

The Issue of KP Naming: Exploring the Frames in Regional and National Press Editorials in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to discuss the naming issue of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in the regional and national press editorials in Pakistan. KP naming, which aroused different interests of different people in making different opinions, is highlighted differently by different newspapers. The main difference appeared in the approach of local and national newspapers in highlighting this issue. As, in Pakistan newspapers, locally and nationally has a great hand in making public opinion. So, peeping into this issue, the present study will explore the frames, stance and themes of regional and national newspapers. The material presented by the press was selective. The mix method is used in this study in which the quantitative method is used for frequency to calculate the number of columns, editorials and the amount of words while the qualitative method is to interpret the words used for this particular issue in a particular context. Two local and two national largely circulated newspapers were taken for sample.

KEY WORDS: National press, Slant, framing, editorial

INTRODUCTION

The North West Frontier Province (NWFP) now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) is the one of fourth province in Pakistan. KP naming has been an issue for decades since the inception of Pakistan. Its old name was Pakhtunkhwa or Rohistan (Bakhtiar Ali, 1999). According to Ismail Khan (2010) "it took 109 years to correct a historical wrong name. It was in 1901, when the North-West Frontier Province was separated from Punjab during the British colony. The province was merged into what was called One Unit in 1955, with Lahore becoming the capital of the new administrative unit". Gen Yahya Khan dissolved the One Unit in July 1970 and restored the provinces of the NWFP, Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. The 1973 Constitution continued with the British nomenclature. Pakhtun nationalist leader, Wali Khan, who despite being the leader of the opposition in the lower house of the Parliament and having reservations over the nomenclature, affixed his signature to give Pakistan its first consensus constitution (Global security, 2011).

The Pakhtoon nationalist parties, however, continued to press for a change of name. Alternatives included Pashtunistan, Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan. It was widely thought that Pakistan's military establishment viewed the Pashtun nationalist parties with suspicion as they had close ties to the regimes in Afghanistan, and thus opposed the alternatives as being smacking of secessionism. Sensing strong opposition to Pashtunistan, the nationalist parties later changed their stance and started calling the NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa, citing historical references both dating to the time of Greek historian Herodotus and later to emperor Shahabuddin Ghauri (Dawn, 2010).

Pakhtunkhwa, they hoped, would be less controversial and therefore find approval, particularly in Punjab, whose votes were crucial in amending the Constitution.

It however, remained a distant dream. The PML, with which the ANP twice shared power, refused to support the amendment, leading to the collapse of their coalition government in the NWFP. It is said that Mian Nawaz Sharif had broached the matter with the ANP leader Wali Khan shortly before his government was dismissed in a military coup by Gen Musharraf (Baloch, 2010).

It was this private conversation which was re-visited after the two parties again reached a dead-end on resolving this enduring and thorny issue. Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif is believed to have approached some key figures in the ANP to cross-check the understanding before undertaking to impress upon his elder brother to soften his stand.

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Much to its pleasure, the ANP found broad political support over the renaming issue, from its coalition partner, the PPP, The MQM, JUI(F), the PPP (Sherpao), the PMAP, the PML(F) and Baloch nationalist parties too, went along. Even the Jamaat-i-Islami, which has been a traditional opponent of the ANP, said it would support any consensus name (Iubpak, 2010).

The only opposition came from the PML-N and the PML-Q, prompting some to liken it to Punjab's traditional opposition to any such endeavor. It is therefore, no small achievement and the credit goes to the collective wisdom of political parties across the aisle for showing flexibility on what arguably was the most difficult, controversial and divisive issue of all (Dawn, 2010).

Now, this issue, which is highlighted differently by different media, formed various opinions at national and regional level. This study will explore different newspapers and will study their content to highlight their ideology and approach towards the KP naming issue.

Jang Group of Newspapers

Jang group of newspapers is Pakistan's largest group of newspapers and the publisher of different nationwide distributed newspapers i.e. the daily the news, daily Jang, magazine weekly and Awam. Mir khlil-ur-Rehman was the founder and his son Mir Shkil-u-Rehman is the present head. The News International is published in tabloid size, is the largest English language news paper in Pakistan. The News has an ABC certified circulation of 140,000. It is published from Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi/Islamabad. An overseas edition is published from London that caters to the Pakistani community in the United Kingdom and plans are currently underway to start publication in New York City, USA. (Jang, 2010)

Policy of Jang Group

According to Mir Shkil-u-Rehman, "if there is democracy, then version of both sides should be presented and then the experts will decide what is right and what is wrong. This is the policy of Jang group that gives the view of all concerned parties"

Nawa-i-Waqt

Nawa-i-Waqt is an Urdu language newspaper in Pakistan. Its founder Hmid Nizami started its publication in 1940 and now by his brother Majeed Nizami. Other newspapers by this group are The Nation, Nida-i-Millat, Family magazine and Phool. They are also operating a news channel known as 'Waqt'(Nawa-i-Waqt, 2010)

Policy of Nawa-i-Waqt

It promotes the ideology of Pakistan and is in favor of adopting the views presented by Quid-e-Azam and AllamaIqbal(Nawa-i-Waqt, 2010).

