



Portrayal of the US in the Leading Pakistani Newspapers: An Analysis

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Dedication

Dedicated to my parents with affection and reverence; without their prayers and support I was just a wandering lark.

Acknowledgement

I am extremely appreciative of my teachers for their guidance, especially my supervisor Dr. Farish Ullah Yousafzai, who guided me through out the research study scrupulously. I am highly obliged to him for his consideration, exceptional support and cooperation. It is because of his meticulous guidance and proper instructions; I am able to get this task done.

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May God bless you all.

Regards

Qasim Mahmood

ABSTRACT

The study aims to analyse the image of US in the Pakistani English press. The study tells that how the Pakistani newspapers frame the US in their news stories. It determines whether Pakistani press portrays the American image positively or negatively, and to find out whether or not Pakistani media makes the US responsible for present scenario in Pakistan. For this inquiry, the researcher made analysis of the contents of English newspapers of Pakistan. Quantitative and descriptive approach has been adopted by the researcher for the present study. Three English leading dailies, The Dawn, The News and The Nation were randomly selected from November 01, 2009 to January 31, 2010 as sample of the proposed research study. The front, back and editorial pages of the above mentioned newspapers were the sample size of the study. The researcher focused and analyzed only those news items that were regarding, Pakistan policy towards US, US policy regarding Pakistan, coalition against war on terror, US economic and military aid for Pakistan, nuclear issue, drone attacks, talibanization. The findings of the study indicated that overall these newspapers presented the US image negatively. Only hard news of the daily Dawn presented the US image positively whereas the editorial pages of the Dawn portrayed the US image negatively. On the other hand the daily News and the daily Nation depicted the US image negatively. The study explored that whenever the US shielded the Pakistan's interests, the Pakistani press framed the US image positively, whereas whenever the US adopted unfriendly policies towards Pakistan, at that time the newspapers of the study depicted the US image negatively.

Certificate

This is certified that the contents and form of the research report entitled "Portrayal of the US in the Leading Pakistani Newspapers: An Analysis" by Qasim Mahmood has been found satisfactory and fulfills the requirement of the degree.

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Final Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis submitted by Mr. Qasim Mahmood. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

Committee

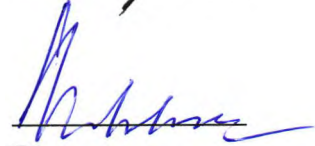
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Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
CHAPTER 1	
Introduction	01
▪ Problem Statement	03
▪ Research Questions	03
▪ Objectives of the Study	03
▪ Significance of the study	04
CHAPTER 2	
Literature Review	05
CHAPTER 3	
Theoretical Framework	13
▪ Framing	13
▪ Agenda Setting	14
▪ Hypotheses	16
CHAPTER 4	
Methodology	17
▪ Population of the study	17
▪ Sampling technique	
▪ Sample	17
▪ Sample size	17
▪ Content analysis	18
▪ Analysis Procedure	18
▪ Quantitative Analysis	18
▪ Operational Definitions	19
▪ Variables of the Content Analysis	19
▪ Techniques of Data Analysis and Interpretation	20

CHAPTER 5

▪ Complexion of the data	21
▪ Findings	23
▪ Discussion	33
▪ Conclusion	45
▪ Graphs	48
▪ Limitations	57
▪ Applications of the Research	57
References	58
Appendix	61

List of Tables

Tables	Page No.
Table: 1. Coverage of the daily Dawn from Nov.1 st , 2009 to Jan. 31 st 2010	23
Table: 2. Coverage of the daily News from Nov.1 st , 2009 to Jan. 31 st 2010	24
Table:3. Coverage of the daily Nation from Nov. 1 st , 2009 to Jan. 31 st 2010	25
Table: 4. Comparison of the framing of three dailies in Nov. 2009	26
Table: 5. Comparison of the framing of three dailies in Dec. 2009	27
Table: 6. Comparison of the framing of three dailies in Jan. 2010	28
Table: 7. Comparison of the hard and soft news of daily Dawn	29
Table: 8. Comparison of the hard and soft news of daily News	30
Table: 9. Comparison of the hard and soft news of daily Nation	31
Table: 10. Overall comparison of the hard and soft news of dailies Dawn, News and Nation	32
Table: 11. Measurement of the stories published in daily Dawn	33
Table: 12. Measurement of the stories published in daily News	34
Table: 13. Measurement of the stories published in daily Nation	35
Table: 14. Framing of the issues in daily Dawn	36
Table: 15. By-line of the stories of daily Dawn	37
Table: 16. Source of the stories of daily Dawn	38
Table: 17. Framing of the issues in daily News	39
Table: 18. By-line of the stories of daily News	40
Table: 19. Source of the stories of daily News	41
Table: 20. Framing of the issues in daily Nation	42
Table: 21. By-line of the stories of daily Nation	43
Table: 22. Source of the stories of daily Nation	44

List of Graphs

Graphs	Page No.
Graph 1: Framing of the stories published in daily Dawn	48
Graph 2: By-line of the stories published in daily Dawn	48
Graph 3: Source of the stories published in daily Dawn	49
Graph 4: Framing of the stories published in daily News	49
Graph 5: By-line of the stories published in daily News	50
Graph 6: Source of the stories published in daily News	50
Graph 7: Framing of the stories published in daily Nation	51
Graph 8: By-line of the stories published in daily Nation	51
Graph 9: Source of the stories published in daily Nation	52
Graph: 10. Framing comparison of the dailies Dawn, News and Nation	52
Graph 11: Framing of the soft news of the daily Dawn	53
Graph 12: Comparison of hard and soft news of the daily Dawn	53
Graph 13: Framing of the soft news of the daily News	54
Graph 14: Comparison of hard and soft news of the daily News	54
Graph 15: Framing of the soft news of the daily Nation	55
Graph 16: Comparison of hard and soft news of the daily Nation	55
Graph 17: Overall comparison of the framing of the dailies Dawn, News and Nation	56

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Pak-US diplomatic relations were established in late 1947. These relations were made stronger with the visit of Pakistan Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in May 1950. Since then Pakistan's dependence is increasing by the day on the US economic and military assistance. Subsequently, Pakistan signed a joint defense accord with US, and turned into a part of South East Asian Treaty Organization SEATO and pro Western Treaty Organization CENTO in 1954. (Saqib, Ehsanullah. 2002, p411).

It is crystal clear from the fact that Pakistan's geographical position made it valuable partner in Western alliance system in order to block the expansion of communism in this part of the world. Pakistan's relations with US became stronger when it signed Baghdad Pact, CENTO and SEATO. Today the relationships of the two countries are so well-built that US considers Pakistan as "most-allied ally" in Asia.

Because of the fragile political and economic institutions of Pakistan, the US is playing significant role in Pakistan's political, military and economic state of affairs. Due to this reason, the media gives special coverage to the stories associated to the US. These stories are based on the US strategy interests in Pakistan which covers a large number of issues. The stability of democracy in South Asian region, economic restructuring and countering narcotics trafficking are the significant issues among them. Counter terrorism, nuclear weapons and missile proliferation in this part of the world are the chief concerns of the US establishment. But quite a lot of developments over the years like sanction related to democracy and proliferation, Indo-Pak conflict over Kashmir matter, joint nuclear confrontation and more over 9/11 fanatic attacks on US affected these concerns a lot.

Subsequent to the 9/11, the nature of Pak-US relation has been changed once for all. After these attacks, the US built massive diplomatic pressure over Pakistan, as a result the President of Pakistan, General Musharraf, offered the US unconditional cooperation in the war against terror. The US president Mr. George Bush, declared Pakistan as their non- NATO collaborator. President Musharraf's administration, initially patronized the Taliban, but after that he got a U-turn and sided with the US in its war against terror. President Musharraf anticipated that his decision of taking the side of the US would be fruitful for Pakistan in

terms of bringing more foreign aid on one hand and support to prolong his illegal military coup on the other hand as well.

Today Pakistan is passing through a critical phase. Bomb blasts, suicide and terrorists attacks are now common phenomena in Pakistan whereas these terms were absolutely unfamiliar to the people of Pakistan before September 11 incident.

The Taliban have re-emerged themselves in Pakistan and Afghanistan in current years. Military operation in Swat (Rah e Nijat) resulted in hundreds of thousands of internally displaced person (IDPs) who were forced to go away from their homes because of the ongoing fight between Pakistan Army and Talibans. Military operation (Rah e Haq) is producing the same results in the Taliban stronghold in the South and North Waziristan.

Majority of the Muslims view this war of terror is against Islam and Muslims. The target of this war was Osama Bin Laden, but ironically he could not be captured by the Americans, but all through this time the US- led forces executed uncountable innocent people in Afghanistan. This brutal activity is still carrying out over there by the NATO forces.

The US illegal drone attacks hurt the sentiments of Pakistani people, because they not only put innocent people to death but also infringe the autonomy of Pakistan on regular basis. The Americans has to think about that how roughly US policies towards Pakistan have internally divided this country.

Due to the US interest oriented policies; Pakistan is facing a series of suicide bombings and much serious waves of terrorism. These policies are promoting extremism in the entire region and at the receiving end the Pakistanis are suffering. This all has made the Pakistani people to hate the U.S. imperialistic designs in the region.

The people of this region of the world are living in vacuum but in a media motivated world where they are guided by the media messages. The media holds the well documented power to influence and shape the agenda of the nation and it helps people to formulate their opinion towards public issues. The masses not only get information regarding public issues from media but they also become skilled at attaching importance to a topic just on the grounds of emphasis given on it in the news media. The way news stories are placed and treated in the newspapers provides a great number of indicators about the prominence and significance of the issues. Television news also sets agenda by providing numerous indicators about the salience of the issues for instance, the first and top ranked opening story in the TV news bulletin and the amount of time given to a particular story. These cues or indicators are

frequently repeated by TV news media effectively to converse the importance of every topic. Therefore it is considered that the news media sets the agenda for the audience to get their attention towards specific issues in order to form their opinion regarding those phenomena.

It appears that most of the leading Pakistani newspapers which form the public opinion, criticize the US excessive interference in Pakistan's political, economic and military settings. It seems that the Pakistani media condemns the US policies which exploit the political, economic and military conditions of Pakistan. It looks that print media criticizes the US policies regarding Pakistan and makes the US responsible for present crises in Pakistan. This study aims to analyze the picture of the United States as presented in leading newspapers of Pakistan. The focus of the study is to find out to what degree Pakistani press provides coverage to the news concerning the US. Another purpose of the study is to investigate either American image is portrayed positively or negatively in national dailies of Pakistan. This study analyzes the content of the media to investigate whether or not media make USA responsible for the present scenario of Pakistan.

Statement of the Problem

The study aimed at analyzing portrayal of the US in the leading national dailies of Pakistan. The problem has been solved by addressing the following research questions.

Research Questions

1. To what extent Pakistani press gives coverage to the news regarding the US?
2. How the news concerning the US are framed in national dailies of Pakistan?
3. Whether or not Pakistani press makes the US responsible for present crises in Pakistan?

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the proposed study are:

- To find out to what extent national dailies of Pakistan gives coverage to the stories related to USA?
- Either Pakistani press portrays the American image positively or negatively. ?
- Whether or not Pakistani newspapers make USA responsible for the present crisis in Pakistan?

Significance of the Study

This is the media driven world. The media's role is being acknowledged throughout the world. People recognize the image of the world the way mass media presents it to them. Media creates a particular type of picture of different issues in the minds of the audience. The purpose of the current study is to find out that how Pakistani press presents the picture of the US. The US being a world sole economic and military super power, is playing a crucial role in Pakistan's socio-economic and military settings. The study is of vital importance, especially in the present circumstances when Pakistan is undergoing severe socio-political and military catastrophes and it assumes that the people of Pakistan consider the US as a main cause behind all these upheavals. This study is noteworthy because it exposed to us that how the US interference in Pakistan's political, economic and military affairs is portrayed by Pakistani press. It also made known to us that either media made the US responsible for the present crises in Pakistan or not. The study has provided to us a clearer understanding of the attitude of Pakistani print media towards the US. Perchance this has been the first ever research investigation of this nature in Pakistan.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Pak-US Relations

Talking about the Pak-US relations Kronstadt (2007) assumes that democratically and economically stable and prosperous Pakistan is considered very important to US interests. According to him, a thriving Pakistan can play its role in combating terrorism and militancy in a better way. He says that US top concerns in South Asia include fighting terrorism, political and democratic stability of Pakistan and Afghanistan as well. According to Kronstadt, although after 9/11, Pakistan emerged as a major ally of the US led war on terror, but still the objectives of the US policies regarding Pakistan could not be achieved. Kronstadt (2007) believes that US policies have neither get rid of the anti Western activists and lessen the religious extremism in Pakistan nor have they played any role in stabilizing Afghanistan. According to him, critics are of the view that the US should re-assess its policies which are causing anti- US sentiments inside Pakistan. He assumes that majority of the people of Pakistan views that the US by supporting Musharraf regime, did not contribute to strengthen the democracy in Pakistan.

