

Doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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**Understanding the growing sense of Embedded Journalism in the Pakistani media
culture**

Doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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Budapest, April 30, 2024

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that “**Understanding the growing sense of Embedded Journalism in the Pakistani media culture**” is my original work and I am the sole author of this dissertation. This dissertation has not previously been submitted by me to any university or institution.

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April 30, 2024

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ABSTRACT

Since the inception of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, the entire landscape of national security in Pakistan has undergone rapid changes due to the US-led global war on terror following the tragic events of the 9/11 terrorist attack on the Twin Towers of the United States of America. Pakistan, as a close ally of the superpower United States, experienced both official and unofficial implications in the realms of external and internal security, consequently rendering Pakistan highly vulnerable to terrorist attacks. As a result, Pakistan became an easy target for Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, and various other terrorist groups due to the ongoing US offensive against Afghanistan, which gradually pushed them to seek safe haven in Pakistan, a country sharing its border with Afghanistan. In response, Pakistan also embarked on its domestic war against terrorism, which continues to this day in the tribal areas and in a larger part of the country. During such times of national concern, the state endeavours to solidify public opinion in its favour by utilizing the media to either fervently glorify the security forces and/or attempting to condemn the radical forces that challenge the state's authority and defy it throughout the country. Reporting from a conflict zone entails the risk of being killed, kidnapped, victimized, and even expelled from the journalism profession because numerous forces remain actively involved in blocking or distorting the truth. Hence, this research aims to critically explore the landscape of conflict journalism in Pakistan, with particular emphasis on a comparative analysis of embedded and non-embedded approaches to reporting. The study also focuses on the difficulties that journalists face, including censorship, self-censorship, security risks, and the different outcomes of both approaches. Additionally, the study examines the psychological and professional orientation of embedded journalists and their emotional experiences due to their co-existence with soldiers. This research also examines sensationalism in conflict reporting within embedded and corporate culture, stressing the challenges and ethical dilemmas of maintaining professional standing. Moreover, the comparison between English and Urdu press also highlights language-specific nuances in conflict reporting. From investigating different factors influencing journalists' independent reporting to the independence and interconnectedness with soldiers when embedded, the study emphasizes the significance of upholding responsible journalism based on truth and objectivity. The research considerably underscores the interplay of psychological, ethical, and societal complexities in navigating the nature of conflict reporting.

Keywords: Embedded, independent, journalism, Pakistan, war on terrorism, Taliban, reporting.

CHAPTER 01

INTRODUCTION

1.1 TOPICALITY OF THE ISSUE

Today's media is the most significant element of any society, and its primary role is to act as a watchdog. Media effectively shapes, reshapes, and changes public opinion, cultures, and societies. Media seems powerful, with the ability to influence society as a whole. Media is viewed as a channel that conveys information from one point to a wide audience. Because of the messages it conveys, media is also perceived as a message because, as Marshall McLuhan once said, "the medium is the message". In this modern era, media is generally viewed as the fourth pillar of the state, exerting an influential impact on society, and playing an important role in almost every part of society. Media serves various roles in society, notably informing, guiding, educating, and entertaining its audience while being more attentive to national and international affairs. Today, media is also playing a significant role in domestic politics, international politics, and global affairs. Governments have used media to convey their agenda to the public. Different approaches are practiced in journalism now, such as embedded journalism, peace journalism, etc.

On August 14, 1947, Pakistan appeared on the world map as an autonomous state, but its foundation was laid by saints and reformers¹ from this land. Pakistan has a unique relationship with the great Indus Civilization. Invaders from the Arabian Peninsula, Persia, and Central Asia ruled the subcontinent for centuries, including the British East India Company. After 200 years of rule, the people of the subcontinent fought for their independence, and then after the Second World War, they were successful in gaining independence and dividing the subcontinent into two independent states, Pakistan² and India (Ahmed, 2008). Pakistan became an independent state when a number of well-known Muslim activists and leaders led the struggle, which lasted for several decades in the context of the Pakistan Movement, which played an important and historical role for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent to have their own country. The origin

¹ Saints and reformers are people who took leading positions and put efforts on religious, spiritual, political, educational, philosophical, and social levels. To name a few, Allama Iqbal, Fatima Jinnah, Ashraf Ali Thanwi, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and many more,

² Pakistan is a Muslim country which was established on Islamic basis, it has 4 provinces; Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan, and 3 territories; Islamabad capital, Azad Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan. There are two tribal regions in Pakistan Federally Administered Tribal Areas FATA and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas PATA. They both include tribal regions of Balochistan, KPK and nearby borders of Afghanistan. From state to the military establishment, all institutions are closely related to Islam.

of the Pakistan Movement may be found in the late 19th century when Muslim intellectuals and leaders first started to voice their discomfort about how Muslims' lives were negatively impacted by British colonial rule. Midway through the 19th century, the British took over the Indian subcontinent³, and their administrative policies received widespread criticism as being biased against the Muslim population. The All-India Muslim League, a political party established in 1906, served as the political platform for the Muslim community's pursuit of representation in the British Indian administration and for self-determination. The Muslim League did not at first advocate for an autonomous state for Muslims, but as time passed, the Muslim leaders began to support the idea. A unique Muslim identity, different from that of the entire India, was the basis for the desire for Pakistan. The Muslim leaders believed that establishing their own state where they were given equal rights and representation would be better for the Muslim population because they had a unique culture, language, and political perspective. The Muslim League started several campaigns and demonstrations to call for the establishment of Pakistan in the 1940s, which helped the Pakistan Movement gain traction. During the Pakistan Movement, the Lahore Resolution, also known as the Pakistan Objective Resolution, which called for the establishment of an independent Muslim state in the northwest and north-eastern parts of British India, was passed by the Muslim League in 1940, marking a turning point in the Pakistan Movement. The leader of the Muslim League, Muhammad Ali Jinnah⁴ presented the resolution. Also, the Two-Nation Theory was presented by the founder of the country, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in June 1947 with the idea that Muslims and Hindus are two different nations in terms of religion, culture, social norms, and living standards. Thus, there should be a free state for Muslims where they can freely practice their values. According to Jinnah, Hindus and Muslims are two different nations who could not accept each other's values even after living together for centuries. Since India was a Hindu state, it was difficult for Muslims to follow their religious and cultural values. Muslims were in deep trouble. However, the creation of Pakistan or a Muslim state did not only mean freedom for Muslims but for all human beings irrespective of their religion, caste, colour, or creed. In response to the Muslim League's demand for direct action in 1946, there were numerous disputes and incidents of violence between Muslims and Hindus, which boosted the cause of an autonomous Muslim state. In response to escalating political turmoil and violence, the

³ Map is available at the end after the appendices.

⁴ Mohammad Ali Jinnah also known as Quaid e Azam, and Baba e Qaum in Urdu whereas in English Father of the Nation. The Great leader and Father of the Nation, was a Politician and a Barrister in undivided India and then the first Governor General of Pakistan.

British administration approved the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. The Indian subcontinent⁵ was divided into India and Pakistan, two sovereign states, with Pakistan consisting of the two wings that are today Pakistan (West) and Bangladesh (East), respectively. Pakistan emerged as an unusually two-state country with a major part of its land in the western wing and the majority of its population in the eastern. East Pakistan was one-seventh of the entire region; however, its population was greater than the whole population of all the provinces as well as states on the Western side. The eastern wing was a dense region whose economic factor was no organic segment of the economy of the entire country, nor were the two wings similar on a cultural or linguistic basis. The majority in the West, however, speaking separate dialects, considered Urdu as the regular language; on the contrary, in the Eastern wing, Bengali was taken as a public language. The Westside was mainly Muslim whereas East Pakistan had a significant number of non-Muslim minorities. After the inception of the country, another challenge for the state and leaders of Pakistan was the constitution. Since Pakistan emerged as a country with a Muslim majority, the Objective Resolution was passed in 1949, which proposed that Pakistan's potential constitution would be based more on Islamic democracy and ideology than on a purely European approach. By Article 2(A)⁶, the resolution as a whole has been incorporated into the Pakistani Constitution.

Media, particularly the Muslim press, played a significant part in achieving freedom for its people. They educated and raised awareness among the masses, particularly Muslims from the subcontinent. Print media showed a major responsibility in opposing British rule. Moulvi Muhammad Baqar⁷ founded the Muslim press, which played a significant part in achieving independence, with the publishing of the 'Urdu Akhbar' in 1836. It was regarded as a literary publication at the beginning of its establishment, but it ended up publicizing political news and spreading political knowledge and understanding among the masses of the subcontinent,

⁵ Map is available at the end of the appendices.

⁶ Muslims will have the opportunity to organize their lives both individually and collectively, aligning with the teachings of Islam as outlined in the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Additionally, provisions will be in place to ensure that minorities can freely profess and practice their religions, fostering the development of their cultures. Fundamental rights, such as equality of status, opportunity, and treatment before the law, as well as social, economic, and political justice, will be guaranteed. The assurance of freedom of expression, belief, faith, worship, and association is also emphasized, though subject to the constraints of law and public morality.

⁷ Maulvi Muhammad Baqir passionately advocated for Hindu-Muslim unity. When the British sought to undermine the freedom struggle by sowing discord among the public, Delhi Urdu Akhbar, under Baqir's guidance, challenged their tactics and cautioned the people against falling prey to colonial manipulation. These bold actions infuriated the British, leading them to decide on Maulvi Muhammad Baqir's elimination. On June 4, 1857, Baqir, recognizing the conspiracies of the British, warned the masses and urged them to stand united. Subsequently, on September 14, 1857, Baqir was arrested for his role in the revolt. Without undergoing a trial, he was executed on September 16, 1857, by Major William S.R. Hudson. In this sacrifice, Baqir earned the distinction of being the first editor/journalist to lay down his life as a martyr for the cause of India's freedom.

particularly Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan⁸ also put great efforts into the journalism history of the sub-continent, while playing an important part in promoting a positive environment between Muslims and British people with the help of his reputed publications "Scientific Society Magazine," which was launched in 1866, and "Tehzibul Akhlaq," which was launched in 1870. Following the establishment of the "All India Muslim League" in 1906, it became a necessity to encourage its endorsement, and thus the Muslim press performed a huge role in promoting the All-India Muslim League. Print journalism played an important role in the struggle for independence, with large numbers of newspapers partaking. Because Pakistan's founding father, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was a strong supporter of freedom of speech and expression, he founded the English daily paper 'Dawn' in 1941 (Alam, 2007). Since the country's inception, Pakistani media has struggled to find its voice even though the role of Khutba⁹ being the first media 'outlet' in Islam was and has been very much there in Islamic countries like Pakistan. The country's news outlets have been strangled by a series of authoritarian leaders (Pintak & Nazir, 2013). In the mid-1980s, it was not uncommon for government officials to filter each piece of news before publishing it, with inconvenient news landing on the editor's desk. Reporters and editors developed the ability to read between the lines. Once profits were made incrementally, they frequently vanished with each subsequent political transition (Khan A. U., 2011). In the late 90s, the military dictatorship that brought General Pervez Musharraf¹⁰ to power brought about significant media transformation. He lifted restrictions on the press and simplified broadcasting legislation (Ricchiardi, 2012). GEO TV, the country's first commercial TV channel, debuted in 2002. After a decade, there were over

⁸ Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817–1898) was a prominent Indian Muslim scholar, reformer, and educator during the 19th century. He played a crucial role in the socio-economic and educational upliftment of the Muslim community in British India. He laid the foundation for the Two-Nation Theory, which eventually led to the creation of Pakistan in 1947.

⁹ The Friday khutba is a weekly sermon delivered by an imam before the congregational Friday prayers (Jumu'ah). It serves as a means of communication, education, and guidance for the Muslim community. Throughout the khutba, the Imam discusses a wide range of subjects. Some of these topics might include moral instructions on how to live one's life, while others might involve current events from around the world, or they could simply be general teachings of our religion. In this sense, the khutba acts like media because information and ideas are transferred to the community. In several Muslim-majority countries, there has been a tradition of state authorities controlling the content of the Friday khutba, which many regard as a clear expression of their authority over religious discourse and as a political tool used by the state to convey specific messages that reinforce state policies and/or ideology. At times, the main elements or key themes of the Friday khutba maybe provided or approved by the government. This has been controversial in Muslim circles: some see it as compromising the independence of religious institutions, while others welcome it as a practical administrative arrangement to ensure that political and social issues are addressed on a national basis. It is important to note that the relationship between religious institutions and the state can vary in every Muslim-majority country. The level of state involvement in religious affairs and in the Friday Khutba can also vary from one Muslim-majority country to another. Various factors, such as cultural and historical influences, play a significant role in determining the extent of state involvement in religion, which also defines the state's involvement in the Friday Khutba.

¹⁰ Pakistani military general and politician, held the position of the tenth president of Pakistan from 2001 to 2008.

90 privately run TV stations available following their corporate culture¹¹. Musharraf eventually attempted to overturn those initiatives; however, he was unable to succeed. Media outlets then started enjoying privileges which seemed unbelievable back then. While the print industry in the West was indeed shrinking, it was expanding in Pakistan, facilitated by smart technologies and digital media platforms. Although most of these organizations were 'directly accountable to several political and military factions,' media corporations were growing, offering economic security - and a fair degree of political security to its people (Ricchiardi, 2012). Following extended periods of military control, the print media developed into a platform for public discourse, securing a place at the centre of society (Ricchiardi, 2012). The influence of newspaper columnists and a few selected television anchors on popular perception had grown to such an extent that some of them were charged with promoting their narrative and also being motivated by "self-interest, ego, and a fake sense of prominence and supremacy" (Deuze M., 2011; Rias, 2011). This group, which promoted an extremely patriotic viewpoint, was derisively known as the "Ghairat (Honor) Brigade"¹² because of their "nationalistic" support for the country's sovereign dignity (Paracha, 2011). The country's religious figures, another historically forbidden matter, now also come under growing attention, much like the armed forces.¹³ A new age of female journalists and television hosts has also emerged, providing a different approach to public discussion.

Additionally, Pakistan is among those countries that have been experiencing external and internal conflicts where national security is the most important concern due to the history of its foundation.¹⁴ For a long time, Pakistan has been fighting against the violent activities of terrorism that struggle to weaken the stability of the country. Since Pakistan has waged an internal war against terrorism after the 9/11 incident¹⁵ following its involvement in the Afghan

¹¹ Attitudes, priorities, core beliefs, and shared customs among individuals within an organization that influence the behaviors exhibited in the workplace. It focuses on making profits.

¹² People who justify savage actions on the grounds of "ghairat" (honour) are commonly labeled as the "ghairat brigade." In discussions regarding Indo-Pak and Pak-US relations and the concept of vendetta, members of the ghairat brigade may excessively accuse their pacifist counterparts of being "foreign agents."

¹³ In Pakistan, there is a prevailing atmosphere of intolerance, where questioning religious figures is prohibited due to hate speech and discrimination. Similar to the restrictions on criticizing the state, military, and establishment, discussing religion is a sensitive and controversial topic. With various sects in Islam, each having its own revered figures, followers are often quick to react passionately, potentially leading to civil disorder. To prevent such disruptions, there are prohibitions in place, although instances of violation still occur on occasion.

¹⁴ After the partition with India, Pakistan faced several challenges such as distribution of military and economic assets, water and energy crisis, selection of the capital city, refugee issues, language issue, constitution making, defence boundaries, Kashmir conflict, economic crisis and also the biggest challenge between East Pakistan and West Pakistan also rose to a situation that one part of the country was separated which is now Bangladesh.

¹⁵ After the 9/11 attack, the global war on terror was launched by the US President George W Bush which included the military dimension against Afghanistan, Iraq and so. After Pakistan's participation in the US led War on Terror against Afghanistan, Pakistan had to face severe repercussions and as a result an internal war against terrorism was started to curb the curse of Talibanization in the country.

war, rising terrorist acts in the country by the Taliban have raised important concerns about the state's security system. The war against militancy and terrorism in Pakistan determines the fate of this strategically positioned nation of more than two hundred million population, armed with nuclear warheads and located in one of the world's hardest neighbourhoods. Not only does unrest within Pakistan have consequences for the country itself, but that also threatens major nations such as China, India, and Iran, and also Afghanistan being at its West. The internal conflict also has consequences for the significant and long-established association between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia based on their interpretation of Sunni¹⁶ Islam. Pakistan has fought a politically motivated and widely covered war against militant and terrorist groups, led mainly by the military (Nawaz, 2016). The mission of Pakistan in its domestic war on terrorism¹⁷ has significant social, economic, and political consequences for the nation.

In social and material terms, Pakistan bears a substantial cost for aligning itself with a front-line role in the War against Terror initiated by the US in Afghanistan (2001)¹⁸. Also, the Jihadi movement, which was actively supported when it was created against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 by the US and Saudi Arabia and Pakistan itself, is mostly to blame for the violence in Pakistan. To calculate the complete human suffering, there is almost no standardized counting possible (killings of opponents, civilians, and security forces) (Bari, 2010). However, there is a growing continuity in military and media relationships for centuries when the concern is about reporting on war, sometimes, often it is for good intentions, and sometimes it is a combination of hate and affection (Agha & Hussain, 2017). Conflict situation, however, is a crucial condition that causes the military and media to rely on one another to promote the terms of war and its success, which leads to gaining general public support. Pakistan has recently faced widespread incidents of militancy, exerting significant pressure on the country's security system. There is a longstanding history of foreign and domestic factors at the core of militancy in Pakistan. Militancy is classified as a situation in which force against the state and the masses at large is used by mainly non-state entities. In addition, they are psychologically influenced by conservative, extremist, and violent views. Their operations are intended to question the writ of the state. For years, Pakistan has been a target of terrorist

¹⁶ Sunni stands as the most extensive branch in Islam. It holds the distinction of being the largest religious denomination worldwide. The name "Sunni" is derived from the term Sunnah, which denotes the tradition of Prophet Muhammad.

¹⁷ After aligning with the United States in the aftermath of 9/11, Pakistan launched its own military operations against terrorism within its territories.

¹⁸ The War against Terror initiated by the United States in Afghanistan began in October 2001. The U.S., along with its allies, launched military operations in Afghanistan in response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks and to dismantle the Taliban regime, which was harboring Osama bin Laden, the mastermind behind the attacks.

activities. Militant sources indicate that the issue of militancy in Pakistan is severe and deeply embedded. Militant operations in Pakistan are also challenging because, regardless of political, economic, ethnic, or social causes, they are also connected with the factor of religion as it is believed that the Taliban want to impose Shariah Law in the country which is known as the Islamic code of conduct.¹⁹ Their relationship with religion and also their nationalistic cause such as in Balochistan²⁰ makes the entire “Theory of Radicalization”²¹ more complicated. As a result, violence is employed to enforce ‘misconstrued interpretations of Islam’, with the aim of achieving the goals of militant groups.

As stated by Azam & Javaid (2017), in Pakistan, the challenge of militancy is multidimensional, nuanced, and deeply rooted, requiring spatial resolution steps, involving the state and common people. To overcome this challenging problem of militancy, there is a requirement for a sensible and responsive social order. In this regard, to resolve this challenging question, the National Action Plan (NAP)²² formulated by the Government of Pakistan in 2014 must be enforced with full effect all over Pakistan by all stakeholders. Studies on the origins of militancy reveal that the primary cause of all types of militant violence is religious-based extremism. The confluence of religion, race, and politics creates a complicated environment within which terrorist actions challenge Pakistan's position. As the religious element has become an essential component in people's lives and the ideological character of the state, anti-state agents can readily exploit religious, political, and ethnic-nationalistic tendencies among the masses. For a country, the media plays the role of providing information on any happening, be it at the national, regional, or international level; people depend and trust on what is provided to them by the media (Hussain N., 2008). It helps form the opinion of political leaders and the general masses. On the premise of this understanding, policies are developed by political actors, particularly in the context of militancy and terrorism (Saeed, Paracha, & Ali, 2017). Hussain & Munawar (2017) stated that in the present era, the media, given their ability to

¹⁹ Pakistan was established based on Islam where Muslims can practice their religion freely because in the united India it was not easy for Muslims to practice their religious values. Also, it allows other religions to be practiced in the country. after the inception of the country how the objective of religion was used by different political and religious leaders is mentioned the in the chapter, constitution making of Pakistan.

²⁰ The Baloch nationalist movement has articulated a spectrum of demands, spanning from increased cultural, economic, and political rights to political autonomy. Some factions within the movement advocate for outright secession, aiming to establish an independent state of Balochistan. This secular movement is markedly influenced by leftist Marxist ideology, akin to its counterparts in various regions of Pakistan.

²¹ The theory perceives radicalization as a personal, and sometimes interpersonal, progression where individuals embrace extreme political, social, and/or religious ideologies and aspirations. In this process, the achievement of specific objectives is seen as justification for resorting to indiscriminate violence.

²² To counter terrorism and support the ongoing anti-terrorist operations in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas in Pakistan, NAP was launched in 2014 as a significant concerted retaliating act of the government.

influence public opinion and direct policy support for humanitarian disasters, hold a key role in the eventual result of a conflict. Either the media side with the opposing parties and give rise to escalating a conflict, or the media remain impartial and independent and lead to a peaceful settlement of a conflict by not alleviating future abuse. Extensive literature has developed in recent decades to explore the issue of whether a set of universal standards for journalistic practice and norms exists that can be observed by both advanced and developing nations. The major point in this discussion is if journalists across the world see through a similar eye at themselves, at their task and the environment around them and commit to a mutual set of ethical standards or norms (Rao & Lee, 2005; Deuze, 2005; Callahan, 2003; Herrscher, 2002). Growing evidence suggests considerably different ways that journalists view their position in different countries owing to specific media culture and cultural identification (Hopmann, 2012; Romano, 2003; Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002; Donsbach & Klett, 1993).

There have also been several studies exploring the standards, attitudes, dogmas, and global views of journalists in Muslim nations, which regularly report that the dimensions in which Western journalistic beliefs are implemented are influenced by religious faith, local culture, and a range of other factors (Ramaprasad & Rahman, Tradition with a twist: a survey of Bangladeshi journalists, 2006; Ramaprasad & Hamdy, Functions of Egyptian journalists: perceived importance and actual performance, 2006; Hanitzsch, 2005; Bekhait, 1998). In Muslim-majority countries, the study of journalistic practice occurs amid an ongoing discussion about the extent to which religious belief influences the worldview (Layman, 1997; Hayes, 1995; Wilcox, 1990). During the post-9/11 period, this debate has been taken on a different context; in the US, the debate has expanded to the issue of the extent to which attitudes towards America and American policy are affected by Muslim beliefs (Mujani & Liddle, 2004; Tibi, 2001). Researchers have noticed that the development of a common national identity starts from school, with an education system aimed at creating a common identity as a naturalized core element of the collective self, wherein religion such as Islam in Pakistan is the single unified component of the cultural unity (Durrani & Dunne, 2010).

In his book, Rana (2014) addresses various kinds of threats and challenges that journalists experience in making an impartial report. It discusses the nature, spectrum of severity, and level of risk faced by journalists and the way wherein journalists are vulnerable to them. He also explains the significance of security forces, media groups, and journalists' associations in ensuring that journalists are protected to perform their duties and continue to work. He indicates that journalism is one of Pakistan's most dangerous occupations, and state authorities and opposition, political and social actors such as extremist religious groups, separatist

organizations, intelligence services, ethnic political parties, main political parties, criminal groups, tribal chiefs, and feudal lords are the factors that create barriers for journalists. The key reasons for these groups' hatred towards journalists are either reporting against them or not reporting as per their desire. For example, defence-related media is unified in this case as they consider Talibanization challenging the writ of the state.

As stated by Hussain (2016), the linkage of conflict with communication can be traced back to an earlier period, and it has become quite difficult for powerful nations to wage wars in recent eras without controlling the mega networks of knowledge that have acquired the planet (Ottosen, 2010; Carruthers, 2008; Hamelink, 2008; Bratic, 2006; Thussu & Freedman, 2003; Knightley, *Journalism, conflict, and war*, 2002). In the latter half of the twentieth century, historians have reported the purpose of the mainstream media in the two World Wars, the whole period of the Cold War, and the incursions of several Asian, African, and South American nations (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Spencer, 2005; Knightley, 2004). In all those massive attacks, the media was primarily dominated by fighting countries for defensive reasons, and where opposition was blocked. In a specific conflict, the position of the media is defined by attributes such as its association with the conflict's state or anti-state actors and its freedom from control, among others. In general, if their state is specifically a party in the conflict, the news media becomes a party to the conflict. The media narrative of a specific conflict is often shaped and controlled by the government and the military, which apply influence on the media to control and create a social image that serves their purposes (Lynch J., 2007; Wolfsfeld, 2004). Since this fight against terrorism within the country has gained significant space and time in the coverage of the Pakistani media, it is worth noting that the problem has worsened over the years, inflaming, and worsening the violence and social order in the country. In the context of militants being anti-state as they want to impose their own interpreted laws of Islam, it is essential to evaluate the media treatment of this Pakistani war against terrorism, to address the factors that affect and shape conflict reporting, and to analyse the pattern of news coverage in the light of national security perspective.

In recent times, the easing of restrictions on the Pakistani media has indicated that Pakistani journalists' presence is progressively being noticed in the turbulent internal political sphere and its relations with other countries. That has prompted a reaction, making Pakistan one of the most unsafe countries for journalistic practices in the world. It is necessary to realize the development of communication culture in the Pakistani media, considering the main strategic position of the nation, in both terms of South Asian regional location and the globalized fight against Islamic extremist militancy. A national survey, reproducing research findings by Arab

and Indonesian journalists, reported that the ideology of Pakistani journalists is influenced by nationalism, religious belief, and an increasing sense of professional competence, whose overall priorities involve protecting national sovereignty and promoting social development (Pintak & Nazir, 2013). While in Pakistan and the outer world, the militancy conflict is the focus of a great number of scholarly debates, the study on the media's perception of the said issue has not gathered considerable attention. This research intends to fill this void by analytically examining the role of media in the war against terrorism in Pakistan. This research is carried out to gain insights into the perception of Pakistani journalists about military and militancy under the umbrella of the American-based embedded journalism²³ and their professionalism on the crucial issue of Pakistan's national security. Overall, there have been a lot of questions about the objectivity and professionalism of journalists in Pakistan regarding their embedment with the military to report the war against terrorism in the country. This study helps to find answers to those questions which are critically discussed in the literature of embedded journalism.

Since Pakistan has been gripped by terrorist attacks following the 9/11 incident, several regions in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have been identified as highly risky regions.²⁴ The Pakistani military has conducted numerous security operations against terrorists believed to be hiding in FATA and PATA²⁵ because people in these areas used to consider Taliban or militants as holy figures who have a religious cause against the US. Thus, these tribal regions were safe havens for the militants. Journalists were ordered to stay with the troops in conflict-affected areas since their mobility was limited throughout these missions. The Pentagon's first-ever embedding program in the Iraq war (2003) drew harsh criticism from American civilians for failing to depict accurate wartime casualties in Iraq (Leblanc, 2013). Similar to how Pakistani journalists were embedded in tribal areas following the 9/11 incident, if the media reporting shifted to favour the military while misrepresenting the collateral damage, it is also a big question. If journalists appreciate such practices for getting them protection and safety, and on the contrary, is there any infringement on human rights, are discussed. In addition, to conduct this study, it is important to discuss the role of Islamization in the country, military operations carried out by the Pakistani military in the country against Islamist forces, the historical context of embedded journalism following

²³ It is about attachment of media persons with the military troops during a war or conflict. It was initiated by the Pentagon. Its detail is discussed in the later chapter.

²⁴ FATA is bordered with Afghanistan to the north and PATA is the subdivisions of Balochistan and KPK provinces in Pakistan. There are a few agencies and districts in FATA and PATA respectively.

²⁵ Map is available at the end after the appendices. Also check: <https://mapofpakistan.gov.pk/Download>

the western approach to war reporting, and the protection of journalists during conflict reporting.

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

A program for embedding journalists was devised during the Iraq War (2003) by the American Department of Defence to achieve a balance between free and fair media and censorship. On one side, it helped journalists to be active on the frontline but at the cost of their journalism independence. However, the experiment proved to be a success, and the American military was able to promote its national interest with the help of the media. But after the fumes of war evaporated, the concept of embeds in war developed a war among reporters, journalists, and scholars. On the other hand, in Pakistan, the scenario of conflict reporting is different. Here, conflict reporting on the war against terrorism relates to the domestic security issue in terms of terrorist activities conducted by the Taliban or other militant groups, especially in FATA and PATA regions of Pakistan. Pakistani Urdu and English newspapers reporting on military operations also presented enormously different perspectives on the conflict (Rahman & Ejaz, 2014). English dailies encouraged prejudices and insisted on 'binary oppositions' and framed the religious factor in the conflict as 'evil other' and the government as 'elite us,' while Urdu newspapers gave trivial exposure to the conflict in their editorials and columns (Rahman & Ejaz, 2014). Also, there is a concept of radicalization in Pakistani journalism that has always been an element of conflict reporting. Since radicalism is one of the major issues confronting the state and society in Pakistan (Azam, 2008).

Radicalization simply leads to the glorification of militancy in news reports. Pakistani journalists are performing their part against extremists and extremism, but since journalists come under pressure, they self-censor their reports (Azam, 2008). Pakistani media primarily report the Taliban conflict from a viewpoint of high-risk security concerns (Hussain & Siraj, 2012; Hussain S., 2014). The human-interest perspective was added to the significance of Taliban conflict reporting, but there was a lack of a humanitarian perspective; locals' sufferings and sacrifices were not the elements of media reports (Hussain S., 2014). It is essential for a journalist to visit and explore the conflict areas that may increase his information and learnings that are eventually reflected in his reporting (Agha & Hussain, 2017).

Pakistan's war on terrorism started through Operation Al-Mizan²⁶, which further worsened during Operation Rah-e-Rast²⁷ in Swat (Malakand division) in May 2009 after the failure of the Malakand Accord²⁸ 2009 (Hussain S., 2014). During the series of operations, the flow of information was strictly controlled, and whatever the news came out was from the military's public relations department, not from media reporters. Since media liberalization, the activism in media presented itself with non-professional live coverage of law enforcement operations (Ashraf & Islam, 2014). While understanding the media's influence and its potential for opinion-making, the military restricts media through their policies (Marco Mezzera, 2010). Media was in a controlled state of reporting the conflict that was based on just military briefings about the war. Media was given least or almost no access to the battle zone (Hussain S., 2014). In Pakistan, embedded journalism is not utilized to a greater or complete extent; a few journalists got access to the battlefield. This research looks into the application of embedding journalists in the Pakistani war against terror while assessing the war reporting through a comparative analysis of embedded and non-embedded frames whereas exploring the influences affecting journalists' war coverage. From Taliban and Balochistan conflicts to ethnic and political conflicts in Pakistan, journalistic influences have always been the centre of attention. The nature of embedded and non-embedded reports has always been a question mark to scholars. Sensationalism in terror reports and objectivity and censorship in conflict coverage are the main concerns of the study. This research analyses the role of censorship and self-censorship in embedded reporting. Through this study, the value of sensationalism is measured in the light of terrorism reporting.

This study helps in understanding the media coverage of war reporting in terms of the 'Military Operations' and to what extent censorship and self-censorship are utilized in embedded reporting of the conflict. Research is of significance for policymakers as it helps them understand the realities of journalists during war coverage. Provided the important part, the media performs, being the free platform to the conflicts, it is of great importance to policymakers to understand the outcomes of sensational terrorism coverage if it leaves some impact on the masses or on the media industry itself. This study contributes to the current literature on conflict reporting as well as the practice of embedded journalism in Pakistan.

²⁶ Operation Al Mizan was conducted by Pakistani military and US to fight against Al-Qaeda and Pakistani Taliban in FATA and PATA regions. It continued from 2002 to 2006, right after the Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan in which Pakistani military allied the US.

²⁷ As Pakistani militants TTP controlled the Swat district of KPK, another operation was initiated by the Pakistani military from Operation Raah e Haq to Operation Raah e Rast, 2007 to 2009.

²⁸ It was a peace agreement signed between the Pakistani government and the TTP.

Moreover, the study's implication gives the media an opening to cover conflicts while looking into the influences on journalists' war reporting. It helps them understand the part embedment has played in conflict coverage while relating it with censorship and self-censorship. The implication of this study helps media understand journalists' opinions about sensationalizing terrorism on the basis of which media policy for reporting conflicts may be refined. This study adds to the knowledge of conflict reporting in light of embedded and non-embedded journalism. The study also adds to the knowledge of journalism in the shades of English and Urdu media. Their comparison finding unusual similarities or dissimilarities may further help media practitioners how to be on one page. Since Urdu journalism has a huge readership in Pakistan and it is important to find the difference or similarities in both media as the press has been playing an important role in making public opinion even before the independence of Pakistan. The study brings a new model of journalism in Pakistan since the dynamics of conflicts in the country are different from other countries.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

From the issues of national security and media framing to journalistic safety and constraints, conflict reporting has always been a focal point in the mainstream literature on conflict communication. The changing contours of conflict coverage provided different approaches for world scholars to define the covered conflict in line with media reports. Embedding journalists brought change to the approach of media viewing the warfare, and similar is the concern with military reaction to the media. People want to know as much as possible about the battlefield, thus the embed system is, in fact, valuable in this regard. Studies also revealed that the military-media relationship is the main concern for war-like conflicts. Studies showed that an embedded system proved to be useful in relating to the increased favourability of war coverage. This study intends to assess the conflict reporting related to the 'Waziristan Operation' in a journalistic approach of embedded journalism. The Waziristan issue is one of the leading conflicts in Pakistan since the start of the war on terror in the country. Several operations have been conducted in Waziristan, and the Pakistan army has been fighting a war with terrorist groups over there. Several studies have been conducted on different conflicts in Pakistan such as reporting of Baloch conflict in newspapers, journalists' issues, and peace and war orientation of news reporting and so, but not enough talk has been conducted on the new wave of journalism in Pakistan that is embedded journalism. During the start of the Pakistani War on Terrorism, the embedment of journalists was not employed to a greater extent and a pool of

journalists had been deployed with the military to report from the conflict site. But in the current situation, several defence²⁹ journalists have been part of embedment. Since the Waziristan operation is considered a guerrilla war, so there are security concerns for the journalists to go there either being embedded or independently (Agha & Hussain, 2017). Nevertheless, this new dimension of journalism needs to be studied, and it is important to know its result in the long run. The study explores the influences on the journalistic practice of war coverage while also questioning their viewpoints on sensational terrorism reporting in light of the embedded and non-embedded reports. The study also looks into the application of censorship and self-censorship under the umbrella of embedded journalism since the attachment of journalists with military troops has been criticized as “in bed” with the military.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The following are the main objectives of the study:

- To assess the framing of embedded and non-embedded war coverage.
- To explore the relation of embedded journalism with censorship and self-censorship.
- To examine influences restricting journalists to conflict coverage.
- To analyse journalists’ perception of sensational terrorism coverage.
- To find the differences between English and Urdu reporting on terrorism incident.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: What are the differences in war reporting of embedded and non-embedded journalism?

RQ2: How do journalists perceive censorship and self-censorship in the light of embedded journalism?

RQ3: What are the political, societal, economic, religious, organizational, and individual influences on journalists in the context of conflict reporting?

RQ4: How do journalists perceive sensationalist coverage of Taliban (Terrorism) in the light of their corporate culture and embedded culture?

RQ5: What is the difference between the reporting of English and Urdu newspapers on terrorism incident in Pakistan?

²⁹ Covers not just warfare but also a range of topics related to defense, including military infrastructure, procurement, reorganization, and strategic developments.

1.6 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

H1: Urdu media gives less coverage to conflict issues than English media.

H2: Corporate culture is more sensational than embedded culture.

1.7 RESEARCH GAP AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

It is of prime concern to understand the practice of embedded journalism and its results in wartime scenarios in Pakistan since it produced different results when it was employed during the war in Iraq. The study intends to assess different frames that reporters cover in their news being embedded and also being independent journalists. Because this helps in devising a model to cover these war-type operations, given that the nature of these conflicts in Pakistan is different from the conflicts in other countries. Another important element in this study is the role of censorship and the level of self-constraints utilized by media persons. Censorship and self-censorship are two important elements of news reporting, especially during conflicts. It has always been criticized by different scholars that media houses face regulations, and they are censored for showing every facet of the story, in the Pakistani scenario. Whether it is political instability, human rights concern, economic downfall, or national security concern, media in Pakistan is restricted to reporting everything; rather, they are regulated to practice within a given policy. And it is also found that some journalists or media houses operate under the praxis of self-regulation; their editorial policies are customized in such a way that they do not feel like restricting themselves but working on the agenda of their home organization. There is a plethora of studies conducted on internal and external factors that influence the reporting of journalists. Scholars have generated models and theories to learn about these factors that may create an impact on news coverage. This research also finds the answer to the question raised against the influences affecting journalists in the context of conflict reporting. Since it is widely accepted that the first thing that kills the authenticity of a news report is truth and the true essence of a report can never be found under the influence of internal or external factors. The study has categorized both factors under the domain of political, societal, economic, religious, organizational, and individual influences. Each domain is investigated under the category of internal and external factors such as personal affiliation with the political parties and external pressures by the political parties. Similarly, other domains are also probed like individual economic conditions of the journalist that are likely to affect journalistic practice, the same way economic conditions of the organization he/she works for may leave an impact on him. This way all six dimensions of internal and external influences are inquired about in

order to interpret the reporting style of the conflict. Since these reports play a significant role in making public opinion, it is important for the research to comprehend the outcomes of these reports. Another critical point raised in this study is the perception of journalists about the coverage of Taliban reporting in the light of embedded policy and the culture of their media organizations also known as corporate culture. The study aims to find if sensationalism is part of conflict reporting, in any of the approaches discussed in this study. Since sensational reports have been part of the media industry, it is required to find this element in the reporting of the Taliban. Sensational reports not only create hype, but they also add lies to the news stories that ultimately lead to the factor of a manipulated version of the truth. Above mentioned points are examined while interviewing journalists in terms of their embedment with the military and also their corporate policies. This way answers to several criticisms that raise questions against the use of the embedment of journalists are found. The results of the study can never be prejudged but the results may help devise a media policy for covering conflicts either under the umbrella of independent reporting or embedded.

Two more elements are also highlighted in this study, the role of Urdu and English journalism and the magnitude of sensationalism in a corporate and embedded environment. It is of prime concern to understand the role of the press when the country is going through military operations; these are the times when the public is all dependent on news media to have updates on every event. The study aims to differentiate between English and Urdu media of the press that how each medium reports on the conflict. The level of their reporting is examined through content analysis followed by discourse and thematic analysis, such as the news coverage of the terrorism incident related to the Waziristan operation is given preference since this operation is of supreme importance to the national security concerns of the country. It is needless to mention here the national language of Pakistan is Urdu and the highest rate for newspaper reading is depending on Urdu journalism. On the other hand, English journalism is popular among the highly educated public of the country. Thus, through this study, the role of both media is differentiated that which medium is giving preference to such issues of national and international concern. And it is also imperative to analyse how these newspapers reported in terms of themes, frames, language and tone, objectivity, sensationalism, and overall social and cultural context of Pakistan. The results may help media policymakers to find their position in line with reporting conflict to a certain level. It is also important for the researcher to know if the press gives significant value to military operations that have international worth and that are also holding the national security of the country. It is essential to discover if the public is informed about these conflicts and to what level. It is also proposed in the study that corporate

culture is more sensational than embedded culture for the reason that corporate culture is inclined towards money-making business; profit is their main concern. On the contrary, embedded journalism is considered the practice of restricting journalists to a certain extent which means they cannot create hype about the issue they cover. Journalists are interviewed regarding their corporate culture and the culture they got to find being attached to the military troops. This point may also help to understand if organizational culture leaves an impact on the production of news.

Overall, several findings have been made on the reporting of conflict and their representation in newspapers either English journalism or Urdu. Also, studies on journalism practices other than embedded journalism such as peace journalism and conventional war reporting have also been conducted which highlight issues of journalists and also news framing of the conflicts. The study foresees some new findings from the research because embedded journalism is still an under-researched area in Pakistan and not enough literature is found in the Pakistani scenario. The study aims that journalistic practice is a responsible profession that has to work for society and the medium also, and it is important to understand the changing environment of journalism in Pakistan under the umbrella of embedded journalism. And conflict reporting is the major element where journalistic objectivity, and a balanced approach are always in hot water. It is difficult to find both sides of the conflict with a neutral eye since different factors play their part in the long run. And this study aims to find those factors and learn the new dimension of reporting conflict in Pakistan with embedded journalism. Challenges are always there, whether it is unilateral reporting of the conflict or being attached to the military but how journalists cover the news even under these challenges they face, adds to the literature of conflict reporting and/or embedded journalism. The findings of the study pave the way to further work on embedded journalism, which is the need of the time, especially in a country like Pakistan where militants have challenged the writ of the State, and it has become difficult to cover the conflict in a secure environment. It is a war within a country, and it has more value in the eyes of the public. In addition, the research study not only revolves around the role of embedded journalism, but it gives coverage to conflict reporting on a broader level that how the practice of journalism can be implemented in a better and smarter way. A role model may be created from the results and findings of the study that may help the media industry to view war and conflicts through a new lens of journalistic coverage and reporting.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 OVERVIEW

After the frontline war coverage provided by embedded journalists during the Iraq war, the embedment of journalists with military troops is severely criticized for its nature of partial and narrow reporting. Studies have been carried out to understand the nature of embedded policy that is primarily based on the directives of the authorities. Comparison between embedded and unilateral war reporting has also been made to determine the differences between both practices. As mentioned earlier, scholars have questioned the professional behaviour of embedment. There are also studies highlighting the benefits and challenges of embedded reporting.

2.2 CRITICISM

To start with the criticism raised against embedded journalism, it not only controls the reporters' movement but also controls the news dissemination process. Since embedment has been taken as 'being in bed', sharing the same tent has made both the military and media anxious bed mates. Both sides want to achieve some objective, which may not be based on the objective nature of war reporting. For media, embedment may help get a strong and real picture of the war, while the military sees embedment as a potential control over the media to share their side of the progress. Generally, objective journalism is centred on both the good and bad side of the news without bothering over which side sells better but being attached to the military means journalism must portray 'the good' and modulate 'the bad'. On professional grounds, journalism aims at freedom of information whereas the military prefers secrecy and keeping a tight rein on every detail of the war due to operational security and overall welfare of the military. By nature, journalism seeks news whereas the military has a morale to maintain such as to perform well on the battlefield. Movement with the military troops makes embedded journalists completely dependent on them, which ultimately leaves an impact on their news stories or their news framing. Because if the troop is relocating, a journalist is also relocating, which means he must leave behind the story he was previously working on. Thus, this nature of reporting practice provides a narrow view of the war. A journalist cannot cover the entire scenario or every detail of the story, which is also due to the overall newsroom practice which is based on deadlines. An embedded journalist has to report the details back to the newsroom

but also before the prior check by the authorities, which may hinder the overall working behaviour of journalism.

The policy of embedment is being questioned for the integrity of the information provided by embedded journalists. And if the information is true, the question looms if it is a complete truth or not. It has been argued that embedment provides a limited picture of the war which an independent journalist completes afterward. This incomplete picture of the war refers not only to the military side's limited information but also to the one-sided coverage of the war. Since journalists move with the military troops, they cannot have access to the other side of the war, which is normally covered by non-embeds. This limited nature of embedment calls for several questions about its policy and the general responsibility of journalists. Embedment seems to limit the overall nature of the news media, which is based on comprehensive information and balanced news coverage. To add to the limited nature of embedment, it is widely discussed that embedment only focuses on military news and information, it does not focus on civilian sufferings and casualties overall, which gives margin to unilateral reporting that covers every detail of the war. Because embedment is associated with the military, it appears to cover war in military terms, which overshadows the importance of political and other socio-political terms. Out of all criticism, the main question raised against the practice of embedded policy is its role in doing propaganda. Since it is implemented by the government authorities under defence strategies, its main objective is to share the word or message of the invading troops and the authorities while reflecting a sympathetic approach towards the military soldiers. There is also a question of censorship and self-censorship against embedded journalism. Overall, the policy of embedment is taken controversial which is completely based on the tactics of military control which restricts media freedom.

2.3 APPROBATION

On the other hand, another picture of embedded journalism is that it also keeps embeds at security risk of being attached to the troops. They not only cover military actions but also put their lives at risk of being injured or killed. They are sometimes mistaken for being on the side of the invading troops because they cover war while on their side, regardless of whether their purpose was to cover the details while under military security. However, being embedded journalists are provided with proper training to cover war on a battlefield. Previous research on embedded journalism has highlighted the role of embedding in assisting non-embeds by providing them with details of the battlefield or the other side of the war that they were unable to cover. And as a result, non-embedded journalists happen to collect the entire data and try to

detail the whole view of the war. Also, embedment helps the public see exclusive and live coverage of the war that may not really be based on censored or filtered reports but actual happenings on the battlefield. Studies also support the credibility of embeds and their overall practice of reporting and framing the war under the circumstances they are provided with. To conclude, it is also argued that embedded journalism provides a different perspective on the war that conventional journalism can never provide owing to the nature of practice. Thus, it is believed that both embeds and non-embeds can play a better role in affording a clear view of the war, since embedment has provided a new and distinct approach to conflict reporting.

2.4 LITERATURE

Mans et al. (2008) carried out a study to understand the embed policy of Dutch Ministry of Defence to cover war in Afghanistan which has primarily satisfied the objectives of the Dutch policy. The study found that through embedded journalism, a group of journalists has been trained on military matters to cover war in Afghanistan and as a result this group of journalists ultimately developed connections with the military personnel which was considered as semi-journalism by non-embedded journalists of the Dutch media. As they believe that embedded journalists did not lay emphasis on the whole scenario of the war but emphasized on one sided coverage of Dutch military activities only, whereas non-embeds covered socio-political conditions in Afghanistan. This study is of significance for my work with relations to its analysis on the impact of policy of embedded journalism on the Dutch news reporting. In my study I also try to understand the evolution of embeds in the Pakistani media. As the study has questioned the impact of embed on the coverage of Afghanistan, I have also tried to understand the role of embeds and non-embeds with regards to their role played in conflict coverage in Pakistan. Finally, the study has questioned the diverse contribution of embedded policy in conflict reporting, relatedly I have focused on the coverage of sensational Taliban reporting in the light of embedded and corporate culture of news media. Moreover, the study analysed seven factors to understand the embed policy of Dutch, such as overall policy of the embeds; selection and timing of embeds; facilitation and freedom of movement during field work; control over news reports and other restrictions such as breach of policy. This study is also covering these aspects to understand the sense of embeds in Pakistani journalism.

Study conducted by Awais & Jahid (2020) is of relevance because it provides insight into the historical emergence of embedded journalism in the Iraq war with a brief analysis and discussion on the media landscape in Pakistan. This study has criticized the role of media acting

as a party during conflicts of opposing parties. The function of an embedded journalist has been viewed critically, who has to stick with the military troop in the conflict zone, leaving out his journalistic freedom. Journalists' survival is in trouble if they do not follow the commandments of the attached troops. The study considered embedded journalism as military-censored reporting. The scholarship has suggested the practice of peace journalism in Pakistani media to educate the masses while emphasizing the peace factor of the conflicts. Since this paper has analytically questioned the professionalism of embedded journalism in the context of wars in Iran and Pakistan in the name of terrorism, my study is also on the practice of embedded journalism in Pakistan with regards to its comparison with non-embeds to report war on terror. Also, the practice of censorship, the influences on journalists' reporting, and the sensational reporting of Taliban conflict in the light of embed and corporate culture is analyzed in my study. The study also constructs strong questions for journalists who support embedded journalism and who are against it. One of the important elements of conflict zones highlighted by this study is the voices of citizens that are suppressed by both the opposing parties and also by the media. This study helps in raising questions against journalistic practice either it is in the form of embedment or corporate culture because the study suggests the need for standard journalism during conflicts that should not give preferentiality to the military, political groups, or conflicting parties but to responsible journalism. While raising a few concerns against the practice of embedded journalism, Levett (2014) highlights the practice of reporting war through embeds is different from other conventional practices of war coverage. The study argues the challenges posed by embedded journalism against the stability of international law such as the freedom of expression, responsibilities of journalism, and safety and security of journalists. International human rights law does not favour one type of journalism over another, but it does provide protective measures for both. Embedding journalists in the armed forces is compromising the tradition of free media, which is well-defined in international humanitarian law. Journalists stay, work, and function as one of the units, and their protection and security are reliant on the military which may lead to self-censorship. On one side, the reporting of embeds presents a distorted image of war. They have no or less contact with opposite troops of the war or even civilians. On the other side, embeds provide a better view of the war, gaining accessibility to stories from both the frontline and behind the scenes. This article is not only providing literature to my research on embedment, but it also provides some constructive criticism that I pose in my study with the help of making interview questions for the respondents such as connecting embedded journalism with three factors- free media, the constitution of Pakistan, and the practice of responsible journalism. Also, since this study has

stressed upon self-censorship during embedding, my one major research question is on the practice of censorship and self-censorship in the light of embedment. The expediency of this article indicates the expression of international humanitarian law in the field of journalism which is seldom found in scholarships on journalism.

However, Hakan (2015) discusses different dimensions of war and media relations under the notion of globalization and the capital system. The article argues that media is an ideological device that now touts the war through embedded journalism which performs the function of systematic propaganda and disinformation to accomplish the agenda of the dominant parties. Embedded journalism has changed the structure of media ownership that does not emphasize cultural peace but the dominant monopolies of ownership structure. Embedded journalism is a new branch of war reporting that disseminates the information processed through self-censorship. The study suggests that media reports should not be limited to war strategies or the fights between armies that may ultimately skip the real destruction of people and their tragedies. This form of news reporting undermines the practice of professional journalism that overlooks the values of justice, like social good (social cause), media freedom, and compliance with ethical standards. With regards to its relevance to my study, the main argument developed from this study is the difference between embedded practices of the media (especially the US and the alliance) during the Iraq war and the media (national) during the war on terror in Pakistan. This study adds to my proposed work based on the pragmatism of embedment in the Pakistani media landscape compared with corporate culture since this study relates the ideological functions of media with the capitalist system. As the study has discussed the monopoly of the Pentagon during the Iraq war, it is also important to understand the structural orientation of Pakistani media on the war against terrorism. Moreover, the study discusses the sensational role of media, especially in television news which relates to my proposed research question on the sensational reporting of the Taliban.

The failure of news media to cover wars, conflicts, and crises in a competent and ethical manner is the focus of this article. Press freedom, objectivity, and journalistic integrity are not valued, and journalistic behaviour in times of conflict differs from that of other times. Most often, media outlets promote their country's stance, and the journalist appears to be 'nationalistic' and 'patriotic,' supporting his or her country's role in the war at the cost of impartial, objective, honest, and professional integrity. Kirat (2014) argues that in the name of embedded journalism, the military and political powers often use news outlets to interpret conflicts and wars along the parameters of 'national security' and 'national interests.' While criticizing different strategies and mechanisms used during 9/11, the Gulf wars (2nd-3rd), and the Afghan

war to report on war and to make public opinion, the article claims the failure of mass communication theories relating to covering and reporting on conflicts and wars. The article suggests a new theory called 'Government Press Coalition Theory' should be introduced to specify the practices and behaviours of journalism in times of war and conflicts.

This article supports my study in questioning the nature of embedded and corporate culture pertaining to their practices and attitude during the war on terrorism. For my study, it is important to understand the media coverage of the conflict characterized by censorship, sensationalism, and other factors manipulating the news report. Since my study is on the war against terrorism in Pakistan, it is of prime concern to analyse the journalists' attitude towards Talibanization, for instance, if they surrender to the belief system of the government and military or if they have a pre-existing mindset against militancy.

Buchanan (2011) addressed the foundations, logic, along with some of the concerns that have resulted due to the nature of embedded journalism. It claims that the practice of embedment evolved after the Vietnam war as a reaction by the US government to the issue of independent news reporting of the US-led war. Independent media coverage was troublesome for the post-Vietnam US army since it frequently contradicted the official military propaganda and, if left unchecked, it often hindered public opinion for the war mission. As public opinion is extremely important in a military conflict, especially during long encounters, independent media coverage is viewed as a challenge to the domestic front's stability, and thus a challenge to the military effort itself. The issue arising from Vietnam was to limit the independence of media to combat zones, primarily by refusing all access and removing adequate security for journalists working in war zones, and subsequently by granting exclusive but regulated exposure to front-line areas through the process of organized news reporting termed as embedded journalism. But embedded journalism is just not about the military side of the narrative, it has other stumbling blocks also. In a Pakistani context, it is important to investigate the process or the practice of embedment when Pakistan is not fighting any armed with some outer world, but the militant groups making their homes in the country. This article makes the basis for the study to learn the roots, reasoning, and dilemmas of embedment within Pakistani journalism and the military. In Pakistan, embedment may not be just about disseminating military words (like the US and allies did in Iraq and Afghan wars) when there is a common view in the country that the Taliban are terrorists or 'bad people' (Agha, Hussain, 2017).

The study of Nguyen (2020) is based on the impact of war journalism on the American soldiers during Vietnam war. The study discovered that the press had no effect on the morale of soldiers during war time. While this contrasts sharply with the impact on civilian pride in the United

States, it is indeed reasonable because soldiers had a far more realistic way to understand the war and would not believe or be influenced by any news that portrayed anything they had not experienced themselves. However, the number of individuals surveyed, as well as the volume of information collected from the reported interviews, may not be adequate to reach such a result correctly. The findings of the study facilitate a better understanding of the modern version of television and radio journalism during the war, and also a way to relate the media of this war to that of other wars in terms of media experiences. Analysing the press relationship with the military gives a clear picture of the press's position in previous and current conflicts, and also how the government regulates the media from war to war.

This study cannot be related on the basis of its analysis of press impact on soldiers because it is not possible to interview Pakistani troops, but the relevance of this research paves the way for different questions that may be asked from the journalists about the embeds policy and its impact on their overall reporting experiences. As it is very important to understand the military-media relationship and its overall impact on news coverage as well as reporting. Another interesting element arising from the expediency of this study is to analyse the role of media in past conflicts in Pakistan before the practice of embedded journalism, to have a clear picture of the journalistic profession in previous conflicts and its relationship with the government.

Aday et al. (2005) conducted a cross-cultural study of media coverage of the 2003 Iraq War to determine and consider the aspects of objective reporting in the news of five American channels and one Arab channel during times of war. The research examined partiality in two areas: the tone of each story and each channel's overall picture of the war. According to the findings, at the story level, the vast majority of stories transmitted by Al Jazeera and a few American channels were balanced. However, the data showed a clear bias by one American channel in favour of the US-led war efforts, and also major variations were revealed in how the different channels portrayed the war. Another important aspect of the study was the detailed analysis of embedded coverage to evaluate their objectivity and contrast it to unilateral reports. The study found that embeds were not in bed with the military, but they produced the highest percentage of neutral stories. Nevertheless, embeds gave more coverage to coalition soldiers and their quotes, whereas other types of reporting reported on Iraqi and civilian casualties.

This study has relevance with the research question investigating the differences between war reporting of embeds and non-embeds. It not only focuses on the factors of embed or corporate culture influencing war coverage, but it has much to do with the overall coverage (e.g., what is covered and what is not covered, what events and incidents are reported and what not, direction of the news story and overall objects and subject of the war stories) and overall portrayal of the

war. Also, it is important to learn the percentage of stories covered by Pakistani press on the war on terrorism that reveals the degree of importance given by Pakistani newspapers developing another debate on professionalism. While exploring the differences between their overall coverage is also important to analyse the inclination of the press in terms of the sensitivity of the situation.

Fahmy & Johnson (2007) focused on perceptions of differences rather than real differences between embedded and independent coverage of the Iraq War. The findings indicate that an embedded journalist moved with military forces and personally experienced the domination of the American troops. Since the unilateral observed the war from afar, their reports represented the uncertainty, and also the possibility of major Iraqi army resistance and retaliations. This research, in particular, supported the model of Shoemaker and Reese, finding that extra-media influences (such as access to sources, government restrictions, and others) affected media practices of both embeds and unilaterals. According to the study, access was one of the important factors in war reporting. Embeds in Iraq had hardly any links to Iraqi civilians and as a result, they could not report on anything about the outcomes of US operations. Non-embeds had restricted access to the US forces; therefore, they could not report on troops' stories. There is a common view about embeds that they enjoy safety being with the military whereas independent journalists are exposed to danger. But the study revealed that embeds were also in danger since they gave no clear expression that they were journalists. On the other hand, non-embeds were secure for showing their association with the media, not the troops. This study posits similar questions for the journalists if their safety is at risk being embed, if their coverage and reporting on conflict are influenced by different internal and external factors, and if access to the conflict zone accomplishes their purpose of investigative journalism. It is important to systematically understand the differences between embed and corporate culture to have a comprehensive nature of war reporting in Pakistan.

The US policy to embed journalists with military units during Operation "Iraqi Freedom" was unparalleled in nature, sharply contrasted with previous conflicts wherein journalists had limited access. Pfau et al. (2004) examined the print news coverage of embedded reports on the initial days of the war in Iraq (Operation Iraqi Freedom) to determine if it gave decontextualized coverage of the war or supported the war. Compared to non-embedded reports, the study found that embedded coverage was based on episodic framing, and the overall tone of the coverage favoured the military and the troops. Since journalists are attached to the military troops, where they are temporary members of the same unit, it ultimately makes them adopt the values of the troops they are moving with. The findings of this study clearly

show that embedding changes the overall nature of war reporting. This study helps my study learn about the relevance of the embedding policy of the military or the government to meet its potential motivations for putting this strategy into action. For example, embedding may be used to serve as a strong counterforce to propaganda propagated by the enemy. It may also be exercised to provide the public with first-hand information about the military forces or their sacrifices and struggles in the conflict zone. And it may also offer a new spin on the conflict coverage while providing detailed information about the conflict zone, which is otherwise difficult to obtain due to the nature of guerrilla war in Pakistan. It is important to learn the perspectives of the journalists if they lose their direction in the process of embedment and sacrifice their professional integrity (such as objective and balanced reporting) for the sake of sacrifices made by their security forces.

Brandenburg (2007) assessed the benefits and drawbacks of the Pentagon's embedded policy during the war in Iraq. An in-depth study of the nature, function, and practice of embedding facilitates an understanding of the transitions and shifts in media practices that embedding encourages in contrast to past military operations. Although embedding journalists with military forces improves access and minimizes censorship, it also forces them to learn, implement military philosophy, and feel empathy for the troops. The article argues that both the military and the media will benefit from embedding, and it can serve to strengthen their typically tense relationship. The problems in embedding risk its resourcefulness: news media organizations can be easily internalized by fulfilling their social and financial aspirations. Also, the study casts doubt on the concept that decreased censorship and expanded access indicate and ultimately ensure press freedom. This study relates to my research in terms of embedment and corporate culture in the context of censorship and self-censorship since censorship is a usual feature in war reporting. The role of censorship or self-censorship is also concerned with media relations with the army, which are commonly attributed as tough even in Pakistan. In Pakistan, freedom of speech and expression are associated with freedom of the press, which is also listed in the Pakistani constitution and may not be compromised by any democratic state. Thus, it is important to understand the policy of embeds in Pakistani journalism if its application is satisfying the constitutional doctrine on free speech. Since censorship in war reporting is largely considered a security review, it is of significance to understand if embedment creates publicity for or about military operations.

Froneman & Thalyta (2004) argued that embedded journalism is an important component of how South African media work, though in a slightly different context than that which exists in Iraq, and that it encompasses issues even more than conflict coverage. Conflicts of interest

while collecting news are well-detailed and widely discussed in media ethics guidebooks and ethical guidelines. The South African media, on the other hand, has a habit of avoiding open dialogue of this and other ethical implications. Whatever the motive is, the lack of discussion on these and other media practical concerns keeps media audiences from seeing news as what it is: a significant practice usually driven by economic interests. These topics are discussed in the study within the specific perspective of South Africa, and some relevant questions are raised about journalists' corporate and political embeddedness, such as how conflict of interest pervades South African media. As per the study, media owners, executives, and individual journalists hold accountability for the embeddedness of South African journalists. Given the emphasis on revenue, it is posited that journalists should speak out and follow their own standards of conduct. This study supports my research in knowing the nature of embedded and corporate culture in the guise of conflict of interests between professional integrity and outside interests that compromise the standing of moral agents. It is important to recognize the struggles of journalists both in embedded and corporate culture of journalism. Also, there is a dilemma in journalism practice that raises questions such as how to be critical without being negative and unpatriotic because the main focus of embedded journalism is so far considered as serving the government or the military interests.

Johnson & Fahmy (2009) also analysed a survey of embedded journalists from around the world to discover what they think about freedom of the press and how much they think their stories were censored during the Iraq War. The results indicate that during the Iraq war, most journalists adopted a social responsibility orientation to press freedom, stating that the interests of the media and the armed forces must still be aligned. The majority of journalists believed that during a war, the media should have full access to military policies, that embedded journalists should be free to report on whatever they want despite prior military approval, and that embeds should be allowed to visit any location they want. The analysis shows that respondents believe that the media should be free of government and military influence, albeit journalists were far from absolutism. In general, embeds mentioned that they faced little censorship in Iraq whereas they did not experience self-censorship. This study posits advanced questions for my research that if embedment is limited in its nature or the government or the military implements a review system to restrict the coverage. And as the research indicated that the objectives of the military and journalists should coincide, how is it possible in the Pakistani journalism landscape and what will be its potential outcomes. Another question looms on the possibility of having similar interests on both sides. One more consideration that adds to my research is the social responsibility of the journalists to provide a complete understanding of

the conflict to the general public without compromising the strategies and operations of the military. It raises one more point, if the press freedom can be aligned with the national security concerns of the country or military and how.

In their previous research Fahmy & Johnson (2005) looked at how embedded journalists perceive their war reporting and explored the factors that have affected their framing of war. The results indicate that embedment had a generally favourable perception. Just a small percentage of those surveyed felt embedded reporting was biased and sensational. The majority believed that their reporting was credible, reliable, and reasonable, and that it did not endanger the troops' security. Although most embeds admitted that their reports only covered a small portion of the war, they still thought that embedment gave them unprecedented access to the war and a greater sense of the happenings in the war zone. The study revealed that embeds reported more on the military troops who had limited contact with Iraqi civilians, whereas unilaterals reported more on Iraqi civilians, their casualties, and their views on the U.S. military. The findings highlighted that individual factor such as personal and professional values and standards played a bigger role in embedment than extra-media factors like military policies as well as the culture of civilians.

Although the practice of embedment has generated a huge debate worldwide, even in Pakistani media, it has also shifted the sense of journalism in the country. In the Pakistani mode of embedment, it is essential to examine embeds' perception of their reporting and framing of embed stories. As in the Iraq war, civilians were not given coverage by embeds owing to several access and availability reasons, Pakistani behaviour on the war against terrorism is also questioned, such as if a 'grunt's eye view' of the war was provided by the embeds, or an overall view of the war was reported. Another important element is to explore the factors (if any) and their degree of influence, which largely affected the overall perception of the embeds.

Based on two online surveys of embedded journalists, Fahmy & Johnson (2012) also tried to find out how well they thought they reported the war and whether their opinions shifted as the war escalated from invasion to occupation. Like in their previous studies, Fahmy & Johnson have again employed Shoemaker and Reese's model of influence to determine the influences that embeds assume may have affected how they reported the conflict, as well as whether there were any major variations among factors affecting their reports during the ground invasion versus the occupation phase of the Iraq war. Also, they examined if their perceived influences and professional practices were parallel to their performance during both stages of the war. The results showed that journalists perceived their work positively even if the war shifted from invasion to occupation. There were no significant influences on the embeds, except their safety

concerns after the war shifted to occupation and the cultural influences increased after occupation which ultimately changed their attitudes towards the war. The study revealed that professional standards had the greatest influence on the embeds.

This study adds to my research in several ways, for example, understanding the routinized relationship of military and media, examining different levels of factors influencing war reporting such as individual, journalism standards, extra media, and cultural factors. Additionally, in the light of factors of influence, it is important to know journalists' values such as press freedom, considerations for ethical decisions, and acceptance of controversial or sensational practices. It is also essential to find changes in the nature of embedding from start to the end of the war, like the change that occurred during and at the end of the Iraq war.

In their study, Haigh et al. (2006) investigated the differences in embedded and non-embedded news reports during the first twenty-one days when the U.S. invaded and occupied Iraq. On the basis of content analysis of four national newspapers of the U.S., Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Washington Post, and New York Times, reports on military operations were investigated. Embeds' coverage of the military during the invasion and occupation was considerably more favourable than that of non-embeds. The main reason for this positivity and trust towards the military is due to the nature of embedding, as journalists move with the troops and spend most of their time with them, which intensifies their bond with the troops. Embeds represented military operations in more episodic frames than thematic because thematic framing includes detailed interpretive observations, which require much time to prepare and are thus more prone to biased news. While embeds appeared to be trying to provide a rapid on-the-ground summary of the incidents they were witnessing in a war zone. Also, embedded reports were more authoritative than non-embedded because embeds are thought to have a high level of understanding and experience of military operations. This study relates to my research to determine the press's role in covering the war on terror in Pakistan with respect to the importance given to the conflict. It is essential to learn about the placement of news stories in the Pakistani press if the war has created a greater sense of responsibility in the media landscape. Moreover, war reporting is not just about the framing and tone of the coverage, but it also has to do with the placement of news reports in a newspaper, which is noticeably indicative of the importance given to a topic. Frequency of news stories is also another important element that requires attention.

Even though scholars have argued that the government was effective in using the embed mechanism to manage reporting of the ground war in Iraq, the study conducted by Johnson & Fahmy (2010) determines whether embedded reporters believed that the government had

increased efforts to monitor press coverage of the Iraq War. This study also addresses the factor of press freedom that journalists enjoyed being embedded and the changes they perceived over time. The findings revealed that there should not be government and military control over the media to cover the war. Embeds had restricted access to the war due to the increase in insurgency and security threats to foreign journalists but still, embedded reporters enjoyed considerable freedom with limited government control and with minimal or no self-censorship in their war reporting. This study was conducted when insurgency increased in Iraq, which controlled or affected overall movement of the embeds, and so the role of some military commanders was criticized for being overly bothered. This study posits some arguments for my work that press freedom, censorship, and self-censorship during war coverage may differ if the threats and issues are escalating or deescalating. Another question is raised from the study if the government control is required when embeds policy already has rules and a code of conduct for the embeds. And if the embedding policy already includes the practice of censorship or self-censorship, is it right to say that journalists would have enjoyed press freedom. It may generate new expressions of 'open censorship' and 'embedded censorship'. One more element emerged from this study is the difference or similarity in news management of government and the military. For example, the military may not be concerned only about national security causes like the government, but it also has concerns with its failure, achievements, struggles, and sacrifices which may be covered as per military ideals.

