

Execution of Mumtaz Qadri & Urdu Print Media of Pakistan: Exploring Consistency and
Discord Frames in Editorializing of Blasphemy & Freedom of expression

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the frames; through which execution of Mumtaz Qadris editorialized by the Urdu print media of Pakistan. Eighteen editorials on the selected topic, from March 1, 2016 to April 1, 2016, are selected as a sample from five leading national newspapers viz. Jang, Nawa-e-Waqt, Ausaf, Ummat and Islam. Freedom of expression and blasphemy depicted through consistency and discord frames is explored with the help of Galtung's peace and violence journalism indicators. Content analysis approach is applied, with the Framing theory providing a theoretical background. It has been found that Media portrayed the issue through discord frame as a dominant frame, which approved the notion of Galtung that media usually portray the conflicts through violence journalism frame. It also approved that media have not continued framing by uniform pace. They play an active role in opinion formation of public. With the passage of time media changed their framing tone from discord to the consistency frames. This proves that media is conscious to enjoying the right of freedom of expression with reference to the blasphemy, in such a volatile situation.

Keywords: Mumtaz Qadri, Execution, violence, journalism. discord

Introduction

In Pakistan, freedom of expression and Blasphemy have been a great source of making headlines since January 4, 2011, when Governor of the Punjab Mr. Salman Taseer (ST) was murdered by one of his security guards Mumtaaz Qadri (MQ) in Islamabad (Asad, 2015). Mumtaz Qadri admitted before the court that he killed the Salman Taseer for his support of Asia Bibi, who was sentenced to death for insulting the prophet of Islam, and for speaking against the blasphemy law in Pakistan (Rana, 2011). On October 10, 2011 the court sentenced him to death. He filed an appeal in Islamabad High Court on October 6, 2011 against his death sentence, the court made clear his view that the accused, a uniformed official, was not entitled to take the law into his own hands and murder a man who was under his protection (Nasir, 2016). The court rejected this appeal in December 2015 (Hasnaat, 2016), and he was hanged on 29 February 2016 at Adiala Jail Rawalpindi. His funeral prayer was performed on March 1, 2016 in Liaquat Bagh. On this occasion, PEMRA (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority) banned electronic media from broadcasting his funeral because it was violation of Article 19 of the Constitution of Pakistan. Immediately, agitation against execution started; Sunni Tehreek announced protests all over the country. On March 27, 2016, thousands of people gathered at Liaquat Bagh in Rawalpindi, and nearly half of them marched from Rawalpindi into Red Zone of Islamabad to commemorate the Chehlum of Mumtaz Qadri. They staged a sit-in outside the Parliament House and refused to leave unless their demands were acknowledged. However, the protest was ended after negotiations between the leadership of demonstrators and the representatives of the government. Print media at large covered it heavily. The problem of blasphemy and freedom of expression was

discussed again with more intensity. Some quarters of media supported the stance of the government. On other hand some quarters of media condemned it, articulating it as blasphemy and disrespect of the Islam and the Holy Prophet. At this point of time, role played by media was very much important. According to Galtung, in such a conflicting situation, media mostly use the violence frame to report the issue (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 96). This situation provided an opportunity to media analysts, to study the role played by print media and test the notion of Galtung. Our study is also an attempt in this area through Galtung's peace and war journalism frames. We have slightly modified it into consistency and discord journalism frames, however all of their indicators (micro frames) are same (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 98).

Review of Literature

Prominent Scholars of media and communication studies have explored freedom of expression with reference to many other concepts like hate speech, defamation and blasphemy etc. Mostly, these notions are studied with the help of framing theory. Galtung's (2013) war and peace journalism frames are utilized mostly. Framing can be referred as an angle through which media shows a view, it explains "how people rely on expectations to make sense of their everyday social experiences" (Reese S. , 2003, p. 7). In most of the cases people are not well-informed on a good number of social or political matters; framing maintains significant influence over individuals' responses to communicated messages, especially within a hegemonic political arena (Entman, 1993, p. 55).

