



Framing of Operation Zarb-e-Azb in English Dailies of Pakistan

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Abstract

This research explores the coverage of the military Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) during the period from June 2014 to June 2016 by three prominent Pakistani English Dailies; the News, Dawn, and The Nation. A consensus sampling technique was applied to analyze the framing of OZA in 807 editorials of three dailies during the selected period. The Chi Square tests observed the significant variation in the publication of editorial about OZA in these dailies. The research reconnoiters positive attitude of foreign countries towards Pakistan during military Operation Zarb-e-Azb and enhancement of security situation after this operation in the country. The research endorses that local dailies created a positive picture of the nation domestically on OZA.

Keywords: Newspapers editorial; Framing; Operation Zarb-e-Azb; Security

Introduction

A variety of counter-terrorism operations have been launched by Pakistan Army which helped to initiate and collaborate with the United States in the War on Terror. Though, country recognized the radical Islamist groups in the past, it was difficult for Pakistan to differentiate between "good" and "bad" [1]. In Pakistan, extremism has drawn significant local and foreign concerns since the war of terror. Subsequently, these concerns are also highlighted by local and foreign media. The significant research has been carried out primarily on the reasons of militant violence and extremism in Pakistan [2-6].

In a report, Nabi [7] given a short overview of all army's insurgent activities in an attempt to counter terrorist activities in Pakistan. The following is the compilation of: (1) Operation Al-Mizan (2002-2006), (2) Operation Rah-e-Haq (2007), (3) Operation Sher-e-Dil (2008), (4) Operation Zalzal (2008-2009), (5) Operation Sirat-e-Mustaqeem (2008), (6) Operation Rah-e-Rast (2009), (7) Operation Rah-e-Nijaat (2009), (8) Operation

Koh-e-Sufaid (2011), (9) Operation Zarb-e-Azb (2014), and (10) Operation Rad-ul-Fasad (2017).

Of all operations, though, the Zarb-e-Azb (G. S. Afzal, personal communication, March 25, 2018) is the most successful operation. In this sense, the current study seeks to establish empirical analysis that surpasses traditional methods and examines Pakistan's position in international scenario and security situation in the war on terror in relation to Operation Zarb-e-Azb. The purpose of the research is to explore the role of Pakistan's English dailies in war against terrorism with respect to Operation Zarb-e-Azb. This research also aims to determine how media construct truth in their editorials in relation to OZA. Through its media content, newspapers report terrorist activities.

Galtung and Fischer [8] claim that the media is on the bottom line when reporting topics such as conflicts and wars, a path leading directly to war coverage, by overestimating and growing the crisis. Galtung contributes to this argument by suggesting that an alternate highway negates the idea of war journalism and aims to address the problem of peace by neutralizing and raising the question that leads to peace journalism.

In Pakistan, where Taliban has been provided time and space in not only Pakistani media, but also the world's media outlets, it is important that the media coverage of this war against terrorism is studied over time, to understand how Pakistani media portrayed this fight against terrorism, against Taliban and showed Pakistan's armed forces.

The newspaper editorials, columns and opinions are review in past studies [9-14]. The present research focuses on newspaper editorials whose significance is recognized by the fact that they reflect public thought and the point of view [15]. Vermeer [16] claims that "a newspaper publication house presents its subscribers with a medium for reading the news of the day that is not treated easily by the task editors" (p. 5).

The media has strongly integrated the picture of country into the foreign world, as a country is considered to be the key entity for analysis by the media, a picture operative in shaping a public understanding [17]. The present research explores the answers of following research questions; RQ1: in what measure, Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) was reported by

newspapers (The News, Dawn and The Nation) in Pakistan from 2014 to 2016? RQ2: Through how much of an Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) was important to newspapers (The News, Dawn, and the Nation) through Pakistan? RQ3: How did the newspapers of this particular Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) in Pakistan focus on, or diverge civil military relations?