Daily Mashriq

Mashriq is an Urdu daily newspaper in Pakistan which published from Peshawar, provincial headquarters of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The mashriq group of newspapers chief editor is Syed Ayaz Bacha. Daily Mashriq is the main component of the Mashriq group of newspaper which includes the Statement English newspaper (Mushriq, 2010)

Policy

Mushriq has the largest readership Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and that is why special attention is given to its policy and every article and new story is checked with great care and attention owing to its larger readership. It always supported the national causes and interest of the country, whether it is national or international, especially over the international issue, like Kashmir and Afghanistan (Mushriq, 2010)

Frontier Post

The only English-language newspaper distributed through Afghanistan and Pakistan, The Frontier Post is based in Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It was launched in February 1984 by Rahmat Shah Afridi. It is published in Peshawar and later inLahore and Quetta (Frontier Post, 2010).

Policy

Chief Editor Rehmat Shah Afridi said that "The people of Pakistan trust the credibility of The Frontier Post because throughout these twenty six years they have seen that we do not write anything personal against any person or organization. Personal interests are never a part of our policy" (Frontier Post, 2010).

Problem Statement

KP renaming, which aroused different interests of different people in making different opinions, is highlighted differently by different newspapers. The main difference appeared in the approach of local and national newspapers in highlighting this issue. As, in Pakistan newspapers, locally and nationally has a great hand in making public opinion. So, peeping into this issue, the present study will explore the framing of regional and national newspapers.

The rising fact is that news industry seems more interested in some events than others. It is widely understood that the material presented by the press is selective. That selectively stems from its limited capacity to provide.

Total surveillance, from factor imposed on those who do the gate keeping, policymaking, responsible of framing and financial limitations placed on media that must survive as profit making business enterprise. Such variables go along way to account for the manner in which the press decides which frame should be given and how to interpret and present in a particular way. It is obvious that that all sort of newspapers face competition and they did their best to provide the news and information without any distortion and framing.

Therefore, this research study proposed to determine the coverage of KP naming issue in local and national newspapers in both English and Urdu languages. This issue was in fact only highlighted during the month of April.

Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the study is to analyze the coverage of regional and national press given to the issue of KP renaming by comparing. The objectives include:

- To determine the slant of editorials content of KP issue either in favor, against or stayed neutral.
- To compare and analyze the space given to the issue of KP in regional and national press.
- To explore the frames, themes, stance in editorial regarding the issue of KP.
- To compare and analyze the framing in the editorials relating to the KP issue.

Significance of the Study

Under the direction of an editor, newspaper sub-editors and reporters gather and analyze the facts about the current events through interviews, investigations, observations and write editorials describing the events, background, meaning and effects. They write about news development such as disasters, crime, war, politics and other human interest's situations.

The study will help in knowing the framing of national and regional press towards the KP naming issue. This will help in identifying the policy of the newspapers and thus will make the common people aware of the agenda of the newspapers.

Main Research Question

What is the framing of national and regional newspapers in covering the issue of KP naming?

Subsidiary Research Questions

- Q. 1. What is the stance of national and regional press towards highlighting the issue of KP naming?
- Q. 2. What type of language (Jargon) was used while covering the KP naming issue in regional and national press?
- Q. 3. Which press has thoroughly explained the issue and what was its focus?
- Q.4. What was the amount of coverage by regional and national press editorials?

Literature Review

Media is the fourth pillar of a state. The media acts as a watchdog of any society. Mostly the media in Pakistan for mass level are TV channels and newspapers. Every newspaper and TV channel has its own policy which may be in favor, against or remained neutral while covering a particular issue. Media mainly perform the following functions.

To inform

To educate

To entertain

To persuade

Besides these functions media also has a role in agenda sitting (McCombs, M., & Shaw, D.L. 1972). Another function is to interpret the events with its own framing. A member of Caribbean media organization for sustainable tourism and a senior journalist has said that; "without media, people in society would be isolated, not only from the rest of the world but from government, law makers, and neighboring towns and cities."

Simply we can say that newspapers can play a very key role in the reconstruction and development of a society and pointed out the social, economic and moral evils in the society. Newspapers are low cost medium which is read almost everywhere in Pakistan. Newspapers are published in all the regional languages in Pakistan. It is a very good source of information for political, crime, business, art, entertainment, sports and showbiz news (Boghossian).

"Thomas Jefferson once stated that; were it left to me to decide whether we should have government without newspaper, or newspaper without government, I should never hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

The newspapers are consisting of different parts but editorials are considered to be the most important part of any newspaper because it reflects the policy of a newspaper. The main focus of the research is the editorials of regional and national press regarding the issue of KP naming during the pre and post era of 18th Amendment. Editorials are basically opinion articles, written by the publishers, editors and columnists. According to one definition from business dictionary: "editorials are usually brief articles written by an editor, expresses newspapers or publisher own agenda, views, and policy on any current issue" (Business dictionary).

