal area of Pakistan the Taliban and Pakistan army was fighting and skirmishes are still continue and journalists are facing hurdles ideological and structural as well.

In Pakistan the dynamics of conflicts are based on region to region and all conflicts have their different background and conflicts have different histories as well which are mostly based on ideologies of people rather than physical need and interests (Amir, 2015) for instance the Baluchistan conflict has its ideological background and the fighter are also have their ideological affiliations, the Karachi conflict which normally known as Karachi operation has also its ideological background. The Taliban conflict is totally based on ideologies of both sides. Conflicting parties always tried to use media for their own purposes and to gain legitimacy and public support in conflict and for highlighting their cause and agenda against other. Media content is also being shaped by a variety of factors that results different versions of reality regarding different conflicts and sometime about same conflict (Shoemaker, 1996) Journalists are also well aware about what is happening and what their content would do for reality as (Siraj) argued that media persons are not silent spectators rather they can have a significant impact on how the conflicts begin and end (Siraj, 2012).

Here it is important to briefly summarize the important conflicts which would be investigated in this study researcher takes three different conflicts of Pakistan which are continue and have strong impact on minds of public and media as well. The Taliban issue the most sensitive and big issue of Pakistan in which more than 50 thousand people have lost their lives form both side.

1.1. Conflicts

Following are the conflicts which have been comprehensively explored in this research.

1.1.1 The Taliban Conflict

The Taliban conflict is the deadliest and complicated conflict that Pakistan has experienced since long time. It was basically started after the 9/11 attacks when American invasion started in Afghanistan and they started fight against Taliban and Al-Qaeda militants. After invasion of US-led NATO forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan withdrew its support for the Taliban in 2001 and started providing logistic and intelligence support to NATO and their allies in Afghanistan. The pro-Taliban armed groups which known as Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and came in tribal area of Pakistan from Afghanistan. Americans were targeting them through drone attacks and Pakistan allowed to American for direct attacks, which killed many important leaders of Taliban and Al-Qaeda.

Killing of senior leaders including innocent people through US drones created huge gap between native and Pakistani government. The TTP started fight against Pakistani army although many important leaders of Taliban and Al-Qaeda had also been arrested by Pakistan army and intelligence agencies. Pakistan army handed over several militants to American forces and that

step of army was also very disappointing for those groups which were already against the role of Pakistan in war against terrorism.

Fighting between the Pakistani army and TTP in 2009 which became cause of displacing of people almost 3 million and 1.2 million of them remained displaced at the end of last year and some are still not rehabilitated in their houses. Such displacement of huge masses was partly due to Pakistani army's tactics of encouraging civilians to flee to cleanse the region of all potential support for insurgents as US army used that tactics in Vietnam War.

TTP started targeting government institutional, security agencies and security personals in different cities of country and in start in south and gradually the war shifted to all cities which causing many civilians deaths. Indeed, suicide bombing have been the main tactic which Taliban and other militant groups like Al-Qaeda militants used against security agencies, army officers and politicians. Taliban spread death and terror among civilians across the country. Although, violence has dropped since a spike in 2009 which started at its high level in 2003 when 189 people died including militants, civilians and members of security forces. In 2013, 5379 people died which considered as the lowest total since 2009.

The present phase of Taliban war was started in 2004, when Pakistani forces attacked on tribal areas on the basis of global war on terrorism. Pakistani forces captured several hard-core areas and arrested many important members of militants. According to government's sources as many as 80,000 people have lost their lives in the war against Taliban or war on terror in Pakistan (although independent sources claimed that the numbers of affected people is much higher) and many more injured. Pakistan has spent trillion dollars on this war and faced damages of billions in shape of destructions. In this war, millions of people have displaced from their areas and many

of them are still out of their homes though 13 years have passed to this war. The dominant view in Pakistani politicians and military establishment is that the militants of tribal areas and Taliban wants to disintegrate the Pakistan and enforce the 'archaic' system in the country. Pakistan media and journalists have reported that the Taliban conflict is the high-risk security matter rather than all other conflicts (Hussain, 2012)

1.1.2 The Karachi Conflict

Karachi conflict has different dimensions which contained sectarianism, political conflicts, foreign involvement, local extremist groups, and conflicts on basis of ethnics, culture, language and mafia of different groups. As per a report of Society of Higher Education & Industrial Research (SHEIR), Karachi is the largest and financial hub of Pakistan. However, the metropolitan has been engulfed with crimes of different scopes including target killing, extortion, terrorism, foreign involvement, kidnapping for ransom, encroachment by the mafias, land corruption, sectarianism, local political groups and other (SHEIR, 2016)

In September 2013, in a meeting which was chaired by PM Nawaz Sharif and COAS General Rahil Sharif and attended by all political parties of Sindh, where all were mutually decided to restore the peace in city and rehabilitation of people who have been left Karachi due to terrorism. They decided to launch intelligence driven Rangers-Police operation against all criminal and terror elements that have made Karachi as a haven for their activities and all other criminal elements and giving enhanced power to the Rangers.

The process of owing to politicization of police and dysfunctional administrative machinery was slow in start but gradually the situation and condition of law and order improved. Besides of

getting hold of terror elements of MQM, PPP, TTP and other terror groups, law enforcers also tightened to noose around some other extremist groups and militant wings which were involved in target killing, terror activities, action against security agencies and other crimes. However, the political parties were not ready to take action against their militant groups and therefore when any action had been taken against the militant wings of MQM and other political parties they raise hue and cry and saying that Muhajirs are being victimized (Raja, 2015)

With the pledge to eliminate violence from Karachi, the Karachi operation is a 'cleansing scheme' against all type of terror elements including terrorists, foreign actors, target killers, kidnapers, mafias and their abettors and facilitator. The Karachi operation was formally started and got boost after visit of PM Nawaz Sharif to the terror hunted city Karachi on September 7, 2013, where he took into confidence the government of Sindh and other stake holders including political religious parties for launching a targeted operation against terror elements.

Security agencies and Pakistan Rangers has been mandated for get rid of terror elements and to curb criminal activities along with busting all sort of mafia and gangs whether under the shade of any political party or whether any religious group. We have different examples of the past to judge the results of military actions against political parties in Pakistan and in the world and if we talk about Pakistan, the first example form East-Pakistan when our government failed to address the post military operations administrative demands, and Pakistan suffered.

In East Pakistan, by July 1971, the military of Pakistan had regained its control over the entire territory which was under the control of opponent groups but the government had failed to establish its administrative control on that territory which was much necessary for political process and initiating the peace in region that later led to dismemberment of Pakistan. It was the

main challenge for military establishment again when it started operation in Karachi where already some anti-state elements had strong routes and popularity among their communities.

Army was not willing to repeat that story again which we have seen in 1975, when PM Zulafqar Ali Bhutto, put a ban on National Awami Party (NAP) under article 17(2) which later led to his downfall and fall of democratic government in Pakistan. (Today, 2016)

The present military action was basically against the militant wings of MQM due to various factors. The inside elements of MQM were providing information to intelligence agencies which were focusing every movement of MQM workers and leaders. The federal and provincial government had given the permission for the military action but the military establishment was trying to impose long term peace and therefore it didn't take any aggressive step. Therefore, now all stake holders have collective responsibility of all concerned that a policy must be formed to control the post military operation consequences with strong care and due diligence.

There are still so many important issues regarding peace and development which need to be addressed on urgent basis. The cleanup of MQM's militant groups is essential which almost have been deescalated with the help of federal and provincial government and leadership of MQM also played its role in it through the due process of law. The perpetrators of terror activities their abettors and financiers including facilitators must be taken to task and deescalate as well and any step towards the break-up of party will be disastrous and that thing military establishment is knowing well (Ehsan, 2016)

1.1.3 Political Conflict on Panama Leaks

In current senior of the world, where people are raising questions over democratic system, the Panama Papers are an unprecedented leak of more than 11.5 million files from the database of a firm which is known as the world's fourth largest offshore law firm, Mossack Fonseca. The record of this firm was obtained from an unidentified source by the German newspaper named *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, which shared the whole data with International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ).

Then, the ICIJ shared the all data with a large network of international partners of investigative journalism and private channels including Guardian and the BBC. The data exposed a 2 billion dollar's trail leads all the way to Russian President, Vladimir Putin. Vladimir's best friend, Sergei Roldugin is at the centre of a scheme through which money has been hidden from Russian state banks to offshore. Among the national leaders with offshore companies and assets are Nawaz Sharif, prime minister of Pakistan, Ayad Allawi former vice president of Iraq, Ukraine's president Petro Poroshenko, son of former president of Egypt Alaa Mubarak and prime minister of Iceland Sigmundur Davio has been exposed (Harding, 2015)

Mossack Fonseca is a Panamanian firm but runs its network worldwide. Its website boasts of a global network across the world with six hundred people who working in 42 countries. Mossack Fonseca has its franchises across the world where people are working and serving to offshore holders. The Mossack Fonseca is operating in tax havens of different countries including Cyprus, Switzerland, British Virgin Islands and in British crown dependencies Jersey, Isle of Man and Guernsey. (Dawn, 2016)

The firm which has been exposed and had a huge data regarding those who have investments in offshore countries, Mossack Fonseca is the fourth biggest provider of offshore services in the world. It has acted for more than 300,000 companies across the world. It has strong relations with United Kingdom because more than half of the offshore companies are registered in British administrated tax havens, as well as in territory of United Kingdom itself.