While answering the research questions, following hypotheses are tested to predict empirical grounds under OZA;

H1: Pakistan's English dailies (i.e. The News, Dawn & The Nation) gave significantly positive coverage to the support of foreign countries regarding military Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA).

H2: The coverage of Pakistan's English dailies (i.e. The News, Dawn & The Nation) demonstrated that Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) a successful military operation.

H3: Pakistan's English dailies (i.e. The News, Dawn & The Nation) took a positive stance regarding improved security environment in as the result of military Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA).

Alina [18] said that the Pakistani military and the government had a good mindset in uniting themselves with the military on one side. During Operation Zarb-e-Azb, the ISPR's daily Press communiqué (Army source) illustrated cooperation between the government and armed powers. The findings have stated that, assisted by the country and government and by the media in Operation Zarb-e-Azb, is effective in creating popular confidence for the purposes of operations by stressing the performance of Pakistan's armed forces in terrorist elimination.

Waal and Schoenbach [19] consider that print media are better and more credible in increasing public consciousness. Aisha [20] has shown that Zarb-e-Azb's performance is complicated, but it helps combat terrorism. It's shown in earlier days as a successful military plan to locate secret jihadists along with the assault by the insurgents and restore stability to the entire country.

The theoretical and methodological effect of antiterrorism operations on Pakistan's economic development was examined by Mubashra (2018). Data was obtained between 1980 and 2015. Within the analysis the importance of counter-terrorism performance is measured using the "negative binomial regression model". The findings show that Operation Zarb-e-Azb boosts Pakistan's economic development [21].

In his analytical research on successful counter-insurgency strategies in Pakistan, Rehman et al. [22] concluded that Zarb-e-Azb and the National Action Plan have identified a clear disintegration of a terrorist structure and the waning of terrorism. The research discusses the three effects of "breakdown," "deterioration," and "retaliation" of counter-terrorism approaches. The findings are rendered using the "negative binomial regression model." The findings have showed the need for robust political cooperation for military actions as a realistic counter-terrorism strategy. The PM from Pakistan and political parties, however, have endorsed and favored the operation, according to the International Crisis

Group [23]. The author has also claimed that Zarb-e-Azb has not achieved its target entirely, according to Syed (2016), the military also wants another "Combat Operation".

The portrayal of the Pakistan army in Western media was examined by Ali and Wazir [24]. And it has observed that in both newspapers before and after the launch of Operation Zarb-e-Azb, the image of the Pakistan army has stayed negative. Zahra [25] also reported that Pakistan's air force was formed in order to support the U.S. combat terrorist violence, enabling it to escalate aerial strikes at terrorist hideouts. But, Shaikat [26] claims that, in its clear context, Zarb-e-Azb's achievements are welcomed worldwide. Umbreen [27] revealed that terrorist surges in North Waziristan Area occurred following the Rah-e-Nijat operation in South Waziristan Region, and the Rah-e-Rast operation by the Pakistani military in Swat Valley in 2009. Militant violence must also be eliminated if Pakistan's army is to agree to carry out a full-scale operation. And it continued to advance and combat extremism after one year of Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

The key aim of the current study is to know more about the role played by media reporting and the effect of Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) in Pakistan's major English newspapers during the war against terror. Therefore, this research helps to explain the facts; did the media play a part in strengthening the image of Pakistan with the foreign community by reporting the OZA? In the sense of the case, what agenda did newspapers adopt? Mekasha [28] claims, though, that despite international disputes, domestic media policy still creates a good picture of the nation domestically. Framing is used technically, as several findings say that "framing" and "mediate framing" are already recognized as filed in mass communication [29].