Kuypers & Cooper (2005) also investigated differences between embedded reporters and behind-the-lines reporters who were away from the combat zone or were positioned in the U.S. News stories for analysis were taken from those published in the New York Times and Washington Post. The analysis of the news reports found two important facets of war coverage: the potential of Iraqi army resistance and the reaction of the Iraqi civilians to the alliance. The embeds frequently portrayed the vulnerable situation of the Iraqi army such as their surrender and relinquishment, and the happiness of Iraqi civilians towards the fall of Hussein regime. Behind-the-lines reporters portrayed the other side of the war such as Iraqi forces' ability to launch major irregular counter strikes, aggressiveness of the Iraqi fighter groups, incapability of the alliance's strategy, and the instability of the Allies' long supply routes. Non-embeds focused on civilian outrage over collateral destruction; infrastructure outages; and distrust of American motives. These variations in framing can be due in part to the events and circumstances that reporters were able to witness first-hand. Like wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the practice of embedment with war units is a major change in the Pakistani media environment. If embedding journalists has generated criticism among the media critics, it has also facilitated

media in terms of logistics, physical security, and direct access to military operations. It is obvious that differences would be there between embeds and non-embeds reports of Pakistani journalists attributed to the nature of both practices, individual attitudes as well as professionalism of journalists, and the influence of different factors on news coverage and reporting. The study also advances my research to find main themes in the reporting of war on terror.

The majority of the criticism directed at the embedding system has been centred on one of two factors: the inevitable narrowness of a story from a single extreme angle, and also the risk of reporters sacrificing impartiality and professionalism as a result of the social connection with the battle and the troops. Maguire (2017) confirms the validity of such objections thereby revealing an extreme concern: embedded journalists' vulnerability to being instruments of military objectives and the struggles of journalists to accept and address this scenario. The Pentagon's plan to use the embed system as a strategic tool was not based on a highly secretive operation. Rather, the military was able to tap into journalists' innate desires and impulses: being close to the action zone, developing connections with possible sources, and keeping an attitude of balanced observation. Criticisms are not just part of the Iraqi war; my study also expects criticisms on the overall mission of the war on terror in Pakistan. This study paves the way to my research to find constructive criticisms on the embeds policy in Pakistan during the war on terror that may further help the government and also media to define the role of journalists in practicing ethical standards. Transparency being the key element in journalism ethics, is not the only component that involves the overall practice of war reporting, several other factors may also raise ethical and operational issues on both sides. Additionally, the Pentagon is not considered a transparent organization, thus the question raises if it is reasonable to criticize the embedding policy of the Pakistani government and military on the same grounds as the U.S strategic program. It is important to learn how embedment shaped the war on terror and if it supported government objectives.

Pfau et al. (2005) also looked into how Operation Iraqi Freedom was reported on television and the main question raised was on the effectiveness of news coverage of OIF. It was investigated if embedded television news stories were more favourable in their portrayal of the military and whether embedded stories had a different structure, using episodic framing and presenting more positive emotional discourse when troops were recorded on camera. The research also analysed and compared television news coverage through four television channels, during the invasion and occupation phases of OIF. Embeds coverage was found to be more supportive of the military than non-embeds as embedded stories were more optimistic

portraying military personnel with more confidence. The findings indicated that embedding characterizes episodic framing even more because embeds generally concentrate on the practices of the unit to which they are deployed rather than on overall war activities. Also, Embedded stories communicated considerable similarity/depth, consisting of expressions of familiarity, kindness, and compassion, as compared to non-embeds, but they did not express deeper immediacy/affection or receptivity/trust. This study creates expediency for my work to find differences in embedded and non-embedded news coverage on the basis of a few factors: positive or negative tone of news coverage, favourable or unfavourable themes, and deeper organizational commitment. It is important to find how journalists perceive the type of news has been reported on Pakistani media about the war on terror. Since the war on terrorism is divided into several military operations such as Operation Rah e Rast, Operation Zarb e Azb, and others, it may be pragmatic to examine the approach of Pakistani journalism in this regard. The Pentagon-created embedding program, which was applied for the first time in Iraq, has been widely panned and blamed for the lack of American media coverage of civilian casualties relative to alliance casualties. LeBlanc, A. (2013) aimed to assess the validity of this critique. This study makes a comparison of embedded and unilateral coverage of the war by isolating reports that provide news of civilian and alliance casualties. The study followed a deductive approach that both the embedded and unilateral journalists faced problems of access and safety concerns, but embedded reporting had no impact on civilian casualties' coverage during the initial invasion of Iraq. Following a deductive approach to determine that both embedded and unilateral journalists experienced access and security issues but embeds had little effect on reporting of civilian casualties during the early invasion of Iraq. The findings show that the embeds had no effect on the average number of stories that reported civilian casualties when compared to stories written by unilaterals in Iraq. This study also indicated that, in addition to acting as a watchdog for the alliance, embedding offers a different perspective on war that a unilateral cannot provide; however, unilaterals gave more prominence to civilian casualties than embeds. This study provides a basis for my research to determine the coverage of civilian casualties in the eyes of journalists if they have also reported on people experiencing war effects. The major question postulated through this point is if embeds can reach civilians during or after military operations. It also raises humanitarian concerns if the war reporting has contributed to the human rights discourse as embeds had an opportunity to see casualties being in a conflict zone.

In her book Shepard (2004) focused on various conferences regarding military media relations during the war in Iraq and also reviewed gaps in their relationships and the effect these

disparities had on news reporting. The book analysed media's success from the perspective of the American public. People gained a better understanding of military operations and also the day-to-day struggles that many Americans experience. It also boosted the self-confidence of military personnel. However, the book argued that the embedded system is overstimulated and should not be the only way to address future wars. Encouraging independent reporters may also be a better option. Having said that, media was praised for broadcasting live during a war, which was a huge challenge. With no censorship or military regulations, media reported what they actually saw occurring there. As a result, media became more informed about military terms, which they confessed they considered very important. Even so, in order to provide better reportage in the future, improvements should be made. The book suggests improvements not only for American media or Pentagon, but it also puts forward a change in Pakistani journalism. It basically laid emphasis on the question of having embedded journalism in the Pakistani war scenario. How important it is to facilitate journalism with the embedment system than to facilitate independent journalism. My research also finds answers to the adoption of the embedded program over unilateral practice. It also posits questions on media success during the coverage of the war on terror and the acceptance level of the public for the said war. The question follows more concerns such as what side or character of the war has been portrayed by the media and as a result of its reporting how it unfolds many truths of the war.

The study conducted by Mayfield (2013) is centred on the history of war correspondents and their interactions with soldiers. Based on theories of morale and battlefield success, the study determined that not all journalists were doing the same thing, nor did their personalities and reporting styles have the same impact on American troops. Furthermore, it was not a matter of journalistic will for anyone who wanted to be embedded to do so. The journalists were not chosen at random. The study did not focus on a single branch of the military, but on many, including infantry, medics, and firefighting. The survey looked at how soldiers and embedded media interact with one another. Using an electronic survey, soldiers from the 3rd Battalion, 101st Airborne Division (Rakkasans) stationed at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, were asked if they would like to invite the reporter back someday or on another mission. Soldiers were also asked if they had come across journalists who had written disparaging reports about the unit, and if so, why. The results revealed that soldiers who were familiar with embedded journalists were more willing to accept them back into their units. They praised embedded journalism during their war in Afghanistan which boosted their morale. Female journalists embedded with soldiers, on the other hand, elicited mixed reactions, but they were greatly appreciated. In comparison to the electronic media, the majority of print and photojournalists appeared at ease

when dealing with soldiers. This research suggests various aspects of war correspondence for my proposed research. Embedment is not only about gaining control or influence over the media, but the presence of journalists in the conflict zone can also be detrimental to troops on a number of fronts. It is also vital to consider how journalists perceive their interactions with troops.

In their book Allan & Zelizer (2004) examined the social responsibility of journalists during times of armed conflicts. Treatments of international crises in the news media, particularly the one engulfing Iraq, have increasingly become a source of public debate. Each contributor to this book takes a different approach to challenging commonly held beliefs about war reporting. A wide range of critical issues related to recent wars are described and critiqued, with an emphasis on what they can teach us about today's journalism reform. Recent developments in journalistic techniques and styles, as well as the contexts in which they affect wartime cultural identities, are considered, and issues discussed are about censorship and propaganda, news narratives of us vs. them, access to sources, military terminologies, embedded journalism, independent journalism, conflicting values of objectivity and patriotism and CNN effect and continuous practice of breaking news. The book poses critical questions about the future of media in times of war, concerns that should be addressed publicly. It indicated that war reporting has given a distinct perspective to the journalists. The complexities of war extend to correspondents and correspondence, and it is critical to determine how the war on terror is treated in Pakistani journalism. This book sheds light on the traditional practice of war journalism in Pakistan, as well as serious issues and expected journalism reforms. The expediency of the book poses questions on journalism practice in terms of media narratives on the war on terror, censorship and propaganda, media participation in war, adoption of military terminologies, and overall framing of war including characterization of patriotism, objectivity, and humanitarianism in official reports.

Also, in their book Paul & Kim (2005) aimed to assess the role of embedded media in Iraq while taking into account the larger context of historical press-military ties. The book focused on the conflicts that arose as a result of long-standing disagreements between the military and the press over information dissemination during times of war. It also stressed the effectiveness of the embedded system in achieving the military-media wartime goals. For military media relations, the embedding device was contrasted with other press practices. According to the findings of the study, an effective embedding program relies on both the military and the press. As a result of the Iraq war, the embedding device has gained widespread popularity. Various steps and frameworks have been put in place to determine press-military relations, with

operational security being the most important factor. Military personnel must exercise caution to ensure that journalists do not jeopardize operational security. Steps such as regulatory compliance, censorship, and source security have been listed to ensure operational security.

This study provides detailed knowledge about military media relations, which is also addressed in the research in terms of differences in Pakistani journalism before and after being attached to the military public relations department. Furthermore, the study illuminates a few concerns related to the popularity of embedment, such as rendering embeds as official correspondents of warfare, which calls into question the credibility and lowers the status of unilaterals who have been praised during their work, such as in the Iraq war. Also, this new mode of reporting may allow for manipulation and partial information based on military-media ties that were never on the same page.

Tuosto (2008) also investigated the relationship between media and the military during times of war. Censorship and press freedom are frequently at odds, and this article addressed the classic issues of objective reporting of war reporting in Iraq. It has shed light on issues that have a greater impact on the relationship between the government and media. It has addressed both the military and media aspects of war communication. Both the military and the media rely on one another during times of war, and they can jeopardize one another's credibility in the eyes of the public. According to the article, while embeds were not actually in bed with deployed troops, they intended to cover the action in real time. Journalists choose self-censorship in war communications for a number of reasons. They create not just a story but also the facts for the benefit of the viewer who is only interested in the grunt reality of war. Not only reporters, but also editors, should consider popular opinion, which knows little about war but has its own views about it. The study inspected if embedding journalists for war correspondents was necessary, and the general consensus was that risking your life to get the best news and pictures is necessary. This study highlights the importance of public opinion such as journalism entails more than just discovering the truth; it also requires appealing to a specific market. In my research, it is necessary to expose the reality of news manipulations because it is not only the journalist who creates the final version of the story, but also the editor who assembles the puzzle pieces and places them in the best possible context. As the article mentions taking risks may aid in the discovery of better stories, does this imply that the better story will be more objective?

Additionally, Finney (2009) also indicated that the military-media relationship is due to the end of long-standing animosity between the military and media. The success of this new relationship, however, would depend on the media's ability to gain widespread support for the

war. The study examined the US military's approach to war reporting and examined if the embeds policy harmed journalists' ability to report objectively. According to the discussed concept "fog of war", deployed war reporters with limitations would only report tightly defined and incomplete details. The study examined quantifiable gaps in war coverage based on the reporter's position (such as Europe, Middle East, and U.S) and the nature of reporting either embedded or unilateral. The findings revealed that embedded journalists provided more favourable coverage of US military personnel and operations than non-embeds. Journalists, either embeds or non-embeds, reporting from all locations, negatively reported on Iraqi leadership whereas they gave positive coverage to U.S military. About the Iraqi military, embeds were in less favour than non-embeds. Overall, the embedding program turned out successful in terms of gaining coverage favours. This study proposes a premise for my proposed work to compare the noticeable relevance of embedded and non-embedded reports on Pakistan's war on terror. It is required to determine the reporting of embeds on war-related government and military decisions. The first step is to determine how embedded journalism is reporting on the war in terms of its benefits to the government and military, as opposed to showing the negative effects of the war. The main question about embedded journalism is whether it is "favouring journalism," because embeds are criticized for favouring war and the military over other aspects of the war.

Slagle (2006) conducted a qualitative textual analysis of print reports of embedded journalists to primarily focus of the study was to determine whether embedded reporting revealed any signs of pro-military bias, and if so, what the reasons were. As per the assumption made, reports written by embeds would significantly benefit army units. The study concluded that the reports of embedded print reporters were biased in favour of the military. Their reports were more anecdotal, focusing on a specific soldier or unit rather than the war as a whole. The stories focused on the personal lives and behaviours of soldiers. A significant number of reports carried human interest stories about troops. This suggests that the journalists not only formed relationships with the military personnel about whom they reported but were also influenced by the military's relatively rapid progress. The journalists' admiration for the military's ideals, as well as their feelings of camaraderie for military personnel, influenced their objectivity in reporting the war. Embedding journalists gave them access to the war and the troops, but it also limited their responsibility to report on the war's larger narrative. Perhaps embedding journalists misinterpreted their increased exposure to troops and war as deeper or better reporting on the conflict. The article suggests predicting how the embedded program affected coverage of Pakistan's war on terror in terms of biases. It also proposes questions to answer in

order to determine the primary and larger narratives of war coverage. The study also calls into question a few other factors that may influence war coverage, such as the media's societal role, national concerns and patriotism, the military's influence over information, and the pursuit of truth without favouritism.

Mooney (2004) examined the differences between embedded and non-embedded coverage during Operation Iraqi Freedom. The study aimed to assess if journalists' reporting was balanced, and it also attempted to justify Soda Straw reporting of embeds. Both episodic and thematic framing were investigated to address specific cases as well as the eventual effectiveness of the war and other related issues. According to the research, embedded journalists created different narratives than non-embedded journalists. With the use of the embedded system, the American public could see a different side of war. Embedment supported journalists in gathering raw details that would later be used to construct war stories. Embedment emphasized the construction of various news stories. The study also discovered that embeds did not necessarily imply being in bed. The journalistic integrity of embedded reporters was investigated, and it was discovered that journalists went to great lengths to maintain objectivity. The research, on the other hand, revealed that critics' accusations of Soda Straw reporting about embeds were justified because they had to observe events through a microscope rather than binoculars. Non-embeds had enough time to piece together disparate pieces of embedded news and fill in the gaps with information from other sources. This study helps my study to understand the system of embedment, but it also raises a question if embedment gave rise to a narratively narrow coverage of the war on terror in Pakistan. The prime expediency of this study is to gather embeds' insights to determine how the embedment prioritizes their journalistic routines, how they contextualize and analyse their reporting, and what was the most commonly used frame for the audience.

The Pakistani study conducted by Agha & Hussain (2017) is based on embedded journalism, and it was specifically intended to investigate how journalists' attitudes toward national security changed after they became involved with the military. The study discovered that embedding with armed units was a valuable method for journalists to report on the Taliban war, which would otherwise be impossible. According to the analysis, Pakistani journalists were deeply concerned about national security and would not allow their profession to jeopardize it. They claimed that since Pakistan was fighting for its territorial integrity, they needed to be patriotic, nationalistic, and work alongside military services. The media should be objective and independent, but in times of conflict, media should collaborate to promote national security.

They viewed the Taliban as a state enemy who threatened the country's national sovereignty, whereas they idolized the country's military forces, particularly in the war on terrorism.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Embedment is not widely used in Pakistani media, but it has finally found a place in the journalism landscape. Based on its overall nature and process, embedding in Pakistan is not comparable to embedding in the Iraq or Afghanistan wars. Pakistan has a unique conflict scenario that may necessitate a different level of embedment. This study raises additional concerns about embedding in Pakistani journalism, which prioritizes patriotism and national sovereignty over objectivity. Embedment in Pakistan raises concerns about the professional integrity of journalists, as well as the role of censorship and military organizations in maintaining the country's rule. As the study suggested, the Taliban are viewed as the enemy of the state, raising concerns about this dominant viewpoint, which may have an impact on professional journalism.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 OVERVIEW

The news information that the public receives passes through a complex process that involves the adoption of several theoretical techniques to construct the product for a news piece, where the ultimate news item differs from the first-hand reports. This study employs a framing model, a model of the hierarchy of influences, propaganda, and censorship to better understand the news reporting process during wartime. Similarly, not all stories reported by the media are published; media sources do not publish every bit and piece from a news report. Hence, it is not just the media's duty to pick themes for publishing, but the selection of the information and angles is also extremely crucial to be incorporated in any news item. This theoretical approach is known as "framing." According to Schudson (1998), a journalist's professional obligation is to frame the narrative. Agenda setting was characterized by McCombs and Shaw (1972) as the choice and prominence of a specific news report, whereas framing is related to the portrayal of particular elements about the topic (Entman, 1993). Technically, framing is a far more advanced version of agenda setting (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1997), considered its second level. It essentially strengthens the fundamental approach of agenda setting, which received criticism for its naive concentration on wide subjects (Funkhouser, 1973). According to Kim, Scheufele, and Shanahan (2002), its second level has a higher effect on public opinion given the specific characteristics of a news article.

Many pieces of research have been conducted to investigate the factors that impact news production (such as Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). The major method used by media and governments to persuade the public is framing (Riker, 1986). It is about deciding which parts of the topic or event will be focused on and revealed to the public. This is often referred to as the second stage of agenda setting. Frames are presented by mass media by inserting them in news, which represent journalists' attitudes and ideas (Stout & Buddenbaum, 2003). Van Dijk (1996) contends that the ideology of journalists influences their views, which are reflected in their articles and column pieces. Politicians value frames to achieve their goals since frames display some elements of actual fact while leaving the rest out (Entman, 1989; Riker, 1986). Media frames are the contexts that the media offers (Scheufele, 1999). These are the primary plots of stories that provide significance to the depiction of a narrative. Framing describes the issue, which is at the heart of the debate (Gamson &

Modigliani, 1987). Through media frames, journalists may easily recognize and classify issues to effectively communicate them to their audiences (Gitlin, 1980). Framing study, such as agenda-setting, includes three distinct parameters: frame-building, frame-setting, and individual-level framing implications (Scheufele, 2000).

Multiple factors impact how journalists shape a topic, such as organizational and social characteristics (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) and ideological or individualistic framing (Tuchman, 1978). It is important to investigate the components that impact the framing process. Cobb and Elder (1972) stated that the framing of a news item was impacted by journalists, media organizations, and structural aspects. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) stated that media's political affiliations, journalists' individual behaviour, news services, political groups, senior journalists, government entities, and pressure groups all affect in shaping the format of a news item in a certain frame. Similarly, Carragee and Roefs (2004) claimed that political leaders, organizations, and other societal institutions all participate in the creation of a news report. Entman (2004), on the other hand, referred to the significance of the US authorities in the framing of news items in his Cascading model. In the context of international affairs, the White House advised media outlets and other state authorities on how to frame a news report. Following that, the general reaction of the public aided the administration in reshaping their viewpoint. Gamson and Modigliani (1989), on the other hand, identified three major factors that influenced the framing process: media norms, sponsorship, and cultural orientation. They claimed that when cultural affinity and advertising requirements coincided with media standards, it resulted in a distinctive framing of the story. On the contrary, Pan and Kosicki (2001) proposed that it is not necessarily the political powers that drive the framing process, but that the mainstream view of the public may also play a significant role. When the public at large talked about certain problems, communicated with everyone else, and consumed various news outlets, they developed a common understanding. As a result, the framing process is impacted by multifaceted aspects wherein the media functions (Pan & Kosicki, 2001). Some studies, however, stated that popular opinion had a substantial impact on the framing process. It was not possible to claim that the effects of framing were common (Brewer, 2005; Druckman, 2004, 2001; Druckman & Nelson, 2003).

Also, varied propaganda strategies are used to twist the facts to attain the intended consequences. As discussed by Curnalia (2005), consumers judge the value of a message based on how frequently it is exposed by the media, which indicates that if a propagandist highlights one topic in the media more extensively than others, the public will undoubtedly give more significance to that topic than most others. Thus, a continual effort for propaganda may

persuade and then shift the national agenda by emphasizing certain subjects more than others. According to Lasswell (1995), "the classic definition of propaganda is the practice of shaping human conduct through the modification of appearances" (Lasswell, 1995). Lasswell's propaganda encompasses all forms of discourse aimed at influencing human behaviour (1937). Catlin (1936) agreed with Lasswell's concept of propaganda, stating that propaganda is a method of instilling opinions in the minds of the public without any feeling of moral or political compulsion. Schramm (1955) explored propaganda in Germany and Britain and stated that the ideal approach to persuade the public is to approach prominent, local social influencers by offering relevant facts, impartially conveyed, and providing them the freewill to decide and then inform the public. The British government's major goal was to maintain the impression of neutrality while deploying propaganda. In addition, censorship is another propaganda technique that is used if the content is viewed as unpleasant, damaging, vulnerable, or bothersome. Governments, corporate organizations, and other regulating entities can all practice censorship. Censorship in the media refers to the reinterpretation and presentation of realities by the military or government for the purpose of national security concerns, particularly during times of war or conflict. Self-censorship, on the other hand, is part of the journalistic routine due to the aforementioned factors that a journalist must deal with when processing news.

Several research theories have been implemented to understand the role of embedment in war reporting. This study investigates differences in war reporting between embedded and non-embedded journalists. That says how one war is framed in two different modes. This study also compares the framing between English and Urdu press.

3.2 FRAMING

3.2.1 Origin and Evolution

In an article on the psychology of vision, Gregory Bateson (1972) introduced the concept of the frame for the very first time. Bateson highlighted that the frame is a psychological concept, yet it alludes to the significance of messages as aspects that affect their formation and description: "Any message that directly or indirectly specifies a frame provides information to the receiver or supports him in his endeavour to comprehend the messages contained within the frame" (Bateson, 1977/1972: 188). Bateson introduces the idea of the frame through two analogies: a photo frame and Venn diagrams generally applied in pure mathematics. As discussed by Bateson, a frame, as a diagram containing the elements of mathematical logic,

has a double function: it consists of elements within its boundaries whereas discounting those that are beyond it. A frame, similar to a photo frame, attempts to structure people's perceptions by inspiring them to concentrate on what is inside it and disregard anything beyond it. This framing technique was so effective that Tuchman (1978) utilized the photo frame reference to illustrate the term two decades later. This is quite resembling Gitlin's (1980) later approach, which argues that the construction of a frame is based on choosing, emphasizing, and excluding. A specific frame triggers individuals to turn their consideration to those ideas which are featured in it while overlooking others (which are ruled out of it). Framing defined by Bateson offers a set of solutions for understanding actual fact, like a photo frame conveys to its observers how they can interpret what is within it with the same kind of reasoning they use to interpret what is out of it. Information wrapped in a single diagram, in the analogy of mathematical logic, have similar properties that give hints to their interpretation. In summary, the frame aids processing of the contents it includes by emphasizing to viewers that the contents included within it are significant and are linked in certain manner, and that the ones out of it ought to be neglected. This is a meta-communicative usage of language that consents to the contextualization of the information that will be interpreted, with the limitation (as indicated by Bateson) that the overwhelming amount of meta-communicative content remains implied, which will cause some miscalculations in the epistemological identification of frames. The formal foundation of framing began to emerge in the 1970s, originally at the hands of psychological research. Erving Goffman (1974) restored the idea and techniques of framing for the discipline of sociology, and it was this retooled social concept that was utilized in communication theory. Goffman defines framing as a conceptual structure as well as a cognitive framework that enables people to manage their experiences. The actual definition of framing evolved from the individual to the social, from the psychological to the sociocultural sphere, since frames are social devices that allow individuals to retain a common perception of reality, according to Goffman. When it was realized that the media had a considerable potential to build and change social frames of understanding by acting in the development of a common social discourse, this development of the idea of framing proved pertinent to the study of media messaging.

López-Rabadán and Vicente-Mario (2009) considered categorizing the growth of framing theories into three key stages. The first stage lasted from 1974 to 1990 and was marked by the start of the technical applicability centred on the sociological meaning of the word. It was at that point that the theory started to make inroads into the sphere of communication. The second stage, included the 1990s, relates to the development of framing as a media studies discipline,

with an emphasis on the study of media narratives, using a rather unstructured and fragmented approach. Throughout this time, there was a heated scholarly argument between those who believe framing is just a continuation of agenda setting and others who believe it is a related but separate approach. Lastly, the era of reconstruction and empirical evolution began at the beginning of the 21st century and is still currently in progress. During the third stage, an attempt was made to begin an integration of theory and practice that will provide more substantial and speedy progress using scientific synergies.

3.2.2 Frame building in media

According to framing theory, the media not only increases the prominence of particular topics and happenings, but it may also impact the way people view them (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016; Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015; Gower, 2009; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). The framing theory study relies on questions from social science, finance, cognitive sciences and linguistics, communication, political science, cultural studies, and mass communication (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The framing theory aims at understanding the connection between how contemporary topics are portrayed in the media and their impact on public perception (Shulman and Sweitzer, 2018). According to Chong and Druckman (2007), slight changes in linguistic choice of words in communication channels can have a substantial influence on the minds of the public. According to these researchers, the average person is significantly less supportive of the government giving "more welfare" than it is of the government offering "greater help to the poor" (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Frames are multiple methodologies of characterizing socio-political concerns, and these little adjustments in language are the basis of framing (De Vreese, 2005). Previous literature on framing theory attempted to explain media frames and media framing, as well as the way media messages potentially influence people's decisions and attitudes. Media frames, as defined by Gamson and Modigliani (1987), are key structuring principles or narrative techniques adopted by the media to offer significance to an ongoing set of circumstances. Goffman (1974) considered framing as a mechanism through which people use interpretative systems to interpret the content they experience. Kahneman and Tversky (1979) became the first to discuss how different demonstrations of similar topics and occurrences might influence publics' decisions (D'Angelo, 2017). According to their findings, when "losses" are featured in the news, people are more likely to take risks, and when "gains" are portrayed, they become more averse to risk. Past literature indicated several approaches through which news organizations often frame

topics and events. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) classified frames into five categories: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic implications, and morality. Among all the common techniques adopted by major news organizations is conflict framing, which helps to understand the role of conflict communication in the media. Entman (1993) stated that several news frames help in addressing issues, for example, frames that describe a dilemma, frames that analyse the cause of a particular dilemma, frames that make ethical decisions or reasoning, and frames that provide solutions. Entman went on to describe the way media chooses elements of perceived reality and highlights them by adopting any of the above four framing techniques. De Vreese (2005) believes that frames can be problem-specific when they are solely related to a certain subject, or general when they are suitable throughout topics, time, and cultural settings. Studying general frames, like the ones Entman proposed, is thus more scientific investigation to a greater extent because such frames may be more extensively extended through scientific disciplines (Zhou & Moy, 2007; De Vreese, 2005). Research in Framing theory has gotten increasingly complex in its mechanistic understanding of how humans receive media content over the last two decades. As stated by D'Angelo (2017), the effects of framing are not general since each person has such a unique set of traits that affect the effectiveness of frames. Consumers' socio-political learning, moral predispositions, and behavioural framework all have a significant impact on the way media frames are processed (Cacciatore et al., 2016). Therefore, an individual's socioeconomic status, political philosophy, and ethnically diverse identity may all impact their use of various media frames (Edy & Meirick, 2007). Each of these individual characteristics is associated with the strength of a frame (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Strong frames are those that have a specific attraction to the audience and the ability to convince in the face of opposing frames. Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) made a point that the strength of a frame is connected to its degree of recurrence, availability, and applicability. In addition, as the media can put topics and happenings to our notice, there is indeed a significant variance in how media frames influence people's decisions and attitudes (Kinder, 2007). Regardless of the varying power of media framing, public perception can be completely transformed if media content references particular beliefs or ideological ideas (Sniderman & Theriault, 2004). Cissel (2012) comparatively analysed the impact of multinational ownership and advertising income on big news outlets' narrative and emphasis following the Telecommunications Act of 1996 privatized the media industry. Carpenter (2007), in research on the reporting of the Iraq war by major and local newspapers of the Iraq War, confirmed that different frames are used by different news outlets. Carpenter's research found that local news outlets were more inclined to focus on people and the effects of a dispute

on their community. Framing study examines how historical media coverage of horrific events, like mass killings, might influence policy and social well-being. Horrific events are likely to get a lot of publicity. Schildkraut and Muschert (2014) discovered that each subsequent shooting incident is presented in compliance with the media cycle that considers each event like a brand-new occurrence, resulting in inadequate policy decisions. Similarly, Hawdon, Oksanen, and Räsänen (2012) revealed that media frames have ramifications for victimized communities in terms of the quantity and quality of media exposure they receive. Such journalism reveals media's lack of perspective in thoroughly analysing events, which may also result in ineffective policy implementation measures and cause significant harm to affected populations. To improve the usefulness of framing research, D'Angelo (2017) proposed utilizing Entman's (1993) four roles of framing to concretize when frames characterize an issue, understand the source of the problem, offer value judgments, or provide cures. Framing study that takes a deductive technique with predefined frames is more suited for drawing on known theories (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015), whereas inductive techniques are ideal when examining a novel phenomenon with little knowledge (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

However, there are other techniques to framing, Iyengar offers two main framing methods that are specifically pertinent to this inquiry. He differentiates between episodic and thematic frames (Iyengar, 1991). Thematic frames give collective or generic facts concerning topics, while episodic frames aim to humanize them (Iyengar, 1991). Episodic framing is built on intriguing examples; thus, it is fundamentally descriptive of problems (Iyengar, 1996). Thematic framing allows for more detailed, interpretative investigation (Iyengar, 1991). It represents topics in a broader and more abstract manner by situating them in a suitable situation related to history, geography, or so (Iyengar, 1996). Iyengar contends that news channels depend largely on episodic rather than thematic framing for a myriad of purposes, and among them, the significant one is the medium's visual characteristic, putting an emphasis on specific illustrations; one more explanation is the diminished demand for journalist specific-topic expertise through the usage of episodic rather than thematic framing.

Moreover, Wolfsfeld (1997) states in his political contest theory that the rivalry between social actors aiming to control the news outlets is an integral component of a greater contest for political power. In another way, framing enables social and political actors to identify what is pertinent and, more significantly, what is unimportant to a given topic. Research on frame building has enhanced understanding of how and why certain frames get accessibility to the popular media while others do not. Political influence and significance (Bennett, 1990; Ryan, 1991), cultural reflection (Benford & Snow, 2000), the sponsors' financial and cultural capital

(Carragee & Roefs, 2004; Ryan, Carragee, & Meinhofer, 2001), and their diplomatic skills all play a role in effectively impacting the frames used by media outlets in their news items (Pan & Kosicki, 2001). However, some studies on framing empirically examined mass media narrative by taking into consideration symbolic battles among social actors. Scholars usually placed the main organization in the framing technique with the individual journalist or with editorial staff, at the cost of organizational operations, ideological affiliations of the news outlet, market pressures, differential control of political and social actors, or international and domestic cultures and systems (Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011, p. 107).

3.3 HIERARCHY OF INFLUENCES MODEL

3.3.1 Origin and development

The hierarchy of influences is a model that describes different elements influencing news content on a scale ranging from the micro (individual) to the macro (social system). The concept, which is also termed as a theoretical approach, has grown to be recognized as one of the important concepts in the studies of journalism (Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, & Kinsey, 2005). The communication discipline, after World War II, primarily in the American perspective, concentrated on the practice and impact of media and thus developed a variety of widely recognized theoretical paradigms. Initial attempts to analyse media content and regulation, considered as "communicator studies", took longer to emerge and accept early theoretical viewpoints. A set of widely cited ethnographic studies on newsroom culture in the 1970s was subsequently added to the preliminary work on journalistic "gatekeeping" and social norms in the newsroom (Fishman, 1980; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). However, in those newsrooms, news content was created within a complex organizational and ideological structure, so it can be used to discover a means to arrange these varied sources of influence (more commonly termed as "media sociology") into a more holistic perspective. Sociologists Herbert Gans (1979) and Todd Gitlin (1980) brought up the subject of these media influences in their study, but Shoemaker and Reese organized these concepts into more concrete sets of elements that can be claimed to affect the dependent variable, media content, ultimately creating the "media agenda." Interpreting the message further structured these effects into the hierarchical model (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). The model has served to validate the study of a wide range of issues concerning the origination of news by offering a technique to situate influences within an interesting theoretical framework. However, this type of framework is suitable for all types of media content; the literature has prioritized the journalistic practice. Some have questioned

its lacking analytical attention, yet the hierarchy of influences may surely be considered as a theoretical approach by presenting a collection of ideas and orderly structure.

3.3.2 Levels of influences in media

3.3.2.1 Individual level

The individual level, noticeably symbolized as a bundle of overlapping rings, is at the heart of the hierarchy model, with the notion that these characteristics are important and relevant- even though the U.S. professional culture has been more inclined to believe that the individual can have some of those characteristics (– for example, partisan politics) in limbo in the endeavor to impartial dissociation. Several studies on journalists undertaken by sociologists and media academics (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, and Wilhoit, 2007) originated the concept that personal traits matter, and also that they relate to the overall well-being of the profession.

Individual level influences that may affect journalistic work are demographic factors like gender, age, education, and professional experiences (Willnat et al., 2013), as well as personality attributes, for instance, family ideals and political convictions (Patterson and Donsbach, 1996). On the other hand, prior literature indicates that severe socioeconomic inequities and financial constraints have a greater impact on the performance of journalists in emerging democratic systems (Hughes et al., 2016; Mellado and Humanes, 2012). Researchers, for instance, found that "lower salaries, an absence of organizational structure, and unstable (part-time) employment contracts significantly anticipate relatively poor observed liberty in Mexico" Hughes et al. (2016).

3.3.2.2 Routine level

Further than the individual level, journalists are influenced by routine level patterns of activities ingrained in their local working environment. These might extend from media ideals to impartiality itself as a "strategic practice" (Tuchman, 1972). Other routine practices that allow audience involvement and click optimization have been merged with pack journalism, inverted pyramid style of writing, and story framing (– for example, "horserace" reporting). Routines are frequently best observed by research conducted on the newsroom culture, where they can be most carefully monitored.

According to Reese and Shoemaker (2016), 'The routines level is associated with those behavioural designs that define the instant patterns of media activity... comprising implicit standards and systematized ordinances that are not necessarily clearly expressed'. Hanitzsch and Mellado (2011) and Hanitzsch et al. (2010) discovered that regulations, norms, and practices leave a significant impact on journalistic practice worldwide. However, under certain

moral and ethical situations, poor behaviour in journalism practice might grow habituated. For instance, in post-Ba'athist Iraq, the majority of media platforms were free from moral considerations on compensating an information source (Relly et al., 2015). According to Ornebring (2016), 'the custom of accepting payment to publish hit writings for corporate or political agendas devoid of disclosing its funding or sponsorship' is common in CEE states. The 'culture of corruption' has been identified as among the major impediments to the country's democracy in the post-communist era. One technique of curbing corruption in the professions is to promote professional ethical practices, as well as to implement self-regulatory systems.

3.3.2.3 Organizational level

The organizational level acknowledges that news is created through institutions by their own agendas and financial implications. Organizations must achieve a balance between business and professional interests while representing the values of ownership. Policy enforcement through the command structure, as represented by responsibilities on the organizational chart, can be recognized with the help of ethnographic analysis; however, these concerns are commonly the domain of media economy, with pertaining challenges of concentrated ownership, cross-ownership, and competing implications among news, entertainment, and non-media elements of the big corporation.

Newsroom editors, managers, and owners of media outlets are organizational factors that have an influence on journalism. Ornebring (2009) distinguishes between organizational and job-related professionalism to emphasize the contradictory character of a journalist's job: a proficient individual must conform his conduct to the company's objectives as well as norms and standards, which might clash. According to Reese and Shoemaker (2016), such issues are "clearly apparent all through times of societal transition". Following the end of communism, the CEE media environment underwent transformations such as media ownership expansion and the centralization and development of local corporate elites. In several situations of foreign control, ownership change had diverse effects on media independence, varying from diminished independence, commercialization, and tabloidization to competence of journalism (Stetka, 2012). Jungblut and Hoxha (2016) discovered a huge effect of journalist self-censorship in Balkan states due to 'intervention strategies by media groups and editors, more often for political or financial factors,' whereas Lani (2011) defines the Berlusconi syndrome, demanding that 'journalists conform to the objectives of communication moguls, instead the public interest'.

3.3.2.4 Extra-media level

Beyond the conventional institution lies what the initial version of *Mediating the Message* referred to as the "extra media" level, which encompassed forces outside the confines of media itself. Public relations, advertisement, and major news outlets are among them. Following versions enhanced this concept to a more theoretically advanced social-institutional level, one that incorporates the impacts attributable to media organizations operating identically to form a bigger institution, and in structured interaction with other power structures: political and financial. For instance, when *The New York Times* released what turned recognizable as the Pentagon Papers, it was acting as an agency, and when it was attended by *The Washington Post* and a handful of other news agencies across the country, they acted as an institution, experiencing similar threats of legal action from the judicial and political institutions, governed by Richard Nixon's regime.

Extra-media level, in the opinion of Reese and Shoemaker (2016), is "the macrolevel context aimed at media — the interaction amid financial, political, and social forces – spanning between corporation and the community overall". The comparative autonomy of journalism from political and financial concerns has been considerably examined (Hanretty, 2014; Ciaglia, 2013; McQuail, 1992). Political influence on media has been characterized in the Western setup as political congruence (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), political devotion (McQuail, 1992), or lobbying (Ciaglia, 2013). Strong political controls or burdens on media have been termed as party takeover of media in (post)authoritarian, and (post)communist nations (Bajomi-Lázár, 2014). In the West, economic effects are expressed in the context of media ownership, advertisement, and potential revenues (Hanretty, 2014; Hanitzsch et al., 2010), whereas media capture (Relly and Zanger, 2016; Mungiu-Pippidi, 2008) and instrumentalization (Stetka, 2012; Mancini, 2012) are employed to define the way media became subjugated to the state authority, commercial, and political brokers.

3.3.2.5 Social system level

The most macro – and significantly diversified – level was first referred to as "ideological," in the general meaning of "ideas in the service of interests." Such that, how do all of the preceding levels interact to achieve a foreseeable ideological outcome? At this level, journalism may be viewed as a component of a holistic, sociocultural system, incorporating a few of the critical analyses of news presented by, such as, Gitlin (1980) and the Glasgow Media Group (1976). This level has been called the social systems level to best reflect the wider, more dynamic systems wherein journalism functions. This also provides for a broader viewpoint beyond the more typically culturally embedded practice of ideological assessment.

In emerging democracies, economics, politics, and media are frequently strongly intertwined, forming a web of interdependence. These multi-organizational links are analysed at the most macro-level, considering the media's role in the greater societal division of power. According to Lohner et al. (2017), Journalism's institutional circumstances in transitional media industries are formed by previous powers and prevailing systems of power, or, more clearly, "the mix patterns of political rule and political systems involving a discrepancy of doctrines and a greater amount of clientelism." Clientelism, in particular, has been identified as a key determinant of the correlation between the culture and framework of new democratic states, with a significant impression on the media market (Lohner et al., 2017; Camaj, 2016; Örnebring, 2012; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hallin and Papathanassopoulos, 2002). According to Örnebring (2012), 'informal clientelism that encompasses politics, economics, and other fields (such as the media) may be engaged in different resource-related favor transactions.' Whereas scholars differ on if clientelist channels are steady and consistent (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) or unstable (Örnebring, 2012), they all believe that media entities are 'incorporated into the clientelistic structure as a product or service' (Örnebring, 2012). For that reason, Camaj (2016) has highlighted "the influence of clientelist connections between media corporations and political control on the liberty of journalists to establish the media narrative" in Balkan nations. According to Jungblut and Hoxha (2016), in the Western Balkans journalists prevent disagreement with the economic and political elites, resulting in a "system of coexistence in which they trade favours."

3.4 PROPAGANDA

3.4.1 Development of Propaganda

The term "propaganda" is generally complex to explain. According to Ellul (1965), it has been widely characterized as "an open assault against man", similar to "an organized exploitation of fact and data as well as their formal protections" (Cunningham, 2002), "just an instrument" (Lasswell, 1937), and "a pragmatic technique of influence" (Taylor, 1992). Nonetheless, each concept of propaganda bears the same explanation of propaganda's objective – to steer public commiserations and preferences. Whereas its usage in this context can be seen in nearly all sectors of social living, through political to community health interventions, its application in war situations demands a closer examination. Since all democratic nations involve, in any case, the expression of public assent to participate in a conflict, propaganda performs a critical function in war: it can be used to build encouragement to enter a war, to sustain public backing

for a continuing war, to rationalize or justify specific activities in wartime, to steer common acceptance toward some overseas or external organizations or straying from others, to demoralize opponents influences, to motivate revolts against the enemy military or government, or to demoralize the opposing force. Propaganda has become so important during the war that it has been claimed that the struggle for public opinion is just as crucial as the participation of troops on the front lines (Hiebert, 2003).

Propaganda often includes words, visuals, sounds, national events, and other important cultural symbols reflected with the goal of influencing public perception. Such techniques and instruments have been identified as being used since ancient times in war situations and armed conflicts (Taylor, 2003; 1990) and are believed to be used since the start of modern warfare. WWI inspired scholarly attention towards the use of propaganda during warfare, and experts started releasing assessments on WWI propaganda, resulting in the emergence of a 'science' of propaganda. Walter Lippmann, a public opinion analyst and political strategist, conducted studies of propaganda by using a cognitive perspective that identified the linkage among perception, beliefs, and actions (Lippmann, 1998; 1922). He added, "those images [in one's brain] that are carried upon by groups of individuals, or by individuals acting in the interests of groups, are Public Opinion with block capitals," (Lippmann, 1998; 1922). Lippmann went on to claim that journalism could not and should not be counted on to report the information fairly; instead, he advocated for the press to be managed by specialists whose task was to arrange popular opinion for the media (1998; 1922). Despite being condemned at the time for being overly instrumentalist, his theories were enormously powerful; Ellul, Herman, and Chomsky, for example, drew from his concepts about the mass media, even rejecting the advantages identified by Lippmann of elite or 'experienced professional' involvement with the media.

Lasswell's Propaganda Technique in the World War (1927a) was one of the most important pioneer efforts by scholars like Bernays (1942), Lippmann (1922), and Bruntz (1938). Based on Lippmann's psychological perspective, Lasswell (1927) proposed an important definition of propaganda as "the control of common emotions through benefiting from key symbols" (Lasswell, 1927). Lasswell's concept of propaganda is crucial for multiple factors. First, he recognizes that propaganda works through organizing culturally relevant elements such as music, the state flag, art pieces, and speech so as to direct general opinion. Second, he acknowledged the propagandist's role in moments of warfare and crisis stating that "enhancing positive views toward his objective is propagandist's topmost priority, to turn negative views

toward it, and to persuade the neutral, or, at its worst, to protect them from developing an opposing tendency" (Lasswell, 1927). Third, he considered propaganda as purposeful and planned. His understanding of the propaganda's role during war shared many similarities with that of his peers in public relations and marketing; for example, Bernays contended that propaganda mainly includes the following factors: to raise "the motivation level of your own nation, undermine the self-esteem of your opponents, and earn the confidence of the neutrals" (1942).

Scholars from Germany further added to the knowledge of propaganda. Hadamovsky, for example, who was appointed as Chief of Staff of the Nazi Party's Central Propaganda Office published *Propaganda and National Power* (1933). Drawing from the concept of Lasswell and others, Hadamovsky added an understanding of the power of mockery, arguing that "to poke fun at the opponent is equally crucial to panic his resilience as well as the significance of the political, military, and public opinion as proposed as a consolidated conviction. As a result, Hadamovsky (1933) added, "those leading a war are obliged to also lead political and general opinion".

3.4.2 Propaganda Model

The propaganda model is a political-economic conceptual framework put forward by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky to discuss how propaganda and structural prejudices operate in capitalist communication channels. The concept aims to describe how people are controlled and how support for financial, socio-political policies, both domestic and international, is "manufactured" in the mainstream sphere with the help of this propaganda. According to the theory, the structure of commercial media (for example, through advertisement, centralization of media ownership, or state sources) generates an intrinsic conflict of interest and hence functions as propaganda towards anti-democratic factors. The propaganda model, initially introduced in their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988), sees commercial media as enterprises involved in increasing sales and viewers and audiences—to other businesses (advertising agencies) instead of the quest for quality journalism in the interest of the nation. Chomsky comments on the media's "sociocultural aim," "the study of organizations and the way they work must be rigorously avoided, except from ideologues or a rather minor scientific literature". The theory proposes five broad categories of "filters" that govern the sort of news disseminated by news media. These five types are: ownership of the medium, financing sources for the medium, sourcing, flak, and anti-

communism or "fear ideology." The first three are typically recognized as the most significant by the scholars. Chomsky and Herman modified the fifth component to relate to the "War on Terror" and "counterterrorism", which they claim work in just the same way, in editions released after the 9/11 terror attacks on United States in 2001. Even though the model was primarily focused on American media, Herman and Chomsky think the model is potentially relevant to any state possessing the underlying financial system and organizational features that the model posits as the origin of media prejudices. Many experts have validated this view, and the media's role of the propaganda has subsequently been statistically studied throughout Western Europe and Latin America.

3.5 CENSORSHIP

3.5.1 Definition

Censorship is the repression of freedom of expression, dissemination of information, or further modes of communication. Its implementation is requisite if the content is considered undesirable, destructive, vulnerable, or "inconvenient." State authorities, corporate companies, and other regulating bodies can all exercise censorship. Governmental constraints obstruct journalists' accessibility to the truth and their ability to do their jobs effectively across the world. Their capacity to practice their free expression and their rights as journalists and citizens is drastically curtailed. During wars and conflicts, the government is often the principal source of media and advancement. As a result, such impediments and constraints are frequently perpetuated through a variety of techniques. Nevertheless, the practice of censorship and propaganda during times of conflict is nothing unprecedented. Throughout World War I, all parties engaged enacted legislation forbidding the release of material disclosing military activities or opposing the government and the military in the press. There were several grounds for this, including concealing the facts of the war, denouncing the opponent, strengthening the nation's morale, motivating soldiers to keep fighting, and so forth. These activities are still performed for a similar purpose more than a century later. Furthermore, in conflict situations, political power may use censorship to repress an imminent threat (for example, mutiny or mass protests) by degrading opposing voices and political rivals. As a result, it works first and foremost to protect the state's rule while ensuring its permanence in control. Yet, preventing the mediation of other viewpoints reduces the likelihood of a peaceful outcome. Additionally, the framing of facts and events is critical in forming popular opinion and shaping national policy. Thus, the government makes it impossible for anybody to challenge its philosophy or

policies by keeping them entirely in the dark, but in doing so, the destructive cycle of conflict that is always inevitable is sustained by keeping communities entirely in the dark.

3.5.2 Censorship during conflicts:

Restrictions from states and censorship can come in many forms in conflict areas; for example, state obstacles may manifest as physical and violent attacks on journalists or news outlets. The daily life of many journalists in the world involves harassment, extortion, blackmail, arbitrary detention, and workplace closures. By creating a fearful environment, these violent acts intend to discourage news organizations from broadcasting sensitive topics and spreading awareness among the masses about the facts of the conflict. Additionally, censorship can manifest itself in numerous ways through coercive information control by government power.

- In a conflict environment, the leaders may have a stranglehold on facts and data and also have the capacity to shape the war's narratives. For example, they may purposefully withhold important details by denying discussions or talks with news outlets.
- The informational content might also be rigorously regulated by state authorities to ensure conformity with their rules. For example, tight editorial norms are enforced on news agencies, and limitations are enforced on the publicly published information.
- Political authorities can also prevent the development of new private media outlets while simultaneously refusing permission to journalists eager to travel to crisis regions.
- Also, during wartime, state agencies can exert major sway over the media. Stringent laws also apply to information on the web, including social networking sites and blog posts. Governments in certain countries often ban the internet, imprison bloggers, and prohibit the use of social networking platforms. Regrettably, the liberalization of digital platforms has tremendously aided the spread of misinformation and propagandist narratives. The government can purposefully disseminate false material for their benefit and purposes. As a result, those narratives aim to promote their conflict's tactics, and military activities, and to mute injustice.

3.5.3 Self-Censorship

For an extended period, the concept of censorship being a part of financial or political restraint has been studied, with censorship as a source of financial or political restraint being an essential element of it (Bernhard and Dohle, 2014; Mizuno, 2011; Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Donsbach, 2000; McQuail, 2000; Flegel and Chaffee, 1971; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). But the problem of self-censorship in news making has yet to be thoroughly investigated (Cook and Heilmann,

2013; Lee and Chan, 2009). Its origins may be traced back to the study on news development – particularly African media outlets – and newsroom ethnographic research (Skjerdal, 2008; Bourgault, 1993; Soloski, 1989; Martin, 1983; Altheide, 1976; Warner, 1971; Breed, 1955). The personal self-control of one's civil liberties is called self-censorship. Journalists, particularly, recognize that documenting a certain incident might cause more damage (to themselves or to other people) than benefit and, as a result, they refrain from reporting on it. According to Cook and Heilmann (2013), it can be classified into two categories: public self-censorship and private self-censorship. Public self-censorship is a person's response to an openly existent filtering agent. As a result of that pre-existing censor, journalists assimilate the restrictions of what they are permitted to report and then self-censor suitably. The source of censorship and the journalist is seen as the similar person under the definition of private self-censorship. 'Private self-censorship is an example of an intrapersonal interaction inside an actor between diverse perspectives according to their own opinions (Cook & Heilmann; 2013). This indicates that journalists may control themselves based on an evaluation of several standards such as professionalism (like, an important event) and moral standards (like, an informative information that may destroy somebody's life).

There is a significant disparity between objective and perceived influences on news-making (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). The former statistically aligns with a 'real-world event', like financial constraints, but may not be viewed as having a significant influence by journalists. The latter dwells completely in the thoughts of the individual journalists (Hanitzsch and Hoxha, 2014), and their perspective is influenced by how objective factors are manifested in news-making. As a result, objective influences may not be accurately delineated while interviewing people since respondents may be unaware of them. The concept of self-censorship must be understood as a supposed impact on the production of news. The choice to suppress a narrative is not always based on real-life events. Instead, it corresponds to the judgments and opinions of the journalists. Thus, journalists may self-censor a story if they believe that public perception – as they notice it – is strongly opposed to their given perspective or understanding of an occurrence. Hence, a journalist may wish to minimize social exclusion. Nevertheless, observed public opinion is not necessarily the same as factual public perception (Scheufele and Moy, 2000; Noelle-Neumann, 1993). Thus, the choice to self-censor an article is not always grounded in true events but rather on the journalist's interpretation of them. As a result, in accordance with the study of Hanitzsch et al. (2010) on presumed influencing factors on the journalistic structure of news making, six distinct roots of self-censorship in news production can be theoretically characterized: professional, procedural, organizational, reference group-based, economic, and

political self-censorship. Professional self-censorship is a response to a report or sections of a report that do not adhere to professional standards, practices, and customs. Thus, a journalist perceives a contradiction between releasing the article and "what is generally perceived to be sound and ethical journalistic practice" (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). Procedural self-censorship refers to a choice made in the news creation process depending on the operational repercussions. In journalism, resources — particularly time, budget, and space — are limited. Therefore, a journalist may opt not to write about something because it is too expensive or too near to a target timeline. The withholding of information as a result of organizational systems and procedures is referred to as organizational self-censorship. This encompasses both the newsroom itself — with editorial and supervision teams — and also the management level and administration of the media house. A dismissal of a news piece because it may not be in accordance with the manager's standards is a form of organizational self-censorship. The decision to unfollow an event based on the belief that friends, coworkers, or readers would disagree with the article's subject is referred to as reference group-based self-censorship. As aforementioned, this concept may well be understood in part in accordance with Noelle Neumann's (1993) Spiral of Silence. Economic self-censorship highlights the reality that news outlets are "profit-driven enterprises that vie in economies" (Hanitzsch et al., 2010). Consequently, a journalist's decision may indeed be influenced by a media organization's financial estimates, sponsors' priorities, circulation data, or the proportion of the subscriber base. Furthermore, political self-censorship has its roots in politics which defines its nature "as the decision to unfollow a topic because of political ends". This might be because the article contradicts somebody else's perspective (such as prominent politicians) or because it contradicts one's own individual perspective. The former is a type of public political self-censorship, whereas the latter is a form of private political self-censorship.

3.6 THEORIES ANALOGY

Above mentioned four theories are not only the theoretical framework to do the following research but they also create a systematic structure to create a theoretical design. All four of them are interlinked with each other in a way that it is important to understand how the war on terrorism is framed in Pakistan, yet this framing may include several other indicators which should be taken into consideration. It is also important to examine if the framing or reporting of the conflict is influenced by any or some factors either external or internal factors. Generally, Framing includes the priming and agenda-setting of the information, but it has also much to do

with the contextual surroundings of the actors working on a given subject. Likewise, with factors influencing the framing of the news, censorship also plays an important role in framing the news content. Either the journalist himself self-censors the news report or the organization or other entities control the flow of information. That means including several factors influencing news framing, censorship is also among the indicators. As agenda setting is one of the two elements of framing theory, the same way propaganda is also utilized to win over some defined agenda. It can be 'us vs. them' or it can be 'this over that'. That means there is always some agenda media is working on specially during conflict or war situations, which means it can be propaganda against any of the two parties involved in the conflict. With propaganda, comes censorship. Both may be used to vilify or ridicule the enemy and glorify the image of the favoured party. Censorship leads to the suppression of the information, and it can be done through having the lead position in other three theoretical approaches. On the basis of certain propaganda or agenda, a journalist has to go through censorship or employ self-censorship being influenced by certain factors and create the news within certain frames.

To detail it further, Framing is used to get the desired interpretation of news events by the audience, but to get the desired results, the news frames should have the appropriate representation. And to have the appropriate representation or production of the news frames, it is necessary to examine the role of various factors in influencing the process of framing. Research in framing may be divided into studies that look at frames as independent or dependent factors. Framing studies on dependent variables have investigated the function of numerous elements in determining the establishment or change of frames. At the media level, various social or organizational structural factors, as well as personal or ideological factors, can impact reporters' formulation of an event (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Tuchman, 1978).

For example, journalists' framing of an event may be influenced by several factors discussed by Shoemaker and Reese Hierarchy Model (1996, 2014); individual-level factors, professional routines and practices, organizational characteristics, institutions interacting with media entities, and the larger social system. And if the media frame is used to influence the behavior of the audience, the same way propaganda is used to manufacture the consent of the public. Similarly, the way Hierarchy model of influences is influencing journalistic routine of news framing, the same way propaganda model influences media content based on its five filters discussed above. By the same token, the application of Censorship or even self-censorship leaves some impact on the dissemination of information to the public.

Manzoor, Safdar, and Khan (2019) discussed the application of these concepts of media effects during the process of news production. It was found that all three theories are included in the

media content at some point throughout the process of news making. It discussed how raw data is processed by news organizations. Following that, organizational demands, journalistic habits, journalistic ethics, and other influences affect news processing. As a result, the media organization defines its agenda for the specific topic. The specific topic is then presented in a specific viewpoint by incorporating or eliminating certain data in the next stage. Afterward, several propaganda strategies emphasize the desired information among the public, influencing the public view of society. Media organizations are thought to be opinion makers. When individuals receive information from these entities, they place a high value on them and place their faith in them. They are, however, uninformed that news does not hit them as a first-hand report of facts, but that several processes impact it at different stages.

3.7 MAIN FINDINGS OF THEORIES RELATED TO THE RESEARCH TOPIC

Several studies have been conducted on these theories, starting from traditional war or conflict reporting to the embedment of journalists. Scholars have talked about the role of framing in wars through using different approaches to it. For example, regarding the role of embedment in war reporting, Pfau et al. (2004) using framing in their study examined if the coverage by embeds for the initial days of the U.S. attack on Iraq in 2003 reported newsprints that were either more decontextualized in structure or more positive in nature. Embedded media reports of the initial days of Operation "Iraqi Freedom" were examined against non-embedded, known as "unilateral" reporting of media, and newspaper reportage of "Iraqi Freedom" was probed against the initial days of US combat missions in Operations "Enduring Freedom" and "Desert Storm." According to the findings, embeds published news pieces with more episodic frames in Operation "Iraqi Freedom" than neither non-embeds in "Iraqi Freedom" nor entire reporting of Operation "Enduring Freedom." According to the findings of this research, when journalists are embedded, they write more customized articles focused on the realities of the soldiers and units served. This research also predicted that embedded journalism would result in more favourable press coverage of the military in general, and of its troops in particular. This anticipation was founded on the premise that embedding allows reporters to become part of specific military units, even though for a limited time. This helps journalists to become acquainted with the troops they are reporting and to absorb the ideals of the combat unit in which they are deployed. This prediction was verified by the results.

Another study on framing analysing the role of embedment conducted by Cooper and Kuypers (2004) discovered in their research that the news reports produced by embedded reporters

depicted Iraqi vulnerability, abandonment, or collapse more frequently than the writing produced by their unilateral colleagues during the Iraq war (Fahmy & Johnson, 2005). The stories written by independent journalists reflected higher distrust on American objectives and resentment against Americans for the devastation created by the war (Fahmy & Johnson, 2005). Journalism formed under the concept of embedded coverage featured more frames of civilians celebrating the overthrow of the Hussein dictatorship, whereas unilateral writings questioned the efficiency of Allied war strategy (Cooper and Kuypers, 2004). Embedded stories depicted the US assault as a remarkable achievement, with numerous cordial exchanges between troops and Iraqi citizens (Fahmy & Johnson, 2005). As per Cooper and Kuypers (2004), the variations between unilateral and embeds reporting might be attributed to the reporters' circumstances. Briefly defined, those who had longer contact with the soldiers reported the events they witnessed firsthand, which featured more fight. Those who were not close to the combat, on the other hand, observed the insecure and unpredictable nature of warfare (Cooper and Kuypers, 2004).

Also, according to Wasilow (2017), the reports published by embedded reporters during the Canadian operation in Afghanistan focused mostly on military issues and Canadian troops. She added that Canadian embedded media did not take enough advantage of the CFMEP's dis-embedding function to create pieces 'off the wire,' a feature specific to the Canadian programming. The ability to dis-embed has the opportunity to decrease framing concerns that cause the soda straw effect, which concentrates journalists' interest in the troops. Wasilow (2017) believes that the embedded journalists chose not to take advantage of their ability to de-embed owing to the surge of inexperienced or incompetent journalists that joined the CFMEP to switch the proficient journalists who sought break as a consequence of the long-running war. She concluded that the framework of the CFMEP embed policy resulted in stories that were too centred on the troops and not enough on human-centred initiatives.

Fahmy and Johnson (2005) discovered in their research about the hierarchy of influences model that journalists assume that individual-level factors like personal values and professional ideals or standards prove to be more effective on embedded coverage than extra-media influences like military terms and concepts and the Pentagon media training program, as well as factors like the native language of the country and the Iraqi customs. These findings do not corroborate the "direction" of influence proposed by Shoemaker and Reese, and also the frame building analyses claiming that extra-media elements have a greater influence on news reporting principles than individual factors. However, in their later research, Fahmy and Johnson (2012) examined the Shoemaker and Reese (1996) hierarchy-of-influences model, which investigated

how micro- and macro-level factors impact the framework of news-gathering. According to the researchers, every level does have its own spectrum of effect, although higher-level factors have a massive impact than lower-level aspects. Journalistic routines were believed to be the most effective throughout the Iraq attack. After the military conflict, the cultural level was the second most influential aspect, and this was the third most significant factor well before the occupation period finished. This research, similar to their previous finding (2005), revealed that professional ideals and standards had the biggest effect on embedded journalists (Shin et al., 2005). Professional duties or standards ranked top among individual-level influences impacting views of embedded coverage, and two journalistic routine activities (embeds did not move out without the troops and the bonds with the regiment they were attached with) throughout the invasion period ranked closer to the top. The findings of the research were confined to what embeds perceived to be the most important factors influencing their job. According to previous literature, reporters may have undervalued the importance of extra-media and cultural influences on views toward censoring and freedom of the press.

In addition, when compared to the invasion period, journalists were more aware of the effect of outside influences. During the occupation period, experience with Iraqi society and worries over personal protection were considered to have a higher impact on conflict reportage. After the combat battle stopped, journalists became substantially more anxious over their protection. Consequently, the understanding of Iraqi culture had a greater influence on their job after the military conflict in Iraq ended. Since unilaterals needed to be acquainted with cultural values, embedded journalists had a much easier time of it throughout the invading phase (Fahmy and Johnson, 2007; PEJ, 2007; Spinner, 2006). In terms of individual-level factors, almost all journalists had deep opinions regarding the war. Embeds stated that their opinions regarding the war had a bigger influence on war reporting when the objective shifted from attacking to occupying Iraq, which is consistent with Patterson and Donsbach's (1996) conclusion that journalists' individual beliefs can influence their content choices.

While the employment of propaganda in times of war and conflicts is not new, the methodical evolution of propaganda as a part of warfare machinery is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Nwankpa (2021) investigated the propagandistic tactics that were entrenched in the US-driven invasion in Iraq in 2003. The research centred on how the United States exploited propaganda to lead a hesitant world into the Iraq war in 2003. It conducted a mixed method approach, content analysis of Time and Newsweek reporting of the conflict in order to detect the US propaganda embedded in their reporting. To obtain credible solutions to the research problem, four essential research questions were posed. Question one inquired if the United States

administration used propaganda to further the objective of the war. The analysis indicated that Washington used propaganda to an exceptional extent in order to gain worldwide favour for the invasion. The second research question looked at the amount and extent to which Washington's propaganda was reported in the Time and Newsweek publications. It was discovered that Time published a maximum of 35 propaganda pieces (64.8 percent), whereas Newsweek published approximately 19, accounting for 35.2 percent of all encrypted propaganda tactics. The third research question centred on the mainstream press utilized by the United States to communicate its propaganda. In addition to the mainstream media, it was discovered that America disseminated propaganda using direct contacts, loudspeakers, pamphlets, anonymous phone calls, and lectures at both domestic and global forums. In the fourth research question, it was explored whether US propaganda helped popularize the conflict. The results illustrated that, despite a substantial amount of propaganda, America was unable to win UN and global favour for the invasion. It headed an unsuccessful military mission in Iraq.

In his work, Kellner (2004) explains that during the Iraq war (2003), the US broadcasting network served as a channel for Bush presidency and Pentagon propaganda. While the clear and direct war goals were to close down Iraq's "atomic weapons" and thereby implement UN resolutions mandating that Iraq completely remove its lethal weapons, as the Bush government was hostile against Iraq, it had several ulterior motives, like the advancement of a new philosophy of pre-emptive attacks, rule over Iraqi oil, and creating a mainstream media freak show which would support Bush's success in the 2004 presidential race. In this research, the author examined the many types of media propaganda produced by the Bush presidency. He stated that the United States' television stations aided Bush in furthering his mission, but that the media sensation of an American military victory was devolving into a poor spectacle of a mess, undermining the Bush government's justification for the war. Censorship has long been an element of wartime. In their study, Johnson and Fahmy (2009) investigated a survey of embedded reporters from across the world to learn about their views on freedom of the press and the extent to which they feel their reporting was censored throughout the War in Iraq. According to their results, the majority of journalists adopted a framework of social responsibility to press freedom throughout the war, indicating that the demands of the press and the troops must be reconciled. Generally, embedded journalists reported negligible censorship in Iraq and claimed that there was not any inclusion of self-censorship in their reports.

According to surveys of embeds, most of them appreciated the embed concept (Fahmy & Johnson, 2005; Ganey, 2004; Shin et al., 2005). At minimum, single justification embedded reporters appreciated the concept, was their belief that the troops did nothing to censor their reporting. When questioned how seriously the armed services regulated embedded correspondents, over 60% answered they were subjected to minimal, if there was any, censorship. And over 70% indicated the embedding technique enabled them to fulfil their social obligation to comprehensively cover the war, citing the public's "right to be informed" during the warfare. The majority of journalists stated that the constraints were imposed not by the troops but by the structure of the embedding system. Being assigned with certain troops hampered their ability to travel and their exposure to information outside of the troops. Nevertheless, almost 20% reported that their reporting was limited. Most reported that, since they had easy accessibility to the troops, some journalists were posted with units whose superiors were less helpful with details. Others who felt, they did not have comprehensive exposure to military data explained that this was because of the fact that military and media aims did not usually align.

On the other hand, Arzon (2005) also examined Iraq war reporting considering the necessity of public interest as well as the right of the people to gain insights. The researcher investigated if censorship existed in the United States journalism and, if it does, whether this violates the public interest criterion and the right to access information. He discovered that the embedding approach, political interference, market spurs, and the media industry substantially suppressed US war reporting, infringing on the people's right to access facts and the FCC's (Federal Communications Commission) public interest mandate. He had also investigated an issue with media reporting that creates a new type of censorship. The journalism on Iraq war is an indication of this different variant of censorship, wherein the Pentagon collaborates, and the media is accommodating, resulting in bad reportage, distortion, and infringement of the right to access facts. Arzon (2005) explained that the media censorship is a result of political influence and embedment. Since journalism was established as an institution, the society questions the press's position to provide enough content. This relationship produces friction in wartime since the demand for security must be considered with the press freedom. The dilemma of inadequate war reporting is no more the effect of military control, but of self-censorship by the media, ending in a deficient public repository of data. He added these results must be investigated since distorted information or an inadequate information can have a significant impact on popular support for military involvement depending on information learned through the media.