Panama paper a global investigation exposed that the world's rich and powerful use to hide assets in different Iceland which mostly have links with British government. It exposed 11 million files regarding tax details and offshore investments of thousands of people including very prominent personalities of the world. The investigation exposed the role of those people who were hiding their money in Panama and they were facilitating bribery, arm deal, tax evasion, drug trafficking and fraud. In Pakistan, the leak has been revealed a lot about prominent politicians including the family members of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

Umar Cheema, a journalist working with the news international and he is member of ICIJ that partnered with more than 100 media organizations form 76 countries of the world to review the data of panama leaks which was contained on 11.5 million secret files that a whistleblower leaked (Dawn, 2016) Panama paper became political conflict in Pakistan and the conflict was triggered by the leaks that named about 200 Pakistanis who had offshore accounts, holding properties in abroad and have financial affairs in foreign. Though the prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif is not directly involved or mentioned in Panama documents but his name appears with reference of his children who was engaged in these financial affairs and have assets in foreign.

However, the fact the prime minister Nawaz Sharif addressed the nation twice on the issue of Panama leaks and he brought him into the controversy including his family members. Before his address to nation hardly no one was paying attention to other names of the list but after the controversial speech of prime minister Nawaz Sharif the whole nation paid its attention to this issue which later become political conflict in Pakistan. The strategy was accompanied by the PML-N top leadership's decision to jump into the fray to defend prime minister and his family members and the leadership launched a counter offensive by blaming and criticizing several opposition leaders including Imran Khan of corruption and blaming them over different issues including performance in their provinces.

The strategy the main leadership of PML-N provided additional fuel to the controversy were the contradiction in interviews given by the prime minister's children and wife at different times to media. The Pakistani media also played very important role in Panama papers and conducted hundreds of programs on this issue, it highlighted the all aspects and blamed equally to all groups. Imran Khan announced lockdown protest against federal government which created disharmony and panic among people. Federal government used its all machinery against PTI's protest and stopped them while Imran Khan had been house arrested at his home. Supreme Court of Pakistan took step a started hearing over Panama case and now hearings are continue on daily basis but the case has lost its importance before people (Rizvi, 2016)

Following is the overview of electronic and print media of Pakistan.

1.1.4 Electronic and Print Media of Pakistan an Overview

In Pakistan, last few years were the years of media which continuing. Media of Pakistan made rapid growth specifically in electronic media and it got tremendous progress from its emergence

in decade of 2000, when whole world came to know about Pakistan in view of war on terror. In history of Pakistani media, we have just few radio stations and a state own TV channel and few years back, joust two decades these few radio stations and state own TV channel was the only source of information and people of the rural and urban areas were totally dependent on these mediums of information.

Pakistan was totally disconnected from entire world and new developments around the world were out of access to the people of Pakistan. After 9/11, the world looked towards Pakistan because Pakistan would play the major play in war on terror. Before 9/11 we had not any major news except political news because democratic parties were not in much strength as military of Pakistan was. After 9/11, different mega corporations came in Pakistan and found private ownership for media channels in Pakistan.

Transnational corporations got several licenses for Private media and that was the start when private media emerged here. PEMRA had been established by government to regulate and issuing licenses to private channels. Today, in 2017 more than 130 satellite TV channels are operating 27/7 in Pakistan and following the pattern of predefine agendas (satside, 2017) while more than 2000 cable operators including PTCL, NayaTel, Wordcall, and Wateen are operating in Pakistan (Wikipedia, 2017)

30 landing TV channels from abroad are being operated in Pakistan and these channels are operating by some mega corporations and those corporations have share in some other news and entertainment channels. BBC, CNN, Sky, Star and some other media outlets are shareholder of private media of Pakistan. More than 120 FM radio stations including 46 radio channels are also broadcasting in Pakistan. Investment in the field of electronic and print media in increasing every

year and this year it being expected up to US\$ 1.5 billion while total investment in electronic and print media is approximately up to US\$ 2.5 billion.

Emergence of electronic media opened several opportunities for fresh graduates and they are getting new jobs in print and electronic media while some private organizations are also working in media sector, these are not called print or electronic media but these are working with and for media. Several advertising agencies and private media monitoring organizations. All kind of media generated the jobs up to 5 million in Pakistan and all these job holders are working in different departments like marketing, production, news and technical (Azam, 2012)

Electronic media of Pakistan and its history has faced different stages from its start to today, TV started its first transmission in 1964 when a military dictator was in power and democratic parties were suffering from very tough time. That time the in 1967 and in 1984 Pakistan Television Corporation was incorporated as a joint stock company and later it had been converted into a corporation under the Companies' Ordinance.

First liberalized media came in power after nine years of dictator's rule when first successful transition of democratic government took place. That was very crucial time for media because it has not much strength and it was being owned by state and state was in control of military dictator but media played very positive role during the transition, media was very positive and vibrant in that period and it played very important role and faced several difficulties and challenges.

Electronic and print media faced different sanctions in shape of content and publication material and it faced several threats as well by state which was not democratic and some non-state actors

which were working for specific agendas. In few words, from the start of the Pakistani media and till today the media is some major conflicts which media is covering in Pakistan are ranks as the deadliest country for journalists. The security and safety of journalists during the coverage in conflict-affected areas like FATA and KP are the most dangerous for journalists.

In affected areas journalists are facing several issues. For instance, they are facing propaganda against media, coercion by different sides, direct threats, target killing, kidnapping and other several serious issues although some areas have been declared no-go areas for journalists by military of Pakistan (Support, 2009)

1.2 Problem of Statement

The Research is focusing on three conflicts of different nature, so researcher want to understand that, what type of conflict, the ideologies of journalists, the opinions of journalists, the situation and environment of newsrooms, the power of being framed as unpatriotic, traitor and foreign spy, persecutions for journalists issued by military or some powerful pressure groups, threat to life and family, institutional requirements of journalist profession, commercial interests of media industry and financial interests of a media house, how these things influence the reporting, because different conflicts are reported differently so this study will enhance our knowledge to understand the dynamics of conflict reporting in Pakistan.

1.3 Significance of The Study

Many researchers have investigated the determinates of conflict reporting in westernized setting and worked on major conflicts e.g. Afghan war, Iraq War, Syrian civil war, conflict in Egypt,

ethnic and religious conflicts in African countries and political conflict in Malaysia. This study is primarily designed to understand the ideological and structural determinants of conflict reporting in Pakistani setting and explores the three different conflicts of different nature i.e. the Taliban conflict, the Karachi conflict and political conflict of Panama leaks. So, it will help us to understand that how the journalistic ideologies, the media organizations and the organizational issues influencing the reporters and how these things influencing when Pakistani media report on Taliban conflict, Karachi conflict and the political conflict of Panama Leaks. Such study will contribute to the existing literature account to the journalism in general and Pakistan in particular. Most importantly it will help us to understand that how different conflicts are reported by Pakistani media organizations and what are the major factors which influencing the reporting.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1. To understand that how the consideration of national security and the resultant flaks like threats of being framed as unpatriotic, traitor and foreign spy influence the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan.
2. To understand that how the threat to journalists, public pressure and security concerns influence the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan.
3. To understand the how the fear of being dubbed as anarchist and sectionalist or favoring one party in conflict influence the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan.
4. To understand that how the structural factors: the institutional requirements of journalist profession, commercial interests of media industry, professional flak emanating from media ethics, termination from job on violation of the policy of organization and financial interests of organizations, influence to the conflict reporting in Pakistan.

Chapter 2

2. Literature Review

In journalistic profession, a journalist normally faced two types of determinants which influenced his/her reporting and professional career. One is internal and second is external. Both, internal and external determinants based on ideological and structural factors. Different determinants are influencing the reporting and researcher discussed these determinants categorically in literature review.

Ideological Factors

Reporting on any conflict or any issue is a professional duty of a journalist and during the duty a journalist faced different challenges or factors which directly or indirectly influencing the reporting and to some extent to that reporter who is covering that issue. We have studied different factors in our literature review that are directly influencing the reporters and their story as (Sjøvaag, 2013) argued on the autonomy of the journalist, he said that the autonomy of a reporter is very closely linked with the issue concerning that how a news becomes a news and which factors are involved which makes that news.