This is an appropriate medium of analysis to investigate whether the Operation Zarb-e-Azb of their editorials portrayed a war on terrorism, primarily because theory is, "to pick" some facets of a perceived fact "to view," "to portray," and "to share" it with an audience [30], and how it is interpreted as a framing. It is a method that stresses a variety of facets of the modern world and its certain traits of constructing this Hierarchy of Importance with relation to what is essential and what is necessary to render outlines [31]. The press reporting of popular movements diverging from societal standards condemned such movements' leaders and opposed their proposals and behavior. This is also the opinion of Gitlin [32], which is to encourage the particular reaction of the audience with whom the material is used by news media to pick and remove framing. Nonetheless, the respondents do not claim that they are responding to whether journalists form their reports as clearly as they depend on them [33].

Usually a framing influence is called the impact of a context of conversation on individuals [34]. Goffman [35] explains the position of the structures of "media contexts" for news and mass communication that help citizens grasp what happens (p. 22). The frames discussed by William, et al. [36] are essentially the buildings of facts resulting from journalists' decisions about information obtained. Frames reflect the sense in which

news is published and we assume they can be interpreted in the same way as literary documents (p.8).

The editorial framing is largely affected by media outlets' policies / ideologies. As suggested by Van Dijk [37], "ideologies represent the basic requirements that are the social identification and the priorities of a community" (p. 25). The editorial writers therefore pick, evaluate and explain details to promote a particular explanation or casual interpretation, truthful appraisal or relation to the given story that gives the organization's policies [37]. In terms of his theory and vision of the organization, a writer will contend. Saleem [38] claimed that media frameworks are the instruments which expose a specific problem in media editorials' 'language,' 'stance' and 'headings.' The key features of the principle of framing, therefore, demonstrate the importance of the current research.

Methods

The content analysis of the newspaper (The News, Sunrise, the Nation) was carried out from June 2014 to June 2016 with the application of a consensus sampling technique, which observed the launch of Operation Zarb-e-Azb in Pakistan. The total number of editorials examined was 807, 'The News' (170), 'Dawn' (231) and 'The Nation' (406). The material has been contained in the electronic versions of the relevant newspapers. One full editorial was the empirical unit. The study centered on terms in which definitions for current research were made usable. Both the OZA-related editorials either clarified the factors or discussed and the problems resulting in OZA.

The major categories were civil military relationships, world stance, military operation, and outcome analysis. These categories are further divided into minor categories (Table 1).

Table 1: Directions of coverage.

| Highly Positive | Positive | Neutral | Negative | Highly Negative |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| Media coverage in editorials portraying highly favorable and highly positive image of OZA. For instance, Pakistan is, both by statistical and psychological yardsticks, significantly more stable and calmer than it was before Operation Zarb-i-Azb ("The Operation Two", 2016). | Editorials portraying positive image of operation Zarb-e-Azb. For instance, 'This operation has the potential be the beginning of the end for militancy in the tribal areas' ("Doing Their Job", 2014). | Editorials that leave indistinct image, just the statements or half positive and half negative will be considered in neutral category related to OZA. For instance, "The new revenue measures were required, he said, because of additional costs from Operation Zarb-i-Azb" ("Unforeseen revenue", 2015). | Editorials portraying unfavorable image of OZA. For instance, "No deadlines have been given for the completion of the ongoing military operations in North Waziristan, Khyber Agency and other parts of FATA" ("Forgetting the IDPs", 2015). | Editorials portraying highly unfavorable image of OZA. For instance, "while the persons displaced by Operation Zarb-i-Azb have been given cash by the state, other arrangements have been found wanting. As the tribesmen look for answers, both the government and the military seemingly have bigger fish to fry" ("No answers for", 2014). |

Highly negative, negative, neutral, positive, highly positive are the direction of aforementioned categories. Words and tone are used for analyzing the directions of categories (i.e. so-called, indeed, highly significant etc.) (Table 2).