Hasan and Subramani (2013) conducted a content analysis of four South-Indian regional newspapers, on the innocence of Muslims film conflict and inferred that media is a very important tool for effective communication of Islam which the Muslim world could utilize. Similarly Siraj (2007) analyzed the Indo-Pakistan clash over Kashmir, through framing of war and peace journalism in leading newspapers of USA and observed that the

number of war journalism stories and frames were dominant. On Talibanization issue in Pakistan Siraj (2010) analyzed print media of Pakistan and concluded that most of the stories were framed in war journalism. Anjum Zia and Hajrah Syedah conducted a content analysis of the coverage of Kashmir issues in three newspapers Dawn, The Times of India and The New York Times(Zia & Syedah, 2015)

Research Questions

RQ1: What is the dominant frame—consistency or discord—in the editorial coverage of the execution of Mumtaz Qadri, by Urdu print media of Pakistan?

RQ2: How did the selected media utilize **macro-frames**, to portray MQ's issue?

RQ3: How did the newspapers portray MQ's issue, through **Micro-frames**?

Our research is following the framing theory's line of action. Just like the peace and war journalism, we have designed a consistency and discord journalism design. Prominent researchers of mass communication argue that political attitude and opinion formation is heavily dependent upon the news media (McCombs & Maxwell, 2004). Fairhurst and Saar argue that framing consists of three elements: language, thought and forethought to talk about a concept so as to give it a specific involvement. It may be negative or positive(Fairhurst & Saar, 1996). Khan and Yousafzai argue that news events are framed to stimulate the audiences' perceptions of the social reality(Khan & Yousafzai, 2005). The frames, through the elements, encourage certain interpretations and discourage others. On the whole framing theory describes very clearly that the "focused point" of media in a certain situation presents it into a new form of meanings. Human beings are by nature "cognitive misers" and they think very little; however the frames provide them a fast and simple way to process information (Fiske & Taylor, 2008).

Research Design

Content analysis approach is applied to this quantitative research study and the information is collected through coding sheets. Framing role of media is explored through the lenses of Galtung's peace and conflict journalism (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 98).

This study encompasses a period of thirty-two days, i.e. from March 1, 2016 to April 1, 2016. Mumtaz Qadri was executed on 29th of February. As a result, very odd situations emerged, and continued up to April 1, 2016. Editorial coverage of Urdu print media of Pakistan, during this specific period, is focused in our study. All editorials of the selected Urdu daily newspapers on Mumtaz Qadri's issue during the selected time frame constitute the universe/population of our research. Each editorial published from March 1, to April 1, 2016, having at least once the word "Mumtaz Qadri" is selected for the analysis. Census approach is applied in our study. A list of 18 editorials, discussing Mumtaz Qadri's issue, comprises the sampling frame, which is ultimately sample size of our research, as it is obvious that, census means every unit of population is included in the content analysis"(Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005, p. 99). Each single sentence of the selected editorials is unit of analysis of our study. Khan and Yousafzai (2005) support the stance that a complete paragraph or sentence of the text makes a complete sense in the analytical approach of mass media research.

Major Concepts' Operationalization

1: Urdu Print Media

All the newspapers and magazines printed on the paper in Urdu language are considered as Urdu Print Media (UPM). In this study we have taken daily Jang Rawalpindi, daily Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad/Rawalpindi, Daily Ausaf Islamabad, daily Ummat Rawalpindi, and daily Islam Rawalpindi/Islamabad as representatives of UPM.

2: Freedom of Expression

Article 19 of Pakistan constitution states that every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defense of Pakistan or any part thereof friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, [commission of] or incitement to an offence(Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

This right of freedom of expression can be measured through the frames used to portray the issue. In this study we have used two Macro frames (Consistency Frame and Discord Frame), which are further operationalized through eight Micro Frames. Detail is being given in second to this paragraph.