News selection and reshaping of news is not only determined by the journalistic standards there are several other factors are involved in behind the news. A news becomes a news after facing social factors which allows what is suitable or what is not, editorial hierarchy which playing very major role and shapes the news according to policy of organizations and specific objectives. Normative and conflict avoidance behavior of journalists. The institutional practices which within an organization was being practiced, socialization process and professional efforts are all the factors or elements which contributes in making of news to limiting the autonomy of a journalist.

If we talked about the ideological factors which are creating challenges for journalists in current age we have a definition which explained that what is ideology in our society. People want to know that what is the role of media of all types in all nations in propagating the ideologies, and what are the powers which dictating the nature of that ideologies. Here, people want to know that how journalists and other media workers practicing and functioning ideologically (Shoemaker P. J., 1996).

Resultant flaks like threats of being framed as unpatriotic is also a factor in some countries where journalists are covering different conflicts. In middle east, especially in Pakistan were many journalists had been framed as unpatriotic by some other journalist and security agencies. Basically, when a reporter covering a conflict which has very strong narrative among people that the other side is anti-state or against the Integrity of nation then reporting become more critical because journalist can be framed as unpatriotic on any issue which would not per narrative of majority.

As (Allen Taylor, former newspaper editor and award-winning journalist) said that journalists are cop-haters, communists, or unpatriotic just because they write a story that sheds police officers, politicians, or government in a bad light. Most journalists are out to report the truth about a situation so that citizens can be informed about what is going on. Even with natural biases (and all journalists have them), negative reporting is a consequence of a free press (Taylor, 2015) same as some journalist had been framed as traitor and foreign spy in all over the world because their reporting was not according to interests of some powerful groups which could be frame them as traitor and foreign spy.

In Pakistan, well known reporter Hamid Mir was also being framed as traitor by security agencies as people still have concern over his reporting although he had been shot out in Karachi where shooter opened fire on his car and he injured critically after getting six bullets in his body. So, it is very tough for journalist to face this ideological constraint which challenges the loyalty. The Amnesty International, an organization which works on Human Rights and protection of journalists argued that, it has 'credible concerns' in Pakistan the powerful intelligence agency which works independently and all workers are army retired and serving officers. This spy agency kidnaps the journalists: threaten them over their work and even killing those journalists who crossed the line.

The Amnesty raised these allegations amid an extraordinary public standoff between the ISI (The Intelligence Agency of Pakistan) and the Pakistan's biggest media group (Jang Group) over an attempt by a unknown shooter to kill famous anchorperson Hamid Mir, who is very popular journalist and columnists on the Geo News and daily Jang. In complete and detail report, the Amnesty International said that journalists who are working on some major conflicts are facing extraordinary challenges in Pakistan, like threats to lives, warning from the banned terrorist groups and militant wings of political parties. The Human Right groups said that ISI is the main state actor which feared by journalists because journalists are trying to present the reality of affected-areas (International, 2014).

Same as we discussed above public pressure is also a factor during the coverage of conflict if it has already a strong narrative among people, journalists faced public pressure during the coverage of any conflict if it has links with public opinion, people would not bear thing against their narrative so journalist always tried to avoid this pressure through using different soft words

and avoidance of conflict. Fear of being dubbed as anarchist is another ideological factor which threaten to those journalists who are covering the conflicts in different areas and especially in middle east where the whole world has strong consideration and media of different countries has different objectives. In Pakistan security agencies and powerful groups can be dubbed anyone as anarchist over his reporting against the objectives of that agency or powerful group.

As (Lynch) argued that journalists become more responsible and their reporting become more positive when they think their sensational reporting would damage the peace of society and harming for the reputation of their organization while they see the perception of escalation to violence. Journalists faced different flaks and when their reporting sensationalized the news then flak public pressure become a flak and journalists would be dubbed as anarchist and they would be dubbed as sectionalist people can blame them that they are supporting or favoring one party of the conflict (Lynch. 2015). While talking about the factor of patriotism in journalists which reflects in their works and especially when they are working on a conflict which has strong link with the integrity of state then most of journalists become patriot and showed their biasness in news stories. (Shoemaker) argued on structure of news and she said that we must examine that the key elements are being combined and structured in news (Shoemaker P. J., 1996)

Normally, during the coverage of a conflict either it would be a war or a conflict between two groups journalists have been tagged as sectionalist or favoring one party in conflict because objectivity would must be harsh for one side so journalist played their dangerous role during the reporting on conflict. Threats, warnings, kidnapping and attacks by the military intelligence is common factor in reporting of a conflict as we have above mentioned in a report of Amnesty international.

(Helle Sjøvaag) said that, four conditions determine structure of news or condition of a news, one is the official structure of news organization, second is commercial interests of the organizations, third is informal influences on the reporters and organization, and fourth is pressure of groups on journalist and organization (Helle, 2013).

Structural Factors

In journalism two factors are considered as very important and major for profession because both factors have very major role, one is ideological factor which directly linked with the individual who is doing his/her job and covering a story either which is conflict or either a soft news but he faced ideological determinants there and second factor is structural which belonged to organization of journalist and external environment where he/she is working.

As (McChesney) said that is clear and have proved by several researches that commercialization and control of corporates is the major challenge for journalists and these things are restricting their autonomy. We have examples from the history of America where autonomy of journalists has been decreased and profit-oriented objectives of organizations got much increase (McChesney, 2003).

Breed argued that in his study on social control in the newsroom. He said that news selection and reshaping of news in depends on different stages. editorial policy and news directors are playing very important role in news making (Breed, 1955) Helle Sjøvaag (2003) found that the autonomy of journalist is being restricted on two different levels which are internal and external, in internal freedom of journalists to decisions on news and free from management and free from pressure of organization, commercial interests of organization and in external elements the policy of state,

censorship by the state, legislations and regulations on the journalists and media organizations and these both, internal and external factors influence the news environment (Sjøvaag, 2013)

Consideration of national security and security concerns are also factors which restricted to journalists in their work and they faced it during the coverage of some serious kind of conflicts which normally now happening in middle east and on border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan. In recent few years meddle east has become the deadliest area for the conflict reporters and dozens of reports have lost their lives during the reporting on different conflicts. Syria and Iraq and the most challenging zones for reporters although Afghanistan was also very challenging were powers of whole world were fighting against one power and media was also the major tool during that time.

No one could report anything against brutality of foreign actors. Many journalists had been killed during the Afghan war as (Robin Vandevordt) has found his study on Syrian civil war. He argued that in Syria, more specifically, the problem was that journalists could enter the country either through the official channels by successfully applying for a government-approved visa, or tbrough rebel held areas. Journalists who entered rebel-held areas without permission from the Syrian government were from then on considered to be collaborators and would no longer be granted an official visa (Vandevordt, 2016) Journalist faced tbreats and some have been beaten critical in Pakistan, Umar Cheema the investigative journalist had face torcher by some state actors who beaten him over his news story which he published against a senior politician. Institutional requirements of journalist profession are also a factor which influenced the reporting when he/she reported on a conflict (Shoemaker P. J., 1996)

Commercial interests of media industry are also factors which directly and indirectly influenced media content and make pressure on a journalist to change his/her attitude according to the organizational need. As (Ingela Wadbrin) said that the commercial interests and concepts of commercialism is regularly used in today's media debate. In current situation of media industry has become more commercialized than it was never in the history of media (Wadbring, 2013) Professional flak emanating from media ethics is also link with commercial interests of organization where journalist faced different threats from organization like diminish the chance of promotion and Journalists have to follow the professional requirements as well which an organization required from him/her. Termination from job on violation of the policy of organization is also a factor which is very common in media houses and their owner journalists have threat from their job side as well because they can be fired if they would not follow the requirements of organization.

When we talk about the structural determinants during the coverage in conflict zone or report on any conflict, we have found different organizational pressures on a journalist and one of them is the purpose of organization is profit making. As (Safal Ghimire) discussed about Nepal in era of after 1990 when democratic political change took place in Nepal and it was not only the change of democracy while it was change of media industry. Media organizations were also part of that conflict (Upreti, 2014). Opinions and beliefs of journalists are based on their understanding about the issues. Media organizations have its economic benefits, Media want to buy its content to the public who are buying the newspapers and watching the TV programs. Increasing viewership of TV playing the major role on controlling the type of content and the way in which stories are being framed (Khan, 2011).

'Decide budgets, set editorial guidelines and policies, and appoint editors and staff, and thus influence the news production processes albeit not necessarily individual news stories' (Stromback & Karlsson, 2011).

