

The Coverage of Pak-Afghan Relations in Leading Newspapers of the Countries Concerned:

Post 9/11 Era



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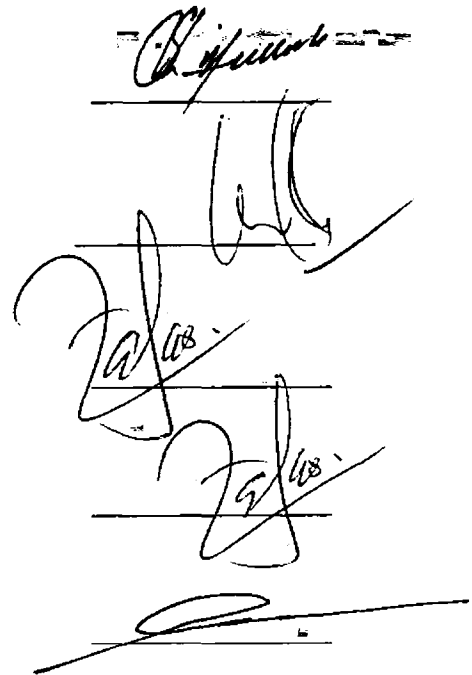
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The image shows five handwritten signatures, each written over a horizontal line. The signatures are in black ink and appear to be cursive or semi-cursive. The first signature is at the top, followed by four more signatures below it, corresponding to the roles listed on the left.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to my parents Mr. Fayyaz Ahmed & Ms Robina Begum, my brothers Mr. Saboor Ahmed & Mr. Mafaz Ahmed, Sisters Ms. Hasnat Ara & Ms. Saman Ara and (Fiancé) Ms. Hira.

Abstract

The study focuses on the comparative framing analysis of the Pakistani and Afghani's press in making the perception of the Pak-afghan relations post 9/11 scenario from January 01, 2010 to June 31, 2010. The methodology involves content analysis of 206 editorials and column to test framing theory by identifying the negative, positive and neutral stance. 126 editorials & column were covered by Pakistani press and 80 by Afghan press.

Two leading English newspaper of Pakistan and two of Afghanistan were selected for the analysis. The results showed the respective role of press of both the countries in covering the Pak-Afghan relations Post 9/11 era. The image of Pakistan in Afghanistan newspapers was portrayed as favorable while in Pakistani newspapers the Afghanistan's image was neutral.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The history of Pak-Afghan relations has been marked with bitterness and mistrust.

Apart from being close allies in the Global War against Terrorism, the relations between the two countries are not cordial, one main reason of this is also the presence of the disputed area. (Pande, 2007). Despite the efforts made by Pakistani government to remove the misunderstandings between the two neighbors, the war on terror has reversed the situation in terms of the relations between the countries post 9/11 era.

During the Soviet war, Pakistan accommodated more than 3 million Afghan refugees that were more than a brotherly gesture to the Afghan public. But when the incidents of 9/11 took place the situation got worst and the presence of US forces with in the Afghanistan was a mediating factor in worsening the situation. This is so because the ground for talks or negotiation was not suitable. The terrorism issue was so intense that both the countries were not in the position to look after the other affairs. This was the period when Afghan government started blaming Pakistan's involvement in the unrest in Afghanistan.

From Pakistani side the same blames were leveled against Afghanistan that created mistrust and uncertainty within the public. From the very beginning, there are commonalities between the people of the two countries. They were bonded by relations across the borders. They were freely moving across borders to meet their dear ones. Then the incident of 9/11 took place and the people of the two nations were set apart. The presence of foreign powers was a major hurdle in setting them aside. At that time the forces of both the countries gathered at the border. The Afghan President, Hamid Karzai warned Pakistan against a possible strike if the border infiltration was not stopped. The Pakistani government replied and said they will defend their land if attacked.

This was very serious for the people of the two nations. It would be a disaster for the two Islamic states to indulge in a war.

These similarities of religion, geographical allocation, race and ethnicity can be utilized in a proper way to make new beginning to the Pak-Afghan relations.

The importance of relations cannot be denied by both the countries. They are bound by nature in the relations. Peaceful relations will have profound effects on the economic and political developments of the countries. They are dependent on each other in many aspects such as trade, education, disaster management, law and order situation.

Irrespective of sharing of the long border, both the countries share culture, religion, tradition and history.

A peaceful Afghanistan is a key to Pakistan's political and economic stability. If Pakistan is politically stable and working then the Afghani concerns regarding Pakistan can easily be understood and eradicated through political dialogue. The common people want peace and progress on both sides of the border. They want to live happily with a bright future. They want to flourish financially and politically. Their prosperity lies in the solution to the problems.

Both of them are affected by the invasion of foreign powers in the past. They got financially weak and exposed to poverty and crimes. This was more severe than the war. The new generation of both sides especially Afghanistan did not find its way towards progress. In Pakistan the arms race and lawlessness erupted that created problems for the government and public.

In such a situation, Press can play its role in the democratization, good governance and human development. This tool of communication can change the attitude of readers across borders. The

press can set a common agenda to tackle all the differences through various means i.e. media awareness programs

Khan and Irtaza (2010) pointed out that the advancement in media technology has intensified the media role in developing societies. In Various countries like United States media plays an important role in shaping public opinion, it also influences the decision of the top government executives and helps them to resolve foreign policy matters.

The Press of both of the countries can play a vital role in improving the relations between the two countries. A positive role of Press can bring the common public on a platform of brotherhood, where they can find solutions to their problems. A positive Press Policy regarding each other can lay a roadmap for progressive relations. A common Press Policy in positive terms will solve the problems that have re shaped Post 9/11 era.

Previous researches on the Pak-Afghan relations have not utilized the role of Press in the creation of a new line of action for solving the problem. This research is a step towards finding a way for enhancing the relations between the two countries.

1.1 Problem Statement

The study will investigate the role of Press in framing the attitude of the readers in both the countries.

1.2 Objective of the Study

The main objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To examine the role of Pakistani newspapers in building the relations between the people of the countries.
2. To know about the stance of Afghani newspapers in establishing the image of Pakistan to their people.
3. To build a common press policy for eradicating misconceptions.
4. To brought closer the two countries with the aim of establishing love and affection.
5. In case of negative role of press, if any, recommendation will be given to make the role positive.

1.3 Significance of the study

The research study holds importance for the press of both the countries. The positive role of the press is the solution to all the problems faced. Communication and coordination through the use of print media is the only way to enhance the bilateral ties and remove all the misunderstandings. Print media is highly acknowledged throughout the world due to its influence. Its can create a right or wrong perception of any issue to the public.

The situations after 9/11 got worst due to the invasion of foreign powers in Afghanistan. Both the countries' leaders were slashing each other for the unrest in their territories.

The present study holds great importance in the improvement of the Pak-Afghan Relations. Press can portray the image of Pakistan and Afghanistan in a right way to start a new beginning to the Pak-Afghan relations. This study aims to point out the role of both the press of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This will point out either role after 9/11 in positive/favorable, negative/unfavorable or neutral terms.

The positive/favorable portrayal of Pak-Afghan relations can build a new platform for the relations that will have profound effects on the trade and development, law and order situations etc

1.4 Implications of Research

The research opens new opportunities for the governments of both the countries to use media in shaping their relations. The press role is an important factor in improving the relations. Further research can analyze the electronic media role as well as other tools of communication to pave a way to smoothen the relations. The misunderstanding and negative stance if any, can easily be eradicated by proper utilization of the role of media or press as in this research.