As already mentioned that media has three kinds of approaches towards a particular issue i.e. in favor, against or stayed neutral. Same thing has happened while covering the KP naming issue by the regional and national

press. In the national press the KP naming was defended as a threat to national integration while the regional press has termed it as an identification issue.

In 1901 the NWFP was drawn out of neighboring province Punjab. Among the motivations for this was the idea that the creation of their own province would lead to improved relations between local British officials and the independent tribesmen. In the years since, local and provincial leaders have implored the government to amend a name which has no cultural or ethnic significance for their people. Today, in order to improve relations once again with political figures that could be critical to the fight against the Taliban; the national government has decided that the time is right to listen to the demands of the people of the NWFP. Most notably, since the renaming of the NWFP re-surfaced in 2008, the Hindko-speaking population of the Hazara division, the Hazarawals, has been fuming (HistoryPak).

Arif Nizami, former editor of the *Nation*, said, "This has actually opened a Pandora's box, because of Pakistan's very tenuous polity. Now, on one side, there are identity issues and ethnic issues and provincial autonomy issues. The other side is religious issues and terrorism. It's a very explosive situation (Brulliard, 2010).

Dr. A. H. Dani, a well known historian and archaeologist, presently the Director of the Islamabad-based Center for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia, told *Dawn* that Pakhtunistan is a political name but Pakhtunkhwa is not. "Culturally there is no doubt that the land was called Pakhtunkhwa in Pushtu literature since 15th century (we have a trace of literature since that time only). The term has been applied for both tribal and settled areas (Brulliard, 2010).

Using a quantitative content analysis, this research examines the newspapers coverage of KP naming issue. This study investigates the framing of local and national newspapers editorials.

Editorials

Editorials are the opinion statements of newspapers. They are published in a specific and openly dogmatic section of the newspaper that extends the coverage of the issues of the day into the realm of argument (Starr, 1994). The editor in chief serves over an editorial board of journalists which set the agenda or frame for the editorial.

Editorials are the writing styles which are used to express an opinion or reaction to current events or an issue of concern. Most editorials are used to influence readers to think or act the same way the writer does. Not all editorials take sides on an issue but have one of the following four purposes same to that of the news.

1. Inform: The writer gives careful explanations about a complicated issue.
2. Promote: Writer tries to promote a worthy activity. Get the reader involved.
3. Praise: The writer praises a person or an event.
4. Entertain: The writer encourages or entertains the reader about an important issue.

Writing Editorial

First of all, the editors select an issue of common interests of the current situation. For example the editorial could be about how the readers could help the environment, inform the public about a particular endangered species, praise an effort by a group who has helped to take an endangered animal off of the endangered species list, or any other idea that can be used as an editorial.

Collecting Facts

Gather as many details to convince others about your opinion (Facts or evidence, written statements from sources or authorities in the subject (experts), comparisons to similar situations to support your argument, pictures or images that strengthen your argument, be able to counter argue your opponents on this issue).

Be honest and accurate while writing an editorial. There should be no personal opinion or biases but should reflect and represent the actually event or situation.

Theoretical Framework

Walter Lippmann (1997) argued that the mass media create image of events in our minds and that policy making should be cognized of these pictures in people's heads. He stated that people do not deal directly with their environment as much as they respond to 'picture' in their heads. Miller (2005) in *communication theories* 2nd Edition stated that 'this is the mass society as conceptualized by early theorist; an audience of undifferentiated individuals very open to influence of strong and powerful leaders, or strong and powerful media.

Framing Theory

Framing theory and the concept of framing bias suggests that how something is presented. The "frame" influences the choices people make. This idea is important because it is contrary to the central concept of rational choice theory. According to this theory, people always strive to make the most rational choices possible. Thus, rational choosers should always make the same decision when given the same data.

The framing for news are explained in an article by Sara Tiegreen and Elana Newman, May 31, 2008 journalists must constantly decide which facts to include or emphasize, whom to use as sources, and what is really "at issue" (Gamson& Modigliani, 1989) in reporting a story. These choices combine to create a frame that both

supports the story (like the frame of a house) and defines what belongs inside (like a picture frame), and thereby signals what news consumers should find important. Broadly speaking, news frames can be classified as predominantly “episodic” or “thematic” (Lyengar, 1993, p. 369). Episodic frames focus on the immediate event or incident and give little or no context about underlying issues or context.

In this analysis, framing is important because it speaks to the way in which the print media covered by editorial pages and may speak to the interpretation and meaning the press sought to convey with their coverage.

Mass media research analyses have tended to treat framing as a deliberate process (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Tankard (1999) defined framing as the main idea for organizing and providing a context for news. Moreover, Entman (1993) defined framing as the media’s way of taking some perceived reality and highlighting some aspect, “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation”.