3.8 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK RELEVANCE

The theoretical framework fits in all approaches used in this research study. Since all these approaches are interlinked with each other so it is important to utilize all of them on the basis of certain conditions driven by my research questions and hypotheses. The study is not just looking into the framing of the war news, but it is also investigating the indicators behind such news frames. Embedment is one of the indicators influencing war reporting, but this definition of embedment is taken from the previous wars when embedment was utilized by the USA specially during Iraq war. But in this research, it is important to find or understand the definition of embedded journalism in the context of Pakistani scenario, if it is following the similar strategy of the American embedment or has some other scheme to follow since it is covering the war within the country not between two countries. Thus, it is important to use above mentioned theories to understand embedment in Pakistani scenario on the basis of certain indicators which have already been indicated in the American embedment policy. Hence, including content analysis of the news pieces reported by journalists, the research covers testimonials of journalists on the basis of war reporting indicators mentioned in this study.

CHAPTER 4

TALIBANIZATION IN PAKISTAN

4.1 OVERVIEW

Taliban is a militant Islamist group that emerged in Afghanistan in the mid-1990s. Its origins can be traced back to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, when the country was plunged into a long and brutal civil war (1992-1996). During this time, various mujahideen factions fought against the Soviet-backed government, with the support of the United States and other Western countries, as well as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Long-term conflict with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan justified jihad as a fair fight, so those participating in it—including Afghan people, Pakistanis, and foreign jihadists were given the name mujahideen³⁰ and were supplied with the most cutting-edge weapons. However, after the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, the country descended into chaos, with different factions vying for power. In 1994, a group of Pashtun religious students (Talibs) from southern Afghanistan formed the Taliban, with the goal of establishing an Islamic state based on their interpretation of Shariah law. The group quickly gained support among the Pashtun population, who were tired of the lawlessness and corruption of the various warlords who controlled different parts of the country. By 1996, the Taliban had seized control of Kabul and established the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, which was recognized by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. However, the Taliban's harsh interpretation of Islam and their treatment of women and minorities soon drew international condemnation.

In 2001, following the September 11 attacks in the United States, the Taliban was ousted from power by a US-led coalition. However, the group continued to launch attacks against the Afghan government and foreign forces, and in recent years has regained control of much of the country. The emergence of the Taliban was fuelled by a complex mix of factors, including the Soviet invasion, the chaos and violence of the civil war, the failure of successive Afghan governments to establish security and provide basic services, and the support of external factors such as Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The group's rise to power also reflected the deep-seated ethnic and sectarian tensions that have long plagued Afghanistan. The waves of violence and extremism that have swept through Pakistan for numerous years are commonly attributed to the Taliban's militancy. Because the US blamed Pakistan for maintaining its support for the

³⁰ Guerrilla Islamist fighters

Taliban, an accusation which it strongly dismissed and supported the US during an operation against overthrowing the Taliban regime from Afghanistan (2002) and capturing all those involved in the 9/11 incident. But the outcast Taliban leaders in Pakistan started reuniting with one another in the middle of 2002 and later internal conflicts started within Pakistan as a consequence of supporting the US-led War against Terrorism in the name of Operation Enduring Freedom. Since then (2001), there has been a severe insurgency raging in the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) regions³¹. The tribal regions of South and North Waziristan³², Bajaur³³, and other localities have been severely affected by terrorism for many years, and the other beautiful valleys have experienced a serious upsurge in militancy (Sultana, 2008). Considering how frequently and horribly these tragedies occur, the country as a whole is not exempt from them. The number of terrorist incidents has been seen increasing every other year in different parts of the country. The use of improvised explosives, roadside bombings, and suicide attacks is widespread all across the country. Several explanations attempt to explain why there is so much violence and terrorism in Pakistan, but a few of them tend to be more widely accepted since they are proven by facts (Sultana, 2008). The first explanation emphasizes that the threat posed by the Taliban or the increase in terrorism is the result of succeeding governments' concern in endorsing Islam as the character of the state and of Islamist groups as exponents of Islamic nationhood, which has given the Islamists a chance to increase their impact in the public domain. Due to the fact that the state's officials are now unable to deal ruthlessly with Islamist or Jihadi groups, the insurgency has gotten to the point that it has become hard to control. This perspective also addresses nation-building efforts that turned Islam into a political issue and gave Islamists a chance to take the lead. Everyone, from the locals to the international community, shares this perspective. It has also created the image that the regime of President

³¹ Map is available at the end after the annexures.

³² A mountainous region in northwest Pakistan primarily inhabited by the Pashtun ethnic group, was historically part of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Known for its rugged terrain, tribal traditions, and complex socio-political dynamics, Waziristan is divided into two main regions: North Waziristan and South Waziristan. These areas have been significant in geopolitical and security concerns, associated with militancy and insurgency, making the region a focal point in the global war on terror. In 2018, the Pakistani government merged the former FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, resulting in North Waziristan and South Waziristan being administered as districts within the province. This merger aimed to mainstream the tribal areas into the national administrative and legal framework.

³³ Situated in the northwestern part of Pakistan near the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, is a region historically inhabited by the Pashtun ethnic group. Recognized for its mountainous terrain, Bajaur, like other areas in the tribal belt, has grappled with security challenges, including militancy and insurgency. Until 2018, Bajaur was part of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). However, the Pakistani government merged it with the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as part of a broader initiative to integrate tribal areas into the national administrative and legal framework. This merger aimed to foster development, implement governance reforms, and enhance the integration of tribal regions into the broader structure of Pakistan.

General Pervez Musharraf may have instigated such measures alone in order to show its competence or influence as the sole entity capable of battling global terrorism in service of the global community in consideration of extending its administration (Sultana, 2008).

According to another explanation, these incidents have become more frequent as a result of succeeding governments' active participation in regional conflicts such as Afghanistan and Kashmir³⁴ over the years, which helped bring former combatants home to fight sectarian conflicts and fight against pro-Western governments in Pakistan. Attacks on the security services and planned assassinations of politicians, religious experts, or local leaders who support the government are certain examples of substantial facts confirming this perspective (Sultana, 2008). Another explanation emphasizes that Pakistan was forced into conflicts like that in Afghanistan in the 1980s as a result of foreign pressures. Pakistan is currently experiencing major repercussions in the fight against terrorism like a frontline country, which has plagued the nation with an increase in the frequency of terrorist incidents (Sultana, 2008). More detailed research on the issue demonstrates that all these elements—not just one—contributed to Pakistan's current plight. It is imperative to examine the elements that contributed to the nation's unrest, and it is also essential to come to rational solutions about how to tackle the threat of extremism.

4.2 ISLAMIZATION LEADS TO TALIBANIZATION

Since democracy reflects liberal norms, which define religion as just a personal affair instead of a life-essential that drives politics and other key factors, Islam's doctrine emphasizes ethical and spiritual values. Due to its inception based on religious beliefs, it is imperative to clarify the position of Islam in the Pakistan's political structure from the very beginning. Without a question, the Muslims who lived in an undivided India accepted Islam as their political orientation, but once Pakistan became an autonomous state, democracy was claimed to be the system's guiding political tenet. It was necessary to create their connection and protect the essence of democratic principles in setting up the new country's power structure. However, during those formative days, the leaders fused the two incompatible ideologies and fostered the

³⁴ The Kashmir conflict is a protracted territorial dispute primarily between India and Pakistan, both asserting claims over the region. Originating from the 1947 partition of British India into independent states, India and Pakistan, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir, with a Muslim majority population and a Hindu ruler, became a central point of contention. Resulting in multiple wars and military skirmishes between India and Pakistan, the Kashmir conflict remains a persistent source of tension, significantly influencing the overall relationship between the two countries. The region has experienced enduring violence and insurgency, with varying opinions on the status of Kashmir and the right to self-determination for its people. Despite international efforts, including UN resolutions, attempts to achieve a lasting and peaceful resolution have proven elusive.

type of political instability that the nation still experiences even today at such a big level. The importance of religion in the country's constitutional system was recognized in the Objective Resolution 1949, which came to be known as the benchmark for constitution-making in Pakistan. For instance, clause 4 of the Objective Resolution highlighted, “the norms defined by Islam must be strictly followed”; it also emphasized, “Muslims will be able to lead their lives individually and communally in conformity with the guidelines and standards of Islam as laid out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah” (Mahmood, 1990). The position of religion in the country's political and constitutional system was stressed by these measures, diluting the centrality of democratic ideals that Jinnah had defended in his historic address on August 11, 1947. He had eloquently outlined the primary fundamentals of the newfound democracy by declaring, “you are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state”. Islamic identity, enmity against India, and dependence on or association with the West for financial and strategic support made up the ideological triangle that was put together throughout the formation period (Haqqani, 2005).

Based on past practices, a similar triad has been maintained by succeeding regimes regardless of the military or political administration. The interaction of the three elements in state philosophy provided a favourable atmosphere enabling Islamist elements to expand their reach and stake out their status, ultimately propelling them to the forefront. Islamist forces had ample opportunity to spread messages demanding the initiation of Shariah law and an Islamic mechanism in the country as a substitute for democracy during the country's early years (1947–58) due to recurrent instabilities of the democratic political structure and irregularities in the way of the constitution-making. Like in the earlier days, the authorities were overcome by the public's enthusiasm for religion. They had to define the country's foundation based on Islamic philosophy. This gave Islamist entities the potential to take the lead as the protectors and promoters of the country's ideology. The structure has changed such that it is now more dependent on religion than on democratization or a democratic system. Islam was considered to be the unifying factor among the various nationalities living in the country, and it was also regarded as the solution to the challenging problems of ethnicity and regional autonomy (Haqqani, 2005). These beliefs and behaviours gradually radicalized the government and the people. The main distinction between then and now is that the liberal elites were at the frontline and exploited religion as a tool to achieve their political agendas. The Islamists then started attacking the liberal elites, thus the secret was out. The secularists are on the counterattack

while the Islamists are in charge. The victims of this massive disparity, which pits Islamists opposing secularists, are the general public. The 11 years of Ayub³⁵ Khan's regime (1958-69) were largely centred around a similar ideological triangulation, in which he exploited religion as a strategic tool to mobilize the military forces against the Indian security risk while simultaneously giving the US and other European states the impression that he was a secularist (Haqqani, 2005), which managed to keep him popular with Americans until the mid of the 1960s. The split of the country³⁶ in 1971 refocused authorities' attention on the need to rethink the reason behind Pakistan's existence. As a result, increased emphasis was placed on religion and resentment against India, which contributed to the rise of religious forces (Ziring, 2005). The situation after 1971 encouraged religious parties to the point where even secular leaders including Zulfikar Ali Bhutto³⁷ were driven to amend the 1973 constitution to classify the Qadiani/Ahmadi sect as being non-Islamic³⁸ (Quraishi, 2005). By the end of his era, he had entirely caved into the pressures of the religious and political elements, designating Friday as a national holiday in place of Sunday and banning alcohol consumption at public events. Prior to getting deposed by Zia-ul Haq's³⁹ coup attempt, he was even willing to share administration with Islamic forces. The liberal and democratic nature of the state and society suffered greatly during Zia's eleven-year dictatorship (1977-1988), which was justified by the Islamization of the country. General Zia played a proactive role in promoting Islamic principles within the realms of the market, bureaucracy, judiciary, and academia. His strong inclination towards religion, influenced by his familial devotion to the religion, motivated these efforts (Rubin &

³⁵ A Pakistani army officer, statesman, and politician, held the position of the second President of Pakistan known for his hard-headed regime.

³⁶ The separation of East Pakistan and the creation of a new country Bangladesh.

³⁷ He was a Pakistani barrister, politician, and statesman who held the position of the fourth president of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973, and subsequently served as the ninth prime minister of Pakistan from 1973 to 1977. Additionally, he established the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and served as its chairman until his execution.

³⁸ The Ahmadiya sect, also known as the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, is a religious group founded in India in the late 19th century. The community considers itself to be Muslim, but its beliefs differ from mainstream Islamic theology in several ways. For example, Ahmadis believe that their founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was a prophet, which contradicts the mainstream Islamic belief that the Prophet Muhammad was the final prophet. In Pakistan, where the majority of the population is Sunni Muslim, the Ahmadiya sect faces significant discrimination and persecution. The Pakistani government declared Ahmadis to be non-Muslims in 1974, and later passed laws that restrict their religious practices and freedom of expression. These laws include the Anti-Ahmadiyya Ordinance, which prohibits Ahmadis from calling themselves Muslim, using Muslim greetings, or referring to their places of worship as mosques.

³⁹ A Pakistani military officer, held the position of the 6th president of Pakistan from 1978 until his demise. Additionally, he served as the second Chief of Army Staff of the Pakistan Army from March 1, 1976, to August 17, 1988. Exerting significant influence over Pakistan's political landscape for more than a decade, he is recognized for his proxy war against the Soviet Union, which is attributed to preventing an anticipated Soviet invasion of Pakistan. His efforts to desecularize and resist Western culture have earned him praise from Islamists.

Siddique, 2006). Even the right-leaning⁴⁰ Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif⁴¹ brought the Shariat Act into Parliament (1998) under his 2nd tenure (1997-1999) of leadership to carry out the main objective of the Islamic forces in the country. Even the proposal was rejected because it was stalled in the Senate and Upper House of Parliament. Yet it later became evident that religion was no longer only a tool for implementing policy; rather, efforts were being taken to create a replacement policy. The first 2 years (2000-2002) of General Musharraf's⁴² administration brought a few more golden days for the Mullah-Military⁴³ collaboration. Despite appearing to have banned militant groups and repressed Jihadi forces, most of them were imprisoned until being freed. It was challenging for him to keep supporting the former allies just after the 9/11 incident. Because of his past connections with terrorist forces, the international community sometimes suspected that he was earnest in his war against such factors. Even if educated moderation was the ultimate aim of the government's policy following the elections held on 18th October 2002, in actual fact Islamists were in charge because they were leading the opposing party and taking power in the 2 provinces of KPK and Balochistan. This gave them the confidence they needed to pass the Shariah Act with the help of the Provincial Assembly of KPK in June 2003. Religious-political groups' extremism, radicalism, and demand for the Islamic system grew rapidly after the post-October political situation. In addition to the tribal areas, which were believed as their major hiding places, they also spread to populated areas such as Tank, Bannu, Kohat, Dera Ismail Khan, and the suburbs of Peshawar like Dara Adam Khail. Surprisingly, within the exact time frame (2007-2009), the terrorist

⁴⁰ The right-wing refers to a political party or system that supports private property rights and free market principles and generally supports socially conservative viewpoints.

⁴¹ A Pakistani entrepreneur and politician, he has held the position of Prime Minister of Pakistan for three separate terms. With a cumulative service of over 9 years across these three tenures, he holds the record as the longest-serving prime minister in Pakistan. Notably, each of his terms concluded with his removal from office.

⁴² A Pakistani army general and politician, he assumed the role of the 10th president of Pakistan from 2001 to 2008. His career also encompassed serving as the 10th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee from 1998 to 2001 and as the 7th Chief of Army Staff from 1998 to 2007.

⁴³ During the Musharraf era in Pakistan, a complex military-mullah alliance emerged. While pursuing economic and social modernization, he faced challenges from religious groups and criticism for aligning with the U.S. in the War on Terror post-9/11. The alliance involved cooperation in foreign policy, including support for the U.S. in Afghanistan. Domestically, Musharraf implemented reforms but balanced them with concessions to religious parties for stability.

forces led by Mullah Fazlullah⁴⁴, widely known as Mullah Radio⁴⁵, had taken control of the Swat valley⁴⁶.

4.3 JIHAD AND TALIBANIZATION

The Pakistani military's regional security strategy was formed by the overwhelming safety concerns regarding India, which also elevated it to a position of leadership and enabled it to present itself as the country's saviour. It simultaneously nurtured Jihadi forces to engage in military activities, supporting regional security concerns like Kashmir and Afghanistan. The emphasis of Pakistani authorities on bolstering the military forces has persisted despite the risk to the growth of the financial system and society as a whole because Pakistan was concerned about Indian resistance to its emergence and also the invasion of the primarily Muslim state of Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian military in 1947. Even so, there were certainly valid reasons for Pakistan to be concerned about India, like differences over how to resolve the Kashmir issue and the security risk of Indian violence. Both India and Pakistan conducted 4 military wars, and even in 1971, Bangladesh, which was the eastern region of Pakistan, broke away to create its own autonomous state as a result of the Indian army's active participation to help Bengali rebels (Stern, 2000). Nevertheless, Pakistan found that being Indian-focused was counterproductive. A few academics even argue that Pakistan's motivation for existence can be defined by escalating tensions with India and the same perspective is for India against Pakistan. This perspective might not be typical of the larger community of scholars or perhaps even typical of the general public mindset. But the massive amount of hostility and hate that has been directed by both countries over the years through the media and historical literature supports the scepticism of those few academics. Both countries have attempted military intervention repeatedly but failed to resolve the Kashmir issue, and negotiations have only been undertaken occasionally on account of keeping a military balance. In Pakistan, the military has been given precedence to support the growth of civil society as well as political, financial, and legal structures. As stated by one scholar, Pakistan is considered a country of the military, for the military, and by the military (Kukreja, 2003).

⁴⁴ Rising to lead the Taliban in Swat, Mullah Fazlullah eventually assumed the role of the head of Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), commonly known as the Pakistan Taliban. Despite the group's fragmentation, the TTP under Fazlullah remains an enduring and ongoing threat to Pakistan's internal security since 2014.

⁴⁵ Pakistani Taliban leader initiated routine broadcasting from an unauthorised radio station in Swat Valley in 2005 and took the name Radio Mullah and FM Mullah. For the large population of uneducated people in the valley who do not own televisions, radio was an essential source of news.

⁴⁶ Situated in the Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, Swat is recognized as the Switzerland of Pakistan. Ranking as the 15th-largest district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, it boasts numerous popular tourist attractions.

With the aid of both military and civilian security organizations, local and Kashmiri youth received training, weapons, and funding to fight against the Indian forces occupying the Jammu and Kashmir Valley. They were supported by other overseas Jihadists and also Afghan militants. About Jihad, they believed this is their obligation to sacrifice their lives for Muslim rights, including Kashmir and many others. Based on a study, 40 per cent of the total fighters in the Indian-occupied valley are Afghans and Pakistanis, whereas 80 per cent of them are youngsters, which raises concerns about human rights while damaging Pakistan's reputation around the world (Stern, 2000). In 1987, the regional and global Islamist elements were given an ideological purpose to struggle for the sake of independence by Islamizing the indigenous Kashmiri cause. The extremist factions of Pakistan's religious and political parties that usually fought the Indian military in Kashmir in place of the country's military also multiplied and gained strength as a result. In this manner, the Kashmir issue sparked and solidified the Jihadi mindset in Pakistan. The main goal of the Jihadi groups was to free occupied Kashmir from the Indian military. They persisted in their cause until the Indo-Pakistani ties eased in January 2004. Another objective for these Islamist groups was to fight for the establishment of an Islamic system in Pakistan thereby making religious law the only valid legal system. In this regard, Maulana Azam Tariq, the late Sipah-e-Sahaba⁴⁷ leader put a significant amount of effort into presenting the Islamic bill in front of the National Assembly in 1997, but the Upper House of Parliament rejected it, and it did not become official. These Jihadi groups continued to harbour animosity toward both the West and the Shia sect. These forces either moved to sectarian violence when Pakistan and India started a reconciliation dialogue, as they did in the 1990s, or they explicitly targeted foreigners, as they did in the post-9/11 incident, especially as a result of the Pakistani war against terrorism.

Because Pakistan lacked a secure environment, several European and Western governments issued travel advisories to tell their citizens not to visit Pakistan. An attack on foreigners at the Italian restaurant Luna Caprese in Islamabad in March 2008 resulted in the death of one Turkish woman and damage to several others (Dawn, 2008). It is evident that to lessen the influence and power of Jihadi groups, the Kashmir issue must be resolved via cooperation between the parties and with the backing of major world powers. Even if they were to reach an agreement with India, they would not be able to pursue other policy goals like Islamizing Pakistan, engaging in religious wars, or even targeting foreigners. The Afghan Jihad against Soviet

⁴⁷ Sipah e Sahaba Pakistan SSP is an Islamist organization which was banned by General Pervez Musharraf under the anti-terrorism act for being a terrorist organization.

invasion significantly aided in the propagation and backing of the Jihadi doctrine in the country (Rubin & Siddique, 2006). A pro-Jihad perspective was particularly promoted during the Jihadi era against Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979-89) with madrassa organizations (Rubin & Siddique, 2006) and the incorporation of Jihad-related subjects and content into the school curriculum. When religious and political organizations like Jamaat-i-Islami and Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam were given the opportunity to co-rule with the army in 2000 (Ahmed, 1998), it rekindled their latent ambitions to turn Pakistan into an Islamic country where only Shariah would govern. Despite the Afghan Jihad's triumph in the aftermath of the post-Soviet civil wars, the Jihadi ideology and practices persisted, fuelled by an enduring enthusiasm for their own interpretation of Islamic governance. In January 2000, the government of General Musharaf endeavoured to control the influence of Jihadi forces by outlawing them. However, they quickly reappeared under new names. Additionally, initiatives were taken to restructure madrassas by obliging them to get registered with the government, declare and be transparent about their financing sources, and identify overseas students. An effort to de-weaponize⁴⁸ society was made, yet none of the efforts were successful because of either government complacency, public reluctance, or a combination of both.

Support for the Taliban regime in Afghanistan is another unfortunate outcome of Pakistan's role in that conflict. Former Jihadi forces found refuge and prospered under the Taliban's leadership to the extent that dealing with them became challenging for Pakistan's civilian and military governments. The Taliban style of government based on their harsh and wrong interpretation of Islamic principles and their ethno-nationalist ideology has been implemented in the border regions and even in some of the more populous regions of Pakistan. Given that the Taliban are so crucial to the type of criticism Pakistan receives for its active participation in Afghanistan's matters, a local Taliban organization in Pakistan's tribal regions that was influenced by their Afghan counterparts has appeared and has been defying the control of the Pakistani government for many years. These local Taliban are in authority of their specific tribal districts, which presents a strategic dilemma for the Pakistani military forces (Group, 2006). Whereas the local authorities are unable to deal with the situation, rather they carry out the similar style of administration.

⁴⁸ Ban of Islamist or militant organizations causing violence and terrorism in the country. Also, the establishment of Madarssah following the certain rules and regulations initiated by the government. It also refers to curb militancy and extremism of any kind in the country. Also, mosques were prohibited to be used as political platforms, or instigating any kind of intolerance and extremism among masses.

4.4 PAKISTANI WAR AGAINST TERRORISM VERSUS TALIBANIZATION

The larger picture of the Taliban's ascent is related to Pakistan's support for the US in its fight against al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Thus, Pakistan needs to struggle against any forces that are believed to have crossed its border after the Taliban rule was ousted in Afghanistan in October 2001. Since Pakistan took part in an international conflict in the 1980s where the USA was fighting Soviet forces in Afghanistan, the ten-year-long conflict was financially and militarily supported by the American-Saudi alliance. Over the course of ten years, the warfare was said to have cost close to \$10 billion to the alliance. Even after the Soviet troops left in February 1989, Pakistan and other nearby countries continued to serve as a conduit for the supply of weapons to the fighting forces. The trafficking of weapons meant to be supplied to the mujahideen leaders via Pakistan was approved by several local and international news outlets. It is believed that the Pakistani army used to transfer them to local arms dealers. As a result, society became more radicalized and militarized. Since AK-47 rifles were widely available in open markets for very low prices after dropping from \$10,000 to \$5,000 in the 1980s, the majority of people could afford to purchase them (Gul, 2002). In the weaponry markets in Karachi⁴⁹ and many other places, even second-hand arms were rentable for far less price. Replicas of the most advanced imported brand of weaponry were carried in some tribal communities and they are still produced locally in the Darra Adam Khel⁵⁰ (Gul, 2002). They were waging an Islamic battle⁵¹ for the sake of a free world under Islamic guidance of their own interpretation. Jihadists from all over the world had been voluntarily coming to Afghanistan by the mid-80s. Several reports have estimated their fighter strength to be around 10,000 (Report, 2008). They adopted techniques that were entirely alien to the local forces, which significantly militarized or brutalized the way the war was fought.

Osama bin Laden⁵², Aiman Zawahiri⁵³, and other Arab Jihadists emerged as a result of the Soviet Afghan conflict (Rubin & Siddique, 2006), and they even supported and spread

⁴⁹ A metropolitan city of Pakistan.

⁵⁰ Situated in the Frontier Region Kohat of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, Darra Adam Khel is recognized for its longstanding heritage in gun manufacturing. Commonly known as the "Gun City" or the "Little Switzerland of Pakistan," this town has been a hub for skilled craftsmen engaged in the production of diverse firearms, spanning from traditional to modern types. It stands as a distinctive and historically important center for gunsmithing in the region.

⁵¹ To make a government of their interpretation of Islamic teachings.

⁵² Born in Saudi Arabia, was an extremist who founded the jihadist organization al-Qaeda. He became widely known for orchestrating the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, commonly referred to as 9/11.

⁵³ Following the demise of Osama bin Laden in 2011, Ayman al-Zawahiri took charge of al-Qaeda. He has consistently advocated for global jihad against perceived enemies of Islam, rendering him a central figure in international counter-terrorism efforts. Prior to assuming leadership at al-Qaeda, al-Zawahiri was associated with

Islamism and its noble ideals in Afghanistan and around the world. Tajiks, Chechens, and Uzbeks among others also joined their forces. As per verified sources, the most dangerous militants at that moment (during Afghan Civil wars) were Uzbeks who had ties to Al-Qaeda (Sultana, 2008). It is believed that jihadists used the areas close to Pakistan's border as safe havens in the KPK and Balochistan. Their international allies also traversed the borders and easily used these havens as well. Not only had they gotten used to the surroundings and the locals, but they had also been successful in setting up local networks of support with religious and political organizations, madrassa scholars, and religious intelligence operatives. They had the opportunity to stay too long in these regions even after the 1980s Jihad came to an end. The majority of them had adjusted to local lifestyles there and even married into local communities. They engaged with the local people to such a level that locals' decisions about their fate became more a matter of culture than a matter of military or political necessity when it came to obeying local authorities' orders to turn over those foreign people in response to the demands of the war against terrorism. Rather than complying with the authorities' directives, they defended the foreigners. Given these developments, it is reasonable to claim that understanding the difficulties society has faced since the terrible events of 9/11 and the accompanying war on terrorism against extremist elements depends on understanding the Afghan War. However, they are reportedly in Taliban-controlled areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, which suggests that the international conflict has returned to this region with deadly immediate and ongoing repercussions. As already mentioned, due to similar cultural and historical ties with the tribal people Afghan Taliban and some elements of Al-Qaeda were allowed to take refuge among themselves. Due to external pressure, Pakistan had to carry out security operations against these groups. Because of their enthusiasm for Islam, adherence to cultural traditions, and financial interests, the locals have been helping and standing with these groups against the Pakistani military forces, who had launched military action against the foreign terrorist forces holding up in the tribal regions. There has been a massive loss of people and resources on both sides. The practice of 'Talibanization' worsened after each military intervention by either the Pakistani army or the Americans on the opposite side of the Pak-Afghan frontier, commonly referred to as the Durand Line. The anti-Communist fight produced International Jihad and elevated its militants to the level of mujahideen (holy warriors) with the assistance of a democratic, independent world. The once-friends became enemies as a result of the US led War against

the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), a group implicated in the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981. In the late 1990s, he amalgamated EIJ with al-Qaeda and assumed the role of bin Laden's deputy.

Terrorism that emerged in the wake of 9/11. They have been pursued on the Afghan side of the border by allied forces and the Pakistani military because they have been identified as terrorists. As a result of their extensive combat experiences in Afghanistan alongside foreign jihadists, local Pakistani militants persisted in adopting foreign practices such as suicide attacks and beheading enemy fighters. A study by the International Crisis Group (2006) found that killing civilians significantly alienates the local people from military operations, leading some of them to join the local Taliban. Local Taliban who took their cue from the Afghan Taliban and pledged loyalty to Mullah Umer's leadership thus became more numerous and powerful. The local Taliban have exerted greater control over each region compared to the local government.

4.5 PAKISTANI MILITARY OPERATIONS & WAR-MEDIA

Insurgency is among the main dangers to Pakistan's safety, socio-political stability, and economic growth. The Pakistani Army has committed to addressing this issue for many years by changing its strategy, focus, attitude, and direction. The Army conducted large-and-small scale operations against terrorists and militants in this situation. The ultimate goal of these operations is to drive out the terrorists and militants from their hiding places, destroy their military capabilities, and strip them of their power to stop them from committing further terrorist acts and maintain their authority over the government in several tribal regions of the country where they have found safe haven. Whereas different terrorist activities also took place in big cities of the country but, there, government was in power, and law and order situations were not that critical. The terrorist attacks carried out by (TTP)⁵⁴, Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat-Mohammadi (TNSM)⁵⁵, extremist religious organizations, and other foreign forces deeply concern Pakistan. These organizations pose a serious security risk to Pakistan. Heavy ground and air weaponry have been utilized by the Pakistani Army in a series of operations. Huge collateral damage has also been caused as a result of that. Internal security is significantly impacted by the killing of innocent people, especially women and children, the damage to infrastructure due to these operations, as well as the casualties caused by suicide bombings (Khan, 2011). In order to maintain internal stability and security, the Pakistan Army has been

⁵⁴ Formed in 2007, Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is a coalition of militant networks aiming to oppose the Pakistani military. The TTP's objectives include expelling Islamabad's influence from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and neighbouring Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, implementing a strict interpretation of Sharia throughout Pakistan, and removing Coalition troops from Afghanistan. TTP leaders publicly expressed their goal of establishing an Islamic caliphate in Pakistan, necessitating the overthrow of the Pakistani Government.

⁵⁵ A militant organization espousing Islamic extremism, this group pledged allegiance to the Pakistani Taliban and joined its ranks in 2007. The organization's declared goal is the implementation of Sharia law in Pakistan.

battling militancy and terrorism in the country's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) since 2001. FATA consists of 7 agencies, i.e., Bajaur, Khyber, Kurram, Mohmand, Orakzai and North as well as South Waziristan (Afridi, Yousufi, Khan, 2014). The regions of Swat, upper and Lower Dir, Buner, and Shangla are part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's PATA. All of this has led to an unstable internal socio-political atmosphere and economic situation in FATA and PATA (Yousufi, Islam, 2017; Afridi, 2018).

Pakistan opted to join the international coalition formed by the United States and dissociate itself from the Taliban rule in Afghanistan (Khalid & Roy, 2016; Montero, 2006). From then on, Pakistan has taken a definite stance on the US-led War on Terror (WOT). The Pakistani government consistently criticized and condemned all forms of extremism worldwide. Authorities in Islamabad stressed the importance of having a thorough and logical understanding of terrorism and debunking the notion of “Islamic terrorism”. Pakistan has long believed that there should be a clear line between legitimate efforts by people to exercise their right to self-determination and acts of terrorism. A military strategy⁵⁶ (2002) was created by the Pakistani government to expel both domestic and foreign radicals who established bases in tribal areas near the Afghan and Pakistani borders. The first wave of military operations was episodic, and it was supported by peace accords, which were transient because militant groups persisted in their hostilities against the Pakistani government in the country’s north. Several foreign entities started congregating in the country’s northern areas after the 9/11 attacks. Various terrorist factions aimed to incite sectarian violence and massacre. In Afghanistan, when dissidents grew in strength, influence, and external competition, NATO forces and the U.S. administration asked Pakistan for help in sealing the Durand Line to prevent extremists as much as possible from entering Pakistan’s northern territories, particularly in PATA and FATA. Considering that the major reason the US forces invaded Afghanistan was to stop Al-Qaeda and Taliban terrorist operations and locate their leadership. To support the allied forces, particularly in the tribal regions that were acting as a battleground between the Pakistani forces and the NATO forces supported by the US, Pakistan planned to send nearly 140,000 ground forces across the Pak-Afghan border as a frontline nation and non-NATO ally (Khalid & Roy, 2016).

⁵⁶ The military used religious symbols to gain favour of the locals and incite tribal leaders to stand up against the insurgents and drive them out of their region. The military adapted to the conflict gradually by employing traditional counter-insurgency techniques like cordoning, evacuating, and securing areas meanwhile attempting to minimise public harm from collateral damage.

The relationship between war and media is often mutually beneficial because media, due to nationalistic and professional reasons, can escalate conflicts (Ross, 2008), while expanded reporting of conflicts can aid warring factions in advancing their objectives (Iqbal, 2015). The relationship between war and media has been symbolically expressed, meaning that they are mutually advantageous. Although the role of media in conflicts is a complex issue, and according to Daniel Hallin, the framework is not yet fully developed (Hallin, 2004). Many insightful comments have been made about the role of media in various historical events, such as World Wars, the Cold War, Vietnam and Latin America, American interventions in the Middle East, Iraq, and Afghanistan (Lynch, 2006). It is possible that relationships are generally explored, but the issue lies in how media coverage of terrorism is framed, not why it is framed (Iqbal, 2015). During conflicts, the national media often aligns with government institutions for support in endorsing war efforts and vilifying the enemy, with some exceptions (Hay, 1999). In the war against terrorism, the Pakistani military and government have utilized the media to promote their perspective. Government regulations, security concerns, and the evolving nature of the conflict have formed Pakistan's media policy during the War on Terrorism. After the 9/11 attacks in 2001, Pakistan became a crucial ally of the United States in its efforts to combat terrorism, particularly in assisting with anti-terrorism endeavours in Afghanistan. The media played a significant role in shaping public opinion and disseminating information about conflicts and tensions in Pakistan.

Media python in Pakistan is a common narrative. However, the media landscape in the country comprises a large number of varied media outlets reflecting the divergent points of view of a highly individualized society. At times the Government of Pakistan, especially the security establishment, placed restrictions on media to manage the sensitivities of security issues. These restrictions can take the form of a prohibition on the disclosure of certain information concerning military operations, or any other details that may be harmful to national security. Journalists faced many challenges and threats, especially those covering conflicts in areas affected by military action and insurgency. Over time, journalist safety has been a cause for concern, largely due to targeted attacks on journalists by militant groups. Coverage of military actions and unrest made journalists targets for various risks and threats. It is widely accepted that Pakistani media dabbling in security issues has always tried to maintain balance in days when the media's loyalty is often brought up for debate with some criticizing it for going overboard in backing the government's viewpoint, others saying that it is unduly critical of the establishment. This has sparked debates about the role of the media in shaping public opinion and how to establish a balance between holding those in power accountable and providing

accurate information. While media outlets and journalists in Pakistan faced challenges related to censorship and self-censorship due to government or security agency pressure, efforts were initiated later to promote transparency and freedom of expression, keeping national security concerns in mind (Agha & Hussain, 2017). Undoubtedly, the media played a crucial role in shaping public opinion on the war against terrorism. Their coverage of events and analysis of facts have significantly influenced how people perceive the situation. Consequently, the media gained the power to sway public opinion in one direction or another, thereby becoming a formidable force in shaping the narrative of this historic event. Various media outlets have presented diverse perspectives through a range of public discussions, contributing to a comprehensive understanding of the issue. In this way, different viewpoints have enabled people to gain a more nuanced comprehension of the matter.

Timeline- Military operations against terrorist organizations in Pakistan	
▪ Operation Al Mizan 2004-2006/ Operation Justice	Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Chechens, Uzbeks, and Arabs, Pakistani Taliban (TTP)
▪ Operation Kalosha 2004	Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Chechens, Uzbeks, and Arabs, including Pakistani Taliban
▪ Shakai peace agreement 2004	Local tribes of FATA & TTP
▪ Sargodha peace agreement 2005	TTP
▪ Operation Silence 2007/ The siege of Lal Masjid	TTP, Taliban from Egypt, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan & Al-Qaeda
▪ Operation Rah-e-Haq 2007-2009/ Operation Just Path	TTP, (TNSM) Tehrik-e-Nifaze Shariat-e-Mohammadi)
▪ Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem 2008/ Operation Righteous Path	TTP, Lashkar-e-Islam (LeI), Al-Qaeda
▪ Operation Zalzala 2008/ Operation Earthquake	TTP
▪ Operation Sher Dil 2008/ Operation Lion Heart	TNSM, TTP, Al-Qaeda
▪ Operation Rah-e-Rast 2009/ Operation Straightforward	TTP, TNSM, Al-Qaeda, LeI
▪ Operation Rah-e-Nijat 2009/ Path of Salvation	TTP, Al-Qaeda, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Foreign militants

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Operation Koh-e-Sufaid 2011/ Operation White Mountain 	TTP
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Operation Rah-e-Shahadat 2013/ Path of Martyrdom 	TTP, LeI & TNSM
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Operation Zarb-e-Azb 2014-2016/ Operation Single Strike 	TTP, Al-Qaeda, the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM), IMU & Haqqani network
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Operation Khyber 2014-2017/ 	TTP, Ansarul Islam, & Mangal Bagh's LeI, ISIS, Al-Qaeda
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad 2017- Present/ Rejection of Strife 	Taliban aligned groups, Baloch separatist groups, Sectarian groups & IMU

CHAPTER 5

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CONFLICT REPORTING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to provide a quick overview of the history of war journalism while emphasizing standards of journalism and technological advancements so that readers may see how journalistic practices, standards, and ethics evolved into what they are now. When reporting on a war, the news is referred to as "protocol news" since it closely follows the narrative of the government. There may be different approaches by different states depending partly on whether the state participates in the mission or not. This segment traces the development of Western-based journalistic principles and practices while also providing a chronological account of war journalism. This part is most relevant for understanding how military-media relations have evolved and how the military's lessons learned—particularly those that began with the Crimean War (5 Oct 1853 – 30 Mar 1856)—have shaped information management in every succeeding conflict. It is also interesting how militaries and governments have skilfully shaped their media censorship and monitoring policies to influence public perception. It was frequently difficult for journalists to use their access to the troops and the fighting zone to produce reporting that would objectively inform the public because of the military's hegemony over information management, agenda-setting, and explicit censorship. But the strategic and tactical information had always to be carefully weighed and since it was a new dilemma at first, ways had to be found to serve the freedom of media and public versus the threat to the success of any military operation.

5.1.1 Peloponnesian War

The first extensive embedding program was implemented in 2003, during the wars in Afghanistan (2001–2021) and Iraq (2003–2011); however, the practice of journalism covering the front lines dates back far-further. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 BCE), which took place between the city-states of Sparta and Athens around the end of ancient Greece's golden period, is regarded as the origin of wartime journalism or at the very least of the historical literature of war. The contributions of the ancient Greek historian Thucydides, particularly to the Peloponnesian War's historical record, demonstrate the evolution of warfare writing, including the use of reporting events to compile and preserve history. Thucydides invented the modern historical approach to cover a war. Thucydides dissociated himself from sentiment,

narration, and poetry with enigmatic subjects and writings that frequently linked incidents with the gods' will and occult entities, and instead used only research-based logic and a scientific approach. Therefore, he concentrated on avoiding biases and exaggeration. The endeavour to exclude arbitrary judgments is what gives Thucydides' writings the appearance of objective journalism (Pearson, 1947).

5.1.2 Mexican-American War

The Mexican-American War (1846–1848) was also important for war journalism since this was the earliest war captured by daguerreotype photographers, even though their names are unidentified (Roth & Olson, 1997). The minute-long exposure time of daguerreotypes made it hard to capture actions. They were therefore not widely used, yet this was the first instance of photography being employed in war reporting. As discussed by Osthaus (2011), the majority of experts concur that the Mexican-American War occurred as the first major international conflict to gain significant media attention from American journalists. Armed civilian reporters accompanied the troops on their missions and went through their hardships, getting attacked and surviving hunger and thirst, high temperatures, and illness to promptly convey the news of warfare, bloodshed, and triumph to the public. Since battle details were generally early observations and could not possibly encompass all facets of massive fighting, they were frequently lopsided; shortly after, fairly balanced descriptions rarely had the same impact.

5.1.3 Crimean War

The Crimean War (1853–1856) was the first to establish the standards of journalism by offering a platform for public discussion and dialogue (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2021). The Times in Britain had been reporting on the Crimean War using postal communication, including writings from the British military and local Crimeans until the amount of information required grew to such an extent that the traditional approach had to be modified. By placing a reporter on the front lines, war reporting was transformed into investigating that could objectively evaluate the British Military. Sir William Howard Russell is credited with being the first contemporary war correspondent for using a civilian reporter to cover the war for a civilian audience (Lisosky, Henrichsen, & Henrichsen, 2011). He was the first correspondent to stay with the British troops being embedded. His works and the responses to them hold a significant place in the origins of embedding because it was the first actual "struggle" between the army and the media. Since the war carried on, the press believed that maintaining military concepts of sovereignty and practices of non-disclosure was relatively unimportant (Baker, 2009). After much debate, the

initial measures toward complete censorship and restrictions on the military were implemented. He showed how a free press is important for a free society even though it burdens the military on the front lines and is detested by the home government (Khan S. A., 2007). This sparked a debate about access to the front lines and to press information, which made any relationship between the army and the media in the English-speaking press controversial. Due to military domination over information control, contextualizing the war, and open censorship, the British reporting on the Crimean War established a trend where journalists frequently failed to generate news that would adequately inform the public despite their best efforts.

5.1.4 American Civil War

The American Civil War (1861-1865) turned out to be a vital period for the U.S. press. The invention of the electrical telegraph made it possible for journalists to quickly receive information from a great distance. As a result, media in both the North and the South were able to inform the audiences about significant developments in the war in terms of political concerns, military outcomes, massive troop deployments, and fatality reports. The market growth and the influx of finances resulted in the creation of unique journalistic methods for covering conflicts. There was a preference for exclusivity and early release of information, as well as a race to appear first on the ground (Knightley, 1989). Newspaper editorialization of the war might have been more significant. They served as the contemporary propaganda apparatus. Although not always true, several publications contained slanted descriptions of what occurred during the war, "fact-based" stories of enemy violence, writings endorsing particular military and political objectives, and impassioned letters from civilians suffering from the war. During the U.S. Civil War, extensive conflict reporting by the media sparked more complex public political discussion (Knightly P., 1989). These elements fostered the ideal conditions for the golden period of conflict communication, which was marked by a decline in systematic censorship, a continuously expanding mass media, and an increase in literacy brought on by the British Education Act of 1870 (Spitzer, 2021).

5.1.5 Franco-Prussian War

The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) was a highly priced war to report for the Western audience (Roth & Olson, 1997) up to now because of the significant expense of using the telegraph for international communication. Despite the expense, this was the first-time wireless transmission from a conflict site was used. In contrast to the Crimean War, which was mostly reported by British journalists, this war was covered by reporters from at least six other

countries. The use of the telegraph expedited communication; however, its high cost and unique features marked the turning point for war journalism and a shift in how war reports were produced. This war is used as an example of how the structure of reporting influences the message that the general audience comprehends. Today's news reporting still relies heavily on the journalistic writing style of using clear and concise sentences to provide the most succinct possible answers to the questions of who, what, where, why, how, and "then what".

5.1.6 World War I

A concentrated effort by the general populace, particularly journalists and the media, as well as countries and their military forces, was made during World War I (1914–1918), which has been referred to as "open warfare." When the war first broke out, the media leapt at the chance to cover it because they believed it would be financially beneficial. A little earlier in the conflict, Britain cut off Germany's telegraph access to the United States across the Atlantic in 1914. This left only the British telegraph line. Since the German telegraph network was cut, no German news could be sent to the United States; instead, all news regarding the European war had to go through Britain and its censorship. The media in Europe soon portrayed the Germans and the Central powers negatively and was mainly pro-Allied. Without yet joining the war, the US posted 50–75 journalists to Europe in 1914. The US Army denied permission for women to serve on the Western side, even though they had been doing so before America entered the war. Some female reporters reported the war from the Russian lines to get around this. In the end, World War I proved to be the least dangerous war for American journalism. Despite several suffering injuries, no civilian reporters were killed as a result of the war. A British-based news organization called Reuters reportedly lost 15 of its 115 war journalists (Roth & Olson, 1997). The Austrian government provided several foreign journalists with opulent amenities during the initial phases of the war, including motorized vehicles, housekeepers, luxury dining, smoking, and drinking. There is no denying that the First World War laid the groundwork for embedded journalism. There were six reporters assigned to the British Expeditionary Forces (BEF). The journalists serving with the BEF in France received the ceremonial ranking of captain, uniforms, attendants, escorts, and commanding officers; yet, their initial perspective of the conflict was confined to what the military leadership believed they should observe (Wasilow, 2017). Despite efforts to retroactively reframe the war as a "single" media event by propagandists on both the Allied and German right-wing nationalist sides, it is concluded that WWI was not a one media event but rather was developed in the context of several media events (Götter, 2021).

5.1.7 World War II

Covering World War II (1939–1945) was difficult since correspondents were geographically dispersed, and concurrent missions and battles were going on in the war on multiple fronts. Around 3000 journalists covered the war; and over 50% of them were Americans, while 1646 competent correspondents came from all over the world, including 100 female reporters (Roth & Olson, 1997). American reporters and photographers suffered 37 fatalities. In the 1930s, international radio transmitters first appeared. Although television was available, it wasn't frequently used, and the majority of journalism audiences preferred to get their news via papers, radio, and pictures to receive the news. Similar to what happened in the First World War, American journalists who produced militaristic, stoic, and nationalistic wartime reporting were awarded army uniforms and ceremonial ranks equivalent to those of authorities. Censorship throughout this war had three different forms: it came from the military, the administration, and the media themselves. By signing contracts, journalists agreed to convey all of their news through military systems before reporting it to the Department of Censorship of the Central government. A reporter engages in self-censorship when he knowingly neglects facts from his report. This was applied to information that was deemed sensitive and thought to be kept confidential from the public to preserve their morale.

5.1.8 Vietnam War

The first war to be shown on television was the Vietnam War (1955-1975), which brought the conflict into American homes. The military's rather unstructured method of granting journalists access to the front lines developed into schematized standards, indicating a shift in how conflicts are reported (McLaughlin, 2016). Press censorship was not a practice that was mandated by the U.S. government or military authorities. The American military facilitated journalists by providing them free access to information and the battlefield as they could not foresee the backlash that resulted from the propaganda-driven reporting of WWII and the perception that correspondents were contributing to the military effort. The Pentagon was flummoxed when it assumed that the Vietnam War would receive similar enthusiastic support as that of the Second World War. The part played by the media during the Vietnam War is still up for discussion today. Some experts argue that the media significantly contributed to the American defeat. They reason that the media's predisposition for negative coverage contributed

to the public's declining support for the American war whereas its uncontrolled coverage helped the enemies in Vietnam with intelligence data (Spector, 2016). As a result, the military, and the media both believed they had lost the war. The descriptions and pictures that were published were horrible, showing starving kids, destroyed homes, mass killings, and testimonies of atrocities done by the army. The horrifying frontline reports contradicted the Pentagon's version, stoking feelings of anti-war. The Vietnam War was among the least controlled wars in history, or at the very least, it was one of the closest to journalistic freedom. Consequently, it indicated a turning point in the rising civil-military tensions, one that officials frequently considered when making long-term decisions about how to manage the media.

5.1.9 Falklands War

The British Ministry of Defence (MOD) carefully designed its media strategy during the Falklands War (1982) so as to avoid making the exact mistake the Americans did. Only a small number of journalists were authorized to accompany their security teams. Due to strict censoring of the news coverage, broadcasts of reports experienced an average delay of 17 days in Britain. The idea behind media management during the Falklands War was that in the broadcast era, a war might be won by enforcing strict regulations on media, that would prevent the general public from accessing the unfavourable narrative of the British military (Wasilow S. M., 2011). Government representatives on-site had to check each story, and frequently the MOD headquarters in London postponed the broadcasts that affected general morale. Therefore, in real terms, radio news broadcasts about the 74-day operation were much quicker. The Falklands War is regarded as having garnered the worst amount of media attention since the Crimean War (Barnes, 2002).

5.1.10 Gulf War

The Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) was one of the conflicts in American history that were most strictly regulated. In addition to extra security, the censorship strategy was developed to boost and maintain support for American forces back home, in an effort to avoid "previous blunders" in the control of information that would have failed the Vietnam War (Kulmann, 2003; Mordan, 1999). The American approach to media freedom was considerably more constrictive than in the Vietnam War. The Pentagon started adopting the British model of press pools, known as news reporting units, to replicate the effective strategies the British MOD had employed during the Falklands War to manage media attention to the war (Wasilow S. M., 2017; McLaughlin, 2016). Military briefings were the primary source of information for the press. Just selected

correspondents were permitted to travel to the war field and interact with troops. These meetings were always presided over by commanders and were afterwards censored after receiving prior military approval. This was done mostly to stop Iraq from learning important information. The military's experience of the Vietnam War, during which American public resistance to the war developed over time, significantly impacted this policy. Newspapers throughout the world also reported the Persian Gulf War, which was prominently televised. Satellite technology, for example, provided a new kind of conflict coverage (Moore, 2001). The Museum of Broadcast Communications reported that military inventions were also made available to the media, like images from "camera-equipped high-tech weapons targeted at Iraqi positions". This marked the first time that the entire world could watch real-time footage of missiles striking their targets and fighters launching from warships as seen from the position of the technology. The application of night vision technology and photographs of exact ground bombardment provided the reporting with a modern twist that was intended to reflect video game graphics and promote the "war narrative". The majority of media networks, however, were mostly dependent on the data and footage provided by the armed forces due to the pool system. This reduced the opportunities for media to report on the war, despite technical developments that provided real-time coverage.

Despite how brief the Gulf War was, the administration's communication was crucial. After experiencing the TV coverage of the Vietnam War, the Pentagon tactfully presented the Gulf War to the American people by imposing certain controls on media coverage (Cumings, 1994). As part of the pool system, the U.S. army was instructed to accompany designated journalists to the conflict zones (Porch, 2002). For the first time, journalists had to be accompanied by personnel of the Department of Defense National Media Pool during this conflict. During the Gulf War, the media did make an effort to take a stand against the administration's access regulations. It marked progress following the media ban that the American armed forces used in Operation Urgent Fury, the Grenada operation in 1983. The American administration initially forbade media from entering the Caribbean Island during the early stages of the Grenada operation. Despite the cries for restrictions from the journalists' side, the need and demand for facts and data in the political public realm were so overwhelming that it led to competitive rivalry among journalists and their respective media organizations. The word "unilateral" was coined to designate the journalists who did not participate in press pools and were independent of the armed forces because of this. Approximately twenty independent journalists who competed with press pool journalists during the Gulf War were imprisoned or deported back to Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

5.1.11 Somalian Civil War

During the Somalia Civil war (1991) the media played a very different role because the intervention in Somalia was made public before it took place, the Department of Defense (DoD) found it difficult to regulate news media reporting because the media jumped at the chance to hold the war zone until the army arrived (Paul & Kim, 2005). Consequently, the media had easy accessibility. The public in the United States was incensed by the press images and footage showing American troops getting dragged through Mogadishu's streets. Osama bin Laden cited the Battle of Mogadishu in 1996 as evidence that the United States was unable to accept defeat. "As one American was getting dragged in the streets of Mogadishu, you withdrew; the degree of your ineptitude and shortcomings become extremely evident," he said (Bethune, 2007).

5.1.12 Yugoslav Wars

During the Yugoslav Wars (1991–2005), propaganda was used heavily in the journalism of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and also Bosnia to some extent. Each side had a different propaganda strategy during the battles. The nationalist narrative was disputed by a small number of unbiased voices in previous Yugoslavia's split media. But many academics have also contended that Western media sources used rhetorical strategies⁵⁷ when covering the fights, especially negatively portraying Serbs. The concept of "embedded press" was initially coined during the Bosnian War to refer to a kind of press practice that was relatively more professional and structured than those that were practiced during World War II and Vietnam (Paul & Kim, 2005). There were 24 news outlets, including both American and international mainstream media, represented by 33 correspondents who were generally assigned to the armed forces (Paul & Kim, 2005). It was discovered that relying on the devotion and commitment of reporters to the conditions under which they disseminate information served as a much acceptable strategy to regulate media as compared to open hostility towards the media (McLaughlin, 2016). The media was under intense surveillance and observation by the department of defence. It officially started with complete control over affairs using apparent and unrestricted censorship to access restrictions, then turned on the "press pool" system and set the groundwork for an embedding system. The Pentagon's approach to restricting correspondents from reporting from the forefront during the Kosovo War turned into a disaster

⁵⁷ It is used to educate, convince, or inspire certain audiences under particular circumstances.

when the reporters were granted entry to places of collateral damage caused by the allied bombing operation, which was so visual that this all resulted in news stories challenging the moral legitimacy of the NATO program (Paul & Kim, 2005).

5.1.13 Operation Enduring Freedom

When the Pentagon realized it was a mistake to restrict reporters' accessibility, they devised a proactive media relations strategy that enhances security protocols while permitting enough media access to stop devastating opponent propaganda from being reported without being challenged (Paul & Kim, 2005). American correspondents were unable to enter Afghanistan during the initial stages of the US War in Afghanistan (2001–2021). At the border, they were questioned and instructed they couldn't enter the land. Before the embed system, Pakistan, a neighbouring country, published most of the news covering Afghanistan. Although there was initially no plan for journalists to be embedded, they could accompany US troops and be stationed at the Bagram Airbase, where they were given little exposure to the places where the strikes were carried out. Compared to the restrictions imposed on the coverage of earlier activities, the obstacles they encountered were more severe. In addition, they were not permitted to communicate with Special Operations forces, which made it challenging to report on the conflict because the majority of ground missions were carried out by Special Operations troops, whose tactics and equipment were confidential (Paul & Kim, 2005). As a result of constant objections by journalists, the "press pool" program was eventually discontinued, and then senior officials began discussing an official embedding program.

5.1.14 Iraq War

Another crucial time period for war reporting was the Iraq War (2003-2011). It was the first conflict to be streamed live on television, and also Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), which implemented the first-ever extensive embedding program, provided the media with the most access to a conflict since the Vietnam War. The Pentagon was compelled to develop a thorough and organized media management program due to the sheer magnitude of the massive military operation, which also created tremendous public attention throughout the world. With the introduction of the formal embedding plan, reporters gained access to military personnel and ongoing war missions. American policy prohibited journalists who had been "embedded" from later "non-embedding". In other words, the journalists would adhere to the guidelines set forth by their sponsors and would not be permitted to leave the confines of their protection to independently cover stories, a practice known as "working outside the wire". If a reporter

wanted to do anything different, they would have to immediately quit the embedding program. A written policy declaration would be signed by the host organization as well as the journalists who were embedded. It stated that all discussions held would be on the record, and it also included a checklist of information that could and could not be released. In lieu of being accommodated by the armed forces, journalists committed not to divulge the mentioned information unless it was officially disclosed by the Defense Department or received other authorization. Since the situation became increasingly dire, using the embed program was preferable for media organizations. At the start of 2003, around 700 journalists—representing about 250 media outlets, with the majority coming from the US and British media, were embedded with American forces (Sylvester & Huffman, 2005; Price, 2009). There were almost 1,000 international and domestic media professionals overall (Wasilow S. M., 2017), and some of them were independent journalists who managed to enter Afghanistan on their own to connect with fixers and the Northern Alliance forces. By the time American forces entered Iraq in the spring, there were just 26 embeds left. By 2004, there were scarcely any because most journalists were still stationed in Baghdad (Sylvester & Huffman, 2005). As of 2008, only about 9 journalists were still embedded (PEW, 2007). Noam Chomsky and other media critics have asserted that because the media upheld the legitimacy of the Iraq war by working as a propaganda tool, it endorsed the fundamental tenets of the government (Archive, 2005). Even though the majority of people supported the UN-approved invasion of Iraq (Moore D. W., 2002; Page & Bouton, 2008). Also, it is significant to understand a different type of embedding that Canada introduced in 2006 when it joined the war in Afghanistan, but that was modelled on a policy the Pentagon had implemented in Iraq (2003). The main distinction between the American and Canadian systems was that journalists who were embedded under the Canadian Forces Media Embedding Program (CFMEMP) could be un-embed and re-embed for a certain period. This gave the media the freedom to report on non-CF (Canadian Forces) activities, disengage from military command, and look for local help independently. This was a significant move since it gave the media more latitude to report on non-militaristic topics. From then on, they could follow local events and offer the largest viewpoint possible. The American embedding strategy differs markedly from its counterpart in that it permits journalists to leave the military's supervision. American reporters would have to completely withdraw from the embedding system if they so desired. Canadian embedded reporters had the option to de-embed because the CF lacked the vehicles to transport the reporters who joined the army missions (Wasilow S. M., 2017). During un-embedding, journalists would be required to set up their facilities, including hiring a vehicle, a facilitator, and possibly protective equipment. A fixer

could be a local source who handled all of the journalist's arrangements and frequently acted as an interpreter. A journalist would be subject to the embedding policies and procedures just when they came back to the command post. The framework and standards of the media embedding program have an impact on how reporters can access information and construct reports.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The proportion of journalists reporting on conflicts and wars in the English-language media expanded significantly as a result of the advancement of modern technologies in the communication system and the rise in awareness in the western world. For instance, roughly 600 war reporters covered the American Civil War, about 1,600 covered the Korean War, and approximately 5,000 were authorized to cover the Vietnam War. Embedded journalists have access to the frontlines of warfare that they may not have in a protected environment. War journalists have profited from official military security and never-before-seen exposure to the forefront of conflict ever since the advent of established embedding systems at the turn of the twenty-first century. Under certain circumstances, the special access made it possible for journalism that updates its audience about military missions in overseas conflicts to adhere to a requirement of transparency and promptness. However, there is a price to pay. From the perspective of the media, there are concerns over how a correspondent who lives, works, and travels with the host military department can provide realistic war coverage.

CHAPTER 6

A COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATION OF THE REGULATIONS STANDARDISING JOURNALISTIC ETHICS IN PAKISTAN

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Free and democratic societies rely on press freedom, with the press serving as the crucial resource of transparency, accountability, and open public discourse in a nation. The freedom of the press is a critical factor in democracy, for it is the watchdog that keeps citizens informed of current affairs and government activities at all levels. It gives people access to a wholesome, fair, and diverse state of information which is essential for them to make the right decisions as well as to partake in their democratic system. Press freedom particularly contributes to public mobilization in support of human rights and the exposure of their infringement. Hence, a free press must be protected because it is the essential element to the existence of democratic nations. For a government to be transparent and effective, it is essential to have a means of restraining the power of government. However, freedom of the press is not absolute, and it may be restricted for the benefit of human rights. For instance, freedom of the press cannot lead to the violation of human dignity or incite hate speech or violence.

Article 19 of the Pakistani Constitution seeks press freedom to achieve that aim. It demonstrates an adherence to democratic principles in recognizing the importance of the press in shaping public opinion and ensuring the integrity of institutions. Nonetheless, the mere existence of constitutional guarantees does not establish absolute press freedom in practical terms. Rather, given the diverse roles and responsibilities of the press in different societies, the fulfilment of this right depends on local reality. Consequently, determining whether press freedom effectively enhances governmental accountability and transparency necessitates careful judgment in consideration of the specific context. The existence of legal provisions or constitutional guarantees supposedly allowing the press to function freely is only part of the requisite analysis of how free speech is protected. Several other factors arise, including the general legal framework within which the press operates, the lack of legislation, and finally, the degree of general acceptance and observance of the rule of law, limiting the freedom enjoyed by the press. But there is a myriad of constraints on the media today that can limit its ability to function as it would like. Although the Constitution is understood to provide relatively clear support for a “free press,” these constraints prevent the press from being as “free” as they might like. Many of these constraints are a result of situations in which certain factions of

society believed it was necessary to limit the media in some way. A general overview of the constraints might break them up into two broad categories. Some constraints are legal constraints, i.e., there are written laws that are designed to limit what the media can and cannot report. Others are “given” and are actually how the media goes about its everyday business. Besides, press freedom takes on a whole new form when communication is done over the internet. Digital communication and online journalism reveal many facets of freedom of the press. When it comes to Pakistan, most of the problems that have to do with press freedom in the digital form would be with cyber laws, online censorship, and the ideas of freedom of expression regarding any possible harm or damage that could be done to the country.

The protection of press freedom is probably the most indispensable in Pakistan in the field of conflict reporting. Within areas characterized by political instability, social unrest, or warfare, press freedom acquires a heightened level of importance as one of the most viable agents of accountability and transparency. Journalists experience several issues in seeking objective, truthful news in these regions. They are the voice for the voiceless, exposing the cracks in the facade of government, and also pointing out where human rights need to be addressed. There are obstacles at every step of the way for journalists. These include the legal issues that the media is forced to refrain from. Another obstacle faced by journalists is the personal threats of death and abduction which in turn render them ineffective in their duty to achieve objectivity. Border and insurgency-affected areas are significant regions for journalists where they have to work through political complexities, potential security risks, and the threat of backlash from the concerned parties. The Pakistani constitution guarantees the freedom of the press; however, it is rarely seen enjoying its independence. The press is jeered by both external pressures and internal conflicts of interest. These issues are more magnified and more intense when covering a conflict. A code of ethics only regulates their daily practices of accuracy, objectivity, and disclosure. Although covering conflicts or a war is more complicated and demands a different course of action. Balancing between the duty of objective reporting and the obligation of reducing harm so as to avoid aggravating the issues requires prudence based on ethical norms. Due to these considerations, it is even more necessary to determine solutions to the legal structure supporting press freedom and setting standards of ethics in Pakistan or at least ensuring that they are being enforced. While Constitutional guarantees must be looked at, it is important to understand that they are not to be taken as a standalone factor. The real-life barriers and ethical dilemmas faced by journalists must also be considered. In Pakistan, what journalists are going through is not unique; they reflect the wider imperatives for global media safety. In

almost all conflicts or under authoritarian regimes in many parts of the world, reporters experience similar threats to life, liberty, and free journalism.

This chapter aims to examine the legal framework governing press freedom and journalistic ethics in Pakistan. It intends to explore not only the strength and promises of existing constitutional guarantees but also the subtleties, dilemmas, and challenges journalists face while aiming to establish a strong and independent media. The chapter has sought to outline issues within press freedom in Pakistan and has further aimed to contribute to broadening understanding of how press freedom could be developed in such a way as to be informed by basic democratic principles and ideals. In journalism-specific terms, the behaviour and practices of media practitioners are very much influenced by codes of conduct and ethics. The purpose of this chapter is not only to bring out the strengths and potential of the constitutional guarantees that exist but also to bring out the minute features and obstacles that journalists face during the process of creating a strenuous and independent media culture. The chapter aims to evolve effective insights for building the dynamics of the fourth pillar to media freedom and accomplishing a desirable media landscape in tune with the democratic dispensation. Ethical guidelines within the journalism field are important for helping to guide and determine the conduct of media practitioners. These principles work to maintain the integrity of journalism and shield the public's rights to receive pristine and impartial information. Throughout Pakistan, the media follows the contentious code of ethics that focuses on issues including accuracy, impartiality, and most importantly, the public's right to information. A commitment to these standards is an investment in social responsibility. It assures that accurate, reliable, and quality information is delivered in the industry. A journalist's Code of Ethics is a written document to provide, support, and maintain high standards in professional journalism. This chapter looks at the Journalists Code of Ethics in Pakistan and the way this has worked with Judiciary issues and Constitutional issues. How journalistic ethics in an organized community follow the legal framework of press freedom during peacetime and also war/conflicts. Before discussing the overall journalism practices in Pakistan, it is important to delve into the international measures provided for journalists which carry universal laws and regulations.

6.2 MEASURES FOR CONFLICT REPORTING

There is no set constitution or international instrument that specifically regulates conflict journalism directly. This implies that there is no one particular law that outlines what journalists should and should not do in times of conflict. Some factors within international law are directly

related to conflict journalism or could affect conflict reporting, mainly in terms of journalistic protection and freedom of expression.

6.2.1 Protection of Civilians under International Humanitarian Law (IHL)⁵⁸

Laws: The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols I and II.

Articles: Geneva Convention IV, Article 27: Protection of civilians in times of conflict.

Additional Protocol I, Article 51(2): Protection of civilians from the effects of hostilities.

According to IHL, journalists embedded with military forces are still considered civilians. This is according to the principle of distinction, which states that parties to a conflict must distinguish at all times between the civilian population and combatants to spare civilians. Journalists, along with other non-combatant civilians, may not be the subject of direct attack, but, of course, like any other civilian, can still be reached if a legitimate target is nearby, and journalists may be inadvertently or circumstantially killed or injured. The Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols prohibit only deliberate attacks on journalists and other civilians who are not taking a direct part in hostilities. In the Pakistani context, the military made it necessary for journalists to be restricted from operating in certain areas to protect journalists from potential hidden dangers during armed conflict.

6.2.2 Freedom of Expression and Right to Information

Laws: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Articles: ICCPR, Article 19: Protection of the right to freedom of expression.

ICCPR, Article 21: Right to peaceful assembly and freedom of association.

The right to freedom of expression of journalists is a right enshrined and protected by international law as one of the fundamental human rights. The right entails the freedom to seek, receive, and impart ideas and information. Any limitation on its exercise must adhere to the principles of necessity and proportionality, as grounded in international human rights law. During the Pakistani war against terrorism, journalists faced certain types of limitations in the name of national security concerns to prevent the release of classified intelligence about ongoing military operations or to secure the state's interests in countering terrorism.

6.2.3 Access to Information during Armed Conflicts

⁵⁸ This is later discussed in detail.

Laws: There is not a specific treaty dealing directly with access to information during armed conflicts. It falls under the wider umbrella of human rights law.

Articles: ICCPR, Article 19: Right to seek, receive, and impart information.

The rights to seek and impart information are inherent in freedom of expression. Both these rights are protected under international human rights law (UNHCR, 1996) and have been acknowledged as having special importance during armed conflicts, where access to accurate and timely information is crucial. International law stresses the significance of access to information to provide accountable and responsible information during armed conflicts. On the other hand, the Pakistani state has been restricting access to conflict areas to uphold the confidentiality of military operations.

6.2.4 Protection from Retaliation and Safety Measures

Laws: ICCPR; UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity.

Articles: ICCPR, Article 19: Right to protection from retaliation for exercising the right to freedom of expression.

It is argued that a risk to national security is posed when the media becomes too critical of government or military actions, which may outweigh the danger to freedom of expression. Thus, such criticism could potentially aid terrorist organizations or undermine the security of the state. International human rights laws are implemented to protect journalists from retaliation. Governments are expected to implement safety measures for journalists, but in some cases, governments might want to implement more security measures that may restrict journalists' access to certain areas. This exact situation happened in Pakistan throughout the entire course of military operations in the country.