Maliha Lodhi (2009) notes, that since the inception of Pakistan, its foreign policy has been compelled by the pursuit for security. She is of the view that Pakistan's sensitive geographical position has been threatening this country with severe risk to its integrity and cause security problems. According to her, Pakistan is not an ally of the US rather a target of their so called war on terror. She says that, no matter its Republicans or Democrats sitting in the US parliament, both placed Pakistan in their bad books irrespective of the fact that Pakistan has rendered huge sacrifices in combating US so called war against terror. Whereas they place India in their good books and considers it as their strategic partner. On the other hand they call Pakistan as their strategic partner but do not treat it like that. The US always takes UK, Israel, Afghanistan and India under confidence while designing its strategy against war on terror but kept aside Pakistan. Maliha Lodhi, (2009) while criticizing the US, argues that the Americans make lame claims saying that Pakistan is one of their big strategic partners of the US. She asserts that the US can not win this war in Afghanistan with out Pakistan's support. So this is hypocrisy on the part of the US policies which reveal that Pakistan is its target, not an ally, she believed.

Asif Haroon, (2009) argues that the US not only has concern about the security of its own country but also the security of Israel, Afghanistan and even India as well. But it least bother about the security concerns of Pakistan.

Talking about the US non-proliferation agenda towards South Asia, Maliha Lodhi, (2009) noted that although the motivation for proliferation always came from India but ironically the US penalized Pakistan and imposed different sanctions and penalties on it. She evaluated that when India did its nuclear explosion in 1974, awkwardly it was Pakistan that became the victim of the US non-proliferation policy.

She sates that the United States' non-proliferation rules like Symington Amendent 1976 that was amended later on as Glenn Amendment 1977, called for providing military and economic assistance to any state that attain nuclear technology after 1976. She concluded that when India acquired reprocessing means of nuclear technology, it was debarred from the sphere of such non-proliferation laws of the US. She asserts that because of such double standards of the US, the intellectuals believe that denuclearization of Pakistan is the veiled target of the US alliance.

The axis which is comprised on United States, Great Britain, Israel, India and Afghanistan, has possessed Pakistan under the trap of friendship in order to denuclearize it. Asif Haroon, (2009) believes that this axis wants to apply its hidden agenda to weaken and destabilize Pakistan in order to turn it into a vassal state, so that they could capture its nukes.

The geographic and strategic location made Pakistan crucial for the US. The US can not win war on terror in Afghanistan with out the help of Pakistan. Smith (2009) notes, that Pakistan is one of the crucial partners of US in this so called war against terror. The US wants to have a long-term relationship with Pakistan and these relations are not confined to military aspect alone, but also finding ways to accelerate economic and social development programs in Pakistan. He believes that US tries hard to find ways so that it could show the worth of Pak-US strategic relations to Pakistani people.

Maliha Lodhi (2009) argues that both states want to achieve their national objectives, therefore recognize the crucial importance of each other. She is of the view that the US security objectives to defeat terrorism and stabilize Afghanistan can not be achieved without the pivotal cooperation of Pakistan. According to her, importance of Pakistan goes beyond that because it is the second largest Muslim nation of the world and moreover a newest nuclear power. The US considers Pakistan very crucial as it has to play a vital role in

eradicating extremism (as a major cooperator of US troops), strengthen democracy and building healthy relations between the Western and Islamic world.

The extra ordinary cooperation of Pakistan to US has never been witnessed ever in the history. Pakistan has provided major support for the US after 9/11 terrorist attacks on United States. Kronstadt (2007) argues that, after these attacks Pakistan offered unmatched cooperation to the US by permitting it to use the military bases of the country so that it could fight against terrorism, helping the US to identify and control extremism and to block the financing of terrorists.

On the other hand, Pakistan has fought several wars against India over Kashmir dispute but the US has never extended any help to resolve this issue. Shujah Nawaz (2009) suggests that the US has to play its role to eradicate tension between Pakistan and India by resolving the sticky Kashmir issue.

Most of the intellectuals of Pakistan are of the view that US driven policies are the root cause of the problem for Pakistan. Asif Haroon (2009) notes that the US neither wants Pakistan to become a failed state nor it let Pakistan to prosper politically and economically because Pakistan would then start pursuing self-determine foreign policy. He believes that the US always tries to weaken Pakistan, so that it remains dependent upon the US and consequently submissive to India.

Asif Haroon (2009), view that President Obama is not different than his predecessors. He has the same US imperialistic agenda to follow. He says that Obama's administration just wants to shelter US interests in South Asia and even in Middle East. Therefore he has sent more troops to Afghanistan and consequently physically intervening into Pakistan's sovereignty. He is of the view that the US should not sideline Afghan Pashtuns and Taliban because they had effectively ruled over Afghanistan till they were ousted forcibly by the United States itself.

WorldPublicOpinion.org (a website) conducted a survey from 21 countries which consisted of 64 percent population of the world. The survey was conducted in largest nation of the world like China, Indonesia, India, and Pakistan etc.

The population of the survey was asked about the US whether it is mutually supportive in its relations with other states or not. So 59 percent of them respond in favor of the US that it is supportive and cooperative in its relations with other states, whereas 30 percent said that the US is not co operative with them.

The Daily Nation

Issues	No of stories
Pakistan Policy	44
US policy	78
Coalition against War on Terror	40
US aid for Pakistan	10
Nuclear Issue	04
Drone Attacks	36
Talibanization	19
Total Hard News Stories	231
Total Soft News Stories	116

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Director of WPO comments, "Clearly President Obama has turned the tide against the image of the US as a leader in the world. When Obama called for greater cooperation at the UN, most people saw the US as ready to carry its share of the water" (Kull, 2009). The nations that voted against the US have Muslim population in majority like Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey and Iraq. Ironically all these countries have close relations with United States.

Pakistan played a significant job in defeating Soviet Empire and provided a way to US to become a super power in the world. But the US did not give any credit to Pakistan for its sacrifices rather penalized Pakistan through different means. According to Asif Haroon (2009), Pakistanis have serious reservations against the US as it left Pakistan in a state of chaos which played a significant role in fragmenting Soviet Union into a number of Empires. Pakistan was not rewarded by the US for rendering sacrifices rather penalized by imposing sanctions for almost one decade. Moreover the US befriended India that was one of the players of the Soviet camp and backed them up against the US forces.

Portrayal of US Image in other Countries Media

Different researchers have conducted noteworthy studies regarding portrayal of the US in other countries as well. Lee in 1980 conducted a study on US image in Chinese leading newspapers "People's Daily". He suggested that the US image in the Chinese press was depended upon how far US policies were favorable to Chinese domestic, regional and international interests. Becker in 1996, examined the US image in Soviet political cartoons from April 1985 to August 1990 and proposed that Soviet press was a product of policy choice of the party and government. According to Becker, US image in the Soviet press shifted from negative to neutral and positive in the end of 1990's because of Gorbachov's policies that left remarkable impact upon the media policies that convinced these newspapers to change US image in their coverage. Noshina Saleem (2010) documented in her research study regarding the US image in Pakistan, that Pakistan had gained the status of "front line state" after the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. She found that both "The Pakistan Times and "The Daily Dawn" portrayed a critical image of the US. She suggested that Pakistani government should not sign mutual defense agreement like 1959 with US. According to her, both newspapers retained that Pakistan should not provide military bases on its territory against the Soviet Union, which would be dangerous for the sovereignty of Pakistan as well as Pakistan's image in the Muslim world. Khalifa (1982) conducted a study of US image in Egyptian media. He presented the image of the US at two levels, first by the

Egyptian government and the business sector and second by the Egyptian media. He discovered that the US image was presented generally negative by Egyptian media from late 1950s to throughout 1960s due to the estrangement of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the US. Moreover during this strained period, the Egyptian government and media became sloping towards the Soviet Union. Similarly, another researcher, Wolfe (1964) conducted a study regarding the US portrayal in Latin American press and maintained that the press presented a dual image of the US as imperialist and generous as well.

Noshina Saleem, (2010) the post Mao-Chinese press was found to be impressed by the US advancement in science and technology as well as its competence in management, regardless of repeated warning against the scene of importing corrupt capitalist lifestyle and association with social problems like divorce, broken families, juvenile delinquency etc. Noshina Saleem (2010) viewed that findings of previous studies indicate that the US image has been framed in other countries media with the context of the degree of autonomy and pluralism in the specific countries. The media of other countries projected the US image positively if the US foreign policy makers considered the domestic policy of other countries in mind while designing their policies towards that country. The distance of interests of US and other countries in terms of political, economic and military aspects had a great impact on the perceptions of the editors, journalists, writers and general public of other countries. She asserted that the United States hegemonic and superpower role, its involvement in regional and international conflicts and strategies to protect the interests of subject country with economic and military aid are significant factors which shaped the image of the US in the media of other countries of the world.

Islam as Portrayed in Western Media

Islam since long has been a major topic of debate so for the Western media is concerned. Many studies have been done by different scholars regarding the portrayal of Islam and Muslim in Western media. Dixon, (2009) wrote that, marginalization, discrimination and vilification of Muslims throughout the Western media became common practice after 9/11 attacks on US.

Said (2003), views that Islam and the Arab world have been continually misrepresented by Christianity. He wrote an essay, "Western media and popular imagery". With reference to relevant academic literature, this essay looks to define the key problems of the Western representation of Islam by framing the theoretical context of these broad and ubiquitous

representations of the Western media. He also examined the counter- hegemonic efforts being under taken by Islamic communities. Dixon (2009) argues that Islam is a major competitor of Christianity and it represents a significant challenge to Western civilizations.

Deriving from the Christian attitude, since the middle ages, Islam has been presented by the Western media as a threat to their civilizations, and this media-driven image has become embedded in Western culture. Therefore today Islam is negatively portrayed by Western media. Dixon (2009) believes that Said's theory of Orientalism does not quite fit into the framework of today's Western journalism. Said was writing for a time when European hegemonic (particularly British and French) colonialism dominated the Muslim world and the Islamic world was seen to be in decline. According to him, today Islam is portrayed to be aggressively militant, repressive and stuck in old ways. Whereas Said's view came from ignorance and superiority, today's stereotype stems from ignorance and fear. Dixon (2009) states that from the appearance of Islam it was looked upon fearfully by Christian Europe. Contemporary biased media coverage of Islam in the West does not result solely from the events of September 11, 2001. It is the mainstream Western media's tendency to demonize Islam to serve their own geo-political interests and portray the Islamic world as being anathema to civilized values. (Dixon 2009). He proposed that the Muslim media needed to make an effort to reduce their dependency on Western news sources.

Analyzing the coverage of Islam as portrayed in Australian media, it seems that it is hardly different from the biased coverage disseminated in the United States, Britain and Canada (Brasted 2001, 208). The typical portrayal of the more contentious aspects of Islam has certainly dominated the coverage. This is not so much a result of a permeating Orientalist perspective, rather it is related to the methods and marketing requirements of news organizations which are similar to those of Britain. Dixon (2004) said that, the characteristics of Islam facilitates understanding but are often ignored by the Western mainstream media. Shahzad Ali and Khalid (2008) assert that international media is conducting the media trial of the Islamic world. Both analyzed that the Western media only reports the crisis of the Muslims. The soft image of the Muslims has always been marginalized by Western media through highlighting the crisis events of the Islamic world.