Framing is related to the first level of agenda setting, but can be seen as more expensive as the former holds that the media tell the people what to think about, the latter goes beyond that in pushing a certain understanding of events and tends to shape the way people talk and think about the news (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). Therefore, by emphasizing certain aspects, and downplaying others, the media have the capacity to influence not only the issues people see as important, but also how people evaluate those issues.

We are interested in comparing the editorials coverage of the issue of KP naming in local and national press.

Hypothesis

There were certain hypotheses behind this study, which set directions for its successful completion which are as under:

1. There will be a significant difference in the use of frames in national and local newspapers editorials pages.
2. Regional presses have given more space to the issue of KP naming than the national press.
3. The regional press has discussed the issue of KP naming with greater frequency as compared to national press.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study is preceded from a comparative quantitative content analysis and the qualitative study of the frames used in Pakistan’s local and national press. This research is aimed at determining the editorials frames of KP issue in regional and national press. It looked at the editorial pages of Daily The News and Daily Naw-e-waqt at national level and Daily Mushriq and Daily Frontier Post at local level. For collection of data, this research focuses on content analysis of Daily The News and Daily Naw-e-waqt at national level and Daily Mushriq and Daily Frontier Post at local level newspapers dated from 1st April 2010 until 30th April 2010. The data being analyzed based on frequencies of the editorials and opinions of the columnists on the editorial pages as well as nature of the coverage by using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSSforwindows17.0).

Location of the study

This research study is based on the editorial pages or opinion pages of the Daily The News and Daily Naw-e-waqt at national level and Daily Mushriq and Daily Frontier Post at local level newspapers. These newspapers are the mainstream English and Urdu languages dailies in Pakistan and have great circulation and significance.

Population and Sampling Technique

This research study has the population of the one month editorials and opinions of various columnists published in Daily The News and Daily Naw-e-waqt at national level and Daily Mushriq and Daily Frontier Post at local level newspapers. For data collection, this research focus on content analysis of the framing of these newspapers editorials dated from 1st April to 30th April. The data being analyzed is based on frequencies of the editorials published on the editorials page in mentioned local and national newspapers respectively as well as nature of coverage by using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS for window version 17.0).

Unit of Analysis

In this study, the problem statement focusing on the framing and presentation of KP naming issue on the editorials pages of Daily The News and Daily Naw-e-waqt at national level and Daily Mushriq and Daily Frontier Post at local level newspapers. Therefore, my unit of analysis is the editorials and columns items appeared on the editorials pages of the newspapers from 1st April to 30th April 2010 during the 18th amendment process. Newspapers taken as for sampling are mainstream newspapers of Islamabad and Peshawar.

The slant of the editorial page content was analyzed. Each paragraph was taken as a unit of analysis. The column or editorial was coded in such a way that if a column or editorial contains 10 paragraphs, 6 are neutral and 4 are favorable then the content will be coded as neutral.

Category Construction

Each of an editorial article was coded as one of three main categories. positive, negative and neutral, keeping in view the likelihood of its cultivation of positive, negative or neutral coverage and/or portrayal of the KP naming issue in national and local press.

Positive Sentences (Code 1)

Editorials which depict the constructive role and favor the issue of KP renaming, so this behavior were coded as positive, e.g.

صوبوں کو اختیارات کی منتقلی (Daily Mushriq, April 16, 2010)

Negative sentences (Code 2)

Editorials which portray the negative side or goes against of the rename of KP were coded as negative, e.g.

”خیبر پختونخواہ“ ایک مذاق ہے (Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, April 8, 2010)

Neutral Sentences (Code 3)

The sentences don't clearly mention emphasis on either positive or negative aspects of the KP naming as neutral sentence.

Data Collection

For this research I used content analysis to find framing as my data collection methodology where by focus the focus is on the editorials published on the editorials pages of Daily The News and Daily Naw-e-waqt at national level and Daily Mushriq and Daily Frontier Post at local level newspapers from 1st April to 30th April 2010. In other words, this research analyzed both the press (local and national) for 30 days. In order to collect the data, I prepared a coding book and also a coding sheet to record the number, spreading and language.

The sole purpose of selecting content analysis as a method to gather the data and information because the research is focused on determining the presentation and space of this issue in both national and local newspapers and it also assist to distinguish the existence of propaganda, biasness and agenda by the newspapers organization.

Data Analysis

This study is confined to the comparative analysis of regional and national press where the content and framing of the both the press is analyzed. For this purpose, framing theory is being applied. The descriptive data is analyzed by using the frequencies and percentages.

Content Analysis

It is systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information. According to Kerlinger, it is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Wimmer and Dominick, 2005).

Agenda Setting Theory

Content analysis is also used in agenda setting. The importance of news topics is determined by the coverage of a particular issue. Studies are conducted on media and audience agenda. Sometime inquiries are made on the differences of public and media agenda. It is also investigated through content analysis that whether media follows public agenda are vice versa.

Concepts and Definitions

REGIONAL PRESS: It means the newspapers at local level.

