



I Have Set the Press Free! Geometry of General Musharraf's

Gimmicks and Grammar of Pakistani National Press

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Abstract

After the well-known 1999s army takeover in Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf taken the responsibilities of chief Executive. For establishing his dictatorial administration, effective media control was a necessity in accordance with what Aristotle said, "the power of the people's collective opinion enables a king to rule and would a king lose the support of public, he would be a king no more" (Noelle-Neumann, 1991, p. 267). With these reasons in his mind he brought media changes to utilize media as a state apparatus, winning more extensive open help at home and abroad. Since the media can play such vital part, it similarly poses a possibility of being misused by the powerful people to legitimize their wrong doings. This paper used content analysis of three English and three Urdu Pakistani national newspapers on the incident of Lal-Masjid to analyze how newspapers were utilized as official maneuver for getting backing for Musharraf's strategies as head of the state. Lal Masjid action, generally be named as "Operation Silence" during which propaganda-based information was extensively used to legitimize the act. Initiated by General Pervez Musharraf's government the severe clash ran for one and half years & 9 days of negotiations till 2007. In this period, the press seemed to have widespread usage of propaganda approaches formulated by John Galtung's war and peace Journalism that contains, "exposing the untruths of the others and supporting our lies instead of exposing untruth of all sides & supporting all cover up attempts and lies and "we/them" propaganda". The three-fold exclusivity of the research involves that; it analyzed the strategies and propaganda role line with Johan Galtung's Peace Journalism theory. Secondly, it additionally enhances appreciative role of media in severe circumstances. Thirdly, it highlights the counter frames which if would have been used frequently the operation silence and casualties could be avoided.

Keyword: *Information Propaganda, Peace Journalism, Pakistan, Musharraf's autocratic regime, Lal Masjid, Content Analysis.*

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Introduction

Mass media are usually sources of information, education and entertainment as important channels for spreading facts. In situations of war & violence, their role is more critical. In present republics, these tools are commonly used for giving favors to political agendas as well as for gaining favors to power elites. This phenomenon entails many interests such as media are used as; watchdogging especially as that of economic benefits (Kellner 2004), exceedingly refined propaganda war (Altheide & Grimes 2005), mobilise othering such as giving justification to the motives of government instead of portraying both sides (ibid), and also demonstrating similar representation of interests and framing of war instead of giving humanitarian frames (Altheide & Grimes 2005). ... Media are rarely used as a direct source of violence but there are many cases where they are manipulated by the interest groups who intended to instigate violence which they were responsible like in Rwanda, Georgia and Yugoslavia. Most of the time the role of media is unnoticed in escalation and de-escalation of conflicts (Frohardh & Temin, 2006).

The study is an effort to analyze press role in the Lal Majid operation as the case when President Musharraf had to state publicly, "Ladies and gentlemen, I have done what no previous government has dared to do, I have set the press free" (Shoeb, 2008, P.1). The question arises, that if the press was truly free or was it just a gimmickry by the autocratic leadership. Gimmickry and rhetoric are political tools used by leaders i.e. "Gimmickry" and "rhetoric" have synonymously used by "Narendra Modi" and "Khattar" in their speeches (India today,

2016). It has been researched that “defeat, deception and double speak, have become the hallmarks of the BJP both at the national and state level” (Business standard, 2016). The responsibility of media becomes more crucial in normal days and especially in conflict and crisis. Media framing of the conflicts and crisis are vital as people who are either part of the conflict or otherwise are seeing the reality through it (Chari, 2010).

Rationale of the Study

Present research investigates an essential characteristic of the period in the perspective of media after Musharraf ‘s claim of giving freedom to the newspapers of Pakistan & how they were used as propaganda device— use of media as a tool of political cause— for rationalizing his actions in Lal Masjid incident? Most of the time the powerful role of media is unnoticed in escalation and de-escalation of conflicts (Frohardh & Temin, 2006). Peace journalism is a way to mediate in conflicts and is supported by framing theory (Gavilán, 2011). Framing theory argues that every news is presented in an explicit manner. Frames are part of journalistic work with certain goals and if the goals are focused and peace oriented then peace frames could be helpful in mediating and resolving conflicts. The study is unique in a sense that it will try to find out the role of the press in escalation of the Lal Masjid crisis through analyzing propaganda frames in the light of war frames. And will also study their counter frames as if they were used, the crisis could have been averted and tackled amicably.