Richardson focuses on the attitudes of British newspapers, finding that journalism can be used to reinforce the inequalities that exist between cultures and societies. The majority opinion is often adopted by the media as it will appeal to the consumer market (Richardson

2004, 35). According to him, media appealing to the mainstream marginalizes the opinions of the minority and ethnic groups. (Richardson 2004, 36)

Shahzad Ali and Khalid (2008) advised the United States that war is not the solution of any problem. The US must treat fundamentalists as potential friends rather enemies and they can be negotiated and understood as well.

Not only the Muslim countries are projected negatively by Western governments and Western media but the Muslim leaders are also portrayed as villain. In this regard Shahzad Ali and Khalid (2008) stated that Moamar Qaddafi, a powerful Libyan leader was declared by the US as the one and only mastermind of international terrorism. He was labeled by the US media as a "mad dog". Similarly Saddam Hussain has also been targeted by Western media and depicted as a "mad man". The Muslim fundamentalists have advised the US to seize power in Islamic world. Through this way the hatred of the fundamentalists and extremists of the Muslims against the US can be minimized. Instead of this, there is no option available to the US. (Shahzad Ali and Khalid, 2008).

Women Portrayal in Media

A number of studies have been conducted on the portrayal of women in media. Most of the feminist studies suggest that the media contents comprise of gender role messages in media outlets. These studies were based upon television, newspapers, magazines and advertising contents of the media. These studies found that the feminist movements and socio economic modifications have changed the patterns of the female depiction as projected by the media. The construction of female images by the media can not be fixed today, they are changing with the course of time. (net, 2009).

Gibbson (2006) found that women are treated as commodity by the media for making news. By analyzing the contents of radio, television and newspapers for a full day in 76 countries on the same day, she commented that women were most of the time misrepresented and sometimes ignored by the media as source of the news. She could not find any news area where females were given more coverage than men. She adds that even the stories like gender-based violence affect women intensely; it is the male voice that prevails. Her study reveals that the second- class status of women is prevailing globally over the media.

Although the mass media portrays the women in a stereotypical way and it has become a global issue, but there are a few studies which show some variations in media depiction of women owing to the social, political and cultural influences over the media.

Different studies analyzed the gender role as projected in television commercials of United States, Mexico and Australia. These research studies found that American women were portrayed in house jobs inside their homes or outside whereas men were depicted more likely in playing occupational roles. Mexican commercials portrayed women in less sex roles as compare to the US stereotypical commercials. Australian television advertisements display minor differences between the depiction of males and females roles. (Net, 2009)

Analyzing the role of media in portraying the women in Pakistan, Sarmad Iqbal (2009) assumes that the role of newspapers of Pakistan regarding the development plans and projects for women is not satisfactory. The press does not give much coverage to such projects. Instead of creative and constructive developments, news media projects political statements, issues, crime and sports in its contents. Development news was exhibit in the form of statements, not in the form of hard news and in analytical manner. The reason is that political, crime and sports news etc. attracts the readers more than other sort of news.

Another study conducted by Wiles (1991) regarding the comparative analysis of US and Swedish magazine commercials and established that US ads portrayed men in more occupational roles than the women, whereas the Swedish commercials presented both sexes in the same manner doing their professional jobs.

Mass media plays a vital role in building attitudes of the masses towards other objects. The way women are portrayed in the media, leaves an impact on the minds of the audience. Sarmad Iqbal (2009) observed that Pakistani media present women in the roles of house wives, mothers and consumers of advertised goods, while as far as development is concerned, women rarely speak for their own problems. Talking about the women portrayal in news media regarding unethical issues, (Sarmad, Iqbal 2009) reviews Tasneem Ahmar's session and asserts that the national press as describing females lowered down the dignity of women by using reproachful words. She suggested that the press should observe code of ethics while reporting women related issues.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

Although the theory of Framing is the main concern of the current study, but the agenda setting theory also correlate with this study. Because framing is one of the tools of agenda setting that is used by the media. So the whole study revolves around both these theories.

Theory of Framing

Framing is very important part of the mass media studies for the reason that it has a great influence upon the minds of the audience. The theory argues that media gives attention to certain issues and put them within specific context of meaning. Although framing is a crucial element in agenda setting theory but most of the scholars while emphasizing the agenda setting do not quote Ervin Goffman, who is the father of this theory. Goffman defines framing as "cognitive structure which unconsciously lead the individual to what is to be noticed and which define that situation for the individual." The term framing means how to portray an event in a particular story, article, feature and editorial. Framing deals with how media messages are constructed, organized and presented through media outlets. Media has the ability that it can gain the audience attention by selecting certain aspects of the issue and then frames those aspects in a particular way.

"Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters." (Gitlin, 1980)

There are two types of frames, episodic and thematic. The episodic frame covers the public issues or particular events which are based upon certain incidents, for instance, suicide bombing, accident of vehicle, protest, strikes, demonstrations etc. Whereas, thematic frame covers the detailed stories in order to achieve certain goals.

Entman, (1993) argues that framing technique is used in agenda setting where certain portion of an issue is selected and then its features are highlighted by the media in such a way to promote a particular aspect of it. Through this way the audience attention towards a specific point is achieved by the mass media.

Most of the researchers do not agree with Entman instead of D. Angelo (2002), who defines frame as a deliberate attempt to angle powerful discursive indicators. Tankard (2001) goes even beyond the deliberate attempt to select frames; he argues that sometimes journalists use frames to mislead the targeted audience. Reese (2001) further argues that media framing all

the time involves an active process of selecting, stressing and presenting an issue in a particular way to achieve some set goals. Such question does not make any sense in Goffmanian framing. According to him, it is not only an asset of those who deliberately construct it but also an inherent property of social procedures of the world.

McCombs (1997) examines how mass media presents issues through emphasizing certain aspects of it. He defines framing as "the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion of the media agenda". Through this way he links the concept of framing with agenda setting theory.

Agenda Setting Theory

Mass media is playing a crucial role in today's world. We all are influenced by the daily news that we receive from the media. We get information of political and public affairs from the pages of newspapers on daily basis. So these way media workers play a significant job in drawing the picture of the world for us during their duty of selecting and reporting the news. This theory is interlinked with the current inquiry because framing is used as a tool in setting the agenda for the audience.

According to this approach, the reporters are free to take decisions which issue of the society to account and which to be overlooked. Some news items are given space, time, attention and weight by the media workers. This way the mass media constructs, organizes and exerts a significant influence upon the audience. This is known as agenda setting. This theory was given for the first by Maxwell McComb and Donald Shaw in 1972.

Lippmann (1922) asserts that mass media possesses the ability to depict picture of different events of the world for us. But this picture is imperfect and unclear often. He views that media presents most of the time only glimpses of reality rather reality itself to the audience. So these glimpses or reflections shape the perception of the audience regarding the world.

Shaw and McComb, (1972) endorse the agenda setting concept of Lippmann and claim that audience opinion about the world is motivated by the way the news media portrays the world to them. Both the researchers, investigated either people's perception about the issues of the world is dependent upon the topics which mass media covers or not.

They are of the view that setting the agenda is an ever changing or dynamic process, "in which changes in media coverage lead to or cause subsequent changes in problem awareness of issues"(Lang & Lang, 1981). This is a crucial function of the agenda setting theory that it does not only presents an issue in front of the audience to think but also tells them different

ways to perceive that issue. Bernard Cohen (1963) predicted that most of the time “the press may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about”.

The researchers are of the view that if media provides more amount of information to an issue, then the audience gives value to that news story and learn more about that.

McComb and Shaw conducted a research on US presidential election campaign in 1968 and rejected all the previous theories that reveals that media exerts a significant influence on public perception and can change the attitude of the people. Their study found that media exercised pressure on those issues during the campaign which voters considered as significant.

Weaver and McComb (1977) argue that sometime agenda setting technique does not work in the same manner for the whole audience. They suggested that sometimes audience members are bifurcated into different segments on the basis of their needs. So for them agenda setting works differently.

Many studies have been done in this regard showing the media agenda and its possible effect on the public agenda, but the researchers have ignored the most important question: who sets the media agenda? The media are simply passing on issues and events that are occurring in society. However, Funkhouser and Zucker, (1973) studies showed that news media coverage often does not correspond well to events in reality. Many other studies have suggested this same conclusion. Westley (1976) has provided part of answer. He suggested that in some cases pressure groups or special interest groups are able to boost an issue onto the media agenda. Another aspect that play important role in agenda building is media sociology. The influence of individual media workers on media contents, their education and routine, organizational structure, ideology, advertisers and outside pressure groups are other factors that play pivotal job in setting the media agenda.

Hypotheses

H: 1. The Daily Dawn portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

H: 2. The Daily News portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

H: 3. The Daily Nation portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

H: 4. Soft news portrayed the image of the US more negative as compare^{ed} to hard news.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

The study aimed at analyzing the portrayal of the US in the leading newspapers of Pakistan.

Population of the Study

All the leading national dailies of Pakistan are the population of the proposed research study.

Selecting Sample

While selecting the sample, I have adopted the newspaper group approach for this study. As we know there are three major and old media groups in Pakistan namely the Dawn, the Jang and the Nawa-i-Waqt groups of publications. In order to investigate the problem, One English newspaper of every group has been selected for content analysis for the present inquiry.

Sample

The Dawn, The News and The Nation are the sample of the present study. These newspapers maintain a large circulation and have a great number of readerships in Pakistan and other countries of the world as well. All the three newspapers cover approximately all important national and international issues of the day.

Sample size

The daily Dawn, the daily News and the daily Nation from November 1, 2009 to January 31, 2010 is the sample size for the study. It is pertinent to mention here that I have analyzed all these newspapers on daily basis.

Reason behind selection of this period

I have selected this time period in order to avoid systematic biases. For example, Kerry-Lugar Bill, cases like Raymond Davis and Osama Bin Laden affect the coverage on any particular issue. So in order to eliminate biasness, I keenly observed the situation and selected this time frame for my study as there is no such big event occurred during this time slot that may affect the coverage of the newspapers regarding the US.

Content Analysis

The research procedure for the required study is the analysis of the content published in the above mentioned newspapers. This method is commonly employed in analyzing the content of the mass media. It is an efficient and effective process to analyze the content of the media messages. Berelson, (1952) views that "content analysis is a research technique that is objective, systematic and quantitative in description".

The content analysis has four distinctive characteristics. These characteristics are objectivity, systematic, quantitative and manifest content. The key to understand content analysis competently lies in understanding the meaning of these characteristics. Content analysis facilitates the researcher to predict about the communication process. It is used with other methods of inquiry to line message content with other parts of the communication setting. The content analysis permits the investigator to deal with larger questions of the process and effect of communication.

Analysis Procedure

Every single line of the news story regarding the US in above mentioned newspapers has been analyzed and counted by the researcher. On the basis of these lines, the researcher found the news story as positive, negative and neutral. For instance, if the content of the news story, column or editorial contained more positive lines and favored war on terror and drone attacks in the FATA region, it was considered as positive. If the content of the stories, columns and editorials contained more negative lines and opposed war on terror and drone attacks in the FATA region it was counted as negative. If a story, column or editorial contained equal number of positive and negative lines and presented a blur image of the US, the researcher has considered that story as neutral.

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis was the main consideration of the study. The purpose was to know the number or frequency and length of the content. It is important to state here that the researcher also used qualitative approach as well in interpreting the results of the study. For this, the researcher read the whole analyzed material thoroughly to satisfy him in order to draw the inferences from the findings of the study.

Operational Definitions

1. **Leading Newspapers:** Most circulated English dailies like The Dawn, The News, The Nation which provide authentic news to their audiences.
2. **Portrayal:** The image of the US that is presented by the Press.
3. **Content Analysis:** It is a formal system of drawing conclusions from the observations of amount of substance or content appeared in these dailies.
4. **Soft News:** Stories that are based on opinion appeared on the editorial pages of the selected dailies.
5. **Hard News:** Objective stories based on facts appeared on the front and back pages of the selected dailies.
6. **Framing:** It is the way how press organizes and presents the news.
7. **Positive:** Stories that appreciate the US image optimistically and emphasize the US role as indispensable for Pakistan.
8. **Negative:** Stories that oppose the US role in Pakistan and against war on terror
9. **Neutral:** News stories that lay blurred which emphasis or include both sides of the picture.
10. **By Line:** Stories that carry author's name in the dailies.
11. **Source:** A supplier of information. e.g. reporter, analyst, organizations etc.
12. **Official Source:** The news stories which are generated by the government.
13. **Private Source:** The news stories which are generated by any reporter or organization.
14. **Others:** News stories that do not fall any of the said categories.