NATIONAL PRESS: It means the newspapers at national level.

ISSUE: The KPrenaming issue during the process of 18th Amendment for four months. From February to May 2010 during which the naming issue was at peak and then solved.

SLANT: To present so as to conform to a particular bias or appeal to a certain audience.

FRAMEING: A term used in media studies, sociology and psychology, refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon by mass media sources or specific political or social movements or organizations.

EDITORIAL: It includes the opinions of analysts and editors.

Sampling

Two newspapers from regional press i.e. Daily Mashriq and Daily Frontier Post and from national press and Daily The News and Daily Nawa-e-Waqtare taken as a sample. Four months were allocated to this research i.e. newspapers published from February till May. The sample of newspapers that has been selected is having large circulation, concrete history and background at both national and regional level. While the duration is that period in which the KP naming issue was on the peak and the issue was solved in 18th Amendment which was passed by National Assembly in 8th April 2010.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the history of Pakistan, it faced four dictators and many presidents and prime ministers those used the media for their individual interests and benefits. However the media is free now up to some extent and following their own framing and agenda sitting while highlighting a particular issue. The issue of KP renaming was a lengthy process and sensitive issue. The nationalists' parties were demanding for a distinctive name that represents the majority inhabitants of the province but some fiction in federal and the bureaucracy were the barriers in the naming issue.

ArifNizami, former editor of the *Nation*, said, "This has actually opened a Pandora's box, because of Pakistan's very tenuous polity. Now, on one side, there are identity issues and ethnic issues and provincial autonomy issues. The other side is religious issues and terrorism. It's a very explosive situation.

Results

Editorials content of daily Nawa-e-Waqt, the News and dailies Mushriq and Frontier Post will be compared to see the differences in framing during the process of 18th Amendment in which KP naming was added.

1st April 2010 to 30th April 2010

In the issue of KPrenamingthe national press either remain against or very little neutral. The total number of editorials published in Nawa-i-Waqt during the month of April was 11which are totally against the new name for NWFP. No single editorial were written in favor or neutral to the KP naming issue.

While the daily The News had shown some flexibility but not in favor and remained neutral. During the whole month only 3 editorials were published in which 2 were neutral and 1 was against.

Newspaper	Total editorials	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Nawa-e-Waqt	11	0	0	11
The News	3	0	2	1

The columns on the editorial or opinion pages in DiallyNawa-i-Waqt were also totally against the KP issue. The entire columnist has deeply criticized the issue, the nationalists and the Nawaz League. During this month 13 columns were published by different columnists in which all the 13 were unfavorable.

The columns in The News mostly criticized the issue. The columnists in The News have critically discussed the KP issue in which 5 were unfavorable, 1 neutral and 1 favorable.

Newspaper	Total Columns	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Nawa-e-Waqt	13	0	0	13
The News	7	1	1	5

The local press i.e. Daily Mashriq and Frontier Post highlight the issue in favor of KP naming. However, the English newspapers remained against to the issue. Total editorials in daily Mushriq were 5 regarding the KP naming issue in which 4 editorials were in favor and 1 unfavorable. At local level the Frontier Post has remained against. It published 4 editorials which are all unfavorable the KP naming issue.

Newspaper	Total editorials	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Daily Mushriq	5	4	0	1
Frontier Post	4	0	0	4

The columns on the editorial or opinion pages in DiallyMushriq had deeply favored the naming issue of KP. Some logically remained neutral. Total 11 columns were published in daily Mshriq in which 6 were favorable, 2 were neutral and 3 were remained unfavorable. In Frontier Post total 6 columns were published in which 2 were favorable, 2 were neutral and 2 were against.

Newspaper	Total Columns	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Daily Mushriq	11	6	3	2
Frontier Post	6	2	2	2

Overall percentage of the local and national press

Newspapers	Positive %	Negative%	Neutral %
Nawa-i-Waqt	0%	100%	0%
The News	10%	40%	50%
Daily Mushriq	80%	20%	0%
The Frontier Post	0%	100%	0%

First of all the subsidiary question will be discussed by applying on the national press and then to the local newspapers.

Subsidiary Question No. 1

Q. 1. What is the stance of national and regional press towards highlighting the issue of KP naming?

The purpose of this question is to find the stance of the national and local press in representing the issue of KP naming. Majority the editorials in the national press took the stance to oppose any new name to the NWFP. As it is indicated from the following editorials that are taken from Nawa-i-Waqt, a national newspaper.

Nawa-i- Waqt

خیبر پختونخواہ پر اتفاق..... میاں نواز شریف! مبارک ہو لیکن
قوم کے سامنے اپنے موقف کی وضاحت کریں

In the very beginning of the campaign against the new name of KP, Nawa-i-Waqt has used an ironical statement in his first editorial on 2nd April. The newspaper congratulates Nawaz Sharif for the consensus of KP naming but on the other hand it inquires the stand taken by him with the nationalists of KP.