Objectives of the Study

The study aims to see the propaganda, its types, its depth and elements used in the framing and counter framing. To their elaboration, they are;

- To identify the types of propaganda used in the newspapers during Musharraf rule
- The scope of the propaganda ensued by Musharraf in the national print media
- To find out the counter frames used in comparison with either sides of propaganda frames as that of given by the famous peace journalism theory

Background of the Study

Lal masjid is a famous mosque in Islamabad. In 2007 direct clash began amongst Musharraf administration and group of the Masjid people, severe law and order situation erupted in Islamabad. Kidnapping of beauty parlour employee named auntie Shamim by the female students of Jamia Hafsa and attack on video shops in the vicinity markets of the Masjid had made the situation very critical. Several peace measures were brought in i.e., initiation of peace talks by the government but after failure of dialogues, army operation was decided against the management and pupils of the Masjid and the adjacent two seminaries (Zaidi, n.d). It was exactly during July 2007, when the operation silence was began and military forces were installed nearby Lal masjid. However, safe withdrawal was offered to all taking refuge in the Masjid by accepting and allowing leave of as many as 1000 students. Fighting started among the fighters left in the mosque and military claimed about 92 casualties (ibid).

Literature Review

Media's role on Lal Masjid

A very few of the literature which is available on Lal masjid operation, have been claiming that the press supported military action during Lal Masjid operation (Hassam, Ali, Iqbal & Mirza, 2013). A study described it as a political and religious conflict, and revealed that during the operation not only the press failed to play its role as peace facilitator of the talks between either sides rather they had been instigating violence and overall the operation was portrayed in war frames (Rahman, 2010). Another study which treats editorials of two mainstream national press dwelled that the press started suggesting and beating war drums well before the operation silence (Hassam, Ali, Iqbal & Mirza, 2013). It has also been found through quantitative and qualitative analysis that overall press supported the operation whereas the tone in both of its pre and post operation phases was war oriented (ibid).

Media safeguards the rulers' interests (propaganda tools)/ Researchers agree that media heavily guarded political and military elites' interests (Vukasovich, 2012; McMurtry, 2003). The assumption may well be considered as true in Pakistani perspectives of either side of the mentioned elites where the controlling of the economic interests of the dependent institution like media are concerned. The hypothesis reverberates the same whereas the reason that major sources of information in the world are owned by global corporations which are supporting the worldwide economy. News stories are filtered according to the ideologies of owners and presented accordingly (Vukasovich, 2012; McMurtry, 2003). Also the media descriptions are subjective

to the level that in the fights, they form cultural memory for coming generations (ibid). Whereas, on the other hand, one of the stated reasons that “due to pressure and in such regimes more economic dependence, fear of legal action and harassment forced journalists to write heavily skewed stories in favor of the ruling party” (Akhtar 2000, p. 94). Among the forms of harassment, Shoeb (2008) argues by stating that in military regime “press was facing one of its worst period of censorship, and in order to strengthen his public image and legitimize his leadership, Zia ul Haq controlled the press and directed journalists to government agenda” (Niazi 2000, p. 4; in Shoeb 2008, p. 11). By supporting these regimes and consequently reaping the benefits media irrationally become sensational, as one of the authors explored this particular stance as “sensation though often decried as the dishonest gimmickry of the Weimar era and continued to be working in the third Reich” (Ross 2010, n.p) and which is still in vogue everywhere. Press is the cruder purveyor of the political propaganda which may well be spotlighted where Russian gimmickry was not only found to be same as that of German propaganda but also created long lasting effects to the public (ibid).

Propaganda is a valued and powerful tool in depicting events and issues, however its use is limited. In its selection of national problems, media acquire the policy making decision from the representative establishments. Gilboa 2009 states “CNN effect may be quoted as one of the examples where TV coverage drives strategists to take actions they generally would not have taken” (p. 97). Boutros Boutros-Ghali- the UN Secretary General adjudged said the influence as “instead of 15 members Security

Council, it is now 16 in addition to CNN” (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). Keeping in view media’s huge effects the question arises that why it has not been used for conflict resolution purposes. Joseph (2014) said print media “empowers the ordinary people and ultimately forces the government to deliver” (p. 13).