A survey can also be carried out asking journalists about the effects of various decisions taken by the governments of both these countries effecting the Pak-Afghan relations. I.e. fencing the border, cooperation in war against terror etc

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Pak-Afghan Relations

Right from getting independence by Pakistan in 1947, Durand Line and the issue of Pakhtunistan formed hurdle in Pak-Afghans relations. Afghanistan was the only country not to vote in favor of Pakistan in the united nation. Pakistan has always opted for a positive policy towards Afghanistan. This was so because India was the other neighbor with whom its relations were not good. This was very troubling for Pakistan to have bitterness with both of them. Hence, Pakistan adopted a policy of restrain and patience towards Afghanistan. (Sharifi, 2009)

The Afghan government supported the issue of Pakhtunistan in order to divert the struggle for equal rights and better living conditions of oppressed national minorities inside Afghanistan. The Kabul leaders used the issue of Pakhtunistan, on the one hand, to rally Afghan people behind the government policies and, on the other hand, to find an excuse to detain, jail and execute opposition forces in the country by branding them Pakistani agents. (Emadi, 1990)

During the 1950, the relations between the two countries remained stiff. In 1955, the Afghan government raised a strong protest against Pakistan's one unit proposal to incorporate the NWFP now (Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa) in the province of West Pakistan, large scale demonstrations were also organized against Pakistan in Kabul, where Pakistan's Embassy was attacked. Pakistan alleged that during the attack the demonstrators tore down the Pakistani flag, destroyed the embassy and the ambassador's residence, injured embassy staff, broke down office furniture and equipment and looted property. During the attack the Afghan police keep itself away from normalizing the situation and taking any preventive measures. They encouraged the rioters. Similarly other Consulates of Pakistan at Kandhar and Jalalabad were also attacked. (Cheema, 2006)

However, the relations between the two countries improved as a result of mediation by some Middle Eastern countries. As a result of which Afghanistan softened its tone on the Pakhtunistan Issue.

In September 1961, Daoud took the extreme measure of breaking off diplomatic relations with Pakistan and sealing off the border. It was the irrational move of a self deluded autocrat, understandable only by Daoud's irredentist obsession with 'Pakhtunistan'. Custom duties accounted for some 40 per cent of Afghan government revenues; these were stopped during the 1961-63 closure of the border. (Rasanayagam, 2002)

A section of the Afghan elites, concentrated around King Zahir who was interested, for economic reasons, in normalizing relations with Pakistan, while another section rallied behind Daoud and favored supporting the Pakhtun and Baluch people. The split within the Afghan bureaucracy grew to the extent that Daoud was forced to resign in 1963. Following Daoud's resignation as premier, relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan were normalized. Emadi (1990)

The two major events, which were the resignation of the then prime minister Daoud and the preoccupation of Afghanistan with the constitutional politics enhanced the normalization process to an improved level. These two issues acted as a pillar in changing the stance of Afghanistan on the dispute of Pakhtunistan and the reaction was brought down to a lower level.

According to (Hussain, 2002) during the 1965 war, Afghanistan assured Pakistan of no interference through the western borders which made Pakistan to pay full attention to India without having any concern from the western border side. The visit of king Zahir shah in 1968 was another hallmark in the restoration of warm relations with each other. Afghanistan maintained strict neutrality during the 1971 war between India and Pakistan. It did not thought of taking any advantage at that time when Pakistan government was preoccupied by the conflict.

Khan (2003) is of the view that, throughout the reign of Afghan King Zahir Shah, Pakistan never faced a threatening military posture from Afghanistan that necessitated force deployment on the border. This pattern continued even during the two wars with India (1965 and 1971) as Afghanistan never posed any military threat to Pakistan. Pakistan perceives India seeking a "strategic envelopment," a policy of manipulating events in Afghanistan and Iran to elicit anti-Pakistan responses so as to cause political and security problems for Pakistan. The foremost objective of Pakistan has been to establish a friendly government in Kabul that at the minimum does not pose a second front in the event of a war with India.

India's Anti Pakistan involvement through Afghanistan

Majority of Afghans do not have a conscious approach towards this fact that the Indian hegemony over Afghanistan is the real threat for Pakistan's sovereignty. Decades of war and internal conflicts in Afghanistan have turned it into a ground suitable for Indians to seed the Afghans with anti-Pakistan sentiments in order to achieve its hideous goal of destroying Pakistan. As a repercussion towards the Indian threat, Pakistan ultimately has to secure itself from Indian presence in Afghanistan.

According to (Janjua, 2009), India's relations with Afghanistan have been based on the "Kautilya theory" which means that an enemy's enemy is a friend.

Daily Times (2009) Reported that

"Pakistan is very worried that it will have India on its eastern border and India on its western border in Afghanistan,"

The political, economic and geographical situations of Afghanistan have been directly effecting Pakistan. As a result Pakistan is always concerned about the Afghan position in region. Pakistan wants Afghanistan to be its strong ally in the region.

Hussain (2005) said that Afghans were persuaded by Indians to continue their propaganda of Pakhtunistan against Pakistan soon after its creation in 1947 in order to achieve their own goals. In Delhi "Pakhtunistan Jirga" was held by the efforts of Indian government and also the service of "All India" radio was provided to Sardar Najubullah Khan for anti Pakistan speech on 27 May 1947.

Hussain, citing Dupree, states, "I was among those who were in Pakistan and Afghanistan almost immediately after partition in 1947; I looked into what was happening in Kabul. There was a group of Indians controlling the Kabul Radio and they were the ones who even invented the term Pakhtunistan".

According to (Janjua, 2009), after the independence of Pakistan in 1947, India was of the view that Pakistan would collapse thus it fastened its conspiracies against Pakistan to make it more weaken by supporting the Pakhtunistan movement.

President Ayub stated that India is carrying out its propaganda against Pakistan according to that propaganda they thought Pakistan will not survive as a separate state.

The same was thought by the Afghans, it was misconceived that Pakistan would not survive in the years ahead so they laid claim on the Frontier areas. They were of the view that if Pakistan collapsed, its claim on frontier region would strengthen more.

Rasool (2008) analyzed that

"Pakistan believes Afghanistan's territory is being used by India, in support with Afghan leaders and intelligence agencies, to interfere in the Baluchistan"

Indians allied themselves with Americans in their war against Taliban in post 9/11 events .In short, Indians allied with Americans because of their own interests in Afghanistan. India, in the name of reconstruction in Afghanistan, sent in its spying missions in cover which comprised of contractors, medical teams, businessmen and training their spying agency KHAD. Indian premier Man Mohan sing paid official visit to Afghanistan in 2005 and signed various memorandums of understandings (MoUs) in order to cement the relation between India and Afghanistan (Khan, 2009).

The poor situation of economy and politics in Afghanistan was a hindrance for Afghans to resist the Soviet invasion. Because of the strategic location of Afghanistan, the Soviet presence was not in the favor of either Afghanistan or Pakistan. Soviets took the advantage of the poor economical and political situation in Afghanistan and invaded it. As Afghans were not able to defend themselves, the Soviets were able to gain their preliminary objectives.