6.2.5 Ethical Considerations and Perception Management

Laws: International law does not explicitly guide ethical regulations, whereas these considerations are generally regulated by professional codes of conduct.

Guidelines: Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) Code of Ethics/ Reuters Handbook of Journalism.

International law reflects on the dissemination of transparent and true information. Also, journalists' code of ethics instructs journalists on reporting unbiased and balanced information. In the Pakistani scenario, during the start of the Pakistani war against terrorism, the media used to report militants' statements, but later, the media was completely banned from giving them space. This was because glorifying terrorists' statements harms national security and may

spread terror among the population. To conclude, these laws may vary based on their interpretation and application by each country, and what a government may consider a legitimate security measure could be seen as a violation of fundamental human rights. Several countries, such as Pakistan, face challenges to balance the imperatives of national security and standards of international human rights.

6.3 PROTECTING JOURNALISTS AND MEDIA PROFESSIONALS AMIDST CONFLICT⁵⁹

Reporting from war zones is increasingly perilous for journalists. Not only do war correspondents grapple with traditional challenges like war, but they also contend with new unpredictable perils, such as bombings, and the use of advanced weaponry. Underlying these is the attitude of belligerents who struggle for images ahead of the well-being of reporters. Cumulatively, these factors increase the dangers journalists face in war zones. To address this dangerous trend, Reporters Without Borders issued a "Declaration on the Safety of Journalists and Media Personnel in Situations of Armed Conflict." It was first published on 20 January 2003 and then reissued on 8 January 2004 to take account of events in Iraq. In this declaration, Reporters Without Borders reminds the parties of a conflict of the principles and rules of international humanitarian law that protect journalists and media personnel. The goal was to improve existing laws by making them relevant to modern-day threats. Key points included the idea that attacking journalists is illegal and that authorities are obliged to take measures to protect media staff during any armed forces action. In short, the declaration wanted to make it safer for journalists and others in the media during the war.

6.3.1 Illegality of attacks on journalists and news media

As per international humanitarian law, assaults on journalists and the news media are considered illegitimate in light of the protections civilians and civilian objects enjoy. By and large, media outlets are not military objectives, even if they are used for propaganda. Journalists and their equipment are, in essence, protected in the same way as civilians and civilian objects unless they are directly participating in hostilities. Journalists are divided into two main groups as far as humanitarian law is concerned: war correspondents "accompanying the armed forces" and independent journalists. War correspondents are journalists with special status since they

⁵⁹ This section is retrieved from the casebook of ICRC. It is a detailed summary of how law protects journalists in war.

are “attached” to the armed forces and “placed under the authority” of a military unit. They are specialized journalists who are allowed to enter the battlefield and provide information about what they see. The term includes correspondents, reporters, photographers, and their technical personnel who assist them in the performance of their primary professional tasks. War correspondents, often accompanying armed forces without formal membership, fall into a nebulous category of individuals associated with the war effort but not part of the military. Despite this, they retain civilian status and corresponding protections. Additionally, they may be accorded prisoner-of-war status if captured by the enemy, provided they were duly authorized to accompany the armed forces.

6.3.2 Protection of journalists engaged in dangerous professional missions

During the Diplomatic Conference that took place in Geneva from 1974 to 1977, it was acknowledged that there was a pressing need to enhance the safety of journalists who undertake risky missions. As a result, a specific provision, known as Article 79, was included in Protocol I, which supplemented Article 4(A)(4) of the Third Geneva Convention. However, it is important to note that this provision did not bring about any changes in the treatment of war correspondents. Article 79 explicitly states that journalists who operate in dangerous professional capacities within conflict zones are considered civilians under international humanitarian law. Therefore, they are entitled to the same comprehensive protection that is provided to civilians. This includes safeguarding against the negative consequences of hostilities and protection from arbitrary actions by warring parties, such as capture or arrest. It is worth mentioning that the creators of Protocol I made a deliberate choice not to establish a separate status for journalists, as they recognized that this could potentially weaken the protective measures associated with the proliferation of special statuses. Article 79's reference to the identity card is solely intended to verify one's journalist status, with no accompanying privileges. Furthermore, journalists are also entitled to civilian protections in non-international armed conflicts.

There is a level of uncertainty regarding the status of embedded journalists. Embedded journalists, who align themselves with combat units and are subject to specific conditions set by those units, have been compared to war correspondents protected by the Third Geneva Convention. While British guidelines recognize embedded journalists as prisoners of war. French military authorities classify them as "unilaterals," granting them only civilian status according to Article 79 of Protocol I. They are represented as employing armed bodyguards

carrying several risks for other journalists too. Incidents like the CNN crew's security force in Northern Iraq depicted what these dangers could entail. This is also not part of professional practice and further blurs the line between journalists and fighters. Reporters Without Borders has raised concerns, about the possible consequences for conflict reporters. Despite taking protective measures like using bulletproof vehicles and vests, reliance on security forces will either increase risk or damage objective journalism. Loss of protection for journalists is contingent on direct participation in hostilities, as outlined in Articles 79.2 and 51.3 of Protocol I. The Commentary of Article 51.3 clarifies that direct participation encompasses acts likely to cause harm to enemy personnel or equipment. Engaging in propaganda alone does not constitute direct participation. However, journalists forfeit immunity and become legitimate targets only when directly involved in hostilities. Once they cease such activities, they regain entitlement to protection against hostile effects.

6.3.3 Can media facilities constitute legitimate military objectives

In examining whether media facilities can be deemed legitimate military objectives, it is imperative to delve into the framework of international humanitarian law. It is under principles of law that attacks can only be directed to the strictly defined objectives of the military. The idea of military objectives has become very limited; in the past, it was total war, but now it can only be concerning war. Although the objects that fit the criteria of military objectives are extensive. According to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), radio and television stations may be military objectives in certain circumstances.

In the contemporary world, many things serve dual purposes, of military and civilians. This duality may challenge protective measures. Objects which are normally dedicated to serving civilians, such as roads and railways, may become military targets if they are being used as part of a military operation. Military objectives can have both civilian and military uses. For example, the Ministry of Information building in Baghdad was bombed twice during the 2003 coalition forces' operations in Iraq. It was well known that the building also housed international media offices and was thus a mixed military objective. The same happened with the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad, where they often received foreign reporters; the hotel was attacked by a US-run tank claiming that Iraqi representatives assembled there earlier. Besides, in Yugoslavia, the entire television station RTS was bombed during a NATO airstrike operation, to which the building served as part of an integrated command, control, and communications network for the Serbian Army.

In terms of media, there is also the question of lawful military targets when media facilities are used for propaganda purposes. During the 2003 Iraq campaign, there were accusations that the British media were helping the Iraqis to propagandize, and some suggest that under the law the British broadcasters' premises were legitimate targets. Also, the commission of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) made it clear that media facilities, which are only engaged in propaganda, do not constitute a legitimate target. Even if they are engaged in spreading propaganda in support of the war effort, it is not an object which makes an effective contribution to military action.

This stance marks a departure from the concept of "total war," where enemy morale was considered a legitimate military objective. Recognizing psychological warfare against civilians as legitimate would remove constraints on violence, reminiscent of the Second World War era. Amnesty International stresses that although interfering in government propaganda might have a moral effect, to justify attacks against civilian facilities stretches the interpretation of laws of war too far. However, not all practices of propaganda are accepted. Such as those inciting war crimes, genocide, or violence are outlawed, and the media that disseminates such propaganda ceases to be a legitimate target. For example, the media that incited genocide in Rwanda, like Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines and the newspaper Kangura in Rwanda in 1994, could be deemed a legitimate target. How the media is used to incite crimes calls for reconsidering its protected status under international humanitarian law. Even though media facilities are civilian objects, their dual-usage or involvement in propaganda practices can infringe the protection media facilities are entitled to under IHL. But the rules must not be manipulated to encourage the wrong type of media coverage. Thus, it is critically important to carefully navigate these complexities. There should be compliance with legal standards while maintaining the principles of humanitarian protection.

6.3.4 Obligation to take precautionary measures when launching attacks

The legality of an attack hinges not just on the target being a military objective, but also on whether the necessary precautions, particularly regarding proportionality and warning obligations, have been taken. Journalists and news media don't have a special status but are shielded by the general protection afforded to civilians and civilian objects by Protocol I. The principle of proportionality, aimed at curbing harm to journalists and media, was formally incorporated into international conventions only in 1977. It seeks to minimize collateral damage during military operations by ensuring a reasonable balance between legitimate

destruction and unintended harmful effects. According to this principle, incidental harm to protected persons and property from an attack must not outweigh the anticipated military advantage. Another crucial aspect is the obligation to caution against an attack in advance. Doubts were raised about NATO's compliance with this obligation when it bombed the RTS building in Yugoslavia and when the United States targeted the Baghdad offices of Al-Jazeera and Abu Dhabi television networks without prior warning to journalists present there. Protocol I mandates an 'effective advance warning,' but the means of delivering this warning can vary based on circumstances. While direct warnings to the civilian population are preferred, such as through leaflets or radio broadcasts, the obligation to warn is considered customary in character, as confirmed by the practices of numerous states in armed conflicts.

Furthermore, the adequacy of means used in attacks is questioned. According to Article 52.2 of Protocol I, the target doesn't have to be destroyed; it could be captured or neutralized. Doing that assures both military advantage and the minimum amount of civilian casualties and collateral damage to civilians. To sum up, according to international humanitarian law, journalists and their equipment are viewed as civilians and civilian objects respectively. They are protected from attack, but they are not completely exempted. They are protected unless they take certain actions such as participating in warfare. For the media, immunity does not apply if the media is utilized for military purposes or to instigate war crimes or hostility. Even if there can be a justification for an attack on the media, preventive measures are applied to protect the civilian population and civilian objects.

6.3.5 United Nations Security Council Resolution on Protecting Journalists in Armed Conflict

Within the context of conflict, the Security Council emphasizes the primary importance of the safety and security of civilians and stresses the responsibility of conflict parties to follow necessary protocols to uphold the safety of civilians. The resolution, passed on December 23, 2006, endorses the standards laid down in the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocols, as Article 79 of Additional Protocols I concerning the safety of journalists in the conflict zone. Strongly condemning premeditated attacks on journalists and media personnel during armed conflicts, the Council reiterates that such attacks are unacceptable and are infringements of international humanitarian law. The Council stresses that all individuals who have committed or are attempting to create detrimental crimes against the treaties signed by Geneva must be brought to trial by the States regardless of their nationality. Noting its deep concern at the rising violence against journalists worldwide, which is contrary to international humanitarian law, the

Council emphasizes the extreme urgency and importance of the issue, underscores the significant role of the Secretary-General in providing a comprehensive understanding of the issue, and calls for an immediate end to such unacceptable practices. The Council resolved that journalists and other media personnel performing their professional tasks in conflict zones should be considered civilians, as long as they are not taking an action that deprives them of the status of civilians. Also, the Council stated that media equipment and installations will qualify as civilian objects provided that they are not being used for military purposes. The Council condemns any incitement to violence against civilians in situations of armed conflict. Inciting genocide or crimes against humans will be prosecuted under the rules of international law. Conflicting parties are obligated to protect all civilians, including media personnel. Also, the States are obligated to stop impunity and to impeach the violators of international humanitarian law. This reinforces the need to protect the professional freedom and rights of media personnel as civilians. The Council underscores that intentional attacks on journalists committed in violation of international humanitarian law may exacerbate situations involving the maintenance of international peace and security and may call for appropriate action by the Council. The Council reasserts its determination to ensure the protection of journalists and media personnel during armed conflicts, underlining the crucial role played by international law in the preservation of peace and security.

Before discussing the Journalists Protection Act in Pakistan, it is essential to explore the codes and ethics followed by journalists under different ethical bodies and organizations.

6.4 JOURNALISTS CODE OF ETHICS IN PAKISTAN

Directives related to journalistic ideals and ethics are enormously important in journalism. These are the codes that either are written or otherwise acceptable behaviours of media persons while performing their duties, fulfilling their responsibilities, or serving their functions. These ethical principles are supreme in maintaining the practices of media professionals and are responsible at the same time playing a positive and constructive role in ensuring the media's accountability and credibility and meanwhile guaranteeing the people their legal and ethical right to have correct information. Professional media organizations across Pakistan have adopted codes of ethics to ensure the right of people to fair, true and objective news, unhindered and without any sort of external pressures. These codes of ethics guarantee fairness, objectivity, and public access rights in the contents of news, features, articles, and editorials. These ethical standards provide a foundation to encourage journalism practice and to develop trust in media.

A professional media code is concrete proof that representatives of the Fourth Estate, the torchbearers of a democratic society, value and respect the credibility of their profession and are devoted to maintaining high-quality standards of media services.

Accuracy is a constant factor in journalistic ethics. This media principle in Pakistan especially puts a strong emphasis on verification and scrutiny of the information before it is disseminated to the public. The main objective is to prevent inaccuracies and to provide information to people based on facts which in return create good social effects. It is important to follow the principles of impartiality and honesty in moral responsibility. It gives the right information to the public and opens the way for improvement in social bases. Another fundamental principle of journalistic ethics is fairness. The guidelines emphasize the importance of impartial reporting, and journalists are encouraged to show a variety of perspectives. Journalists are also instructed to not favour or discriminate against any news content. These principles help journalists contribute to a diverse and comprehensive media ecosystem. Freedom of speech, public opinion and exchange of views are fundamental rights of human beings all over the globe. In journalistic ethics, the public right to know is a fundamental principle and Pakistani media also adhere to disclosing the facts and figures to the public which are in favour of the public interest. The Journalistic Code of Ethics also advocates for ethical behaviour and transparent and accountable conduct towards the public. The norm of public disclosure plays a crucial role in facilitating the appropriate spread of information and facts that can enlighten the minds of the public.

6.4.1 Ethical Bodies and Organizations in Pakistan:

Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ)

Exerting a dynamic influence on the well-being of the journalist community, the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) stands as an emblem of unity among journalists nationwide. Renowned for advocating on behalf of working journalists and press freedom in the country, the organization places significant emphasis on enhancing the standards of journalism by encouraging ethical and responsible behaviour among journalists. PFUJ provides ethical guidance in a variety of ways, including a published code of ethics that provides a detailed and wide-ranging set of specific rules and regulations that apply to all member bodies and journalists. The Code of Ethics aims to strike a balance among various principles of responsible and ethical journalism according to global norms.

In Pakistan, apart from PFUJ, many other organizations and entities have formulated codes of conduct and ethical guidelines for journalists. These codes and guidelines are aimed at maintaining a high level of professionalism, accuracy, and ethics in journalistic practices in Pakistan. An example of such an organization is the All-Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS). All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) is the representative organization of the major newspaper owners in Pakistan commonly emphasizing the ethical standards and disciplines of media and journalism; mainly accuracy, confirmation, transparency, accountability, and professionalism as well as serving the public interest. Another important organization in Pakistan which promotes objective journalism, responsible journalism, professional journalism, and transparency in media therein is the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE).

CPNE is a representative body of the editors of major newspapers in the country and has a focus on issues related to editorials, especially ethical considerations. It consistently engages in conversations and initiatives aimed at elevating the standards of journalism, ensuring, at the very least, that the responsible conduct of media practitioners can be attained or changed. CPNE does not have an independent code of ethics; however, it strongly advocates for journalism integrity, editorial freedom, and ethical journalism. To address industry challenges and promote ethical practices in journalism, the organization regularly collaborates with other media entities such as PFUJ and APNS. The collective organizations of Pakistan, namely CPNE, PFUJ, and APNS, serve as guardians to ensure ethical journalism in the country, actively constructively contributing to responsible journalism. Journalists in Pakistan can approach these organizations for guidance and support in maintaining the ethical standards of their work. The outcome is the creation of an ethical media environment in the country. The Press Council of Pakistan is a statutory body established by the government with the main objective of preserving the freedom of the press, maintaining, and improving the standards of newspapers and news agencies in Pakistan, upholding public interest, and safeguarding the rights and interests of the public at large. The Press Council doesn't have a direct code of ethics but has the power to receive complaints against newspapers and news agencies for the violation of journalistic ethics. The Press Council can investigate the complaint and can also take action while instructing to maintain the professional and ethical standard of journalism.

PEMRA, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority, is another government body that deals with media regulations and ethics primarily regulating the electronic media which is mainly television and radio stations. Some of the main functions of PEMRA are to regulate and issue licenses, manage, and allocate frequencies and monitor. Apart from that PEMRA

also takes the copyrights, individual rights, and the ethical aspects of broadcasting. PEMRA formulated certain norms and ethical codes for the broadcast media which are required to be followed by each electronic media house. These rules of PEMRA were made to carry disciplined and graceful norms in the broadcast industry. Some of those principles are; the prevention of hate speech, protection of the minors from indecent content, and making sure of the diversity of the content. All the codes and regulations have been established to ensure responsible operation, adherence to certain ethical standards and ensuring that electronic media establishments are contributing positively to society. The breach of these codes can lead to penalties, fines, or the potentiality of having the license repealed. Being a regulatory body PEMRA has certain ethical guidelines for the electronic media in Pakistan. It is not a journalistic code of ethics but contains essential elements that bring professionalism to the working of electronic media in the country. PEMRA has the authority to enforce many principles or elements to be practiced by the electronic media to work professionally and responsibly. Several Governmental, Non-Governmental, Quasi-Governmental, and non-government bodies are working together to enforce the ethical guidelines for the functioning of the media in Pakistan.

6.4.2 Legal Consequences of Violating Ethical Standards in Pakistani Journalism

Journalism is an essential part of democracy, and people have the right to know about certain events or happenings. Journalism is mainly about providing people with the information they have the right to know, and it is about getting the information out in the open. Similar to most other countries in the world, in Pakistan, journalists are expected to maintain certain ethical standards to ensure accuracy, fairness, and responsible reporting. At times, it may not attract legal consequences, but many times journalistic practices may exceed the legal boundaries. When this happens, different legal frameworks may be invoked. This section of the chapter examines specific laws Pakistani journalists would face when journalistic practices exceed legal boundaries. The legal consequences of breaching various ethical standards may lead to the following legal implications: Defamation Laws, Contempt of Court, Defense and National Security Issues, Cybercrime laws, other media laws/regulations, PEMRA regulations, and Proceedings of the Press Council of Pakistan.

Defamation Laws: Laws concerning the safety of individuals and organizations should be known to journalists. Generally, defamation is considered libel when the defamation is in written form that can be printed in any newspaper or appears on a broadcast. Conversely, if the

defamation is in oral form, it is referred to as slander. For example, let's say that a journalist is writing an "investigative article" about how some public figure has embezzled a large amount of money from his political campaigns. Now the journalist probably does not have enough information to say whether the figure is guilty and decides to release the article with little or no evidence. Well, after reputation and a bunch of other catastrophes that he probably caused; it turns out the writer had no evidence against the governor. Can the governor now sue him for defamation? Yes. If the journalist cannot prove that his claims against the governor were true, then he is indeed libel.

Defamation Lawsuit against Dawn 2016: Having a government official challenged over a national security meeting, Dawn 2016 faced a defamation lawsuit based on a story that the newspaper had published. The newspaper was hit with legal repercussions, including having its circulation temporarily suspended in specific areas, emphasizing how some published information can result in being taken to court.

Contempt of court: Journalists could be in contempt of court if their reporting is seen to interfere with the course of justice or show disrespect for the authority of the courts. This includes publishing material that could prejudice legal proceedings that are still in progress. For example, a journalist could be held in contempt of court if they publish speculative and prejudicial information about a well-known court case before a verdict has been reached. If a journalist does this, it could sway public opinion and make the outcome of a trial unfair. The journalist could then be fined or imprisoned.

Geo News Contempt of Court Case 2014: At the start of 2014, the famous private news channel, Geo News, faced massive charges of contempt of court when a Geo News anchor went on broadcasting in favour of a political party by the name of MQM instead of giving out neutral views. As a result, the channel was fined while also facing legal repercussions.

PEMRA regulations are very strict, ensuring that there are no negative content shows on TV. For example, a television channel starts a program that promotes hate speech and/or violence. PEMRA has the right to sue the channel legally, revoke their license, or impose a fine. Journalists who engage in hate speech and violence-promotion programs may face professional penalties.

Geo News vs PEMRA – 2014: Contemporary to 2014, Geo News broadcast a program that was considered defamatory and heinous towards the Pakistani Military establishment, which was initiated after the attack on Hamid Mir, including accusations against the intelligence agencies of the country, specifically ISI. As a result of this broadcast, PEMRA took strict actions against Geo, which primarily consisted of a heavy fine and suspension of the channel's

license, which was again appraised. PEMRA found Geo in violation of its regulations because the content propagated was believed to be diminishing the reputation of state institutions. This case, in which Geo had to face monetary penalties along with the suspension of the license, exhibits how the regulatory authority has the potential to penalize media based on ethical transgressions and reminds the importance of complying with PEMRA regulations.

Bol News Suspension: In 2017, Bol News, a well-known news channel in Pakistan, also encountered regulatory gatekeeping. PEMRA raised many issues regarding the content of this channel, mainly its program "News @ 3", for breaching ethical standards while broadcasting offensive content. PEMRA suspended Bol News' license for 30 days because it breached the "Electronic Media Code of Conduct". The regulator justifies its suspension while mentioning the importance of responsible journalism and how media is supposed to bear ethical standards while presenting its content.

The Press Council of Pakistan is a self-regulatory organization (SRO) that handles complaints from newspapers and news agencies. It is not a judicial court and cannot impose legal punishment but can only give suggestions, guidelines, or directions to the media organization(s) if found guilty of violating the code of ethics and professional conduct. If a newspaper publishes a baseless, fabricated story that tarnishes the image and reputation of an individual, the individual whose image is tarnished may take the matter to the Press Council of Pakistan, which will inquire into the matter and propose the necessary actions, corrections, and guidelines for the newspaper to follow to avoid a similar act against individuals whose image and reputation have been at stake because of a news item that had been proved false or fabricated.

In 2018, the Press Council of Pakistan received a complaint filed against a well-known newspaper. The complaint claimed that the newspaper had published a story containing false information that was damaging the reputation of a person. The Press Council, therefore, investigated the complaint after summoning the content complained of and went through it to bring the complaint within the parameters of the Code of Ethics given in the Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance 2002. The complainant and the newspaper were allowed to explain their points of view. After the inquiry, the Press Council of Pakistan made certain recommendations to the newspaper, which may include the publication of corrections, apology, issuing guidelines, etc., intending to avoid similar breaches of ethics in the future. This shows the special role of the Press Council of Pakistan in addressing such discriminatory and unethical issues.

The Press Council of Pakistan usually deals with complaints about publishing relating to those events that are sensitive and may have potential ethical implications or consequences. For instance, any issue related to offending privacy, sensational press, crudeness, etc. The Press Council usually checks the complaint whether the press has adopted accepted ethical standards of journalism in what is released in the media and what is the nature of the release. Then it will check the ethical standard; for example, ethical standards include responsible journalism such as not exposing the name of a rape victim and so on. Thus, the Council tries its level best to strike a balance between the freedom of expression and irresponsible journalism. Based on facts and figures, the council may issue recommendations or other measures as it may deem fit to improve the standards of the media to make sure that reporting is done within ethical standards and that, at the same time, the rights of the citizens to obtain information must not be compromised.

The aforementioned situations are just a few examples of many incidents that the Press Council of Pakistan has taken on. Working as a self-regulating body, this organization promotes responsible journalism and has a process in place to deal with complaints from the general public or even just those involved in that particular story.

Cybercrime law: Journalists need to be aware of many cyber laws and policies. Distributing false information online, online harassment, or cyberstalking, invading online privacy, or distributing the intellectual product of another individual without permission or without giving credit are all examples of violating federal cybercrime laws. For example, if a journalist were to post something online that tarnishes someone's name that is not valid and indeed was untrue, then the journalist may be penalized according to several cybercrime laws such as the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act, which is a 2016 act that involves the cybercrimes of dissemination of false information and hate speech (Yilmaz, 2023).

Social Media Activist Cybercrime Case (2017): In 2017, a social media activist in Pakistan was charged under the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act for sharing false information online. This case revealed that getting involved in online activities which might be considered defamatory or unfavourable may have legal consequences.

Journalists have to operate within the confines of the constitution, which binds their rights to freedom of speech and expression. Article 19 provides media persons with the freedom to speak and express without state interference. However, the same article imposes reasonable restrictions in the interest of both private parties and the state. Some laws which journalists have to consider before going on air or print media are the PEC Ordinance 1984, Defamation, Contempt of Court Act, PEMRA Regulations, Press Council Of Pakistan, Cyber Law and

others. Breach of ethics in any of these areas can be risky for journalists like liability under defamation, Suo moto reaction from higher courts, working under the umbrella of PEMRA, Press Council of Pakistan and Cyber Crime Law and other media-specific laws adopted by the country. In totality, it can be said that ethical standards are the only tools journalists can use to save themselves under these laws and uphold media credibility.

The discussed incident highlights the constant struggle to balance between press freedom and the ethical responsibilities of Pakistani journalism. It demonstrates the difficulties that Pakistani journalists encounter when attempting to cover stories of national importance, the role of ethical decisions, and the barriers that legal concerns pose when they try to be honest and loyal to the profession. In the legal framework of Pakistan, thorough and detailed consideration is required to achieve a balance which is essential to harmonize the right of freedom of expression and to uphold ethical principles. While ethical principles may be the central aim, the problem arises when voluntary codes are limited to coming up with non-binding ideas, which might be hard to achieve, for the morality bounds are not clear enough. There will be a need for reinforcement, and it will also have to be transparent, and the legal structure will have to be strengthened.

6.5 CHALLENGES AND CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO JOURNALISTS' SECURITY IN PAKISTAN

To ensure the safety of journalists in Pakistan, it is necessary to test a multiplicity of strategies, which lie within the purview of constitutional guarantees, criminal statutes, anti-terrorism laws, regulatory bodies like the Press Council, and compliance with international human rights standards. However, complexities do persist in this framework and the application of those mechanisms in actual on-ground situations erupts a debate on the practical efficacy of these arrangements.

6.5.1 Constitutional Protections:

Selective Enforcement and Challenges:

The constitutional safeguards, the criminal statutes, laws of anti-terrorism, the Injunctions of the Press Council of Pakistan and the global human rights norms protecting journalists in Pakistan, however, the ground realities make it more complex. According to Pakistan's constitution, Freedom of speech and expression are ensured, which in essence means that every journalist in Pakistan should have protection, but when these constitutional safeguards are

enforced selectively or are completely ignored, or laws other than these constitutional barriers are applied it results in grim consequences.

A journalist who once criticized the Pakistani Government and some leaders was abducted for five hours just before her live show aired on TV. Later, the media person was released immediately; however, this circumstance raises questions about the application of constitutional protections for journalists who criticize the government for its roles and actions. On 21 July 2020, Matiullah Jan, a Pakistani journalist known for his critical reporting on official and governmental matters, was abducted in broad daylight from Islamabad. This indicates the discrepancy between the Constitution of Pakistan in safeguarding those journalists who put forth their criticism on powerful quarters. The case of the abduction of Matiullah Jan is a good example of how hard it is to ensure the protection of journalists even with assurance of freedom of speech under the constitution. It simply seems like it is impossible to guarantee the protection of a journalist.

6.5.2 Criminal Laws

Culture of Impunity: The Criminal Code of Pakistan includes laws on offences like assault or threats, which provide a legal structure for cases of violence against journalists. However, offences do not necessarily always result in a successful prosecution, which may create a climate of impunity. In some cases, perpetrators may escape punishment, which limits the deterrent effect of the criminal laws in place.

In 2017, an investigative journalist, Ahmed Noorani, was brutally attacked in the capital Islamabad. Despite the presence of some criminal laws dealing with the nature of offences such as assault, the people who had conducted the attack on the journalist were not prosecuted adequately. The incident that happened to Noorani is representative of the cultural nature of impunity associated with attacks against journalists and displays the continuing difficulties of holding persons accountable for such conduct.

6.5.3 Anti-Terrorism Laws:

Misuse and Concerns: The Anti-terrorism Act (ATA) can be invoked in cases where journalists reporting on terrorism are attacked. However, it has been argued that anti-terrorism laws can be misused to intimidate journalists who criticize the government. It undermines the very aim of anti-terrorism laws if they are used against journalists. Such misuse is a serious blow to the freedom of the press and the importance accorded its interests in anti-terrorism laws.

In 2018, journalist Taha Siddiqui, who is known for his critical stance against the military establishment, narrowly missed being abducted. This again raised alarm bells, indicating the arbitrary use of anti-terrorism laws to silence journalists who dare to question the status quo and a dangerous pattern emerging in the suppression of freedom of expression.

6.5.4 Press Council of Pakistan

Limitations in Addressing Physical Attacks:

Physical Attacks on Journalists are sometimes not properly addressed in Pakistan. The Press Council of Pakistan is just a forum where complaints can be lodged. The major focus of the council remains on some things like defamation, unethical journalism, and other related issues. However, in the case of physical attacks on the journalists, the council may highlight the limitations in this regard. There is no special mechanism which treats the attacks on journalists as a distinct category of violence. Hence in many cases, the journalists will have no sufficient recourse leaving them in frustration and desperation. It shows a clear need for a more inclusive framework.

There is poor protection of the rights of media persons in Pakistan as Hamid Mir's case exemplifies it. His attempted assassination highlights the kind of limitations that the Press Council of Pakistan has. The council seems to give a lot of importance to things like defamation and for the most part, these are not real concerns for journalists. Rana Tanveer, a journalist who works on religious minorities, encountered a severe physical assault in 2019. But examples like Rana show that an enormous gap exists when it comes to answering concerning attacks on journalists reporting sensitive subjects.

6.5.5 International Human Rights Standards

Challenges in Implementation:

Pakistan's efforts to implement global commitments such as the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists are evident from the government's turnout in such forums and organizations which also exhibits a realization of the importance of the safety of journalists. However, turning these commitments into operational domestic measures is a huge challenge. Whether it is about implementation gaps, lack of enforcement, or lack of coordination, a large difference in the practical implementation of international human rights standards is detected at the national level.

6.5.6 Challenges in the Implementation of the UN Plan of Action

Though Pakistan has endorsed the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists, there are obstacles to implementing such commitments. For example, following the abduction (enforced disappearance) and killing of Saleem Shahzad in 2011, it became complicated for the authorities to translate global commitments into effective domestic protections for the safety of journalists. Despite global condemnation, it remains difficult to translate international human rights standards into national-level investigations and prosecutions against the perpetrators of assaults against journalists.

6.5.7 Impunity and Accountability

To this end, eradicating the culture of impunity is crucial. Breaking the cycle of impunity in cases involving murdered journalists entails having not only a sound legal framework but also the efficient implementation and prosecution of those responsible in the courts. A case in point is the murder of American journalist Daniel Pearl in 2002. There have been convictions in the case, but it is still not clear if all those who were involved have been held to account and this illustrates the broader challenges faced in combating the culture of impunity in cases involving attacks on journalists.

6.5.8 Comprehensive Legal Safeguards

Comprehensive legal safeguards are necessary in their own right to effectively provide a response that specifically covers physical attacks on journalists. This requires the improvement of, or addition to current legislation to provide a proper and adequate response to the acts of violence against journalists.

6.5.9 Proposed Amendments

The advocacy for the extensive amendment of current laws relates to an acknowledgment of the need for comprehensive legal reforms, especially provisions specific to physical assaults on a journalist.

6.5.10 Encouraging media literacy and advocacy

Developing media literacy and advocacy initiatives in the country can help in terms of building a culture that values journalists and consequently promotes a social and political atmosphere where attacks on journalists would be considered socially and politically unacceptable. Various

initiatives in terms of civil society and media freedom campaigns in Pakistan, including advocacy led by journalists' associations and human rights organizations, demonstrate endeavours to move forward on media literacy and advocacy. These actions help in terms of building a culture that acknowledges the importance of journalists and calls for their protection.

6.5.11 UNESCO and International Collaborators

Engaging with global entities like UNESCO and international monitoring institutions who work on media freedoms helps to get global technical expertise and to build on the best practices. This improves local frameworks in ensuring the safety of journalists by effectively bringing on board the experience gathered from various successful international models.

6.5.12 Government Commitment

Effective journalist safety must rely on a commitment to freedom of expression by the government. This means the government not only has to have the laws required to protect journalists but also to create an environment that allows for an open exchange of ideas and differences in opinion without fear of retribution.

6.6 PROTECTION OF JOURNALISTS AND MEDIA PROFESSIONALS ACT, 2021

The Protection of Journalists and Media Professionals Act 2021 was passed by the National Assembly of Pakistan in November 2021 (Friday Times, 2022), after it was first introduced by the Sindh government. The Act aims at promoting, protecting, and effectively ensuring the independence, impartiality, safety, and freedom of expression of journalists and media professionals. Under the perspective of the Pakistani Constitution 1973 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) following article 19 respectively, the Act is responsible to safeguard the right to Freedom of expression, including freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing, or in print, in the form of art or through any other media (Zarwan, 2005). Taking into consideration attacks on journalists and media persons, the Act states that it is the requirement of any democratic society to instil a strong culture of safety and independence of journalists. Thus, it is important to establish a legal and institutional framework for the protection and promotion of the rights of journalists and media persons. The Act is categorized into seven sections, beginning with the preliminary part which includes the definitions and meanings of certain words and expressions under applicable laws in Pakistan (Pakistan Penal Code 1860,

Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, and Qanoon-e-Shahadat 1984) (Tribune, 2015). Words like harassment, torture, intimidation, journalists, non-journalists, media owners, government, compensation, constitution, and other similar expressions are clearly defined. The second segment of the Act constitutes the rights of journalists and media personnel. This segment entails the right to life and protection against ill-treatment of journalists, the right to privacy and non-disclosure of sources, independence in the performance of duties, good faith obligation of journalists and media practitioners, protection from abusive, violent, and intolerant behavior, and protection against harassment (Rifat, 2022). To summarize each right, the Act states that the government must ensure the safety and security of journalists, protecting them from ill-treatment and safeguarding their right to life (Rifat, 2022). No institution, whether public or private, should violate journalists' safety (Rifat, 2022). Counter-terrorist laws must not be impediments to journalists carrying out their work and measures must be taken to prevent their disappearance or coercion. Freedom of the press requires journalists to be allowed to report freely in conflict zones, without fear of being attacked for their reports. When journalists' rights are violated in this way, it should be reported and addressed by local or international authorities. Journalists have a right to privacy, and a right to maintain the privacy of their sources. The government should not unlawfully interfere with either of these rights, nor can it force a journalist to reveal such information unless proper legal procedures have been followed. Any restriction on freedom of expression must be in conformity with the law, with respect to the rights of others. It must also be accessible, necessary, and proportionate. The respect of the rights and reputations of others or avoiding the dissemination of false information are rights which enjoy a high level of legitimacy. Journalists must act in good faith and in accordance with the requirements of professional ethics. The government should ensure that journalists are protected from any mistreatment, physical and psychological abuses, and violence. Journalists who allege being victims should urgently report incidents of harassment to the competent authorities for appropriate investigations and prosecution. Journalists should not be harassed, and complaints of harassments may be lodged within a definite time. It is incumbent upon the authorities to investigate the cases of harassment and to give protection to the journalists as well.

The third section of the Act includes the training and insurance of journalists. The Journalists Welfare Scheme ensures journalists receive adequate training and insurance. Media Organizations must meet the requirements laid down in the scheme. Each media owner shall establish a safety policy, undertake an assessment of the risks of journalists and other relevant employees, provide safety training, and appoint a senior individual responsible for safety and

security matters. Part four of the Act is the obligation to investigate, prosecute, and subsequently penalize any threats, blackmail, violence, or ill-treatments of journalists and the media professionals. If a person carries out a threatening, coercive, bullying, or violent act or thing against a journalist or media professional, this conduct can be reported to the Commission. The Commission, in turn, is required by law to impartially investigate. The Commission can establish an advisory committee on a case-by-case basis to make findings about the complaint. Once an investigation has been undertaken, the perpetrator shall be prosecuted accordingly, and all support needs to be extended to the journalists. In case the journalists do not have the financial capacity to fund and obtain legal aid, the Commission may refer them to the Authority for obtaining free legal assistance. The government, journalists, and relevant authorities should be involved in developing strategies to address impunity and to ensure all acts of violence against journalists are promptly investigated, and the beneficiaries of the attacks are brought to justice. Best practices outlined in the United Nations Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and Impunity should be implemented by the government.

The fifth part of the Act addresses the establishment of the Commission for the Protection of Journalists and Media Professionals (CPJMP) by the Federal Government, comprising various members with expertise in law, journalism, and human rights. Additional members include representatives from journalist unions, press clubs, government ministries, and relevant associations. The Commission may co-opt individuals with relevant experience as members. The Secretary of the Commission is appointed by the Commission itself. At least three members of the Commission must be women. The Chairperson and members initially serve a two-year term, extendable for another two years, with the possibility of a single extension. Resignations must be submitted in writing to the President, and vacancies filled within 30 days. The Federal Government can remove the Chairperson and members for misconduct, unsatisfactory performance, incapacity, or conviction of an offense involving moral turpitude. The salary, allowances, and other terms and conditions of appointment of the Chairperson shall be prescribed by the Federal Government or in consultation with the Commission. The Commission works under Government funding, which provides them administrative expenses and is paid by the Federation. Members assist the Chairperson on an honorary basis; no one receives such salary and allowances as prescribed.

In addition, the sixth section of the Act advises on the management and procedures of the commission. The commission is responsible for a variety of tasks under the Act. These tasks include the investigation of every complaint of threat, violence, or negligence against a journalist or media worker that it receives or upon its own motion, whenever it is of the view

that the complaint needs to be investigated. The CPJMP produces an annual report on media freedom, which should be published by the Commission. Compensation may be recommended by the CPJMP to be paid to any journalist or media worker against whom any act of threat, violence, sabotage, and/or negligence has been committed. The CPJMP may facilitate the provision of legal aid in any case or complaint if applied by the journalist or media worker. All hearings before the Commission are deemed to be judicial proceedings under the law. The seventh section of the Act allows the Commission to enact rules that it determines necessary to enable the Commission to exercise the authority it is given by the Act. The section also states that these rules can be established no later than six months after the enactment of the Act. The section also states that a member of the Commission and any officer or employee of the Commission will not be liable to any criminal prosecution as long as the act was done in good faith and in the normal course of their duties. The Act is applicable during "armed" conflicts, "internal" conflicts, or in times of "peace". If there are any difficulties in implementing the Act, the Government will have one year from the commencement of the Act to make any necessary orders to ensure that there is consistency with the provisions of the Act.

6.7 CONCLUSION

With the passing of the Protection of Journalists and Media Professionals Act 2021, Pakistan earned global attention for creating an act that is specialized and aimed at the protection of journalists. It is being seen as a momentous move in international legislation. It also signified a substantial leap in the protection of the rights of media workers. Notwithstanding these successes, reports have consistently noted the inadequacy of these laws to address escalating levels of impunity against media professionals in the country. Statistics demonstrate an alarming reprisal against journalists. Instances of abduction, physical assault, and rule-of-law violations are frequently identified, particularly during ambiguous sanctions such as sedition charges and electronic crimes. Undeterred by protective legislation, journalists are consistently being murdered, demonstrating the inactivity of the law. Between August 2021 and August 2023, eleven journalists were killed while working. This statistic emphasizes the necessity of improved security measures and better implementation of already existing legislation.

Although the global ranking of Pakistan on the World Press Freedom Index (WPFI) has improved, Pakistan was ranked 150 in 2023 on WPFI, while in 2020, the country was ranked 157, which shows improvement in the protective measures taken by the Government of Pakistan. For the protection of journalists, there is still a need for improvement in the laws and

their implementation. Around 53 journalists have been killed in Pakistan from 2012-2022. Besides, 96% of journalist murder cases went unsolved, and no convictions had been made. This impunity not only undermines press freedom but also erodes trust in the country's criminal justice system.

A 2022 report by the Freedom Network further highlights the severity of impunity in Pakistan. It highlights that over 150 journalists murdered since 2000, yet only two cases resulting in convictions. This level of impunity, surpassing the global average, underscores systemic failures within the criminal justice system. It identifies a lack of progress in addressing journalist safety. Despite being the first country in Asia to legislate specifically for journalist safety, Pakistan's legal framework seems failed to deliver tangible benefits for journalists facing punishment or violence for their work. The gap between legislative intent and effective implementation underscores the urgent need for comprehensive reforms and strengthened legislation to combat impunity and ensure the safety and freedom of journalists in Pakistan. Efforts for legal measures for the protection of journalists are a sign of discussion in a country. However, the success of any legislative effort depends on the government's commitment not just to passing the legislation but also to creating an environment in which open dialogue and diverse perspectives can be aired without fear of consequences. These examples demonstrate some of the complexities and issues that have to be considered to ensure journalist security in Pakistan. It is important to focus not just on one or two organizations that are visible in the media but to develop comprehensive reforms that go beyond just the legal system and are adequately followed up by effective implementation and a concerted effort by the government, media organizations, and civil society organizations and, where appropriate, the international community. In conclusion, any comprehensive strategy to ensure journalists' safety in Pakistan must target the obvious weaknesses and deficiencies in the paradigms, enforcement of mechanisms, and resistive societal norms and collaboration of government, media organizations, civil society, and international stakeholders. Without protective measures and concerns for their lives, journalists cannot perform responsibly without sufficient safety to ensure an unrestricted media environment.

CHAPTER 7

METHODOLOGICAL BASIS

7.1 OVERVIEW

Journalism has traditionally been characterized as a practice in which news reporters gather and disseminate information of public interest using different types of communication channels (such as the press, radio, television, and also online medium). However, like in many other disciplines, societal and technological transformation is redefining journalism too. Such as, the combination of news reportage with public relations, and content branding has called into question long-held beliefs in the field of journalism. The way technology has transformed the dynamics of journalism, similarly, the research field has also generated its own set of approaches in journalism. Varying academic disciplines and sociocultural underpinnings of journalism have resulted in various dimensions of research in journalism. There are two approaches in research methodology, quantitative and qualitative. Since, in this research, we are using both approaches, thus it is necessary to overview both. The social scientist's fascination towards the newspaper as a social institution has encouraged quantitative methodology in journalism. Experimentation in journalism centred on the concept of objectivity and on the quantitative results have encouraged qualitative social scientists to undertake an evaluation of conventional methods of journalistic reporting and the contributions that empirical social scientists might offer to the practice (FRANCISCATO & GUERRA, 2006). As stated by Hanusch & Vos (2019), in journalism research, the most commonly used quantitative methods are survey, content analysis, and textual analysis while in-depth interviews are common techniques to conduct qualitative research in journalism.

7.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Several studies have been conducted on Embedded journalism as well as Taliban reporting wherein different researchers have employed distinct methodology to find answers to their queries. Study on this research topic is conducted through different approaches. But the large part of literature supports research techniques such as content analysis and textual analysis of print reports published by embedded and non-embedded journalists, as well as survey and in-depth interviews of embedded journalists. In the past two decades, researchers used a few methods to study on embedment of media and journalism. For instance, Donnelly, Gettle, Scott, and Warr (2003) in their study conducted content analysis method to analyse the news reports published by New York Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and Chicago Tribune.

The major analysis of these news reports was related to three military combat operations covered by the major sections of papers such as local, national, and international. To test hypotheses, the study examined tone and framing of the news stories. Mayfield (2003) in his study conducted interviews and a survey of American service personnel to find out the effect of embedding on the lives of American soldiers fighting in Afghanistan. Based on the interpersonal relationships between soldiers and embeds, an electronic survey was sent to soldiers from the 3rd Battalion, 101st Airborne Division (Rakkasans), stationed at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. Mark (2004) applied textual methodology in his research to investigate news reporting of three news channels, ABC, NBC, and CBS on the Persian Gulf War. He used the broadcast stories as a text while somehow skipping the images and videos of the news. Based on discourse analysis, he conducted this qualitative study to examine news transcripts from evening broadcast to find the differences between embedded and non-embedded reports. Kryszons (2004) in his study questioned journalists who depended on military troops for their food, shelter, safety, and even for the access to the conflict zone. In order to know and consider their views in his study he surveyed embedded journalists to learn their understanding and experiences related to the good side and bad side of embedded policy. Reyes et al. (2004) conducted a web-based survey of 1400 troops from the Marine Corps and U.S. Air Force to learn the perception of the personnel regarding the role of embedded journalism.

Aday, Livingston, and Hebert (2005) conducted a cross-cultural analysis of television coverage of the Iraq war (2003) to examine and understand the element of objectivity in the news reports of wartime. To carry out their study, the researchers analysed 1820 news reports of five American news channels (Fox News, CNN, ABC, CBS, NBC) and one Arab news network (Al-Jazeera). Cooper and Kuypers (2005) conducted a comparative framing analysis to find differences in the coverage of embedded journalists and unilateral journalists reporting away from the conflict zone. The researchers analysed news reports on Iraqi Army Resistance and Iraqi Civilian response, published in two national newspapers of the USA, The Washington Post and The New York Times. Pfau et al. (2005) in their research tested four hypotheses by conducting a content analysis of television news coverage of CNN, NBC, CBS, and ABC. For this, thirty-minute news reports were analysed for each television channel. The focus of the analysis was based on news content about military operations. Also, a comparison between embedded and nonembedded news stories was carried out following a few analysis units. Feinstein and Nicolson (2005) conducted an online study to examine how the process of war reporting affected journalists in terms of psychological concern. The survey study was

conducted including both embedded and non-embedded journalists. With the help of a website, the General Healthcare Questionnaire was completed by a group of 85 journalists.

To test their three hypotheses, Haigh et al. (2006) compared the impact of embedded and non-embedded press coverage of the US attack and occupation of Iraq conducting a content analysis of four American national newspapers: The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, and The New York Times. The newsprint of 452 articles was analysed and compared related to military operations of both invasion and occupation phases. To test his assumption related to the pro-military bias published in the press, Slagle (2006) applied qualitative textual analysis to print reports covered by journalists who were embedded in the Iraq war. Stories covered during the invasion of Iraq by six embeds were taken into consideration. Fahmy and Johnson (2007) conducted a survey of more than 150 embedded and independent journalists to understand their perceptions about coverage of the Iraq war. A web-based open-ended questionnaire was sent to all participants, based on which differences between embedded and non-embedded coverage were analysed, and the factors behind their differences were also investigated.

Mans et al. (2008) in their study examined the impact of embedded journalism on the coverage of Afghanistan by Dutch newspapers. Using available literature and online resources in their research, they also conducted semi-structured interviews with national and international journalists, and staff from foreign defence and foreign affairs. Also, interviews from military and media experts were conducted. Finney (2009) conducted a quantitative study to find the differences between the war coverage based on the reporter's location during the coverage and relation with the military (either embedded or non-embedded reporter). The author limited his study to the overall press reports of The Washington Post throughout the period of formal war duration. Shokrkhah and Chirani (2009) in their study attempted to study Embedded Journalism as a new practice of covering the war in Iraq. To measure objectivity, the researchers conducted content analysis of Fox News reportage showing the fall of Baghdad, wherein 217 clip descriptions and leads of live reporting were taken into examination. Johnson and Fahmy (2009) in their study conducted a global survey of embedded journalists to study their attitudes towards free press and the measure to which they consider their reporting was censored during the war in Iraq. To test one hypothesis and evaluate four research questions, the researchers conducted an electronic survey and with the help of closed-ended questions, they found answers to their inquiry.

Again, Johnson and Fahmy (2010) conducted two surveys in their study to examine if embedded journalists' opinion towards the freedom of the press has changed with the passage

of time and if government news management has increased while the public opinion has decreased. To find answers to their six research questions, they conducted web-based surveys based on the Likert scale. Adrian (2011) in his research found the difference between news reports on the Iraq war covered by embedded reporters against those journalists who were not part of the U.S military troops. To carry out this study, he conducted content analysis of news articles published during different time periods of the war. To examine how good embedded journalists consider their Iraq war coverage, and if their such perception changes over time, Fahmy and Johnson (2012) conducted a survey study based on the hierarchy of influences model. To carry out the research, they conducted two surveys with a gap of almost one year, with journalists who were embedded during the Iraq war.

Kim (2012) conducted in-depth interviews with 23 war journalists to research gatekeeping influences that impacted the news reporting of the journalists during the war in Iraq. The in-depth interviews of journalists who participated in the Iraq war were representatives of their national and local media organizations, some of them had more embedded experience while a few spent short times being embed. Koran (2013) in his research on the role of embedded journalism, analysed two books, one written by an embedded journalist and the other by a former Army soldier who took part in the war. Also, he conducted an online interview between the infantry soldier and the journalist to learn about their experiences and the value of war narrative provided to the general public. Linder (2014) hypothesized in his research that although embeds clearly depicted the military aspect of the war, and Baghdad-based journalists effectively conveyed the Iraqi experience of the conflict, independent journalists were able to deliver the fairest reporting of the conflict. And to test his hypothesis, he conducted a content analysis of print news reports by journalists who covered the major war period. Hennessey, Lippert, and Uriniuk (2015) in their research investigated if the general public considers embedded journalism to be more or less reliable than conventional methods of independent journalism. To conduct their research, they carried out an experiment with two treatment groups based on the News Credibility Scale and tested their research question.

Huck (2017) examined news articles on the Iraq War, for which reporting of four journalists two of which were embedded with the US military while two were independent journalists were analysed. The newsprints were taken from two American national newspapers, The Washington Post and The New York Times. The in-depth analysis of 195 articles was carried out for the study. Agha and Hussain (2017) in their study analysed the attitude of embedded journalists towards the national security of their country in terms of the role of the journalists in the war on terror in Pakistan. To find the answer to their research questions, they applied a

qualitative approach and conducted in-depth structured interviews of embedded journalists in Pakistan. To test their three presumptions, Hristov and Naplatanova (2018) carried out a survey method approach through which military respondents and the journalists involved in war reporting were questioned regarding the dos and don'ts of war journalism being embedded or being working with the media persons. Overall, the survey gauged the attitude of 41 military personnel and 21 journalists.

Ahmad and Islam (2020) probed in their study the role of embedded journalism as a professional practice in the context of Iraq and Pakistan wartime situations. To conduct their study, they used secondary data (books, journals, research articles) to find answers to their question applying descriptive and explanatory approaches. To investigate the morale of American soldiers during the Vietnam War, Nyugen (2020) conducted surveys and interviews of war veterans. The researcher also conducted surveys and analysed previous interviews to collect data concerning the inquired question, in order to have a clear understanding and strong data regarding the impact of the press on American soldiers. To test their two hypotheses, Tornero-Aguilera, Robles-Pérez, and Clemente-Suárez (2020) conducted research to examine the impact of war in terms of stress on the psycho-physiological response, memory, and information processing of war combatants and media persons experiencing a warfare intrusion. They used an experimental method employing combat simulation imitating a complete wartime situation.

7.3 APPLIED METHODOLOGY

In research, the qualitative approach has a broader methodology that consists of several research techniques that vary according to the specific aim of the research. For instance, sociologists aim to study human behaviour and the factors behind such behaviour. According to (Denzin, 2005) qualitative research is an explanatory realistic approach to the world that explores things in their naturalistic settings, while understanding or explaining phenomena as per the meanings assigned by the people. Qualitative approach is very much useful to explore particular reasons and several tendencies in different beliefs. It facilitates with an in-depth understanding pertaining to a problem and also paves a way to potential quantitative research. The methodological design used in the Qualitative approach not only helps in finding what, where and when or who but it also explores why and how of the subject. This approach is very much used in social sciences paradigms. This study is based on a mixed-methods approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches to investigate how Pakistani defence journalists reported on the Taliban conflict. The employed methods consist of structured

interviews, content analysis, thematic analysis, and discourse analysis, providing an exhaustive understanding of the Taliban conflict reporting from multiple perspectives.

7.3.1 Structured Interviews

Data collection was performed through structured interviews to gather insights from embedded and non-embedded journalists. Structured interviews have a set format in which key questions are made earlier with a similar rhythm of questions for all interviewees. Every single participant goes through predetermined questioning with the same pace and conduct, to ensure the systematic comparison and analysis of each interview. There are several modes to conduct structured interviews such as telephone interviews, face-to-face, and also using internet technology through email, Skype, or audio-video calling. Written and audio notes are also considered to collect data for the study. Moreover, interviews are very much important to collect the in-depth story behind participants' experiences. Bryman (2001) described the aim of structured interviews as all respondents should be provided with the same context of questioning so that their answers should be combined. As stated by Corbetta (2003), in structured interviews all participants are asked the same questions that entail no dissimilarity in the wording and in the sequence too. However, Gray (2004) called it an ideal situation when questions are asked with a similar tone that may not influence participants. Several studies have been conducted in which structured interviews play a methodological role. Such as Feinstein, Owen & Nancy (2002) conducted research on war journalists in which they used structured interviews along with other research techniques to compare the psyche of war journalists with other journalists. The study found that war journalists have more psychiatric issues than those journalists who do not cover the war. In this research the structured interviews were designed and conducted as follow:

7.3.1.1 Sampling

In Pakistan, the term embedded journalism is not being used fully or to a better extent, calculable journalists, reporters, and media practitioners have been the part of this approach since 2008. To ensure the relevance of research participants, Purposive and snowball sampling were applied to get as much sample as possible from diverse media organizations. Purposive sampling involved the selection of journalists who experienced embedded or non-embedded (independent) reporting on the Taliban conflict. Snowball sampling helped to find further participants by means of referrals from opening interviewees. A total of 30 interviews were conducted, wherein all journalists were experienced in Taliban reporting based on embedded

and non-embedded approaches. None of the participants lacked any of the two approaches of reporting. Thus, the sampling ensured a homogenous representation of the participants.

7.3.1.2 Interview Design

Structured interviews were designed to maintain consistency across all participants. In this regard, a standardized questionnaire was constructed, with a succession of open-ended questions to collect information from respondents orally. Open-ended questions carry significance as they help respondents to answer thoughtfully. The succession of questionnaire focused on primary questions such as journalists' experiences, attitudes towards embedding policy, the impact of embedding on conflict reporting, and journalists' perspectives on the Taliban conflict. This framework allowed reducing interviewer bias ensuring that each interviewee went through consistency during interviews.

7.3.1.3 Interview Procedure

The interviews were conducted using a structured questionnaire, meticulously crafted to align with the central research questions outlined in this study. Before each interview, comprehensive discussions were held with the participants to ensure their full understanding of the research's ethical considerations. Subsequently, identical questionnaires in both Urdu and English were sent to the participants via email and various social media platforms. The interviews were scheduled at the convenience of the respondents, taking into account their preferred time, date, and location. In some instances, video calls via platforms such as Zoom and WhatsApp were employed for the interviews. Given the depth and complexity of the questions posed, each interview typically extended over a duration of 3 to 4 hours. The process of coordinating these interviews presented its own set of challenges, with unforeseen assignments from their respective organizations often necessitating rescheduling or even cancellation of interviews. Maintaining consistent communication with the journalists and accommodating their shifting schedules required diligent efforts. The interviews were audio-recorded after seeking permission from the participants and later they were transliterated for analysis.

7.3.1.4 Data Analysis

After transcribing each interview, the data was converted into codes, and themes were developed. Thematic analysis was employed to analyse the collected responses of journalists. It is the most common form of analysing the data. It focuses on analysing, exploring, and

recording designs (or themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data can vary from a single-word response to an open-ended question, or it may also lead to a complex form of several pages (Saldana, 2016). However, the complexity of the study depends upon the nature of the data. Thus, the systematic structure of analysis initiated with the creation of codes from the reviewed transcriptions to discover frequent ideas, patterns, or foci. Through coding of transcriptions, different themes were identified across interviews, and were later categorized under broader themes addressing the primary research questions. This approach offered qualitative insights into the experiences and professional orientation of journalists reporting on the Taliban conflict.

7.3.1.5 Qualitative Bias

To counter the inherent subjectivity in qualitative data analysis, the coding process was peer-reviewed to ensure consistency and reliability.

7.3.2 Content Analysis

Content analysis was conducted to analyse 200 news articles from two national newspapers—Daily Jung (Urdu) and Daily Dawn (English). Content analysis is used to derive meaning from the content of collected data. It involves the categorization of collected data. Quantitative content analysis condenses many words into fewer content categories based on explicit coding rules (Stemler, 2001). Berelson (1952) defined it as a method for the objective, organized, and quantitative portrayal of the manifest content of communication. Since the 1980s, it has been a powerful measurement tool utilized in research. Content analysis has been employed by numerous conflict studies to analyse news content. For instance, regarding embedded media and the military, Coupaud et al. (2003) conducted content analysis of articles taken from the front page, 'national,' and 'international' sections of newspapers such as The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, The Chicago Tribune, and The Daily Oklahoman, to ascertain the practice of embedding's impact on print news coverage. The study found that media coverage in 2003 was more positive than the coverage of the 1991 Gulf War and the 1999 Kosovo operations. Troop-focused stories elicited more positive views toward military units than command-oriented stories. Embedded reporters exhibited a more positive and empathetic attitude toward the subjects of their reporting than unilateral reporters. A comparative analysis of English and Urdu journalism was conducted since there is a conception in Pakistan that English media focuses on the educated audience of the country while Urdu

journalism has the entire country in focus. Thus, it is important to understand the overall coverage of the conflict by Urdu and English journalism that ultimately forms the opinion of the masses. The systematic technique of the content analysis to identify patterns, themes, and frames, including the positioning and frequency of the content was conducted as follows:

7.3.2.1 Data Selection and Collection

The 200 articles analysed for content analysis were selected from Daily Jung and Daily Dawn. Fifty articles from each newspaper were chosen from the 30-day period following the terrorist attack on Army Public School in Peshawar, in Dec 2014. This approach provided insights into the immediate media response to the event. The remaining fifty articles were randomly selected from the rest of 2015, offering a broader view of the coverage over time.

7.3.2.2 Coding

Content analysis began with open coding, where each article was examined in detail to identify key themes and concepts. Explicit coding rules were established to maintain consistency in categorization. The codes were then grouped into broader categories to identify trends and patterns in the data.

7.3.2.3 Coding Validation

To ensure the reliability and consistency of the coding process, two researchers volunteered in the analysis. Inter-coder agreement was calculated to ensure that the categorization was consistent across researchers.

7.3.2.4 Types of Content Analysed

The content analysis examined various aspects of the news articles, including the themes, framing, language, and tone. Specific elements like the frequency of coverage, the positioning of news articles, and the framing of the content were analysed to understand how the news reports were structured and presented.

7.3.3 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was conducted to explore the underlying meanings, framing strategies, and linguistic patterns in the news articles. This approach allows for a comprehensive understanding of how language and framing influence the perception of news. Thematic analysis involved a few steps to identify recurring themes and patterns within the news articles.

7.3.3.1 Coding

Each article was examined to identify significant themes and concepts. This process required detailed reading and coding of recurring elements in the articles.

7.3.3.2 Theme Development

After coding, broader themes were developed by grouping related codes. These themes provided a comprehensive view of the key narratives within the data.

7.3.3.3 Classification of Themes

The identified themes were further classified to ensure they aligned with the research questions and objectives. This step ensured that the analysis was focused and cohesive.

7.3.4 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) is generally used to analyse written, spoken, or symbolic language or any specific semiotic event, such as sentences, communicative language, speech, or conversation. In contrast to much of conventional linguistics, discourse analysts not only analyse language usage 'beyond the sentence boundary' but also prefer to study 'naturally occurring' language usage, not contrived examples (Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin, 2015). DA aims to uncover the socio-psychological characteristics of a person rather than the text structure (Yatsko, 1995). In this research DA examined the language, framing, and tone used in the news articles. This analysis aimed to uncover implicit meanings and socio-psychological characteristics within the text.

7.3.4.1 Linguistic Devices and Framing

The analysis explored specific linguistic devices, such as word choice, rhetorical devices, and framing strategies, to understand how the language influenced the overall narrative of the news article.

7.3.4.2 Structure of Discourse

This involved examining the broader structure of the news discourse, including the usage of metaphor, symbolism, and other narration techniques. By understanding the structure, it was viable to discover innate ideas and connotations.

7.3.4.3 Coding Validation

To ensure the validity of the thematic and discourse analysis, two more researchers reviewed the codes and themes to confirm accuracy. Differences were discussed and mutual consensus was made. This practise helped in minimizing the potential for subjectivity.

7.4 RATIONALE FOR METHODOLOGY

The rationale for adopting a mixed-methods approach lies in the need to explore both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study. Structured interviews were chosen for their ability to provide consistent and reliable qualitative data from journalists. This method allows for in-depth exploration of journalists' experiences, attitudes and perspectives, which is essential for understanding the human element in reporting. The structured format of interviews ensures consistency in data collection, enabling comparable responses across all interviewees. In their study, Agha & Hussain (2017) conducted interviews of embedded journalists to explore their attitude toward the national security of the country after being embedded with military troops. They found a significant difference in their attitudes after embedding; the change in attitude was not only based on one aspect of the research subject under study but was also observed toward the Taliban perspective of the study. Thus, it is important to explore or study the behaviours, attitudes, or overall practices of journalists whose profession is based on objectivity and impartiality. If the quantitative approach is an important aspect of this research study (let's suppose how much importance has been given to this crucial issue at the international level while calculating the number of reports published on the subject), the same way it is important to observe the viewpoint or opinion of the same reporters who write these news articles or reports. It is important to evaluate their level of objectivity or truth in their practice. Hence, it is necessary to conduct a qualitative research approach (such as in-depth interviews) to analyse how journalists respond within the given framework of my applied theories. For example, framing theory has been employed in this study, in which it is mentioned that several factors influence the writings of journalists, such as political, organizational, societal, economic, and personal influences. To find the answer to this aspect of the research, it is essential to question journalists to find answers related to the influential factors that might leave an impact on their journalistic practices. The answer to this part of the research could only be discovered through interviewing journalists. Another important question in this study is the differentiation between English and Urdu journalism; this question is answered by employing content analysis on the news reports like previous studies on journalism conducted content analysis and found differences. But in this research, it is also preferred to see how

journalists consider the overall setting of embedded and independent journalism. Another important question to learn about the perception of journalists based on their experiences is the role of censorship and self-censorship; it is necessary to question journalists. This question could not comprehensively be answered without using the interview method. Based on literature on embedded journalism assumptions could be made, but it would not have correctly and objectively answered the desired question. Another point in this study is completely based on the personal experiences and personal opinions of the journalists which also requires the employment of in-depth interviews. Also, in a nutshell, the entire research is structured to cover the qualitative technique of the research which entails in-depth structured interviews in use. For the other part of the study, it is important to use content analysis and then thematic and discourse analysis to investigate how the press has played its role in discussing the important issue. Content analysis was selected because it provides a systematic and objective method for examining news articles offering quantitative insights into the coverage of terrorism incidents in Pakistan's national newspapers. By categorizing and quantifying the content, this approach allows for the identification of trends and patterns in news coverage. This method offers a quantitative perspective, useful for statistical analysis and measuring frequencies. These qualitative analyses were chosen to provide deeper insights into the data, allowing for exploration of underlying meanings, patterns, and socio-psychological characteristics. Thematic analysis helps identify common themes, while discourse analysis reveals the broader structure and framing of the news reports. These methods complement the content analysis by offering a more nuanced understanding of the data. Combining these methodologies ensures a comprehensive approach to studying the reporting on the Taliban conflict by embedded and non-embedded journalists. The mixed-methods approach allows for a balanced examination of different aspects of journalism, leading to valuable insights into the broader implications of war reporting, media representation, and public perception.

CHAPTER 8

FINDINGS

8.1 OVERVIEW

Pakistani Journalists were extensively interviewed to gain insights into their experiences, roles, and perceptions of conflict reporting, with a particular emphasis on embedded and non-embedded journalism throughout Pakistani war against terrorism. Engaging with these individuals as a researcher presented several challenges. Acquiring access to media professionals specializing in defence reporting proved to be formidable, primarily due to the sensitive nature of the Taliban issue in Pakistan, especially when it involves any level of military involvement. Furthermore, the country's political instability has given rise to numerous challenges faced by journalists who often find themselves entangled in the intricate web of political affiliations and conflicts. Notably, the recent removal of the ex-prime minister, Imran Khan, has cast a shadow of uncertainty over the nation, with far-reaching implications for various institutions, including the establishment. Tragically, this instability was further underscored by the untimely demise of Arshad Sharif⁶⁰, a prominent defence⁶¹ journalist and one of the research participants, in Kenya. These complex circumstances made it a daunting task to convince media professionals to participate in this research project, as there were concerns and suspicions about potential hidden agendas behind these inquiries.

An analysis of 30 interviews revealed that each respondent brought forth a unique set of experiences. Some had encountered severe difficulties, including physical threats and even gunshots, while others recounted relatively smoother journeys in their line of work. Furthermore, each participant had covered conflicts not only within Pakistan but also in international arenas such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine, and beyond because they normally represent each media organization in Pakistan and usually, they work for them. Their roles vary, with some operating as independent journalists and others embedded with military units, keeping the identity of their organizations with them. These journalists also shared their experiences working abroad such as during conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, Ukraine, etc. In conclusion, the opportunity to interview Pakistan's leading defence journalists, many of whom collaborated with foreign media outlets, was a remarkable and enlightening experience. To

⁶⁰ He was a Pakistani journalist who initiated investigative journalism in Pakistan. He was actively involved to cover military operations in Pakistan.

⁶¹ A journalist working on defence beat, including conflicts, overall military progress, conditions, and all.

maintain the confidentiality of the respondents, their identities have been anonymized and represented by codes such as EJ⁶²1, EJ2, EJ3, and so forth.