Table 2: List of frames.

| | |
|----|---|
| 1. | <p>Civil Military Relationship: Editorials depicting relationship among civil and military leadership. This major category is further divided in to following minor categories:</p> <p>Government stance: Editorials showing government support and contradiction regarding the operation. For instance, 'With Operation Zarb-e-Azb ongoing..... normally seen as an important morale boost in the rest of the world' ("Nawaz Sharif in", 2014).</p> <p>Military Stance: Editorials in which military stance (i.e. efforts, support etc.). For instance, 'The valiant efforts of our soldiers are certainly not restricted to the battlefield.... Our heroes' ("Changing Perceptions", 2014).</p> <p>Alliance between civil and military leadership: Editorials that shows any kind of relationship between govt and military either positive or negative. For instance, 'The civil-military cooperation..... does not seem as cooperative as it once was' ("All Talk", 2016).</p> |
| 2. | <p>Military Operation: Editorials related to the theme of internally displaced persons (IDPs), Military courts, political parties' stance, strategic position, drone attacks and national action plan (NAP). This major category is further divided in to following minor categories:</p> <p>Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs): 'Editorials showing coverage related to IDPs, issues, challenges they had face, govt and military steps towards IDPs, solutions, effects etc. For instance, "The new revenue measures were required... of internally displaced persons due to military operations" ("Unforeseen revenue", 2015).</p> <p>National Action Plan (NAP): Editorials covering issues related to NAP, its implementation, success analysis, views, progress and failure. For instance, 'The National Action Plan ... setting up of specialized counter-terrorism forces within the police' ("Police Under Attack", 2016).</p> <p>Strategic Position: Editorials that reflects the mindsets, inclination and ideologies used for depicting both the sides' army and the terrorists regarding military operation, war against terrorism and terrorism. For instance, 'By seeking to mainstream rabid ideologies..... on the one side the armed militants who refuse to give up violence; Political militant handed a ticket to mainstream society and politics' ("Dangerous possibilities", 2014).</p> <p>Drone Attacks: Editorials related to the coverage of drone attacks. For instance, 'US drone strikes.... popping balloons at a child's birthday party' ("The Return of", 2014).</p> <p>Military Courts: Editorials covering the issue of military courts. For instance, 'Yes, we need a coherent strategy to fight militancy.... But military courts are not the answer' ("A sad day", 2015).</p> |

| | |
|----|--|
| | Political Parties Stance (PPS): Editorials depicting PPS (i.e. opinion, statement, suggestion, viewpoint, issue). For instance, 'Meanwhile, parties such as the PPP and ANP, which supported a military operation..... deafening political silence on North Waziristan' ("The forgotten war", 2015). |
| 3. | <p>World Stance: Editorials depicting foreign relations during and after operation Zarb-e-Azb (i.e. statements, reflecting stance, viewpoint, kind of interest, development projects etc.). This major category is further divided in to following minor categories:</p> <p>Indian Stance: Editorials depicting agreement, issues, disagreement and support between the two countries. For instance: "Pakistan is sticking to its conciliatory tone. In contrast, the Modi government's language is aggressive and provocative" ("Changing Times", 2014).</p> <p>Afghanistan Stance: Editorials depicting agreement, disagreement and support between the two countries. For instance, 'With the two countries in negotiations to sign a Preferential Trade Agreement' ("Joint prosperity", 2015).</p> <p>China Stance: Editorials showing agreement, disagreement, reduction in terrorism, peace talk, solidarity, development, interest etc. For instance, "China offers Pakistan a \$46 billion investment in energy and infrastructure" ("Best friends forever", 2015).</p> <p>US Stance: Editorials depicting agreement, disagreement and support on any issue. For instance, 'Time and again, the US has linked the terrorism issue to Pakistan' ("Meeting with Obama", 2015).</p> <p>Western Countries Stance: Editorials related to western countries stance. For instance 'The Sri Lankan premier has welcomed Pakistani investment' (Pak-Sri Lankan", 2015).</p> <p>Muslims Countries Stance: All those editorials covering Muslim countries stance regarding Pakistan during and after operation. For instance, 'The Turkish premier brings with him a heavy.... investors, who will participate in the Pakistan Turkey Business Forum' ("Turkish Prime Minister", 2015).</p> |
| 4. | <p>Outcome Analysis: Editorials related to after effects of Zarb-e-Azb. This major category is further divided in to following minor categories:</p> <p>Successful Operation: Editorials showing success and failure of operation zarf-e-as. For instance, 'It is now widely acknowledged that the shrinking space for militants in Fata' ("Host drone strike", 2015).</p> <p>Enhanced Security Situation: Editorials showing media coverage related to some characteristics towards enhancing and declining in security situation. For instance, 'Badaber area and arrive undetected at the entrance to the PAF camp is a security failure of some degree' ("Badaber attack", 2015).</p> <p>Safety of a nation against terrorism: Editorials related to enhancing and declining terrorism in Pakistan. For instance, "As time passed... one wants to believe that the situation, though difficult, is under control" ("Dangerous Frontiers", 2014).</p> <p>Admire Pakistan Army: Editorials showing characteristics constructive and productive role, sincerely admit, acknowledge Pakistan's army. For instance, "In Operation Zarb-i-Azb alone, several hundred soldiers are believed to have laid down their lives... they have been and continue to be Pakistan's heroes" ("Fifty years on", 2015).</p> |