Further more in this editorial the newspaper blame Nawaz Sharif for not having good political relations with Asif Zardari but he has joined hands with Zardari for the new name of NWFP. The newspaper compares the celebration of new name of NWFP with the celebration of Bangladesh in 16th December 1971.

18 ویں آئینی ترمیم کا بل اور نواز شریف کا سیاسی مستقبل

Nawa-i-Waqt in its 3rd April editorial also pressurizes Nawaz Sharif not to join hands with other political parties for the new name of NWFP. The newspaper stresses that if Nawaz do so, so its consequences would destroy his political career and party as well. In this editorial it is stated that the new name would harm the national integrity of Pakistan. It has badly criticized Abdul Ghafar Khan for separation. It has continuously used the word Sarhdi Gandhi for him.

ہیر ویا دلن: میاں نواز شریف خود فیصلہ کر لیں

In this editorial which is published on 6th of April, the editor said that Nawaz will become a villain if he showed his consent to the KP naming and if he succeeded in passing the 18th Amendment without the KP naming so he will become a hero. It showed a quiet obvious stance of the newspaper that they put all the issues to make such frame that reflects the opponent nature of the newspaper to the KP issue.

”خیبر پختونخواہ“ ایک مذاق ہے

In this editorial the newspaper stance is that the new name is a joke and nothing else. The new name was totally opposed and no favor was given to the issue. The frame of the newspaper was made in a way to take stance against any other new name. Here I would like to mention that the Nawa-i-Waqt group has used all their efforts to oppose the name for NWFP.

خیبر پختونخواہ..... ن لیگ خود کو عوامی نفرت سے بچائے

The above editorial which is published on 9th April showed that this newspaper considered the Nawaz League for the approval of KP naming. The editor wants to press the Nawaz League to oppose the new name and not to stand with it. It showed that not only the Pukhtoon nationalist were criticized but all those who supported the KP name. Nawaz Sharif was acknowledged for approving the 18th Amendment but was severely criticized for supporting the KP name.

قومی اسمبلی میں 18 ویں آئینی ترمیم کی متفقہ منظوری

تنازعات کا نیا پنڈورا بکس کھول دیا گیا

The 11th April editorial stated that the National Assembly has unanimously passed the 18th Amendment Bill but it has opened a Pandora Box. The Pandora's Box is especially referred to the KP naming issue. It stated that this new name for NWFP will have bad consequences in the future of Pakistan. It is published after the agitation in Hazara Division.

خیبر پختونخواہ کیخلاف خونیں تحریک حکومت ہوش کے ناخن لے

In this editorial the Nawa-i-Waqt newspaper pressurized the government to take steps for the withdrawal of KP name. A very firm stance was taken to oppose any new name for NWFP taken by Nawa-i-Waqt newspaper. It stated that the government should take the decision of new name because it is the cause of the violence in Hazara division.

خیبر پختونخواہ کا کوئی جواز نہیں

This editorial stated that there is no argument for the news name of NWFP and there is no need to change the name. It further states that there violent agitation and strikes in across the province. In fact the strikes were only held in Hazara division. The name should not be change on the bases of language.

سینٹ میں بھی خیبر پختونخواہ کی منظوری

قومی انتشار کے ایجنڈہ کی تکمیل پر نواز شریف کو مبارکباد؟

This editorial was published after passing the 18th Amendment in the Senate in which the name of Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa was passed. The newspaper this time again criticized and blamed Nawaz Sharif for the new name and declared him as responsible for the national disintegration. It is an ironical statement that congratulates Nawaz Sharif for the completion of national disintegration agenda.

The News

“Celebrating change”

After the Parliamentary committee on constitutional reforms that has approved the new name for NWFP province and added in the 18th Amendment, The News has acknowledged its name change. It stated that after a very long struggle of the nationalist's parties of the province, they got the name. It may be celebrated. However the editorial had criticized the word Khyber that had been added to the Pakhtoonkhwa. The editorial further stated that the name change will not bring an end to the militancy that has destroyed the province neither it will address the problem of poverty but the editor had a hope that perhaps it may bring betterment.

“More trouble”

The riots in Hazara division had brought The News was against the name change and stated in this editorial that the name of KP will create more disturbances in future. The Hazaris will now demand for new province because there is no representation in the new name of Khyber pakhtoonkhwa. The editorial had talked about the PML(Q) that it will also oppose the new name in the Senate. However, at the end of the editorial, those were criticized who in Punjab opposed the new name because it will create animosity and distrust among the units.

“Will there be calm now?”

This editorial is published after the 18th Amendment passed by the Senate. The editorial stated that the name that has also being passed by the Senate will bring more difficulty or calm. The newspaper stance is neutral that if there is so much violent strikes in Hazara but not in Seraiki belt. Then it stated that if the naming started on ethnicity base, the process could be never ending.