8.2 DIFFERENCES IN CONFLICT REPORTING BETWEEN EMBEDDED AND NON-EMBEDDED JOURNALISM

8.2.1 Professional perception of war reporting

This research aims to understand the developing concept of embedded journalism in Pakistan by addressing five research questions including exploring differences between conflict reporting in embedded and non-embedded journalism. Reviewing literature criticizing embedded journalists' roles in conflict reporting, it's acknowledged that reporting from conflict zones poses significant challenges for journalists as they can never be fully prepared for the potential events and consequences that might occur. Therefore, adhering to the basic sense and ethics of journalism requires that they stay as close to the security parameters and protocols as possible. Military protocols for front-line forces instruct journalists where to go and where not to go and journalists are moved to a secure zone whenever there is something risky. "Such protocols are not unique to the Pakistani Armed Forces, as I have observed similar practices within the Pentagon, British forces, and the US 5th fleet. As an embedded reporter, I was under constant surveillance; however, under the Pakistani military's command, we were fortunate enough to experience minimal censorship". EJ22

Conflict reporting has two prime objectives: to report facts and to avoid creating any controversies that may reflect back on the reporters. Journalists maintain a neutral stance and continue to report what they see on the ground, without taking a biased stance for any single party. Having covered several conflicts such as Siachen⁶³, Afghanistan, Iraq and Ukraine, journalists understand the need to maintain a certain distance and report only what is factual. "In the current era, where every phone is equipped with a better-quality camera, the responsibility to shoot, report, and carry out every journalistic task has increasingly fallen upon the individual journalist". EJ12

However, journalists face several other challenges, such as being influenced by various parties, receiving bribes from pressure groups, and being offered incentives that may compromise their reporting. Additionally, they may face threats to their lives and that of their families, which further limits their ability to report freely. "In such situations, journalists may feel compelled

⁶² EJ means Embedded Journalism

⁶³ Line of Control between India and Pakistan.

to exercise caution in their reporting, potentially hindering their ability to provide comprehensive and unbiased coverage of events. These challenges highlight the need for greater support and protection for journalists working in conflict zones”. EJ5

“Sailaab Mehsud, a journalist hailing from North Waziristan, has gained recognition as one of the finest conflict reporters in the field. Despite facing numerous challenges and threats, he bravely reported from conflict zones and eventually had to leave those areas due to safety concerns”. EJ1

Respondents acknowledged that reporting on conflicts often necessitates self-censorship by journalists. Journalists rely on their professional judgment and ethical considerations to assess whether a news report aligns with or contradicts the national interest of their country. Such censorship is often necessary, particularly when reporting from conflict areas where live coverage may not be possible due to connectivity issues, especially in tribal regions. As a result, the notion of individual autonomy and self-reliance has become a crucial aspect of journalistic safety, as journalists need to make quick decisions and react both physically and emotionally to a situation to ensure their safety and carry out their work effectively. Using their experiences covering operations in tribal areas such as Bajaur, Khyber, North and South Waziristan, and Swat, all journalists agreed that they gained a deeper understanding of the distressing realities inherent in such violent occurrences. Witnessing first-hand the heavy loss of property suffered by locals who agreed to the operation, the journalists were able to gain a more accurate depiction of the true impact and effects of these operations.

8.2.2 Embedded journalism vs. non-embedded journalism

Journalists expressed mixed feelings when asked to compare embedded and non-embedded journalism in terms of covering, framing, and reporting conflicts due to their diverse and intriguing experiences. First and foremost, journalists preferred embedding themselves to cover conflict areas, as it provided them with essential guidelines readily accessible through the deployed forces. Security personnel play a crucial role in guiding journalists, preventing situations like those encountered by some who ventured into Balochistan independently and were subsequently apprehended by groups like BLA⁶⁴. In such cases, security forces intervened to secure their release. Thus, it is imperative that soldiers are equipped with the necessary knowledge and skills to secure their areas of operation because unexpected incidents such as

⁶⁴ It is an ethnic based militant organization reportedly attacking Pakistani military and other foreigners in the country.

enemy attacks or hostage situations may arise, placing them in a position of responsibility. “In comparison to venturing into a conflict zone independently, embedding oneself within the zone is a more secure option. If caught in a situation of distress, an embedded individual has a greater chance of receiving assistance from relevant authorities. Furthermore, official departments maintain records of embedded journalists accessing conflict areas. This information can prove beneficial in case of a mishap or capture. On the other hand, an independent journalist, who is not registered with the military establishment or armed forces, may face complications. If such a journalist is found in the conflict zone, they may be mistaken for someone else, leading to unforeseen consequences. Thus, journalists should consider embedding themselves in a conflict zone for their safety”. EJ9

EJ2 noted that being embedded can provide unique opportunities to report on the ground from areas that might otherwise be off-limits. “For example, an embedded journalist might be able to enter Miraan Shah, a tribal area in Pakistan, or venture deeper into secured areas. Without this access, it would be difficult to provide in-depth coverage of the situation, including information about the location of hideouts, recovered goods, and military strategy”. EJ2

The study participants also highlighted the possibility of being kidnapped, especially if they are wealthy Western media personnel. Kidnappers may demand a substantial ransom, viewing affluent Western media personnel as vulnerable targets. The perpetrators of the kidnapping may not necessarily be affiliated with the Taliban group but could belong to a faction that opposes it. EJ5 shared his experience when he embarked on a journalistic mission to Afghanistan at the outset of the war against terrorism, engaging in an autonomous reporting endeavour. He purposefully avoided embedding himself with any particular faction, whether it be the Taliban or NATO forces. This independent pursuit exposed him to a multitude of risks, including potential encounters with hostile elements, including the potential presence of individuals possibly affiliated with the CIA or American agencies. Additionally, he faced opposition from anti-Taliban tribal leaders and foot soldiers. The perilous nature of his mission became alarmingly evident when the hotel where he took refuge endured a substantial impact from a nearby bombing, causing the entire building to tremble. This experience was particularly distressing, given that EJ5 and his fellow journalists had left their families behind, leaving them ensconced in an unstable war zone fraught with an uncertain future. Furthermore, EJ5 had ventured into the conflict zone alongside the Taliban on a previous occasion. During this expedition, he was transported to a village where both civilians and animals had become casualties of the conflict, provoking public protests. The associated hazards of aligning with the Taliban, who were actively engaged in combat against NATO forces in Afghanistan, were

substantial. Before departing for Afghanistan, he had received cautionary advice that his convoy might come under NATO bombardment or encounter other precarious situations. Consequently, he and his colleagues expeditiously informed the American embassy of their status as independent journalists, underscoring the paramount importance of not being targeted during their mission.

Also, media practitioners placed a premium on realism when reporting on the actual conditions prevailing in conflict zones. Those venturing into these areas were expected to rigorously verify any findings that deviated from the official military narrative, particularly about security operations. Independent journalists who reported on such deviations frequently faced challenges in providing credible evidence. The practice of relying solely on sources was discouraged; instead, journalists were encouraged to autonomously investigate and amass factual information. For instance, one journalist recounted his approach when visiting tribal regions: he engaged with the Taliban, conducted interviews, scrutinized their living conditions and activities, and subsequently returned to report his observations. However, the verification of such accounts often posed formidable challenges, unless the journalist enjoyed a substantial level of credibility and trust among their audience. In the majority of cases, the military establishment served as the predominant source for corroborating information concerning conflict zones. Once embedded with military units, the dynamics of their reporting underwent substantial transformations. EJ10 concurred with this perspective, acknowledging that there were instances in which journalists encountered facts misaligned with the official narrative. In such scenarios, their reporting came under heightened scrutiny, particularly due to the active military engagement within the conflict zone, thereby subjecting their reports to military evaluation. Journalists were acutely aware of the imperative to preserve their credibility, recognizing that returning from a conflict area with reports significantly divergent from the actual events could undermine their journalistic integrity. The absence of third-party verification in such circumstances underscored the unique challenges confronted by independent journalists who operated independently of established institutions.

Journalists also emphasized the necessity of maintaining sensitivity while navigating conflict areas, a practice they believe is often lacking. Instead of recklessly pursuing exclusive content that may challenge the military or government, journalists should consider the option of embedding with the military. By doing so, they can record material and frame their stories while adhering to proper procedures. Journalists assert that entering conflict areas without permission or infiltrating restricted zones is an unwise choice that only leads to self-inflicted problems. "Non-embedded reporting broadens one's scope but simultaneously curtails the

capacity to exercise discretion in selecting areas of coverage. Embedding provides you with a terrain guideline while allowing you the freedom to select what you wish to cover”. EJ20

Another respondent accentuated that in embedded journalism, journalists receive information from a party involved in an operation, which includes claims of both losses and successes. They often find themselves constrained in their ability to independently assess the situation, being compelled to accept the claims presented to them. However, upon arriving at the conflict area, they can form a more informed opinion. Embedded journalism also differs from independent journalism in that embedded journalists are bound by specific Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and a code of conduct. They must provide their consent to adhere to these rules of engagement and are prohibited from violating them. Failure to comply may result in penalties, including potential expulsion from the conflict zone. “Again, reporting without official verification or clarification poses significant risks, and journalists may become vulnerable to adverse consequences”. EJ11

Moreover, journalists also discerned differences between embedded and non-embedded journalism concerning the freedom to report on conflicts. The majority of respondents agreed that they encounter minimal restrictions in their reporting, except about specific operational details. Nevertheless, they exercise discretion in abstaining from disseminating certain information due to its potentially detrimental consequences.

Hence, within the realm of conflict reporting, embedded journalism has proven invaluable for journalists in pursuit of reliable information regarding military operations in Pakistan. Given that the military press department, ISPR, is the primary source of such information, journalists need to have access to embedded sources to confirm a quote. By embedding with the troops, journalists gain access to information that is otherwise unavailable to non-embedded journalists. “Embedment shields journalists from unwarranted, negative, and baseless criticisms that may harbour ulterior motives aimed at maligning or sabotaging the armed forces—an endeavour that ultimately proven futile, with journalists finding themselves defending not only their journalistic integrity but also their story content”. EJ10

8.2.3 Freedom for embedded journalists

All journalists highlighted the importance of balanced and objective reporting, especially in conflict zones. They emphasized the need to collect facts from affected regions while considering the state's perspective. A comprehensive report should encompass both on-ground information and the official state account, promoting objectivity and avoiding partisan reporting. One participant shared his experience dating back to 1988, emphasizing the intrinsic

value of journalistic independence. “We were taught to appreciate the significance of independent stories and the information they gathered. Guidance was provided on how to utilize this information for public consumption without displaying favouritism or resorting to derogatory language. Objectivity remained a paramount concern, with a steadfast commitment to ensuring that their reporting remained factual and devoid of any falsification. Clarity and transparency were essential principles in our writing”. EJ9

A female journalist underscores the role of her confidence and determination in her work, having covered conflicts alongside Arshad Sharif (late) and numerous other esteemed journalists during her 18-year career. They meticulously devised strategies to report on the war against terrorism, which they executed systematically. She contends that embedment does not impede her freedom; rather, it facilitates her work by affording access to essential resources and eliminating unnecessary hassles, enabling her to concentrate solely on her reporting.

A subset of journalists does express reservations regarding the constraints imposed by embedment. Their experiences often entail visits to areas where peace and stability have been restored, permitting interactions with residents, albeit in a regulated capacity. Some perceive these interactions as prearranged engagements, particularly in the context of domestic issues within Pakistan. One journalist expresses reservations, noting that “the TTP's version is banned in Pakistan, yet Western media outlets such as AFP, Reuters, CNN, and BBC-type Western channels continue to feature their statements. Despite this, Western countries pressure Pakistan to deny these groups any platform or acknowledgement in local Pakistani media”. The journalist highlighted the inconsistency of Western media, which reports statements from figures like Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda, or the TTP, despite advocating for their marginalization in Pakistani media.

Furthermore, several journalists disapprove of being bound by specific Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), citing instances when their independence allowed them to approach potentially dangerous situations with greater proximity. One journalist recounts an incident when, as an independent journalist, they examined a planted bomb from a perilously close vantage point, an action they could not replicate when embedded with the military. Embedment, they argue, leads to the military exerting greater control over journalists' movements and potentially limits their reporting in areas deemed sensitive.

"I was once 'this' close to a planted bomb, attempting to inspect its composition, but that was during my tenure as an independent journalist. When I was embedded with the military, such proximity was unattainable. Embedded status entails a relinquishing of certain freedoms; the military's familiarity with the terrain and their say in your movements become significant

factors. Prior notification of your intent to report on particular matters becomes the norm, and there are subjects they may discourage you from reporting due to their sensitivities". EJ1

8.2.4 Freedom for independent journalists

In response to the issue of journalistic freedom in the context of independent conflict reporting, respondents highlighted a series of constraints faced by journalists in Pakistan, which they attributed to filters imposed by news outlets, necessitating compliance with the outlet's specific policies, and undergoing scrutiny influenced by factors such as circulation, ratings, and revenue generation. This complex environment, as emphasized by the respondents, often restricts the freedom of journalists, and gives rise to a widely held perception that media channels in Pakistan do not provide a comprehensive scope of freedom. These constraints extend beyond situations where journalists are embedded with the military, where security protocols are naturally in place, to encompass instances where they are compelled to adhere to prescribed narratives that are factually inaccurate, ultimately impeding their ability to deliver accurate reporting. The respondents expressed profound concerns about the accuracy and reliability of factual reporting within the Pakistani media landscape. One participant drew attention to the disparities between foreign and Pakistani media coverage during the US withdrawal from Kabul. While foreign media outlets offered a diverse array of perspectives, the respondent observed that local media coverage appeared notably one-sided. This divergence in reporting, they argued, could be traced back to the limited freedom that journalists in Pakistan experience. "In this specific case, Pakistan's supportive stance on the Taliban's negotiations with NATO forces influenced its portrayal of Afghans celebrating their takeover of Afghanistan during the US withdrawal. However, this portrayal failed to acknowledge the challenges faced by Afghan civilians, including their desperate attempts to leave the country". EJ10

The respondents stressed how important it is for journalists to be objective in their work, especially within the media organizations they belong to. They raised a significant concern about media ownership, where businesspeople who want to expand their businesses in various sectors also own media organizations. "This situation raises a crucial question: Are these individuals using journalism primarily to benefit their businesses, potentially compromising fairness, and ethical journalism? In Pakistan, many media outlets are seen as lacking true objectivity, as they appear to be influenced either by local government interests or manipulated by foreign forces". EJ5 These challenges were traced back to the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the United States, where Pakistan and its people suffered unintended consequences.

There's a deep concern about the Western tendency to link terrorism with Islam, despite Islam's core message of "peace." Connecting a religion based on peace with the term "terrorism" was seen as illogical. Participants emphasized that terrorism is a state of mind, where one person might bravely face danger, while another might become paralyzed by fear when confronted with the same threat. So, exclusively associating terrorism with Islam was considered senseless. Participants argued that this connection was driven by Western policies, which influenced media outlets to maintain a particular perspective and follow specific editorial guidelines. Pakistani media often followed this lead. Consequently, when Pakistani media shared content from publications like The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Telegraph, or French newspapers, it deepened societal divisions and left people feeling confused. The changing perception of individuals, particularly those who practised Islam devoutly, highlighted the broader impact on society. People who followed religious rituals prayed regularly, and shared teachings from the Quran and Sunnah were increasingly labelled as potential terrorists. This discussion emphasized how journalism is closely connected to cultural norms, values, social behaviours, politics, religious beliefs, and overall community behaviour. For example, the feasibility of starting a newspaper in France dedicated to promoting authentic Islamic values and teachings was questioned by respondents. They believed that such an effort would face strong resistance in France, highlighting the paradox of promoting a distorted view of religion in their own country while trying to convey the truth elsewhere. The majority of respondents believed that these media organizations have the liberty to shape their narratives based on their own beliefs and principles. For instance, they questioned whether major international networks like CNN or BBC can truly report independently. They cited examples from the Iraq War, where during the initial stages, reports suggested the presence of chemical weapons, which later turned out to be inaccurate. They also pointed out that during the second attack, the invasion led to the establishment of a preferred government. "Similar situations were noted in the case of Libya, Venezuela, and Nigeria, where Western media presented differing perspectives. While Western media outlets generally adhere to professional standards, they tend not to diverge significantly from the official state narrative. In contrast, British media was noted for its ability to present independent stories. However, even in the British media, it was rare to find stories that directly contradicted the stance of the British government". EJ19

A female journalist offered insights into the diverse approaches to practising journalism and the associated risks and safety measures. She emphasized that journalists in Pakistan have several options to choose from in conducting their work. "The choice of approach ultimately

rests with media practitioners. Historically, Pakistani media outlets depicted graphic images of violence, including bloodshed, killings, and charred bodies. However, this practice changed following regulatory interventions, notably initiated after the Swat operation. The Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) introduced regulations prohibiting the broadcast or publication of such distressing images. Moreover, specific statements were barred from public dissemination. These regulations are applied uniformly across the media landscape. They encompassed restrictions on reporting anti-state content and the dissemination of material likely to incite panic among the masses or present a negative image of the country, particularly in the Western world”. EJ11

The journalist shared her firsthand experience of reporting on the Pakistani war against terrorism in both embedded and non-embedded capacities. During the Swat operation, she operated independently without being embedded with the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) or the military. Her independent reporting involved visits to various locations, including Peshawar, Manghora, Matta, Kanju, Fazzagath, Imam Deri, and others. She even had the opportunity to interview Hakimullah Mehsud, the leader of the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). At that time, there was no military surveillance, but military personnel escorted her to an area where they could safely reach Mehsud's associates due to the challenging terrain. Notably, she was the only female journalist among a group of 20-25 journalists to visit him. Subsequently, individuals affiliated with Hakimullah Mehsud facilitated their meeting. “It's essential to recognize that not all interactions in a conflict zone involve overt hostilities, as both sides often have their strategies and negotiations. During my reporting, I engaged with numerous Taliban members, conducting interviews that provided valuable insights into their perspectives and motivations”. EJ11

8.2.5 Preference for embedded journalism vs. independent journalism

From the collective perspective of journalists, it is evident that there exists an inherent degree of pressure on individuals pursuing journalism, regardless of whether they operate within the embedded or non-embedded framework. Journalists understand the necessity of adhering to the legal framework of the state, as failure to do so may impede their effectiveness as independent reporters. It is essential to acknowledge that even when journalists operate independently, the state maintains a degree of oversight; however, this does not necessarily imply an adversarial relationship between journalists and the state. Comparing the two approaches to conflict reporting, journalists generally concede that embedded reporting offers

a higher level of safety for the fact that journalists who have ventured into conflict zones with armed groups have often faced challenging and perilous circumstances. Furthermore, it is important to note that Pakistani laws explicitly prohibit reporting on armed groups. Some journalists express a preference for embedded journalism due to the absence of explicit directives or orders from the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR). However, they encounter editorial constraints and scrutiny from their respective news channels when submitting certain stories. One journalist elucidated that their role extends beyond mere reporting; it encompasses the responsibility of uncovering the underlying reasons and context behind events. "Terrorist organizations frequently disseminate false or misleading information to manipulate public opinion, emphasizing the journalist's duty to uncover facts and pursue the truth. It is incumbent upon journalists to operate within the confines of the legal framework established by the state for conflict reporting, as similar regulations exist worldwide". EJ19

Moreover, some journalists recounted instances where colleagues displayed a bias in favour of the Taliban due to the group's efforts to advance its hidden agendas. "Before reporting on Taliban-related issues, journalists should meticulously consider the context and factual basis of their stories. They should not overlook the grim reality of the Taliban's role in the deaths of over 78,000 Pakistanis". EJ3

Interestingly, one journalist, drawing from her extensive experience as both an independent and embedded journalist, refrained from making a definitive preference between the two approaches. Instead, she asserted that both embedded and non-embedded journalism constitute integral chapters in her life journey, and she values the unique aspects of each approach.

In conclusion, embedded journalism assumes distinct connotations for different journalists. For some, it primarily represents a means of accessing information from conflict zones that might not be attainable through other channels. "When one begins to transform into a dispensable entity, a non-military figure utilized to delineate boundaries and evoke particular emotional responses, the trajectory can become precarious. I have observed instances from the past where individuals who attempted to align themselves with an inaccurate image of a particular institution faced adverse consequences. Such alignment deviated from their intended role, which was not meant to transform them into spokespersons for the armed forces of Pakistan. Instead, their primary responsibility should have been conducting independent research and leveraging the embedded privilege to access accurate information." EJ11

Journalists asserted that in Pakistan, embedment is often misconstrued as a means to bolster a particular institution's image, which is not the intended purpose of embedded journalism. Some journalists rationalized the merits of both approaches, embedded and independent, emphasizing

information as the paramount factor. Whether functioning as independent or embedded journalists, they could assess situations effectively when granted access to information, allowing them to engage in genuine reporting. "For instance, when the armed forces of my country engage in military operations within their territory, and incidents occur resulting in the unfortunate deaths of children, women, and innocent civilians, questions inevitably arise. Can such matters be simply dismissed as collateral damage, mistakes, or errors? The fundamental query that lingers is about accountability. Take Afghanistan, for instance, where numerous incidents occurred due to individuals providing false information to the Americans because they held grudges against rival tribes. Out of enmity, they portrayed them as members of AL Qaeda or the Taliban, leading to their demise in American airstrikes. Revenge fuelled their actions. So, who is tasked with discerning the truth?" EJ13

8.2.6 Embedment provides a slice of the whole picture

Participants do not perceive embedded journalism as inherently lacking in truth when compared to independent conflict reporting. Instead, they view it as a Western approach to journalism, which they consider more advanced. However, they emphasize that the practice of embedded journalism in Pakistan differs significantly. They argued that reporting on war or conflict involves not only identifying where a bomb was fired but also delving into the reasons behind its detonation and then constructing a narrative. "There are varying perspectives on where and why bombs were deployed. Obtaining a genuine truth is not a simple task. Investigations, however, eventually bring clarity. Yet, conducting immediate investigations during a conflict is challenging, as it necessitates time". EJ16

Journalists reasoned that the primary point of contention between embedded and independent journalists lies in their respective constraints. Embeds operate within the boundaries stipulated by the military, whereas independent journalists can move freely within conflict zones, despite the associated security risks. Independent journalists can gather information about the conflict zone if they can safely reach it and gain access to the relevant facts. Accessibility remains a key point of contention. One journalist accentuated that whether embedded with the army or not if they find themselves hundreds of kilometres away from the actual site of an incident, such as where a bomb was struck, they cannot provide first-hand information. "Yes, I can state that we have been informed by the military spokesperson that a bombing occurred in a specific area where enemy forces were active. They were planning an operation that was thwarted by our troops. So, sometimes we report what we have been told by them. People may view it as a

claim by the Pakistani side. However, from my perspective, I cannot definitively state that it is a mere claim; it may also be a factual account. Therefore, I consider the safest approach to report what the military spokesperson has briefed. If their information is incorrect or untrue, the responsibility lies with them, not with me”. EJ8

EJ26 shared an experience related to the information he and his colleagues gathered from a conflict zone. They visited the area and reported on the destruction of civilian properties, agricultural lands, and markets caused by improvised bombs. Subsequently, the top military leadership initiated the construction of basic infrastructure in the affected areas. In general, nearly all participants refuted the criticism that embedded journalists provide only a fragment of the overall information. They pointed out that they have reported on highly contentious stories from the field, many of which were eventually published or broadcasted. However, each media professional encounters different situations when working as both an embedded and an independent journalist. One respondent criticized embedment for limiting their ability to uncover facts and truth. He shared an incident involving a drone strike that occurred immediately after the withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan. This incident sparked a wide-ranging debate in the media, as it was initially believed to have targeted an Islamic State militants' hideout. However, the truth behind this incident was ultimately revealed by a local individual, likely an independent journalist, who investigated and discovered that the victims were not militants but local civilians. “Now, if an embedded journalist were present, they would not have had the opportunity to uncover the truth and confront the military about their actions in the event of a wrongful drone strike. This is where they would be constrained, as during a war, there is a concept known as collateral damage. In the past 20 years of US forces in Afghanistan, numerous such incidents have occurred, with many drone strikes resulting in false targets and the deaths of innocent civilians. We often speak about the 80 thousand soldiers sacrificed in the Pakistani war against terrorism, but we seldom discuss the collateral damage and the number of innocent victims of war”. EJ1

EJ1 reflected that embedded reports sometimes offer only a limited perspective or one side of the story. In contrast, independent journalism provides a broader frame and a different perspective, allowing for greater freedom in reporting.

8.2.7 Embedded approach to the conflict

Journalists were queried about their approach to embedded reporting specifically regarding which aspect of the conflict they preferred to emphasize. There is a perception that embedment

tends to focus on highlighting the glory, success, and sacrifices of the troops. However, nearly all journalists indicated a commitment to a human rights-oriented approach in their reporting. Despite this common commitment, each journalist had their unique ideas and frameworks for reporting on the conflict. EJ5 explained that when she is in the field, she adopts a comprehensive approach to reporting, utilizing her perspective as she observes various aspects of the conflict. “I frequently cover the activities of the troops, but human rights issues are always a prominent consideration in my reporting”. Another journalist placed a strong emphasis on human rights issues, particularly related to the devastation in the area following military operations. He pointed out that “the destruction of houses and infrastructure has a profound impact on civilians and is a critical aspect of the conflict's aftermath”. EJ29

When it came to reporting on the Pakistani war against terrorism, EJ12 outlined the key elements that form the core of the story, the conflict itself, the attacks, the resurgence of the Taliban, their origins and routes, and the border regions, particularly the Afghan border. He emphasized that addressing these aspects leads to the creation of separate stories that can be explored individually when reporting from a conflict zone. However, he noted that to obtain accurate information for each story, embedding with the military is often necessary, as independent journalists may not have access to critical areas like the border or trenches along the Pak-Afghan border. While prioritizing a human rights approach, he believed that gaining access to the conflict zone would naturally allow for interaction with people living on both sides of the border, which, in turn, could lead to comprehensive reporting on human rights issues. One respondent stated that a journalist's approach to reporting is intricately linked to the level of access they have within a conflict area. EJ21 theorized that when a journalist's access is limited, he tends to focus exclusively on his immediate surroundings and circumstances. This narrow focus encompasses various aspects, such as the well-being of the local population, the extent of civilian casualties, the destruction of critical infrastructure, plans for post-conflict rehabilitation, and ultimately, the resolution of the conflict itself.

Another journalist presented a hypothetical scenario where the military ordered civilians to evacuate a specific area, yet some individuals chose to remain and subsequently faced the risk of being killed due to military bombardment. “This situation raised challenging questions about how to interpret and document such events while effectively conveying the human side of the story”. EJ1 The journalist emphasized that reporting on human rights issues is a complex job, particularly when assessing cases where the military argues that terrorists are hiding among civilian populations. In such instances, individuals who opt to stay behind may be labelled as terrorists and, tragically, face fatal consequences. EJ10 introduced a different perspective on

human rights concerns, emphasizing the importance of highlighting the plight of civilians, regardless of whether they are ordinary citizens or the families of military personnel who have lost their lives. He recounted the story of a Major, a high-ranking army officer, who was martyred by the Taliban. “This Major had married the widow of his fallen colleague to provide her with support and protection. However, the woman ultimately found herself bereaved once again, underscoring the complex intersections between military personnel, their families, and the broader civilian population within conflict zones”. EJ10

8.2.8 Embeds provide a narrow view of the war/conflict

The majority of respondents shared a common perspective that their understanding of the conflict does not necessarily diminish over time; however, there are instances where they remain unaware of developments occurring on the opposing side. They considered this situation to be typical and noted its prevalence in most wars and conflicts. One respondent emphasized that “whether we are embedded with the military, the Taliban, involved in conflicts between India and Pakistan, or operating as independent journalists, we inevitably miss out on various aspects and details within the affected regions”. EJ20

Many participants highlighted their efforts to gather comprehensive information from a variety of sources, asserting that their reported accounts are generally published with minimal or no alterations. While criticizing Western media coverage, they contended that one-sided reporting is prevalent in Western coverage of conflicts, citing examples such as the Russia-Ukraine war, where they perceived a limited perspective. They expressed frustration with what they perceived as compromised and imbalanced reporting, particularly when certain sides of a conflict receive limited coverage or when media transmissions are blocked. Journalists also acknowledged a prevailing belief that journalists embedded with the military have limited access to information, which can result in their reporting being heavily scrutinized and criticized. Some media professionals pointed out that their credibility is often assessed based on their reporting within a 50km radius, even when the scope of a conflict extends far beyond 500km. They questioned the feasibility of providing comprehensive coverage over such vast distances with restricted accessibility. Participants emphasized that when they are embedded and faced with limited outreach, resources, and access, their reporting scope becomes constrained. This limitation is acknowledged as a reality of embedded journalism. One participant articulated, "I believe that in any conflict, the major players are the two opposing

sides. So, you must either be embedded with one side or the other. Embedment is significant because it provides a clear perspective, even if the reach is limited in a conflict zone." EJ30

8.3 HOW DO JOURNALISTS PERCEIVE CENSORSHIP AND SELF-CENSORSHIP IN THE LIGHT OF EMBEDDED JOURNALISM?

8.3.1 Censorship and Self-censorship in the context of embedded journalism

Critiques regarding censorship in the context of embedded journalism have been extensively discussed in existing literature, prompting a similar inquiry within the scope of this research. However, when examining the experiences of practitioners reporting on conflicts as embedded journalists, a nuanced narrative regarding censorship and self-censorship emerges. It is important to note that all respondents acknowledge the existence of censorship, not solely during embedment but also within the conventional paradigms of media practice. During embedment, journalists often navigate a delicate balance between reporting positively on soldiers and conflicts, a tendency influenced by Pakistani laws. However, instances involving significant civilian casualties are typically reported without external pressure or censorship constraints.

Embedded journalism takes on a distinctive dimension when the journalist's home country is embroiled in armed conflict. In such scenarios, any unauthorized dissemination of information or reporting beyond the prescribed limits may be construed as acts of espionage, related to espionage, or unauthorized dissemination of classified information. Consequently, censorship assumes a crucial role in safeguarding national security interests. The journalist's roles and responsibilities undergo a transformation when embedded with their country's military forces in the midst of a conflict initiated by a hostile nation. Conversely, when embedded in a military operation alongside their own security forces within their designated area, their approach diverges. An illustrative case can be found in Balochistan, where numerous armed personnel have fallen victim to various attacks, including improvised explosive device (IED) attacks, gun assaults, or bombings. In such instances, journalists often adopt a more assertive stance against insurgent activities. It is important to emphasize that journalists unanimously disapprove of the notion that embedment equates to "being in bed with the military."

One journalist asserted, "I have never received any direct directives from the military. As an ethical journalist, I do not disclose my sources, especially when reporting on critical matters such as my coverage of the Raymond Davis case. While military headquarters occasionally reached out to inquire about the origin of my information and how I obtained specific details, I have never perceived their actions as attempts to control or influence my work. Throughout

my 18 years of reporting on the Pakistani war against terrorism, I have encountered no impediments or threats. I approached my work with diligence, meticulously analysing each situation before reporting. For instance, I delved into the circumstances surrounding Osama Bin Laden's death in Abbottabad and the terrorist attack on PNS Mehran Base⁶⁵ Karachi. In both instances, I conducted exhaustive investigations to unravel the events" (EJ6).

Within the journalistic community in Pakistan, there exists a prevalent critique suggesting that journalists working closely with security forces display bias in favour of those forces. However, participants in this research unequivocally dispel this notion as unfounded. Many Western journalists maintain close professional relationships with their Pakistani counterparts, particularly during collaborative efforts in conflict zones, such as Afghanistan during the fall of Kabul. These foreign journalists often prominently feature "correspondent Pentagon" affiliations in their professional biographies or Twitter accounts. EJ4 reflected, "While inquiries directed at the military's information department may be daunting, responses are forthcoming. I have not encountered any undue pressure exerted by the military. Nevertheless, I hold the belief that journalists associated with anti-state groups should undergo rigorous scrutiny and, if necessary, be held legally accountable for inappropriate actions or for misleading the public. Regrettably, the issue of missing persons in Pakistan remains a grave concern, as procuring reliable information in such cases remains an ongoing challenge" (EJ4). Journalists placed significant emphasis on the paramount importance of information verification, especially when dealing with sources that are not consistently reliable. One journalist underscores the necessity of adhering to established policies, whether they pertain to the nation's regulations or the conventions of mainstream media when reporting on conflicts. He points out that constrained resources and compromised reporting freedom can significantly impact the resulting journalistic work. He argues that institutions taking risks are often endeavouring to construct a particular image. Alongside censorship, self-censorship also emerges as a notable factor. Journalists indicate that they engage in self-censorship for various reasons, to avoid the presentation of content that might be perceived as callous. However, this does not imply an intention to conceal facts.

"In the domain of extremist ideologies, there are figures like Hakimullah Mehsud⁶⁶ and Mullah Fazlullah, who have expressed their willingness to employ any means necessary to eliminate their adversaries, even if it entails resorting to violence against religious institutions. As an

⁶⁵ Navy Base in Karachi

⁶⁶ Among the most wanted militants of TTP. As per reports he was shot dead by the US drone strikes in Pakistan in 2013.

impartial observer, it was imperative to exercise caution in disseminating such statements, which had the potential to provoke negative reactions in certain individuals. At the same time, it was essential to acknowledge the grim reality of their existence” (EJ8).

Furthermore, the censorship of specific aspects related to Pakistan's war against terrorism is attributed to the magnitude of the conflict. Another journalist elucidates, "I have covered various issues, including the Mehran Base attack and the Usama Bin Ladin case. However, it is essential to note that the media portrayal of the Usama Bin Ladin case differed significantly from the actual events. The government's stance on the matter also diverged from my thoughts and opinions. While I was a first-hand witness to the occurrences in Abbottabad during that period, I refrained from reporting on what I had observed and instead opted for a measured approach. Despite being embedded, I was not subjected to directives regarding what to report and what not to report” (EJ15).

Another participant presented a distinct perspective on censorship, highlighting the evolving landscape of fifth-generation warfare. He emphasized the evolving role of journalists within this context, particularly in the realm of embedded journalism during times of war and conflict. In the context of fifth-generation warfare, which heavily relies on social media, questions arise regarding the nature of journalism practised on these platforms and how to counteract the narratives presented on social media versus traditional news channels. The challenge lies in ensuring that those engaged in professional journalism, whether through TV channels or print media, report the facts accurately and strive to convey the truth without ambiguity or exaggeration. It becomes increasingly important not to glorify individuals engaged in corrupt practices. From a Western perspective, the respondent noted that “Americans often perceive themselves as a superpower capable of intervening in any country at will. However, questions arise from the public regarding the outcomes of such interventions. Significant human casualties and humiliation were endured during the Vietnam War, and similar challenges were faced in Afghanistan, resulting in casualties, humiliation, and financial losses. This leads to inquiries about how taxpayer money has been expended. For instance, when embedded journalists are confronted with such questions, the challenge arises as to whether they should report the unvarnished reality”. The participant cited an example where an American colleague embedded with U.S. forces in Afghanistan witnessed F15 jets bombing civilians rather than terrorists. “When one pilot questioned the bombing of civilians, the response from another pilot was, ‘Just enjoy it’. In such situations, embedded journalists may find themselves constrained and unable to report the full extent of what they observe, akin to being handcuffed” (EJ5).

In the context of self-censorship, journalists widely assert that contravening state laws or jeopardizing the state's integrity runs contrary to responsible journalism. To ensure accuracy and objectivity, journalists stress the importance of corroborating information and seeking input from all relevant parties. A journalist shared his story about engaging with censorship practices when preparing a report. “The practice of self-censorship has never been one I willingly adopted. In 2011 or 2012, I received information concerning bomb blasts in Lahore. I promptly relayed this information to my superior, who subsequently aired it on the news tickers. Following this, I received a call from the director of news instructing me to remain in the office. I sought clarification for this request and was informed that some individuals were on their way to meet with me. Upon their arrival, I discovered that these were government officials who had come to investigate the information I had received. They demanded to know the source, but I steadfastly refused to disclose it, citing the need to protect my sources. Despite their persistent inquiries, I held my ground and declined to provide them with the contact number from which I had received the text message. The officials did not exert undue pressure on me, and I conveyed to them that it would be inappropriate for me to reveal this information. Consequently, I was requested to share any future information with my superior, who could then relay it to the authorities. Subsequently, I continued to receive messages concerning terrorist attacks, which were promptly handled by the relevant authorities. It is vital to note that I did not exploit this information for sensationalism; instead, I simply relayed it to my head office. Similarly, during my tenure at Aljazeera, I would receive videos containing such information, which I would copy and retain as solid evidence in case of any investigations” (EJ9).

Regarding allegations against Pakistan's security forces, particularly in Balochistan and the Northern areas, concerning reports of missing persons, another respondent addressed the complexity of reporting in such cases. He mentioned that if they were aware of an individual being apprehended by military forces for interrogation due to alleged links with terrorists, it would be acceptable to report this information. However, they raised the question of whether they could declare the person innocent without proper verification. All respondents shared the belief that while self-censorship may affect operational aspects, there is often an underlying agenda or propaganda associated with a certain level of censorship.

As one respondent explained, “I have affiliations with Aljazeera, BBC, and my Pakistani channel, and I have earned their trust. They are aware that I do not engage in secret activities. However, some journalists may indeed work with specific agendas, but their careers in

journalism tend to be short-lived. People do not place their trust in them, and they ultimately lose credibility. Nevertheless, such journalists do exist, and this fact cannot be denied” (EJ6). The respondents emphasized that both embedded and non-embedded journalism, not only in Pakistan but globally, is influenced by three key factors. First, it is shaped by directives issued by governmental or institutional authorities. Second, it is guided by the prevailing agenda and policies of the nation involved. Third, it revolves around what journalists can or should convey about a specific conflict without contradicting the official stance or policies of their government or state. This framework applies to various conflicts, including the global war on terrorism. Consequently, the utilization of censorship or self-censorship in journalism may align with certain agendas.

EJ1 said, “In the context of conflict reporting, there are limited places where journalists can enter conflict zones and report objectively based on factual observations. Take, for instance, the Russia-Ukraine crisis. I had the opportunity to be on the ground in Ukraine, as well as in Moscow and other locations. The situation was the same in both places. Ukraine was pursuing a specific policy, which included conscripting men and young boys to join their forces while allowing females to go free. In contrast, the Russians were rapidly advancing, closing borders, engaging in diplomatic discussions with foreign nations, and strategically positioning themselves along certain border areas. The overarching Western perspective on the Russia-Ukraine crisis differed, and each nation had its distinct policies. Consequently, the media had to convey a particular narrative. This disparity is a recurring theme in conflict reporting across various regions” (EJ1).

It was emphasized that journalism, whether on a global scale or within Pakistan, is fundamentally influenced by policies, particularly those representing a government's stance on specific matters. Without this policy framework, reporting on various conflicts, including the Kashmir conflict, would yield divergent viewpoints. Nearly all journalists concur that contemporary journalism is intricately linked to the policies and agendas of nations that have vested interests in regions of other countries. This interplay significantly shapes the landscape of journalism. The majority of respondents expressed strong reservations about the agenda-setting concept, contending that it undermines the integrity of journalism. They observed that this issue extends beyond embedding with the military, as journalists often align themselves with various parties that restrict their capacity for independent thinking. These journalists, it was noted, tend to deviate from established journalistic practices and principles. Instead of adhering to the traditional tenets of journalism, they allow their work to be shaped by their interests and perspectives. One respondent recounted his earlier years in a more tolerant

Pakistani society, where he was taught the art of persuasion through the presentation of his perspective. However, he emphasized the importance of not resorting to confrontation with the public to impose his viewpoint. In contrast, contemporary journalism exhibits a stark contrast, with journalists seemingly compelled to adopt a forceful approach. The same respondent drew parallels between terrorists imposing their interpretation of Islam through coercion and certain journalists exerting influence over society to conform to their perspective. For another respondent, censorship is synonymous with fear—fear of unveiling uncomfortable truths. Journalists, whether embedded or not, confront the spectre of censorship continuously. For instance, when they receive information and craft it into a story, they must weigh the potential ramifications. Consequently, they seek alternative avenues to disseminate the information. The practice of censorship represents a perpetual test for journalists, and it does not imply their desire to conceal facts.

“I once reported on the escape of TTP spokesperson Ehsanullah Ehsan from military custody. My editor advised against publishing this information, as it portrayed the military in a negative light. However, I argued that I had sourced the information from security forces, and if they intended to conceal such details, they would have done so already. Despite my insistence, my editor remained opposed to publication. I subsequently shared the story with ISPR, and they contacted me to inquire about my stance on the story. I affirmed that it was appropriate to publish such information. Subsequently, I received consent from the military department” (EJ16).

However, respondents asserted that self-censorship might be justifiable when operational matters need to remain confidential. Nevertheless, they maintained that censorship, at any cost, erodes the very essence of journalism, which hinges on objectivity and factual reporting. When policies and agendas infiltrate factual reporting, journalism is transformed into a vehicle for cultivating a particular image among various stakeholders and the public. Journalism, once regarded as a foundational pillar of a democratic society, has, in their view, become entangled in the web of propaganda. A respondent voiced this sentiment, saying, “It has gradually evolved into a tool for disseminating information, akin to embedded information. In Pakistan, we often refer to the media as the 'fourth pillar of democracy.' I have never subscribed to this notion, and I still do not. Why and how should the media be a pillar of a country's development or even its downfall? It should not. When disaster strikes, the media's role is to report, and when conflicts and developments unfold, the media's primary duty is to fulfil its core functions. Unfortunately, the media has deviated from its intended role, resulting in labels such as 'lifafa' (envelope), 'gadaar' (traitor), and 'agenda carriers’” (EJ20).

"Journalists frequently contextualize their reporting within varying frames. Self-censorship can be deemed acceptable as long as it aligns with the fundamental tenets of objectivity. A clear distinction exists between reporting an event and conducting an analysis of it. Our primary responsibility is to report events while adhering to facts and figures. Subsequent analysis may be provided once the factual reporting is accomplished." (EJ13).

In a broader context, respondents contend that journalism has evolved into a practice rooted in state policies and agendas, a phenomenon that is observable worldwide. Journalists, often embarking on reporting assignments driven by diverse motivations and interests, inevitably encounter censorship, whether they embrace it willingly or not.

"I believe that adapting to the prevailing global dynamics is justified in today's journalism landscape." (EJ2).

For journalists, the application of censorship or self-censorship as a national duty hinge on the specific circumstances they encounter. One respondent shared an illustrative experience from February 2019 when India attempted an incursion and bombing operation in Pakistan. Aware of Pakistan's deployment of nuclear weapons, the respondent reported on Samaa TV, highlighting that Pakistan had readied all forms of weaponry, including conventional and non-conventional. The respondent acknowledged the critical decision-making involved in this reporting, choosing to refer to nuclear weapons as conventional arms. This decision aimed to convey a message of deterrence: if India contemplated a nuclear strike against Pakistan, the latter was equally prepared. Despite the inherent complexities, the respondent exercised self-censorship responsibly in the interest of national security. EJ22.

Several journalists emphasized the significance of a reporter's orientation, particularly when distinguishing between militants and Mujahideen. They argued that Pakistani journalists should be discerning in their terminology, understanding when to label individuals as militants and when as Mujahideen. "Misrepresenting Kashmiri Mujahideen as militants would inadvertently serve India's agenda, aligning with India's portrayal of Kashmiri fighters as armed militants or terrorists". EJ22

Furthermore, they pointed out the inconsistency in labelling conflicts, such as when Israeli forces' actions against Palestinians are characterized as "violence," while Palestinian actions against Israeli forces are labelled "terrorism." Journalists expressed their commitment to avoiding these double standards and using terminologies that reflect fairness and accuracy.

8.3.2 Embeds Compromise Objectivity

In the context of objective reporting, embedded journalism perpetually finds itself at a juncture where journalists face criticism for potentially compromising their objectivity, either voluntarily or under the influence of the military. Although the perspectives expressed by respondents on this matter were diverse, a prevailing viewpoint centred on the individual mindset and the sensibilities of the embedded journalist. As one respondent aptly put it, “Objectivity may be compromised if journalists align too closely with the perspectives of the soldiers, a situation that some journalists occasionally find themselves in” (EJ4).

Furthermore, hidden intentions underlying the act of embedding play a pivotal role in objectivity compromise. “For instance, if a journalist seeks to embed primarily for personal comforts like access to better food, improved sleep conditions, or financial support, his objectivity may already be in jeopardy. Such individuals may lose sight of the fundamental purpose and principles of embedded journalism, which are predicated on gaining enhanced access to conflict zones for more accurate reporting”. Respondents emphasized the existence of two distinct approaches to covering conflict areas: aligning with one of the involved parties, such as the Taliban (opponents of the establishment), which might expose journalists to military strikes, or affiliating with the military, a choice that carries a lower risk of security threats. It is important to note that embedding is not synonymous with being directed or receiving instructions. EJ8 exemplified that media personnel can be influenced by external circumstances or the environment of a conflict zone, potentially leading to altered mindsets during reporting.

“One incident serves as an illustrative example of this dynamic: during a terrorist attack in a conflict zone, a journalist began reporting and documenting the situation. He enumerated the number of attacks that had occurred, even as the security commander urged journalists to seek shelter and protect themselves, insisting that attacks were ongoing. Journalists possess an inherent curiosity and an inclination to document events as they unfold. Despite being faced with danger; journalists are driven by their commitment to their work. Consequently, the question arises: at what point does an individual cross the line between objective reporting and potential bias?” (EJ4).

The prevailing notion is that embedded journalists are prone to be influenced by their immediate environment, inevitably impacting their objectivity. Respondents acknowledged that this influence might sway their perceptions and, by extension, their reporting. Nevertheless, they emphasized that the degree to which objectivity is compromised depends largely on the individual journalist's ethics, values, and professionalism.

One journalist noted, “The military does not obstruct your reporting or instruct you on what to say. Instead, their focus is primarily on ensuring the safety of journalists. But journalists must make a conscious choice about how to present events. If you wish to spin the narrative, you have the freedom to do so. However, if you prioritize facts, figures, and balanced reporting, you must abide by these principles. Ultimately, it is up to the journalist to ensure objectivity” (EJ6).

The sentiment was echoed by another respondent who drew a clear distinction between being embedded and reporting objectively. “An embedded journalist should be completely impartial and maintain an objective perspective, in line with the norms of professional journalism. The embedded journalist's primary responsibility is to report on the reality of the situation without any alteration or personal bias. The line is drawn when the journalist assumes the role of a spokesperson for one party or the other, rather than providing an accurate depiction of events” (EJ12).

Compromises within the realm of objective journalism can also arise from other factors, with patriotism emerging as a notable influencer, alongside other potential sources like military affiliations. This element of patriotism often intertwines with objectivity, particularly in the context of the Pakistani war against terrorism, where the conflict unfolds between the Pakistani State/Forces and the Taliban, representing and perpetrating violence (militancy) within the nation. Consequently, an inquiry emerges regarding the extent to which journalists report on this terrorism-related conflict objectively or with inherent biases, given the perception that the Taliban opposes Pakistani forces.

Participants engaged in discussions surrounding multiple instances wherein they navigated the intersection of patriotism and objectivity within the confines of the conflict. The consensus among all respondents primarily rested on the notion that their sense of patriotism did not impede their ability to maintain objectivity in their reporting. Their reports infused with patriotism often stemmed from the stark realities of the conflict, wherein security personnel, often earning meagre wages, courageously faced terrorists while risking their own lives. Journalists emphasized that they are not automatons but rather human beings who, through their roles as reporters, inherently became advocates for human rights, perpetually attuned to the suffering endured by individuals affected by the conflict. In fulfilling their journalistic responsibility to amplify the voices of the people, they documented human suffering while upholding their commitment to objectivity. EJ2 elucidated this point, stating, “I find myself thinking about all those individuals who fell victim to the Taliban's violence. There is an innate, instinct that inclines toward all those individuals who suffered at the hands of terrorists. It's an

involuntary response; you can't help it. You get influenced by the resilience of all those individuals who stand against terrorism". EJ2

For one participant, patriotism was more synonymous with a love for one's country than with conflict coverage. This journalist travelled through war-affected regions to uncover the truth and observe the conditions first-hand. His reporting, characterized by an amalgamation of information and objective storytelling, embodied both patriotism and neutrality. "My reports exhibit neutrality, which I achieve by striving to consider all perspectives and by giving everyone a voice. Instead of imposing my analysis or speaking extensively, I find it more enlightening to listen to others. It's up to them whether they convey the truth or not, but as a journalist, I endeavour to balance my reports by presenting both sides". EJ13

Many journalists, as they primarily focused on addressing public concerns in conflict-ridden areas and discerned that military activities were often methodical and well-timed, acknowledged their role in covering stories that encapsulated both objectivity and patriotism. One journalist shared her experience, underscoring her efforts to strike a delicate equilibrium between objectivity and patriotism. However, if someone was unjustly harming her country's integrity, she admitted to momentarily setting aside such considerations. "For instance, during my reporting on the Ukraine-Russia war, I observed instances where Russian forces treated Ukrainian families with kindness upon their capture, although the Ukrainian media did not emphasize such occurrences. Russia, being a declared enemy, was not a subject that the Ukrainian media favoured covering. Therefore, events like these can die off, overlooked and unheard by opposing sides". EJ21

In addition to these parallel viewpoints expressed by journalists, one participant introduced a distinctive perspective. This journalist had experienced reporting for both local and foreign media outlets. Consequently, the perception of objectivity and patriotism held a nuanced interplay, with a heightened sense of objectivity associated with reporting for international media and a more pronounced sense of patriotism tied to reporting for local media.

Participants underscored embedment does not hinder a journalist's knowledge or learning about a particular matter. While embedded, media practitioners are expected to collect comprehensive information from one side of the conflict and then endeavour to obtain details from the opposing side. As stated by EJ1, "No journalist can have it all. Tell me one journalist who has covered military and conflict zones and has presented every single angle from both sides—no one can, no one has, because it does not work that way. You cannot have everything according to your wishes, especially in a conflict zone where resources are limited. You end up acknowledging that you won't have access to everything. That's when you decide to align

with one side and leverage the assistance they provide. We need to comprehend how the military operates, so while my Wishlist may be constrained when embedded, it doesn't limit my capacity to learn and understand a conflict". EJ1

8.4 POLITICAL, SOCIETAL, ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS, ORGANISATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL INFLUENCES ON THE JOURNALISTS IN THE CONTEXT OF CONFLICT REPORTING?

8.4.1 Influences on Journalists

Given that embedment has already been extensively critiqued for various reasons as discussed in RQ1 and RQ2, it is imperative to explore whether other factors or dimensions influence conflict reporting. While many journalists have shown a preference for embedment due to certain advantages, it is essential to identify other driving forces that may shape the framing of the conflict in the context of non-embedded (independent) journalism. These factors encompass political, societal, economic, organizational, religious, and individual influences. Addressing the role of political influence in conflict reporting, respondents highlighted that in a society with a free press, political parties may exert influence. However, the essence of independent journalism should remain steadfast, transcending partisan interests. Independent journalism's primary goal is to dissect the roots of injustice when a society suffers from it. Journalists must investigate and determine the responsible parties for such injustices. For instance, when a journalist encounters issues like escalating prices and the resultant hardship faced by the public, they are tasked with identifying who should maintain price controls and why these mechanisms are failing. Journalists are responsible for meticulously verifying facts and subsequently providing impartial solutions, constituting the essence of independent journalism.

One media professional recounted the challenge of missing persons in Pakistan. As independent journalists, their duty is to report the disappearance of numerous individuals. Different narratives exist, with one party asserting that their missing member has no connections to terrorism or unlawful activities. The key question arises: who bears responsibility for the disappearance—law enforcement agencies or criminal gangs engaged in ransom kidnapping? In this scenario, independent journalism dictates that if doubts surround the involvement of law enforcement agencies, they must unequivocally state whether the missing person is in their custody. Such clarity would help distinguish between whether the agencies or another group are responsible. Reporting such issues with factual evidence is

considered a hallmark of independent journalism. Respondents emphasized that a journalist should serve as the voice of the masses rather than a mouthpiece for the powerful. Journalists must remain free from the influence of political parties or individuals. Their duty encompasses reporting crimes even when committed by influential figures; failure to do so implicates them in wrongdoing. In a conflict-ridden region such as Balochistan, where the Baloch ethnic group is engaged in a struggle for what they perceive as an independent Balochistan, numerous militant and insurgent factions have emerged, resorting to armed insurgency as their chosen course of action. “The question arises: Is this armed insurgency a justifiable means to address their grievances? It is imperative to scrutinize why they have resorted to arms. If their actions stem from a sense of being denied their rightful constitutional rights or if they hold legitimate concerns regarding their status as citizens of the country, then a constructive dialogue should be initiated to address these grievances. However, if their actions are influenced by foreign powers, such as India, with the intent to foment insurgency in Balochistan, akin to the strategies employed by Iran, the United States, or the British in the past, primarily driven by the region's rich mineral resources including oil, gas, gold reserves, and copper, then a critical question emerges: How can this perilous course be rectified? As a practitioner of investigative journalism, my endeavour is to produce reports that contribute to stability in the region, a hallmark of independent journalism”. EJ5

Journalists acknowledge that they are individuals shaped by their upbringing, influenced by religious beliefs, societal norms, and political ideologies. At times, political inclinations may develop subtly and organically, escaping their conscious awareness. Ideological journalism can find its way into conflict reporting, as journalists may inadvertently espouse the perspectives of specific political parties regarding the conflict. Additionally, considerations of ratings, viewership, and political influence often come into play. In Pakistan, various political parties hold divergent viewpoints on the country's internal war on terrorism, creating a complex landscape. For example, the head of Jamaat e Islami (JI) once made a contentious statement, expressing a perspective that did not acknowledge security forces as martyrs when killed by the Taliban. Such a statement, in contrast to the views of other political parties, led to debates in the media. However, it is essential to distinguish between genuine journalism and ideological alignment. Journalists have a responsibility to question all parties and seek clarification on issues. For instance, when individuals from tribal areas raise concerns about the impact of counter-terrorism efforts on their lives, it becomes the journalist's duty to investigate and verify the accuracy of these claims by engaging with security forces. EJ4

An additional crucial aspect, as highlighted by a journalist, pertains to conflict reporting, which frequently transcends the realm of a country's politics and delves deeper into its foreign policy and how the nation's establishment handles specific issues. In the context of conflict reporting, the influence is not solely political but also emanates from entities such as the foreign office and the high commission of the country. These institutions closely monitor the activities of foreign correspondents reporting from Pakistan. For instance, EJ1 faces unique challenges as a journalist working for an Indian media network within Pakistan. While political parties may not be overly concerned with his reporting, both the Indian High Commission in Islamabad and the Pakistani High Commission in New Delhi scrutinize and assess his reports. While influence does exist, it is not a pervasive practice, and it significantly shapes how he covers specific matters. EJ1 is privileged to have gained trust as the right person for the job at an Indian channel. There was a time when he temporarily left this position, and the Pakistani High Commission in New Delhi implored him to return. Their rationale was to prevent any potential mishaps or statements that a new recruit might make. This type of influence is typically wielded to maintain adherence to established boundaries. Some journalists, however, had different experiences. In cases where conflicts involved two countries and had international ramifications, they disagreed with the style of journalism that could potentially tarnish their own country's reputation. EJ4, with nearly two decades of experience covering Afghanistan, pointed out, that when multiple parties are involved in a conflict (for instance, NATO and the USA on one side, and Afghanistan and Pakistan on the other), journalists often transition from being mere reporters to patriotic citizens. They may take exception to any actions or statements that they perceive as detrimental to their own country's reputation. In such cases, the notion of responsible journalism takes precedence.

All the interviewed journalists unanimously acknowledged that the primary target of media is society at large. The media serves as a vehicle for disseminating information, sometimes not merely based on factual accounts but also influenced by policies and agendas. The goal is to shape the perception of society regarding a specific conflict zone and the events transpiring therein. For instance, if one country invades another, and its citizens raise questions, it can have adverse effects on their politics, foreign policy, and overall power dynamics. Social influence plays a pivotal role, in facilitating access to extensive information during the reporting process. For instance, consider the issue of missing persons in Pakistan, which often leads to allegations against the establishment. While there are instances where missing individuals may be guilty, societal perception tends to hold the establishment accountable whenever someone disappears,

assuming their innocence. This underscores the profound impact of social influence on media reporting. EJ26

“In one instance, a colleague's son went missing, only to be discovered that he had voluntarily travelled to North Waziristan with a friend to engage with the Taliban. Influenced by his experiences, he chose to remain there. It is worth noting that numerous cases of missing persons have been reported in Balochistan, often attributing blame solely to the establishment. However, the reality is more nuanced. Some missing persons are indeed apprehended by law enforcement agencies, while others cross borders into India. In certain instances, it is the investigative bureau or even private militias involved. Reporting solely based on personal accounts of suffering individuals is not always a reliable approach; seeking the truth is paramount” EJ18. Among journalists, there was a consistent emphasis on the societal pressure that shapes a journalist's reporting of incidents. EJ4 recounted various incidents he personally experienced. For instance, during the Laal Masjid incident, he operated independently, at great risk. Journalists were prohibited from entering the vicinity, with orders to shoot on sight or apprehend any journalist present. Despite these challenges, he made efforts to cover the incident discreetly, even hiding to survive a bullet and narrowly escaping a sniper's target. Respondents also discussed the impact of their ethnic identity on their reporting, highlighting the pressure to advocate for their people. Journalists hailing from regions like North or South Waziristan may approach war reporting with a perspective that underscores the suffering of their fellow region residents, influenced by their shared experiences in conflict-ridden areas. Pakistani reporters from tribal regions have often sought employment with international organizations like Voice of America (VOA) or BBC. “Some international organizations seek agenda-driven reporting, with BBC and VOA being prominent examples. They openly tend to focus on the negative aspects of the country, while not displaying similar interest in showcasing its positive side. When concerns were raised regarding agenda-driven stories in their presence, some stories were published with their approval, while others were removed. However, this practice persists. The deliberate recruitment of youth from tribal areas serves the purpose of sourcing agenda-driven stories from otherwise restricted regions, often portraying narratives against the Pakistani military or government. Such stories may have a transient impact but lack lasting significance”. EJ18

Journalists also highlighted one of the most devastating terrorist incidents in Pakistan, which deeply affected the entire nation due to the tragic loss of school-going children. This incident profoundly touched the sensitivity of all journalists. “In my entire career, I had never witnessed such a harrowing incident. Seeing the aftermath of that tragedy, with the bloodstains, scattered

pens and pencils of those innocent children, shattered glass, and the haunting scene all around, I couldn't hold back my tears. It made me think of my own children, and my emotions overwhelmed me. Even foreign media personnel were visibly distressed. We are, above all, human beings, and we are not devoid of emotions. A journalist must possess sensitivity to issues; it's an integral part of our profession. Anyone who claims to be a journalist but lacks sensitivity is, in my view, utterly inadequate". EJ12

Journalists also recognized economic influence as a significant factor, not only in conflict reporting but also in shaping public opinion. The financial circumstances of journalists can sometimes compel them to write in favour of or against their own country, as they, like anyone else, must provide for their families. However, all respondents unanimously rejected such behaviour, as it constitutes a grave violation of independent journalism. "If, as an editor, I was to instruct my reporter to present a particular angle in exchange for incentives or rewards, it would be a blatant attempt to influence their reporting. Anyone engaged in such practices is not practising journalism; rather, they are dancing to someone else's tune. You cannot compromise the truth to lead a comfortable life". EJ8

During the Pakistani war against terrorism, a significant portion of those who supported the Afghan or Pakistani Taliban belonged to the economically deprived class. Some individuals associated with the Taliban even worked as reporters for various media outlets, particularly in reporting from tribal regions. Economic factors played a substantial role in the decisions of these underprivileged individuals, as they sought financial stability to provide a better life for their families. "They (journalists) perceived working for the Taliban as a means of ensuring their own safety. Due to low earnings, many were swayed by the Taliban's influence and joined their ranks, such as Ehsanullah Mehsud and Shahid Ullah Shahid, who were also reporters. In tribal regions, it was common for journalists to align themselves with one party, often the Taliban, in exchange for benefits and incentives". EJ28

Another critical aspect highlighted was the discrepancy in how journalists were compensated when working in conflict zones. Journalists who reported for foreign media outlets often received comprehensive support, including travel insurance, security measures, accommodation, and sometimes even bomb-proof vehicles, ensuring their safety. On the other hand, local journalists working for Pakistani media outlets often lacked such provisions, and their job security was paramount, with the pursuit of a scoop being the primary incentive. "I have observed this first-hand during my trips to Afghanistan. While I was insured, had security arrangements, and even a bomb-proof vehicle, other Pakistani journalists heading to Kabul had none of these safeguards. For them, it was about job security, whereas for me, it was about

reporting the truth. The disparity in how local and foreign media treat their journalists in conflict zones is striking”. EJ1

In the realm of journalism, it is acknowledged that venturing into a conflict zone and finding oneself in close proximity to a bomb blast site can lead to significant recognition. Such experiences not only garner attention but also yield economic benefits. Given the stagnant state of Pakistan's economy, the motivation for journalists has shifted from mere passion to a desire for financial gain. The economic factor holds sway for journalists, who recognize that their presence in a conflict zone can be financially rewarding, in addition to enhancing their professional portfolio. One journalist shared a personal story, recounting a situation where they were asked to report something untrue under a contractual obligation. They displayed the courage to decline the request, even when faced with the threat of being replaced by another journalist. This experience underscores the value placed on journalism, where ethical principles are occasionally compromised for monetary considerations. EJ22

Furthermore, it is often assumed that the world at large views journalism as a commodity, attaching value to it primarily when it serves their interests. A specific incident involving a foreign journalist highlights this perspective. The journalist in question, posing as an individual from Iraq, applied for a Pakistani visa and engaged a local journalist to negotiate a daily payment. This journalist then facilitated the foreign journalist's unauthorized visit to Abbottabad, a restricted area due to the Osama Bin Laden incident. The foreign journalist later wrote about her experiences, alleging that Pakistani journalists could be easily swayed by monetary incentives to disregard laws, SOPs, and protocols. This incident shed light on the perception that some journalists can be motivated primarily by financial gain, often at the expense of ethics and regulations. EJ5

In the context of organizational influence, all respondents unanimously conveyed that it is a pervasive phenomenon, deeply entrenched in the culture of the media industry. Challenging their organization's policies is an arduous undertaking, often resulting in immediate termination. Hierarchical issues within media channels can further complicate matters, where the director of news may exhibit biases against certain media practitioners, irrespective of their job performance. Consequently, journalists tend to succumb to the pressures exerted by their organizations, faithfully adhering to established policies. It is a fundamental tenet of journalism that every journalist must comply with the rules and regulations set forth by their respective media houses. EJ10 stated, “If you don't align with their policies, your recourse is to resign. However, in a country like Pakistan, finding alternative employment is far from straightforward”. Organizational policies not only dictate what to report but also how to report

it. Journalists sometimes conform to these directives, while at other times, they employ ingenious methods to preserve objectivity. In the realm of conflict reporting, journalists are often dispatched to affected areas with preconceived notions of what to cover. They operate with a predefined plan provided by their organizations, focusing on various aspects. For instance, they may emphasize the human angle of the story, portraying the suffering endured by individuals. A journalist might sit in a bunker alongside a soldier, showcasing their emotions to evoke empathy from the audience, highlighting their dedication to the nation's cause. Despite multiple journalists reporting from the same conflict zone, each one crafts a unique perspective informed by their organizational goals. As one participant emphasized, no journalist enters a conflict zone without a well-defined plan, clear alignment with their organization's policies, and a compelling narrative. Once on-site, with limited resources and constrained coverage parameters, they are compelled to concentrate on fulfilling their organizational objectives.

Religion exerts a significant influence on the dynamics discussed above, primarily stemming from the educational background of conflict-affected individuals. Unfortunately, many of them lack access to quality education and are confined to a limited sphere of learning. Even when education is accessible, it often adheres to a narrow curriculum, sometimes promoting divisive ideologies like hate speech. Beyond the educational aspect, the societal structure also contributes to the prominence of religion in the context. A case in point is the coverage of the Malala Yousufzai incident, where religious factors played a significant role. Another instance of religious influence revolves around the concept of the finality of Prophethood. Dr. Abdus Salam, a Nobel laureate hailing from the Qadiani sect, faced contrasting treatment during different political eras in Pakistan. While his religious affiliation was not an issue during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's regime, it became a subject of contention under Zia-ul-Haq's rule. Such religious bias and discrimination have unfortunately seeped into journalism practices.

Furthermore, journalists from the tribal areas of Pakistan may hold sympathies for the Taliban, possibly due to their regional background providing a sense of security that their counterparts in other parts of the country do not enjoy. Religious elements, as well as a journalist's personal religious beliefs and inclinations, play a substantial role in shaping their reporting. These factors can influence their perspectives and impact how they perceive and convey situations.

As one journalist pointed out, “emotional, religious, or agenda-driven biases can narrow one's focus and limit their understanding of a given situation. Such biases can inadvertently skew the portrayal of events”. EJ21 Additionally, there are instances of media personnel who misrepresent facts to align with a distorted interpretation of religious principles. This poses a dilemma for responsible journalism, particularly when reporting on individuals who commit

acts of violence while claiming to act in the name of religion. In the face of such complexities, it is imperative for journalists to maintain objectivity and refrain from promoting divisive or harmful interpretations of religion. Instead, their reporting should focus on the actions and deeds of individuals, regardless of their religious affiliations, in line with the principles of responsible journalism. EJ14

The final aspect of influence discussed by journalists pertained to an individual journalist's perspective regarding a conflict. Diverse views and experiences were shared, with one journalist holding a distinct opinion about the war on terrorism in Pakistan. However, their professional values restrained them from expressing this opinion openly. For instance, when faced with a suicide attack or IED explosion in North Waziristan, this journalist believed in reporting the event objectively without injecting personal bias. They emphasized the importance of presenting the facts as they occurred, without embellishing the account with subjective notions of bravery or valour displayed by security forces. Instead, the journalist proposed raising questions about the government's response to security challenges, such as whether the escalating terrorism indicated security lapses or failures on the part of the state. They highlighted the need for substantial evidence before labelling it as a security failure. (EJ4) Furthermore, it was elucidated that a journalist's intention plays a significant role. The perspective of a journalist covering a conflict for the first time differs from that of a seasoned journalist with multiple experiences in conflict zones. Experience brings maturity, which profoundly influences a journalist's overall conduct.

Journalists often embark on reporting from conflict zones driven by excitement and the pursuit of a scoop, viewing it as an opportunity rather than a challenging reporting environment. However, their initial approach can evolve upon witnessing the realities on the ground. Ideally, journalists should possess the flexibility to adjust their perspective based on the situation they encounter. Regrettably, this is not always the case, as some journalists adhere to predetermined agendas when reporting from conflict zones. They tend to focus on specific stories that align with their preconceived notions, which can lead to biased reporting. One respondent believed that journalists should be prepared to adapt, correct, and educate themselves on how to cover a conflict zone. He emphasized the importance of learning from the experience and understanding the conflict comprehensively before venturing into a conflict area for coverage. This understanding, gained before entering the conflict zone, significantly impacts a journalist's mental capacity and ability to report objectively. Thus, a journalist's perspective and approach to covering a conflict zone can vary based on their experience, intent, and capacity for adaptability. It is essential for journalists to approach conflict reporting with an open mind,

ready to learn from the experience and report on the ground realities objectively. Understanding the nuances of the conflict before reporting is crucial for responsible and accurate journalism.