3: Blasphemy

Blasphemy laws are defined by Pakistan Penal Code, as following:

According to Article 295A, deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of [the citizens of Pakistan], by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representations insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, is a crime. **Article 295B of Pakistan Penal Code declares that if someone willfully defiles damages or Descartes a copy of the Holy Quran or of an extract there-from or uses it in any derogatory manner or for any unlawful purpose shall be punishable. Article 295C clarifies that** whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, or by any imputation, innuendo, or insinuation, directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine (PPC, 1860).

4: Framing

According to James Druckman and &Dennis chong the outstanding assumption of framing that how any issue is viewed form variety of perspective and be constructed a halving of implications for multiple values of consideration. In our study we have used two frames “Consistency and Discord” as Macro Frames; whereas nine frames “Peace Oriented (PCO), Violence Oriented (VCO), Truth Oriented (TRO), Propaganda Oriented (PRO), People Oriented (PEO), Elite Oriented (ELO), Solution Oriented (SNO), Victory Oriented (VYO) and none of these (NON) ” have been used as Micro frames. These frames are barrowed from Galtung’s peace and war journalism model(Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

5: Consistency

The frame which is used to portray the issue (Execution of Mumtaz Qadri) as moving ahead towards the peace is considered aspro-peace frame or “consistency frame”. It is operationalized with the help of Galtung’s Peace Journalism frames: Peace Oriented (PCO), Truth Oriented (TRO), People Oriented (PEO), and Solution Oriented (SNO) frames(Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 98). According to guide lines of Galtung and Fischer, these(Micro) Frames are further operationalized in the following lines:

5.1: peace orientation

1. Focus on conflict formation: It explores how the conflict arose in the first place. It recognizes that there are often more than two parties to a conflict, with their specific goals.
2. Win, win orientation: It recognizes that there is a favorable solution in which all are winners. Conflicts can come to an end without one side winning and the other side loosing.
3. Open space, open time: Context is vital to understand the outbreak of a conflict. Causes, issues and goals can often be traced back through history.

4. Making conflicts transparent: The government must be keeping some information top secret, but it is also the public's right to know how their tax money is being spent.
5. Giving voice to all parties: It considers the conflict as a mutual problem and does not discriminate different things as 'our' and 'their'.
6. See conflict as problem: Evil-doers are exposed regardless of which party they belong to.
7. Humanization of all sides: All parties to the conflict are given room in the reporting and efforts are made to promote empathy among them. It aims at humanizing all parties.
8. Proactive: This kind of reporting strives to reduce the risk of an outbreak of violence through prevention.
9. Focus on invisible effects of violence: It also recognizes less visible effects of clash such as cultural damage and emotional trauma.

5.2: Truth orientation

10. Efforts to expose lies and unraveled/ cover-ups on all sides make peace journalism truth- oriented.

5.3. People orientation

11. Give name to all evil-doers. It highlights suffering across all levels of society. A voice is given to grass root peace-makers.

5.4: Solution Orientation

12. Ideally, conflicts can be contained and resolved before becoming violent. Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war. Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation.(Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 98)

6: Discord

The frame which is used to portray the issue (Execution of Mumtaz Qadri) as moving ahead towards the violence is considered as anti-peace frame or “discord frame”. It is operationalized with the help of Galtung’s Peace Journalism frames: Violence Oriented (VCO), Propaganda Oriented (PRO), Elite Oriented (ELO), and Victory Oriented (VYO) frames. These (Micro) Frames are further operationalized in the following lines:

6.1: violence orientation:

1. Focus on conflict arena: It follows that causes and solutions can, and indeed must, be found in the conflict arena.
2. Zero-sum orientation: Conflict is portrayed as a zero-sum game between two players. One player wins and other loses.
3. Closed space, closed time: In reporting, the conflict is often isolated from its greater context, both in time and in space.
4. Making conflicts opaque/secret: Some more important information are not disclosed to the public, declaring them national secret .It is very concerned with exposing the lies and secrets of 'the other' while protecting those of its 'own', in essence aiding in cover-ups.
5. ‘Us-them’: It does not consider the conflict as a mutual problem and discriminates different things as ‘our’ and’ their’.
6. See “them” as the problem: It reports ‘them’ as a root of the evil and main cause of the conflict.
7. Dehumanization of “them”: All parties to the conflict are not given room in the reporting and efforts are made dehumanize 'the others'.
8. Reactive: It waits for violence. When violence occurs, it is reported by in media.