Daily Mushriq

صرف یقین دہانی کافی نہیں عملی طور پر ثابت بھی کرنا ہوگا

The stance taken by the “Mushriq” newspaper in this editorial was biased and goes against the new name but at the middle and at the end it turned towards neutral. At the beginning it has criticized that ANP leader Asfandyar Wali Khan for having such statement that has contradiction with statement of Bacha Khan and Wali Kan. Asfandyar Wali in his statement stated that “there will be no discrimination in the province on the basis of ethnicity. But his ancestors had stated there is no other than Pakhtoons in the province. The editor said that we respect his statement but it should be in practical way in future. The editor stated by pointing to the present government that after the name our responsibility will be further increased and we will truly represent the norms, values and culture of the Pakhtoons.

The editor suggested that the political leadership should set together and reconcile on the issues so that any agitation terms of KP name would be addressed. He said that we welcome the new name but the issues such as terrorism, poverty, unemployment and other problems also need immediate attention.

سانحہ ایبٹ آباد اور متنازعہ نام کے بدلے متنازعہ نام

In this editorial the newspaper stance is quite obvious that it is positive to new name. It stated that it is disheartening for both the groups, who in favor are in against the new name that is happened in the Hazara division. It is not fair to squeeze the Senate for not allowing to pass the new name. However, consensus on the new name be made so that to avoid any further violence. The newspaper suggested that the Abseen Pakhtoonkhwa would be a better name for the province. It declared both the sides equal responsible for the eight persons killed in the riot.

The editor stated that the new name is also a controversial name. The political parties should set together and suggest a name which is acceptable to all.

تضادات کو ہوا نہ دی جائے

In this article which is published in 16th April stated that elected representatives are responsible for solving the issues. The Parliament will decide the new name or the new province in a democratic government system. The political leadership should not play with the lives of innocent people. The new name has though created a rift among the people but it need special attention and wise decisions. The stance of the newspaper became neutral when it stated that God forbid us if that become more serious situation for name change then. We all are belonging to this land. We should need to accept each other demands. If we respect each other and stay together after then we will progress otherwise it would be fatal for us.

The editor pointing out the factors that it had ignited the contradictions than to reconcile. Such factors are not in the favor of the nation but are they just to score the points

صوبوں کو اختیارات کی منتقلی

This editorial which is published is although about the outcomes of the 18th Amendments the devolution of the power to the provinces, however, the KP naming issue was praised. The editor stated that some sects are unwilling to the new name but they too did not come with alternate name. It is a constructive and a reprisal editorial. It has over all discussed the 18th Amendment.

ایک بار پھر غور کیجئے

This editorial was published on the 27th April. Some sects in the Hazara and Malak and division were calling for the new and separate provinces. The editor stated that we know that our province is not that much economically sounds to afford a separate administration. The newspaper frame the news positive and stated that we are not against the new provinces but those who demands the new province should think that what they will economically gain. Will they afford the administrative expenditures? So it is bitter for us all to live together.

Daily Frontier Post

Security, not certification

This editorial in the Frontier Post is about the security situation in the province and ridicule the statement of the Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani that he certified that there is security but nothing of the sort could be seen in the province. The editor declared the ruling party in KP as a champion for name change but nothing has done for the prosperity of the province. The frame of this editorial is against the new name and wants to draw the attention of the government to issue of terrorism. It stated the ANP is a silent spectator on these problems.

Blood-stained hands of ANP

This editorial is published in the Frontier Post after the killing of eight innocent citizens in the Hazara division. It stated that the Frontier's beleaguered citizens were still mourning the tragic demise of the Temergarah innocent that the ANP name-change folly has claimed yet another nine precious lives, in Abbatabad now. The editor call the name change as a stupidity and said that certainly, the province' unfit name doesn't set well on it at all. At the middle of the editorial it is stated that the pack threatened the committee either to give the name of Pukhtoonkhwa or to boycott the of the reform package.

ANP's deadly cut

The Frontier Post in this editorial has deeply criticized the ruling party of the KP for name change. It was published on 19th April. It stated that so what is the actually is that to drove this ANP clan on to this name change stratagem?

First to delude the Pakhtoons of the Frontier with a devious device of a spurious Pakhtoon nationalism and then entice with the same bait their compatriots of the tribal region too into a clan's domination.

The editor has slammed the ANP leadership and stated that these Hajis, Bilours and the cabals of their ilk. The traditional fascinating ethnic, linguistic and demographic harmony has been shattered into pieces with the shot of Hazara killing and unrest.

The editorial had also criticized the Punjab's leadership and calls them as the scoffing political chieftains of the Punjab which are descending on the province like the sultans to humiliate and disgrace its citizens. In this editorial all the efforts were taken by the newspaper to frame the issue against the government.

Call for new provinces

This editorial was published when some sects in the Hazara and Malakand division were calling for the new and separate provinces. Also there was a demand for Saraiki province. The editor declared the KP naming responsible for these demands.

Language

Language of the editorial is called the mirror of the policy of the newspaper towards a particular issue. Every editorial that published in that particular newspaper cannot be biased or neutral. The issue of KP naming was covered in a biased language in the national press. Like in the above mentioned example a very biased and unprofessional language is used. Almost all the editorials were published with biased language criticizing the Pakhtoon nationalists and those who supporting the KP name.