All editorials were analyzed by utilizing a chi-square computerized statistical module (SPSS) that permitted experimenter manipulation of the expected frequencies. Intercoder reliability (Cohen's Kappa) was attained as follows: 'Civil Military relationship' (Govt. Stance, .85; Military Stance, .77; Alliance between civil military relationship, .77); 'Military Operation' (Strategic Position, .73; NAP, .85; IDPs, 1.0; Military Court, .90; Political Parties Stance, .88; Drone Attacks, .88); 'World Stance' (Indian Stance, .83; Afghanistan Stance, .82; China Stance, .82; US Stance, .95; Muslims Countries Stance, .87; Western Countries Stance, .91); 'Outcome Analysis' (Safety of a nation against terrorism, 1.0; Enhanced security situation, 1.0; Successful Operation, .82; Admire Pakistan Army, .85).

Findings and Discussions

Table 3 indicated that The News presented highly positive 2 (15.4%) and neutral 5 (38.5%) coverage regarding Civil Military Relationship as compared to other newspapers. Dawn had more negative 12 (44.4%) as compared to The News in covering Civil Military Relationship. However, The Nation gave highly negative 14(19.4%) and negative 38 (52.8%) coverage to Civil Military Relationship depicting the negative attitude of military and government regarding military Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

To differentiate between negative and positive coverage all newspapers produced highly negative and negative coverage to Civil Military Relationship; The News, Highly Negative: 1 (7.7%), Negative: 2 (15.4%); Dawn, Highly Negative: 4 (14.8%), Negative: 12 (44.4%); The Nation, Highly Negative: 14 (19.4%),

Negative: 38 (52.8%). Hence, all newspapers were more negative towards Civil Military Relationship. Overall, The Nation 72 (100) gave more coverage to civil military relationship as compared to other newspapers. The findings showed significant variation in editorials of three newspapers highlighting Civil Military Relationship. The Nation gave negative coverage to Civil Military Relationship as compared to Dawn and The News, $\chi^2 (1, N=807)=13.480, p<0.024$.

Table 3 also indicated that The Nation gave mostly neutral 36 (44.4%) coverage to issues during OZA (i.e. drone attacks, NAP, IDPs, Military courts etc.) as compared to other newspapers. Findings indicated that all the newspapers gave highly negative 15 (7.4%) and negative 81 (39.9%) coverage to issues related with Operation Zarb-e-Azb. Overall, The Nation 81 (100%) gave more coverage to issues related to military operation as compared to other newspapers. The findings approved the significant variation, $\chi^2 (1, N=807)=8.837, p<0.006$.