9. Focus only on visible effect of violence: Only the visible effects of violence like killed, wounded and material damage are focused (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

6.2: Propaganda Orientation

10. It is very concerned with exposing them. Lies and secrets of 'the other' while protecting those of its 'own', in essence aiding in cover-ups.

6.3: Elite Orientation

11. Focus on “our” suffering. Give name to their evil-doers. Give name to their evil-doers. Focus on elite peace-makers.

6.4: Victory Orientation

12. Victory is regarded as achieved when there is a ceasefire, meanwhile other alternatives are kept out of the discourse, at least until victory seems probable. In addition, much focus is on treaty and institution, and interest fades as soon as the conflict is over (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 98).

Instrument for Data Collection

Reese (2010) proposes that the researcher doing framing analysis must make some well-informed choices about the best point of entry to answer the question at hand. Chasing this notion; we have slightly molded John Galtung’s Peace and Violence Journalism in the “consistent and discordant journalism” for an appropriate collection of data and its reliable analysis (Galtung & Fischer, 2013, p. 98).

Table 1: Code sheet for an appropriate data collection

Code sheet No..... Newspaper..... Date.....							
CONSISTENCY (MACRO FRAME)				DISCORD (MACRO FRAME)			
V	Indicator (Micro Frames)	Tick the relevant	count	V	Indicator (Micro Frames)	Tick the relevant	Count
01	Peace Oriented (PCO)			02	Violence Oriented (VCO)		
03	Truth Oriented (TRO)			04	Propaganda Oriented (PRO)		
05	People Oriented (PEO)			06	Elite Oriented (ELO)		
07	Solution Oriented (SNO)			08	Victory Oriented (VYO)		
09	Neutral (NON)			10	Neutral (NON)		

Inter-Coder Reliability

Two PhD scholars were engaged for coding and inter-coder reliability was calculated through the most frequently used Scott's Pi formula ($Pi = \frac{\%OA - \%EA}{1 - \%EA}$), a test that looks at category values and "corrects" for chance agreement in computing a reliability assessment. (Scott, 1955). Content sample of four editorials (71 sentences, 11.3% of total sentences) for the reliability test is taken through random sampling (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005, p. 146). It is an appropriate sample as Wimmer and Dominick (2003) suggest that between 10% and 25% of the body of the content should be tested. Sixty (60) and sixty-seven (67) results of coding were found as "observed agreement" (OA) in two different attempts. Observed agreement percentage is calculated by the

formula $\left(\%OA = \frac{Agreement.1+Agreement.2}{Total\ coding\ decisions} \times 100\right)$. whereas expected agreement (EA) in two coders is (.50). By putting the values in formula, it produced a Scott's pi of .78, which is acceptable.

Results and findings/ Data Analysis

The data collected through the coding sheet is analyzed in two steps. In first step, 9 frame variables are computed; their frequencies and percentages are obtained through the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS-14.0).

In second step, research questions are addressed. Three macro frames: "Consistency Frame", "Discord Frame" and "Neutral Frame", are dealt, which are differentiated through the micro frames (indicators) borrowed and modified from Johan Galtung's war and peace journalism (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). Moreover, third frame is distinguished through the editorials that do not fall within consistent or discordant journalism frame.

Step one: General analysis of data:

1: How many editorials were published in the selected newspapers during MQ's issue?