EJ26

On the contrary, a minority of respondents adopted a rather unconventional stance, asserting that conflict reporting constitutes a distinct and intriguing realm. They expressed contentment in not being assigned to cover the political beat, emphasizing the paramount importance of accuracy in their reporting. “We cannot misrepresent the situation, but we can provide insightful analysis and opinions on the conflict or the situation at hand. However, we are bound to present the precise figures regarding casualties and troop deployments, without any alteration. I believe our personal values do not compromise the integrity of our conflict reporting”. EJ15

Furthermore, it was underscored that journalists should be cognizant of the acceptability within tribal societies concerning conflicts in regions like Pakistan and Afghanistan. Journalism should remain impartial, and uninfluenced by local values, and should refrain from attempting to sway these values. Journalists have an obligation to present factual information, and any distortion of facts not only misleads themselves but also misguides their audience. “There are two categories of Taliban: one faction exploits the Taliban identity for personal gain, using it as a pretext to advance their political or adversarial agendas. They are distinct from the Afghan Taliban, an internationally recognized political entity that waged a struggle for their country's freedom against foreign forces. The international community is now engaging with them, having entered into written agreements with NATO forces for a peaceful withdrawal from Afghanistan. Their legitimacy is acknowledged globally. In Afghanistan, opinions about them vary; some view them as malevolent, believing they aim to impose a stringent form of Islamic governance. Conversely, the Taliban argue that they are merely implementing what is prescribed in the Quran and Sunnah. It is essentially a political debate. Similar legal practices exist in countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, where kingdoms administer justice with harsh penalties for crimes like robbery and murder. The same legal principles, when applied by the Afghan Taliban in Afghanistan, are often criticized as human rights violations. Journalists should not be swayed by such inconsistencies”. EJ1

All the journalists generally stressed the paramount importance of upholding objectivity in journalism across various situations. They believed that objectivity not only leads to better solutions but also ensures the integrity of journalism. However, one journalist posed a thought-provoking question about how journalism should respond when dealing with situations where the same group, such as the Taliban, is sought for assistance in liberating Chinese Muslims,

who are portrayed by Western media and governments as victims of severe human rights abuses by the Chinese authorities. “This scenario highlights the complexity of reporting on human rights violations, as different perspectives emerge regarding the treatment of Chinese Muslims, Palestinians, and Kashmiris”. Journalistic approaches can vary significantly in these cases. In addition to sharing their experiences and perspectives on non-embedded journalism in conflict zones, the journalists also discussed the presence of these influencing factors in embedded journalism. Journalists emphasized that military embedment does not exert a more significant influence on a story than the journalist's individual, religious, organizational, and political perspectives. Emotional and political factors often play substantial roles, leading to a diversity of viewpoints within journalism.

Some journalists even express support for the Taliban, particularly those reporting from tribal areas or with religious affiliations, while others question the actions of the state or the establishment. Therefore, the assumption that embedded journalism with the military is the sole driving factor is mistaken. Various forces, including emotional, coercive, and political influences, contribute to shaping journalists' reporting. One respondent argued that whether journalists are embedded with the military or independently covering conflict zones, their primary duty is to report accurately without altering the narrative to align with any influencing factors. Whether through military embedment or independent reporting, journalists aim to uncover different facets of the same truth within the conflict. In the era of social media, any misinformation is swiftly met with counter-narratives or statements, ultimately revealing the ground realities of the situation. “In the context of embedded journalism, one might ponder what aspects could be exaggerated or overstated. For instance, while it is possible to acknowledge the significant contributions and sacrifices made by both the military and civilian populations during a conflict, it becomes challenging to definitively determine which side holds the upper hand. Embedded journalism, however, offers a structured and secure environment, where reporters adhere to a predefined schedule and can adjust their plans accordingly”. EJ6 Another media professional offers insights into the merits of embedded journalism, emphasizing its role in highlighting the military's achievements. When national media accompanies the Pakistani military in a conflict, it is expected that they will report on the military's success in thwarting enemy attacks. Rather than conveying a message of concern or defeat, it is crucial to instil hope among the public. For example, a military General would not appear on television proclaiming that there is nothing to worry about and that they are winning. Instead, media professionals play a vital role in portraying the armed forces as dedicated to

securing a better tomorrow for the nation, thus bolstering national morale. Such reporting serves the national interest by contributing to local and financial stability in the market. EJ11 “In the realm of embedded journalism, the common man, while purchasing everyday essentials like vegetables, seeks a semblance of security. When one's independence is under threat, the fight must continue until the very end. Journalists, in this context, are no exception. If the nation faces the risk of enslavement by its adversaries, so do its journalists. Embedded journalism becomes a battle where concerns about the economy or similar matters are irrelevant. When a nation is thrust into war, its people become warriors, each with a unique arsenal. While a soldier fights with weapons, a journalist wields a pen”. EJ5

Conversely, EJ12 presents a different perspective on embedment, particularly in conflict zones, where access and outreach are substantially restricted. This limitation has a profound impact on various aspects, including the journalist's approach to the conflict and their reporting style. “Embedded journalists are acutely aware that their words are being scrutinized, which can be challenging as it necessitates caution in their reporting”. EJ12

8.4.2 Psychological Transformation affects embedded reporting

In the context of influences on conflict reporting, it was imperative to explore whether participants experienced any psychological transformations while embedded with the troops and whether these transformations might have left an imprint on their reporting. In general, journalists frequently discussed a unique emotional sensibility that remained distinct from the authenticity of their reported narratives. They articulated that embedment compelled them to reconsider their approach to coverage, as they were acutely aware of being under constant scrutiny. Given the absence of clearly defined boundaries in their interactions with the military, journalists acknowledged the potentially grave repercussions if they veered off course. As history bore witness, such deviations could lead to physical assaults, abductions, fatalities, or undue influence, thus casting a shadow of apprehension over their work in conflict zones. One journalist candidly remarked, "Apologies and moving on are not viable options; the stakes are considerably higher, and our history is a testament to that. We have endured instances of violence and coercion, which serve as a constant backdrop in our minds while operating in conflict zones. As an embedded journalist, I am constrained by both time and the need to maintain a balanced perspective. I cannot afford to be overly effusive or sensationalize, as this could compromise the fundamental principles of conflict reporting". EJ6

On the other hand, journalists revealed that their presence among the soldiers afforded them a profound insight into the intricacies of embedded journalism. They often sought common ground to foster a mutual understanding, striving to convey their reporting objectives to the troops while empathetically comprehending the soldiers' perspective. Respondents emphasized that while embedment did not directly impact the substance of their reporting, it did engender a genuine human connection or rapport with the troops. This bonding, however, extended not only to the soldiers but also, intriguingly, to the terrorists they encountered. One journalist (EJ9) characterized this phenomenon as an unspoken connection, whereby they found themselves keenly attuned to every action and movement of the individuals involved in the conflict, regardless of whether it was pertinent to their reporting. One respondent highlighted the potential psychological challenges faced by journalists immersed in the depths of a war or conflict zone, where they bear witness to live acts of violence, and bloodshed, and constantly navigate life-threatening situations. Similarly, another journalist shared insights into the experiences of young journalists visiting conflict-affected areas. Due to their limited experience and resulting lack of confidence, some of these newcomers found themselves deeply affected by the challenging environment. The traumatic nature of incidents like the terrorist attack on APS (Army Public School Peshawar) took a toll on their mental well-being. However, with time, proper training, and increased experience, journalists develop the resilience needed to withstand such circumstances. EJ14

Furthermore, a media practitioner emphasized that psychological transformation is not unique to journalism, but a phenomenon experienced across various professions, whether in banking, law, medicine, engineering, or any other field. People undergo psychological changes as they gain more opportunities and become more aware of the world around them. Their senses become heightened, leading to increased sensitivity and responsibility in their actions. EJ18 articulated this perspective by defining a journalist as “a voice of millions, not a choice of minions”. This definition implies a commitment to prioritizing integrity over personal gain. Journalists must grapple with moral dilemmas, such as whether to accept money or other tangible incentives in exchange for suppressing news, even if it involves high-profile individuals like the Prime Minister. This psychological impact is not limited to embedded journalism but is also prevalent in the broader media culture.

8.4.3 Moral impact on troops attached to journalists

Much of the existing research on war reporting primarily focuses on the evolving behaviours and experiences of journalists as they cover conflicts. Surprisingly, little attention has been directed towards investigating whether troops themselves are affected by the presence of journalists or if journalists perceive a certain impact on the troops' attitudes. During discussions with respondents regarding the potential moral impact on troops, it became evident that troops are generally aware that journalists are covering their activities and serve as conduits for communicating their actions, missions, and activities to the public. EJ3 underscored the troops' perspective, highlighting that soldiers derive a sense of confidence and morale boost when they see media personnel covering their endeavours. "Undoubtedly, when soldiers receive support and coverage from the most prominent state sector, the media, their morale increases."

From the journalists' standpoint, they hold the belief that no one can make a greater sacrifice than a soldier stationed at the border, prepared to defend their homeland. Journalists often prefer to spend time with these soldiers, colloquially referred to as 'Jawans,' as they have rich stories to share. These conversations frequently revolve around the soldiers' personal experiences and the challenges they face daily. "They carry their weapons in a standing position for long hours, fully aware that the enemy is positioned just across the border, ready to ambush them. Yet, they persist, continuously moving forward. We have families, we love them, and we wouldn't want them to go to a place where we even remotely doubt their safe return. We owe it to them, the soldiers. We should offer them any form of morale boost that demonstrates our pride in their service. Not a single ounce of that should be diminished". EJ12

All participants commonly emphasized the pivotal role of troop morale, which is strongly influenced by the leadership commanding them. The consensus among respondents was that when troops have a clear and meaningful mission, their morale remains consistently high. Specifically, within the context of Pakistani forces, this morale is derived from their commitment to safeguarding the nation and providing security along the country's borders. As articulated by EJ19, "Across the globe, the essence of an army's morale is often defined by the public's acknowledgement that they can enjoy peaceful sleep, secure properties, and safe lives thanks to the dutiful soldiers. This recognition greatly boosts their morale".

Furthermore, respondents disclosed that in situations where the media accompanies troops to conflict zones, the military typically conducts pre-arrival briefings for the media representatives. These briefings serve to align the media's behaviour with the disciplined standards of the armed forces. Journalists acknowledged the distinction between the discipline expected from the military and that of the media. One journalist recounted an experience when

he visited a conflict area on Eid day, where he engaged in discussions with the troops. He noted that his presence alongside them instilled confidence and morale among the soldiers. Especially on occasions like Eid, when troops are on duty, their spirits are uplifted, and they draw encouragement from the acknowledgement of their sacrifice. Visiting a conflict zone with the troops, especially during such festive times, further solidifies their resolve. In the words of one journalist, “They told me I am the eyes, ears, and voice of the nation because the media portrays their reality. It shows the conditions under which the troops battle terrorism, the magnitude of the threat they face, the resources at their disposal, and the challenges they confront. While we celebrate festivals with our families, these soldiers are out there protecting us”. EJ3

8.5 HOW DO JOURNALISTS PERCEIVE SENSATIONALIST COVERAGE OF TALIBAN (TERRORISM) IN THE LIGHT OF CORPORATE AND EMBEDDED CULTURES?

8.5.1 Sensationalism in Journalism

One of the central inquiries in this research pertains to the impact of embedded culture and corporate culture on conflict reporting within the context of sensationalism. The use of sensationalism within any media culture invariably triggers censorship measures due to its propensity for distorting news. Censorship, in response to sensationalism, is, however, subject to its own set of criticisms. A fundamental question arises as to whether the inclusion of sensationalism in conflict reports is deemed acceptable. The respondents, comprising media professionals, unanimously concur that corporate culture leans toward sensationalism. In stark contrast, embedded journalism with the military tends to maintain a more conventional tone. Corporate culture, they assert, is driven by the pursuit of higher revenues, enhanced ratings, increased profits, and expanded circulation. To achieve these objectives, it is observed that media entities may resort to almost anything, blurring ethical boundaries.

The corporate culture is characterised by an incessant quest for attention, with media practitioners striving to produce content that garners widespread recognition or international acclaim. However, this pursuit often leads to the violation of restricted or off-limits areas. The prevailing mentality within corporate culture revolves around achieving virality, visibility, and notoriety. Some journalists exhibit an avid desire for instantaneous fame. One female respondent recounts an incident in which her video went viral, having been uploaded on Twitter by an Afghan journalist. In the video, she was delivering her report against the backdrop of ongoing gunfire. While her male colleagues fled to the safety of their vehicles upon hearing

gunshots, she remained steadfast. When the Afghan journalist shared the video, he implied that her affiliation with the ISI equipped her to withstand intense firing and gunshots. International media, however, interpreted the situation differently, conducting an interview with her and commending her courage. She expresses her disapproval of such practices, stating that seeking virality and engaging in such activities lead to short-lived fame. To encapsulate this perspective, she presented a well-known adage: “Your recognition is your work; your work is your signature” EJ6.

On the other hand, one journalist provides a contrasting viewpoint on sensationalism. He shares a couple of experiences to illustrate his perspective. “I have encountered both sides of the spectrum. When I was reporting on the Lal Masjid operation, a military and security forces action, my broadcasts were punctuated by the sounds of gunfire in the background. I was reporting these live updates on Aaj TV, and the audience perceived it as sensational, owing to the gunfire. In reality, I wasn't consciously aiming for sensationalism; the reality was that reporting amidst live gunfire can be terrifying. However, viewers might interpret it as sensational news due to the real-time nature of live reporting. During the attack on GHQ by terrorists, I was on the ground reporting, and people viewed it as sensational. My reporting for Turkish media during the Afghan war was perceived as sensational. I was amongst the first reporters from Turkish media to arrive in Afghanistan following the commencement of American and NATO forces' attacks. This experience felt somewhat sensational initially. However, once you are in the midst of such situations, the allure of sensationalism fades. What matters most is the factual reporting and, of course, your own safety”. EJ3

Furthermore, the considerations surrounding embedded culture, corporate culture, and sensationalism in conflict reporting are intricate and multifaceted. While sensationalism can distort the portrayal of events, it often triggers censorship, which comes with its own criticisms. The stance on whether sensationalism is acceptable in conflict reporting varies among media practitioners. Corporate culture is perceived as driven by sensationalism, marked by an unrelenting pursuit of attention, virality, and international recognition. However, the pursuit of sensationalism frequently leads to ethical transgressions, where restricted areas are breached. This discussion elucidates the complex dynamics surrounding sensationalism within different media cultures.

The discussion with the media practitioners also touched upon the imperative of aligning news content with public preferences. The dilemma faced by media persons revolves around maintaining a balanced perspective by presenting stories from both sides. However, the public's predilection leans towards sensationalism. “Society tends to gravitate towards fiery displays

such as burning tyres rather than peaceful, ballot-casting citizens seated alongside the road. The preference is undeniably for conflicts and exaggerations. This preference underscores the complex interplay of supply and demand within media dynamics". EJ26 Paradoxically, societies that purport to be peace-loving and peace-seeking exhibit a propensity for sensationalism, a preference for conflict-riddled and sadistic news over progressive narratives. The role of media freedom is not one of exploitation but, rather, self-subjugation- EJ26.

As aptly put by one respondent, "If I keep doing objective reporting it does not make sense; it does not get viewership, and people do not like it. When you are reporting, these influences do come into place, especially when you refer to Taliban reporting"- EJ4. This statement encapsulates the prevailing conundrum that journalists encounter – a stark dichotomy between objective reporting and audience engagement. The sentiment suggests that the inclusion of sensationalism is a necessary, albeit delicate, endeavour. The effectiveness of sensationalism hinges on the viewer's receptivity. Sensationalism is an emotional resonance that varies among viewers, with some remaining impassive while others become enmeshed in the fervour. The extent of sensationalism derived from a journalist's report depends on the viewer's interpretation, deeply rooted in societal perspectives.

Respondents contended that the tragic incident at the Army Public School (APS) Peshawar triggered a pervasive wave of anger and vengeance throughout the nation. The brutal and merciless killing of schoolchildren ignited a nationwide chorus of anger and retribution. "The public demand for retribution mirrors a form of sensationalism – one driven by a collective desire for punitive justice. When news emerges that the perpetrators of such atrocities are being brought to justice, the audience finds satisfaction in witnessing this retribution". EJ14 Nevertheless, journalists emphasized that sensationalism should not be infused into the reporting of violent or armed aspects. Doing so could distort facts and hinder the state's efforts. "An objective and non-sensational approach to reporting is advocated. Journalists are regarded as stewards of their profession, accountable for delivering factual depictions of events. When exclusivity is the focus, sensationalism should not undermine the pursuit of journalistic integrity". EJ30

One participant shared a personal experience, stating, "I had some exclusive material from Afghanistan about the residence of Dr. Allah Nazar (where he was protected by the previous Afghan regime and from where he used to make plans against Pakistan). I showed that house after a lot of research and work to provide the correct information. After that report, I received a cold shoulder from the Taliban for reporting on that residence". EJ6 This experience of the journalist calls attention to the risks and complexities entailed in objective reporting, especially

when confronting sensitive subjects. It points out the delicate balance that journalists must maintain between objectivity, exclusivity, and the potential ramifications of their reporting, including the consequences of invoking sensationalism.

Journalists see the intricate relationship between sensationalism and journalistic objectivity in reporting conflict and violence. While objectivity is an essential journalistic principle, the allure of sensationalism is inescapable due to audience preferences. The respondents shared that the inclusion of sensational elements in reporting can be a powerful tool, particularly when addressing public demand for retribution and justice. However, maintaining a fine balance between delivering sensational news and upholding objective reporting is the key challenge. It is incumbent upon journalists to navigate this complex terrain with discernment, aware of the potential consequences of their choices in an ever demanding and scrutinizing media landscape. Moreover, participants within the discourse expressed certain convictions pertaining to the censoring of specific content within journalistic practice. They stressed that unrestricted expression does not grant reporters the license to employ derogatory or offensive language against individuals. Rather, they emphasized the existence of fundamental journalistic principles that should be adhered to while pursuing unrestricted reporting. They firmly discouraged the adoption of sensationalism, as it was perceived to inherently distort the essence of news reporting. The notion of freedom of expression was recognized as having a distinct concept and significance within journalism, distinct from sensationalism, which was not deemed compatible with the principles of sound journalism. It was noteworthy that participants did not advocate for the complete elimination of sensationalism, but rather for its regulation and control through censorship. They contended that the ideals of unrestricted expression and free journalism were elusive in the global media landscape. These ideals were described as metaphorical, mythical, or aspirational rather than practically attainable. They pointed to instances in various countries where restrictions were placed on reporting, such as the Holocaust or minority issues, and where reporting on events like the Iraq war, Libya, or Palestine was perceived to lack objectivity. Additionally, they mentioned instances where certain journalists held admiration for controversial figures, such as Hitler, but were unable to express their views freely. “In the realm of journalism, the paramount casualty is truth itself, closely followed by the principles of free journalism”. EJ11

Respondents cogently argued that sensational reporting, as opposed to objective reporting, amounted to a form of propaganda. They decried it as an egregious disservice to individuals enduring the harsh realities of conflict zones. The victims of such circumstances were depicted as enduring the loss of life, traumatic experiences, and the looming threat of violence, all while

suffering the consequences of media exploitation. Journalists who leveraged their narratives, faces, and adversities for the propagation of distorted information were likened to the very adversaries they purportedly reported against. It was asserted that such practices did not serve the best interests of those affected by conflict. Thus, any journalist operating within a conflict zone, whose reporting developed agendas or disseminated unsubstantiated information, was deemed detrimental to the plight of those they claimed to represent.

“Because they are positioned within the line of fire, their harrowing reality is juxtaposed with the arrival of individuals like me, shielded within bulletproof vehicles, flanked by security personnel, and handsomely compensated. From the perspective of those suffering in conflict zones, we appear as extra-terrestrial beings. Our indulgence in sensational reporting contributes nothing to their welfare. It neither assists them in extricating themselves from the throes of conflict nor enhances their current circumstances. I have encountered individuals in conflict regions who, when confronted with their dire predicament, beseeched me to provide refuge and exclaimed that they would rather face death elsewhere than remain in their current predicament”. EJ1

Thus, Hypothesis H2 is proved true as it is widely accepted by the journalists that corporate culture is more sensational than embedded culture in terms of hype, exaggeration, ratings, and profit making. On the other hand, they consider military-centric sensationalism completely different than the sensationalism employed by the corporate media outlets.

8.5.2 Military-centric sensationalism

The role of embedded journalists in war zones is a topic that has sparked extensive discussion and debate within the field of journalism. Embedded journalists often face the challenge of presenting a balanced perspective, as they are closely affiliated with the military forces they are reporting on. The question at hand is whether embedded journalists tend to perceive war predominantly in "military terms" and potentially miss significant political and human aspects of the story, and how this relates to sensationalism in journalism.

EJ13 acknowledges that being embedded with the military does limit the perspective, as journalists are closely associated with the military and may not have the freedom to report independently. However, he points out that embedded journalists do find space to report the human angle of the story. He argues that while it does shrink the range of reporting, it is not entirely devoid of opportunities to explore different angles. He acknowledges that the ideal scenario would involve objective reporting without embedding, but he cites an example of a

journalist who faced severe consequences for reporting on sensitive issues, which illustrates the challenges and potential dangers of reporting without military protection.

“Just recently, a terrifying incident transpired in Kabul when a journalist courageously reported on the harrowing plight of women and girls. Her account shed light on the distressing circumstances, revealing that young girls were being trafficked, females were being bought, and the Taliban were involved in marriages with young girls for their own pleasure or motives. This revelation carried immense gravity and exposed the distressing realities faced by women and girls in the region. However, the consequences for this journalist were severe. Her house, located in a secure area, was raided as a direct response to her report. She was coerced to delete her original tweet and post another, one that would negate her initial account and label it as propaganda. Her reporting was manipulated, and stripped of objectivity, and she was left with no choice but to comply with the demands placed upon her”. EJ29

In the volatile and high-stakes environment of a conflict area, the risks and pressures faced by journalists are extraordinary. The incident involving this journalist serves as a stark reminder of the perils they confront. It illustrates how swiftly and abruptly a journalist can find themselves embroiled in trouble for reporting the truth. The power dynamics at play in such regions can swiftly limit a journalist's options and force them into a precarious situation. This journalist's experience is not an isolated incident. Numerous journalists, including those from reputable organizations like AFP, have endured tremendous challenges and threats while reporting in conflict zones. Female journalists and foreign journalists are particularly vulnerable, as they face the possibility of raids and coercion by armed groups, such as the Taliban and military forces. These situations can lead to compromised reporting and ethical dilemmas, as journalists grapple with the difficult choices thrust upon them. The gravity of these challenges underscores the importance of embedded journalism in conflict areas. While being embedded may come with its own set of limitations and compromises, it can be seen as a safer and more pragmatic option, especially when operating within the constraints of limited resources. The journalist's story serves as a poignant example of the sacrifices and risks undertaken by those committed to shedding light on the human and political dimensions of conflicts”. EJ29

Another participant supports the idea that embedded journalists tend to view the conflict from a military standpoint. He argues that when journalists receive support and coverage from the military, they may become more aligned with military objectives, and their coverage might emphasize the actions, missions, and activities of the military. This alignment can result in a more military-centric perspective, potentially overshadowing the political and human

dimensions of the conflict. EJ2 suggests that military personnel desire media coverage of their actions, missions, and activities. She indicates that they view media as a means to communicate their efforts to the public. This perspective aligns with the idea that embedded journalists might primarily focus on reporting the military's point of view and activities.

Some respondents point out that the perspective of embedded journalists can vary based on their reporting background. Journalists with a defence reporting background might emphasize military aspects, while those with a diplomatic or human rights focus would emphasize different dimensions of the conflict. They highlight that journalists in a war or conflict zone often strive to cover multiple angles in their reports, and their focus can evolve as they return to the newsroom and reflect on the situation. While some journalists emphasize the importance of recognizing the context of being in a war zone. They point out the risks faced by embedded journalists and how their reporting can be influenced by political motives. One media person provides examples of how political agendas can shape the narrative of war, potentially leading to sensationalism. EJ25 shares his opinion on the role of military sensationalism, “in the context of political objectives, it is conceivable that a nation, such as India, may strategically orchestrate a scenario akin to a border conflict with the intent of garnering political advantage, particularly in the context of upcoming elections. In such a scenario, the presence of Indian media at the border region becomes pivotal, as it serves as a platform for disseminating information that portrays Pakistan as a potential aggressor. This portrayal is aimed at stimulating nationalist and patriotic sentiments among the Hindu population, ultimately securing increased public support and votes for the political leadership. This stratagem constitutes a politically motivated approach to framing a state of war.

Furthermore, in instances where political leaders seek re-election, especially in circumstances where their performance on economic fronts has been lacklustre, the creation of a heightened perception of war can serve as a tactical advantage. Journalists operating in such a situation face the ethical dilemma of discerning whether the war scenario is indeed genuine or merely a product of political manipulation. They must critically assess whether the armed forces are genuinely engaged in a real conflict with casualties, or if the situation is founded on conjecture and hearsay. The precedent of the United States' approach during former President Barack Obama's tenure is illustrative. The pursuit of Osama bin Laden was a paramount objective, and the circumstances surrounding his existence or demise remain a subject of scrutiny. What is unequivocal, however, is that the operation to locate bin Laden played a pivotal role in the political arena. It contributed significantly to President Obama's successful re-election bid,

underscoring the intersection of political expediency and military operations in the context of elections”.

The discussion with these journalists indirectly relates to sensationalism in journalism. Sensationalism involves the use of exaggerated or emotional content to capture the audience's attention and increase media consumption. In the context of embedded journalism, the desire for sensationalism may lead to an overemphasis on military action, dramatic narratives, and intense visuals to engage viewers or readers. This can potentially overshadow the broader political and human aspects of the conflict. The perspectives provided by these journalists shed light on the challenges and complexities of embedded journalism in war zones. While embedded journalists may not entirely miss the political and human aspects of the story, there is a recognition that their perspective can be influenced by the military's objectives and the potential for sensationalism in reporting. The relationship between sensationalism and embedded journalism is a critical aspect of understanding how conflicts are portrayed to the public.

8.5.3 Pakistani Embedded Policy: Fostering Diverse and Substantive Reporting in Conflict Areas

The role of embedded journalism in conflict zones has garnered significant attention and scrutiny within the journalistic community. Embedded reporting involves journalists being closely affiliated with military forces during armed conflicts, thereby providing them with unique access to frontline activities. This approach, while affording valuable insights, has also raised concerns regarding the potential compromise of objectivity, leading to questions about the extent to which embedded journalism may contribute to more diverse and substantive reporting in conflict areas. In this academic research, the researcher also explored the perspectives of journalists in Pakistan to shed light on the multifaceted dynamics of embedded journalism and its implications for conflict reporting.

EJ8, a seasoned journalist with over three decades of experience, highlights the prevalence of military embedment not only in Pakistan but worldwide. He emphasizes the paramount importance of upholding objectivity during conflicts. To illustrate his point, he recounts the aftermath of the 1971 war in Bangladesh, where reports emerged regarding alleged atrocities committed by the Pakistani military. During his visit to Bangladesh, the respondent discovered varying accounts of the events, with some individuals vehemently denying the allegations, while others acknowledged isolated incidents. His narrative underscores the need for objectivity in conflict reporting, even within the context of embedded journalism. Furthermore,

the journalist advocates for expanding the role of journalism in conflict resolution. He posits that while defence reporting remains crucial during times of war, genuine objectivity emerges when journalists engage in efforts to seek resolutions to the underlying issues. This perspective underscores the idea that journalism should encompass a mechanism for conflict resolution, thereby transcending traditional reporting practices.

Some respondents underscore the challenges faced by Pakistan on two ideological fronts: the northern region and Balochistan. In such contexts, media can potentially play a pivotal role in initiating reconciliation processes. However, journalists stress the necessity of affording media equal access to both sides of the conflict. They highlight a significant issue faced by the media: the threats and dangers posed by various parties involved in the conflict. “When media professionals are at risk of harm or even death from either side, their ability to facilitate progress in conflict situations is severely compromised”. EJ 11 Participants suggest that local media embedded in conflict areas may not be a viable solution under such circumstances.

A few media persons draw attention to the importance of journalistic independence and expertise in defence or conflict reporting. EJ1 laments the tendency for some individuals to pursue defence reporting solely for the sake of personal fame, emphasizing that it goes beyond mere fashion and requires a deep understanding of the subject matter.

Generally, respondents while acknowledging the significance of embedment, emphasize the need for well-defined boundaries in this approach. Some caution against unchecked military orders or directives to journalists and advocate for clear delineations of a journalist's role and limitations. EJ29 points out the lack of coordination between the military and journalists, underlining the importance of an open dialogue rather than dictation. He calls for the establishment of forums, timelines, and fixed parameters to guide collaborative efforts between institutions. The perspectives of these Pakistani journalists offer insights into the complex interplay between embedded journalism and the pursuit of diverse and substantive reporting in conflict areas. While embedded journalism provides unique access and insights, it is imperative to strike a balance between objectivity and military cooperation. To enhance the contributions of embedded reporting to diverse and substantive coverage, there is a clear need for delineating boundaries, fostering coordination, and prioritizing conflict resolution within the realm of journalism. This nuanced approach can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of conflict dynamics and potentially pave the way for lasting solutions to protracted conflicts.

CHAPTER 9

COMPARISON BETWEEN ENGLISH AND URDU JOURNALISM IN PAKISTAN

9.1 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE REPORTING OF ENGLISH AND URDU NEWSPAPERS ON TERRORISM INCIDENT IN PAKISTAN

The fifth research question is addressed in a separate chapter to provide a comprehensive analysis of the overall coverage of English and Urdu press in Pakistan in terms of two leading newspapers with widespread circulation across Pakistan: Daily Dawn and Daily Jang. In this chapter, a comprehensive analysis is conducted to determine the coverage of the major terrorism incidents in Pakistan and around the globe. The analysis delves into various elements present in each news report, such as themes, framing, language and tone, objectivity, sensationalism, and cultural and social context of Pakistani society. Furthermore, the chapter provides thorough detail about the differences in reporting between both English and Urdu press. Moreover, the incident chosen for the analysis is the terrorist attack on Army Public School Peshawar for which the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) claimed responsibility, describing it as revenge for Operation Zarb-e-Azb, the joint military operation launched by the Pakistani military against militant groups in North Waziristan in June 2014. The Army Public School Peshawar, fell victim to an attack by six TTP-affiliated gunmen on December 16, 2014. The assailants, all foreigners—a Chechen, three Arabs, and two Afghans (Independent UK, 2017), infiltrated the premises of the school and unleashed a barrage of gunfire on students and teachers, resulting in the tragic loss of 149 lives, including 132 children aged eight to eighteen. This toll marked the atrocity as the fifth deadliest school massacre on record (BBC, 2014). A swift rescue mission was executed by Pakistan's Army Special Services Group (SSG) forces, culminating in the neutralization of all six militants. This operation not only safeguarded 960 lives but also showcased the valour of the SSG forces (Los Angeles Times, 2014). In response to combatting terrorism effectively, the Pakistani government implemented a comprehensive plan known as the 'National Action Plan.' News sources highlighted the striking resemblance between the nature and planning of the attack and the Beslan school siege, which unfolded tragically in the Russian Federation region of North Ossetia–Alania in 2004 (Pravda.Ru, 2014; Telegraph UK, 2014). Following this violent incident, Pakistan opted to lift its moratorium on the death penalty and augmented resources dedicated to the War in North-West Pakistan. Additionally, a constitutional amendment permitted military courts to adjudicate civilians under the banner of national security. In December 2015, Pakistan executed four militants

linked to the Peshawar massacre, and the Supreme Court of Pakistan upheld the death penalty for two more facilitators in August 2016 (Dawn, 2016). Moreover, the mastermind behind the attack, Omar Khorasani, met his demise in Afghanistan in August 2022 through a roadside explosive (The Washington Post, 2022).

To answer RQ5 and hypotheses H1, one hundred articles from each newspaper are selected for thematic and discourse analysis, comprising 50 articles for the 30 days spanning from the incident on December 16, 2014, to January 18, 2015. The remaining 50 articles were randomly selected from the same year, specifically 2015. All articles are found positioned on the front page, underscoring the significance of the incident and its subsequent developments. The thematic analysis encompassed a comprehensive exploration of recurrent patterns, concepts, and themes in articles. The analysis entailed meticulously comprehending the content, creating codes, developing themes, and scrutinizing data. Themes are further developed through an exhaustive examination of the coded data. A discourse analysis is conducted on the selected articles to discover the language, framing, and tone in use. This process encompassed detecting linguistic tactics, framing preferences, and an inclusive structure of discourse present in the data. The purpose of this analysis is to reveal underlying connotations, and implicit meanings along with the ideologies hidden in the language. The findings of the thematic and discourse analyses provide identified themes, language patterns, and discourse strategies. The chapter offers a sophisticated understanding of how terrorism incident is represented in the press both in English and Urdu dailies, highlighting potential linguistic differences and framing discrepancies. The analysis of the initial 50 articles is presented in a structured format, delineating the weeks following the incident—Week 1, Week 2, Week 3, and Week 4. Understanding how the media recounted the incident over time is important to discover the attention given to the incident in both English and Urdu newspapers comparing similar or different emphases given to the event.

The fifth research question is further classified into sub-questions in terms of frequency of coverage, themes, disparities among framing, language and tone, sensationalism, objectivity, and social and cultural context (e.g. RQ5.1, RQ5.2, RQ5.3, RQ5.4, RQ5.5, RQ5.6). This process helped to discover the meticulous answer in a structured way.

9.2 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND URDU JOURNALISM IN THE AMOUNT OF COVERAGE GIVEN TO TERRORISM INCIDENT OF APS

To answer this question and its related hypothesis H1, a simple quantitative analysis is conducted based on the data collected: number of articles, prominence, and word count.

Hypothesis H1 claiming that Urdu media gives less coverage to conflict issues than English media is also addressed in this sub-question. Coverage to conflict is identified in the context of number of articles which is 200, and prominence of all articles which is the front page, whereas the word count for each article which is a bit different. The total word count for English articles is calculated and also for Urdu ones. The comparison is made between both word counts, and later percentage difference is calculated between English and Urdu word counts.

English total word count: 50715

Urdu total word count: 49950

Average word count English: 507.15

Average word count Urdu: 499.5

Percentage difference: $\frac{\text{average word count (English)} - \text{average word count (Urdu)}}{\text{average word count (Urdu)}} \times 100$

Percentage difference: $\frac{7.65}{499.5} \times 100$

Percentage difference: 1.53%

The focus is primarily on quantitative data, aiming to determine whether there's a notable difference in the amount of coverage given to terrorism incidents in these two languages. The analysis reveals that while the number of articles and prominence (front page placement) are the same for both English and Urdu journalism (100 articles with front page prominence), there is a slight difference in the total word count. English articles have a total word count of 50,715, while Urdu articles have a total word count of 49,950. Further analysis calculates the average word count per article for both languages, which is 507.15 words for English and 499.5 words for Urdu. The percentage difference between these average word counts is found to be approximately 1.53%. Overall, the analysis suggests that while both English and Urdu journalism give similar prominence to terrorism incident in terms of the number of articles and front-page placement, there is a slight difference in the extent of coverage, with English articles being slightly more detailed on average.

In examining the coverage of terrorism incidents in English and Urdu journalism, a statistical analysis is also conducted using a t-test to investigate whether there is a significant difference in the amount of coverage provided by the two dailies. The same collected word count is utilized for the two-sample t-test⁶⁷. The p-value of 0.7239920578 is obtained. With a p-value

⁶⁷ A two-sample t-test is conducted to compare two independent groups; like english newspaper and urdu newspaper. It assesses the observed significant difference in the mean between two indepedent groups; like

greater than the commonly used significance level of 0.05 signifies that there is no statistically significant difference in the amount of coverage given to terrorism incidents between English and Urdu journalism. The lack of a significant difference in coverage implies that, based on the provided data, both English and Urdu journalism seem to dedicate a comparable amount of attention to reporting on terrorism incident. Any observed variations in word counts between the two languages could be attributed to random chance rather than a meaningful discrepancy in the coverage. It is crucial to note that these findings are specific to the dataset and the chosen statistical test. Various factors, such as cultural nuances, editorial policies, or specific events, may influence the coverage and warrant further investigation. In conclusion, the analysis does not reveal a substantial difference in the coverage of terrorism incidents between English and Urdu journalism based on the provided data. Thus, the analysis rejects the hypothesis H1 claiming that in Pakistan Urdu media gives less coverage to conflict issues than English media.

9.3 THEMES EMERGE IN THE COVERAGE OF TERRORISM INCIDENT OF APS IN BOTH ENGLISH AND URDU JOURNALISM

The answer to this sub-question is segmented into two parts. The first part provides a discussion on themes employed by news articles based on weekly examination and the second segment provides analysis for all 200 selected articles.⁶⁸

9.3.1 First Week

9.3.1.1 English

The Dawn English newspaper reported the Army Public School Peshawar incident with multiple interconnected facets, emphasizing the brutal nature of the attack and the heavy loss of life, particularly among both students and faculty members. The main theme provided a rich emotional insight into the intense human suffering; the psychological trauma; and individual stories of survival. Also, the coverage reported the official reactions from the government and military, such as the declaration of a national period of mourning and the significant presence of security forces in the recovery effort. In the days following the attack, news reports delved deep into the intricacies of security and intelligence problems. For example, how the militants

English coverage and Urdu coverage. And since the nature of data for analysis is continuous, the two-sample t-test is suitable method for comparing means and finding significant difference.

⁶⁸ A table for recurring themes is provided in Appendix I.

infiltrated powerful weapons in the school. Additionally, the failure or the lack of preventive measures concerning security intelligence was put into question. Intelligence and cross-border security were strictly scrutinized, questioning the identity and possibly international affiliations of militants. Of particular remark is the attention provided to Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), a militant group notorious for its violence. Individual accounts of survival lent a human touch to the tragedy, accentuating the strength and perseverance of the survivors. In addition to this immediate incident, coverage of Dawn also extended to such themes as the larger impact on daily life in Peshawar, political reaction, and policy adjustments, as well as historical contextualization, measuring up to past military operations and political concerns. Emphasizing the emotional impact and human tragedy, the news reports served to express a collective sense of national grieving and a patriotic response to the tragedy. Repeated themes in the reports were a call to justice and national mourning post-incident, which implied similarities with the Pakistani nation in adversity in terms of unity and strength.

9.3.1.2 Urdu

The underlying theme running through the news reports is the multidimensional response to terrorism, especially after the Army Public School (APS) tragedy in Peshawar. Each news report covered several different themes such as terrorism and counter-terrorism dynamics, national unity, international relations, security measures and military operations, impact on education, political statements, social and economic consequences, law-making, humanitarian aspects, and public outrage. Through the presentation of personal narratives, emotions are invoked, shifting focus towards the traumatic experiences endured, and emphasizing the critical urgency for collective actions. One central theme is the dedication to counterterrorism efforts, demonstrated through military measures such as Operation Zarb-e-Azb, legislation, and global cooperation. The government's efforts to secure justice through legal action and measures are also evident through the emphasis placed on courts and legal reforms. Overall, the central theme of news reports emphasized the collective response to terrorism through public sentiment, supporting the government and security agencies, encompassing social and legal dimensions, and emphasizing national and international solidarity in confronting the multifaceted challenges posed by extremists, to protecting the prospects of a vibrant future and the advancement of peace and prosperity.

9.3.2 Second Week

9.3.2.1 English

The reports on the second week mainly focused on counterterrorism efforts in Pakistan providing a comprehensive understanding of the strategic and collaborative efforts against terrorism. The course emphasized the participation of the public in national security and the importance of international collaboration. The news reports primarily focused on military cooperation, security intelligence, and selective measures against institutions that foster extremism. The pledge to minimize collateral damage and remain true to Islamic rules underscored the strategic significance of military efforts. During the second week, news reports mainly underwent a qualitative shift toward a harsher outlook, indicating that proposed counterterrorism measures, such as the possible removal of a moratorium on the death penalty and the execution of convicted terrorists, were being taken seriously. The news reports complemented the legislations-specific discussions, the establishment of military courts and legal amendments, designed to flesh out and strengthen the proposed counterterrorism measures. The news reports of 2nd week repeated the concerns of the stakeholders on the proposed counterterrorism initiatives and judicial independence.

9.3.2.2 Urdu

The news reports shed light on key aspects of counter-terrorism efforts related to the role of the military and the state. The security measures included national unity and political commitment to collectively counter extremist ideologies, the establishment of special military trial courts, and the development of decisive strategies against militant groups. International cooperation was also sought to stop terrorism funding on a global level to improve counterterrorism efforts. Overall, the spectrum of interrelated themes underscores the humanitarian crisis amid security challenges reflecting the need for the strengthening of the institutions. The news reports highlighted a consensus reached by the political and military leadership to continue decisive actions against terrorists. The key theme revolved around the ongoing efforts to combat terrorism and the approval of recommendations from the National Action Plan Committee for the eradication of terrorism. The news reports portrayed government and military statements as a commitment to employing all means in the fight against terrorism, underscoring the need to defeat extremist ideologies and ensure the success of the anti-terrorism mission. The news mentioned the continuation of the operation against the last terrorist and the importance of national unity for its success. The primary themes of news reports could be categorized into political commitment, security, counter-terrorism efforts, and

international relations. In the news reports recognition was given to the noteworthy reforms and administrative measures by the political leadership, indicating collaborative efforts, reinforcing national trust and unity. The detailed review of military and intelligence agency actions underscored the comprehensive approach to counterterrorism. The news narrative underscored the public's trust in the military's ability to bring about positive change through tangible initiatives.

9.3.3 Third Week

9.3.3.1 English

The main theme featured in news reports was about the government weighing constitutional reforms to establish military courts, which created uncertainties among legal professionals and human rights organizations about the protection of human rights. The amendments were suggested in Article 8, Article 212-A, and Article 212-B to permit military courts to adjudge cases concerning terrorism. On the other hand, previous performance by government and military courts had led to doubt about the effectiveness of these courts, and some commentators hoped that superior courts might be a better solution. Simultaneously, criticism was raised against the government, with clear concerns expressed about how the proposed amendments to the Constitution might impact judicial autonomy. Besides historical and legal considerations, the news reports stressed the wider implications of the government's approach to society, public perceptions and accountability of the military and the judiciary. The analysis of news reports constituted a deep exploration of the changes in intricate details of the law, the insights from history, the dismantling of the government's logic and the perception of society.

9.3.3.2 Urdu

The major theme of news reports concentrated on political and security concerns in Pakistan including the historical context, democracy, constitution, and the ongoing battle with terrorists. There is a greater level of analysis when it comes to regional cooperation and the abandonment of aggressive agendas. A multitude of opinions were evident in response to political protests; constitutional amendments have been brought forward to reveal the diversity of viewpoints. Speaking about national unity and the need for collective action against terrorism, the establishment of special courts was discussed to expedite cases of terrorism. News reports underlined the necessity for armed groups to operate within the confines of the constitution. They also emphasized the political parties' responsibility to coalesce against terrorism. The endorsement of the military courts and the need for media freedom within the limits of the

constitution was further underlined. The endorsement of the National Action Plan by military leaders highlighted the importance of national unity and a large-scale approach. The reports portraying national security, anti-terrorism operations, and diplomatic efforts are a strong indication of the government's determination to persist in the fight against terrorism. News reports collectively represented the difficulties faced by Pakistan, highlighting the significance of a unified, big responsibility to protect the future of the country.

9.3.4 Fourth Week

9.3.4.1 English

The English reports provide a nuanced and contested backdrop to Pakistan, mostly concerned with the political response to the new security environment. Implicit in the political response lied two constitutional moves: the Constitution (21st Amendment) Bill and the Pakistan Army Amendment Bill, to establish military courts. Therefore, marking a major change in the judicial landscape of the country. Despite this, opposition came from a range of sources. Religious parties, smaller government allies, and the political opposition turned the debate about the courts into an outcry over whether they want to help or hinder a state that has struggled to define, consolidate, and protect its democracy. Of all the issues being debated, the most controversial are religious objections and discrimination. Critics argued that it would single out religious communities, concerns relayed by religious leaders since it includes “terrorist groups using the name of religion or a sect.” This raised a significant debate about the protection of religious liberty. News stories highlighted several central themes which unravel the complications of Pakistani politics. These included the apathy in the opposition, the inner power struggles within the opposition parties and completely unexpected discussions in parliament. The government was making statements about national consensus; the importance of unity in the face of terrorism became more evident in this interpretation of politics. The central theme throughout the reports was the larger political design of the government against terrorism, the National Action Plan (NAP). This plan was not only made up of legislative reforms, but it also encompassed all-inclusive coordination, security vigil, public involvement, and a holistic focus towards public safety, national sovereignty, and a solid counter-terrorism response. These reports consistently provided an in-depth approach towards counter-terrorism efforts in the context of political, legal, and social perspectives.

9.3.4.2 Urdu

The Urdu news predominantly featured the elimination of extremist and terrorist factors with a strong emphasis on the imperative of collective endeavours in confronting these challenges. The reports highlighted an unwavering determination to get rid of the evil and despicable elements of society. For this purpose, an equal contribution was required from the society as a whole; but most importantly, support and complete cooperation were required from national leadership and provincial governments. The reports concentrated mainly on the formation of military courts through the twenty-first amendment of the Constitution. The purpose of the reform was to establish ad-hoc military courts because of the exigent circumstances and collective efforts required to eradicate terrorism. The deliberation emphasized two main things – first, the military courts must operate within legal peripheries and international standards. Second, terrorism and the trials of the deadliest terrorists who were attached to both civil and military organizations should be dealt with first. Furthermore, press reports had more widely underscored the need for collective efforts against terrorism and the critical need for a sound legal framework to cope with the multifarious challenges of terrorist incidents in Pakistan.

9.3.5 Randomly selected reports

9.3.5.1 English

Extensive news coverage of the terrorist attack at the Army Public School explored the aftermath at great length, focusing on the loss of life and the traumatic effect on survivors, including a mother who barely survived but lost her son. The reopening of the school under tight military security was a major theme. Overall reports reflect progress in the country's counterterrorism effort, with much space devoted to the military Operation Zarb-i-Azb and relations with the United States. Coverage also included recognition of, and concerns about, specific terrorist groups, assessments of progress, and the US expressing satisfaction while urging more action. The reporting highlighted the government of Pakistan's commitment to combat terrorism financing, freeze funds of proscribed organizations and propose amendments to the Anti-Money Laundering Act. Reports provided the big connection of terrorism with diverse elements of Pakistani society, and the complexity of security threats, including not only diplomatic and military elements but also economic and regional components.

9.3.5.2 Urdu

News reports offered a comprehensive recount of the difficulties encountered by Pakistan. The central focus was on the Prime Minister's reiterated determination to combat extremism and

his conviction in the necessity for a concerted effort. Additional points of emphasis included the importance of national solidarity, unyielding determination, and a dedication to education via strategies such as vigilance. News reports also drew attention to critical topics, such as the execution of the National Action Plan against terrorism. Political, economic, safety and cultural concerns were all woven together in a pattern to highlight the interconnected nature of these issues and continue to cure the challenging situation of the nation. The concise summary analysed the problems and activities of strategic bodies, emphasizing the importance of collective efforts against terrorism.

9.3.6 ANALYSIS

Several key themes and interlinked themes were found in the reporting of both papers:

9.3.6.1 Human Impact and Emotional Aspect

The English reports emphasized the emotional and human impact of terrorism, focusing on individual stories of survival and intense human suffering. There was a strong emphasis on psychological trauma and personal narratives, adding a human touch to the tragedy. Similar to English, Urdu reports also highlighted the emotional aspect, invoking emotions through personal narratives. The news reports underscored the critical urgency for collective action and emphasize the dedication to counterterrorism efforts. Both newspapers provided a sense of national mourning and pain. Public sentiments had been consistently emphasized to pledge against terrorism.

9.3.6.2 Security and Intelligence Scrutiny

Both languages delved into the intricacies of security and intelligence problems, questioning how militants infiltrated powerful weapons and scrutinizing intelligence and cross-border security. Failure or lack of preventative measures seemed to be the centre of attention. Security measures, military operations, and international efforts in counterterrorism were all covered in these reports. The government and military's effectiveness of their actions were also put under examination by both papers.

9.3.6.3 Government and Military Response

In both languages, responses from the government and military were covered, and the important roles played by the security forces in rescue work. Joint action against terrorism was

stressed in reference to military operations like Zarb-e Azb, government policies, constitutional laws, and international cooperation.

9.3.6.4 National Unity and Solidarity

Both dailies reliably covered the theme of national unity and strength in the face of hardship. A collective sense of national grievance was expressed in the English-language reports. A patriotic reaction to the tragic incident was also captured in the language of these reports. The Urdu reports, in contrast, emphasized the significance of national and international unity in confronting extremism, thus calling for a united approach.

9.3.6.5 Counterterrorism Efforts

During the second to third weeks, English reports mainly focused on counterterrorism measures, such as military involvement, intelligence, and selective measures with respect to institutions which fomented extremism. In Urdu reports, there was a strong focus on the persistent attempts to alleviate terrorism such as the military's influence, security measures, and international solidarity. Decisive measures against terrorists were widely favoured.

9.3.6.6 Legal and Constitutional Reforms

The English reports of the 3rd and 4th weeks, focused on government suggestions for the constitutional reforms to establish the military courts, which brought forward the concerns over human rights as well as the independence of the court. It went into depth about the regulations and the implications of their rules. Urdu news also gave attention to political and security concerns, such as constitutional amendments, political demonstrations, and the obligation for armed groups to function within constitutional limitations.

9.3.6.7 Political Response and Opposition

During the fourth week, English news focused on how the political response to the new security environment took shape, with debates on the constitutional reforms needed to set up military courts. The opposition to them was sizable, coming from religious parties and the political opposition, among others, and so the politics got complicated. The Urdu news emphasized the need for collective efforts against extremist and terrorist elements, thus, involving all segments of society to play an active role.

9.3.6.8 International Relations

Both papers discussed international cooperation over the concerns about certain terrorist organizations. There was recognition of progress in the country's counterterrorism efforts and cooperation with other nations. Urdu reports also highlighted the importance of international cooperation to stop terrorism funding on a global level, reflecting a broader perspective on diplomatic efforts. The development made in counterterrorism efforts along with cooperation with other countries was also reported. Urdu coverage also stressed the importance of international relations, in examining ways to curb the funding of terrorism, to bring about an effective, all-encompassing conclusion to terrorism, further adding a wider dimension to the diplomatic efforts. Although there were variations in language and particularities, in general, the ideological cornerstones of terrorism coverage in the English and Urdu press were quite similar, reflecting the multiplexity of the challenges Pakistan faces. Both papers foregrounded the human angle, security measures, political and military responses, national unity, and ongoing anti-terror endeavours.

9.4 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND URDU JOURNALISM IN TERMS OF FRAMING, LANGUAGE AND TONE WHEN REPORTING ON TERRORISM INCIDENTS

To answer the sub-question, articles are thoroughly scrutinized to collect information for each factor: framing, language, and tone. Firstly, the examination of each factor is discussed based on weekly content, and then the analysis of each factor is explained.⁶⁹

9.4.1 First Week (Frames)

9.4.1.1 English

The press coverage of the Peshawar school attack employed a nuanced and multidimensional approach, providing a substantive view of the brutal incident. Primarily the incident was framed as Human Crisis and Security measures. In the news reports, attention was also provided to the enormity of the incident, loss of human lives, the issues of security and intelligence, the persistence of terror threats, the response of the government, the broader historical context of the situation, and the international implications involved. In addition, explicit framing was present in the news reports including political consensus, determination towards national sovereignty, and a constructive political response. On the other hand, implicit framing signified

⁶⁹ A table for recurring frames and language is provided in Appendices II, III and IV.

the viability of policy formulation and their effectiveness being implemented without enquiring into their possible undesirable outcomes and abstaining from moralising. The news reports presented individual stories appealing to the emotions, drawing attention to the excruciating incident suffered and demanding a cohesive, constructive response. The Dawn coverage delivered a nuanced understanding of the incident, explaining its broader implications and common reactions from the public, the government, and the political sphere.

9.4.1.2 Urdu

Throughout every news account, the human aspect was the largely used frame in terms of “Human Crisis”, depicting the awful toll of terrorism on families, education, and the everyday life of the whole country. The humanitarian frame emphasized the pain-inflicting the community at large. Another frame that consists of epic heroism and mercilessness of the military, was a subtler framing of submission versus determination. Government actions, military responses, and legislative measures were framed as ‘decisive steps’ addressing the tragedy. This frame consistently includes the narrative of political involvement, national unity, and mutual responsibility. The dominant frame addressed the ‘Human Crisis’ that all news reports covered as emphasizing the grimness of the incident, the thorough portrayal of counterterrorism efforts and the changing strategies of the extremist organizations. The core narrative of the Human Crisis frame called for a national, collective act against terrorism. Moreover, news reports presented a collection of explicit frames, which emphasized the urgency of counterterrorism, national unity and patriotism, the authoritative actions by both the government and military and the acknowledgement of legal processes. The gravity of the incident, the national responsibility of the public, and the collaboration of the military and government are effectively narrated. News reports almost invisibly weaved the story of the Human Crisis. Phrases like “the state of war” and “unite against the enemy” contributed to the impression of a national emergency, without directly saying that. The references to madrasas and religion are subtle ways of addressing cultural and religious concerns without making a judgment or suggestion.

9.4.2 Second Week (Frames)

9.4.2.1 English

Every report used distinct frames to offer an intricate picture of the multifarious concerns. The largest part of news stories portrayed the Security and Vigilance Frame, providing the utmost significance to national security and citizen safety to refuse potential terrorist activities. The

Counterterrorism Measures frame is also used in the context of the war against terrorism, to illustrate joint military operations, intelligence briefings, and proposed ways to improve border security, showing a proactive and strong solution. The Media Regulation frame is touched on in the reports of the second week, by referring to the media's role in influencing public perspectives. This frame called for a total blackout of terrorists and their sympathizers in the media, reflecting on the media ethics and proposed legislation. The news reports implied a sense of urgency and determination of the Pakistani government in combating the imminent danger of terrorism.

9.4.2.2 Urdu

The combined news reports underlined a narrative fixated on a national emergency, stressing the gravity and critical nature of terrorism in Pakistan, and casting the Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif as the leader helming the steely response of the government. The crisis was presented as a turning point in the continuing struggle with a strong emphasis on unity and dedication towards ending terrorism by devising a national strategy for the annihilation of terrorism. In addressing the crisis, the focus was on international cooperation, projecting it as a global challenge. The human aspect was interspersed in it, recognizing the appalling episode in Peshawar, and expressing sympathy for the affected families, leading to an emotional bond. The framing was comprehensive, striving to tackle the crisis through encompassing military operations, international partnership, and a humane face. The news reports appeared somewhat dramatic, as they were framed as a matter of urgent national concern. There was the kind of framing in news reports that suggested that instead of surrendering to the grim reality, the military and the government are taking proactive measures to make it seem as if the centre is sustaining. The government was not only ready but more than able to cope with the terrorism threats from anti-state actors. The news reports intensified the sense of emergency by connecting the failure to act quickly with possible counterterrorism operations in major cities. The big picture of the narrative presented the government as decisive, cooperative, and tough on counterterrorism. It underscored the importance of legal, procedural, and military tools, showcasing a devotion to national security and the welfare of the public.

9.4.3 Third Week (Frames)

9.4.3.1 English

The main framing of the news reports described the counter-terrorism measures initiated by the government. Firstly, a strong sense of controversy and doubt marked the government's plan

to amend the constitution for military courts. Legal experts' scepticism and comparison to history contributed to an overall critical frame about the efficacy and consequences of such amendments for constitutional values. Justification for extraordinary actions, for example, the creation of military courts, to respond to the severity of the terrorist threat became a dominating theme in the text. Another dominant frame rested on the regionalization of the National Action Plan (NAP), particularly through the establishment of Provincial Apex Committees (PACs). It highlighted a locally driven endogenous defence solution and highlights the significance of provincial-level management. Establishing military courts was illustrated as the indispensable constituent to execute NAP to cope with the instantaneous challenge of terrorism. A set of explicit frames highlights scepticism, legal anxiety, and historical notions to refer to both the likely constitutional amendments for military courts and counterterrorism moves in Pakistan. Through the means of unity and legalization, a judicious explanation for military courts was concretely adjusted using the patriotic narrative and textual devices through historical frames to implicitly link terrorism with historical and religious values. Counterterrorism became explicit through a focus on banned organizations and inter-provincial cooperation, infused with cues pointing to a broader social agenda. The reporting on NAP implementation seemed explicit through a narrative of contribution and civil-military coordination, infused with calls to bureaucratic challenges.

9.4.3.2 Urdu

The thorough analysis of news reports discovered an apparent recurring frame: a complex relationship between historical origins, efforts to urgently counter-terrorism, cooperative measures on a regional level, and the undeniable commitment to democratic underpinning, as well as national safety and security. These narratives weaved through the intricate web of political strain, orderly amendments to common law, and the simultaneous fight against terrorism on multiple fronts. The initial narrative underscored the significance of national security and democracy. A historical comparison between the evolution of military courts was made. Terrorism was framed as an internal threat necessitating regional cooperation, not only military but also primarily required a military response to protect democracy, with the urgent need for emergency 'fixing'. Beyond the humanization of the Peshawar incident which also carried a heavy emotional toll; the frames strategically brought forth the need for urgency, national security, responsibility, and commitment to counter-terrorism.

9.4.4 Fourth Week (Frames)

9.4.4.1 English

Multiple frames used in the news articles have provided a careful analysis of the political controversy involving the Constitution (Twenty-first Amendment) Bill and the Pakistan Army (Amendment) Bill from different perspectives. The frames shaped the events as presented to create the narrative and influence how information is processed. The frame of political controversy demonstrated the unexpected and intense clash on the floor of the National Assembly. The story depicted a government that was confronted, especially by religious groups and smaller allied parties. This frame foregrounded the contradiction between the government's security concerns and religious considerations and thus reveals a complex and contested political scene. The frame also highlighted that there are different parties in the State opposed to making amendments to the constitution and the frame of the National Security crisis made this frame urgent and surely, addressed the impending threat which was revealed by the attack at APS Peshawar. In the news frame, the government, led by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, was depicted as decisive and strong in its counter-terrorism efforts. Military courts were portrayed as a prescriptive solution to overcome the crisis, developing the belief that they will make Pakistan safer. Under this construction, the government was shown taking resolute action in the face of a major security threat. The security and counterterrorism frame revolved around legislation imposed by the government to tackle terrorism. It distinguished between armed and non-armed groups and stresses the government's surgical approach towards entities directly responsible for violent acts. The discourse on the Anti-Terrorism Act, provincial participation, and the regular review of threat levels outlined a holistic plan to catering security. This frame contextualized the government's moves, presenting them within a legal and strategic realm that indicates a systematic approach to combating armed outfits. The frame of critical evaluation established an attitude of questioning and alarm, with notions like "draconian laws" that accompany the amendments. This frame positioned the laws as possibly maleficent and raised doubts as to whether the moderators were needed or not and if so, what their implications were. Another frame on national security and counterterrorism was represented to strengthen measures and the implementation of NAP. This frame emphasized accountability and coordination between national and provincial agencies. It also casted the government as taking a security issue seriously and stated that it can only be effectively addressed by all acting in tandem. The ethical dilemma frame incorporated the controversy in a moral dimension, pointing to the signs of shame and difficulty by some political figures in supporting military courts. Adding a layer of complexity, this frame showed the ambivalence within the political

circles which is present in all nations. Each frame gave a distinctive way of looking at the happenings; consequently, the complexity and antagonism of the situation around the changes to be made in law were being depicted on a greater scale and are being explored further. Additionally, news reports consistently employed a dual strategy of explicit and implicit framing, which collectively enhanced the effectiveness of informing the public about the complicated political events. Explicit framing was easily noticeable as it displayed direct quotes, facts, and official statements that allowed the audience to put together a clear and concise version of what was happening around them, such as the establishment of military courts and amendments to legislation. Implicit framing on the other hand was significantly more subtle but was purposefully entwined within reports by utilizing certain words, metaphors, and cultural references, so that opinions and emotions were influenced in the desired direction.

9.4.4.2 Urdu

The news was primarily framed on the particulars of the discussion over military courts taking place in the National Assembly of Pakistan. While the framing included the response of the Pakistani authorities towards the menace of terrorism which was resisted by all. It focused on the conflict and reluctance articulated by powerful individuals, setting the subject as intricate and conflicted in lieu of just a straightforward parliamentary activity. The proposed amendment was presented as a vital reaction to unusual situations, portraying it as a required measure considering increased security concerns. The narrative constructed the endeavour, known as Zarb-e-Azb, as a strategically vital measure for capturing and bringing terrorists to trial who were believed responsible for the wave of bombings that had killed hundreds. The affirmative narrative conveyed a sense of immediacy while portraying how the government and the military had been working around the clock to facilitate the comprehensive response to the expanding security challenge.

9.4.5 Randomly selected articles (Frames)

9.4.5.1 English

The representation of the coverage of the Peshawar school attack is framed through a multifaceted nature to show different angles of the event. One keyframe was survival and resilience. This frame focused on the emotional aspect of an individual, mainly the mother, Andaleeb Aftab, as she dealt with the loss of her child as well as her colleagues. The reopening of the school being the central point of the frame, it represented the central pressing of the

military to restore and strengthen the school even after it went through trauma. At the very same time, a global perspective renders a prospective approach to the anti-terrorism proceedings of Pakistan such as association with America. By foregrounding references to historical cooperation between the US and Pakistan and declaring the ban on militant groups as a “paradigm shift” of Pakistani defence policy, the news framed the US-Pakistan relationship as mostly agreeable. A humanitarian frame was also used - Secretary of State John Kerry's announcement of a \$250 million aid package for displaced individuals. The news provided a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted framing for the Peshawar school attack, involving emotional narratives, international politics and military dynamics, financial repercussions, counterterrorism, and so on. Explicitly the news emphasized the survival, bravery, and the positive role of the army, in securing and reopening the school. Conversely, demands for international involvement and the need for collaboration were implied in the news reports.

9.4.5.2 Urdu

The press reports presented a holistic framing. It portrayed the determination of Prime Minister to fight against terrorism. The government was depicted as resolutely facing challenges and committed to stability. The reports significantly emphasized on unity and political consensus. The reopening of the Army Public School Peshawar proclaimed collective determination to fight against extremism through education. Political, economic, social and security approaches were highlighted defeating extremist forces. Discussing the strategic measures, the news reports also highlighted the alarm raised by the government against “madrassas” faith-based institutions in Pakistan. Together, they offered a rich mosaic of the nation's multifaceted struggle against terrorism and their laudable national guidance, tenacity, and spirit of solidarity.

9.4.6 Analysis

During the 1st week, the Dawn newspaper primarily employed frames; ‘Human Crisis’, ‘Security Measures’ and ‘Political Consensus’. The presence of implicit framing includes viability of policies and avoiding moralizing. Urdu newspaper Jang framed the incident with ‘Human Crisis’, ‘Heroism of Military’ and ‘Decisive Government Actions’. It employed implicit framing as viability of policies, urgency of counterterrorism and national unity. During the second week, the English newspaper framed the news under; ‘Security and Vigilance’, ‘Counterterrorism Measures’ and ‘Media Regulations’. While urgency and determination of Pakistani Government were implicitly reported. The coverage of the Urdu daily is framed with

‘National Emergency’, ‘International Cooperation’, ‘Urgency’ and ‘Collective Efforts’. However, implicit frames were also employed emphasizing government's proactivity, and importance of the legal structure. In 3rd week English daily employed frames; ‘Controversy and Doubt’, ‘Regionalization of NAP’, ‘Justification for Extraordinary Actions’. Implicit framing was also incorporated as, ‘Unity and Legalization’ and ‘Patriotic Narrative’. The Urdu news framing was based on ‘Historical Origins’, ‘Urgent Counterterrorism Efforts’, and ‘Regional Collaboration’. It also incorporated implicit framing as ‘Timely Decisions’, ‘Human Touch’, and ‘Definitive Government Response’. For the final week of the tragic month the Dawn newspaper framed the news as ‘Political Controversy’, ‘Security and Counterterrorism’, ‘Critical Evaluation’, and ‘Ethical Dilemma’. ‘Complex political events’ were implicitly discussed. Urdu news framing stressed on ‘Discussion in National Assembly’, ‘Conflict and Reluctance’, and ‘Affirmative Narrative’, while political complexities and uncertainties were implicitly reported. The remaining 50 articles from English daily reported under the framing of ‘Survival and Resilience’, ‘Global Perspective’, and ‘Humanitarian Perspective’. Moreover, the news coverage also implicitly reported on ‘Demands to International Politics’. On the other hand, Urdu coverage was based on ‘Prime Minister’, ‘Unity and Political Consensus, and ‘Government Efforts’. In addition, English press provided an analytical approach, focusing on historical and ethical dimensions. Conversely, Urdu press produced emotional narratives, urgency, and national unity. Both newspapers reported on the complex issues surrounding terrorism incidents in Pakistan.

9.4.7 First Week (Language and tone)

9.4.7.1 English

The Dawn news reports followed passionate language, robust description, and bold selection of adjectives. Such adept word choice appeared throughout the reports to continuously create a strong emotional reaction to the incident. In the first week, the use of strong adjectives like, “barbaric,” “darkest day,” and “brutal assault”, depicted the shocking and condemnable nature of the incident. The heart-breaking stories of survivors, highlighting sobbing students strongly conveyed human loss. These personal narratives injected plaintive notes into unfolding the tragedy while deepening the already depressing slant. During the description of the official response and grieving process, the news reports adopted a thoroughly negative stance, indicating the gravity of the incident throughout. The tone deliberately alluded to prior attacks to underscore the wide-ranging history of such violence and the extreme occurrences of such attacks. Additionally, survivors’ experience is reported entirely negative, with terrible details.