Amin (2004) stated that, in 1976 major changes occurred, Sardar Daud Khan after having assessed aggressive Soviet designs, decided to opt for a major policy change and rapprochement with Pakistan. Sardar Daud Khan visited Pakistan and made a statement;

"Pakistani brothers, I can assure you that we came to your country with the utmost goodwill and sincerity.....We will be able to solve our political problems and one day we will live as very close and intimate brothers."

Good relations will favor the interests of both the countries. But there are some forces who want to derail the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan for own interest. Pakistan was forced to become a frontline state in combating against the Soviets in Afghanistan. By doing so Pakistan was able to defend itself from Soviet threats in Afghanistan.

The ground of weak Afghanistan served as a launching pad for Anti-Pakistan policy. Because of the vacuum of political stability in Afghanistan, Pakistan felt the need of establishing pro-Pakistan government in Afghanistan. That is why Pakistan has been actively supporting Taliban after the cold war era.

In a speech by Asif Zardari, President of Pakistan said; “We will not allow Pakistan to become like Afghanistan. The weak institutional structure has paved way for foreign powers to invade Afghanistan.”

Pak-Afghan Relations after the end of Soviet War

After the end of soviet war the situation of both the countries took a new turn. The arm race and crimes rate increased many fold.

In Afghanistan the heroin was cultivated on large scale that was also associated to Pakistan. Afghanistan and Pakistan were ranked second as world largest suppliers of illegal heroin. That was followed by crimes at large scale. (Haq, 1996)

This business also created a powerful arms and drugs mafia in Pakistan, causing the expansion of the heroin and arms expansion. The 'Kalashnikov culture' flourished when the United States sent huge supplies of AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles through Pakistan for onward supply to the Afghan *Mujahedin*. As a consequence many opportunities of illegal trade of arms in the now called Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa, the province of Pakistan, emerged (Hilali, 2002)

Pak-Afghan Relations Post 9/11 Era

The post 9/11 phase paved way for a Great Game where major powers came to front to control the heartland of Asia. The terrorist's attacks in Afghanistan provided an opportunity to US to fight against the Taliban regime. Pakistan found itself obliged to join the global war against terror to avert any direct or indirect threat. (Bhatty, 2005)

With the incident of 9/11 the relations between Pak-Afghan again took a U-turn. Instead of USSR, it is the US who is in search of terrorist's hideouts in Afghanistan. Pakistan supported the war on terror by remaining a key ally in the war. The relations went up and down after 9/11.

This was the period when the leaders of Pakistan and Afghanistan were blaming each other for the unrest in their countries.

In order to confront militants in Pakistan, Afghan President Hamid Karzai threatened to send troops across the border. He said "When militants across the border kill Afghans and coalition troops, his nation had the right to retaliate in "self-defense"."

This statement came two days after Taliban fighters attacked an Afghan jail freeing hundreds of prisoners. On the other hand Pakistan warned that no interference in its affairs would be tolerated. Yusuf Raza Gilani, Pakistan's prime minister, said that the border between the two countries was too long to monitor. (BBC, 2008)

The re growth of the Taliban movement and the growing insurgency in the provinces bordering the Pak-Afghan have once again generated tensions between Kabul and Islamabad. The two countries are accusing each other of interfering in their respective domestic affairs. Afghanistan blames Pakistan for fueling the insurgency in Afghanistan in order to destabilize the government

of Hamid Karzai and install a more compliant government in Kabul. President Karzai himself criticized Pakistan on several occasions, claiming Pakistan was training militants and sending them over the border. In turn, Islamabad blamed Kabul for its alleged support to the Baloch guerrillas and the situation in Waziristan. (Grare, 2006)

Director General ISI, Ahmad Shuja Pasha said that Afghan soil is being used for terrorist activities in Pakistan. He said peace cannot be established in Pakistan unless infiltration from Afghan border is stopped. He said that the drug mafia in Afghanistan is supporting terrorists who are creating unrest within Pakistan. (The Nation, 2010)

The Nation (2010) Reported Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, who said that the war against Taliban in Afghanistan must be fought inside Afghanistan not in Pakistan.

“The Afghan war has to be fought within Afghanistan. The challenges within Afghanistan cannot be resolved in Pakistan.”

In his address to the conference, Afghan Foreign Minister Rangin Dadfar Spanta said both diplomatic and military efforts were needed to bring stability to his country.

The issue of involvement in each other's affairs has been the core of the problems. Both the nations have to set a common agenda for getting in to the roots of why a neighbor is involved in their internal state. The reasons of involvement remain in the security interest of both Pakistan and Afghanistan.

In an another news story reported by The nation (2010), Pakistan cautioned against any external involvement in Afghanistan, saying no regional or extra regional state should be allowed to manipulate the situation in that country.

"There is no doubt that Afghanistan stills needs international assistance through sustained, pragmatic and prudent engagement. Non-intervention and Non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, however, must be a cardinal element of this engagement,"

Pakistan's U.N. Ambassador Abdullah Hussain Haroon told the Security Council. After 9/11 the foreign countries pledged to improve the law and order situation in Afghanistan. Pakistan also reiterated on the need to have strong Afghanistan. A strong Afghanistan means secure Pakistan.

APP (2010) reported that "The long-term objectives of peace, stability and development in Afghanistan can be realized only by respecting its sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity,"

Ambassador Haroon said that Pakistan seeks a viable Afghanistan. Pakistan have suffered the most due to the conflict and human tragedy in Afghanistan. "In their progress we see our progress and in their woes we see our woes," the Pakistani envoy."

Pakistan Foreign Policy

According to Ministry of foreign affairs of Pakistan (2010), Pakistan pursues a policy of having friendly and cooperative relations with all countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. Pakistan has been affected by the political developments of the past twenty years in the region. South Asian countries have agreed to a Preferential Trade Agreement and are aiming at free trade arrangement in the future within the framework of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)

Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan

Either past or future, the conflicting situation in Afghanistan has been a continuing source of concern to Pakistan. Pakistan has suffered more than any other country from the continuation of the conflict. For Pakistan, vital security interests are linked to stability on western and northern borders. Pakistan therefore seeks peace, stability and national reconciliation in Afghanistan. This will open new opportunities in economic and commercial relations with the Central Asian States. Afghanistan's ill situation is a major hurdle in the way of developing these ties.

Since long Pakistan is in pursuit of the peace process in Afghanistan. Pakistan has employed a multi-pronged strategy including the active use of diplomacy, joint missions and close liaison with the Central Asian States, the UN and the OIC.

Pakistan wants a multi-ethnic government in accordance with the wishes of the Afghan people.

Whenever Afghanistan has been struck by natural disaster, Pakistan was the first to provide humanitarian assistance.

To restore peace and promote good will, Pakistan has been truly committed to be loyal with the UN, the OIC, Afghanistan and the Afghan parties. The restoration of peace in Afghanistan will allow the potential for such collaboration to take off. (Embassy of foreign affairs of Pakistan, 2010)

Being a close ally of US in the war against terror, Pakistan has to face many problems; it is the main reason behind the U-turn in the policy towards Afghanistan after 9/11. The efforts of Islamabad are being made null by the intervention of India by opening consulates at various places in Afghanistan.