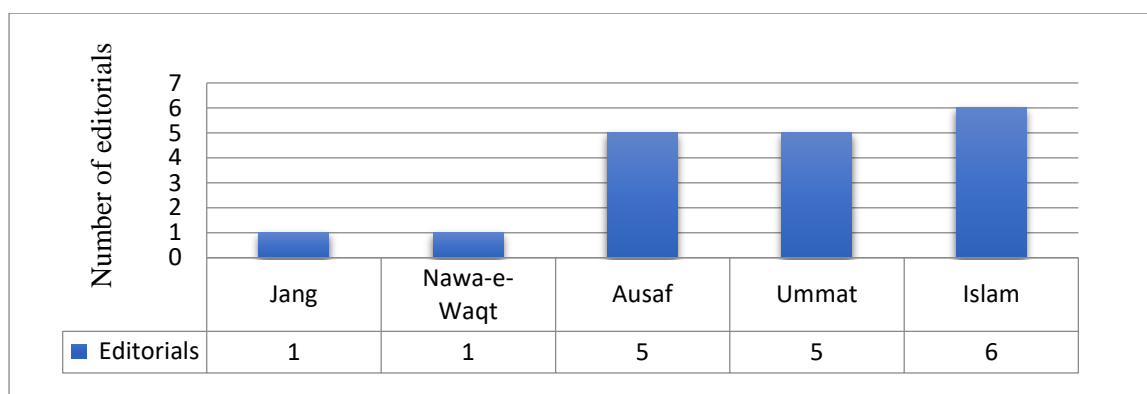


Figure 1: Editorials were published in the selected newspapers during MQ's issue.

During the selected time period, eighteen editorials discussing the issue of Mumtaz Qadri; were published in five selected Urdu newspapers .Daily Jang published only one

editorial on 1st of April, Nawa-e-Waqt also published a single editorial on 31st of April. Ausaf published five editorials; on March 1st, 6th, 7th, 30th and April 1st. Similarly daily Ummat published five editorials; on March 1st, 2nd, 5th, 30th and April 1st. Islam published six editorials; on March 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 15th and 29th.

2: How many editorials were published on different dates?

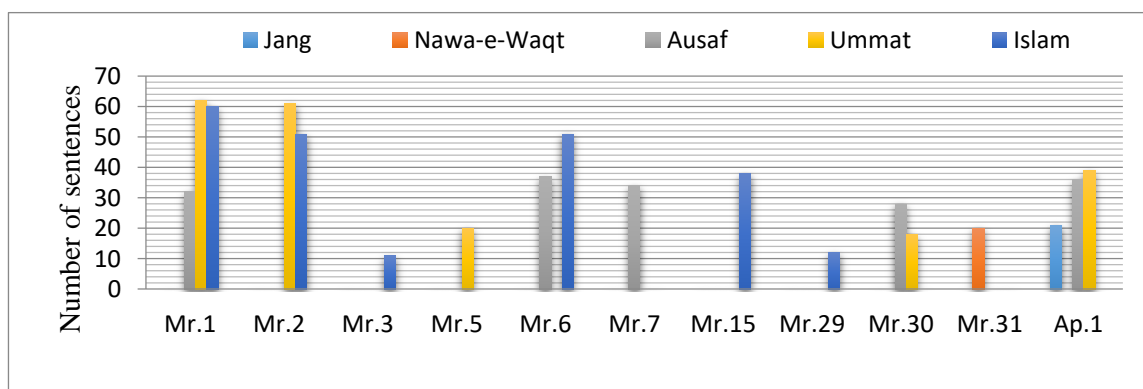


Figure 2: Editorials published in the selected newspapers on different dates during MQ's issue.