In the context of Pakistan and journalistic field, violence against journalists and economic pressures on organizations are common issues to an organization (Syed, 2009). In his study on Pakistani media (Memon) argued that apparently, no direct censorship of media is existing in Pakistan, although journalists are indirectly being threaten and forced over their reporting (Memon, 2012). Hun Shik Kim discussed that when the invasion of Iran took place in 2003, war reporters did their jobs and reported the news stories from the battle and streets of Baghdad to the people of the whole world, his study investigates those gatekeeping factors which influence the reporters and their stories in coverage of Iraq war. His study identified that gatekeeping factors effected the journalists at large scale and individual level as well (Kim, 2012). During the war of Iraq and role of embedded journalists (Fahmy) found that individual level gatekeeping and professional norms also playing very important role in war reporting while organizational level gatekeeping dictate journalists over their work (Fahmy, 2005).

If we talk about the perception and attitude of journalists in conflict zone which can also affect the making of news and many scholars have proved that through different studies, like (Neumann, 2016) has identified different aspects regarding attitude and perception in any crisis.

In his study (Shahira Fahmy and Thomas J. Johnson) argued that embedded journalists have accepted that their reports on different war were just showing the one side of the picture while they were unaware about the other side of the picture and sometimes they have been restricted to show the other side (Johnson, 2005). He further said, his study investigated that ideological factors influence embedded reporting as well.

(Relly) talked about after the twenty years of foreign intervention in Iraqi Kurdistan during the era of Saddam Hussain, his study found that Kurdish journalists' perceptions about the authoritarian role of Saddam Hussain were influencing the news stories which were coming from the war zone (Relly, 2014). In study on Iraq (Jeannine) argued that there were several factors which were influencing the news stories

which were coming from the war zone which was between Iraqi forces and US army. He said that news media routine influences the stories, organizational level pressure on journalists was also influencing, governmental control, commercial pressure, religious pressure on journalists' mind, violence against journalists and political ideologies of journalists and organizations were the key elements which were effecting the news stories during the coverage of war (Jeannine, 2014)

In his study on political crisis in African country Rwanda (Onyebadi) argued that 1994 Rwanda genocide was the open example that how media fan the Africa's political crisis and how the content of coverage influence the people who were part of that conflict. Several evidences are on record which clearly showing that media of Rwanda was fanning the genocide and fanning those people who were killing the people. Researcher said that during the genocide of Rwanda the RTLM (Radio) was suing several tactics and techniques to incite the people for killing Hutus and it was saying repeatedly that the other group of Tutsis was killing the Hutus in large numbers (Onyebadi, 2011)

Journalistic role is very important in conflicts because they are the real medium which inform to people about what is happening in conflict or who is doing what. Bur sometimes the journalists have been used for propaganda and personal objectives as we have seen in above mentioned studies. Different researches have been conducted on different conflicts and scholars found some strange results which raised different question or profession of journalist and the role of organizations. As Guus Bartholomé argued that in his study on Dutch political journalists, where he identified that indeed journalist take an active stance in framing of any conflict, they contribute to the starting of any conflict and they frame the conflicts through use of exaggerating facts (Bartholomé, 2015).

In a study (Joseph M Chan) has identified the importance of local media interests in Hong Kong and he argued that how interests of politics relate with media and local press. Joseph's study identifying the and helping to understand that role of Hong Kong's media in conflict and he explained that how media was used for political purposes. Media of Hong Kong was facing political pressure from China and it was

being used for specific agendas (Chan, 2011). In his study over control of media (Altschull 1984) has proposed a framework which helps to understand the variations within the media and control of owners. He argued that media reflect the ideology of those who are investing in media or who are financing media it might be advertisers or direct donors. He drew model for source of media earning or media's financial support (Altschull, 1984)

As (Shoemaker and Reese 1994) have argued that the primary goal of media organizations is to make profit because it also a business, majority of the media organizations are working for the economic purposes and their main objective is to earn maximum. Although, some other goals are also party of media organizations' policy, like quality of product or content, services for the people and educate them about events, to get the professional acknowledgement among other media outlets (Shoemaker, 1994)

(Sigal 1973) argued that the selection of news stories in print media is just for the purpose to get maximum readership and to buy the newspaper at large level, they select news stories to appeal the maximum audience for newspapers and all stories have been designed according to this set pattern. This technique can increase the sale of newspaper and through this way people can show maximum interest in newspaper. When maximum readership would attach with a newspaper then advertising revenue would be automatically increased. In stating of electronic media of the whole world adopted the same pattern which newspapers have adopted to get maximum revenue (Sigal, 1973)

In his study (Weis 1986) argued that advertisement is the backbone of any media organizations and revenue is the necessary for the survival of media organizations. When we talk about the interests of mega corporations, many multinational manufacturing and advertising agencies have enough power suppress public service messages which they don't like for the masses. Tobacco companies have much power and they have made several attempts to control the content of media (Weis, 1986)

In his study on American magazines (Kessler 1989) investigated the editorial and advertising content to six famous American magazines, he wants to see that whether the presence of tobacco advertising would be related to the amount of those things which editorials of magazines links with health hazards things. Although, the major topic of the magazines was about the health of women. Researcher found that there was no editorial about health hazard of smoking. Several researches have proved that tobacco companies and advertising of these companies have strong influence on media content because these mega corporations and the major shareholder of advertising.

In his study (Janus, 1984) had said that governments of the all countries of the world trying to control the media and specifically in third world countries the media is under the control of governments. He said that in countries, where the maximum media of the country whether it is print or electronic is owned by private organizations, where governments used laws, regulations, licenses, regularity authorities and taxes to control the media. In in those countries where the media is owned by government or less private ownership of media, the government control the media through financing. Government of these countries where media is under the control of government used different ways to be financing the media, advertising, supporting bodies, financial supports and so many other ways have been used by government to control the media (Janus, 1984)

About the Pakistan media (Riaz 2008) argued that in Pakistan the maximum media is in private hands hence government has not direct control on channels although government used several indirect ways to influence the media houses. Government used several techniques and tools to influence print and electronic media. He said that financial benefits, like loans, financial

supports, houses, plots, cars, and other many things have been offered to owners and editors of the newspapers to told them by the governmental authorities that their business will be protected by government, they would get relief on taxes and government would support them if intelligence agencies would pressurize them over their own agendas, if they give favor and support to government in their content. Otherwise, government will not be favorable for them, and they would not get any benefit from them government. In Pakistan, obviously, nobody will make a deal of loss. Author argued that foreign trips of the journalists are also a shape of bribe and through this way government can get the support of journalists.

(Riaz, 2008) further said that heavy gifts have been given to journalists and media owners, precious plots in expensive housing societies have been allotted to the journalists, expensive cars are main gift which journalists got by the government. Raiz said that in February 2004, government announced to invite the applications for plots in an expensive housing society of Islamabad, (Daily Nawa-i-waqt- Feb.24th, 2004) the capital and most expensive city of the Pakistan. The plots will be given to journalists and every plot has value of three to six million rupees, government reserved maximum plots which will be given later and government would allot those plots to those journalists who would support to government, and government would use these plots in its crucial time and it was also a way of bribe to journalists (Riaz, 2008)

In his study on Malaysian by-elections (Sajahan, 2010) argued that main stream media of the country presented the monopoly of the government or even the governing parties in their content. Media used technology to influence the people who were living in the urban areas and outskirts of the cities (Sajahan, 2010). When we talked about the dependency of reporters on government officials and military personals for getting information about the news or what is happening in

conflict zone then we see the study of Peter Goddard in which he discussed several reasons which creating dependency of media on government sources for getting information about those areas which have been declared prohibited for the journalists. Journalists dependent on military sources when the constructing the news about war zones. Researcher argued that, anticommunism ideologies in Cold War was the result of military sources (Robinson, 2008).

While talking about threats to reporter who were doing their jobs in conflict zone on covering different conflicts we have example of Anna Politkovskaya's study which she did on Chechnya. she was shot dead in 2006 in the entrance of Moscow apartment block, which was her home. Her reporting on conflict of Chechnya is still considered as the best work on conflict of Chechnya. She argued that media played very important role in conflict and it have been used by the government for its own purposes.

2.1 Theatrical framework

The researcher will apply the pragmatic model that will serve as the theoretical framework for the study, which is investigating three different conflicts of three different levels in Pakistan. The Taliban Conflict, Karachi Operation and political conflict of Panama leaks. These are the perceptions, on the part of elites, of the seriousness of the threat to national security and resultant flak which associated with conflict(s) at different levels, as a key element of the ideological structuration within and against which journalist agency can be exerted. The pragmatic model provides a roadmap for conflict journalism which is based on an in-depth analysis of these two factors which discussed has been above.

The Perception of Seriousness of Threat to National Security

The supposed threat can be of high, medium and low level in a conflict and in different conflicts which may be have different nature at different levels. In normal practice a conflict is usually labeled or stereotype in communications from military and political elites (who are as noted above and considered the prime source for journalists during the reporting any conflict) as representing a high security threat level is the casualty rate in high in any conflict (as we have seen in Taliban conflict); if other state or foreign actors are accepting their role and claimed to be involved in conflict and having deep social differences and believed to be intent on disintegrating and demoralizing the country.