Theoretical Framework

The norms of Peace journalism theory and framing theory are used in different types of research. Expansion of media, convenient and their fast reach to public have made it important to provide place to resist against conflicts. For “peace journalism”, media resolves the conflict and provides guideline as a third party mediator (Peleg, 2006). Burton, (1969) suggests as “media is third party their role is to stimulate mutual positive motivation to reduce conflict” (p. 36). Fisher stated “the role of media as a third party is to balancing the situational power of parties, synchronizing confrontation efforts, pacing the phases of the dialogue, promoting openness & enhancing communication” (1997 p. 54). Peace journalism plays a mediating role in conflicts, it helps the journalist to report events in more reconciliatory way. It also provides solutions to the conflicts (Galtung, 1997).

According to Lee et al. “largely news framing is a method of formatting a news story, thematically, stylistically and accurately, to communicate an explicit story line” (2006, p. 502). Lynch & McGoldrick (2006) said “without implying that journalists are actively conspiring in some kind of plot to bamboozle the public into supporting wars” (p. 258). “Frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a

particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993, p. 52). He furthers "frames package key ideas, stock phrases and stereotypical images to bolster a particular interpretation. Through repetition, placement and reinforcement, the texts and images provide a dominant interpretation more readily perceivable, acceptable and memorable than other interpretations" (ibid, p. 53).

Framing is slightly manipulative in a sense that it controls the meaning according to the person who writes the content (Van Grop, 2007), the content is written and the creator frames it according to the cultural and social background. The sender constructs the frames intentionally but sometimes the sender himself is unconscious of the frame (Gamson, 1989), if such content is biased it would promote hate and sometimes violence in the society. peace journalism is a conscious effort to understand the importance of media content and how such content would be framed for a peaceful society.

Methodology

The present study used content analysis. Six English and Urdu languages newspapers of Pakistan are the universe of the study. Study period is two months from June 1, 2007 to July 31, 2007 taking into consideration all hard news related to the topic from the front pages. Though the crises took 18 months to settle down but the last period was crucial. Due to the failed talks, the conflict was at its peak and decisive actions were taken during this time frame. The study utilized three propaganda frames given by Johan Galtung. The reason behind selecting three frames was that

the selected frames were categorized as propaganda oriented by Galtung (1997).

Table 1a: *Propaganda Themes And Counter Themes*

2: Propaganda oriented	2: Truth oriented
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exposes untruths of the others. Supports our cover-up attempts/lies “We-them” journalism. Propaganda, vote for us. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exposes untruths of all sides. Discloses all cover-up attempts. All parties are interviewed. Capacity for empathy, understanding.

These themes were divided into frames and counter frames as explained following with related news items

Table 1b: *Propaganda Frames Counter Frames Used in the Press*

A	Exposes untruth of others (Propaganda frames)	Exposes untruths of all sides (Counter frames)
A1	We’ll use troops/Military operation is inevitable	People can bring peace
A2	Musharraf ’s as autocrat	Democracy
A3	Protest frame/They do not right to protests	They have the right to protest
A4	Propaganda in the name of religion	Religion is secondary in democratic society
B	Supports our lies	Exposes both sides’ lies
B5	Responsibility frame/They are responsible for all the problems created in Lal Masjid	Non-responsibility frame
B6	Bringing peace is the job of elites only and it is done by the use of guns	Bringing peace is everyone’s job
B7	Fear frame/They are sowing fear that they are violent	Government is responsible for creating fear
C	“We-them” journalism. Propaganda, vote for us.	All parties are interviewed. Capacity for empathy, understanding

The coding techniques involved both objective characteristics and subjective characteristics of new story. The

objective characteristics contained within newspaper name, news story page positioning, news story source and date of the news and tone of the news story as Supportive and unsupportive to Musharraf rule and propaganda and counter frames. The tone is measured applying that if the story presents both tones but its major portion remains as with Supportive to propaganda it will be coded accordingly or if the story mainly presents unsupportive to propaganda tone it will be coded as unsupportive to propaganda.

For framing analysis each news was coded for once for one frame. And if a story consists of more than one frames then it will be coded for the most prominent frame.