Since the Russian invasion in Afghanistan, Pakistan has been suffering equally as the Afghan people. It is suffering because of the burden of the Afghan refugees, weapon culture that developed in the wake of the refugee influx, and rise in sectarianism and a long vulnerable border with anti-Pakistan emotions. Pakistan helped Afghanistan during the war. After the war, Pakistan made a grave blunder by supporting the 60%, leaving behind the 40 %. This gap is now worsening the situation for both the sides.

Pakistan can play a remarkable role in Afghanistan's reconstruction. Islamabad has taken some good steps to improve relations with Kabul. (Dawn, 2003)

Afghanistan Foreign Policy

The tendency to strengthen the relations with the Muslim world has been enhanced after the demise of the Taliban government in Oct, 2001 which is also the main objective of the Afghan foreign policy. By signing the treaty of 'Good neighbor declaration', the six countries around Afghanistan pledges that no interference will be from their side in Afghanistan's internal and external affairs. Ministry of foreign affairs of Afghanistan (2010).

Role of Press in Relations Building

Noshina, (2010) in her research on "Framing of U.S. image in *The Pakistan Times & Dawn* with reference to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan (1979-88)" said that the mass media plays a significant role in the formulation of images and beliefs of the people. She describes that "most of us gather our impressions of our countries and societies from the media". "Image" can be defined as a conceptual picture in the mind of a person, about a person, thing or a country and it may be a product of some specific political, social, or religious background or circumstances.

Thus “many prejudices about nations are carried forward through the generations, so historical events of long ago remain decisive in nation’s image”

(Wilcox, 2010) have highlighted the role of media in the development of public opinion. Media gives people access to choose a political party and frame attitudes on government decisions. All the media tools i.e. newspapers, television, radio and internet are leading factors in political communication. Mass media performs the followings main functions. It educates the public, report news, builds public opinion, identifies and highlights public problems, socialize new generations and provide a political forum. Press being an important organ of media is considered as an influencing factor in maintaining and building relations between sates. Press also played a vital role in enhancing the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan that went through up and downs since long.

Malek (1997) states that, the media diplomacy is an important factor in maintaining global power structure communication technology gives an advantage to the nation in terms of improved perception and protecting national identity. multinational companies and government achieve a common ground for talks by means of media diplomacy that involves certain techniques as polls, public relationship, advertisement agencies, Media diplomacy have become an important component in global political system due to the information revolution. this Is the reason that media have now been a powerful tool for relationship building.

Foreign policy and media diplomacy have to go hands in hands in order to have a positive effect of the other country to which it desires to build relations.

According to (Siraj, 2006) media construct social reality on the bases of ideology of a given society. National image is constructed through a complex historical process involving many

factors, such as the political and social realities of a particular country, diplomatic relations, and changes in the international political and economic spheres. Mass media by using these factors can play a major role in shaping a country image. Media frame events within the context of ideology, politics and culture in such a way that cultivate representational picture in the audience mind.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

What is framing?

According to (Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000) Framing is a term used in media studies, and refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon by a news media. It influences the individual's perception of the meanings attributed to words or phrases. The frame through the elements, encourage certain interpretations and discourage others.

Shaheen, Farish, & Yousaf (2011) conducted a study on Religious Madrassas in Pakistan: Analysis of Washington Post since 9/11. They analyzed that the western media consistently projected that there is a link between certain madrassas in Pakistan and jihadi elements which they named as terrorists. The American elite press has always been portraying madrassas as the main source of violent Islamic radicalism.

According to Entman (1993), to frame means

“To select some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation”
(p.52).

The framing theory, which was originally elaborated in the field of cognitive psychology, has been widely adopted in recent years not only in communication studies but also in other disciplines: sociology, economics, linguistics, public-relation, and so forth. It is this diversity of approaches to framing research and different meanings of the word “frame” adopted within these approaches, that ultimately brought to theoretical vagueness and “the absence of an unequivocal conceptualization (Baysha, 2008)

Framing is a term that implies how an event is portrayed in a particular story or article. This theory examines how a writer frames a story (Atheide, 1976).

Shoemaker & Reese (1996) have developed a hierarchical model, identifying five layers of influences from micro to macro level. The first level discusses Individual influence on media content such as education, ethnicity, personal values and beliefs, and political orientation of individual media workers. Moreover, the ethics and roles of media workers are said to have direct influence on content, whereas their social demographic backgrounds and their personal and political beliefs frames news indirectly, it is when individual can exert power to override institutional pressures. The second layer of influences comprises daily work routines within the newsrooms. The third layer of influence is found in organizational influence. The fourth layer comprises extra-media influences.

Finally, the influence of ideology is also important.

News reporting is often motivated by ideology rather than newsworthiness. Ideology is a tool that serves as a binding force in a society, News is basically constructed for the people in a given society. The world of media reality is different than the social reality.

5.2 Agenda setting Role of Mass Media

Media is the only tool that can set the agenda of the public. Media rules in molding the public opinion. But the point is, if media can do so, who can set the criteria for media then? The answer to this question is multifold as it is not a single factor that shapes the standards of media. Rather a number of variables, inner and outer constantly exert force on media to bend its flow either one way or the other. The personal attitudes and orientations of media workers, professional routines, commercial policies, ownership patterns, economic policies, advertisers, and the governments

influence media content. Media as hyper reality can turn and manipulate the events when the news is being reproduced. Riaz (2008)

Research Questions

RQ: 1. Weather the image of Pakistan in Afghanistan newspaper is positive/favorable, negative/unfavorable or neutral post 9/11 era?

RQ: 2. Weather and to what extent the image of Afghanistan in Pakistani newspaper is positive/favorable post 9/11 era?

Hypothesis

H₁: The image of Pakistan in Afghan newspapers is negative.

H₂: The image of Afghanistan in Pakistani newspapers is negative.

CHAPTER 4

Methodological Design

This study explores editorial coverage of the leading newspapers of Afghanistan and Pakistan i.e. in, Daily Dawn & The Frontier Post from Pakistan, and, Daily outlook Afghanistan & Afghanistan Times from Afghanistan, about the coverage given to the Pak-Afghan relations Post 9/11 era using content analysis.

To investigate the research questions, the content of the two leading newspapers of Afghanistan and Pakistan was analyzed. The time period selected for the study is January, 2010 – June, 2010. The content analysis of the opinion page/Editorial page was carried out on the alternate days. This method is also called as ‘One paper skip or alternate days’ phenomenon. The content analysis of the Pakistani newspapers i.e. DAWN was conducted on the newspapers published on odd days (1, 3, 5 etc) while the “The frontier post” was analyzed on even dates (2, 4, 6 etc). Afghan newspapers i.e. Daily outlook Afghanistan was analyzed on odd dates while Afghanistan times was analyzed on even dates.

Total of 126 opinion page content of Pakistani newspapers and 80 of afghan newspapers were analyzed to rank them favorable, unfavorable and neutral.

Content Analysis

Krippendorff (1980) defined content analysis as a research technique for making reflective and valid inferences from *data* to their context. The emphasis on data reminds the reader that quantitative content analysis is reductionist, with sampling and operational or measurement procedures that reduce communication phenomena to manageable data (e.g., numbers), from which inferences may be drawn about the phenomena themselves.

Berelson's (1952) quoted definition, "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication", includes the important specification of the process as being objective, systematic, and focusing on content's manifest (or denotative or shared) meaning (as opposed to connotative or latent "between-the-lines" meaning).