The medium level security conflict is considered that where the casualty rate is lesser, the conflicting actors or groups which are direct involved in conflict are belongs to the same country, taking no serious social differences and have not any serious threat to national integration and have not be threat to national interest. Finally, the low security conflict generally has a comparatively low casualty rate, the stakeholders who are directly involved in conflict are all national actors and having no real social differences and not seen as threat to national interest and integrity of the country.

Threat of flak

Behind the supposed level of threat to national security, that has strong influence on conflict reporting. The threat of flak can be considered in form of institutional requirements of journalistic profession, security alerts and prescriptions for journalists who works in conflict zones or reporting over different conflicts, or prescriptions from some powerful groups who have direct or indirect link with conflict, commercial interests of media houses

65981:41
TH:18659

and media industry and the professional flak which emanating from media ethics. The different forms of flak vary with the supposed level of threat to national interests and national security. If the level of security threat and alerts was at the peak, so would be the institutional flak.

The profession of journalism, journalists who are working in Pakistan are supposed to play their national role for common goal in case of danger to national interests and national security by bonding the nation and safeguarding the core national interests. Media and journalism may become critical of elite policy making if criticism appears and raises that the decisions are not in the interest of national security and national interests.

On the other side, if the supposed level of threat to national security and national interests was at medium position, the elite flak would be defined conflict reporting regarding any conflict. In this level of threat, as media avoid their role as a stakeholder in the conflict and demote themselves to an information provider or just a medium of information provider, and in this position the elite bodies in the conflict take advantage of media's role and media quietism and started controlling the information which media is getting and spreading.

Finally, the commercial interests or professional flaks will get superiority if the supposed threat to national interests or national security is at lowest level or non-existent. In case of perception of no-escalation, the commercial interests and flak would control the slant and media content become sensationalized to take full advantage and maximize profit by increasing viewers and getting more and more viewership. In case of perception of escalation to violence, professional flak come into play its constructive role and journalist become responsible in reporting of that conflict as they fear that sensational reporting

would damage societal peace of the area or country and harm the reputation of their media outlet for being partial or irresponsible towards the conflicts. The journalists become patriot and more active towards the conflict and try to play their best.

Following model would help to identify the factors which are influencing the conflicting reporting in Pakistan and this model has been used in three different conflicts i.e. The Taliban conflict, Karachi conflict and political conflict of Panama leaks. Model showing three different stages which journalists are facing when the report on any conflict in Pakistan and it helps us to identifies the major factors which are influencing the conflict reporting in Pakistan.

Pragmatic model for conflict journalism

Factors in Conflicts	Conflict scenarios	Type of Flaks	Dominant Narrative
High casualty rate, Presence of foreigners, Social differences Territorial ambitions	High Security threat	Institutional flak	Patriotic
Lesser casualties National groups No serious social differences Ambivalent Territorial claims	Medium- Level Threat	Elite flak	Elitist

Chapter 3

Low/no casualties	Low-level	Commercial	Sensationalistic/
National groups Lesser	Security threat	/Ethical flaks	responsible
Threat of escalation No			
Territorial ambitions			

2.2 Research Questions

1. How the considerations of national security and patriotism influence the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan?
2. How the institutional flak influences the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan?
3. How the security threats to journalists influence the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan?
4. How the professional requirements of journalist profession influence the reporting of different conflicts in Pakistan?
5. How the commercial interests of media industry influence the reporting during the coverage of different conflict in Pakistan?

3. Research Methodology

This study is based on qualitative research methodology, in which researcher conducted in-depth interviews of 30 leading conflict reporters, media editors, stakeholders, media analysts and conflict resolution experts on the three different conflicts including Taliban conflict, Karachi conflict, and the political conflict on Panama Leaks.

All interviewees have been selected from the major news channels and newspapers named: Jang Group (Geo News, The News, Daily Jang) ARY News, Dunya News, Samaa TV, Express News,

Dawn News, Din News, PTV, Khyber News, Pashto 1, Aaj TV, Capital TV, Such TV, Nawa-e-Waqat, and Daily Mashrik, Online News Agency and APP. While those reporters have been interviewed, who have more than 5-year experience in their beat reporting. More than 10 reporters, analysts, editors and conflict resolution experts have been interviewed for each conflict and their experience regarding specific conflict has been preferred for their interviews.

Interviews serve as a commonly used method to capture the experiences and opinions of journalists and therefore researcher conducted maximum face to face interviews with all the concerning reporter, editors, analysts, and conflict resolution experts, while some interviews have been conducted on telephone because geographical locations were the major issue for both, journalists and researcher.

The selections of all interviewees have been determined after reviewing their contribution and work over conflicts which are being examine in this study. Researcher met with maximum conflict reporters, analysts, editors and conflict resolution experts and interviewed them regarding their beats relating to different conflicts which are the primary focus of the study, while some interviews have been conducted through calls. Researcher assess that how journalists deal with the news and how journalists practically follow up on news in general and news about conflicts specifically and what are the factors behind the reporting a conflict with different angels and what are the ideological and structural factor which influencing the reporters during the coverage of different conflicts.

3.1 Description of the Design of the Methodology

30 leading conflict reporter, editors, analysts and conflict resolution experts have been interviewed in this study and researcher conducted semi-structured interviews at different places where the interviewees were easy to speak. Firstly, the researcher conducted interviews over Taliban issue and following reporter have been interviewed on basis of their experience and organizations, Rasool Dawar (Reporter Geo News) Hasan Khan (Anchor/Senior Analyst, Khyber News), Tahir Ali, (Reporter, Afghan News Agency) Asmat Shah (Reporter APP), Gohar Khan, Reporter; Channel 24), Ateeq Mahsood, (Reporter; Afghan TV), Mushtaram Khan (Senior Analyst), Sadaf Khan (Reporter PTV), Jamil Muhammad (Reporter Neo TV), Qayum Afridi (Analyst/Columnist), Zahid Khan (Reporter AVT Khyber News), Then researcher conducted interviews over Panama case which is the most debated political conflict in the history of Pakistan.

The researcher conducted interviews of all senior reporters including Mumtaz Bhatti (Analyst, Editor Din Media group Islamabad), Adeel Waraich (Reporter Dunya News), Aqeel Afzal (Reporter, Express News), Zulqurnan Iqbal (Reporter, SAMA TV), Saqib Abbasi (Reporter, Aab Takk News), Muhammad Azam (Reporter, 7 News), Baber Abbasi (Reporter, Online News Agency) Noor-ul-Ameen (Reporter 92 News), Adeel Sarfarz (Reporter Channel 24) and Faisal Raza Khan (Reporter Aaj News). Then researcher conducted interviews over Karachi conflict, in which reporter of Dunya TV, APP, SAMA TV and news agencies have been interviewed.

Total 30 journalists from Islamabad (Capital of Pakistan), FATA, KPK and Karachi have been interviewed for this study. As represented in Table 1, the researcher conducted 22 face-to-face and 8 telephonic interviews with 13 journalists of different news media of Islamabad, 10

journalists from different news media of FATA and KPK and 7 journalists from different news media organizations of Karachi.

The participants have been selected through technique of snowballing sampling. First, subjects were selected based on their journalistic experience and seniority. Thereby include a mix of field reporters, editors, analysts and experts from a diverse pool of news media outlets with a background in conflict reporting. Their journalistic experience ranges from 5-20 years, with most of them is falling between 5 to 10 years of experience. The second standard of the sample selection was to include journalists from different media types from private (that tend to be more critical towards government in a specific issue) and public sector (which are generally controlled by government).

3.2 Demographics of Journalists Who Were Interviewed for This Study

Table 1.

	Islamabad	KPK	Karachi	Total
Total Participants	13	10	7	30
Media				
Newspapers	2	2	1	5
Television	10	8	5	23
Radio	-	-	-	-
Online	-	-	-	-
News Agencies	1	-	1	2
News magazines	-	-	-	-
Media Type				
Private Media	12	9	6	27
Public Media	1	1	1	3
Beat reporting				
Conflict	2	8	5	15
Supreme Court	7	-	-	7
Politics	3	1	1	5

Security/Crime	1	1	1	3
Journalism Experience				
5-10	11	7	7	25
10-15	1	1	-	2
15-20	1	2	-	3
Gender				
Male	13	10	7	30
Female				

Some journalists claimed to work for more than one beat; the numbers do not round up to 100 %

The most of participants work for private media houses while almost 10 percent of overall participants are working with government controlled media. In making these decisions, the researcher decided to collect the data from both mind sets because the conflicts which are being studied are different conflicts and just one conflict has direct link with government. Finally, the subjects were selected to maximize variability and diversity according to their beat reporting. (see Table 1). The researcher personally contacted with all journalists, and at the end researcher asked to each respondent for recommendations for further interviews.