Variables of the Content Analysis

Framing

Framing is one of the important variables of the current study. It is a major part of the agenda setting technique of media. It had been employed here in this study to reveal how the US image was framed in Pakistani newspapers. Either the newspapers of the study portrayed the US image as positive, negative or neutral. This was measured on the basis of the lines contained in the stories.

Frequency and Length

News stories were calculated on the basis of their appearances in daily newspapers and their length was measured in centimeters per column. It is important to clarify that if any news

story contained picture then space given to that picture had also been measured in centimeters.

Source

Source of the information is another important variable of the study. It was traced by the researcher as official, private and others. The source always influences the content of the information. The information was provided by the state department or any concerned person of the government had been recorded as official. Whereas the news which was generated by any private organization, agency etc had been counted as private. The source that does not fall any of the above category was considered as others.

By Line

The by-line is another important variable of the current study. It was analyzed as either the news story had been reported by foreign or Pakistani reporters.

Techniques of Data Analysis and Interpretation

Only valid and complete samples have been made part of the final analysis. The data has been put into SPSS software. The results have been interpreted and assessed. The research questions and hypothesis of the study had then been answered by the researcher.

CHAPTER 5

Complexion of the Data

Newspapers	Period	Days
Daily Dawn	Nov 1 st , 2009 to Jan 31st, 2010	92
Daily News	Nov 1 st , 2009 to Jan 31st, 2010	92
Daily Nation	Nov 1 st , 2009 to Jan 31st, 2010	92

The Daily Dawn

Issues	No of stories
Pakistan Policy	17
US policy	49
Coalition against War on Terror	32
US aid for Pakistan	18
Nuclear Issue	07
Drone Attacks	19
Talibanization	09
Total Hard News Stories	143
Total Soft News Stories	71

The Daily News

Issues	No of stories
Pakistan Policy	02
US policy	28
Coalition against War on Terror	46
US aid for Pakistan	17
Nuclear Issue	09
Drone Attacks	19
Talibanization	09
Total Hard News Stories	133
Total Soft News Stories	89

The Daily Nation

Issues	No of stories
Pakistan Policy	44
US policy	78
Coalition against War on Terror	40
US aid for Pakistan	10
Nuclear Issue	04
Drone Attacks	36
Talibanization	19
Total Hard News Stories	231
Total Soft News Stories	116

FINDINGS

Finding 1

The finding 1 suggests that the daily Dawn framed the US in a more positive way than negative. The t and p value indicate that the difference between the means of two groups is highly significant. (T-test= 20.791, $p= 0.000$ for positive coverage and t-test= 17.016, $p= 0.000$ for negative coverage).

Table: 1. Coverage of the daily Dawn from Nov.1st, 2009 to Jan. 31st 2010

Hard & Soft News	N	Mean	Df	Sig.(2 tailed)
Positive	92	.8261	91	0.000
Negative	92	.7609	91	0.000

Finding 2

The finding reveals that the daily News portrayed the US image more negative way than positive. The t and p value indicate that the variance between the means of positive and negative coverage of the US is highly significant. (t-test= 5.81, $p= 0.000$ for positive image and t-test= 36.116, $p= 0.000$ for negative image).

Table: 2.Coverage of the daily News from Nov.1st, 2009 to Jan. 31st 2010

Hard & Soft News	N	Mean	Df	Sig.(2 tailed)
Positive	92	.2717	91	0.000
Negative	92	.9348	91	0.000

Finding 3

The finding reveals that the daily Nation portrayed the US image in a more negative way than positive. The difference between the means of the positive frame and negative frame is highly significant. (t-test= 13.062, $p= 0.000$ for positive image, t-test=7.944, $p= 0.000$ for negative image).

Table:3. Coverage of the daily Nation from Nov. 1st, 2009 to Jan. 31st 2010

Hard & Soft New	N	Mean	Df	Sig.(2 tailed)
Positive	92	.6522	91	0.000
Negative	92	1.9565	91	0.000

Finding 4

The finding reflects that the daily Dawn and the daily News portrayed the image of the US more positively in the month of November 2009, whereas the daily Nation portrayed the US image as more negatively. (The anova test indicates that the difference among the coverage of the three newspapers in this month is not significant.)

Table: 4. Comparison of the framing of three dailies in Nov. 2009

		N	Mean	Sig.
Positive	Daily Dawn	30	.4333	.900
	Daily News	30	.4000	
	Daily Nation	30	.3667	
	Total	90	.4000	
Negative	Daily Dawn	30	.2667	.059
	Daily News	30	.3333	
	Daily Nation	30	.6000	
	Total	90	.4000	

Finding 5

The finding suggests that the daily Dawn portrayed the image of the US as positive more often than it was portrayed as negative, whereas the daily News and the daily Nation portrayed the US image as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive. The difference between the positive and negative coverage of the US among three newspapers is highly significant. (anova test, $F= 51.51$, for positive coverage and $F= 21.80$, $p= 0.000$ for negative coverage).

Table: 5.Comparison of the framing of three dailies in Dec. 2009

		N	Mean	Sig.
Positive	Daily Dawn	31	1.0323	.000
	Daily News	31	.0968	
	Daily Nation	31	.5484	
	Total	93	.5591	
Negative	Daily Dawn	31	.4839	.000
	Daily News	31	.6129	
	Daily Nation	31	1.7742	
	Total	93	.9570	

Finding 6

The finding unveils the comparison among the three newspapers concerning the portrayal of the US. The review of the mean suggests that the daily Dawn presented the image of the US in a positive way. On the contrary, the daily News and the daily Nation portrayed the US image negatively. The difference between coverage of the US amid the three newspapers is significant. (anova, $F= 7.83, p 0.001$ for positive coverage and $F=6.604, p=0.002$ for negative coverage).

Table: 6. Comparison of the framing of three dailies in Jan. 2010

		N	Mean	Sig.
Positive	Daily Dawn	31	.7097	.001
	Daily News	31	.2258	
	Daily Nation	31	.9355	
	Total	93	.6237	
Negative	Daily Dawn	31	.3871	.002
	Daily News	31	.5484	
	Daily Nation	31	1.0645	
	Total	93	.6667	

Finding 7

The finding reflects the comparison between the hard news and the soft news of the daily Dawn concerning the US from November 2009 to January 2010. The inspection of the mean suggests that the hard news portrayed the US image more positively as compare to soft news. The difference between the coverage of hard news and soft news at positive level is highly significant whereas no significant difference has been observed at negative level. (t-test= 0.112, $p= 0.648$)

Table: 7. Comparison of the hard and soft news of daily Dawn

Story Type		N	Mean	Sig
Positive	Hard News	92	.7283	.000
	Soft News	92	.0870	
Negative	Hard News	92	.3802	.648
	Soft News	92	.3696	

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Finding 8

The finding shows the comparison between the hard news and the soft news of the daily News regarding US from November 2009 to December 2010. By analyzing the mean, it is concluded that both hard and soft news framed the US image more negatively than positively. The difference between the coverage of the hard news and the soft news regarding the US at positive level is highly significant whereas this difference is not significant at negative level. (t-test= 0.430, $p= 0.162$)

Table: 8. Comparison of the hard and soft news of daily News

	Story Type	N	Mean	Sig
Positive	Hard News	92	.24	.000
	Soft News	92	.03	
Negative	Hard News	92	.50	.162
	Soft News	92	.45	

Finding 9

The finding elaborates the comparison between the hard news and the soft news of the daily Nation regarding the US portrayal from November 2009 to December 2010. The table reflects that no significant difference lies there between the two types of the news stories so far the US image is concerned. Through the inspection of the mean, it is concluded that both hard news and soft news framed the US in a more negative way. The difference between the two groups both at positive level and negative level is highly significant. (t-test= 3.450, $p= 0.000$ for positive coverage and t-test 5.508, $p= 0.000$ for negative coverage).

Table: 9.Comparison of the hard and soft news of daily Nation

	Story Type	N	Mean	Sig
Positive	Hard News	92	.2609	.000
	Soft News	92	.0326	
Negative	Hard News	92	1.1413	.000
	Soft News	92	.4348	

Finding 10

The finding reflects that both hard news and soft news of the daily Dawn, daily News and the daily Nation portrayed the US image in a negative way. But the inspection of the mean suggests that the soft news stories presented the US image in a more negative way as compare to the hard news stories.

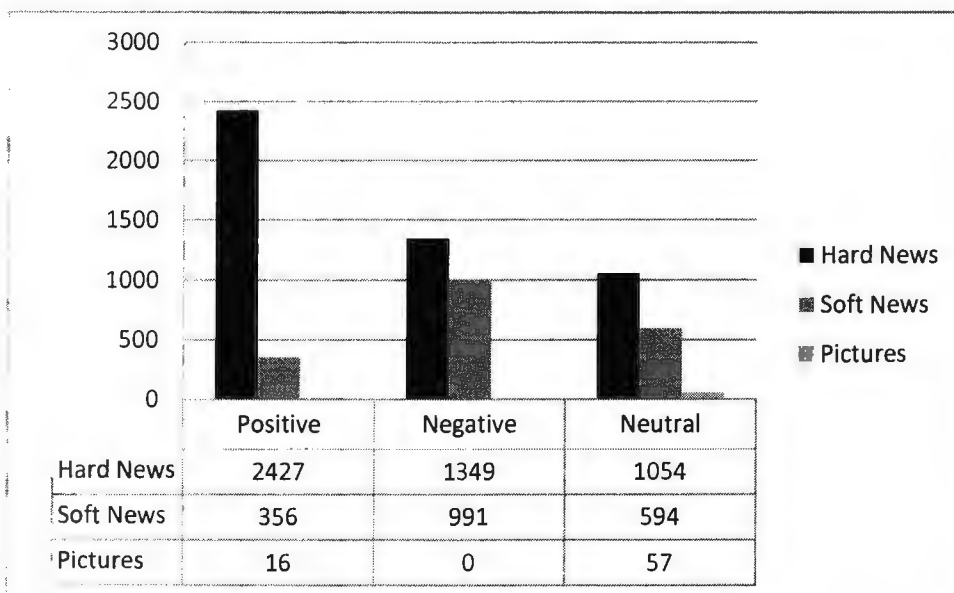
Table: 10. Overall comparison of the hard and soft news of dailies Dawn, News and Nation

	Story Type	N	Mean	Sig
Positive	Hard News	276	.53	.000
	Soft News	276	.05	
Negative	Hard News	276	.68	.000
	Soft News	276	.54	

Finding 11

The finding reflects that the hard news stories of the daily Dawn gave 2427 centimeters column positive coverage to the news concerning the US whereas 1349 centimeters column negative coverage and 1054 centimeters column neutral coverage to the news regarding the US. Whereas the soft news stories did 356 centimeters column positive coverage to the news regarding the US, 991 centimeters column negative coverage and 594 centimeters column neutral coverage of the news concerning the US. The daily Dawn gave 16 and 57 centimeters column positive and neutral coverage to the picture regarding the US respectively.