Table 1c: Operationalization of Frames

Propaganda Frames	Operationalization	Counter frames	operationalization
Military Action	Military action is the only possible solution	People bring peace	Negotiation with all the parties involved can solve the problem
Musharraf Autocrat	Musharraf has the sole authority	Democracy	Equal Importance to all sides If one has grievances he reserves the right to protest
Protest	Protest is not acceptable	Right to protest	Religion is secondary in democratic society
Propaganda In The Name Of Religion	Conflicts can be resolved through enforcement of sharia	Religion is secondary	
Responsibility	Govt is responsible for all law and order situation including the Masjid area and the inhabitants of the seminary adjacent with the masjid even though the govt has become unbridled. In fact govt exceeded that very version which the media portrayed as played down.	Non-responsibility	Instead of blaming each other, effort should be made to resolve the issue
Peace Is Elites Job	Only elites can bring peace	Bringing peace is everyone's job	Both parties are responsible for peace
Fear	Only one party is creating fear	Government is responsible for fear	Both sides are responsible
We Them	Only government knows what reality is	Understanding of both sides	Giving both sides point of view

Operationalization of Tilt of news stories

The tilt has been operationalized as;

Supportive To Propaganda

All the News which present Musharraf's opinion, defending his actions, about his speeches, about his verdicts about Lal Masjid and its management will be considered as Supportive to propaganda. At the same time news talking about more negative of the Lal Masjid administration than positive will also be considered as Supportive to propaganda.

Un-Supportive To Propaganda

News stories presenting both sides point of view, talking about the public, students of Jamia Hafsa and their problems, talking about possible ways of conflict resolution, and also presenting the negative aspects of the government.

The unit of analysis is each news. Systematic sampling technique has been used; data collection was manual from main library of University of the Punjab with the assistance of one coder. Coder was given training before data collection about the operationalization process.

Research questions

RQ1. What kind of propaganda frames and counter frames were presented in the newspapers during the coverage of Lal Masjid operation?

RQ2. What was the relationship among tilt of the news stories and parties involved?

RQ3. How was the Operation Silence portrayed?

Findings And Analysis

Table 2a: *Frequency Of Propaganda Frames And Counter Frames In Pakistani National Press N= 282*

	Propaganda Frames	Frequency	%	Counter frames	Frequency	%
1	We'll use troops	51	18	People can bring peace	9	3.1
2	Musharraf 's as autocrat	43	15.2	propaganda in the name of Religion	18	6.3
3	Propaganda in the name of religion	18	6.3	Religion is secondary	6	6.3
4	Protest	13	4.6	They have the right to protest	5	1.7
5	Responsibility	18	12.7	Non-responsibility	6	2.1
6	Bringing peace is the job of elites	25	8.8	Bringing peace is everyone's job	4	1.4
7	Fear frame	16	5.6	Government is responsible for creating fear	5	1.7
8	"We-them"	32	11.3	Understanding of both sides	13	4.6
	Total	216	77		66	23

Table 2a shows that 'we will use troops' frame got maximum coverage in the press, and the protest frame which got 4.6 percent of the total coverage. The most popular counter frame in the press was propaganda in the name of religion i.e. 6.3. Overall propaganda frames were more popular than the counter frames. Out of 282 total news stories 216 represented propaganda frames and only 66 represented counter frames which is 23% of the total.

Table 2b: *Tilt of the news stories with N= 282*

Newspaper	TONE	
	Pro	Anti
Dawn	40/14.2	13/4.6
The News	36/12.7	11/3.9
The Nation	38/13.4	11/3.9
Jang	39/13.8	9/3.2
Express	41/14.5	6/2.1
Khabrain	31/11	7/2.4
Total	225/80%	57/20%

Table 2b presents that 225 news out of 282 were pro to Musharraf government whereas only 57 were neutral.

Propaganda Frames And Their Counter Frames

The print media before and during the operation overwhelmingly used propaganda frames. But at the same time not very occasionally their counter frames were also used by the media in some cases same headline presents.

1a-We'll Use Troops/Military Action Is Inevitable

One of the commonly used frames was the threat of using military in case of non-compliance of the government orders. Such news was presented in most of the cases at the upper half of the front pages. "Lal Masjid kay Khilaf operation Aakhri marahil mein [Operation Silence entering final stages]" (Jang, 2007) "Reinforcement around Lal Masjid" (Dawn, 2007). "Moderate forces must win and we must defeat extremism if Pakistan has to progress" (Dawn, April 17, 2007).