Likewise, **Table 3** indicated that The News, Dawn and The Nation published mostly positive editorials 63 (32.8%) to world stance which showed the positive attitude of foreign countries towards Pakistan during military Operation Zarb-e-Azb. The Nation 38 (33.9%) and Dawn 16 (30.8%) gave positive coverage as compared to The News 9 (32.1%). Overall, The Nation 112 (100%) gave more coverage to world stance as compared to other newspapers. The findings approved significant variation in the publication of editorials in The Nation, Dawn and The News policy showed positive inclination towards world stance, $\chi^2 (1, N=807)=27.921, p<0.000$. The findings of research strongly approve the research hypothesis, H1: Pakistan's English dailies (i.e. The News, Dawn & The Nation) gave

significantly positive coverage to the support of foreign countries regarding military Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA).

Table 3: Cross Tabulation of The News, Dawn and The Nation, within major categories regarding Print's Media Coverage of Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

| Major Category | Newspaper | Directions of Coverage | | | | | Total |
|------------------|------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | Highly Negative | Negative | Neutral | Positive | Highly Positive | |
| CMR ^a | The News | 1 (7.7) | 2 (15.4) | 5 (38.5) | 3 (23.1) | 2 (15.4) | 13 (100) |
| | Dawn | 4 (14.8) | 12 (44.4) | 6 (22.2) | 3 (11.1) | 2 (7.4) | 27 (100) |
| | The Nation | 14 (19.4) | 38 (52.8) | 9 (12.5) | 9 (12.5) | 2 (2.8) | 72 (100) |
| | Total | 19 (17.0) | 52 (46.4) | 20 (17.9) | 15 (13.4) | 6 (5.4) | 112 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 71 (63.3) | | 20 (17.9) | 21 (18.8) | | 112 (100) |
| Mo ^b | The News | 3 (5.5) | 23 (41.8) | 20 (36.4) | 6 (10.9) | 3 (5.5) | 55 (100) |
| | Dawn | 7 (10.4) | 29 (43.3) | 17 (25.4) | 12 (17.9) | 2 (3.0) | 67 (100) |
| | The Nation | 5 (6.2) | 29 (35.8) | 36 (44.4) | 10 (12.3) | 1 (1.2) | 81 (100) |
| | Total | 15 (7.4) | 81 (39.9) | 73 (36.0) | 28 (13.8) | 6 (3.0) | 203 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 96 (47.2) | | 73 (36.0) | 34 (16.8) | | 203 (100) |
| WS ^c | The News | 0 (0.0) | 4 (14.3) | 7 (25.0) | 9 (32.1) | 8 (28.6) | 28 (100) |
| | Dawn | 1 (1.9) | 6 (11.5) | 23 (44.2) | 16 (30.8) | 6 (11.5) | 52 (100) |
| | The Nation | 6 (5.4) | 27 (24.1) | 39 (34.8) | 38 (33.9) | 2 (1.8) | 112 (100) |
| | Total | 7 (3.6) | 37 (19.3) | 69 (35.9) | 63 (32.8) | 16 (8.3) | 192 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 44 (22.9) | | 69 (35.9) | 79 (41.2) | | 192 (100) |
| OA ^d | The News | 11 (14.9) | 18 (24.3) | 19 (25.7) | 20 (27.0) | 6 (8.1) | 74 (100) |
| | Dawn | 3 (3.5) | 21 (24.7) | 23 (27.1) | 24 (28.2) | 14 (16.5) | 85 (100) |
| | The Nation | 6 (4.3) | 27 (19.1) | 51 (36.2) | 41 (29.1) | 16 (11.3) | 141 (100) |
| | Total | 20 (6.7) | 66 (22.0) | 93 (31) | 85 (28.3) | 36 (12.0) | 300 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 86 (28.7) | | 93 (31) | 121 (40.3) | | 300 (100) |

^a χ^2 (1, N=807)=13.480, p<0.024 (CMR); ^b χ^2 (1, N=807)=8.837, p<0.006 (MO); ^c χ^2 (1, N=807)=27.921, p<0.000 (WS); ^d χ^2 (1, N=807)=15.721, p<0.042 (OA). Note: CMR: Civil Military Relationship, MO: Military Operation, WS: World Stance, OA: Outcome Analysis. Values in bracket show percentages.