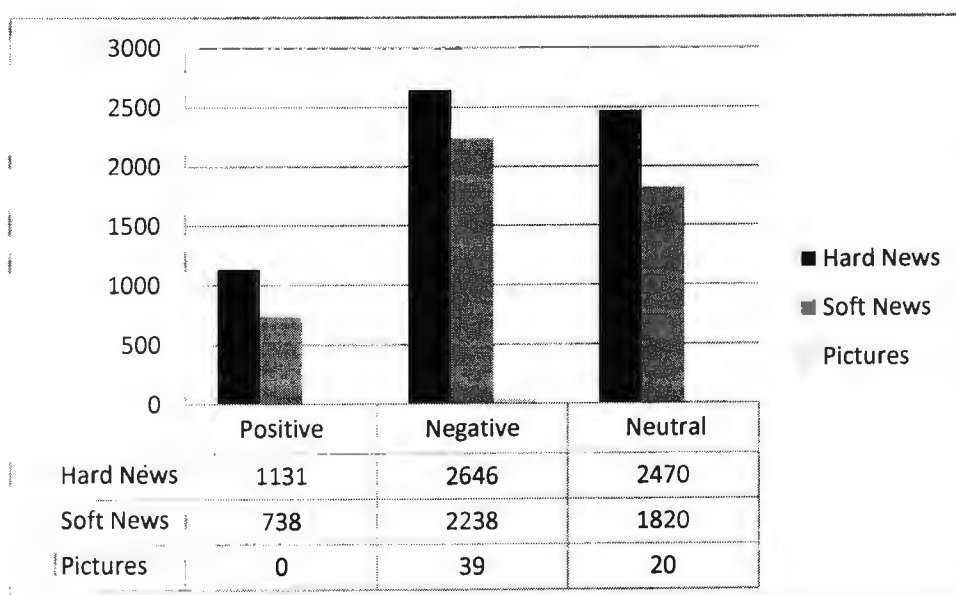
Table: 11. Measurement of the stories published in daily Dawn



Finding 12

The finding reflects that the hard news stories of the daily News contributed 1131 centimeters column positive coverage to the news concerning the US whereas 2646 centimeters column negative coverage and 2470 centimeters column neutral coverage to the news regarding the US. However the soft news stories fixed 738 centimeters column positive coverage to the news regarding the US, 2238 centimeters column negative coverage and 1820 centimeters column neutral coverage of the news concerning the US. So far the pictures are concerned; the daily News donated 39 centimeters column negative coverage and 20 centimeters column neutral coverage to the picture regarding the US respectively.

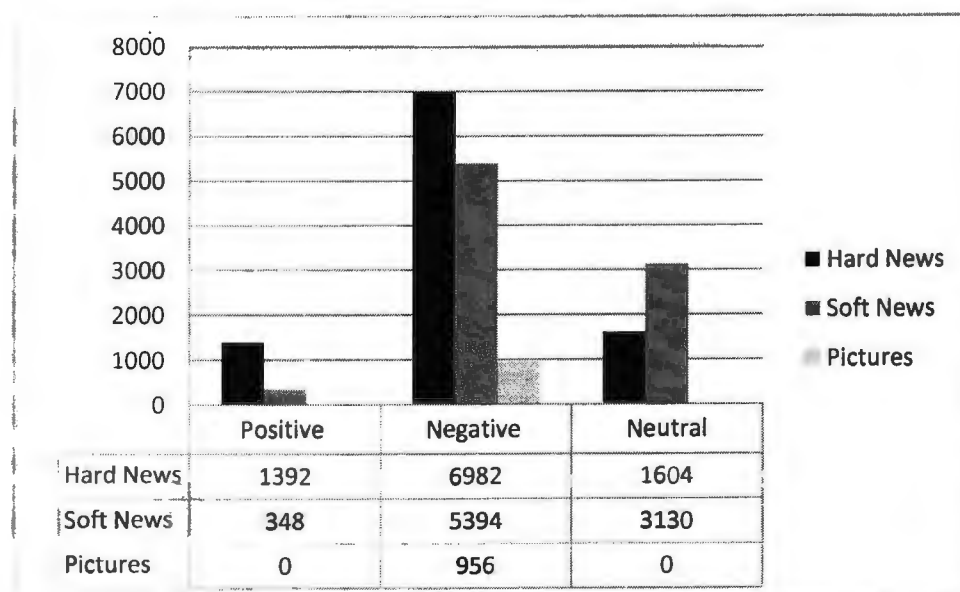
Table: 12. Measurement of the stories published in daily News



Finding 13

The finding imitates that the hard news stories of the daily Nation donated 1392 centimeters column positive coverage to the news concerning the US whereas 6982 centimeters column negative coverage and 1604 centimeters column neutral coverage to the news regarding the US. Though, the soft news stories fixed 348 centimeters column positive coverage to the news regarding the US, 5394 centimeters column negative coverage and 3130 centimeters column neutral coverage of the news concerning the US. As the pictures are concerned; the daily Nation contributed 956 centimeters column negative coverage only to the pictures regarding the US.

Table: 13. Measurement of the stories published in daily Nation



Finding 14

The finding reflects that the daily Dawn published 77 news stories regarding the US concerns that shown the US image positively. Whereas 79 news items depicted the US as negatively and 66 news stories portrayed the US image as neutral.

Table: 14. Framing of the issues in daily Dawn

Issues	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Pakistan Policy	5	6	6
US Policy	24	16	9
War on Terror	12	8	12
US Aid	10	3	5
Nuclear Issue	1	4	2
Drone Attacks	8	5	6
Talibanization	5	0	4
Soft News	12	37	22

Finding 15

The finding shows that the by line of the stories distributed by the daily Dawn regarding the US dealings. The daily Dawn published 108 news stories that were backed by Pakistani reporters whereas it placed 42 news stories that were reported by foreign reporters.

Table: 15. By-line of the stories of daily Dawn

Issues	Pak. Reporters	Foreign Reporters
Pakistan Policy	13	4
US Policy	38	11
War on Terror	19	13
US Aid	11	7
Nuclear Issue	5	1
Drone Attacks	17	2
Talibanization	5	4

Finding 16

The finding suggests that the daily Dawn published 112 news items relating to the US from official sources while it covered only 37 news stories based on the information received from private sources and presented 02 news stories from other sources.

Table: 16. Source of the stories of daily Dawn

Issues	Official	Private	Other
Pakistan Policy	14	3	0
US Policy	43	6	0
War on Terror	21	11	0
US Aid	12	6	0
Nuclear Issue	5	2	0
Drone Attacks	10	7	2
Talibanization	7	2	0

Finding 17

The finding reveals that the daily News published 32 news stories about the US affairs that portrayed the US image positively. Whereas 95 news items portrayed the US as negatively and 92 news stories portrayed the US as neutral.

Table: 17. Framing of the issues in daily News

Issues	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Pakistan Policy	0	1	1
US Policy	6	9	13
War on Terror	11	15	20
US Aid	4	6	7
Nuclear Issue	1	5	3
Drone Attacks	0	11	8
Talibanization	1	3	5
Soft News	9	45	35

Finding 18

The finding shows that the by line of the stories published regarding the US in the daily News. There are 104 news stories that were contributed by Pakistani reporters while 34 news stories were reported by foreign reporters.

Table: 18. By-line of the stories of daily News

Issues	Pak. Reporters	Foreign Reporters
Pakistan Policy	1	1
US Policy	19	9
War on Terror	40	6
US Aid	15	2
Nuclear Issue	10	7
Drone Attacks	17	2
Talibanization	2	7

Finding 19

The finding displays that the daily News published 105 news items concerning the US from official sources while it covered only 13 news stories based on the information received from private sources and presented 14 news stories from other sources.

Table: 19. Source of the stories of daily News

Issues	Official	Private	Other
Pakistan Policy	2	0	0
US Policy	25	2	1
War on Terror	39	2	5
US Aid	13	4	0
Nuclear Issue	8	0	1
Drone Attacks	10	2	7
Talibanization	8	1	0

Finding 20

The finding suggests that the daily Nation published 64 news stories regarding the US concern that depicted the US image positively. Whereas 177 news items portrayed the US as negatively and 106 news stories portrayed the US as neutral.

Table: 20. Framing of the issues in daily Nation

Issues	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Pakistan Policy	6	25	13
US Policy	24	36	18
War on Terror	7	14	19
US Aid	5	2	3
Nuclear Issue	0	3	1
Drone Attacks	10	15	11
Talibanization	7	7	5
Soft News	5	75	36

Finding 21

The finding shows that the by line of the stories published regarding the US in the daily Nation. There are 153 news stories that were reported by Pakistani reporters while 78 news stories were contributed by foreign reporters.

Table: 21. By-line of the stories of daily Nation

Issues	Pak. Reporters	Foreign Reporters
Pakistan Policy	40	4
US Policy	60	18
War on Terror	15	25
US Aid	2	8
Nuclear Issue	0	4
Drone Attacks	26	10
Talibanization	10	9

Finding 22

The finding displays that the source of the stories concerning the US covered in the daily Nation. The daily Nation published 179 news items regarding the US from official sources while it accepted 51 news stories for publication based on the information received from private sources and published 1 news story from other source.

Table: 22. Source of the stories of daily Nation

Issues	Official	Private	Other
Pakistan Policy	41	3	0
US Policy	57	20	1
War on Terror	34	6	0
US Aid	8	2	0
Nuclear Issue	4	0	0
Drone Attacks	22	14	0
Talibanization	13	6	0

Discussion

The findings of the study have endorsed the basic supposition that the Pakistani newspapers presented US image negatively. Only the daily Dawn projected the US image positively which is apparent from the table 1. So the first premise of the present study that "the daily Dawn portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive" has been rejected. The daily Dawn adopted a favorable attitude regarding US policies and strategies towards Pakistan. The reason of such type of coverage of daily Dawn will be discussed later. On the contrary as compare to the daily Dawn, the daily News portrayed the US image negatively. The second hypothesis of the research study that "the daily News portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive" has been accepted. The daily Nation is more critical so far the US image is concerned. Table 3 reflects that the hard news of the daily Nation as compare to the above discussed newspapers severely criticized the US concerns in Pakistan. So, the third hypothesis that the "the daily Nation portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive" has been accepted. It is generally believed that contrary to the Urdu newspapers, the English newspapers of Pakistan have the same agenda and they frame the issues in the same manner. But the findings of the table 1, table 2 and table 3 advocate that there is a difference among the agenda setting technique of these three English newspapers. The daily Dawn depicted the US positively whereas the daily News and the daily Nation presented the image of the US negatively. Moreover, by investigating the mean difference of the findings of table 2 and table 3, it is stated that there is an abundant deal of variation so far the negative coverage of the daily News and the daily Nation is concerned. The scale of negative coverage of the daily Nation is higher than the daily News. The daily Dawn's readership includes influential, diplomats, foreigners etc. On the other hand, daily News and the daily Nation are read by general educated masses. The reason of variation of their coverage regarding the portrayal of the US might be a result of their readership. According to Noshina Saleem (2010), daily Dawn depends on government's advertisements and information sources and involvement of high level of national interests. According to her, this supports the Shoemaker and Reese (1996) theoretical concepts that the official, ideological and commercial patterns influence the newspaper contents. In order to bring more clarity in the results, the researcher has made month wise comparison among three newspapers concerning the coverage of the US. The table 4 indicates that the daily Dawn and the daily News presented positive image of the US in the month of November 2009 whereas

only the daily Nation portrayed the US negatively in this month. According to the table 5, both the daily News and the daily Nation negatively depicted the affairs of the US in Pakistan in the month of December 2010. However the daily Dawn just like the coverage of the previous month portrayed the US image positively in this month. The difference between the coverage of the three newspapers regarding the US in this month is statistically significant. The table 6 reflects that the daily News and the daily Nation presented the US negatively in the month of January 2010 whereas the daily Dawn portrayed the US image positively same like the previous months. The table 7 suggests that the hard news stories of the daily Dawn projected the US image more positively whereas the soft news items presented the US affairs with Pakistan negatively. The difference between the two types of the stories is significant.

The table 8 and table 9 clearly depict that both the hard news and soft news items of the daily News and the daily Nation presented the US image in a more negative. The table 10 provides another important finding, according to mean difference, the soft news stories of the above mentioned three newspapers covered more negative image of the US than the hard news stories of these newspapers. The difference between the mean of two groups is highly significant. So the fourth hypothesis that "soft news portrayed the image of the US more negative as compare to hard news" has been accepted.