In the late 1940s, researchers examined change in the international political system by looking at 60 years of editorials in five prestigious world newspapers. They found two concurrent trends in the editorials' language reflecting increasing nationalism and growth of proletarian doctrines that seemed to support their hypothesis that international social revolution had been brewing for some time (Lasswell, Lerner, & de sola Pool, 1952).

Latent and Manifest Content Analysis

Analysis of manifest content assumes, as it were, that with the message "what you see is what you get." The meaning of the message is its surface meaning. Latent analysis is "reading between the lines" (Holsti, 1969)

In general, content analysis is conducted is a set of the following steps mentioned below.

1. Formulate a research hypothesis of Question.
2. Define the population.
3. Select an appropriate sample from the population.
4. Select and define a unit of analysis.
5. Construct the categories of content to be analyzed.
6. Train coders and Conduct a pilot study.
7. Code the content according to the established definition.
8. Analyze the collected data.
9. Draw conclusions.

The following Opinion page content was taken into consideration to carry out the study.

1. Editorials
2. Columns

Letters to the Editors

Opinion page/Editorial page also contains letters to the editor section which was not coded for the study. The reason not to consider the letters to the editors was, that most of the afghan newspapers do have a section of letters to the editors but the comments were not posted regular which was then not considered.

Universe of the Study

The universe of the study was all the English press of Pakistan and Afghanistan that was composed of all the leading newspapers published from both sides.

Sampling technique used for the selection of the Newspapers

For the selection of the newspapers, Purposive Sampling technique has been used. It is used because of the nature of the research project. Studies of particular types of publications or particular times may be of interest because these publications were important or the time played a key role in history.

The New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Christian Science Monitor, and the Washington Post often receive attention in purposive samples of international coverage because they define themselves as national newspapers, and they have international correspondents. For example, Wells and King (1994) studied prestige newspapers' coverage of foreign affairs issues during the congressional campaigns in 1990. Wells and King examined all issues of the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, and the Chicago Tribune from October 9 to November 6. Wells and King's explanation for selecting these newspapers is typical of international news studies. Wells and King (1994) wrote, "These newspapers have an international news gathering ability and extensive international/foreign affairs coverage" (p. 654).

Despite the limitations of nonprobability samples in generating estimates of sampling error, they are used often. Such samples are appropriate under some conditions but often must be used because an adequate sampling frame is not available. Two nonprobability techniques are commonly used: convenience samples and purposive sampling. In a study by Riffe and Freitag

(1997) of content analysis articles in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* from 1971 to 1995, they found that 68.1% of all articles used purposive samples and 9.7% used convenience samples. Daniel, Stephen & Frederick (2005)

It was decided to select the following leading newspapers for the analysis i.e. DAWN and Frontier post from Pakistan press and Outlook Afghanistan and Afghanistan times from Afghan Press.

These newspapers report, cover and comments more on the Pak-Afghan relations. “The frontier Post” have a full-fledged section for Afghanistan related news and opinions. The daily outlook Afghanistan has wide circulation in Pakistan as well.

Sample size

The following newspapers Daily Dawn, The frontier Post, Afghanistan times and daily outlook Afghanistan is the sample size.

Coding Units

Coding unit of the column/editorials was the paragraph. Slant of the opinion page content i.e. column and editorials were analyzed in terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral. The slant was measured by analyzing the coding units of analysis that is paragraph. Paragraphs were analyzed separately and were coded in the code sheet. For example, out of the total of 10 paragraphs if 6 depicted the column or editorials as neutral and 4 as favorable the content was coded as neutral.

Selected Newspapers for Content Analysis

Two Pakistani and two Afghan newspapers were selected from the population of newspapers of both countries. The population is the constituent of all the possible events. Pakistani newspaper population was selected from a list of newspapers available at Press Information Department of Pakistan website. PID keeps up to date record of all the registered print media in Pakistan. Two Newspapers namely Dawn and The Frontier Post were selected.

The Population of Afghan newspapers was taken from Wikipedia as well as Google.

Daily outlook Afghanistan and Afghanistan times were selected for the analysis.

Rationale for the selection of the Newspapers

1. DAWN

The DAWN Group of Newspapers, published by the Pakistan Herald Publications (Pvt.) Limited (PHPL) was founded by the Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation. The group began its publication in 1947.

DAWN newspaper is renowned for its objective reporting. It is widely circulated in Pakistanis national and international organizations. To know about the coverage of Pakistani press to Afghanistan it is a reliable choice for the content analysis.

2. The Frontier Post

The Frontier Post is an English language newspaper based in Peshawar. It was launched on 25 February 1984. It's the only Pakistani English newspaper that is both distributed in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Due to wide range of readers in Afghanistan, the paper has a

separate page for Afghanistan news. Due to its special coverage the frontier post is a reliable.

3. Daily Outlook Afghanistan

The daily Outlook has completed its Five years of its publication. This is the first daily, published in English in the post Taliban Afghanistan. The Daily Outlook Afghanistan has a circulation 4800/day. Daily Outlook Afghanistan is also being sent to various cities of Pakistan.

4. Afghanistan Times

Afghanistan Times is an independent daily newspaper formed in 2005, published in English language from Kabul, capital of Afghanistan. This newspaper is published in 8 pages and contains different political, social and cultural articles and news reports

Period of the Research Study

To analyze the issue, initially the time period from 2006 to 2008 were taken to carry out the study. But due to the non availability of newspapers it was not possible to carry out the study for that particular time period. A new time period for the study was selected for the analysis of newspapers that is from Jan, 2010 to June, 2010. The period was selected based on the availability of newspapers. Secondly the time period holds great importance as the relations between the two countries were changing due to the change in the government in Pakistan.

Rational for focusing on Editorials

Editorials of newspapers present the organizational policy on a particular issue. Secondly, the image of Pakistan or the image of Afghanistan in their newspapers has not been studied previously. Thus to analyze the coverage the leading newspapers did, editorials were focused.

Categories for the Analysis of slant

In order to analyze the newspaper opinion page content the study divided slant into three categories used by (Ashraf & safdar, 2010) who cited Kim (2000) and Liu (1969), who used the following three categories for the analysis of the editorial content i.e., Favorable, unfavorable and neutral.

Positive (+) Frame/ Definition of Favorable

According to Webster's dictionary Favorable means: affirmative, affirmatory, approbative, approbatory, approving, complimentary, convenient, following, friendly, good, indulgent, pleasing, and propitious.

In order to rank a particular opinion page content as positive the following framing criteria has been setup to rank it positive. The content was analyzed in terms of the following issues i.e.

- Terrorism (bomb blasts, suicides attacks, Taliban)
- Law and order Situation
- Trade and development (content related to trade activities, peace building and stabilizing Afghanistan or Pakistan)

- Miscellaneous (withdrawal of forces, strengthening of democracy. Talks on issues that are meant to solve problems, building of trust and mutual understanding)

The reason to take the stated issues into consideration was that the Pak-Afghan relations were mostly effected by the stated issues.

Negative Frame (-)/ Definition of Unfavorable

According to Marriam Webster unfavorable is defined as, expressing disapproval, not propitious, an *unfavorable* working climate, not pleasing, an unfavorable feature of the plan.