Table 3 also indicated that all the newspapers published the most editorials for outcome analysis 300 of Operation Zarb-e-Azb as compared to other categories (i.e. World Stance 192, Military Operation, 203 and Civil Military Relationship, 112)). To differentiate between positive and negative coverage given to outcome analysis all the newspapers mostly gave positive coverage 85 (28.3%) and highly positive coverage 36 (12.0%) to success of Operation Zarb-e-Azb. Likewise, the results also showed that The Nation gave more neutral 51 (36.2%) coverage to outcome analysis as compared to Dawn 23 (27.1%) and The News 19 (25.7%). However, The News showed highly negative 11 (14.9%) and negative 18 (24.3%) coverage to outcome analysis as compared to Dawn and The Nation. Overall, The Nation published more editorials 141 of outcome analysis of Zarb-e-Azb as compared to other newspapers. From the results it should be noted that all the selected newspapers significantly highlighted by giving more coverage to outcomes of Operation Zarb-e-Azb. The findings approved the significant

variation in the publication of editorials took stance on outcome analysis, χ^2 (1, N=807)=15.721, p<0.042.

Table 4 showed that all three newspapers gave mostly positive 30 (35.7%) and highly positive 12 (14.3%) coverage to the success of the operation. Total 42 editorials had been published in positive direction as compared to negative, 20. Overall, The Nation (44) gave more coverage to the success of operation as compared to Dawn (23) and The News (17). The findings confirmed significant variation, χ^2 (1, N=807)=48.05, p<0.002. The findings moderately approve the research hypothesis, H2: The coverage of Pakistan's English dailies (i.e. The News, Dawn & The Nation) demonstrated that Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA) a successful military operation.

Table 4 also depicted that these newspapers showed mostly neutral 41 (40.6%) stance towards safety of a nation against terrorism. To differentiate between positive and negative coverage all the selected newspapers mostly gave positive 28

(27.7%) and highly positive 5 (5.0%) coverage as compared to negative 21 (20.8%) and highly negative 6 (5.9%) coverage. The Nation (42) published more editorials as compared to Dawn (32) and The News (27). Overall, the results showed that all the selected newspapers gave more coverage to the

category of safety of a nation against terrorism (i.e. 101 editorials) as compared to other categories in the **Table 4**. The findings confirmed the significant variation, χ^2 (1, N=807)=18.55, $p<0.041$.

Table 4: Cross tabulation of minor categories of outcome analysis.