Nawa-i-Waqt

Word	Translation	Connotation	For whom
سخت مخالفت	Extreme opposition	Negative attitude to KP name	Against the government
انتہائی افسوسناک	Very precarious Very tragic	//	//
ملک دشمن ایجنڈہ	State against agenda	//	//
خیبر پختونخوا نامنظور	KP unacceptable	//	//
پارہ پارہ	Into pieces	The KP will cause the country into pieces	//
”خیبر پختونخوا“ ایک مذاق ہے	“KP” is a joke	The name KP is ridiculous	//
سیاسی مذاق	Political joke	//	Against the parties in power
عوامی نفرت	Public hatred	PML(N) will be hated if allow KP	Against
ہوش کے ناخن	Be sensible	The government should withdraw KP name	//
مستقبل داؤ	Insecure future	Those approve KP, will have insecure future	Political ruling parties
خیبر پختونخوا کا کوئی جواز نہیں	KP has no justification	The new name has no justification	Against the name
ذاتی مفاد	Personal interests	The new name is the personal interest	Political ruling parties
قومی یکجہتی	National integration	The new name will destroy the national integration	Against the government
قومی انتشار	National disintegration	The new name will cause national disintegration	//
انڈین کانگریس کا ایجنڈہ	The Indian Congress agenda	ANP will fulfill the Indian Congress agenda by naming KP	Against ruling party in KP

THE NEWS

Word	Connotation	For whom
Celebrating change	Celebration for the name change and 18 th Amendment	Positive towards government
Hope for betterment	The new name will bring some hope for the nationalists	Positive to ANP
Graciousness	The new name is a gracious of all the political parties.	Positive to political parties
Will there be calm now?	After riots in Hazara, the consequences will be worse	Negative to new name.
More trouble	//	//
Overwhelmingly	The PML(Q) is responsible for the Hazara unrest	Positive to ruling political parties
Harmony	Political leadership should reconcile.	Neutral to the issue.

Daily Mushriq

Word / phrases	Translation	Connotation	For whom
صرف یقین دہانی کافی نہیں عملی طور پر ثابت بھی کرنا ہوگا	Only assurance is not enough but it need to be proved practically	This used for the Asfandyar Wali to do now something practical.	Neutral approach to naming and suggestions for ANP.
ساحہ ایبٹ آباد اور متنازعہ نام کے بدلے متنازعہ نام	Abbotabad incident and controversial name replaces controversial name.	There are some forces that are the cause of incident the new name unacceptable.	Negative to the name with prefix Khyber.
تضادات کو ہوا نہ دی جائے	Differences should not be fanned	Some miscreants are producing disturbance for political gain.	Those creating disturbance in Hazara.
عدم برداشت	Lack of tolerance	The opponent of KP name have lost their tolerance	Positive to government
انتشار فطری طور پر حکومت کیلئے ہی درد سربتا ہے	The disintegration becomes naturally a headache for the government.		

Frontier Post

Word / parses	Connotation	For whom
Champion	Ironical word for ANP	Negative to name
Clan	Group of chieftains which is used for ANP	Negative to name and ANP.
Name-change folly	Referring to ruling party that has change name	//
Blackmail	The constitutional reform committee has blackmailed the nation by wrong name.	//
ANP's deadly cut	The ruling political party is responsible for Hazara killing and unrest.	//

Focus

Main focus of the national newspapers was to highlight all those factors which go against the KP name. On editorial page those columns were included which were completely against the new name of NWFP. Mostly the views of those were published who openly criticized the new name. The national press gave special attention to the Hazara crises that was formed after changing name. The opposition leaders in the issue were acknowledged.

In some editorials they openly criticized Nawaz Shrif for the approval of the new name for the NWFP. The local press remained positive while the English newspaper in local used an abusive language for the ruling party and opposed the new name.

Conclusion

The above study shows that the national press especially the Urdu press has brought only the issue of the new name for KP into the discussion and had very little discussed the other aspects of 18th Amendment. The main focus of the national newspapers was to highlight all those factors which goes against the KP name. On editorial page those columns were included which were completely against the new name of NWFP. Mostly the views of those were published who openly criticized the new name. The national press gave special attention to the Hazara crises that was formed after changing name. The opposition leaders in the issue were acknowledged.

The Nawa-i-Waqt has used a very rigid and harsh language to oppose the new name for NWFP. The News remained neutral and framed the editorials neither negative nor positive. The local press had different framing in its editorials. The Urdu press i.e. Daily Mushriq has positive framing while the English press(Frontier Post) was remained negative as it has negatively framed the issue of KPrenaming.

The lessons learned from the editorial framing that the issue of KP naming was based on linguistic basis so at a national level it was opposed and the local press favored it. On the other hand these newspapers framed the news while looking into the viewership. The national press can be of great help to discourage such stance in future.

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