Some related meanings of unfavorable are counter, disadvantageous, hostile, inimical, negative, prejudicial, adverse, unfriendly, unsympathetic, and untoward

The column or editorial was coded as negative if the content of the newspapers covers the issues stated above in negative terms. If Pakistan or Afghanistan blames each other of terrorist's activities, destabilizing the law and order situations, statements on hindrance the trade and development from any side, harming national identity will be counted as negative.

Neutral Frame (0)/Definition of Neutral

According to WordReference.com English Dictionary, Neutral means not supporting either side in a conflict or dispute; impartial belonging to an impartial state or group or dispassionate or inoffensiveness.

The content that neither falls in the negative or positive frame is ranked as neutral.

CHAPTER 5

Content Analysis of Pakistan and Afghanistan Newspapers

After content analysis of the four different newspapers the following data was extracted out of it. The Code sheet used for recording data is given below. Code sheet for the month of January, 2010 is given.

Sample Code Sheet for the month of January, 2010

Date	Newspaper	Editorial/Column	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
01/01/10	1	1			1
02/01/10	2	1			
01/01/10		1			
02/01/10	4	1			1+1
01/01/10	1	2			
02/01/10	2	2			
01/01/10	3	2			
02/01/10	4	2			
03/01/10	1	1			1
04/01/10	2	1			
03/01/10	3	1	1		
04/01/10	4	1			
03/01/10	1	2	1		1

04/01/10	2	2			
03/01/10	3	2	1		
04/01/10	4	2			
05/01/10	1	1			
06/01/10	2	1			
05/01/10	3	1	1		
06/01/10	4	1			
05/01/10	1	2	1		
06/01/10	2	2			
05/01/10	3	2	1		
06/01/10	4	2			
07/01/10	1	1			
08/01/10	2	1			
07/01/10	3	1	1		
08/01/10	4	1			
07/01/10	1	2			
08/01/10	2	2			
07/01/10	3	2			
08/01/10	4	2			
09/01/10	1	1			

10/01/10	2	1			
09/01/10	3	1	1		
10/01/10	4	1			
09/01/10	1	2			
10/01/10	2	2			
09/01/10	3	2			
10/01/10	4	2			
11/01/10	1	1			1
12/01/10	2	1			
11/01/10	3	1	1		1
12/01/10	4	1			
11/01/10	1	2			
12/01/10	2	2			
11/01/10	3	2			1
12/01/10	4	2			
13/01/10	1	1			
14/01/10	2	1			
13/01/10	3	1			
14/01/10	4	1			
13/01/10	1	2			

14/01/10	2	2			
13/01/10	3	2			1
14/01/10	4	2			
15/01/10	1	1			
16/01/10	2	1			
15/01/10	3	1			
16/01/10	4	1			
15/01/10	1	2			
16/01/10	2	2			
15/01/10	3	2			
16/01/10	4	2			
17/01/10	1	1			
18/01/10	2	1			
17/01/10	3	1		1	
18/01/10	4	1			
17/01/10	1	2			1
18/01/10	2	2			
17/01/10	3	2			
18/01/10	4	2			
19/01/10	1	1			

20/01/10	2	1			
19/01/10	3	1			1
20/01/10	4	1	1		
19/01/10	1	2			1+1
20/01/10	2	2			
19/01/10	3	2			
20/01/10	4	2			
21/01/10	1	1			
22/01/10	2	1			
21/01/10	3	1			1
22/01/10	4	1			
21/01/10	1	2			1
22/01/10	2	2			
21/01/10	3	2			
22/01/10	4	2			
23/01/10	1	1			
24/01/10	2	1			
23/01/10	3	1			
24/01/10	4	1			
23/01/10	1	2			

24/01/10	2	2			
23/01/10	3	2			
24/01/10	4	2			
25/01/10	1	1			
26/01/10	2	1			
25/01/10	3	1			1
26/01/10	4	1			
25/01/10	1	2			
26/01/10	2	2			
25/01/10	3	2			
26/01/10	4	2			
27/01/10	1	1			
28/01/10	2	1			
27/01/10	3	1			
28/01/10	4	1			
27/01/10	1	2			
28/01/10	2	2			
27/01/10	3	2			
28/01/10	4	2			
29/01/10	1	1			

30/01/10	2	1			
29/01/10	3	1			
30/01/10	4	1			
29/01/10	1	2			
30/01/10	2	2			
29/01/10	3	2			
30/01/10	4	2			
31/01/10	1	1			
	2	1			
	3	1			
	4	1			
31/01/10	1	2			
	2	2			
	3	2			
	4	2			

Key:

Newspapers: Dawn=1, Frontier Post=2, Daily Outlook Afghanistan=3, Afghanistan Times=4

Editorials=1, Column=2

The Table below is the complete data about the content analysis month wise.

DAWN, 2010

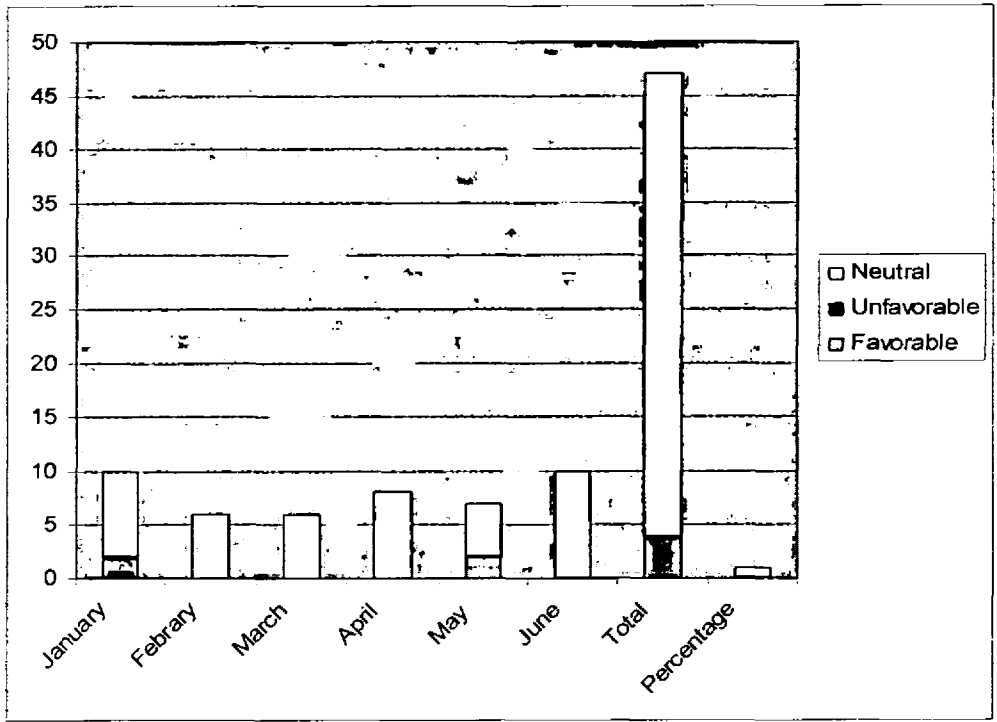
S/No	Months	Slant		
		Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
1	January	2	0	8
2	February	0	0	6
3	March	0	0	6
4	April	0	0	8
5	May	2	0	5
6	June	0	0	10
Total		4	0	43

All Opinion page content of Dawn Stories Related to Pak-Afghan Relations = 47

Percentage of Dawn Favorable Opinion page content = 8.52%

Percentage of Dawn Unfavorable Opinion page content = 0%

Percentage of Dawn neutral Opinion page content = 91.48%



Total of 47 opinion page content (Column and editorials) were analyzed that were related to the Pak-Afghan relations. This content were analyzed as per the frame and ranked in three categories as favorable, neutral and negative or unfavorable.