From March 1st to April 1st 2016, eleven editorials were published about the selected issue. On March 1st, three newspapers, daily Ausaf, Ummat and Islam published editorials discussing the execution of Mumtaz Qadri. On March 2nd, daily Ummat and Islam; on March 3rd, daily Islam; on March 5th, daily Ummat; on March 6th, daily Ausaf and Islam published editorials. On March 7th, daily Ausaf published an editorial. On March 15 and 29, Daily Islam published editorials. On March 30, daily Ausaf and Ummat published their editorials. On March 31, daily Nawa-e-Waqt wrote editorial. On April 1, dailies Jang, Ausaf and Ummat published editorials.

3: How many sentences were published on different dates?

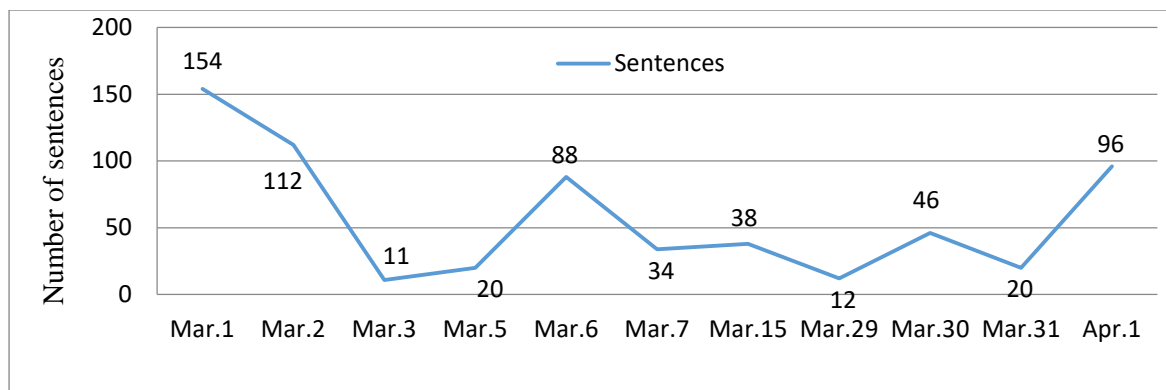


Figure 3: Number sentences published on different dates.

During the month of March and April 2016, the selected Urdu media published six hundreds and thirty-one sentences in eighteen editorials. On March first, one hundred and fifty-four; on second, one hundred and twelve; on third, only eleven; on fifth twenty; on sixth, eighty-eight; on seventh, thirty-four; on fifteenth, thirty-eight; on twenty-ninth, twelve; on thirtieth, forty-six; on thirty-first, twenty and on April first, ninety-six sentences were published.

Step two: Addressing the Research Questions

1: Which was the dominant frame used by Urdu Print Media, in MQ's issue?

The selected Urdu Print Media used collectively the discordant frame as dominant frame with two hundreds and ninety(46%) sentences. Whereas, consistency frame used only nine (1.43 %) sentences less than discord frames (45%). Only sixty sentences (9 %) were found neutral in the framing categories.

2: How did the selected media utilize macro-frames, to portray MQ's issue?

- a. **Daily Jang** used thirteen sentences (5% of 281) to portray the issue through consistency frame; discord frame was not used at all; and neutral frame was utilized in eight sentences (13% of 60).
- b. **Daily Nawa-e-Waqt** used eleven sentences to depict the issue through consistency frame (4% of 281), seven sentences (2% 290) to describe the issue through discord frame and two sentences (3% of 60) through neutral frame.
- c. **Daily Ausaf** used eighty-eight sentences (31% of 281) to depict the issue through consistency frame, sixty (21% of 290) sentences to describe the issue through discord frame and nineteen sentences (32% of 60) through neutral frame.
- d. **Daily Ummat** used seventy-eight (28% of 281) sentences to depict the issue through consistency frame, hundred (34% of 290) sentences to describe the issue through discord frame and twenty-two (37% of 60) sentences through neutral frame.
- e. **Daily Islam** used ninety-one (32% of 281) sentences to depict the issue through consistency frame, one hundred and twenty-three (8% of 290) sentences to describe the issue through discord frame and nine (15% of 60) sentences through neutral frame.