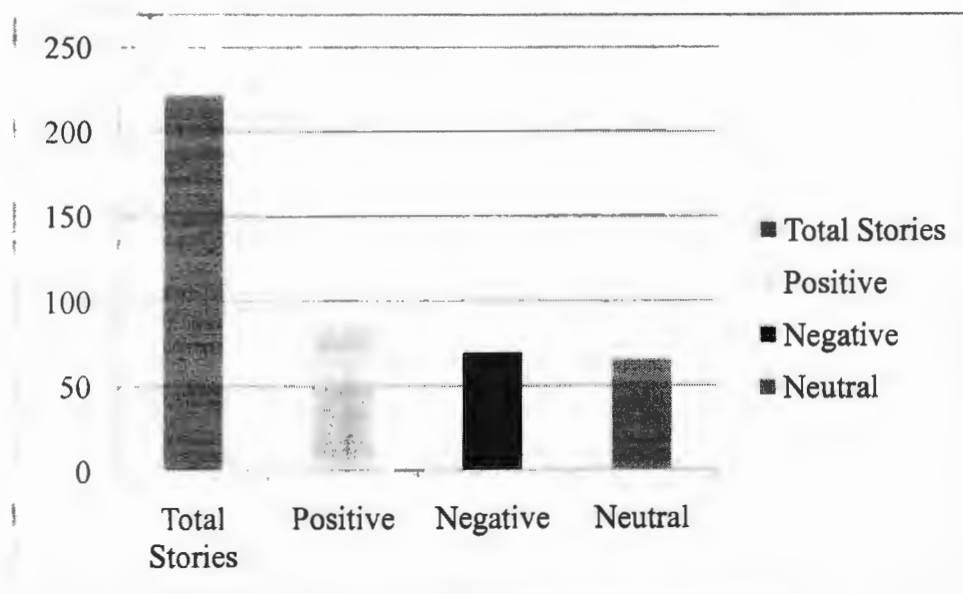
Although the newspapers of the study heavily relied on the information rendered by the official sources even then the daily News and the daily Nation projected the US image in a more negative way than positive. The ratio of the private and other sources of the stories is respectively much lower than the official sources. So far the byline is concerned; all the newspapers of the study heavily depend on the stories that were reported by Pakistani reporters rather than the foreign reporters. The ratio of the stories reported by foreign reporters is very low than the stories reported by Pakistani reporters. This could be a rationale that why the news stories regarding the US have been reported negatively in Pakistani newspapers because the journalists usually support the sentiments of the citizens of the country.

Conclusion

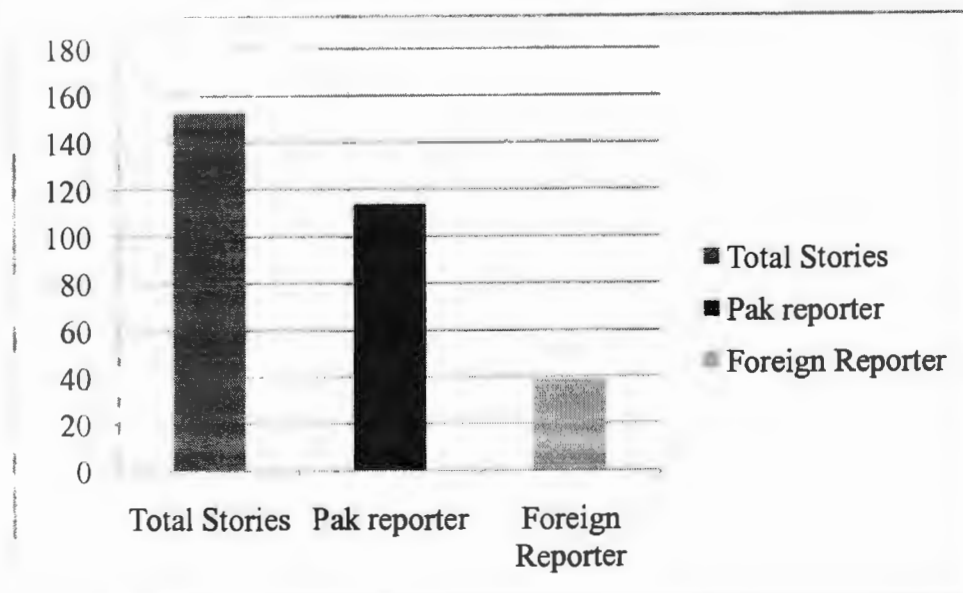
As per findings, the Pakistani press portrayed negative image of the United States of America. The only exception lies in coverage of daily Dawn where the image was framed in positive manner. Whereas the daily News and the daily Nation depicted the US image negatively. It is pertinent to mention that whenever the US government shielded the Pakistan's interests, for instance, addressing Pakistan's security apprehensions, economic and military aid, strengthening of democracy etc. all the three newspapers portrayed a positive US image. But whenever the US adopted hostile policies towards Pakistan like scrutinizing Pakistan's nuclear program, imposing economic and military sanctions and drone attacks inside Pakistani territory, the daily News and the daily Nation condemned such attitude of the US. After 9/11, Pakistan joined the US camp and participated in anti terror war. The editorial pages of the three newspapers condemned the US policies against Pakistan and suggested that Pakistan should not provide military basis on its territory to the US as it is dangerous for the sovereignty of Pakistan. The editorial pages of the three newspapers viewed that the drone attacks in their current form are breaching the UN charter and hence a clear violation of international law. So the findings of the study suggest that the Pakistani press condemn the US policies regarding Pakistan. The media workers and the common mass of Pakistan considered that the anti-Pak policies of the US like drone attacks inside Pakistan territory, presence of Black Water's personals, and violation of aerial territory of Pakistan by the NATO planes are the cause of present extremism in Pakistan. The country of Pakistan is trailing down in every walk of life just because of US-led so called anti terror war in which Pakistan is helpless to participate because of its sensitive geographical location. The general perception of the people of Pakistan has been endorsed by the results of study that the US is responsible for present socio- economic, political and military crisis in Pakistan. To conclude the study, only the hard news stories of the daily Dawn framed the US image positively whereas the soft news of the same newspaper portrayed the US image negatively. The front, back and editorial pages of the dailies News and Nation framed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

Graphical Presentation of Results

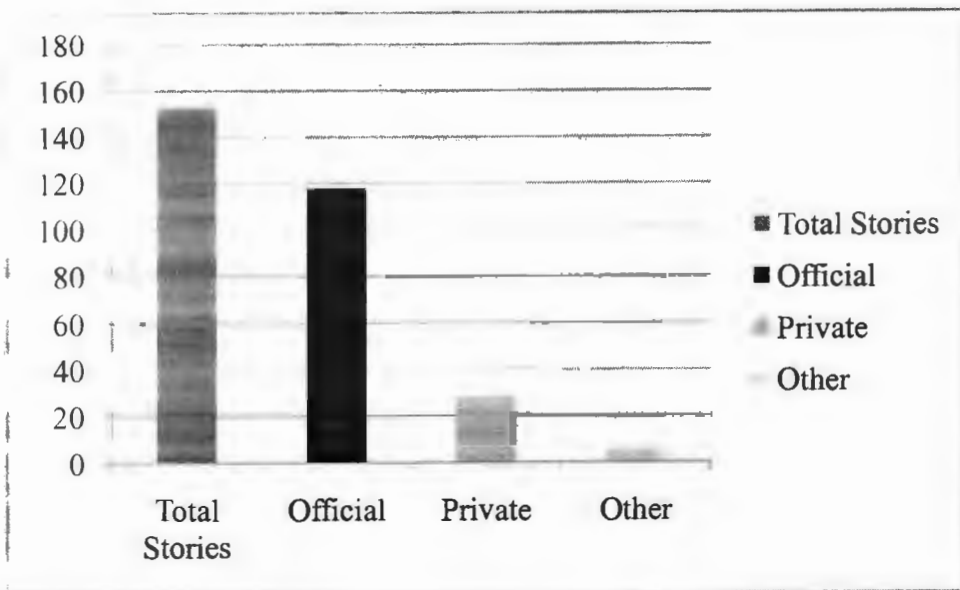
Graph 1: Framing of the stories published in daily Dawn



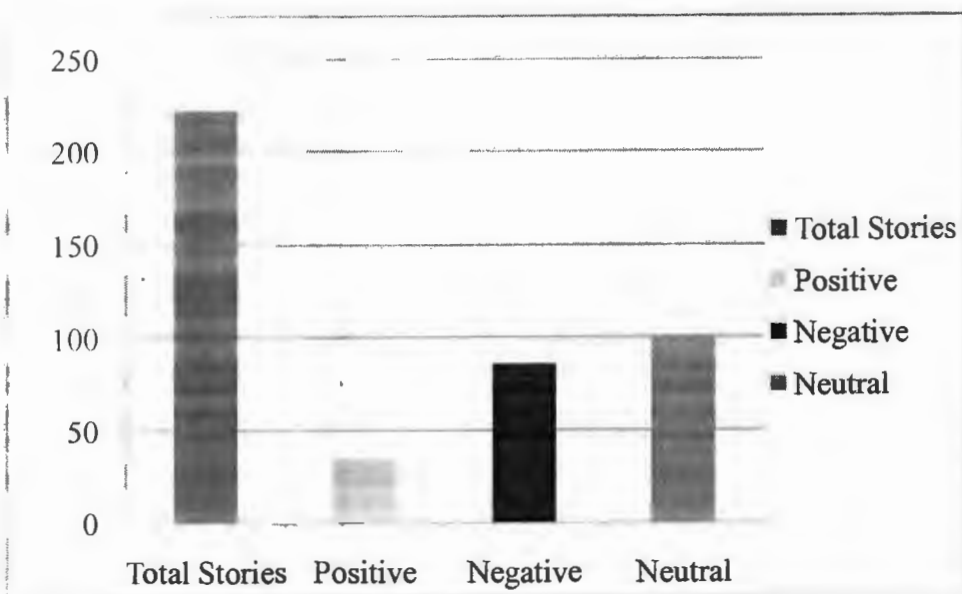
Graph 2: By-line of the stories published in daily Dawn



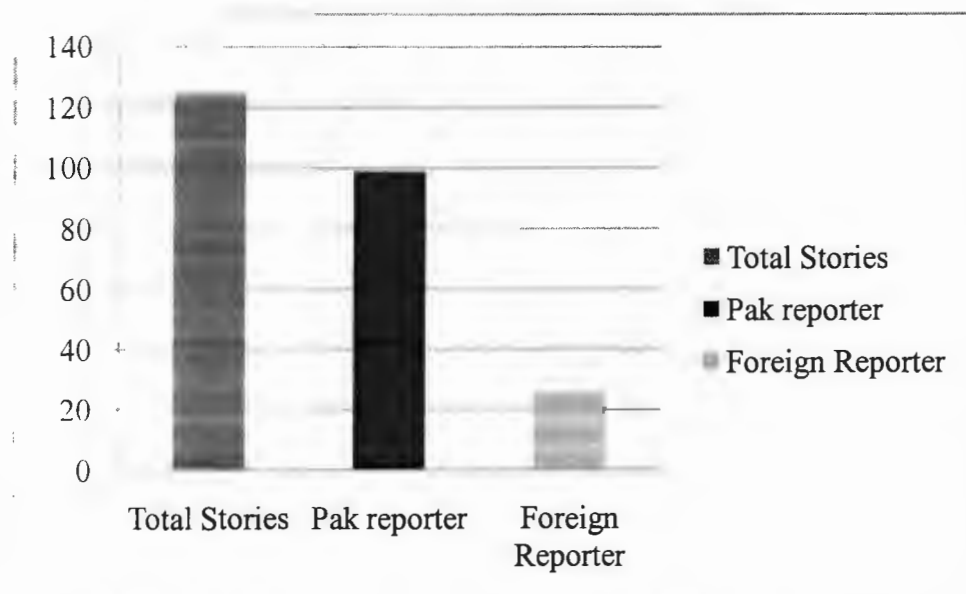
Graph 3: Source of the stories published in daily Dawn