8.52% of the opinion page content (Column and editorials) perceived Afghanistan image as favorable while there were no unfavorable portrayal by the Dawn newspaper. The coverage given by the Dawn newspaper in perceiving the image of Afghanistan is neutral as 91.48% of the stories are reported as neutral.

The Frontier Post, 2010

S/No	Months	Slant		
		Favorable	Un favorable	Neutral
1	January	2	0	11
2	February	2	0	9
3	March	2	0	8
4	April	1	0	7
5	May	1	0	20
6	June	3	0	13
Total		11	0	43

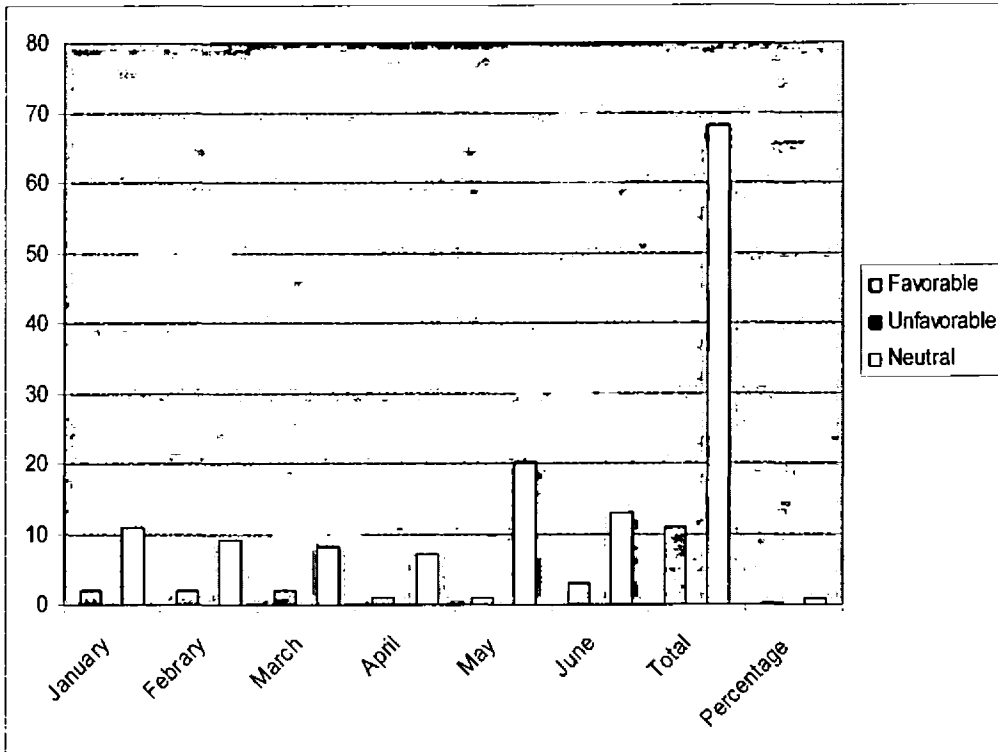
All the Opinion page content of “The **Frontier Post**” Related to Pak-Afghan Relations = 79

Percentage of the “The **Frontier Post**” Favorable Opinion page content = 13.92%

Percentage of the “The **Frontier Post**” unfavorable Opinion page content = 0%

Percentage of the “The **Frontier Post**” neutral Opinion page content = 86.07%

The coverage given by the “The Frontier post” to the Pak-afghan relations post 9/11 era is neutral.



Daily outlook Afghanistan, 2010

S/No	Months	Slant		
		Favorable	Un favorable	Neutral
1	January	7	1	4
2	February	12	0	1
3	March	11	0	4
4	April	3	0	4
5	May	4	2	4
6	June	1	0	3
	Total	38	3	20

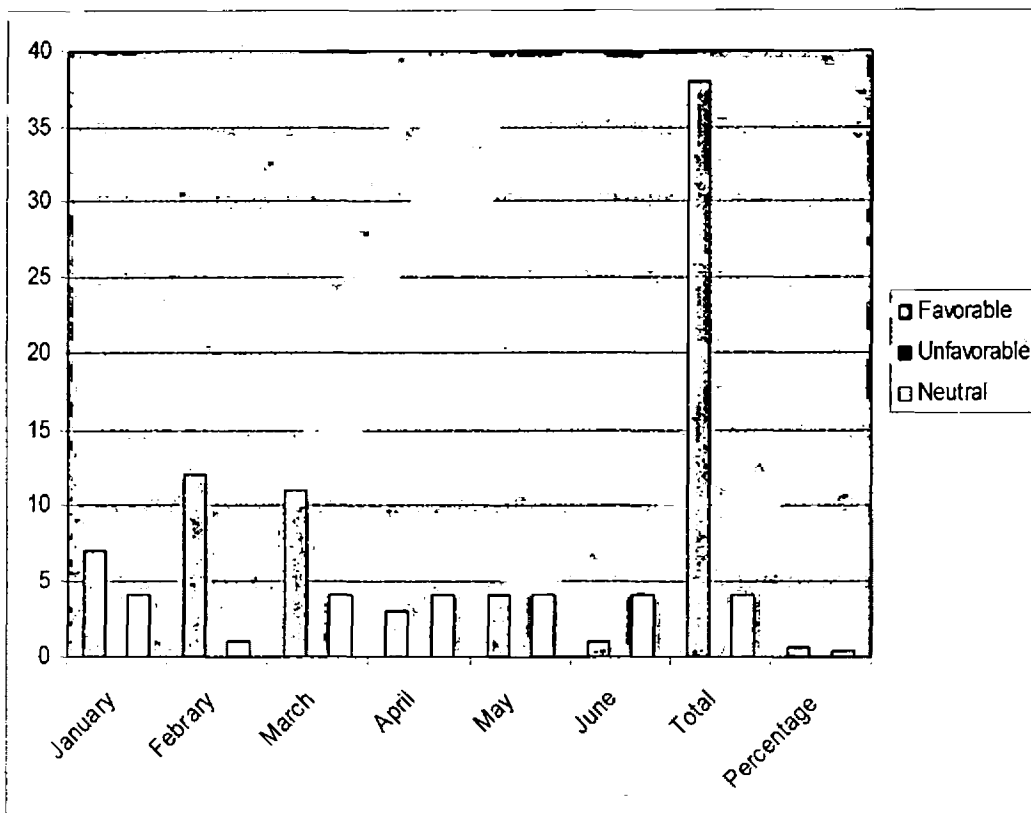
All Opinion page content of **Daily outlook Afghanistan** Related to Pak-Afghan Relations = 61

Percentage of **Daily outlook Afghanistan** Favorable Opinion page content = 62.29%

Percentage of **Daily outlook Afghanistan** unfavorable Opinion page content = 4.91%

Percentage of **Daily outlook Afghanistan** neutral Opinion page content = 32.78%

Daily outlook Afghanistan perceived the image of Pakistan as favorable.