3: How did the newspapers portray MQ's issue, through Micro-frames? Peace

orientation frame: Thirty-two sentences were used through peace oriented frame, in all. Daily jang published one sentence (3%), Ausaf twenty-seven (84%), and Islam four sentences (13%), which have depicted the issue through peace oriented frame.

- a. Violence orientation frame:** Fifty-seven sentences were used through violence oriented frame, in all. Daily Nawa-e-Waqt published four sentences (7%), Ausaf nineteen (33%), Ummat sixteen (28%) and Islam eighteen (32%) sentences, which have depicted the issue through violence oriented frame.
- b. Truth orientation frame:** Two hundreds and twenty-one sentences were used through truth oriented frame, in all. Daily jang published ten (5%), Nawa-e-Waqt eleven (5%), Ausaf fifty-four (24%), Ummat seventy-one (32%) and Islam seventy-five (34%) sentences, which portrayed the issue through truth oriented frame.
- c. Propaganda orientation frame:** Eighteen sentences were used through propaganda oriented frame, in all. Daily Ummat published eleven (61%), and Islam seven (39%) sentences, which depicted the issue through Propaganda oriented frame.
- d. People orientation frame:** Twenty-three sentences were used through people oriented frame, in all. Daily jang published one (4%), Ausaf three (13%), Ummat seven (31%) and Islam twelve (52%) sentences, which depicted the issue through People oriented frame.
- e. Elite orientation frame:** One hundred and seventy-seven sentences were used through elite oriented frame, in all. Daily Nawa-e-Waqt published three (2%), Ausaf thirty-six (20%), Ummat sixty-eight (38%) and Islam seventy sentences (40%), which portrayed the issue through elite oriented frame.
- f. Solution orientation frame:** Only five sentences were used through solution oriented frame, in all. Daily jang published one (20%), and Ausaf four (80%) sentences, which depicted the issue through solution oriented frame.

- g. Victory orientation frame:** Thirty-eight sentences were used through victory oriented frame, in all. Daily Ausaf published five (13%), Ummat five (13%) and Islam twenty-eight (74%) sentences, which portrayed the issue through victory oriented frame.
- h. Neutral orientation frame:** Sixty sentences were used through victory oriented frame, in all. Daily jang published eight (13%), Nawa-e-Waqt two (3%), Ausaf nineteen (32%), Ummat twenty-two (37%) and Islam nine (15%) sentences, which did not discussed the issue through any frame mentioned in our study.

Discussion & Conclusion

Overall trend of coverage in Urdu-print media seems slightly violence oriented. Its tone changed with the passage of time. Initially, its attitude was little uncaring and discord frame was dominant. Its frequency declined in second quarter and in third quarter there was no editorial at all about the issue. In fourth quarter, issue was again properly treated in editorials but the framing trend reversed and consistency frame became dominant frame.

In this study, Spiral of silence theory is also clearly observable. Initially, discord frame was dominant, so the agitation started, but with the passage of time media ignored the issue and protest ended without any considerable result.

It is observed that Daily Jang and Nawa-e-Waqt have not given an appropriate coverage to the issue as compared to the Ausaf, Ummat and Islam. It is because of the PEMRA orders; Jang and Nawa-e-Waqt groups have TV Channels heavily depending on government. Whereas Ausaf, Ummat and Islam have no TV Channel and these are comparatively less dependent on governmental advertisements.

Mumtaz Qadri's execution is a unique issue of the history of Islam. It was a clear threat for government and the society, which was controlled through the authority of the state

and law. It can be inferred that a balance of law (between freedom of expression and laws of blasphemy) and responsible media can make a conflicting situation calm and peaceful. The journalists should play a responsible role in sensitive situations (McBride, 2010).

From the results of our study, it can be inferred that Urdu print media of Pakistan has exercised limited freedom of expression in Mumtaz Qadri's execution issue; due to a very sensitive situation, it has not been very much bold. Despite this its role falls in the ambit of conflict oriented media.

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