Semi-structured interviews have been conducted in native language of the journalists. Three groups have been designed for journalists because the study is based on three different conflict hence every group of journalists have been asked similar questions during the interview that lasted for an average of 30 minutes. They focused around three main themes. First, journalists were asked general question about their perception regarding level of conflict, second participants asked about their specific conflict on which they were reporting.

4. Data Analysis

Following is the data analysis of the research.

Chapter 4

4.1 The Taliban Conflict

The Taliban conflict has several complications because it has a long history of two countries and without understanding of the history of Taliban and Afghan people we cannot understand the reasons of Taliban conflict. Afghan fought with Russia up to 10 years, then six years long civil war occurred which was the reason for emergence of Taliban. Taliban made their government on Islamic laws and allowed foreign people to come and join them. Al-Qaeda was the main group of foreign Mujahedeen who later attacked World Trade Centre. Then, USA invaded Afghanistan in 2001 and a long war started again. Al-Qaeda members moved towards Pak – Afghan borders and hide their selves in Tribal areas. Thousands of Taliban and their supporters also came from Afghanistan and sheltered in outskirts of FATA.

USA knew that many key leaders of Al-Qaeda and Taliban sheltered in Pakistan and our security agencies were cooperating USA intelligence agencies and handed over them several Al-Qaeda members who came from different countries to fight against allied forces. USA started drone attack in different areas of Pakistan and demanding action against Taliban and Al-Qaeda members in Pakistan who were living in tribal areas. Several key leaders of Taliban and Al-Qaeda were living in Pakistani tribal areas. It was a hard task for Pakistani army to access those areas because they have not any previous experience to fight against Taliban and Al-Qaeda members in their areas. Pakistan launched operation in FATA on US demand and become the part of American led-War on Terror.

The war which Pakistan started in 2005 and 2006, both sides lost thousands of people and several major developments happened in these year e.g. assassination of Osman-bin-Laden who were living in Abbottabad, arrest and assassinations of several key leader of Al-Qaeda and

Taliban. End of Taliban's government from Afghanistan then government of Hamid Karzai and then the next government of Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah, USA was behind all developments although all governments have failed against Taliban. USA covered almost 80 percent area of Afghanistan but resistance from the different militant groups was remaining. According to different unofficial sources, almost 120 journalists have lost their lives on line duty during the last 16 years long war on terror in Afghanistan and Iraq and Pakistani journalists also suffered hardly from this war.

Journalists who have been interviewed for this study had discussed several new things relating to Taliban and their attacks in Pakistan. Journalists discussed threats and role of media, they talked on communication system of Taliban and role of security agencies.

Journalist indicated that Taliban have proper communication system and a proper team for engaging journalists.

Taliban have proper communication system and proper team for interaction with media. They have spokesperson and reporters have information about them because they informed media about selection of new spokespersons (Senior Journalist and Group Editor; Akhbar-e-Khyber and Kay 2 Times)

Taliban still a big threat for Pakistan and they still have strong hideout in tribal areas although several key leaders of Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan have been killed in different US drone attacks and operations of Pak army but they still have their communication system in Pakistan and they are in contact with reporters. Journalists have indicated that sometime media channels presented the fake news about bomb blasts and some journalists linked that blasts with Taliban without their confirmation and several news relating to blasts have been rejected by Taliban which media linked with them.

and imposed National Action Plan (NAP) against terrorism in which several steps have been taken by government including directions to private media channels and newspapers.

After Zarb-e-Azab everything has changed. In past, Taliban spokesperson sent us WhatsApp messages, e-mails, telegrams and direct calls regarding their statements. Ahsan Ullah Ahsan who surrendered himself before army used to talk with us on call we recognized his voice and never need to tell him his name, same as Muhammad Kharasani, Shahid Ullah Shahid and Azim Tariq, they were also spokespersons of different groups of Taliban and they never told their name on calls but we recognized them by their voices. (Reporter; Geo News)

A Journalist indicated that maximum channels are not reporting the news of Taliban and they just avoiding them because they have been directed by security agencies. Some journalist also indicated that media presenting fake news relating to Taliban and that news affecting people at large scale.

Media playing very poor role in Taliban conflict. Sometimes, we seen that a blast happened somewhere and media reported that Taliban claimed that attack but later Taliban's spokespersons rejected the news. Sometimes Taliban got angry with us and considered us as foreign agent. (Reporter; Channel 24)

Majority of journalists considered that Taliban are still major issue for Pakistan and they are still a big challenge for our state.

Taliban conflict is a very different and a big issue of our country and we are facing it from last 16 years. Other all issues are temporary and for short time but Taliban conflict is deadliest and major. (Reporter, Akhbar-e-Khyber and Kay 2 Times)

Peace is the main importance thing for humanity and if there is no peace then nothing can survive. ANP did very well in its era but they attacked by bomb blasts. (Reporter; Associate Press of Pakistan)

During the interviews journalists have been asked about those factors which influence the news stories while reporting on Taliban conflict and they argued that journalists have their personal liking and disliking and personal ideologies which can influence the news stories. Patriotic

mindset of journalists influence news regarding Taliban conflict. Some journalist argued that their several colleagues have lost their lives just because of their news stories and some have left their filed and shifted to other cities.

Journalists are part of this society they have their families and they want peace in county and they are against the extremism hence some time their stories reflected their thinking. Some Journalist indicated that threats to their lives are have important role in shaping and framing news stories, some state actors and non-state actors have been indicated who directed to reporters over their reporting. Journalists faced threats from Taliban and intelligence agencies of Pakistan because both have their own objectives from journalists.

Personal ideologies and patriotic thinking influence reporting because journalists are part of this society where they have their families and they have direct concern with Taliban issue. So, sometimes we can see biasness or opinion in news. 120 journalists have been killed on line of duty in last few years. why journalists have been abducted? because of their news stories. Basic training for journalists is very important because no news is important than life. He further said that, Journalism has changed now a day, the role of reporters and editors have reduced and now everything is in hands of owners who have direct concerns over news stories. Even owners are shuffling the news according to their own interests (Anchor person Khyber News)

This is true that personal ideologies and patriotic thinking of journalist influence the news stories. Policies of security institutions and media houses has strong influence on reporters and we have no other option. Although, some reporters want to get fame and want to see their name on TV (Reporter; Afghan News Agency)

Things have changed after the National Action Plan and now reporters have no option to report news stories of Taliban Government restricted all media houses over reporting Taliban issues and covering statement of their spokespersons.

We are receiving several e-mails by Taliban spokesmen on daily basis and they are threatening us, several reporters have left the journalism and many have shifted to other cities. (Reporter; APP)

Taliban called Pak-army as 'Napak Army' so reporter cannot report their words as it is they changed the wording and even some time they changed the whole story after consultation with their colleagues (Reporter: Channcl 24)

If journalist reported any controversial story then members of security agencies raised concerns and informed that reporter or warned him about his news story. if any reporter worked against national interests, he would get serious results. I have faced threats from both sides, because we cannot work for both sides and cannot report what they want (Reporter, Geo New)

4.2 The Karachi Conflict

Karachi conflict is a big challenge for journalists because different political parties have strong holds in different areas where no one can enter including police and journalists. Political parties have their militant groups which involved in target killing, kidnapping, ransom and torcher to civilian and journalists. Several journalists have been beaten in last few years. Dozens of police officers, including senior officials have been killed in few years. Some journalists have also been killed during reporting and almost every journalist of specific beat have been threatened by members of some political parties.

Journalist indicated that MQM have a proper media cell and they monitored the media channels. They monitored what media presented about them and generated overage reports of Altaf Hussain's speeches. They monitored the anti-MQM statements of politicians, journalists and media anchor including news stories of newspapers. MQM members warned and threatened several reporters over their news and views against MQM.

Wali Khan Baber, reporter of Geo news had been killed by some target killers and according to some interviewees he was killed by MQM's target killers because he exposed them.

Majority of journalist said that Karachi conflict is a big issue and affected the people at very large scale and it is a big threat to back bone of Pakistan. Karachi is generating 60 percent revenue of country: all important industries and private organizations are based in Karachi. The biggest city of Pakistan has been paralyzed by some terror elements in which MQM is the main elements, although several other groups are also involved.

People are suffering in Karachi conflicts but image of the country is effecting by Taliban conflict. (Reporter, Dunya News)

Karachi operation and conflict of political parties affected the back bone of country. Panama case is totally political matter and a corruption case and according to me Taliban conflict is on top in level of intensity wise then Karachi operation and then Panama Case. (Reporter, APP)

Journalist argued that foreign investment and all developmental projects are on risk until the issue of Karachi will not be resolved. Karachi conflict although affecting the whole province but the image of country is on risk due to foreign involvement.