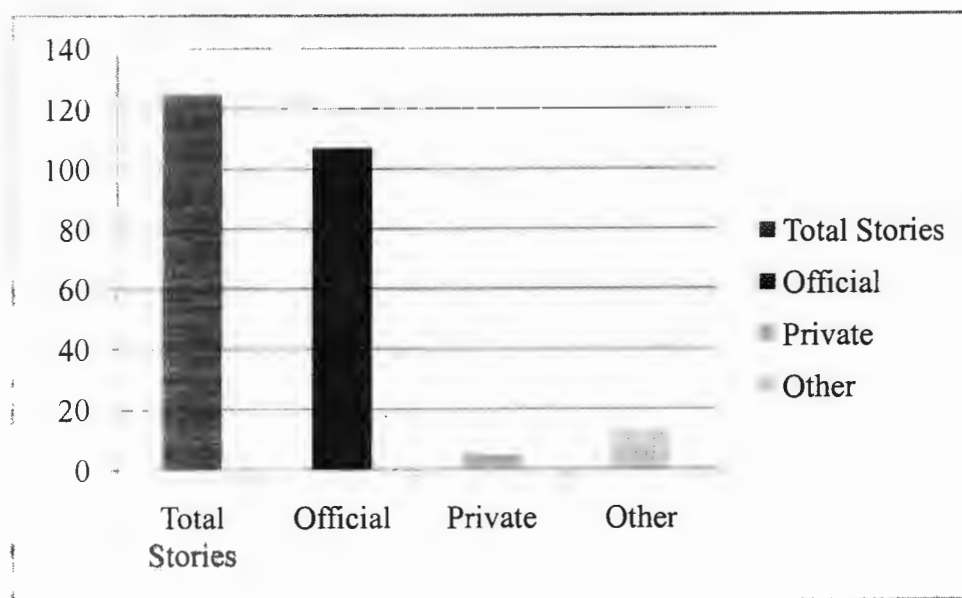
Graph 4: Framing of the stories published in daily News



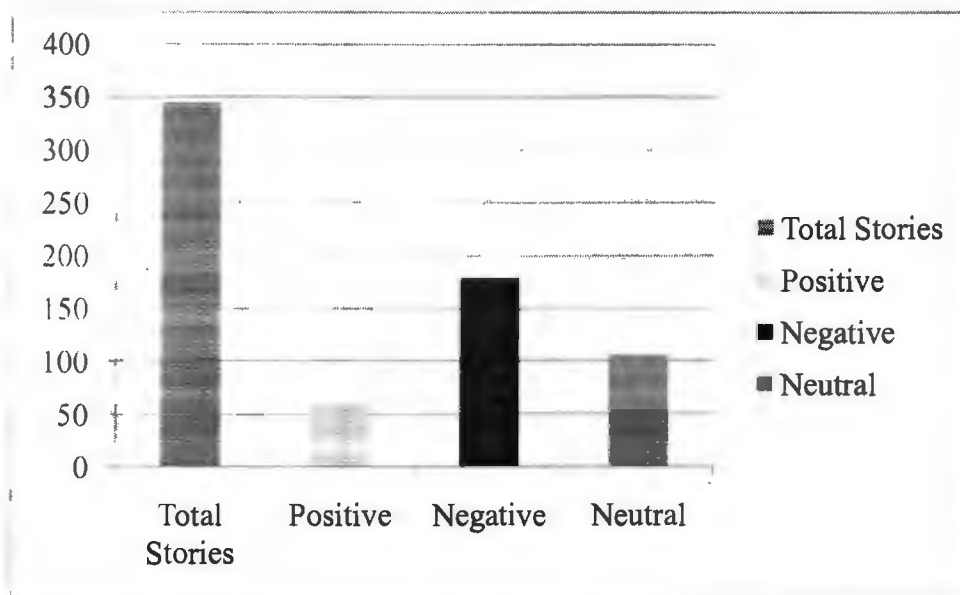
Graph 5: By-line of the stories published in daily News



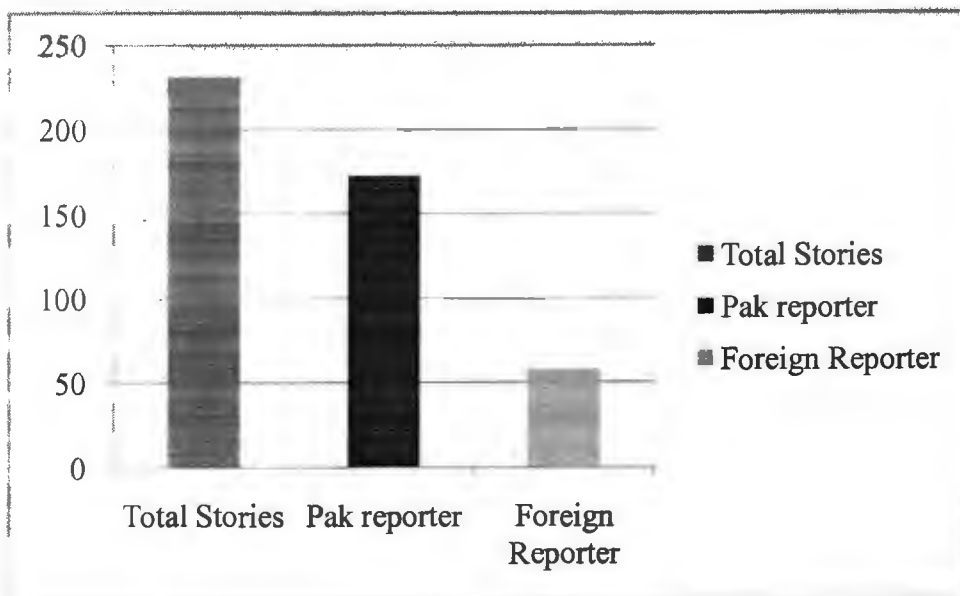
Graph 6: Source of the stories published in daily News



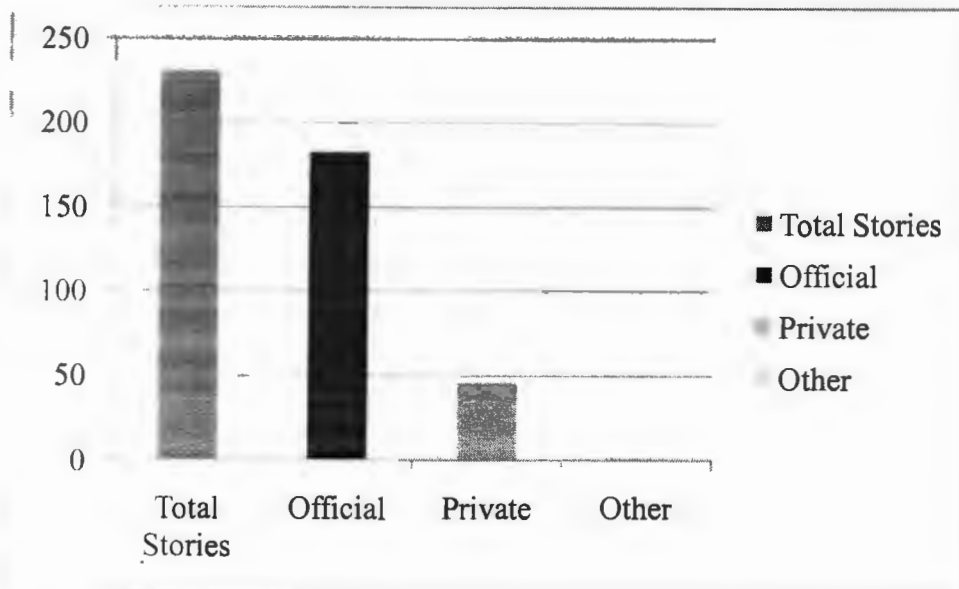
Graph 7: Framing of the stories published in daily Nation



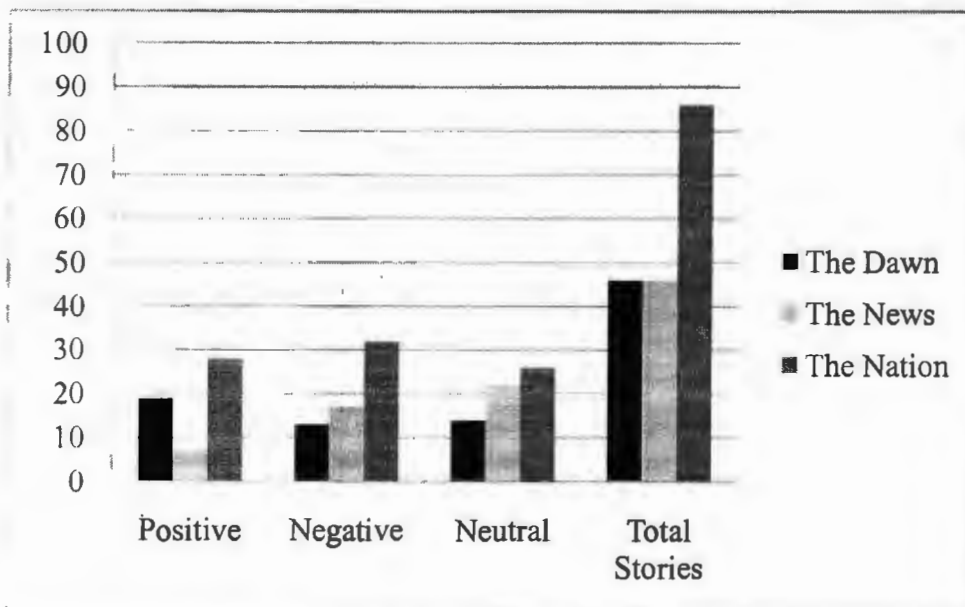
Graph 8: By-line of the stories published in daily Nation



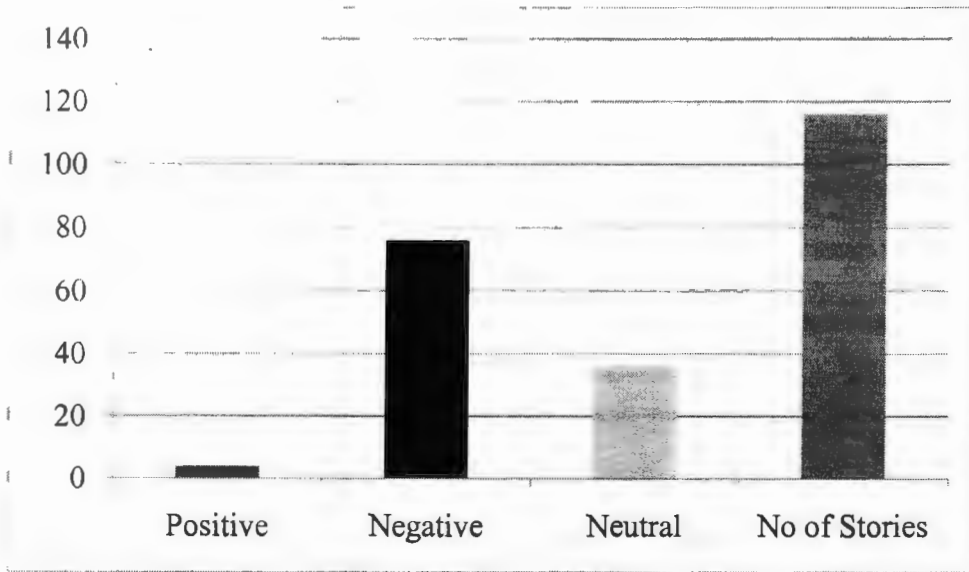
Graph 9: Source of the stories published in daily Nation



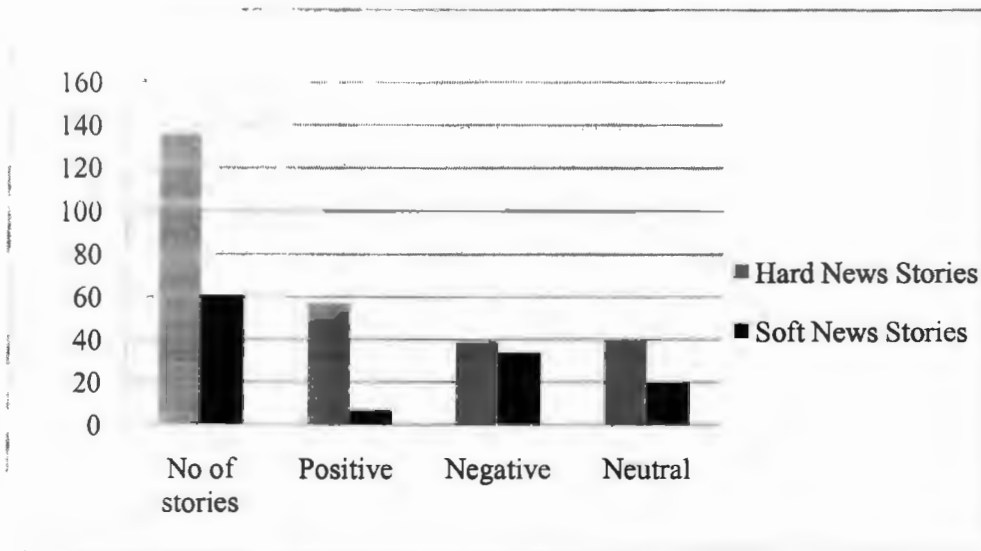
Graph: 10. Framing comparison of the dailies Dawn, News and Nation