1b-People Can Bring Peace

The main difference between the We'll use troops frame and the competing frame was that the second is more peace oriented and suggested that problem could be solved if both the parties agreed on peace negotiations. The most important frame which could be used more commonly to avoid violence and deaths. "Govt

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decides to negotiate more with cleric" (Dawn, April 8, 2007). "Lal Mashjid issue to be resolved soon: Minister for religious affairs" (Dawn, April 11, 2007)

2a-Musharraf as Autocrat

Press highlight the frame as "Musharraf tells mosque militants surrender or die". Whereas, in the words of Gen Musharraf are highlighted by Pakistani national press as "surrender or die". "Stop wielding sticks: warns Musharraf" (The Nation, April 7, 2007).

2b-Democracy

This frame though not very popular but was portrayed in the press. It was one of the most important counter frames, which could be used to counter propaganda attempts.

3a-Protest /They Do Not Right To Protests

Different religious parties' part took in the protest in favor of Lal Majsid administration. The government criticized their all activities; the same trend was seen in the press. The news related to such steps of solidarity were given least coverage as compared to its competing frame.

3b-They Have The Right To Protest

The counter frame which sometimes used was considering that protest is their right and giving space to such news could have change the situation, but not given equal coverage.

4a- Propaganda In The Name Of Religion

This was the frame that was not highlighted in the press. The need was considering their claims and giving voice to their cause also i.e. "Lal Masjid clerics claim support of Imam-i-Kaaba" (Dawn, April 3, 2007).

“Islamabad ki video shops ak mah main band karnay ka ultimatum [Ultimatum is given to close Islamabad’s video shops within a month from now]” (Jang, April 7, 2007).

4b- Religion Is Secondary

Religion is secondary in democratic societies. And especially as the role of press is crucial in conflicts religious extremism, bigotry and biasness could be dangerous.

5a-Responsibility / ‘They’ Are Responsible For All The Lal Masjid Operation

Another commonly used frame was putting all the responsibility on the Lal Masjid administration that ‘they’ are responsible of the wrongs. If they agreed on governments’ terms and conditions the situation wouldn’t be different.

“Information Minister Mohammed Ali Durrani severely criticized the Madressah and the mosque management and held them directly responsible for the deaths and destruction. It is indicated that they alone would be responsible for any further trouble” (The News, 2007).

Furthermore, one of the most popular English mainstream press toed the line as “The government was following a prudent course to deal with some misguided youth” (Dawn, April 17, 2007).

5b-Non-Responsibility

“The non-responsibility frame was rarely used that if such situation has occurred, rather than blaming each other the both parties should collectively find a solution. Jamia Hafsa seeks help of the people of the NWFP” (The Nation, April 5, 2007)

6a-Only Elites Can Bring Peace Through Guns

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Another of the favorite frame was the notion that only elites have the ability and it's their job to bring peace. "Government tell National Assembly, the Lal Masjid Defiance to 'end in few' days" (Dawn, April 25, 2007). "Hakoomat kay pass akhri option operation hay [Operation is the last option: Govt]" (Express, April 11, 2007)

6b-Bringing Peace Is Everybody's Job

The counter frame though was also one sided but provides the both sides point of view. It was claimed by the Lal mosque administration that only the nifiaz of sharia can bring peace. "Lal Majid Clerics urges Ulema to enforce sharia" (Dawn, April 14, 2007). "Lal Masjid clerics vows to enforce sharia in the country" (Dawn, April 21, 2007).

7a-Fear /They Are Creating Fear

The press used the fear frame as a propoganda tool commonly, as the Musharraf's government wants to create fear among the public about the activities of the Lal Masjid administration and students as real culprits. This was done for two for different motives. One, that in order to pave the way for Operation Silence and as another option if the operation can be averted to save the writ of the government. "It was observed that the Lal Masjid brigade was equipped with 3mm rifles, Kalashnikovs, 222 rifles, hand-grenades, petrol bombs, tear-gas shells and light weapons" (The News, 2007). "Jamia Hafsa ki talibat kay khilaf kadam uthaia to pori kuwat say Islamabad par hamla kar dain gay [We will attack Islamabad if Jamia Hafsa's students are victimized]" (Jang, April 6, 2007)

7b-Government Is Responsible For Creating Fear

The following news items show that the scenes of would-be operation are put on red alert. In fact, these are strategies of the counter frame which could be helpful in controlling the tense situation

“Calling ‘them’ as ‘terrorists’ by Musharraf himself, Geo TV, an entity of the Jang group had taken the lines as “All hospitals in the twin cities have been put on alert” (Geo TV, 2007).