The negative tone was increased with the use of phrases such as “terrorist attack,” “searing pain,” and “pumping bullets into their bodies,” all of which contributed to the feeling and brutality of the incident. Also, words like “saddest,” “bloodiest,” and “scourge of terrorism” reflected a negative tone. The pessimist mood was also signified by graphic details of the shootings, emphasizing the emotional suffering and pure shock experienced by those who bore witness to this tragedy. Such as the graphic representation of the unimaginable brutality of the attacker’s act, emotive language including “fear”, “in few days to make me forget about anything but the braveness of those innocent”, “masterminds”, “seven feet high walls of Army Public School’s auditorium” were employed. A description of a positive return to normal was contrasted with painful memories being fresh and difficult to bury. On the other hand, the national grief and the joint response of all political leaders introduce a positive aspect. Another area demanding attention within the first-week news was the assessment of security and intelligence aspects. This was done with careful choice of words that include but were not limited to, strategies, details or negligent. In sum, the first week's news coverage of the Peshawar incident effectively provided a negative sentiment to readers mirroring the gravity and grief behind the school attack. By combining emotional language, strong adjectives, and detailed narratives, the report highlighted the heart-wrenching and devastating incident, constructing the emotional narrative, and setting the tone for the emotional response of the audience.

9.4.7.2 Urdu

The news articles used language purposefully designed to convey urgency, importance, and purpose in the face of a terrorist crisis. There seemed to be a mixture of negative and positive connotations. For example, words including "terrorist," "extremist," and "inhuman" and also words like "decisive," "unite," and "brave policeman" elicited strong emotional responses and valour against terrorism. Besides, military strategies were depicted as- "Operation Zarb-e-Azb" and "relentless pursuit". Symbolic descriptions offered depth and emotional touch to the reports. For example, “sorrow,” "sacrifices," and "innocent lives" expressed sense of compassion. Rhetorical devices, such as parallelism and appeals to emotion, were also used. Government’s determination was frequently portrayed through phrases, "condemning terrorism" and "resolving to eliminate terrorism". The news reports generally carried sombre, and purposeful tone. The news coverage consistently highlighted tragedy and remarked the immensity of the security breaches perpetrated by militants. A sense of resilience, determination, and unity was still there even though the news was overwhelmed with

pessimism. The national support against terrorism was mobilized as framing it as a menace desperately needing urgency.

9.4.8 Second Week (Language and tone)

9.4.8.1 English

The analysis of news reports found linguistic tactics applied on the coverage of national security and counterterrorism. The news reports illustrated apparent linguistic discourses, incorporating lexis, tones, rhetorical methods, metaphors, and symbols. National security and counterterrorism were represented in an official, authoritative, and commanding tone. The urgent and collective national duty and calls for national solidity were recurring themes expressed in a positive, inclusive language that communicates a sense of togetherness in the fight against terrorism such as “commitment” and “resolve” representing determination to act as one. The dominant tone of news reports was constructive, focusing on remedies, global efforts, and cooperation. Additionally, discussions on terrorism were reported in a negative and bleak tone whereas positive rhetoric and diplomatic language were also illustrative in reports such as “renewed full support” and “complete consensus”. Of the government’s counterterrorism activities, the news reports throughout maintained a formal and neutral tone besides professional and military jargon were also employed. Metaphors, like the analogy of terrorism being a "cancer to Pakistan," evoke an emotional reaction identifying a serious and urgent tone while highlighting the gravity amidst negative sentiments. Additionally, security-related symbols and expressions in the reports conveyed decisive and strategic action. The discussion on regional dynamics and cooperation in reports featured a combination of formal, diplomatic, and military language. Metaphorical expressions like "Pakistan's 'mini 9/11'" about the Peshawar school attack add emotional rhetoric to descriptive statements. The analysis of the news reports was impartial in tone, but various features of urgency and concern encouraged readers to feel the seriousness of the situation. The overall tone of the texts was neutral, encouraging readers to form their own opinions. A tone of scepticism occurred in some texts, whilst some texts had a tone of optimism and faith in the government's actions.

9.4.8.2 Urdu

Throughout the news reports, a sense of urgency, fearlessness, and solemnity was omnipresent. Headlines made the strong demand for a "decisive operation against terrorism" and others leaving no room for ambiguity: "Zero tolerance for terrorism." The news articles themselves mirrored the headlines in their unrelenting manner and with their blunt language. Intensive

speech methods, including echo and potent vocabulary, highlighted the government's strong position against terrorism. Portrayals of unity among essential entities such as the prime minister and chief of army staff suggested a shared sense of accountability and solemnity, strengthening the determination to expeditiously resolve the issue. Even though the language painted a bleak picture of the threat of terrorism, comforting promises of security seep through. There was even an overarching sense of hope.

9.4.9 Third Week (Language and tone)

9.4.9.1 English

Reporting related to the potential establishment of military courts in Pakistan and counter-terrorism discourse carried consistently formal and technical language, indicating the seriousness of the topic at hand. In the counter-terrorism debate, military terms were normal. The prevalence of military terminology when discussing counterterrorism highlights the role expected of the military in addressing security challenges. The tone, throughout remained earnest, thus suggesting the multi-faceted nature of the matter. Upon examining texts critical of military courts, negative connotations were used in a sceptical tone, along with the usage of a legalistic vocabulary to describe constitutional implications and historical failures. On the other hand, government-supporting reports took a confident and determined tone, emphasizing determination, positive framing of counterterrorism efforts, and national unity. This contrast in tone contributed to a subtle presentation of the ongoing security measures debates in Pakistan. Framing of issues was a running idea throughout the reports, featuring a mutual focus on constitutional and legal aspects, historical context, and potential consequences compared with prior failed examples.

9.4.9.2 Urdu

The strategical creation of the language used in news reports aimed at communicating a sophisticated understanding of the complicated dilemmas revolving around terrorism and the grappling political growth. The clear-cut metaphoric comparison to fierce 'wild animals' by Senator Pervez Rashid created a strong, vivid image that emphasized the urgency of countering the threat. Turning the homeland into a "graveyard" mentioned in the political speech suggested the dire results of these untamed predicaments, equating the scale of the issue with a stark reality. From a rhetorical perspective, the repeated use of the term "خوفزدہ ہو گئے تو" served to emphasize the critical need for a firm response to terrorism. The news reports carried a sombre and convincing tone. Moreover, an adequate mix of formality and clarity, using expressive

phrasing and vocabulary, reflected assorted angles from a political standpoint. Figurative language, such as “shifting stance” and “diverging opinions,” surreptitiously signalled shifting dynamics in the political landscape. Furthermore, the skilled usage of metaphors (for instance, referring to national unity as a formidable weapon) touched the emotions, emphasizing social responsibility. Usage of terminologies as "special courts" signified the importance of proceeding terrorism cases. The incorporation of assertive language, metaphors, and the symmetrical structure, conveyed absolute determination, and a sense of responsibility. Empathic reaction to issues narrated a more human angle. The language including, 'commitment' and 'complete eradication', further conveyed positivity. The mood is mainly hopeful, depicting the war against terrorism as a challenge that can be overcome. The sixth report takes on a strategic and resolute demeanour, utilizing precise and forceful language, military jargon, and the rhetorical tools necessary to convey optimism about the government's commitment to addressing the scourge of terrorism in our land.

9.4.10 Fourth Week (Language and tone)

9.4.10.1 English

In the analysis of news reports some key linguistic and rhetorical components appeared, offering a multifaceted illustration of the legislative adjustments and political dialect. The descriptions consistently used formal and technical vocabulary. This vocabulary demonstrated a commitment to acuity and significance while mentioning constitutional affairs, military courts, and legislative practices. The recourse to dedicated language established a prestigious tone suited to a user group that was accustomed to legality and political terms. But the connotations of language shift provided an assortment of sensations. Some of the reports carried negative connotations, such as “objection” and “hesitation”, suggesting tension and opposition within political circles. These were supported and enlarged by metaphors and the use of symbols. For example, a reference to “kangaroo courts” diminished the credibility of one group’s claims regarding fairness in the military court system. Negative labels such as "the draconian laws" and emotive expressions against the proposed amendments, figures of speech, like "blow to democracy" and "a gulp of poison", conveyed a sense of not supporting the amendment. Furthermore, news reports used such rhetorical devices as repetition and verbatim quotes from the primary figures to point out the significance of various points and offer first-hand perspectives from the key players. In sharp contrast, reports also carry positive connotations, like “unanimous vote,” and statements about key government initiatives against terrorism. Violence and military officers as well as confident language that described the

government's proactive stance on the problem, retained a sense of commitment and urgency. Meanwhile, correct, and guarded language about foreign relations maintained a diplomatic tone. Overall, the tone is generally neutral to slightly negative, reflecting the sensitivity and complexity of the issues at hand around charges of potential discrimination, military courts, and democratic principles. The reliance on outcomes, responsibilities and metaphors in military and security terms helped to create an impression of urgency and seriousness. To summarize, the semantics employed throughout the news reports were of paramount importance when it came to shaping the storyline as well as the readers' perspectives on the changes in the law, political contestation, and security measures. Such rich use of formal, jargonised, positive, negative, and emotive language reflected the elaborate nature of politics; and indeed, urged the reader to appreciate contradictory narratives and meanings.

9.4.10.2 Urdu

The analysis conveyed the urgent need to respond to terrorism, concentrating on governmental and military reactions. Each news report used particular language tools. For instance, the news report, which focused on the military's commitment to fighting terrorism, used robust language that accurately depicts despair and determination. Key terms in the narrative such as "at any cost" and "definite commitment" revealed a sense of empowerment and encouragement. The reports employed a strategy of using militaristic language to portray the battle against terrorism as a war that is imperative to emerge victorious. On the other hand, the follow-up report to the proposed enactment of the 21st Constitutional Amendment Bill was characterized by a consummate and attentive usage of language. The terms used such as "expressed reservations" and "sharp division", reflected a cognizant and conscientious response to the discussion. Metaphors such as "proactive measure" stress the briskness, while symbols such as the "21st constitutional amendment" added accent to the significance of this step. Also, firm, and demanding language was used to point efforts against terrorism. Words like "Operation Zarb-e-Azb" and "top" give off an impulse. In conclusion, the language in news reports completely mirrored the idea that they were fully committed to answering to the danger of terrorism with unwavering eruptions of attack and careful actions.

9.4.11 Randomly selected articles (Language and tone)

9.4.11.1 English

The part of news reports discussing the terrorist attack on a school was shown through the emotional vocabulary throughout. The description of horrible experience termed as 'traumatic',

and even put as ‘that traumatic experience’ in italics, captured deep impact. Phrases like “barely survived that terrorist attack at school”, and “loss of so many lives” captured the extreme grief and trauma. The positive tone was reflected in counter-terrorism efforts. Words like “enormous credit,” “positive change,” and “determination” reflected the positive tone. Indication of challenges was reported in terms like “difficult task” and “much remains to be done.” The usage of metaphors like “Zarb-i-Azb military operation” and the destruction of Haqqani network infrastructure reflected that counter-terrorism efforts are well planned and strategic. In US-Pak relations, positive language is used with phrases like, “we welcome the decision,” and “historic close cooperation.” There were symbols involved through “eliminating terrorism,” and “Paradigm shift.” Phrases like, “an important step,” and, “a very important step,” were used in repetition to show certain positive actions by Pakistan.

9.4.11.2 Urdu

The Jang news reported the determination of the government as dealing with the pressing issue of terrorism. Phrases including "eradicating the threat of terrorism from its core" implied this commitment. The selection of effective language imparted a message of hope and strength for example "security arrangements in educational institutions" and "practical measures". This also drove a sense of responsibility towards the nation. Similarly, news stories incited optimism and firmness in the midst of adversity by incorporating words, “toughness,” “bravery,” and “high spirits.” The serious and diplomatic tone was narrated through “investigation,” “cooperation,” and “apprehension”. Subtle metaphors and symbols created a specific, refined narrative for the APS incident. Repetitive phrases in news reports reinforced themes with more weightage. The reports overall carried professional and reliable tone, emphasizing predominantly neutral sentiment. Also, news reports adopted a mix of authoritative, diplomatic, and assertive tones in discussing security challenges. The language was apparent with words such as "determined," "swift control," and "elimination of terrorists," creating an impression of power and dedication. Analogies and icons, including the usage of "Zarb-e-Azb", enhanced the calculated and well-ordered tone of news reports. The news reports made use of an assertive and determined style, signalling there was no time left to combat terrorism. Assertive lexicon, metaphors, and rhetorical devices were utilized to convey proactive orientation, which signified the call for decisive measures. Even though the tone of the rhetoric categorically leans on the negative side, on account of the gravity of the issue, some of the chosen vocabulary implied the nation's attitude toward security as optimistic. The actual beauty of this report was a strategic

amalgamation of the stylistic stratagems to communicate powerfully, sworn to combat terrorism.

9.4.12 Analysis

In comparing English and Urdu journalism when reporting on terrorism incidents, several differences in language and tone can be observed. In English journalism, reports on terrorism incident were characterized by emotional and descriptive language. The use of strong adjectives like "barbaric," "darkest day," and "brutal assault" created a vivid and emotionally charged narrative. The focus was on constructing a detailed and heart-breaking account of the incident, emphasizing the negative aspects, graphic details, and the emotional suffering of the victims. The enormity of incident was signified in a pessimistic tone, for example, "a plague of terrorism". The news reports proceeded with balanced and positive coverage on national security and counterterrorism efforts. The formal, and diplomatic language was used exercising international cooperation. Metaphors to mention terrorism emotionally shaped the news reports, including "cancer to Pakistan". Besides. By the later stages of the reporting, English coverage employed neutral language. However, Urdu press used strategic language to express urgency and gravity of the incident. The lexical choices were made with both negative and positive expressions, including "terrorist," "inhuman," "decisive," and "brave policeman." Hence, interpersonal tone was sought to generate strong emotions, maligning terrorists, and praising the bravery of those fighting against them. The drastic impact of the incident was represented through metaphors and symbolic representation to intensify emotions. Although the tone was generally pessimistic because of the tragedy, yet importance of resilience, determination, and unity is also stressed. The tone tried to mobilize fury against terrorism, delineating it as a threat that must be immediately eradicated by decisive measures.

Both English and Urdu papers, in the context of terrorism reporting, have a commonality; that is, both were inclined towards pessimism. However, English journalism included more emotive and descriptive language at the outset, emphasizing the pathos of the tragic incident. A calculated employment of negative and positive language is evident throughout Urdu reports; focusing on both the perils of terrorism and the determination to fight against it. Both newspapers in subsequent stages implemented neutral expressions, synthesizing scepticism, and optimism with security measures.

9.5 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN URDU AND ENGLISH JOURNALISM IN TERMS OF SENSATIONAL REPORTING OF TERRORISM INCIDENT

A meticulous examination is conducted to discover the elements which contribute to sensationalism in each language. It is essential to explain the inclusion of sensationalism in each language based on selected articles. To answer the sub-question, the general analysis of weekly articles is discussed ensuring the overall discrepancies in sensational reporting.⁷⁰

9.5.1 First Week (Sensational)

9.5.1.1 English

The national media coverage of the APS incident was characterised by a nuanced interplay of sensational language. The first strand of sensationalism was evident in the use of emotive language, war metaphors, inflectional morphology, and derivational suffixes as other strategies to accentuate emotional affect. For example, the usage of phrases such as “deadliest terror attack”, “barbaric” and “darkest day” reflected the language intensifying emotions of the public. The use of descriptive language with terms such as "decapitated bodies" serves a sensationalist purpose in that it graphically described the brutal nature of the incident. Furthermore, phrases such as "heavily armed militants" and "spurred bullets" narrated the focus on the enormity of the attack. A closer examination of the language used disclosed elements of sensationalism, where certain portions of the report were designed to provoke an intense emotional reaction, despite possibly obfuscating a more adequately complete objective standpoint. The use of emotive language added an emotional weight such as "big human tragedy" and "barbaric attack" are designed to induce an emotional response in the reader. Also, by metaphorical use of the term "war" in phrases such as "war with full determination" was sensationalising the situation; using it in somewhat of an exaggerated form further distorts the situation. The reframing of the lifting of the moratorium on death sentences as a matter of ethical principle against terrorism likely verged on sensationalism. In addition, the historical reference to the military operation Zarb-i-Azb, with the phrase “militants on the run,” may be a sensationalized approach to heighten the excitement about the military operation and the terrorist attack that followed, in the overall assessment of the news report exhibited a language neither emotional nor to excessive sensationalistic. The use of striking descriptions and quotations effectively accomplished the goal of giving a comprehensive, genuine overview of the mournful moments without giving them more attention and a more horrific feeling than

⁷⁰ A table for recurring sensationalism is provided in appendices V and VI.

they deserve. By keeping the tone of the news reports restrained and straightforward, its neutrality remained intact. Presumably, emotions and gravity are factors in this situation. The language used did not appear to be sensationalistic-for-the-sake-of-being-sensationalist, it all appeared to be grounded in the horrible particularities and specifics of what happened there. The sensational language used in some cases serves to provoke strong emotional reactions, rendering a compelling, tense representation of the unfortunate incident. While it may generate attention and effectively convey the seriousness of the situation, it also ran the risk of impeding a strictly unbiased presentation. The fine line between emotional impact and objective reporting should be closely considered in these instances.

9.5.1.2 Urdu

Upon analysis of the news reports, it is quite apparent that sensationalism was deliberately and systematically utilized in varied instances throughout news reporting. The overarching aim was to amplify the emotional effect of the news story. Phrases like "condemning terrorism" convey the human plight, and "brave officers sacrificing" presented a perspective of zealous response to the incident. Although it was important to stress the need for national solidarity during periods of crisis, the way in which national unity against terrorism was promoted showed an inclination towards sensationalism, which potentially overshadowed the more comprehensive debate on the root causes, and the complexities involved. In addition, the language adopted added the 'sensationalizing' element to the report, for instance describing the attackers as "beast-like terrorists" and using phrases such as "historical city Peshawar" sounds to put more emphasis on the happenings. Realizing the importance of sensational language in illustrating the gravity of events and invoking public sentiments carried essential connotations.

9.5.2 Second Week (Sensational)

9.5.2.1 English

The practice of sensationalism is found in the news reports with the likely effects of linguistic drivers including metaphors, potential imagery, emotive language, intense adjectives and adverbs and historical semblances. Still, the language underscored the necessity to maintain an equilibrium between conveying a message of urgency and upholding objectivity. The language maintained a relatively mild level of sensationalism in the form of dramatic linguistics, emphasized tragic events, imagery of security and military, excessive positivity towards intelligence efforts, and extremely descriptive language. The overall tone was informative and cooperative. Certain details, although appearing sensationalist, might be seen as perfectly fit for the severity of the subject.

9.5.2.2 Urdu

A review of the news reports indicates the employment of a complex approach to their language. While much of the content remained neutral and straight, there were moments when the writing verged on sensationalism. Generally, a metaphoric tone was used to reinforce the threat of terrorism. For instance, terrorism was represented as a "cancer"; the reports proclaimed that the threat demands "immediate actions" and "decisive measures." Although it usually maintained a more factual and impartial tone, the phrases "decisive action," "fight against terrorism," and the depiction of operations as the "final operation against the last terrorist" insinuated a little sensation. In news reports, the inclusion of terms like "urgent" and the pledge to employ "all measures" created a sense of urgency. Although the reports occasionally lapsed into sensationalism, they were able to draw upon direct quotations and solid facts to craft a serious, well-grounded presentation. Throughout, the bolder language of "eliminate extremist ideologies" and "secure the success of the anti-terror campaign" established a consistent, high level of seriousness. Ultimately, the news reports while steeped in facts and appearing to be neutral, also introduced a kind of sensationalism.

9.5.3 Third Week (Sensational)

9.5.3.1 English

The news reports maintain a generally formal and legalistic tone, but there are instances of sensationalism across the content. The use of strong terms, rhetorical questions, negative descriptors, and expressive language contributed to a dramatic portrayal of the situation. The reports also included potential bias in quotes and use adjectives that may introduce subjectivity. On the positive side, the reports emphasized commitment and confidence in counterterrorism measures. Nevertheless, phrases such as "strong purpose" and "heavy hand" could be seen as employing rhetoric to indicate determination. Also, metaphors, lurid language and repetitive phrases etch the seriousness of counterterrorism in concrete words. The reports used stronger words for banned outfits, for example, 'ties military courts to awful incidents', and 'underscores the number of terrorists caught or killed', which kept the tone of the reports more urgent and intense. Drama was also added to the narrative through the proposition of a national emergency and through the suggestion that citizens accepted military involvement in that emergency. Although largely neutral in tone, certain language choices in the reports tended to be sensational. Phrases such as "the impending legislative battle," "no matter what the cost," and "marked the beginning" all gave the report an air of something happening, but the

sensational elements were relatively mild, and the overall objectivity of the report was minimally compromised.

9.5.3.2 Urdu

After conducting a comprehensive analysis, the news report demonstrated a careful equilibrium between seriousness and nuanced aspects that might be considered sensationalist. Despite avoiding overtly sensational language, specific segments carry significant emotional resonance. For example, relating terrorists to "wild animals" and proposing that the country be turned into a "graveyard" imbue the report with a heightened emotional tone. Nonetheless, these aspects were nuanced, and the analysis followed a serious, focused tone, strategically employing language to convey a sense of urgency without resorting to undue hyperbole. A more in-depth analysis showed the news report's dedication to neutrality, favouring objective, plain language. Important concepts including "reconsideration," "proposed constitutional amendments," and "political protests" emphasize this promise to be clear and direct, with no unnecessary decoration. Comments from political leaders were rightly reported, without trying to dramatize them or make them seem stronger or stranger than they really are. Nevertheless, a different point of view came to light as the government's reaction to terrorism was examined, with words such as "extreme measures" and "total elimination" possibly being viewed as melodramatic. Phrases such as "war zone," "great sorrow," and "crisis" are critical words that made things seem even more serious than they already were. The use of metaphors, such as portraying banned groups as understanding their illegal status "in a real sense," contributed to sensationalism. To sum up, the news reports had an overall serious tone, with slight instances of sensational language. The language was calculated and formal.

9.5.4 Fourth Week (Sensational)

9.5.1.1 English

The analysis of news reports demonstrates a dedication to factual reporting and a general avoidance of overt sensationalism. The attitude of the reports was largely formal and oriented towards conveying information about political events, specifically the discussions surrounding the constitutional amendments and the establishment of military courts. Some elements in the reports might be read as somewhat heightened or emotionally charged; the word "rattled", as an example. Nevertheless, these instances did not depict genuine sensationalism. The reports stroke an even-handed tone by and large in presenting facts about legislative proceedings, objections, and the opinions of various political figures. The highlighting of direct quotations

was powerful enough to give the sentiments of the individuals without excess sensational language. Descriptive language was utilized to explain the parliamentary process, amendments, and politics without venturing into exaggeration or hyperbolic statements. The usage of impassioned and fiery tone stressed the reflection of the speakers' emotions and did not indicate that the content was intended to titillate. The outcry over certain changes in the legislation and opposition concerns have not been obscured by sensationalism. Even though some emotional content was undoubtedly present, the reports remained factual, objective, and restrained.

9.5.4.2 Urdu

Upon examination of the language used in news articles, an easily recognizable trend became apparent: the reports maintained an equilibrium between being unbiased and reflecting sensationalism. Although the reports were mostly impartial and dedicated to factual representation, there were situations in which the employed language was intended to incite a dramatic response, reinvigorating the audience's emotions. In various reports, expressions such as "eradicate at any cost" and "war against terrorism" carried weight that proposed extreme decisiveness but possibly also triggered emotions. Metaphors describing terrorism as an "adversary" and a "battle that must be won" transformed the description from the neutral nature of reporting into something more. They were not particularly salient, thus highlighting how important it was to filter explicit language from the inexorable clamour of the news. The discussions of the concerns raised by various parties are neutral. Some reports also provided subtle evidence of enthusiasm with phrases like "ground-breaking moment" and "significant step." By utilizing terms such as "expedite terrorism-related cases" and "historic move" an added layer of fervour was apparent in the news reports. Although not strikingly sensationalist, such instances served to help depict the occasions in a more affirmative manner, emphasizing significance. The language of "combat terrorism effectively" and "the gravity of the situation" introduced an overdramatic element beyond the requirement for objective reporting. Emotionally loaded language, such as "tragic incident in Peshawar," served as an introduction to a sympathetic factor, often regarded as an understated effort to glorify. It was important to note that although all news efforts put the highest emphasis on being unbiased, the use of words in the right sense was necessary to keep the meaning of the story from inundating the reader with feelings of sympathy and understanding.

9.5.5 Randomly selected articles

9.5.5.1 English

The language found in the news articles carries a certain amount of sensationalism, especially in the description of the terrible incident and its emotional impact on people. Words like “traumatic experience,” “narrowly survived” and “cry her heart out” have heavy emotional ties and could serve to highlight the crisis drawing more emotions from the readers. The terrorism incident was labelled as a “seven-hour shooting and bombing spree”, and symbolised as “draped in green fabric,” creating a vivid, intense scene. Quotations from those affected built validity, but also intensified emotions with words like “I broke down” and “sobbed.” These terms could add to the tragedy and readily display a tragic experience. Diplomatic statements also revealed slight sensationalism, such as Secretary Kerry warning of "serious risks", or phrases like Gen Raheel Sharif "forcefully raised" the issue. These choices contributed to a sense of urgency and drama in the discussions. The discussion on the aftermaths of the incident depicted negative language, such as the "adverse international reaction," "international isolation," or the classification of a country as "high-risk." In addition, absolutist language was also employed about getting rid of terrorism, including phrases like "historic close cooperation," a "paradigm shift," or "eliminating terrorist activity." The overuse of strong adjectives and absolute terms tends to give writing an inflated, sensational feel. Overall, for the most part, the tone of the reports was neutral, and such examples of sensationalism were few.

9.5.5.2 Urdu

Upon careful review of the extensive information, the news reports consistently exhibited a measured and informative stance, giving a higher priority to the true story and less to sensationalism. There were a few words that carry a heavy tone, but they seemed to be advocating a sense of urgency rather than producing dramatic effects for the express purpose of obscuring the truth. For example, phrases such as "terrorists will find no refuge on Pakistani soil" "uprooting the menace of terrorism from its roots", “military interventions,” and “decisive action,” showed a determination to eradicate terrorism in a factual manner, rather than following sensationalism. Likewise, the decision to use phrases such as "Pakistan may turn into a breeding ground for issues over an extended period” was a stratagem to add drama, not to amplify the seriousness of the challenges. The reports stayed factual in tone but were slightly sensation oriented. The reopening of APS was commonly characterized by utilizing words such as 'heinous terrorist attack' and 'symbolic act of defiance,' bringing in subjective aspects that went beyond mere reporting. An emotional tone was occasionally employed with words

including 'defiance' and 'adversity'. This way the stance to reopen school was illustrated as a courageous move against terrorism. This may be seen as a subtle emphasis on enlightenment over sensationalism. Furthermore, the usage of terms like “dissatisfaction” and “rapid action force” intensified the narrative as such whilst these examples are comparatively trivial. The Peshawar school incident was characterized as “heart-breaking” which signified the emotional tone while corresponding to national solidarity amidst national tragedy. Overall news reports were based on facts and impartiality, yet certain words and phrases carried the potential to sound quite sensational. Nevertheless, the sensational tone is a variance or incongruity which is used to emphasize the gravity of the situation.

9.5.6 Analysis

During the 1st week of the incident, in English journalism, emotive language, metaphors of war, and descriptive expressions such as "deadliest terror attack " are discovered to deepen emotions in a subtle tone. In Urdu journalism, sensationalism was present to intensify emotions, including the terms as "beast-like terrorists". During the second week, the English paper was fairly balanced in its sense of urgency in the reports. Urdu, while mostly unbiased, edges slightly towards the sensational description, such as terrorism being a “cancer” and requiring “decisive measures”. In the third week, the English paper reported in a primarily formal tone but also reflected the presence of sensationalism including negative descriptors or breaking into expressive tone. The Urdu paper maintained a serious and formal tone but indicated signs of sensationalism in the form of such phrases as “war zone” and “total elimination”. During the 4th week, English articles were characterized by mostly objective reporting with little sensationalism, incorporating an emotional tone without giving in neutrality. In Urdu news, a balanced approach was present, yet slight sensationalism was found through phrases like ‘eliminate at any cost’ and ‘war against terrorism’. Randomly selected articles in English showed lesser sensationalism through emotive language, intense descriptions, and expressions such as ‘serious risks. Urdu articles usually neutral created a dramatic tone with phrases like “eliminating terrorist activities”. To sum up, both English and Urdu papers sought impartiality, Urdu reports were inclined to bring in more emotions, incorporating emotive tone and metaphors to dramatize the emotional impact of the incident. On the contrary, English news tended to be more sober, selectively using emotional language, yet never undermining the overall neutrality.

9.6 THE DIFFERENCE IN THE LEVEL OF OBJECTIVITY BETWEEN URDU AND ENGLISH JOURNALISM IN THEIR REPORTING ON TERRORISM INCIDENT

Since it is important to discover if language choices are influencing the perceived objectivity of the reports in each language, the answer is divided into two segments: a weekly detailed explanation for objectivity and the overall analysis of the objectivity of both English and Urdu articles.⁷¹

9.6.1 First Week (Objectivity)

9.6.1.1 English

Regarding objectivity, the news reports of the APS incident demonstrated an intention to fair and equal coverage, undertaking different techniques to display information in an impartial and unbiased way. The observation of objectivity exposes an attentiveness to language preference, being concentrated on factual coverage and evading additional editorialization. Regarding the examination of objectivity, the reports managed to maintain an even-handed attitude when it comes to discussing the incident, the victims, and the allegedly responsible terrorist group. The report also situated the geopolitical background without seeming to have a bias and provides historical analogies. But this narrative did not appear to overdetermine the news reports. The wording of facts around the rescue activities and the role of the security operations was impersonal and without unnecessary editorializing, which contributed to the overall lack of bias in the article. Phrases like "massive tragedy with human life" and "brutal attack by the terrorists" were presented in a dispassionate manner that described the facts in an emotional way. Quotations of political leaders were cited directly without editorializing or adding interpretation, to leave interpretation up to readers. The history portion of the reports succeeded with neutrality, not favouring the military operation Zarb-i-Azb. Public reactions and protests were mentioned briefly without taking a definite stance on the legitimacy of either. It included statements by leaders from different political parties, thereby demonstrating a well-rounded political representation. It used objective terms, such as "committee," "national action plan," and "dialogue," thereby maintaining a tone of neutrality and factuality. It shared international collaboration as a fact without toeing any specific line of praise or critique. What the news report achieves is a balance between emotional impact and an objective narrative. Since the

⁷¹ A table for objectivity is provided in Appendix VII.

report provided a comprehensive and impactful understanding of the tragic event, readers could deduce from the facts laid down by the news report.

9.6.1.2 Urdu

After a comprehensive analysis of all the information, the news reports are objective in their portrayal of events related to the terrorist attack on the army public school. A particularly impressive quality of the news reports reflects the consistent use of unbiased language, an approach that allows readers to form their own opinions without being swayed by sensationalism or unnecessary frills. This strategy was mostly noticed in the direct reporting of deaths, military operations, and anti-terrorism measures. The inclusion of direct statements from the government and military further contributed to the objectivity of the news and avoided any bias. By keeping the focus of the news stories as broad as possible, the Urdu daily prevented the trap of depicting a fractured and skewed reality, presenting a much more equitable description of the situation. The portrayal of different statements made by public figures such as police, law, government officials, and religious leaders, served to reinforce the credibility across the board. Even though the collective tone of the news reports was mournful and alarming, the facts provided were genuine and reliable shown by fair language.

9.6.2 Second Week (Objectivity)

9.6.2.1 English

The analysis of news reports demonstrates consistent objectivity through careful choice of language and methods of reporting. It avoided undue editorialising, and the facts were always presented in a balanced and neutral form while using quotation, descriptive language, statistical information, attribution of statements, and the reporting of official requests and demands. The factual nature of the language avoided forms of emotive language while direct quotations from different sources round off the representation of the incident. The overall reporting was balanced and objective.

9.6.2.2 Urdu

The recurring theme in news reports was represented as a determination to communicate government's policies and the endeavours to thwart terrorist activities. The news reports presented a thoughtful, methodical way to report events accurately. For example, using expressions like "Prime Minister stresses" and "high-level talks". Titles and names were reported without unnecessary exaggeration. There was no emotionally charged tone or

subjective viewpoints. The use of neutral language and descriptions formed unbiased conclusions. The news on events was reported balanced, without employing sensationalism. While ensuring objectivity, the reports also explored the procedural aspects of the government's behaviour, using phrases such as "creation of special courts" and "arrival of new troops." Although the reports discussed the international dimension the language remains factual and fair.

9.6.3 Third Week (Objectivity)

9.6.3.1 English

The news reports provide an in-depth, unbiased analysis of the constitutional amendments. The choice of conditional language to discuss the changes shows that these are hypotheticals. Using quotes from legal experts, the reporters included a range of arguments. By citing directly from both legal and historical texts, without passing judgment, the reports let readers come to their own conclusions. Dissenting voices, concerns about human rights, and the Supreme Court Bar Association's potential challenge were reported, fostering a balanced perspective. The report maintains objectivity by recording the Prime Minister's stance on military courts' jurisdiction, mentioning procedural challenges, and including an inquiry into contingency planning. The constitutional and legal framework was emphasized, and national unity in response to the Peshawar tragedy was portrayed objectively. Concerns within the ruling party, challenges in the judicial system, a political dispute, and a walkout were reported without bias. Formal and official language, direct quotes, and factual presentation contribute to an objective tone. Furthermore, the identification of banned outfits and recognition of non-terrorist activities of religious seminaries prevented generalization. Direct quotes from military figures and descriptive language were used to objectively convey events, emphasizing facts over personal opinions.

9.6.3.2 Urdu

In examining the news reports, a high value is placed on being objective by carefully choosing words that have a neutral tone in order to present all the facts fairly. In discussing historical events, individuals and controversial issues, careful and specific language was chosen. Therefore, the harsh headlines that made it clear that someone was guilty, the highly judgmental adjectives, and the scathing editorial comments had no place in the news columns. For example, the article admitting to the historical use of military courts presented it without an adjectival tag of condemnation or endorsement leaving an option for public opinion. The

reports made a conscious effort to abstain from directly identifying groups or individuals causing difficulties. Instead, the focus was on opposing aggressive ideologies, advocating a point based on democratic principles without unjustly singling out particular groups. The deliberate method of discussing possible results of terrorism, like the nation becoming a "graveyard," was shown as a warning rather than a sentimental plea, which helped ensure events were fairly portrayed. Additionally, the reports were exceptional in sustaining impartiality using a vocabulary that presents details in a direct, unemotional way. Also, by including quotes of politicians without manipulation, their views appear clearly. Most spectacularly, the articles never became infected with sensationalism, no matter how sensational the topic was. To sum up, the linguistic selections employed in the news accounts contributed to an unbiased and fair illustration of the events under discussion. By refraining from an undue amount of editorialization and upholding a neutral tone, the news reports abide by the virtues central to responsible journalism.

9.6.4 Fourth Week (Objectivity)

9.6.4.1 English

Several key factors enabled the news report to remain highly objective. In the first place, the report was written in a formal, technical style, ensuring that a neutral tone is maintained, and the information is presented in a professional manner. The use of formal language ensured that the report is not unnecessarily influenced by emotional or subjective factors. Also, the reports used direct quotations offered by several political figures. These quotations minimized editorial input. The news reports excelled at factual reporting, providing a clear, objective account of the legislative process and bill introduction, as well as the debates that occurred along the way. Rather than editorializing, there was an emphasis on facts: who said what, what happened when. No one perspective was given priority; instead, the voices of both supporters and opponents are included. The reporting was transparent and accountable, as it should be: The political figures in the story were highlighted in direct quotes and referred to in the narrative. The news reports maintained a tone of objectivity by utilizing reported speech—phrases like “he remarked” or “she stressed”—to convey information in a disengaged and impartial way. The news reports were also objective in their language. The descriptions of events and individuals remain descriptive rather than judgmental. By using these techniques, the report allows readers to draw their own conclusions based on the facts presented rather than being told what to think. In addition, the reports managed to be fair and objective in their presentation

of the government's actions because they avoided sensationalism and emotionally charged terms.

9.6.4.2 Urdu

The news reports consistently followed established journalistic standards. The news delivery was made transparent with the employment of attributions such as "General Raheel Sharif said" and "according to the spokesperson of the Pakistan Army". This imparted a neutral tone and constructive demeanour that eliminated sensationalism and fictions. Reports cited quotes of potential figures to convey the story from various perspectives. This reliance on facts offered wide coverage of collected information. Political dynamics were clearly narrated with unbiased, and balanced tone. Such as, concerns over the 21st Constitutional Amendment Bill were depicted as "expressed reservations," without inclining towards negativity or positivity. The news stories did not take a stance on the concerns raised by political parties and used terms like "raised concerns," which was not judgmental and allowed the reader to make an unbiased judgment. Furthermore, the news stories showed fairness when they presented what was going on in the Pakistani parliament. Additionally, they provided a complete narrative about what was going on, rather than giving a small piece of what happened. In addition, the reports presented an unbiased viewpoint while evaluating the President's actions, the revisions to the Constitution and the Army Act, and the development of military courts. Impartial phrases such as "endorsing amendments" and "signatures" were utilized to enable individuals to shape an opinion based on truth and realities. In short, by using neutral language, editing out any redundant opinion, and focusing on what can be firmly established, the news reports represented a classic definition of reportorial objectivity, with no bias.

9.6.5 Randomly Selected Articles (Objectivity)

9.6.5.1 English

Through the consistent use of descriptive language, the news reports followed a neutral tone. The description of events like the reopening of school was provided using simple and factual terms. The report refrained from any flowery, dramatic language to avoid any sort of sway or bias. Direct quotes, whether from parents, students, or official spokespersons like Maj Gen Asim Bajwa, gave first-hand accounts and opinions ensuring the news coming from different dimensions. Avoiding dogmatism, the report takes an objective stance and neutrally presented the enhanced security measures at the school. For example, "snipers were deployed", and "children were banned from carrying bags". The deployment was reported without an

ideological characterization of their utility or absence of utility. These precautions are neither forbidden nor praised providing the information in an apolitical way. The news report frequently referred to the emotional effect of the tragedy but in an objective manner devoid of subjective opinions. In sentences such as mothers crying silently during the reading of a poem provide a purely objective account of the emotional state of the scene without any unnecessary value judgment. This principle of conveying things as they happened rather than injecting biased emotions added significantly to the objectivity of the news report. Furthermore, in a bigger framework, this report proved its objectivity by giving information relevant to counter-terrorist results, relationships among people and countries, and enhanced security including overcoming issues of law in a balanced and neutral way. In discussing the diplomatic situation, the language seemed to serve as a means of relaying the facts as opposed to sharing an opinion. Little to no editorial voice can be heard or read in the story. These practices and commitments to fact both as a matter of content and linguistic choices achieved the goal of objectivity.

9.6.5.2 Urdu

The news reports consistently demonstrated a commitment to fairness through their use of balanced and neutral language. In discussing various topics like counterterrorism efforts, constitutional changes, diplomatic relationships, and political decisions, the reports abstained from reiterating opinions and use exact terminology in presenting information accurately. When examining the impact of anti-terror efforts, the reports used plain wording, adhered to the story, and celebrated facts, aiding a fair representation of the issues exclusive of personal thoughts. The reports consistently used measured language, shying away from superlative or overly negative/positive descriptions in an attempt to foster a more neutral mood. The incorporation of direct, unedited quotes from principal figures sustained the objectivity of the report by allowing their words to tell their own stories, denying excessive interpretation, or added colour. This was most evident when documenting sensitive incidents such as military operations. The choice of precise language rather than hyped-up emotional phraseology left the reader to develop their own emotions toward the event rather than being bombarded with dramatizations or overly emotional reporting. The extensive discussion of multiple facets, including economic dilemmas, safety precautions, and international negotiations, brought an added layer of detail to the accounts and leads to a fairer examination of the issue. When it comes to decisions made in government meetings, the records of these decisions were kept in the form of news reports. The manner in which these news reports are covered is factual. To the best extent possible, information was presented in a fair and non-partisan manner. The

reason for this is to ensure that decisions made at government meetings are not miscommunicated or even misinterpreted.

9.6.6 Analysis

During 1st week of covering incident, the English newspaper-maintained objectivity using factual language and avoiding unnecessary editorialization. It provided a comprehensive and impactful understanding without excessive emotional bias. Consistency is demonstrated in the objective presentation of the incident by the Urdu newspaper, where the use of neutral language was evident throughout the reporting of the incident. Details of the incident were factual and unambiguous, reflecting a sombre tone. During the 2nd week, objectivity was perpetuated in English reports with language; emotive language was avoided, and facts were presented with fairness. The incorporation of different reporting strategies held to fairness. In Urdu language reports impartiality was assured; events were described meticulously. Quotations cited were aimed at giving an unbiased representation of the incident. Also, the use of neutral language prevented outside influence, whilst direct quotations and factual reporting add elements of credibility and balance to the events being described. During the third week of the incident, English Daily analysed constitutional amendments from multiple points of view. It objectively covered perspectives and included opposing voices. Opinions were absent in English reporting, and the reports concentrated more on the legal procedure, striving for neutrality, where objective or manipulative words were avoided, and direct quotes and fair narratives were used. The reporting in Urdu media was formal. It used direct quotes, avoided opinions, and concentrated on facts, to have an objective perspective on the legislative procedures. Impartial reporting was conducted by Urdu paper and met the standards of responsible journalism. Moreover, it was based on facts, real quotations, and a neutral tone. In the fourth week, both the English paper and Urdu newspaper depicted their purpose of creating a descriptive tone. Neither of them tried to be dramatic or exaggerate facts. They both gave first-hand information by placing direct quotations in their news stories. They employed an objective representation of facts in an emotional context. In reviewing the coverage of two hundred articles; both newspapers, maintained consistency and a firm commitment to attaining objectivity in news reports. The press in two languages employed varied strategies for objectivity; this included the vigilance exercised in the selection of language, incorporation of facts, deliberate omission of personal views and usage of direct speech. However, the tone employed in Urdu journalism

propagated neutrality; unlike, English journalism adopting a formal and technical style of writing.

9.7 CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ELEMENTS HIGHLIGHTED IN THE REPORTING OF TERRORISM INCIDENT IN ENGLISH AND URDU NEWSPAPER

The answer to this question begins with a discussion on the cultural and social context underlying the coverage of terrorism incidents for each week. A detailed review of the differences between English and Urdu is then discussed later.

9.7.1 First Week (Cultural and Social Context)

9.7.1.1 English

The way in which the APS incident is reported by the newspaper is noteworthy, as it is strongly grounded in the cultural and social context. Various framing choices had been made by the newspaper, which resonates, at least for the most part, with societal norms and values. One substantial aspect of the framing was the fact that empathy for the victims was accentuated in the reports while terrorism was hated. This meets the societal norm of showing compassion for people affected by such incidents, and the clear message is that society as a whole is strongly against terrorism. Additionally, the coverage exemplifies national unity as a collective response against terrorism as cultural values. By emphasizing unity, it reinforced the pre-existing societal values of solidarity and a collective war against national security threats. Furthermore, the framing choices that emphasize political unity and commitment to national causes demonstrated the cultural and social context. The news articles stressed the value of democracy and political dialogue as important principles of social values. The news reports not only presented information about the incident but also promoted maintaining democratic ideals throughout hardship as well. By focusing on nationwide mourning, candlelight vigils, and solidarity against terrorism, the news reports highlighted social norms of shared grief and strength. Such cultural practices were not only discussed in the news but also used as a storytelling device to supplement the presentation, ultimately contributing to the overall framing of the event as a national crisis. In addition, the news reports did not suggest the cultural and social context by pointing out the effect of the assault on the everyday life of people, but a qualitative view is provided as to how the community handles the turbulence being in mourning.

9.7.1.2 Urdu

The news report is intricately woven into the social and cultural fabric of Pakistan, imparting insights into the existing norms, values, and beliefs of the society. The news reports underscored essential values that have been deeply embedded in the country's history, particularly those of bravery and sacrifice. The potential influence of the military can be seen implied in the military metaphors. The military assumed an important role in being a saviour, guardian of peace and security of the country and equally a torchbearer of its national values and norms, for instance, patriotism. Also, the heartrending depiction of scenes outpours the emotions embedded in the nature of Pakistani society. It seemed that the news implied the potential repercussions of the attack on the rich history and culture of Peshawar, marking it out as an "ancient town". The choice of words such as "terrorists" and comparing the attackers to "wild animals" signals society's revulsion against radical factions and alignment with the social stance against terrorism. Quoting official statements from different perspectives acknowledged the importance of representing diverse viewpoints, presenting a societal embrace of the value of multiple perspectives. The portrayal of mourning as a nationwide occurrence fit into the practice of collective mourning in periods of collective disaster, putting a strong emphasis on shared feelings, as prescribed in cultural traditions.

9.7.2 Second Week (Cultural and Social Context)

9.7.2.1 English

Emphasizing the public role in national security, the news report is consistent with the cultural value of collective responsibility. This represents the societal norm influencing the dynamics of the community and the efforts being put into counterterrorism as a collective action. The statement of religious figures condemning terrorism underlined the cultural respect for religious figures, representing religious/social values in society, and the role of religious personalities in counter-radicalization. The social norm of prioritizing security was being underscored referring to the Peshawar school massacre to bring emotional implications and immediate urgency. The analysis suggests a cultural belief in the military's role and the expectation that military courts ensure speedy justice in terrorism cases. The emphasis on military principles appealed to shared societal values, prompting research on societal expectations and public perception on the influence of ethical principles on, and cultural values shaping military doctrine. The analysis also highlighted a cultural priority on adhering to legal norms even in security dilemmas to ensure justice and fairness.

For instance, Pakistani culture was portrayed as a supporter of diplomatic relationships and having international outlook. However, it conflicted with the universal dynamics of death penalty. This shows the juxtaposition of human rights international standards and local values of heinous crimes handling in right way. In the news reports deep down, cultural adaptation was present in Pakistan's political decision about terrorism and capital punishment.

9.7.3.2 Urdu

Through the analysis of Urdu news reports, multiple dimensions of terrorism were dissected, with cultural and societal threads running through each facet. Engaging stories were discovered in the analysis, painting pictures of the horrific reality that shook the communities in cities like Quetta and Peshawar. As Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif put it, we face a "common threat," a terror that has a steep societal price to pay, and the call to unity rings true to the Pakistani society's deeply ingrained cultural sense of shared obligation. Phrases like "sacrifices" and "last terrorist operation" reflected the profound desire for peace and stability and mirror the collective pain felt by communities after the attack. Framing decisions also underlined the respect for power and hierarchy when high-ranking officials held large meetings about the event. They strengthened the apparent efforts against terrorism as a collective endeavour by the society and the government, and the imperativeness of taking quick, crucial actions. Political leadership, and the inclusion of influential figures such as Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Army Chief General Raheel Sharif, harmonized with the norm regarding the positioning of leadership and power in society. Commonly used words such as "war against terrorism" and "final operation," used language that deeply affected the emotions of the local public, articulating the historical memory of the nation, and tackling structural peace and security challenges. Thus, news accounts typically framed incidents as an extreme violation of social values.

9.7.3 Third Week (Cultural and Social Context)

9.7.3.1 English

The Dawn newspaper focused on several cultural and social contexts of counterterrorism. Firstly, the concept of constitutional rights was pervasive throughout the reporting, and the principles of human rights, fair trials, and law underscored the priority that the country accords to principles of 'rule of law'. Furthermore, each report called for national unity and joint action against terrorism, with emphasis on national coherence against terrorism, while the newspaper deployed collective response as a cultural resource against terrorism. Moreover, concerns

regarding human rights and legal processes echoed opposition voices, showing a public dedication to safeguarding individual rights within the legal system. The Pakistani military occupied the centre of the Pakistani social order as evidenced by the allusions to military personalities, talk about martial courts and the discourse on history – all of which were an acknowledgement of the importance of the military and its role in handling security issues. A second feature of Pakistani culture is its religious harmony seen in the discussions on situations dealing with religious and sectarian terrorism, the attention to religious seminaries and the inclusion of religion in counterterrorism measures. Moreover, a firm, anti-terrorism stance, combined with patriotic language committing to eradicate extremism are expressions of general condemnation and are consonant with the tradition of protecting national sovereignty. Thus, press reports apparently reinforced consensus, dialogue, and unity to counterterrorism, already deep-rooted in the Pakistani culture.

9.7.3.2 Urdu

The news reports showed a keen grasp of the cultural and social context in Pakistan and used various practices to present social customs and mores present in Pakistan. By utilizing figurative expression for terrorists as “ferocious animals”, a graver sense of fear for terrorism was fostered in society. The allusion to turning the country into a “graveyard” imperceptibly incorporated cultural norms, emphasizing the importance of security and stability in a nation historically plagued by conflicts and negotiations. The choice to forgo military courts signified apprehension about the military’s control over the Pakistani government. The language employed for the judiciary to have a “clear mandate” to function within the confines of the constitution demonstrates the extraordinary care required to make sure a government that operates under democratic principles is both secure and able to function despite several possible security threats. References to “national unity” and a pledge against militant groups were linked with a focus on justice and observance of the law. The tragic incident of the Peshawar school was being invoked as an appeal for empathy in the face of disaster. Expressions like ‘Hamdard’ and the emphasis on political cooperation represented the importance of social support and unity in Pakistani culture. A culturally sensitive environment was epitomized in news reports with an emphasis on justice, military involvement, unity, child protection, and social responsibility. News reports not only reported facts and figures but also featured cultural aspects to make them relatable to the Pakistani people.

9.7.4 Fourth Week (Cultural and Social Context)

9.7.4.1 English

The thorough examination of the news reports situates the legal and security problems in Pakistan within the cultural and social domain. In reports, legal and security concerns are illustrated as the cultural priority to uphold national security against threats. The reference to military courts and the government's emphasis on banned fractions was indicative of the military's role in guaranteeing stability. Also, the language depicted a sense of cultural sensitivity towards the issue of security including the cautious treatment of information. The reportage of previous dialogue between politicians and banned groups implied a cultural acceptance of historical insight and connections among political and security concerns. The role of the provinces in identifying proscribed outfits implied a cultural acknowledgement of regional variation and the significance of decentralized governance within Pakistan. The differentiation between armed versus non-armed actors implied a cultural sensibility to variations in the character of different organizations. The reports gave appropriate attention to religious and ethical concerns. It spotlighted objections made by religious parties, focusing on the complaints about mentioning groups that commit terrorism in the name of a faith or sect. This showed how much religious concerns could mean culturally and socially in Pakistan, a country where religious issues are sensitive and likely to provoke strong reactions. The news reports also revealed opposing views in politics, including the expressions of embarrassment or the challenge of defending military courts, which served as a reflection of the diversity of views in terms of culture and society. That not only represented the country's democratic values but also demonstrated that multi-perspectives are cherished. The inclusion of opposing voices in political parties reflected the existence of diverse political perspectives in Pakistan, which echoed the country's convoluted social and political scene. The use of language suggesting the mobilization of the masses against the amendments signified that public opinions and collective action have a momentous place in Pakistani society since protests and gatherings have long been recognized as a major platform for expressing their concerns.

9.7.4.2 Urdu

The terrorism incident is presented within the cultural and social realm of Pakistani society. A recurrent topic in the reports is the accent put on a national struggle against terrorism. This is akin to the Pakistani normative environment, where masses get together to fight a common menace. A deep sense of patriotism and national identity was depicted as having a cultural inclination towards practical, thoughtful solutions while preventing imprudent measures. It

resorted to timeless tools - like symbolism - that link the battle against terrorism with a history of endurance and bravery, which are the soul of Pakistani society. Meanwhile, it was restrained not to use any language connected with religion or race. This shows a deep understanding of the variety of cultures in Pakistan. The government was careful not to do anything that might upset that balance.

9.7.5 Randomly selected articles (Cultural and Social Context)

9.7.5.1 English

Cultural and social factors are present in the framing of news reporting. Firstly, resilience and collective strength were emphasized. For example, a mother's decision to openly grieve despite societal standards of dignity shows the cultural importance of strength and determination. Also, the educational goal in Pakistani culture was shown as the news reports underscored the importance given to education by noting the reopening of the school, indicating that society has not quit its commitment to learning even after the disaster. Also, the powerful role of the military and its positive presentation highlighted cultural priorities related to security and national pride. Political dynamics were significant as well: references to government officials and decisions provided a window into how politics and society interact and are evidence of public political awareness and the influential role of political figures in shaping responses to trauma. Moreover, sobbing and breaking down, and the absence of formal ceremonies during the reopening of school were consistent with cultural norms of lamentation and commemoration socially expected in Pakistan, identifying the marks of grave impact on the society. Additionally, the language including national unity, pride, and responsibility corresponded to the social and cultural norms of solidarity and patriotism in Pakistan.

9.7.5.2 Urdu

The news reports illustrated Pakistani society interwoven in social and cultural threads. Such as the emphasis on national security is deeply injected in the Pakistani culture. The use of language for instance, "terrorists will not find refuge on Pakistani soil" indicated the substantial significance dedicated to home defence in the name of national sovereignty and unity. Additionally, the instalment of safety measures within educational institutions was indicative of the cultural compulsion to maintain the significance of education within the community. Besides, political matters were also covered as emphasizing political unity and compliance with the constitution as cultural norms. The interest shown in the government's commitment towards development and welfare demonstrates hopes for a better destiny. This indicates the

significance conferred on national values such as welfare and happiness of the society as a whole. These reports were skilfully interlaced within the Pakistani culture through framing choices made, integrating all the social and cultural factors. The discussion on national security, education, political, and economic issues was made within the cultural contexts, adding to the social perspicacity.

9.7.6 Analysis

English news highlighted compassion for victims, presented terrorism as universally abhorred, and strove to cast the nation as united against this menace. Cultural values in Pakistan are presented in the form of empathy and unity against terrorism. By contrast, the reports in Urdu foregrounded bravery, sacrifice, the military's guardianship, and inculcation of patriotic values. This fits with the culture's reliance on the military for security and amplification of nationalist ideology. English reports emphasized shared responsibility, with religious leaders condemning terrorism and an idea of the military as part of a counter-radicalization strategy. This fits with the cultural prestige of religious leaders and societal values that advocate against terrorism. Urdu reports looked more deeply at the impact on local communities, bringing in historical allusions and important characters to underscore unity and peace. These reports resonated with cultural values about solidarity and the significance of historical events. English reports looked at the socio-legal and security issues in the cultural frame prevalent in Pakistan, taking due note of the regional variance and the political perspective divergence because of the cultural sensitivity to regional diversity and democratic recognition towards opinion diversity. The Urdu reports concentrated only on the nation's fight against terrorism and its resilience and its well thought solutions which is the collective characteristic of the culture. These reports indicated a deep grasp of the national identity and the patriotism prevalent in Pakistani society. The cultural priorities of unity, security, and leadership were consistently displayed in both the Urdu and English reports concerning the terrorism incidents. Reflections on resilience, collective strength, education, and the military are significant societal points and were evident in the reports. The reports thereby conveyed an understanding of Pakistani society: cultural values, patriotism, community strength, and commitment to education despite devastation. Finally, the reports were logically mixed with cultural elements that appeal to the cultural literacies of its people.

CHAPTER 10

DISCUSSION

Considering vast and diverse areas of the journalistic field, the study provides a unique analysis and comparison of embedded and non-embedded journalists in terms of various challenging, ethical, and comparative dynamic elements of the profession. This includes security concerns, moral challenges, media ownership structures and cultural, religious, and gender perspectives within conflict reporting. The research examines the ethical issues of embedded and non-embedded journalism, exploring the various complexities and how these occur within different structures. It aims not to justify embedded journalism but to understand the complex situations journalists find themselves in when stationed in conflict zones, and why reporting conflict is an instrumental part of the public sphere. It discusses issues in a society where opinions are diverse, many events unfold in a complex geopolitical environment, and society continues to polarize itself further. The spectrum of topics includes security concerns, freedom of the press, media ownership, cultural and religious sector interference, and even the presence of gender in war narratives, among others. The inherent dangers reporters face in conflict zones highlight the necessity of following military guidelines. Making the safety of journalists a priority is necessary. It is also important to weigh the distinction between regulations for journalists' security and regulations that compromise journalists' independence. Although the study explored the demand for self-censorship in conflict journalism, it also recognized an additional ethical predicament. The impulse to harmonize with the national interest may result in the purposeful elimination of information, leading to a report with reduced objectivity. There must be consideration for national security interests and the public's right to accurate information. External motives, such as bribes or enticements, are a major source of vulnerability for the press during times of war because they call into question one's objectivity. A more constructive response to this vulnerability would be to explore ways of insulating journalists from such pressures so that they may remain as free as possible to report the story without having its rules rewritten.

The comparison of the possibilities of embedded and non-embedded reporting, along with their pros and cons, is clearly presented in the study, considering Embedded journalism, primarily due to its perceived safety standards and access procedures widely accepted by journalists. However, the concept of embedding may lead to a brief dismissal of its potential for bias and limited or precautionary coverage, but reporting outside of the constraints of an embedded

model undoubtedly carries higher risks and many hindrances. Freedom from military-directed independence enables journalists to provide better manoeuvrability when moving and reporting, but there comes inherent danger. This mandates stronger contemplation for the complicated balance of safety protocols and the journalist's' freedom in conflict reporting. Embedded journalism is more likely to receive exclusive information not available to the non-embedded journalist. However, it also includes the possibility of narratives being shaped by a military influence/involvement, adopted standard operating procedures (SOPs) and the fear of removal from service, or expulsion, from the embedded program. It considers the capacity of journalists to maintain independence within the confines laid down by military authorities. The practice of self-censorship regarding reporting on conflicts, driven by national interests, highlights the ethical conundrums and again demonstrates the vital importance of a careful assessment of the balance between security priorities and duty to truthfully inform the public. An examination of the challenges faced by journalists in Pakistan beyond the conflict zones, identifies the effects of media ownership on storytelling and fears around adherence to a policy are equally important outside of the confines of embedded scenarios. While investigation into how geopolitical considerations affect the media's narrative provides a useful debate point to discuss its role in all of this and achieving that fine balance between journalism's voluntary subjectivity and responsibility, this ends up prescribing the adoption of rigorous editorial policies and a reliance on information transparency.

Introducing the gender perspective through the voice of a woman journalist adds a valuable dimension to the research, raising the issues women journalists face in the field of conflict reporting, and emphasizing the need for inclusive approaches to constructing media narratives. The revelations of the research about media and societal divisions, particularly in a religious context, are crucial and need to be cautiously examined. Media depictions of conflicts and their religious complexity have significant repercussions on public perception. The research underlines the significance of regulatory interventions in shaping the media framework, especially in terms of constraining the screening of upsetting images and certain statements. An all-encompassing analysis demands the continuation of dialogues among regulatory agencies, media outlets, and journalists to reach a balance, as well as to ensure a sufficient and responsible scope of reporting. Examining the core range of choices open to journalists regarding their reporting approaches highlights the importance of a media landscape that possesses sufficient diversity. In constantly attempting to strike a balance between regulatory constraints and the independence to report, the profession needs to engage in an ongoing conversation and effort to enable the continued existence of a morally vibrant media habitat.

Reporting conflicts in Pakistan is a difficult task for many journalists in the country due to myriad factors including, both legal and ethical restrictions imposed by state and non-state actors, security concerns, and a constant threat. Whether to report independently or as an embedded journalist is not just a purely professional question but rather a strategic one that has implications for the safety of the journalists, ability to obtain vital information on the conflict and the overall coverage of the conflict. This enlightening insight takes into consideration journalists' perspectives and closely look into the complexities, bias, and more general ethical values of each approach. Embedded Journalism which is classified as journalists physically being with military forces in respective conflict zones has now become an issue of the day in Pakistan due to its add-on feature of security that has emerged as a major problem within the country. Though the military has brought increased safety to the field of conflict journalism, there are still concerns over potential compromises in the independence of journalists. Meanwhile, in the absence of any directive by Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) journalists face other challenges following the imposition of 'editorial guidelines'. The role of conflict reporter goes beyond simply reporting the facts of a situation, journalists also have a responsibility to uncover what is underlying a conflict and put it into context. Embedded journalists, in particular, need to use their duty to the audience to provide another viewpoint when terrorist organizations are disseminating propaganda, thereby broadening the role of the conflict reporter. Considering adherence to legislation as a global journalistic norm raises many questions, given the perceived conflict between national security and uncovering the truth. Independent journalism may provide more autonomy but may also expose journalists to higher risks. Journalists, whose experiences are outside the framework provided, offer a clear picture in this case in terms of free movement and reporting without the military presence.

The issue of journalistic freedom is often discussed based on personal stake-holding. The question arises as to whether there is an influence of media proprietorship and the editorial policies that shape the content. Another point would be if gender perspective plays a significant role in determining the 'truth' told by journalists. The experiences of female journalists in conflict reporting and the challenges they encounter shape the perspective. A journalist who has been embedded and has also worked as an independent journalist finds both approaches equally valuable, as they have enhanced her knowledge and skills. This perspective interrogates the often-oversimplified binary of embedded vs. independent journalism. It argues for a more nuanced understanding of these approaches. The practice of the embedded approach is often criticized for its potential for bias and non-comprehensive presentation of conflict. The notion that embedment can also be seen as pushing an agenda of an organization, instead of a narrow

presentation of information as is often assumed, finds strong resonance. It is considered that the two approaches, embedded versus independent, should be judged on the principle of information dissemination first and foremost. If embedment devolves or corrupts from its primary role, this causes concerns, particularly when, by its nature, embedment makes journalists seem like a replacement for the military's press officers and operate as a de facto spokesperson of the armed forces.

Criticism is freely floated that the military can excessively control the narratives of journalists, adhering to standard operating procedures (SOPs) and facing potential expulsion for diverging from the military-favoured narrative. To address all these issues, there is a need for a transparent mechanism of SOPs that are independent enough to uphold journalistic practices while ensuring due security imperatives. The study terms embedded journalism as Western-style journalism; however, it is found to be different in the Pakistani scenario. Another aspect supporting a middle-ground view of the scale of influence that comes with embedment is the argument that embedded reporters take part in war activities. When an embedded reporter provides information on a bomb that went off, they don't just report where it went off, but they also identify why it went off given the information they gathered first-hand from the war zone. Sometimes journalists go as far as creating their own story from whatever different sources of information they could acquire; thus, it complicates the argument that these people are simply more biased, putting into question the viewed unilaterality of their reporting. Embedded and independent journalists operate under starkly different constraints. While embedded reporters follow military directions, thus constraining the parameters of their reporting, independent journalists are free from embedded constraints but face security risks and logistical restrictions. Accessibility is a major issue with embedded journalists, justifying reliance on military briefings when reporting from remote conflict zones.

Although it is believed that embedded journalism tends to glorify military achievements, journalists argue that their commitment to a human rights framework means they prioritize the suffering and pain that also accompanies military action, along with the devastation caused, the impact on civilians, and the aftermath of conflict. Journalists come across criticism for offering a grunt rather than a general perspective of the human cost of war. They run headfirst into the intricate and tangled systems of difficulties that accompany human rights reporting, particularly when it is framed in the context of armies or military forces and civil communities. Stirred up by the ethics of reporting when military actions effect the potential wellbeing of civilians, this dilemma points out the difficulties raised when an indisputable “go-between” is employed not only as a journalist but also as an advocate of the human rights. The study finds

refusal over the claims of providing a limited perspective, however, what cannot be denied is the many constraints embedded journalists operate under. The geographical constraints and the intermittent access that embedded journalists have to the battlefield serve as an immense barrier to the scope of their reporting. It is important to consider the criticism over embedded journalists who can only assess regions within a mere 50km radius, is fair, given that wars cover areas of far broader distances. The limitations of embedding reflect the realities of conflict reporting by requiring a balance between safety and the ability to provide a well-rounded view of the conflict. Emphasizing embedding with one faction to provide a narrow but focused view of the situation, acknowledges the practicalities of reporters' decisions in conflict situations.

The study examines through contributions from the journalists involved in embedding, discussing their experiences of censorship and self-censorship. The interplay between objective reporting and the patriotism axis, as well as the difficulties journalists face working in embedded contexts are thoroughly explored. Censorship is one of the many multi-faceted aspects of embedded journalism and takes many different forms, some of it simply relies on the journalist adhering to national security and geopolitical concerns. It is described as creating a fine line between getting the needed information out to the public as well as giving a positive portrayal of the military while following the national law and regulations. On the other hand, the study shows that the incidents that produce large numbers of civilian casualties often go reported without external pressure. Embedded reporters often take assertive stances against an insurgency in the case of areas like Balochistan where there exists constant threat to armed personnel. This points out the close connection between journalists' responsibility, national security, and requirement of fact-based information. Embedded journalists, while admitting to some censorship during embedment, are known to have remained autonomous and candidly accountable to journalistic standards, denying that embedment demands a mouth-piece coverage for the military.

Self-censorship also plays a key role in embedding. Journalists feel the need to be careful when discussing topics such as extremism. They do not want to provoke violence or any other possible negative effect by revealing the truth. Another issue of reporting is on a topic like "missing people" a key feature of covering conflicts. Journalists shed light on how it's a big demand to provide evidence of someone who has gone missing in a conflict zone. The dilemma is the complexity of issues such as the reporting of journalists with possible sensitivities to national security where the balancing act between transparency and national interest becomes difficult. Participants have consistently highlighted ensuring accuracy and adherence to

existing codes, whether they are from national laws or media practice as being important. There is acknowledgement of the inherent constraints whereby capacity and freedom of reporting are compromised, which in some situations could lead to self-censorship to avoid potential negative effects. Journalists clarify that self-censorship is not meant to hide facts, but to ensure they responsibly present the information. The need for rigorous fact-checking has been stressed, especially when using sources of questionable merit. A journalist speaks about the need to adhere to protocols created by national regulations or by the "mainstream media" itself. Recognition should be given to the kind of fifth-generation warfare that is largely based on the use of alternative media. This makes it necessary for journalists to rethink their strategies to compete in this era. Journalists also need to be more careful about authenticating news before they publish, as it is not an easy task for the public to ascertain the credibility of the news.