Journalists argued that MQM is the main political party which has major militant groups. MQM workers have been trained by India army and Indian intelligence agencies are supporting them here. Several other factors have been indicated by journalist which are affecting or influencing the news stories while covering conflict of Karachi. Journalist indicated that some media channels have their political objectives and never presented any controversial news against some specific parties.

Media houses have their political affiliation with some political parties and their members are working in media channels, even journalists also have their political affiliation. Pressure from the law and enforcement agencies, political parties and

their militant groups are also a factor which influence reporters. Lack of training of journalist is also a reason. (Reporter, Dunya News)

Journalists are facing threats by the workers of political parties and many reporter have been attacked during the coverage of different rallies and protests. Some journalists have lost their lives on line of duty and some have been beaten brutally (Reporter, Aaj TV)

Commercial interests influence the news stories regarding specific political parties which are in power and investing huge amount in shape of advertisement.

No doubt, media channels have their commercial interest which affected the news regarding some specific political parties. Sindh government is spending huge amount on advertisement and giving the ads to selective media houses. (Reporter, K21 Channel)

Some mega corporations have their political interests which influence media houses in shape of advertisement. Karachi conflict is basically war between different militant groups of different political and nonpolitical parties (Reporter, News Agency)

4.3 Political Conflict of Panama leaks

Panama leaks is matter of offshore assets which have been exposed by an international newspaper. Several political and nonpolitical personalities have been disclosed through panama case. Pakistani media have not experience about offshore assets hence it issue is being sensationalized by media. Media presented Panama case as the most important news in daily newspapers and on electronic media. In start, people of Pakistan had no interest in Panama case. Media presented hundreds of talk shows and news reports on Panama leaks gradually and people come to know that what politicians did in Panama leaks.

Media have no source of information except few documents which ICIJ disclosed on its website. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) took several steps and highlighted the involvement of Sharif Family (Family of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif). Media of Pakistan is facing a new experience and its reporters are not trained for such kind of political issue which now become a political conflict between two major political parties. Pakistani media have also divided into three groups one which directly supporting government, second which directly criticizing the government, and third group of media is investigating the Panama leaks and educating viewer about such new political development.

Majority of journalists have indicated the media have divided into different groups and several factors are involved behind this division. Some channels have influence through advertisement, Jang group is allegedly on top in supporting government for its political interests. Journalists were saying that Panama leaks has become political war between two political parties. This is not any threat for state or democracy, although some political parties can create critical situation for government.

We cannot compare Panama case with national security although this conflict spread the awareness among people about the corruption. We can say that all political parties have direct concerns with this case which is not important for a common person. (Reporter; Dunya News)

Panama is a political matter, basically it is war between two political parties which now has shifted to Supreme Court (Reporter; Express News)

Panama case is a corruption and money laundering case and this is not major threat for country (Reporter; SAMA TV)

Some journalist said that Panama is very major issue although it's not direct threat to national security but image of Pakistan is disrupting. Whole world looking towards Pakistan because we

are emerging democracy. Taliban conflict and situation of Karachi is also in front of international community.

Panama is very major issue, whole world looking towards us but Taliban are more major problem, they are fighting a war from last 16 years and I think no conflict is bigger than a war. (Reporter; Aab Takk News)

We cannot compare Panama case with Taliban conflict. Although Panama is the biggest corruption case in the history of Pakistan (Reporter; Online News Agency)

In Panama case media is facing new experiences although it's very different nature of case and Supreme Court also collecting maximum data. Journalists indicated that military establishment is also looking towards the developments and according to them they want peaceful end of this issue.

This political conflict gets maximum importance in media and now whole nation is interested in Panama case. Journalists indicated that several factors influence reporting Panama case. Some pro-government TV channels launched different campaigns in favor of government and criticize JIT and Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf. Some news channels are strongly criticizing government and blaming family members of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

What Geo News and ARY is doing on Panama case, this is the open example of political affiliation of media channels. (Reporter, DIN News)

Political affiliation of journalists and media channels influence reporting and some channels are exaggerating the facts and criticize JIT without any reason. (Reporter, 7 News)

Some reporters argued that Panama case is not an easy task because it has several legal complications which only a legal experts or analysts can explain but reporters are just reporting what courts are saying. In coverage of Panama case journalists are facing several difficulties

because they have no flow of information, they just reporting what courts are saying on Panama case. Journalists indicated that media is framing the news and twists statements of Supreme court. Several media cells of political parties are focusing Panama case including personal media cell of PML-N and PTT.

Panama case has technical and social issues. When we talk about the sociology of news we can see the different framing techniques of TV channels over same issue. For Instance, those journalists who are covering JIT of Panama case they are obligatory to report on JIT, although no information is coming from JIT but reporters are reporting and breaking different news. Almost 99 percent news relating to JIT are fabricated and most are table stories. (Reporter, Dunya News)

Politicians twists the statements are creates hype in politics. In PM house a media cell is working and twists the statements of Supreme Court and politicians. Sometime bureau-chief asked us why you didn't report that politicians are links with Supreme Court then we need to clarify them about real remarks of court (Reporter, SAMA TV)

All political parties trying to get maximum coverage and sometimes they complained us over reporting and labeled us as supporter of other political party. (Reporter; Aab Takk News)

Some journalists indicated towards commercial interests of media houses and they argued that Ministry of Information and Press Information Department of government is giving advertisement to favorite media channels and newspapers. Supreme Court criticized government on this role and asked report about ads which government gave to private media channels.

Organizations across the world have their corporate interests which influence the things and same as media has its political, ideological and commercial interests which influence the reporting on any conflicts. In Pakistan, media has its political, ideological and commercial interest which effecting reporting on Panama case and different channels are interpreting and framing the issues according to their commercial interest (Reporter: Dunya News)

Government is influencing the reporting at a level through its advertisement because all things are not in our control. We are reporting everting some news are presenting by channels and some are not. So, we cannot reject that commercial

Chapter 5

interests of channels are not influencing the Panama case. (Aqeel Afzal, Reporter; Express News)

Journalists said that sometime their very important news stories have been framed in different way and sometime have been ignored which reflected the commercial interest of TV channels are influence the news stories.

I know some newspapers which are running only on government ads. So, we can expect that they can be influenced by ads in Panama case (Reporter; SAMA TV)

We cannot reject that commercial interest of media houses, sometimes our very important news has been rejected. ignored or frame in very different way (Reporter. Online News Agency)

5. Conclusion and Discussion

The study based on three different conflicts of different nature, which considered as the major issues for Pakistan in current situation. The researcher used the Pragmatic Model of Conflict Reporting that served as the theoretical framework for the study and gives the directions to identifying those factors which influence conflicting reporting in Pakistan. Researcher identified several ideological and structural determinants in Taliban Conflict, Karachi conflict and political conflict of Panama leaks. Researcher wants to explore that how consideration of national security and the resultant flak like threat of being framed as unpatriotic, traitor and foreign spy and threat to the lives of journalists, the pressure of public influence the reporting on Taliban conflict. Results found that journalists are being threatened by the both sides, the Taliban, militant groups and security agencies of state. National Action Plan have been implemented and authorities have asked to journalists that do not cross the line. Journalists are being dubbed as foreign agent if they reported any news against so called national interests. Taliban are not getting coverage by media

because NAP directed to media channels and newspapers. NAP creating more hatred in Taliban against journalists. Majority of journalists indicated that some fake news stories are presenting by the specific media channels regarding Taliban and those channels creating risk for other media channels. Patriotic mindset of journalists is influence news stories because journalists have their families and they want to see the peace in country. Personal ideologies, opinions, liking and disliking of journalists is also a major factor in Taliban conflict which influencing the reporting. Security agencies have some specific objective and Taliban too and both sides pressurizing reporters. Both sides want news according to them and labeled journalists that they are favoring other party in conflict. Researcher wants to know the role of structural factor in Taliban conflict and results identified that owners of media channels and newspapers have strong role in selection of news stories and they are framing the news according to their objective. Lack of training of journalists have also been identified by researcher which creating problems for journalists. Results indicated that some journalist are working on some hidden objectives and some have been appointed by security agencies while some journalists just wants fame and become popular therefore they are reporting misleading and baseless news stories. The Taliban conflict have been considered as the major threat to country. Journalist have lost their many colleagues while several left the journalism because of threat to them and their families.

The Karachi conflict has been considered by journalists as second major issue for Pakistan. Researcher wants to explore that how the personal ideologies of the journalists, political affiliation, power of being dubbed as sectionalist, anarchist and foreign spy influence the reporting and how structural factors e.g. commercial interests of media houses,

institutional requirements and professional flak on violation of policy influence the reporting on Karachi conflict. Results found that journalists are facing threats by the militant wings of political parties in which MQM and PPP are on top. Life threats have also been given to journalists over their news stories and some have lost their lives and some are critically beaten by the workers of political parties. Some foreign elements are also involved in Karachi conflict which threaten journalists over exposing them. Results showed that political affiliation of media houses is a major factor which influences news stories and journalists. MQM has its media cell which monitors the media channels and news stories and sometimes they warn journalists over their news stories. Karachi conflict is more political hence some TV channels and newspapers have their commercial interests and they never presented the name of the involved political party. Results identified that security agencies have a strong role in Karachi operations and influence the news stories indirectly. Channel owners have direct control on newsrooms and they are framing the news stories according to their objective.