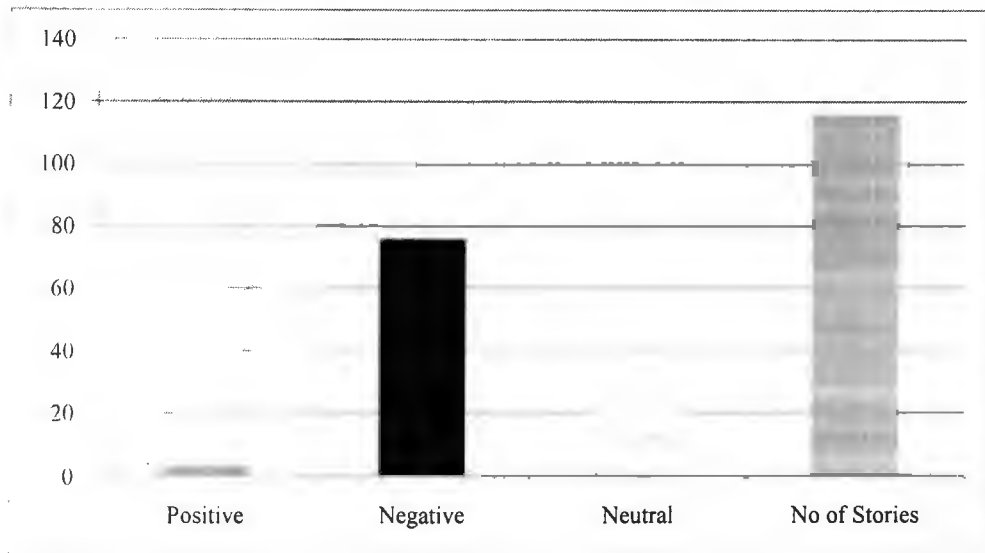
Graph 11: Framing of the soft news of the daily Dawn



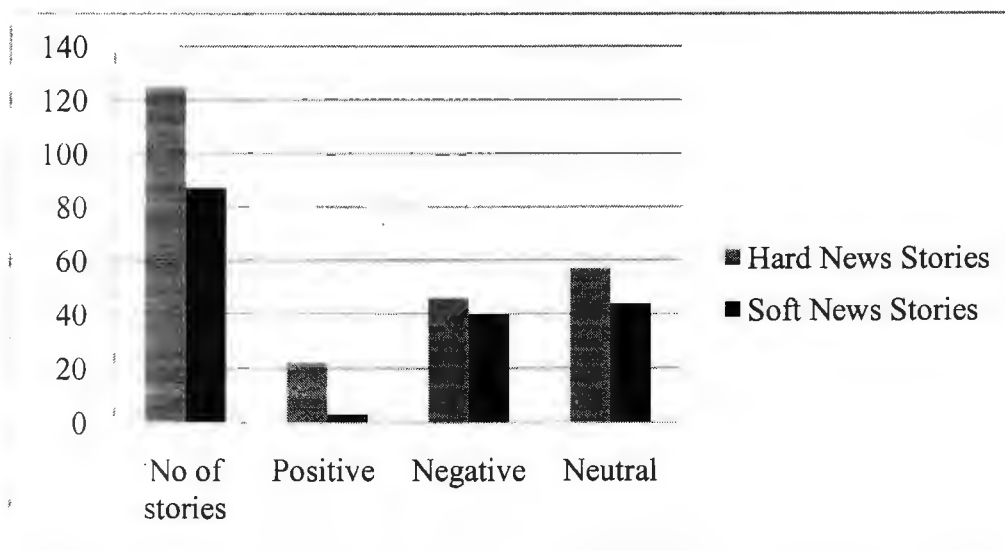
Graph 12: Comparison of hard and soft news of the daily Dawn



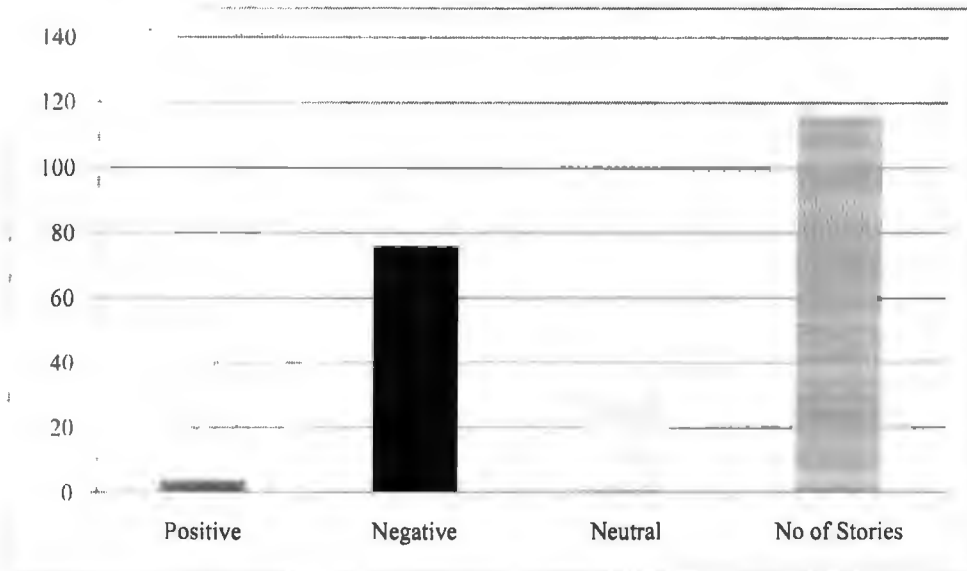
Graph 13: Framing of the soft news of the daily News



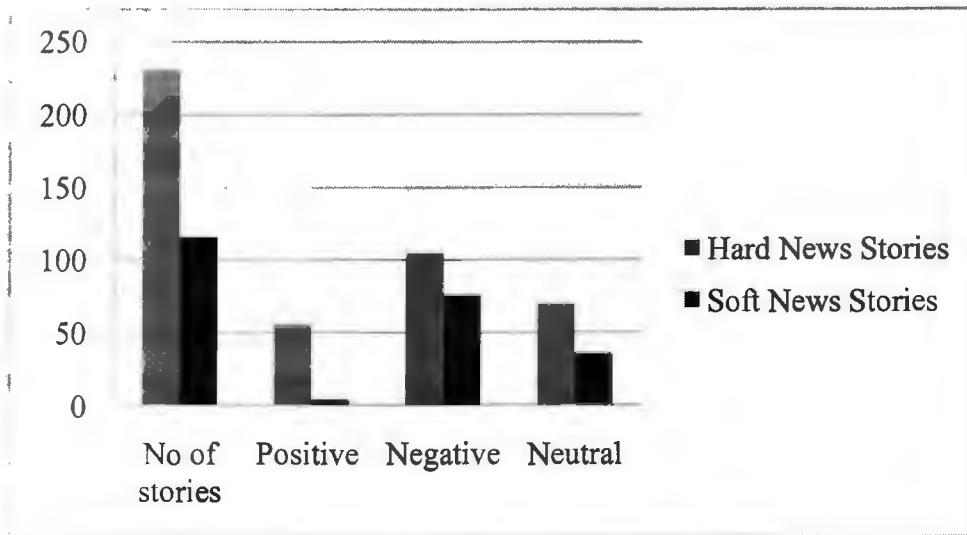
Graph 14: Comparison of hard and soft news of the daily News

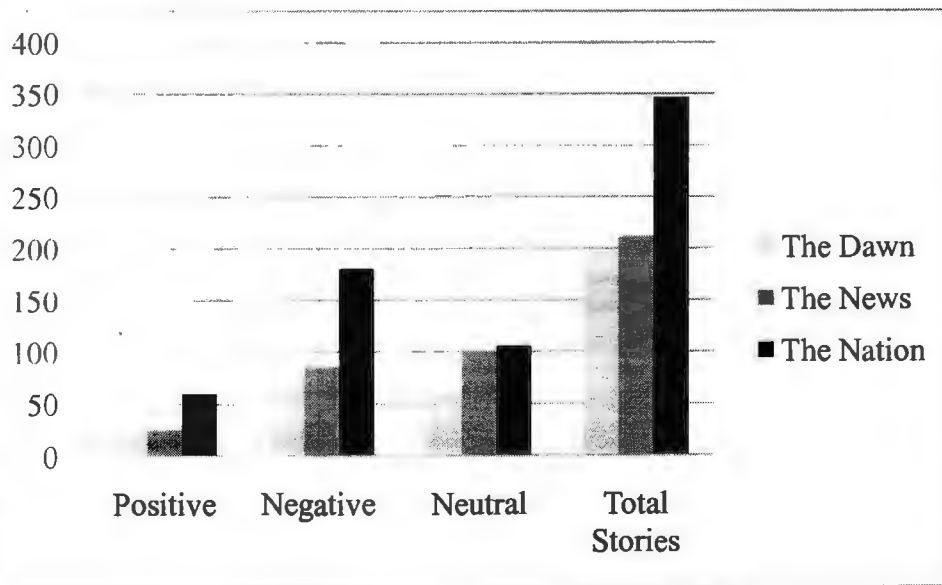


Graph 15: Framing of the soft news of the daily Nation



Graph 16: Comparison of hard and soft news of the daily Nation



Graph 17: Overall comparison of the framing of the dailies Dawn, News and Nation

Limitations

The study was conducted on the English newspapers of Pakistan so it was confined only to English press and it did not cover Urdu newspapers because of shortage of time and resources. Likewise, the study did not cover all the pages of the newspapers for content analysis. It focused only the front page, the back page and the editorial page. Moreover, the researcher only selected those news items which contained the news of Pakistan policy towards US, US policy towards Pakistan, coalition against war on terror, drone attacks, US aid and Talibanization. The stories other than these issues have not been made constituent of the present research study.

Application of the research

This is the first ever study of this kind and nature in Pakistan. The study is important because it has given an accumulative guess to the suffering people of Pakistan that how Pakistani media particularly the press has approached the interest oriented policies of the US for Pakistan and war against terror. It can help the think tanks of the US to reassess and change their strategy regarding Pakistan and countering terrorism. By analyzing the results of the study, the governments of both countries can re-examine the nature of their diplomatic and strategic relations.

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Appendix

(Categories of the content analysis)

Variables	Categories	Coding Rules
Topics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Pakistan Policy ▪ US policy ▪ Coalition against War on Terror ▪ US aid ▪ Nuclear Issue ▪ Talibanization ▪ Drone Attacks ▪ Talibanization 	<p>Stories related to Pakistan policy regarding the US.</p> <p>Stories related to the US policy regarding Pakistan.</p> <p>Stories related to war on terror</p> <p>Stories related to foreign aid, including economic and military aid of the US.</p> <p>Stories related to the US stance regarding Pakistan nukes.</p> <p>Stories related to the US policy regarding Taliban.</p> <p>News items related to the US drone attacks in Pakistan territory.</p> <p>News related to Taliban.</p>
Source	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Official ▪ Private ▪ Others 	<p>Source of the story is of government origin</p> <p>Source of the story is of private origin</p> <p>Source of the story is of other origin</p>
By line	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Pakistani reporters ▪ Foreign reporters 	<p>Stories contributed by Pakistani reporters.</p> <p>Stories contributed by foreign reporters.</p>

Story type	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Hard news ▪ Soft news	Stories based on facts. Stories based on opinions. (Columns, editorials, features)
Frame	<ul style="list-style-type: none">▪ Positive ▪ Negative ▪ Neutral	Stories that portray the US image as positive. Stories that portray the US image as negative. News stories that do not fall above mention categories.