| Outcome Analysis | Newspapers | Directions of Coverage | | | | | Total |
|-------------------|------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| | | Highly Negative | Negative | Neutral | Positive | Highly Positive | |
| SO ^a | The News | 1 (5.9) | 2 (11.8) | 3 (17.6) | 7 (41.2) | 4 (23.5) | 17 (100) |
| | Dawn | 0 (0.0) | 2 (8.7) | 7 (30.3) | 9 (39.1) | 5 (21.7) | 23 (100) |
| | The Nation | 6 (13.6) | 9 (20.5) | 12 (27.3) | 14 (31.8) | 3 (6.8) | 44 (100) |
| | Total | 7 (8.3) | 13 (15.5) | 22 (26.2) | 30 (35.7) | 12 (14.3) | 84 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 20 (23.8) | | 22 (26.2) | 42 (50) | | 84 (100) |
| SNAT ^b | The News | 4 (14.8) | 7 (25.9) | 12 (44.4) | 3 (11.1) | 1 (3.7) | 27 (100) |
| | Dawn | 1 (3.1) | 8 (25.0) | 12 (37.5) | 8 (25.0) | 3 (9.4) | 32 (100) |
| | The Nation | 1 (2.4) | 6 (14.3) | 17 (40.5) | 17 (40.5) | 1 (2.4) | 42 (100) |
| | Total | 6 (5.9) | 21 (20.8) | 41 (40.6) | 28 (27.7) | 5 (5.0) | 101 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 27 (26.7) | | 41 (40.6) | 33 (32.7) | | 101 (100) |
| APA ^c | The News | 1 (6.7) | 4 (26.7) | 4 (26.7) | 6 (40.0) | 0 (0) | 15 (100) |
| | Dawn | 0 (0) | 4 (33.3) | 1 (8.3) | 6 (50.0) | 1 (8.3) | 12 (100) |
| | The Nation | 0 (0) | 2 (10.5) | 2 (10.5) | 11 (57.9) | 4 (21.1) | 19 (100) |
| | Total | 1 (2.2) | 10 (21.7) | 7 (15.2) | 23 (50.0) | 5 (10.9) | 46 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 11 (23.9) | | 7 (15.2) | 28 (60.9) | | 46 (100) |
| ESS ^d | The News | 5 (33.3) | 5 (33.3) | 0 (0) | 4 (26.7) | 1 (6.7) | 15 (100) |
| | Dawn | 1 (6.7) | 4 (26.7) | 0 (0) | 4 (26.7) | 6 (40.0) | 15 (100) |
| | The Nation | 1 (4.2) | 6 (25.0) | 6 (25.0) | 10 (41.7) | 1 (4.2) | 24 (100) |
| | Total | 7 (13.0) | 15 (27.8) | 6 (11.1) | 18 (33.3) | 8 (14.8) | 54 (100) |
| | Sub Total | 22 (40.7) | | 6 (11.1) | 26 (48.2) | | 54 (100) |

^a χ^2 (1, N=807)=48.05, $p<0.002$ (SO); ^b χ^2 (1, N=807)=18.55, $p<0.041$ (SNAT); ^c χ^2 (1, N=807)=20.62, $p<0.026$ (APA); ^d χ^2 (1, N=807)=24.26, $p<0.022$ (ESS). Note: Values in bracket show percentages. SO: Successful Operation, SNAT: Safety of a nation against Terrorism, APA: Admire Pakistan Army, ESS: Enhanced Security Situation.

Regarding Admiration of Pakistan Army, **Table 4** showed positive inclination of these newspapers' policy (28). The Nation (15) and Dawn (7) gave more positive coverage towards Pakistan army efforts as compared to The News (6). Overall, The Nation (19) published more editorials regarding admiration of Pakistan army as compared to Dawn (12) and The News (15). The findings confirmed the significant variation in the publication of editorials on Operation Zarb-e-Azb having the stance of admiration of Pakistan Army, χ^2 (1, N=807)=20.62, $p<0.026$.

Likewise, **Table 4** showed positive policy of these newspapers towards enhanced security situation after Operation Zarb-e-Azb. The Nation (11) published more positive editorials as compared to Dawn (10) and The News (5). The findings also indicated that The News (10) has gave more

negative coverage as compared to Dawn (5) and The Nation (7). The findings confirmed significant variation in the published of Operations Zarb-e-Azb having the stance of better security situation after this military operation, χ^2 (1, N=807)=24.26, $p<0.022$. The findings of research strongly approve the research hypothesis, H3: Pakistan's English dailies (i.e. The News, Dawn & The Nation) took a positive stance regarding improved security environment in as the result of military Operation Zarb-e-Azb (OZA).

Conclusion

Most of the three newspapers published positive editorials which indicate that foreign countries had a positive attitude towards Pakistan during Operation Zarb-e-Azb. The most

current editorials for outcomes analysis compared with other groups, World Stance, Military Civil Partnership, have been written. The government stance during Operation Zarb-e-Azb had been more negatively portrayed by all chosen publications. The success of the operation was portrayed favorably by all three newspapers. Such newspapers were primarily impartial in terms of a nation's defense against terrorism. With respect to Pakistan army appreciation, present study indicated a favorable inclination to the policies of these newspapers. The study concludes that these papers provide a constructive agenda that strengthens the security environment after Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

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