The study suggests that there are three main factors that influence journalism. Being embedded or not impacts the way journalism is conducted. Directives issued by the government, or any institution could undoubtedly influence journalists. The policies and agendas of the nations involved in a conflict may influence the way news is reported. Journalists have discretion whether to comply with their own respective nation's official position or provide a free and independent account of a conflict for their audience. Whichever perspective is chosen, the way journalists report conflicts can influence the perspective of their readers. The framework is nearly universally applicable, with an impact that reaches beyond a specific war or conflict. It profoundly influences the way journalists approach war journalism. Embedded journalism is a subject of often heated criticism. Critics argue that journalists embedded with military forces are inclined to present a biased view favouring the military forces they are with. Journalists argue that nothing could be further from the truth and that they will not have their impartiality questioned. It may suffice to say that the professional relationship between Western journalists and Pakistani journalists and the military is one of collaboration, not undue influence. By expressing their commitment to truth-seeking and ethical standards, they try to correct the misconception of bias. Whether embedded or not, journalists allege that the following factors, consciously or unconsciously, always influence the news they report: dictates from the government, national issues, and policies. All these determine the trends of the news that journalists bring to the public, such as how the global war on terrorism is reported. The journalists deny the alleged bias but maintain that they always adhere to the rules of factual and professional reporting.

In the context of efforts to curb terrorism in Pakistan, an interesting proportionality emerges between patriotism and objectivity. Journalists argue that their loyalty to the country does not

compromise their fairness. They contend that their reporting on the grim realities of conflict and the plight of those affected by terrorism is an expression of patriotism within objective journalism. The research findings suggest that journalists are not mere witnesses to the conflict to report on but also participants in it, amplifying the voices of the victims as they advocate for human rights. They see their patriotism as reflecting an intense empathy for the people and an obligation to truth-telling, rather than some distorting force that tempers objectivity. Thus, conflict reporting is marked by journalists' understanding of the complexity of the issues and with a healthy balance of not only being impartial but sincere empathy for the people. Embedded journalists are aware of the possibility of a biased perspective due to their psychological filters and the tense nature of their environments. Since external factors draw a fine line between objective reporting and potential bias, it is up to the journalist to determine how far his or her objectivity is compromised due to personal ethics, values, and professionalism. On some occasions, journalists face difficulties in maintaining their impartiality given the pressure that comes with being a conflict journalist, thus showcasing the depths of embedded journalism. Against all forms of pressure, journalists believe that being objective is primarily an individual's deeply rooted moral and ethical obligation. There is a changing role of media both globally and in Pakistan, overridden by political directives, national interests, and the inevitable alignment with the official perspectives. The interconnecting of media with state policies and agendas is seen as a worrying development globally, particularly for the traditional positioning of media as the free fourth pillar of a democratic society. The study highlights the effect of this current trend, questioning journalism, and raises questions about how these changes ultimately affect the integrity of the media as an institution. This inquiry into journalism's legitimacy as an institution caught in the propaganda web, pulled away from its original position in democratic societies, leads to critical reflection on the challenges journalists face in a world that is increasingly entangled with external realities.

Conflicts are intricate, and when they are reported, journalists should be aware of the various influences at play while they are on the ground. Reporting conflicts may seem like a simple concept—going into a war zone as a journalist and reporting the account—however, there are different layers of influence on journalists reporting in a conflict: political, social, economic, religious, organizational, and individual. The obsession with 'embedding' journalists during war is well-documented in literature, but this study moves away from that narrative and examines both dimensions of conflict reporting: embedded and independent reporting. Although much has been discussed about embedded war reporting, this exploration widens the

lens to expand the debate to include independent war reporting. Political influences on war reporting are complicated, especially within free press democracies. The guiding principle of independent journalism is to uncover social injustices and implicate those responsible in the process. However, political parties may influence journalists' perspectives. A challenge faced in Pakistan is the distressing number of missing persons. Journalists must figure out how to navigate between armed insurgents and geo-political influences to help bring stability into the region through investigative reporting. Journalists working in conflict zones are often put under pressure by the society and the local communities at home as they have very limited immediate personal knowledge of what is actually happening on the ground where the conflict is. Journalists are then used as carriers of information for the population, thus shaping the understanding of conflicts through the media. For instance, in the Pakistani series of articles on missing persons the blame or responsibility is attributed to certain actors by the societal assumptions. Similarly, journalists from the same region somehow try to advocate their communities whereas international media displays conflicts according to their own agendas. Additionally, economics play a major role in conflict reporting, shaping perspectives and decisions of journalists. The differential between local and foreign journalists, the allure of money in contrast with one's moral beliefs and the fact that news organisations underpay their staff compared to other industries demonstrate how economics may affect journalistic integrity. Religious beliefs and sectarian affiliations of a conflict is of great influence as it completely changes journalists' perspectives and how they approach covering a specific story. Instances such as Malala Yousufzai and discrimination against Dr. Abdus Salam, Nobel laureate indicates how deeply religious influence has been penetrated in journalism. The expectations of journalism are even more difficult to fulfil when personal inhibitions influence the reporting, where one's beliefs get in the way of objectivity. Journalists also have a duty to maintain objectivity and uphold the principles of responsible journalism, a challenge that is well-illustrated when religious biases infiltrate the reporting arena. Keeping objectivity is not as easy as simply deciding to, because journalists, just like anyone else working in any other profession, are often guided by organizational policies, which set the narrative, reporting parameters, and so on. Conflicts can arise when organizational policies or directives contradict the professional dedication a journalist has in remaining unbiased in the reporting of news. In the hierarchical structure of a media organization, this can also stifle dissent and lead journalists to conform to the organizational policies. This factor considers the ever-present power of organizational influence by exploring how it affects the content and the framing of the conflict related narratives. On an individual level journalists bring a unique set of personal experiences,

biases, and opinions on conflict. Journalists may approach covering conflict from different perspectives including expertise, intent, and adaptability. Experienced journalists are expected to be objective. However, there come various reasons journalists may be influenced by their feelings, or political disposition when covering a conflict. Journalists may also change their viewpoint as they become more experienced in covering conflicts. The research has addressed a big topic of comparison between embedded journalism and being an independent journalist. What has been noted and must be understood is that contrary to assumption, political, emotional, and individual influences are important parts of both ways of reporting. For embedded journalist it could be argued that they make huge contributions to national moral, even though their reports may come under scrutiny from those who believe it is essentially all propaganda and hanging out of the pockets of the military. Whilst what risks the fact that independent journalists in the battlefield are dealing with too many hurdles such as access since they are not granted access as the embedded journalist would. Nevertheless, both embedded and independent reporters are ultimately pursuing the truth but are doing so in different ways. The study of psychological shifts in embedded reporting is key in dissecting and understanding the complex nature of conflict journalism. This examination looks deep into the relationships between embedded journalists and the units they get embedded with as well as the potential impacts felt upon their reporting. The psychological changes identified in the journalists highlight the difficult and fine balance between impartiality and the recognition of the many dangers reporters face when documenting conflict. Additionally, the environment in which these embedded journalists work often presents unique emotional challenges that journalists without the same experience do not face. Journalists constantly need to assess if they are doing things the “right” way due to the military officials who scrutinize every little thing they do, given the distance they are from them. Many complications arise when journalists cannot document every single thought and share them with their audience. For an embedded journalist, there is a pervasive threat of danger, and there is a very blurry line regarding how a journalist is supposed to interact with the military. This affects journalists emotionally because if they can be kidnapped, killed, and have their ideas and stories manipulated, there is a lot going on in their minds and a lot of emotional stress.

Again, the heightened level of credibility and vigilance is even more important when discussing conflict journalism, as there is real danger—the possibility of losing their lives and being banned by the concerned parties. Also, it is not as simple as in other areas; for example, if a mistake is made, they apologize and move on to the next day. Being in this predicament does not work in this profession. In each conflict zone, journalists are continuously paranoid due to

the historical background of violence and intimidation, which is well familiarized in their minds. This awareness plays an unyielding role in the way the minds of journalists have been powerfully moulded away from previous methods of thinking and formulating decisions while reporting. Despite the common misconception that embedment determines the actual content of reporting, journalists reveal that being among the war soldiers instantly makes them far more adept at developing thorough ideas regarding the intricacies of embedded journalism. Journalists gain a profound understanding of the ins and outs of embedment by simply being there and living with the soldiers. The urge to find some sort of common ground with the troops becomes essential; some measure of rapport and some sort of mutual respect outlasts the professional relationship. While this does not affect the content of reporting. But there is an element of humanity that comes from this process. Journalists had this even with soldiers and, intriguingly, with militants. This emotional bond in the middle of the conflict is what makes war reporting so difficult for journalists, especially when it comes to the embedded ones: they are connected to every single happening, even the ones that normally don't even make it to the newspaper. It casts light on the delicate balance they have to strike between their professional mandate and the human dimension of a conflict situation. No journalist, whether embedded or independent, is untouched by the psychological hurdle that conflict zones present. Violence, dangerous situations, and the aftermath of traumatic events all take their toll on the mental state of journalists. The study gives an insight into the experiences of young journalists, particularly in conflict scenarios, like immediate post-APS (Army Public School Peshawar) attack. This traumatic incident affected journalists with little experienced, highly upsetting their psychological resistance. However, it also highlights that the resilience can be developed with experience and appropriate training, which is key in minimizing the psychological effect of conflict reporting. The experience of psychological shifts is not limited to journalists but may hold true for many other occupations as well. Over the course of their careers, bankers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and others broaden their horizons and deepen their understanding, becoming more sensitive to major events and more socially responsible in responding to them. It is important to mention that despite the fact that journalists are portrayed as "a voice of millions, not a choice of minions," the image illustrates journalists' commitment to the truth rather than their personal desires. The scope of such ethics not only applies to embedded journalism but is retained across the wider media sphere. Though academia has mostly focused their studies on war journalists, this study reveals the moral influences of the troops alongside journalists. Soldiers know that there are journalists reporting on their operations and view journalists as a channel to have their efforts, missions, and engagements communicated to the

public. The effect media coverage has on the morale of the troops is apparent, which strengthens the symbiotic relationship between the journalists and the soldiers. The soldiers find comfort and gratification when the media recognizes them and their efforts, which in turn increases their morale. Journalists prefer to enter conflict zones and share time and space with soldiers, which demonstrates the bond that grows between both the soldiers and the journalists. Journalists appear to humanize the soldiers, seeing not just the uniform they wear but rather the person behind the uniform.

The impact of troop morale is addressed along with other key factors such as examples of leadership, mission clarity, and soldiers' psyche. Leadership and a clear, meaningful mission play a huge role in maintaining high morale for the soldiers. The morale of soldiers is driven up by the recognition they receive from the public regarding the role they play in ensuring safety and security. This recognition acts as a motivating factor to the extent that they are willing to sacrifice their lives to secure their nation. Additionally, journalists are held to the same standards as uniformed service personnel, as evidenced by the pre-arrival briefings of journalists on military conduct. Therefore, journalists being part of the military unit help with troop morale because they now understand the standards of the military and do not do anything that would weaken or cast a negative light on the mission.

Looking through the eyes of journalists, their responses validate how the portrayal of the Taliban as a sensationalized enemy can have numerous influences on the coverage of conflict within the context of both corporate and embedded cultures. This evaluation examines how sensationalism in journalism can create polarization through the perspectives of both corporate and embedded cultures, while also considering how journalists respond to the ethical dilemmas set before them and the challenges they face in reporting on the Taliban. Complaints, criticisms, and debates on the pervasive impact of sensationalism on corporate media organizations have elicited unanimous agreement from professional journalists that corporate media has indeed leaned towards sensationalism due to the demands of big bottom lines, high ratings, consistent profit-making, and large readership, a development that further breaches ethical boundaries as media organizations feel compelled to indulge in any content that attracts more interest. This is a major issue in the corporate environment. Many journalists shared anecdotes where virality, visibility, or notoriety had a tremendous effect on the story. One journalist told a story where a video of theirs had gone viral. Without the sensationalism surrounding a gunfight, the video would never have gone viral. The challenge to strike the right balance between the professional demands of respecting guidelines and the desire for short-lived fame and the ethical responsibility to the profession are all considerations faced by modern day journalists in a

world where corporate agendas often eclipse journalistic ideals. The study, however, also highlights the inner struggle among the journalists who successfully resist the temptation to sensationalism. “Your recognition is your work; your work is your signature,” summed up the debate for one of the journalists. The battle between going viral and adhering to responsible journalism is the toughest one. The internal strife exists in a corporate environment where new business values, such as sensationalism, come into conflict with traditional values. In contrast to the corporate environment, journalists tend to adopt a more traditional approach when embedded. They argue that embedded reporting is more traditional and does not tend to sensationalize. The perspective is balanced, with safety and the integrity of the coverage intact. Certain constraints exist, but embedded journalism emphasizes the importance of facts and personal safety over sensationalism. There are differing views on embedded journalism. On one side, some journalists realize that there are limits to what they can cover being on the ground. They understand that being embedded limits their coverage. Some believe that although the concept of being embedded and following military units may seem intriguing at first, when faced with actual war, all sensationalism fades away. Unique experiences, such as reporting during gunfire from the Lal Masjid operation, demonstrate some of the challenges embedded journalists face while trying to provide immediate updates and report on the latest situation without sensationalizing it.

In addition, the analysis of the study also considers the influence that an embedded culture might have on the overall outlook of conflict reporting. With the scope of an embedded journalist being confined, opportunities arise for journalists to report on the human side of the story. Embedded journalism reveals the entrenched struggle journalists face between military expectations and forming a full story that interweaves political and human aspects. This identifies an intricate relationship between what society wants, what makes a good story, and the quest for objective conflict reporting. The crux for journalism is creating stories that readers want while still providing a fair account. The conundrum of societies that advocate for peace yet are drawn to sensationalism highlights the difficulties journalists face in meeting the demands of their audiences. As clearly said, "being objective doesn't play; it's not on the board, it's not invited," is a stark summary of the struggle between fair news coverage and attracting audience. Insisting upon the need for sensationalism, though with reservations, displays an attempt to balance what mass society demands with the principles of a profession.

Journalism these days is a tricky business, particularly when it comes to those stories audience just can't get enough of, the shocking ones, particularly when it comes to know what happened after that, for example post the Army Public School massacre in Peshawar. Journalists, of

course, tried to provide what the public craved for, as they craved for sensationalism. But journalists also knew that there is an ethical imperative to report responsibly, especially when violence or conflict is involved. Refusing to be intensified by sensationalism demonstrates a strong belief in journalistic ethics to value objectivity over social pressures. Also, the study analyses the ethical dilemmas journalists face in conflict zones and when reporting on stories that they might be in danger over. As when a correspondent talks about the time they were covering a traumatic situation in Afghanistan and how hard it was to report the story without being biased. It is a kind of moral tale journalists discuss, about a certain symmetry between objectivity, subjectivity, and the potential consequences of each. There is a shared sensibility among journalists that one should be careful not to add to the misery of the people one is writing about, whether to add a little newsworthiness to one's report, or to sign up for a version of events that is perhaps someone else's point of view.

Claims of unethical behaviour can be largely attributed to the media's need for attention, often leading journalists to create stories with little to no factual evidence. Journalists are faced with the responsibility of giving a human face to war without overly sensationalizing the horrors that the victims face. The study questions many issues that the embedding process brings to the reader's attention: the journalists' limitations when perceiving the conflict, viewing the conflict through the same lens as the military they are embedded with, as well as overcoming the obstacles that arise in conflict journalism. Journalists readily acknowledge these limits and suggest that those who work closely with the military may find themselves adopting some or all the goals of the military with which they are embedded. Such a merging of objectives may tend toward sensationalism and eclipse the political and humanitarian dimensions of the conflict. Instances related by journalists exemplify the tangled web of power dynamics, in which journalists face grave consequences for reporting on sensitive topics without the backing of the military. The vulnerabilities inherent in journalism, especially for foreign and female journalists, underscore the risks of reporting in conflict. The narrative explores the potential compromises inherent in being objective in the face of political agendas and the necessity of military protection.

Investigating how Pakistani media journalists understand the practice of reporting in conflict zones, offers significant insight into the varieties and profundity of news. Anecdotes from a veteran journalist about the 1971 Bangladesh war illustrate the historical backdrop of journalism and the possible effect of reportage on objectivity. The call for a more nuanced approach to conflict resolution by journalism indicates a wider conception of the role of the profession beyond the traditional reportage. The difficulties faced by Pakistani media in

northern and other areas such as Balochistan points to the requisite for equal approach to the parties in conflict. The analysis of the dangers for journalists and the shortcomings of local media situated in conflict-affected areas presents a view into the practical considerations of reporting in risky areas. The study underscores the importance journalists place on both their independence and expertise, in particular defence or conflict reporting, being embedded and similarly emphasises the need for clear roles, approachable dialogue, and forums to allow cooperation between military and journalists. The key is to strike a balance so that these characteristics do not compromise objectivity, as both are essential for enriching embedded reporting output, including richness in meaning, diversity of sources and voices, depth, and quality.

Lastly, this research has significant implications for media professionals, policymakers, and society as a whole. Recognizing the role of diversity and representation in shaping public perceptions is vital to the promotion of informed debate and social harmony. There is a need to understand the knowledge gaps in the coverage of English and Urdu print media to help strategies to increase media literacy and engagement with the news. Every nation has its own culture, and it shapes the perception of the people about an incident and an issue. Urdu Journalism uses many metaphors and extensive use of poetic language that evokes emotion and conveys to its readers a feeling of immediacy. How a terrorism incident is framed in the newspaper can influence the public significantly how they perceive what happened and what implications it will have for their security. The analysis resulted in distinctive variations in the language and tone employed by English and Urdu newspapers concerning incidents of terrorism. Cultural and linguistic variations between English and Urdu, in terms of language and tone of the newspapers, must be kept in mind also. From the findings, it is evident that the journalists have a duty to represent the complexities inherent in terrorism incidents; to not be sensationalist or create terror in their reporting. In this context, it must also be noted that Urdu and English journalism describe these incidents differently. Both approaches' strengths enable them to provide their followers a good example of remaining objective. They focused on the use of well-known language and noting verifiable facts.

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

While closely examining journalism in Pakistan during conflict situations, various challenges are identified, including ethical dilemmas and changes in the role and duties of journalists. The examination of journalism during conflict situations or the war on terror in Pakistan cannot be fully understood through the binary division of embedded and autonomous journalism. There are various other factors that might significantly impact journalism in a more vulnerable manner, such as political, societal, economic, religious, and organizational factors, or it might be at the level of the journalists themselves. An appreciation for the full range of obstacles faced by journalists is demonstrated, highlighting the need for a balanced perspective that respects both security and journalistic principles. Indeed, personal security issues are of overwhelming importance to war correspondents, and it has been shown how this forcefully introduces a significant degree of intrusiveness into these correspondents' work, particularly concerning the delicate balance between autonomous journalism and personal security. The security provided by embedding, while ensuring military protection, poses the problem that journalists feel their independence is endangered.

The need for self-censorship in the country's national interest raises ethical questions when journalists encroach upon the army's domain. Shifts towards greater editorial independence in incidents involving casualties among civilians suggest that journalists would likely publish news that is genuinely impartial. However, the notion of "reporting the military positively" continues to raise questions regarding the fine line between patriotism and legality. When evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of embedded and non-embedded journalism, a comparative analysis between the two reveals several points. In embedded journalism, the reporter is given exclusive access, making the story exclusive to their outlet. However, biased opinions and a limited range of information are questions raised by those who practice this tactic. On the other hand, independent journalists face many obstacles such as restricted access and heightened war zone security. However, an independent journalist is allowed to stray from the point and pick up on details that are not necessarily military career friendly. The study suggests that in both scenarios of conflict reporting, political factors, individual decision-making, and emotions play a substantial role, challenging the notion that national interests come first. While this study accepts that embedded journalism has emerged as a tool for advancing national interests, it argues that both approaches of journalism aim to reveal different

aspects of truth in war. The examination of influences on conflict journalism also shows that there are disparate effects from political, social, organizational, economic, religious, and individual factors on how news is covered during wars. Political pressures can compromise journalistic objectivity. Societal values can bias fact findings. Economic interests can challenge the ethical defence of monetary versus journalistic value returns. Different religious beliefs and organizational policies can cause journalists to view their work from different perspectives. Their individual experiences and biases also come into play when writing their stories. This in-depth analysis helps to understand the various dynamics of a news story.

An exploration of psychological changes in embedded reporting helps deepen understanding of conflict journalism. Embedded reporters experience different emotional shades on a daily basis, ranging from extreme vulnerability to minute observation, to the realization that they will likely be harmed. The smallest connections with those involved in the conflict are apparent. The psychological consequences of exposure to dangerous situations and violence on journalists emphasize the need for more in-depth perspectives on what journalists witness during armed conflict. In this context, one looks beyond the traditional journalist-centred questions in an attempt to identify the impact media portrayals have on soldier morale. Soldiers see journalists as mouthpieces through which to convey their achievements to the general populace and therefore desire strong support from the media for their efforts. Thus, soldiers gauge the success of their mission based on media coverage. This helps to increase the bond between the soldiers and build up camaraderie. This portrays the soldiers as the individuals they are, with a wide range of experiences and different circumstances. Another vital role of journalists is to maintain the morale of the troops, primarily achieved by adhering to the rules and restrictions set by the armed forces, as examined in the research. Essentially, this concerns the ethical influence of both journalists and soldiers. However, journalists perceive themselves as advocates for the masses rather than mere mouthpieces, while soldiers rely on recognition from the media as a sign of support from society. This illustrates the interconnectedness of the two issues and the desire of both journalists and soldiers to share their stories with each other. The analysis compels to reconsider critical questions about the role of journalism globally, as well as in a third world developing country like Pakistan.

Today, journalism is intertwined with government policies and agendas. This situation has continuously challenged the nature of journalism as the fourth pillar of the state and an autonomous monitoring body. Journalism is intertwined with the world it reports on. External factors result in the different ways journalism is carried out: political pressures (politics), profit-driven capitalism (economy), and the audience it reports for (society). Each factor is heavily

intertwined and impacts the way journalism covers stories. The analysis of journalists' perspectives on the sensationalist portrayal of the Taliban within corporate and embedded cultures of control examines some of the complex dynamics that shape conflict reporting. Sensationalism appears to be present in all the news positions you mentioned due to the money and audience it attracts to the corporate world. From the reporter's standpoint, the issue of what's important seems trivial because of the money-driven attitude of most organizations. Hits are incentivized, and this incentivization corrupts the integrity of the reporter. Despite these pressures, several journalists do resist the temptations of sensationalism, symbolizing their internal struggle between acceptance and loyalty to journalistic principles in a corporate environment. This internal struggle highlights many of the ethical dilemmas faced by journalists operating in the media industry. On the other hand, journalism integrated with military operations is more likely to oppose using loaded words and biased articles, which can allow them to maintain their safety as well as focus on covering the facts of the story. Embedded journalists do acknowledge that there could be some limitations to the information that they are allowed to cover, but they all agree that it is important to keep their facts correct and to remember to look out for their own safety. This nuanced examination underscores the careful equilibrium between the military's objectives and the broader narrative, encompassing political and humanitarian dimensions. It reveals both the potential for deeper insight into the human aspects of conflicts and the challenges posed by inherent constraints on freedom of the press. Critiquing society's preferences illustrates the fallacy between societal claims that they are peace-loving, contradicting the fact that society loves sensationalism yet demands integrity. The tug of war between objective reporting and what engages an audience is very real, where journalists themselves feel that sensationalism has to be handled with care, as much as society demands it.

Ethical dilemmas facing journalists in conflicted areas are exposed, focusing also on presenting the human side of conflicts without taking advantage of the suffering of the people involved, compromising the objective of informing through the media. The study focused on the possibility of abandoning objectivity as a journalist when covering such stories because of political aspects, sometimes normalizing the hiding of the true intention of the situation. It also examined how journalists can disguise themselves and break barriers with the people they talk to, in order to protect themselves. For the purposes of covering conflict, the study examines the implications for diversity and the substantive nature of reporting. From a historical perspective, the study underscores the impact of embedding on objectivity and emphasizes the need for a more nuanced approach to the journalistic agenda and conflict resolution. The challenges faced

by Pakistani media in conflict regions bring forth the pragmatic considerations involved in reporting in high-risk zones, emphasizing the significance of journalistic independence and collaboration between the military and journalists.

The systematic study of conflict reporting — its relationship with politics, society, and conflicts; the policies and controls for journalism practice in wars; the relationship between government and journalists; and the role of society as the audience in conflict reporting — points out that no conflict can be given a complete explanation. Any coverage will involve endless value judgments, with some values being central while others may be marginal. It would not be enough to interpret conflict as warfare between two or more sides. For each audience rooting for sides in conflicts, each logically must prove itself, demonstrating that war reporting is no less political than war itself. The report is an attempt at a comprehensive analysis of the complexities and dynamics of conflict. It deliberates on how conflict reporting has evolved and will continue to do so in relation to the constant dynamics and multifaceted roles of the conflict itself, journalistic practice, and society. It also emphasizes the inherent need for journalists to strike a balance between responsible journalism, which is committed to accuracy and truth on one hand, and press sensationalism, which may distort facts and twist the truth for dramatic effect, on the other. Rather than reducing it to a simple proposition of embedded or independent journalism, the analysis of the study confirms that the experiences of journalists in conflict zones are shaped by a multitude of factors. This complexity is important to grasp to fully appreciate the many ethical and practical dilemmas that come with being a journalist in war. The results significantly advance both the understanding of the delicate balance between security imperatives and journalistic principles and our insight into the intricate, intertwined psychological, ethical, and societal tensions at play in the realm of conflict reporting. This understanding is important because journalists work in hostile environments and are always at risk of feeling anything from desperation to anger to cunning, including risking their lives and the accuracy of the facts they report. Essentially, responsible reporting, resilience, and truth should always be at the core of war reporting. These values are also legitimate professional values for journalists, as journalists must accurately depict the world so that others can see and understand it. Only if these principles are upheld will they be able to tell the world what is happening in another place. By doing so, they can help the world to understand the complexity of the issues involved, which will, in the long run, make the world a more empathetic place. As a final point, comparative analysis of objectivity in Urdu and English journalism reveals that both languages generally adhere to this principle in reporting. However, language tone may alter the objective character of news in both languages. Critically evaluating and adopting

a policy of transparency in newspaper reporting can restore lost trust and enhance credibility for both Urdu and English newspapers. The results of this study are important for journalism practitioners, public intellectuals, and society in general, as Urdu and English journalists play a crucial role in defining cultural narratives and fostering national cohesion during adversity. The study examines how Urdu and English media have employed various situational, cultural, and social factors in covering terrorism incidents, providing insights into the role of media in shaping responses to terrorism and promoting national cohesion in Pakistan.

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APPENDIX I

THEMES

ENGLISH	URDU
Terrorism and militant attacks	دہشت گردی
Casualties and human tragedy	حکومتی اقدامات
Government and military response	امن و امان
Identification of militants and terrorist groups	عوام کی حفاظت
Security and intelligence concerns	قانون نافذ کرنا
Impact on the region	ملکی تحریک
Rescue and evacuation efforts	انسداد دہشتگردی
National mourning and patriotic response	فوج اور انتہیلی جنس
Security and law enforcement	سیاستی اصلاحات
Policy changes	قومی یکجہتی
Public outrage and protest	بین الاقوامی تعاون
Dialogue and conflict resolution	قانونی کارروائیاں اور سزائیں
International collaboration	معاشیات
War against terrorism and extremism	تعلیم
Historical context - Zarb-i-Azb military operation	سماجی مسائل
Political impasse and resolution	دوجانبی تعلقات
Support for government against terrorism	بین الاقوامی تعاون
Role of security forces	دہشت گردی کا مقابلہ
Counterterrorism efforts	سیاستی دوام اور عدلیہ
National unity	اقتصادی
	ترقی اور اعانتی تدابیر

APPENDIX II

FRAMES

ENGLISH	URDU
Crisis management	فوریت اور شدت کا رد عمل
Counterterrorism strategies	دہشتگردی کے خلاف کوشاں
Political and leadership responses	جذباتی دعویٰ
Security concerns	Collaborative effort and coordinated response
Legal and constitutional considerations international cooperation	مشترکہ کاوش اور ہم آہنگ جواب
Financial measures	Political challenges, economic stability, security measures, social impact, معیشت، چیلنجز، مضبوطی، حفاظتی تدابیر، سماجی اثرات، تفصیلی دیدگاه

APPENDIX III

LINGUISTIC TERMS, METAPHORS AND PHRASES- ENGLISH

Big human tragedy	Launch of a military offensive
Barbaric attack	Commitment to resolve political issues through dialogue
Horrific, indiscriminate shooting	Renewed full support
Devastating impact	Complete consensus
Pools of blood	Positive steps
Pockmarks from the flying ball bearings	Reaffirmed their commitment
Flesh and hair were plastered to the ceiling and the walls, candles, bouquets, floral wreaths	Proposed mechanism for improving coordination
Curse	Eliminating sanctuaries
Moving scenes	Intelligence sharing
Eliminate the menace of terrorism	Border control
Permanent war	Demand action
Militarizing our problems	Proactive responses
Gruesome murder	Constructive light
No other option but to take them on	Caution
Scepticism	Optimism
Singing the national anthem	Confidence
Enormous credit	Traumatic experience
Positive change	Narrowly survived
Significant results	Loss of lives
New-found resolve	Heart out
Making progress	Washroom as a refuge
Task is difficult	Auditorium draped in green fabric
Much remains to be done	Fresh paint on the administration block
Zarb-i-Azb military operation	Reassuring
Clearance of north Waziristan	High spirit
Destruction of Haqqani network infrastructure	Unbeatable nation
Peshawar school carnage as a symbol	Soft opening
Strategic dialogue	Counter-terrorism efforts
Bilateral relationship	Terror financing
Security partnership	Radical group
Almost 85 to 90 percent of north Waziristan cleared	Outlawed
Sought British government's help	Insurgents in Balochistan
Forcefully raised	Supporting the insurgents
Security problems	We welcome the decision
Ongoing conversation	An important step
Eliminating terrorism	A paradigm shift
Important step towards eliminating terrorist activity	Deepening security partnership
Focus on historic close cooperation	Close cooperation

APPENDIX IV

LINGUISTIC TERMS, METAPHORS AND PHRASES- URDU

<p>War جنگ</p> <p>Operation zarb-e-azb آپریشن ضربِ عضب</p> <p>Relentless pursuit بے رحمی سے پیچھا کرنا</p> <p>Fighting a war against terrorism دہشتگردی کے خلاف جنگ</p> <p>Attack on an army public school فوجی عوامی اسکول پر حملہ</p> <p>Beast-like terrorists دندہ صفت دہشتگرد</p> <p>Historic تاریخی</p> <p>Small-scale سغیر</p> <p>Blind firing بے دیدہ گولیاں</p> <p>Explosives دھماکے</p> <p>Enemies of humanity انسانیت کے دشمن</p> <p>Martyred شہید</p> <p>Bravery and resilience بہادری اور ثابت قدمی</p> <p>Condemnation of the terrorists, unity in the face of terrorism دہشتگردوں کی مذمت کا تکرار، دہشتگردی کے مقابلے میں اتحاد</p> <p>Phansi as a symbol of peace پھانسی امن کا علامہ</p> <p>The nation standing united against terrorists (قوم) دہشتگردوں کے خلاف یکجہتی سے کھڑی ہے</p> <p>Oritative statements ثابت قدم اقوال</p> <p>Determination عزم</p> <p>Extremism انتہا پسندی</p> <p>Contentious debate جدوجہدی مباحثہ</p> <p>Resoluteness ثابت قدمی</p> <p>An unforgettable incident ہمیشہ یاد رہنے والا واقعہ</p> <p>Elimination of educational backwardness تعلیمی پسماندگی کو دور کرنا</p>	<p>Counterterrorism دہشتگردی کے خلاف کارروائی</p> <p>Special courts خصوصی عدالتیں</p> <p>Legal proceedings قانونی کارروائیاں</p> <p>Terrorism-related cases as a national tragedy قومی سانحہ کے طور پر دہشتگردی کے معاملات</p> <p>Expedite cases فوراً سماعت دینا</p> <p>Swift action فوراً ایکشن</p> <p>Jihad against terrorism دہشتگردی کے خلاف جہاد</p> <p>Peshawar as a symbol of tragedy پشاور کا ایک علامہ کے طور پر استعمال</p> <p>Internal enemy داخلی دشمن</p> <p>State of war حالت جنگ</p> <p>Appeals for national unity قومی یکجہتی کے لئے اپیل</p> <p>Auth common ground عام مسئلہ</p> <p>References to military operations فوجی عمل</p> <p>Death penalties موت کے سزا</p> <p>Dangerous terrorists خطرناک دہشتگرد</p> <p>Extraordinary measures غیر معمولی تدابیر</p> <p>United front متحد فرنٹ</p> <p>Every drop of innocent children's blood ہر معصوم بچے کے خون کا ہر قطرہ</p> <p>Graveyard قبرستان</p> <p>Wild animal جنونی جانور</p> <p>Judicial actions عدلی کارروائیاں</p> <p>National mourning ملکی افسوس</p> <p>Land too narrow for such barbarity سرزمین ایسی درندگی کیلئے تنگ</p>
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APPENDIX V

SENSATIONALISM ENGLISH NEWSPAPER

<p>Use of dramatic phrases Emphasis on recent tragedy Military and security symbols Positive spin on intelligence sharing Use of strong adjectives and adverbs Quoting strong statements and emotive language Use of terms with emotional weight Reference to historical events and comparison Negative connotations Rhetorical questions for effect Metaphors and imagery Bias in quotes Repetition of dramatic phrases Framing actions as responses to tragedies Highlighting numbers and statistics Grandiose language Consequences and negative terms Absolute language Positive tone Strong metaphors</p>	<p>Traumatic experience Narrowly survived Cry her heart out I broke down Sobbed Seven-hour shooting and bombing spree Draped in green fabric Historic close cooperation Eliminating terrorism Important step towards eliminating terrorist activity Adverse international reaction International isolation Declare it a high-risk country Risk of international sanctions Eliminating terrorism Exhilarating Important step Virtually disappeared Enormous credit Significant results Complete blackout 500 convicted terrorists to be hanged in coming days Fierce fighting Desperately need Bearing the brunt of terrorism Rattled Crackdown Impending Raising arms and insurgency Terrorist groups using the name of religion or a sect Lead this war against terror Turn the tide in the fight against terrorism War-like situation Zero tolerance is zero tolerance Peshawar school carnage Pakistan today is a changed country Terrorism and sectarianism is like a cancer for pakistan Nobody can be allowed to glorify terrorists through media Spilled the blood of innocent people</p>
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APPENDIX VI

SENSATIONALISM URDU NEWSPAPER

Condemning terrorism	Not sparing those responsible for harming children بچوں کو نقصان پہنچانے والوں کو بخشا نہیں جائے گا
Military metaphors	پہنچانے والوں کو بخشا نہیں جائے گا
Positive connotations	Last remnants of terrorism آخری باقیاتِ دہشتگردی
War metaphors	Eradicate at any cost بر قیمت پر خاتمہ کریں
Emotive language	Decisive action فیصلہ انتخابی کارروائی
Rhetorical devices	Swiftly bring dangerous terrorists to justice فوراً خطرناک دہشتگردوں کو انصاف کے سامنے لایا جائے
National tragedy	Terrorists will find no refuge on Pakistani soil دہشت گردوں کو کوئی دہشت گردی کے دہشت گردوں کو کوئی پناہ کر نہیں ملی گی
Crisis terminology	Unified response دہشت گردی کے دہشت گردی کے ناسور کو جڑ سے اکھاڑ پھینکنے
Unified response	Positive connotations پاکستان میں پناہ کی فراہمی
Metaphors	Metaphors Uprooting the menace of terrorism from its roots ناسور کو جڑ سے اکھاڑ پھینکنے
Grief and appeal	Grief and appeal Pakistan may turn into a breeding ground for issues over an extended period خدانخواستہ پاکستان ایک طویل عرصہ تک مسائل کی آماجگاہ بن کر رہ جائے
Provocative phrasing	Provocative phrasing Rapid action force سریع حرکت فورس
Intense imagery	Intense imagery Youth brutally attacked جوانوں کو بے دردی سے مارا
National tragedy	National tragedy Fire Wounds آتش زخم
Graphic descriptions	Graphic descriptions Heart-wrenching cries of the families اہل خانہ کی درد بھری آہنگ
Heavy phrases	Heavy phrases Commitment to Military Strategies فوجی استراتیجیات کا عہد
	Death penalties سزائے موت
	State of War حالتِ جنگ
	Terrorist incident دہشت گرد سانحہ
	Stay prepared for the perpetual protection of the nation ملکی حفاظت کیلئے ہمیشہ کیلئے تیار رہیں
	Immediate action فوراً کارروائی
	Jihad against terrorism جہاد دہشتگردی کے خلاف
	Expressing condolences and sympathy تعزیت و افسوس کا اظہار
	Sword of Justice عدلیہ کی تلوار
	Casualties ہلاکتیں

APPENDIX VII

OBJECTIVITY

ENGLISH	URDU
Neutral tone Balance language Inclusion of perspectives Attribution of statements Acknowledgment of dissenting voices Use of direct quotes Formal and legalistic language Use of official titles Use of formal language in official statements Objective presentation of recommendations Use of statistical information Objective reporting on political developments Diplomatic language Legal and judicial aspects Quoting legal texts Judicial system challenges Factual reporting of legal amendments Aftermath reporting and impacts Acknowledgment of trauma Quantification of progress Descriptive language without judgment	Clear and measured tone Descriptive language Unbiased language Use of facts Use of neutral terms Straightforward reporting Direct quotations Balanced representation Comprehensive coverage Absence of editorializing Precise terminology Use of clear statements Fair and balanced reporting on government's stance Diverse perspectives Use of official titles Use of statistical information Comprehensive information Aftermath reporting Official quotations Political discussion

APPENDIX VIII

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear participant,

I am conducting academic research for my PhD dissertation titled “The Growing Sense of Embedded Journalism in Pakistani Media Culture”.

In this study, embedded journalism refers to the practice of journalists accompanying military troops to conflict zones. Non-embedded, or independent/unilateral, journalism refers to reporting on war or conflict without any affiliation with the military, with journalists covering and reporting on the conflict autonomously.

I am sincerely grateful for your contribution to my research. Your input promises to greatly enrich the field of journalism. I kindly request that you answer all questions comprehensively. As the interview will be recorded, I assure you of the confidentiality of your interview and the anonymity of your identity. You may respond in either Urdu or English. The questions translated into Urdu are available on the last three pages.

Main questions:

1. What is your perception of war or conflict reporting (in terms of professional roles of journalists and the entire war scenario and circumstances either visible or invisible? (Please also share an example or experience)
2. How embedded journalism is different than non-embedded journalism, in terms of covering, framing, and reporting the conflict? (Please also share an example or experience?)
3. How much freedom did you perceive you enjoyed in reporting war on terror being embedded? (Please also share an example or experience?)
4. How much freedom conventional media gives to independent journalists to report on war on terror? Please explain in detail.
5. Do you agree more with embedded journalism or independent (non-embedded) journalism to report on war on terror and why? Please explain in detail.
6. Did you perceive censorship (by military department) during your experience being embedded? If you perceive any, please define how it shaped your work? And if you did not see censorship then why embedded journalism is considered as ‘in bed’ journalism which means journalists report in a supportive and positive manner about the soldiers and conflict? Please explain in detail.
7. Did you apply self-censorship while reporting on the conflict being embedded? If yes, then what is the reason? (Please also share an example or experience?)
8. Do you think application of censorship or self-censorship leads the war reporting to support some agenda or propaganda? If yes, then what is the agenda or propaganda of war on terror in Pakistan?

9. And do you agree with the application of censorship and self-censorship in embedded journalism? if yes or no, then why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
10. And do you agree with the application of censorship and self-censorship in overall scenario of conflict reporting? if yes or no, then why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
11. Being an independent or non-embedded journalist do you feel political influence is the driving force that shaped or may shape your conflict reporting? If yes, explain how and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
12. Being an independent or non-embedded journalist do you feel societal influence is the driving force that shaped or may shape your conflict reporting? If yes, explain how and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
13. Being an independent or non-embedded journalist do you feel economic influence is the driving force that shaped or may shape your conflict reporting? If yes, explain how and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
14. Being an independent or non-embedded journalist do you feel organizational influence is the driving force that shaped or may shape your conflict reporting? If yes, explain how and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
15. Being an independent or non-embedded journalist do you feel religious influence is the driving force that shaped or may shape your conflict reporting? If yes, explain how and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
16. Being an independent or non-embedded journalist do you feel individual influence (such as individual values, attitude towards war, and professional values and norms) is the driving force that shaped or may shape your conflict reporting? If yes, explain how and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
17. Did these forces still influence your conflict reporting when you were embedded? (Please also share an example or experience?)
18. Which media culture is sensational (in the light of Taliban reporting), embedded or corporate (which is also known as conventional media)? Explain how and why?
19. Do you agree sensationalism means distorted view of the war or conflict which means freedom of media is exploited which calls for censorship to some extent? Please explain in detail.
20. Do you agree with the sensational reporting on conflicts? And why?

Additional questions:

“The first casualty when war comes is truth- Aeschylus.”

1. Do you think journalists who are attached to the military might lose their objectivity? (They live, sleep, and eat and often fight the circumstances with the troops.) please explain in detail.
2. During your reporting on war on terror in Pakistan, what actually survived in your reports? Objectivity or Patriotism? Or both? But how?

3. Being embedded is there any psychological transformation you go through as a result of being with the soldiers for days or weeks? And does it affect your reporting? Please explain in detail.
4. Being embedded did you perceive war journalism left some impact on the morale of the troops you were embedded with? (Please also share an example or experience?)
5. Being embedded which side of the conflict you would like to focus more on (such as civilian casualties, Taliban killings, invaded areas, soldiers and troops, human rights violations and so) and why? (Please also share an example or experience?)
6. It is believed an embedded journalist provides a narrow view of the war, as he is attached with the troops as a result, he is unable to view the war from a complete perspective, how do you define this point? How do you provide a comprehensive report to your channel/organization? (Please also share an example or experience?)
7. Do you think embedded journalists see the war in “military terms” and as a result miss the most significant political and human side of the story? Please explain in detail.
8. During war it is important to report how the bomb was fired but it is also important to report where the bomb was landed. Do you agree embedment lacks so many truths which an independent journalist can surely provide? Or embedment provides just a slice of the whole picture? Please explain in detail.
9. Embedded journalism is considered as “skewed understanding” of the war, they don’t give representation to the other side of the conflict and a broader analysis of the situation. Do you agree with this point and if you don’t then what is your viewpoint in this regard? Please explain in detail.
10. How can Pakistani embed policy contribute to more diverse and substantive reporting in conflict areas? Please enlighten and suggest.

General questions:

1. Do you perceive changing practices of journalism in Pakistan?
 2. What are the roles of a journalist in a Pakistani society specially during war on terror and the overall political instability in the country? (Please also share an example or experience?)
 3. What are the personal values of a journalist? Please explain in detail.
 4. Do journalists’ personal values link with the professional values of journalism? Please explain in detail.
 5. What are the challenges hindering quality journalism in the country? Please explain.
 6. Media is considered as the 4th pillar of the state, how do you perceive the overall standing of journalism in the society? Please explain in detail.
 7. How do you envision the future of journalism in Pakistan? Please explain in detail.
1. جنگ یا تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کے بارے میں آپ کا کیا تاثر ہے (صحافیوں کے پیشہ ورانہ کردار اور جنگ کے پورے منظر نامے اور حالات کے لحاظ سے یا تو مرئی یا پوشیدہ؟) (براہ کرم ایک مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں)

2. تنازعات کو کور کرنے، ترتیب دینے اور رپورٹ کرنے کے لحاظ سے ایمبیڈڈ صحافت غیر ایمبیڈڈ جرنلزم سے کس طرح مختلف ہے؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
3. دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ کی اطلاع دینے میں آپ نے کتنی آزادی محسوس کی؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
4. روایتی میڈیا آزاد صحافیوں کو دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ کی رپورٹنگ کے لیے کتنی آزادی دیتا ہے؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
5. کیا آپ ایمبیڈڈ جرنلزم یا آزاد (نان ایمبیڈڈ) صحافت سے دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ کی رپورٹنگ سے زیادہ متفق ہیں اور کیوں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
6. کیا آپ نے اپنے تجربے کے دوران سنسر شپ (فوجی محکمہ کی طرف سے) محسوس کی؟ اگر آپ سمجھتے ہیں، تو براہ کرم وضاحت کریں کہ اس نے آپ کے کام کو کس طرح شکل دی؟ اور اگر آپ نے سنسر شپ نہیں محسوس تو ایمبیڈڈ جرنلزم کو 'ان بیڈ' صحافت کیوں سمجھا جاتا ہے جس کا مطلب ہے کہ صحافی فوجیوں اور تنازعات کے بارے میں معاون اور مثبت انداز میں رپورٹنگ کرتے ہیں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
7. کیا آپ نے ایمبیڈڈ ہوتے ہوئے تنازعہ کی رپورٹنگ کے دوران سیلف سنسر شپ کا اطلاق کیا؟ اگر ہاں تو اس کی وجہ کیا ہے؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
8. کیا آپ کے خیال میں سنسر شپ یا سیلف سنسر شپ کا اطلاق جنگ کی رپورٹنگ کو کسی ایجنڈے یا پروپیگنڈے کی حمایت کرنے کی طرف لے جاتا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو پھر پاکستان میں دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ کا ایجنڈا یا پروپیگنڈہ کیا ہے؟
9. اور کیا آپ ایمبیڈڈ جرنلزم میں سنسر شپ اور سیلف سنسر شپ کے اطلاق سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں؟ اگر ہاں یا نہیں، تو کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
10. اور کیا آپ تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کے مجموعی منظر نامے میں سنسر شپ اور سیلف سنسر شپ کے اطلاق سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں؟ اگر ہاں یا نہیں، تو کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
11. ایک آزاد یا غیر ایمبیڈڈ صحافی ہونے کے ناطے کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ سیاسی اثر و رسوخ ایک محرک قوت ہے جو آپ کی تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو تشکیل دیتی ہے یا تشکیل دے سکتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو بتائیں کہ کیسے اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
12. ایک آزاد یا غیر ایمبیڈڈ صحافی ہونے کے ناطے کیا آپ محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ سماجی اثر و رسوخ ایک محرک قوت ہے جو آپ کی تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو تشکیل دیتی ہے یا تشکیل دے سکتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو بتائیں کہ کیسے اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
13. ایک آزاد یا غیر ایمبیڈڈ صحافی ہونے کے ناطے کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ معاشی اثر و رسوخ ایک محرک قوت ہے جو آپ کی تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو تشکیل دیتی ہے یا تشکیل دے سکتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو بتائیں کہ کیسے اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)

14. ایک آزاد یا غیر ایمبیڈڈ صحافی ہونے کے ناطے کیا آپ محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ تنظیمی اثر و رسوخ ایک محرک قوت ہے جو آپ کی تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو تشکیل دیتی ہے یا تشکیل دے سکتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو بتائیں کہ کیسے اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
15. ایک آزاد یا غیر ایمبیڈڈ صحافی ہونے کے ناطے کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ مذہبی اثر و رسوخ ایک محرک قوت ہے جو آپ کی تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو تشکیل دیتی ہے یا اسے تشکیل دے سکتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو بتائیں کہ کیسے اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
16. ایک آزاد یا غیر ایمبیڈڈ صحافی ہونے کے ناطے کیا آپ انفرادی اثر و رسوخ کو محسوس کرتے ہیں (جیسے کہ انفرادی اقدار، جنگ کے تئیں رویہ، اور پیشہ ورانہ اقدار اور اصول) وہ محرک قوت ہے جو آپ کی تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو تشکیل دیتی ہے یا تشکیل دے سکتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو بتائیں کہ کیسے اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
17. کیا ان قوتوں نے اب بھی آپ کے تنازعات کی رپورٹنگ کو متاثر کیا جب آپ ایمبیڈڈ ہو کر رپورٹنگ کر رہے تھے؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
18. کون سا میڈیا کلچر سنسنی خیز ہے (طالبان کی رپورٹنگ کی روشنی میں) ایمبیڈڈ یا کارپوریٹ (جسے روایتی میڈیا بھی کہا جاتا ہے)؟ بتائیں کیسے اور کیوں؟
19. کیا آپ اس بات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ سنسنی خیزی کا مطلب جنگ یا تنازعے کے بارے میں مسخ شدہ نظریہ ہے جس کا مطلب ہے میڈیا کی آزادی کا استحصال کیا جاتا ہے جو کسی حد تک سنسرشپ کا مطالبہ کرتا ہے؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
20. کیا آپ تنازعات پر سنسنی خیز رپورٹنگ سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں؟ اور کیوں؟

اضافی سوالات:

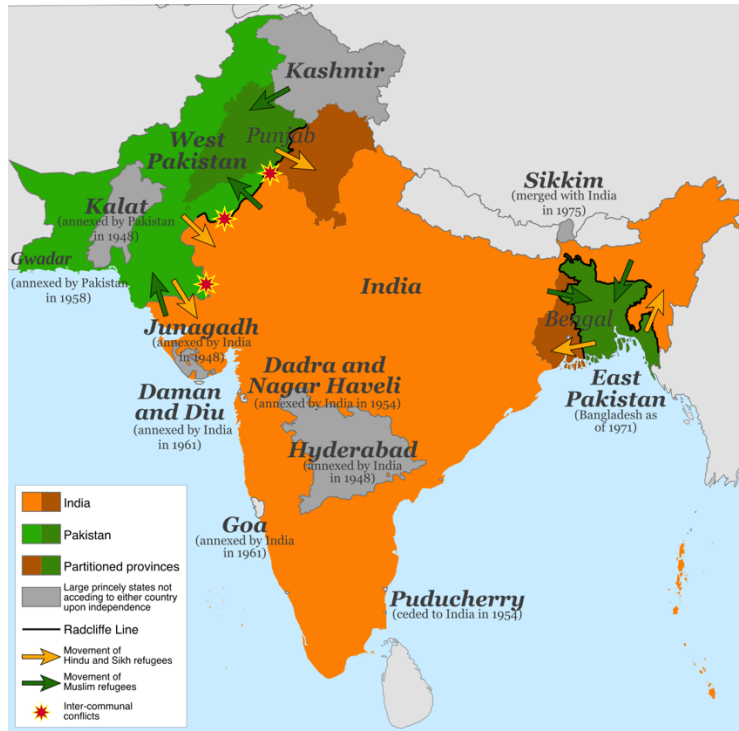
1. کیا آپ کے خیال میں فوج سے منسلک صحافی اپنی معروضیت کھو سکتے ہیں؟ (وہ رہتے ہیں، سوتے ہیں اور کھاتے ہیں اور اکثر فوجیوں کے ساتھ حالات کا مقابلہ کرتے ہیں۔) براہ کرم تفصیل سے بتائیں۔
2. پاکستان میں دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ کے بارے میں آپ کی رپورٹنگ کے دوران، آپ کی رپورٹس میں اصل میں کیا پایا گیا؟ مقصدیت یا حب الوطنی؟ یا دونوں؟ لیکن کس طرح؟
3. ایمبیڈ ہونے کی وجہ سے کیا آپ کو فوجیوں کے ساتھ دنوں یا ہفتوں تک رہنے کے نتیجے میں کوئی نفسیاتی تبدیلی آتی ہے؟ اور کیا یہ آپ کی رپورٹنگ کو متاثر کرتا ہے؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
4. ایمبیڈ ہونے کے بعد کیا آپ نے محسوس کیا کہ جنگی صحافت نے ان فوجیوں کے حوصلے پر کچھ اثر چھوڑا ہے جن کے ساتھ آپ شامل تھے؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
5. رپورٹنگ کرتے ہوئے آپ تنازعہ کے کس طرف زیادہ توجہ مرکوز کرنا چاہیں گے (جیسے کہ شہری ہلاکتیں، طالبان کی ہلاکتیں، حملہ آور علاقے، فوجی دستے، انسانی حقوق کی خلاف ورزیاں وغیرہ) اور کیوں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)

6. یہ خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ ایک ایمبیڈڈ صحافی جنگ کا ایک تنگ نظریہ پیش کرتا ہے، کیونکہ وہ فوجیوں کے ساتھ منسلک ہوتا ہے، اس کے نتیجے میں وہ جنگ کو مکمل نقطہ نظر سے نہیں دیکھ پاتا، آپ اس نکتے کی وضاحت کیسے کریں گے؟ آپ اپنے چینل/تنظیم کو ایک جامع رپورٹ کیسے فراہم کرتے ہیں؟ (براہ کرم (کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟
7. کیا آپ کو لگتا ہے کہ ایمبیڈڈ صحافی جنگ کو "فوجی لحاظ سے" دیکھتے ہیں اور اس کے نتیجے میں کہانی کے سب سے اہم سیاسی اور انسانی پہلو سے محروم رہتے ہیں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
8. جنگ کے دوران یہ بتانا ضروری ہے کہ ہم کیسے فائر کیا گیا لیکن یہ بتانا بھی ضروری ہے کہ ہم کہاں گرا تھا۔ کیا آپ اس بات سے اتفاق کرتے ہیں کہ ایمبیڈمنٹ میں اتنی سچائیوں کا فقدان ہے جو ایک آزاد صحافی ضرور فراہم کر سکتا ہے؟ یا ایمبیڈمنٹ پوری تصویر کا صرف ایک ٹکڑا فراہم کرتا ہے؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
9. ایمبیڈڈ جرنلزم کو جنگ کی "ترجہی سمجھ" کے طور پر سمجھا جاتا ہے، وہ تنازع کے دوسرے فریق کی نمائندگی اور صورت حال کا وسیع تجزیہ نہیں کرتے ہیں۔ کیا آپ اس بات سے متفق ہیں اور اگر نہیں تو اس حوالے سے آپ کا کیا نقطہ نظر ہے؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
10. پاکستانی ایمبیڈڈ پالیسی تنازعات والے علاقوں میں مزید متنوع اور ٹھوس رپورٹنگ میں کس طرح حصہ ڈال سکتی ہے؟ براہ کرم روشنی ڈالیں اور تجویز کریں۔

عام سوالات:

1. کیا آپ پاکستان میں آج صحافت کے بدلتے ہوئے طریقوں اور نظریوں کو محسوس کرتے ہیں؟
2. پاکستانی معاشرے میں صحافی کے کردار خاص طور پر دہشت گردی کے خلاف جنگ اور ملک میں مجموعی سیاسی عدم استحکام کے دوران کیا ہیں؟ (براہ کرم کوئی مثال یا تجربہ بھی شیئر کریں؟)
3. صحافی کے ذاتی اقدار کیا ہیں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
4. کیا صحافیوں کی ذاتی اقدار صحافت کی پیشہ ورانہ اقدار سے منسلک ہیں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
5. ملک میں معیاری صحافت میں کون سے چیلنجز رکاوٹ ہیں؟ وضاحت کریں۔
6. میڈیا کو ریاست کا چوتھا ستون سمجھا جاتا ہے، آپ معاشرے میں صحافت کی مجموعی حیثیت کو کیسے دیکھتے ہیں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔
7. آپ پاکستان میں صحافت کے مستقبل کا تصور کیسے کرتے ہیں؟ براہ کرم تفصیل سے بیان فرمائیں۔

MAP I



MAP II



MAP III



CV



Sidra Agha

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WhatsApp Messenger: +923240292349

Other: 1089 Budapest (Hungary)

ABOUT ME

Dynamic lecturer with 7 years of successful teaching and research experience in Social Sciences, specializing in qualitative research. Dedicated to ensuring individual student success through comprehensive understanding and supportive counselling. Organized and dependable, excelling at managing multiple priorities with a positive attitude, creating an engaging atmosphere. Proficient across diverse domains including Public Relations, Public Administration, Academic Administration, and Human Resource Management, actively demonstrating a commitment to lifelong learning. Known for a great personable demeanour and strong work ethic.

WORK EXPERIENCE

Lecturer Media & Communication Studies

SMI University [16 Jan 2017 – Current]

City: Karachi | Country: Pakistan

- Supervised group of 12 students- BS Thesis- Media & Communication Studies
- Taught 4 courses per semester with a total of 250 BS & MS students in each semester
- To aid in the learning process and enhance presentations, utilized several learning modalities and support materials
- Evaluated lesson plans and course content to prioritize student-centered learning
- Collaborated with faculty and staff to create meaningful educational experiences, and to stay updated on current developments in subjects
- Designed and implemented various academic and extra-curricular activities such as conferences and Arts & Ideas events
- Mentored and guided students by providing study and career advice, as well as potential opportunities within their chosen field

Student advisor

SMI University [16 Jan 2017 – Current]

City: Karachi | Country: Pakistan

- Advised 20 students in each semester individually and in groups on academic programs for individual interests
- Collaborated with parents, school faculty and social workers to address challenges and grow student success
- Delivered supportive counselling to all students with career-related and personal concerns

Academic Coordinator

SMI University [1 Jan 2019 – 1 Jan 2020]

City: Karachi | Country: Pakistan

Promoted program courses, activities and accomplishments, both internally and

externally
Planned and initiated new courses in the BS/MS/PhD curriculum
Coordinated and supervised academic and extracurricular activities
Mentored students with academic problems and made professional recommendations

Content Writer

URSA Magazine [1 Jan 2015 – 31 May 2015]

City: Islamabad | Country: Pakistan

- Utilized exceptional writing, editing, and proofreading skills to produce engaging and error-free content
- Worked alongside team members to brainstorm ideas for topics
- Conducted thorough research and wrote news stories, articles and reviews

Public relations specialist

AusWorld Int Education Agency Australia [31 Jan 2012 – 30 Jan 2014]

City: Islamabad | Country: Pakistan

- Conducted market and public opinion research related to the company's reputation and positioning among key stakeholder audiences
- Defined overall organizational vision, strategies and tactics
- Coordinated with prospective students and provided education counselling

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Ph.D Public Administration Sciences

University of Public Service Ludovika [31 Aug 2020 – 31 Aug 2024]

City: Budapest | Country: Hungary | Website: <https://www.uni-nke.hu/> | Field(s) of study: Faculty of Governance Studies ; European and International Studies | Final grade: Excellent

Excellent: CGPA 5/5

- Received Stipendium Hungaricum Scholarship 2020-24
- Continuing research work on Embedded Journalism reporting on the Pakistani war against terrorism 2022-24

Master of Science Media Studies

Riphah International University Islamabad [1 Sep 2014 – 31 Dec 2016]

City: Islamabad | Country: Pakistan | Field(s) of study: Social sciences, journalism and information:

- Journalism and reporting | Final grade: 3.8

CGPA: 3.8

- Received Talent Scholarship
- Awarded 4/4 GPA for pioneering research work on Embedded Journalism in Pakistan

MSC Mass Communication

National University of Modern Languages [31 Jul 2011 – 31 Jul 2013]

City: Islamabad | Country: Pakistan | Field(s) of study: Social sciences, journalism and information | Final grade: 78%

- Completed professional development in Public Relations & Advertising scoring 87%
- Received NUML Merit Scholarship
- Awarded Gold Medal by the President of Pakistan in 2015

Bachelor of Arts Social Sciences

Shah Abdul Latif University [1 Jan 2009 – 31 Aug 2011]

City: Khairpur | Country: Pakistan | Field(s) of study: Arts and humanities : • Arts and humanities not further defined | Final grade: First Class

- First Class

CERTIFICATIONS

[2023 – 2024]

HRCI Human Resource Associate Professional Certificate

- Effectively recruit, select, and onboard new employees
- Develop and implement employee policies and procedures that align with organizational goals
- Foster a positive work culture and employee engagement
- Understand and navigate legal and ethical considerations in Human Resources

[2023 – 2024]

Human Resource Management: HR for People Managers Specialization by University of Minnesota

- Managing human resources and appreciating the diversity of factors that motivate workers
- Applying best practices for hiring and rewarding employees, and for managing employee performance
- Avoiding key mistakes in (mis)managing human resources

[2023 – 2023]

Teaching EFL/ESL Reading: A Task Based Approach by University of London & UCL Institute of Education

- Teaching reading skills in English as a Second and Foreign Language (ESL/EFL) using a task-based approach
- Creating task-based materials for teaching reading in a language-teaching context

[2023 – 2023]

Foundations of Teaching for Learning Specialization by Common Wealth Education Trust

- Professional Knowledge and Understanding of Teaching
- Professional Practice of Teaching
- Professional Values, Relationships and Engagement of Teaching

[2023 – 2024]

Home Based Child Care Specialization by State University of New York

- Ability to develop and operate a home-based childcare centre

[2 May 2018 – 4 May 2018]

Three Days Orientation Programme for Newly Established ORIC Personnel

For newly established Oric at different universities, HEC in collaboration with NUST arranged sessions.

[24 Apr 2017 – 28 Apr 2017]

English for Academic Purposes

Completed training, under Transforming English Language Skills TELS arranged by Learning Innovation Division: Higher Education Commission Pakistan.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Mother tongue(s): Urdu | Sindhi

Other language(s):

English

LISTENING C2 READING C2 WRITING C2

SPOKEN PRODUCTION C2 SPOKEN INTERACTION C2

Italian

LISTENING B1 READING B1 WRITING B1

SPOKEN PRODUCTION B1 SPOKEN INTERACTION B1

Turkish

LISTENING B1 READING B1 WRITING B1

SPOKEN PRODUCTION B1 SPOKEN INTERACTION B1

Levels: A1 and A2: Basic user; B1 and B2: Independent user; C1 and C2: Proficient user

DIGITAL SKILLS

Microsoft Office / Customer Case Management Tools / VBA/ Power BI / SAP/ORACLE HRM / Teaching tools

HONOURS AND AWARDS

Achievements

- Gold Medal
- Being a young female scholar from a small city in Pakistan, I am proud to have worked on the Taliban conflict and the War Against Terrorism in my country. In 2016, I conducted pioneering research on Embedded Journalism in Pakistan, which was a significant accomplishment for me. I was honoured to receive a cash prize for publishing a research paper on this topic.
- 1st prize (IBA Programming Workshop 2008)
- 2nd prize (IBA Writing Competition 2008)
- Earned 1st and 3rd prizes in Sindh Athletes Championship (2005-2006)

ORGANISATIONAL SKILLS

Core Qualifications

- Public relations Public administration
- Academic Administration Academic research
- Event management Human Resource
- Educational consultancy Student self-assessment
- Curriculum development Classroom management
- Student evaluation Student Counselling
- Online teaching tools Creativity & Idea Development
- Teaching ESL/EFL Elementary Teaching

PUBLICATIONS

[2022]

No difference between journalism and suicide': Challenges for journalists covering conflict in Balochistan. Media, War & Conflict

[2022]

POLICY OF PAKISTANI TV CHANNELS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE JOURNALISTS

Pakistan Journal of International Affairs, 5(2).

[2022]

CONFLICTS IN PAKISTAN–THE NEED FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE

Agha, S. (2022). CONFLICTS IN PAKISTAN–THE NEED FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE. Revista Romana de Sociologie.

[2022]

A Historical Perspective of the Constitution Making of Pakistan

CENTRAL EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW 23 : 87 pp. 117-134. , 18 p.

[2021]

Media promoting brand culture: Audience preference and perception (A case study of Asian society)= A márkakultúrát népszerűsítő média: A közönség preferenciája és érzékelése (Esettanulmány az ázsiai társadalomról)

[2021]

Measuring Freedom of Expression in Pakistan: Challenges to Citizens Security

[2021]

Negative Impact of Unsupervised Exposure to the Digital World: Is Your Child Living a Digital Life? (A Case Study of Asian Countries)

[2017]

Reporting Taliban Conflict: Analysis of Pakistani Journalists' Attitude Towards National Security

[2021]

Socio-Economic situation during pandemic: Role of government in Pakistan Epidemics: an interdisciplinary analysis- III International Seminar on Social Vulnerabilities and Health, 2021

[2021]

Exploring the benefits and challenges of Digital Technology in the Higher Education IX International scientific and practical conference readings «BUSINESS. SCIENCE. EDUCATION.

[2020]

Impact of TV Dramas on Housewives: A Case Study of Asian Society IX. Interdisciplinary Doctoral Conference 2020: 9th Interdisciplinary Doctoral Conference 2020

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

[10 Apr 2021] Hungary

Journalistic objectivity in Pakistan: Military and Talibanization- Critical Rethinking of Public Administration - Doctoral Conference

Link: https://ludevent.uni-nke.hu/event/1756/attachments/370/714/Book_of_abstracts_CROPA2021.pdf

[22 Jan 2021] Budapest

The approach of information culture in new media: The game of viewership and ratings- KOMMentÁR- Fialat Kommunikációkutatók Találkozója/KOMMentÁR – Young Researchers' Meeting

Link: https://www.dosz.hu/_doc/to_dok/111/1611224200.pdf

[27 Feb 2021 – 28 Feb 2021] India

Social Media Importance and Applications: Lessons learnt from pandemic situation/ International Management Conference on Reinventing the future of work and business: Challenges, Opportunities and Path Ahead

[7 May 2021] Hungary

Pandemic Vulnerabilities in Pakistan- Europe on a New Route: Legal and Social Consequences of the Covid-19 Pandemic and Brexit Write here the description...

VOLUNTEERING

Pakistan

Parliamentary Debate Youth Parliament: Voice of the next generation Participated as a volunteer in the Young Leaders Parliamentary Debate held on 10-12 November 2018.

Pakistan

TCF Summer Camp -The Citizens Foundation Participated in 'Let's Educate Pakistan' in July 2017 completing 60 hours of voluntary work. The main purpose was to subsidize quality education.

Pakistan

National Volunteer Program NVP- Tripple Bottom Line Participated as a volunteer with Robin Hood Army- Food distribution. it was 8 weeks of volunteer service.

3rd Hopes Health Expo Hopes Volunteered in the project of 'Lifeline for poor'.

Pakistan

Safe Charity Awareness Campaign BARGAD Organization for Youth Development Volunteered as a Peace Keeper.

BREAST CANCER SYMPOSIUM Participated as a volunteer on 2-4th November 2018 at Shaukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital And Research Centre.

Pakistan

Blood Donation Drive Husaini Haematology and Oncology Trust Arranging and assisting blood donation drives for Husaini Thalassaemia Centre from 15th October to 21st November 2018.

Pakistan

STREET CHILDREN CENTRES SPARC It was a voluntary period of 8 weeks from July to August 2018. Different projects were launched to promote and protect the children's rights while empowering them.

PRCS Youth and Volunteer Program Pakistan Red Crescent Society Served the PRCS Sindh branch in 2017 to promote road safety, tree plantation activities, first aid training, cleanliness drives, etc, participating in more than 35 activities.