8a-“We-them”

The frame that “we are right” and in authority and the other party is wrong and are trouble makers was very common in the print media, i.e.

“Lal Masjid frees two policemen” (The Nation, 2007)

“The armed seminary students were freely roaming the streets, not only flashing their Kalashnikovs and other automatic weapons with straps of magazines and grenades wrapped around their waist, some of them were even wearing gas-masks with many other carrying home-made petrol bombs in both their hands” (Dawn, 2007).

8b-Understanding of both sides

The alternate frame was developing the understanding of both sides among the readers. But was lacking in the overall press mode. “No headway in Jamia Hafsa talks” (The Nation, April 9, 2007).

Table 2c: *Choice of vocabulary and metaphors*

Propaganda frames	vocabulary and metaphors	Counter frames	vocabulary and metaphors
We'll use troops/Military action is inevitable	Military Action, defiance,	People can bring peace	Withdrawal, reconstruction, negotiation, talks,
Musharraf 's as autocrat	Gair kanoni [illegal], narrow mindedness,	Democracy	Equal, all
Protest frame/They do not right to protests	Guarded by students, Misguided youth	They have the right to protest	Our daughters
propaganda in the name of Religion	Fidie hamlay [suicide attacks],	Religion is secondary	Religious tolerance, equality
Responsibility frame/They are responsible Lal Masjid operation	heavily armed, laa mehdod aslayha [Laal Masjid is in abundant of arms and ammunition]	Non-responsibility frame	Jirga [mediatory gathering of elders to bring peace], peaceful campaigns, Islamic system
only elites can bring peace through Guns	Law and order, peace, security, police action	Bringing peace is everyone's job	Educational activities, both sides should understand
Fear frame/They are sowing fear	armed seminary students, freely roaming the streets mosque's radicals militants, Self-raised militia,	Government is responsible for creating fear	Religious hatred, sacrifice their life
"We-them" propaganda	extremism, religious bigotry, obscurantism, Taliban, Hard-line Ulema	Understanding of both sides	Committee of Ulema Lal Masjid clerics

After the observing of the above-mentioned frames used by the national media, there are also found the following two major frames as;

Blended Frames

It was observed that the press used blended frames in two different forms, mixture of two or more than two frames were used on the same page and some times in the same news story. Like “we them propaganda” frame was often used with “bringing peace is the job of the elite only” and “protest frame” was mostly combined with “fear frame”.

Contrasting frames

It was also observed that the same news sometime present contrasting frames or frames and their counter frames in the same news story.

Conclusion

To conclude that the freedom of press as claimed by Musharraf did not lead to the actual freedom of newspapers. The statement by Musharraf that “I have set the press free” was nothing more than a political gimmickry to gain public support. One sided reporting, focusing on one sided truth and lies of the other side show that newspapers portrayed propaganda and were more like on government side than on the other side. Although Musharraf proclaimed that “mass media would be free and freedom of expression would prevail” but it was only gimmickry by Musharraf. Regardless of all the claims, media was the ally of government. There was no considerable difference between the reportage of all six newspapers on the issue of Lal Masjid operation, all presented similar frames. The in-depth framing

analysis reveals that the news stories related to peace talks or portrays peace i.e. on the same day's newspaper (The Nation, April 12, 2007) reconciliatory frame "Cabinet decides to avoid action against Jamia Hafsa" were played down mostly at the lower page but stories that create fear i.e. fear frame "Lal masjid has guns, will defend itself (The Nation, April 12, 2007) were played up with leading headline. The politics is used as propaganda in the name of Religion frame was used most of the time with played up positions. The reason might be that frame presents the negative side of the Lal Masjid administration.

Limitations

President Musharraf's electronic media speeches are also important in this context but this paper used only the print media news coverage given to Musharraf' administration and Lal Masjid clerics regarding Lal Masjid crisis. Critical discourse analysis could explore more dimensions of the text for bringing forth hidden meanings.

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