In the political conflict of the Panama case, researchers found that journalists considered this issue as a political matter between two political parties and ranked it as very low risk to the national security or country. Researchers want to know that whether commercial interests of media houses influence the news stories and how framing techniques have been used by media. How political ideologies of journalists and media organizations influence the news stories? Results identified that commercial interests of media channels are influencing the news stories and some TV channels are twisting the statement and favoring the government because the Ministry of Information and Press Information Department is playing its role effectively. Results showed that media has divided into different groups and fighting

the war of its political and commercial interests on Panama leaks. Some news stories have been changed completely and some have been framed very differently. Some news has been rejected by TV channels because that violating the policy of channels or clashing with commercial interests. Journalist have just one flow of information in Panama case and that is Supreme Court but every channel presenting different news. News channels are sensationalizing and trying to get maximum viewership.

5.1 Recommendations and Limitations

Researcher identified various ideological and structural determinants of conflicts reporting in Pakistan and explored Taliban conflict, Karachi conflict and political conflicts of Panama case. Analysis on identified ideological and structural determinants would be helpful to change the role of media and it would be helping to curtail challenges which journalists are facing during reporting on different conflicts.

Various limitations have been faced by researchers during the research e.g. journalists were not willing to talk on role of security agencies in Taliban conflict and they didn't want to share what challenges they were facing by both sides. Likewise, journalist didn't want to talk about the role of political parties in Karachi conflict and they were afraid to tell the name of parties which were threatening them.

References

- Altschull, J. H. (1984). Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs. In J. H. Altschull, *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (p. 355). New York: Longman.
- Amanullah. (2013). *Role of Media in Conflict Management: Conflict Reporting From FATA*. FATA Research Centre.
- Amir, R. M. (2015). *Media's Role in Conflict: Unbiased, Balanced and Objective Reporting*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute for peace studies.
- Azam. (2012). Growth and development of media in Pkaistan. *Journal of Media & Communication studies*, 3-6.
- Bartholomé, G. (2015). Manufacturing Conflict? How Journalists Intervene in the Conflict Frame Building Process. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*.
- Breed, W. (1955). Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis. *Social Meanings of News: A Text Reader Thousand Oaks, sage*.
- Chan, J. M. (2011). The primacy of local interests and press freedom in Hong Kong: A survey study of professional journalists. *Journalism* .
- Dawn. (2016). What the Panama Papers disclose about Pakistan's politics. *Dawn Newspaper*.
- Ehsan, M. A. (2016, January 3). *Stote of Karachi Operation - 2016*. Retrieved from LinkedIn: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/state-karachi-operation-2016-muhammad-ali-ehsan>
- Fahmy, J. a. (2005). How we performed: Embedded journalists' attitudes and perceptions. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*.
- Ghilzai. (2013). *the western media has been run through proper mechanism though the state has a reasonable check on the reporting; but the conditions are quite opposite here in Pakistan where the freedom of media has often been misunderstood. The role of media can be impr*. FATA Research Centre.
- Harding, L. (2015, April 5) *theguardian*. Retrieved from theguardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2016/apr/03/what-you-need-to-know-about-the-panama-papers>
- Helle, S. (2013). Journalistic Autonomy Between Structure, Agency and Institution. *Nardicom Review* 34.
- Hussain, S. A. (2012). War Media Glore in Pakistan: A Perspective on Taliban Conflict . *Global Media Journal* .

- Hussein, S. (2015). *Media and Conflict in Pakistan: Towards a theory and practice of peace journalism. Media, War & Conflict.*
- International, A. (2014). *Pakistan's spy agency ISI accused of kidnapping and killing journalists. theguardian .*
- Jake, S. H. (2016). *Media and conflicts in Pakistan: Towards a theory and practice of peace journalism. CPACS Publication.*
- Janus, N. (1984). Advertising and the Creation of Global Markets. *The Critical Communication Review, volume 3.*
- Jeannine. (2014). Professional role perceptions among Iraqi Kurdish journalists from a 'state within a state'. *Journalism.*
- Johnson, S. F. (2005). "How We Performed": Embedded Journalists' Attitudinal Perceptions Towards Covering the Iraq War. *Journalism and Mass communication Quarterly .*
- Khan, M. J. (2011). Peace Journalism and Conflict Reporting: The Case of Pakistani Media. *Journal of South Asian Studies.*
- Kim, H. S. (2012). War journalists and forces of gatekeeping during the escalation and the de-escalation periods of the Iraq War. *The International Communication Gazette, 323.*
- Lynch, S. H. (2015). *Media and conflict in Pakistan: towards the theory and practice of peace journalism. Journalism-Mass-Communication-Quarterly.*
- McChesney, R. (2003). The Problem of Journalism: A Political Economic Contribution to and Explanation of the Crisis in Contemporary US Journalism. *Journalism Studies, 299-329.*
- Memon, B. (2012). Constraints in the Professionalization of Journalism in Pakistan: Ownership, Laws and Subjectivity. *Journal of South Asian Studies .*
- Neumann, R. (2016). Measuring journalistic peace/war performance: An exploratory study of crisis reporters' attitudes and perceptions. *The International Communication Gazette.*
- Onyebadi, U. (2011). Newspaper coverage of post political election violence in Africa: an assessment of the Kenyan example. *Media, War & Conflict.*
- Raja, A. H. (2015). Karachi in darkness and soaked in blood. *Thinkers' forum Pakistan .*
- Relly, J. E. (2014). Professional role perceptions among Iraqi Kurdish journalists from a 'state within a state' . *Journalism .*
- Riaz, S. (2008). Government Influence on Print Media Content in Pakistan: Pakistani Journalists' Perspective. *Global Media Journal .*

- Rizvi, H. A. (2016). The Panama Leaks and Pakistani Politics. *The Express Tribune* .
- Robinson, P. G. (2008). Patriotism meets plurality: reporting the 2003 Iraq War in the British press. *Media, War & Conflict*.
- Rodgers. (2012). The air raids that never were and the war that nobody won: Government propaganda in conflict reporting and how journalists should respond to it. *Global Media and Communication*.
- Sajahan, M. S. (2010). Media warfare content analysis of the conservative and alternative media during the Bukit Selambau Malaysian by-election. *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution*, 8.
- satside. (2017, August). *satside.info*. Retrieved from satside.info: <http://satside.info/pakistani-channels-frequencies-list-chart>
- SHEIR. (2016). *Karachi Operation*. Karachi: SHEIR .
- Shoemaker and Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2nd edition). In P. a. Shoemaker, *Mediating the Message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2nd edition). White Plains, New York: Longman.
- Shoemaker, P. a. (1994). *Mediating The Message*. In P. a. Shoemaker, *Mediating The Message*. New York : Longman.
- Shoemaker, P. J. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content, Second Edition*. New York : Longman Publisher USA.
- Shoemaker, P. J. (1996). ORGANIZATIONAL INFLUENCES ON CONTENT. In P. J. Shoemaker, *MEDIATING THE MESSAGE Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (p. 212). New York: Longman Publishers USA.
- Sigal, L. (1973). Reporters and Officials. In L. Sigal, *Reporters and Officials: The Organization and Politics of Newsmaking*. D C Heath & Co.
- Siraj, S. H. (2012). War Media Glore in Pakistan: A Perspective on Taliban Conflict . *Global Media Journal* .
- Sjøvaag, H. (2013). Journalistic Autonomy Between Structure, Agency and Institution. *Nordicom Review* 34.
- Support, I. M. (2009). *Between radicalisation and democratisation in an unfolding conflict: Media in Pakistan*. Denmark : International Media Support .
- Taylor, A. (2015). What are common fallacies about journalism? *Quora* .
- Today, P. (2016, 7 20). *Pakistan Today* . Retrieved from Paksitan Today : www.pakistantoday.com

Upreti, S. G. (2014). Wavering between profit-making and change-making: Private media companies in conflicts in Nepal. *Media, War & Conflict*, 197.

Vandevoordt, R. (2016). Covering the Syrian conflict: How Middle East reporters deal with challenging situations. *Media, War & Conflict*.

Wadbring, I. (2013). Journalists care about commercialization. *Journalistica*.

Weis, W. L. (1986). Media Content and Tobacco Advertising. *Journal of Communication*.

Wikipedia. (2017, August). *Wikipedia.com*. Retrieved from Wikipedia.com:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cable_operators_in_Pakistan