Afghanistan Times, 2010

S/No	Months	Slant		
		Favorable	Un favorable	Neutral
1	January	1	0	2
2	February	2	0	2
3	March	3	0	3
4	April	0	0	0
5	May	0	2	1
6	June	0	1	2
Total		6	3	10

All Opinion page content **Afghanistan Times** Related to Pak-Afghan Relations = 19

Percentage of **Afghanistan Times** Favorable Opinion page content = 31.57%

Percentage of **Afghanistan Times** neutral Opinion page content = 15.78%

Percentage of **Afghanistan Times** unfavorable Opinion page content = 52.63%

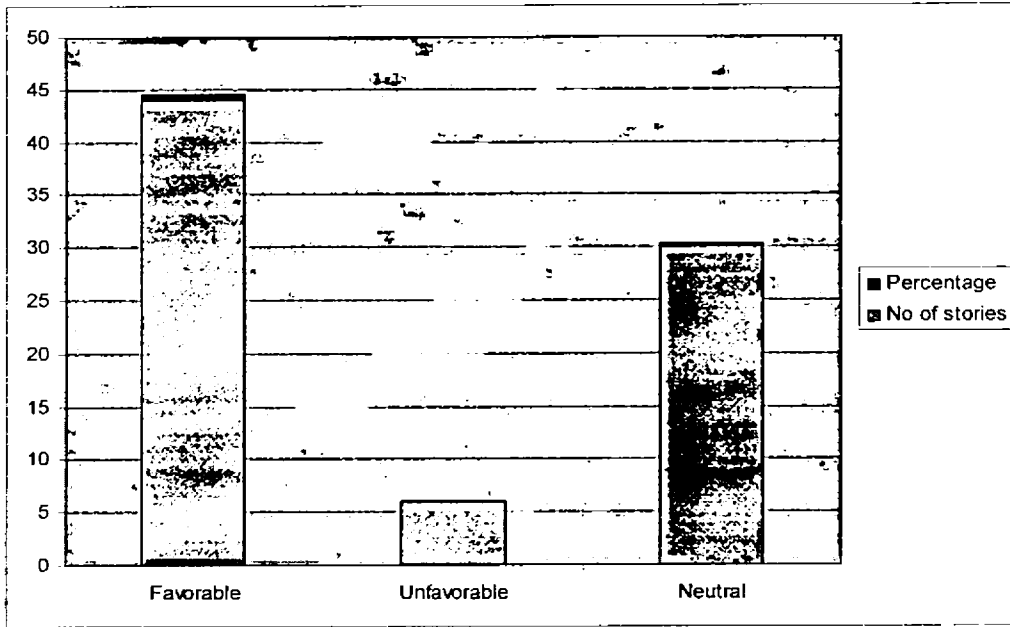
Afghanistan times depicted the image of Pakistan as neutral.

Overall Coverage Analysis of Pakistan and Afghanistan Newspapers

Total opinion page content covered by Pakistani Newspapers during the time period (Jan, 2010– June, 2010) = 126

	Total no. of Column and editorials published in Pakistani Newspapers	Percentage %
Favorable	15	11.90%
Unfavorable	0	0.00%
Neutral	111	88.09%

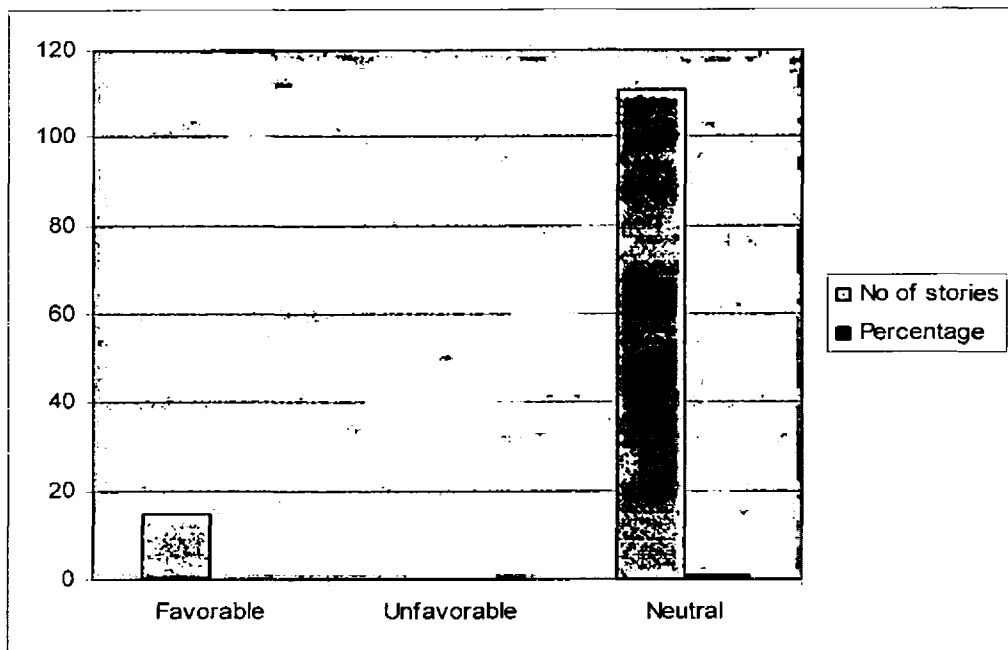
From the results gathered from the content analyzed it can be said that the coverage given by the press of Pakistan to the Pak-Afghan relations post 9/11 era is neutral hence rejecting the hypothesis which states that the Coverage given by the press of Pakistan to the Pak-Afghan relations post 9/11 era is negative.



Total number of opinion page content covered by Afghan Newspapers during the time period (Jan, 2010–June, 2010) = 80

	Total no. of Column and editorials published in Afghanistan Newspapers	Percentage %
Favorable	44	55.00%
Unfavorable	6	6.00%
Neutral	30	37.50%

From the above result it is generalized that the coverage given by the press of Afghanistan to the Pak- Afghan Relations is Favorable. Hence the Hypothesis is rejected



11. Discussion and conclusion

The coverage given by the press of Pakistan and Afghanistan to the Pak-Afghan Relations has been analyzed. This study has analyzed the present situation of the press of both the countries. The press of Pakistan has a neutral stance in covering the news related to Afghanistan.

The research was an effort to pin point any area that can improve the relationship between the two countries. The people on both sides of the borders have misunderstandings about each others that have only and only risen due to the foreign troop's intervention. The policy shift between the two countries with both favoring its own ideology and identity creates misunderstandings among the people of the other country.

Some issues created a gap among the people that turned a major conflicting area for the two nations. It was further geared due to the foreign troop's intervention in Afghanistan.

Most of the people are of the view that media can eradicate these problems through media diplomacy and media agenda setting. The press of Pakistan is considered among the credible press in the world. Afghanistan Press have improved from the last 5 to 6 years as new and innovative means of information dissemination techniques have been applied in Afghanistan which was not possible earlier. Electronic media is also gaining popularity in Afghanistan. TV channels like Shamshad TV and Lamar are the most influencing.

Press is an important source of information for the people via it through online newspapers, its plays an important role in shaping the minds of the people.

The overall analysis of the relevant columns and editorials gives a strong impression that the coverage given by the press of Pakistan and Afghanistan is not harming the ideology and identity of both of these nations. It is perusing an objective policy towards each other.

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URL: <http://www.wordreference.com/definition/neutral>

