

**PORTRAYAL OF PAKISTAN IN THE LEADING US
NEWSPAPERS: PRE AND POST FEBRUARY 2008
ELECTIONS
(MS DISSERTATION)**

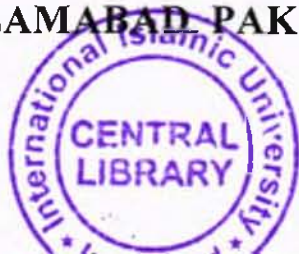


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FINAL APPROVAL

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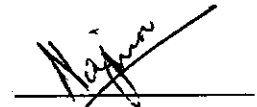
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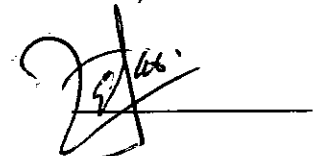
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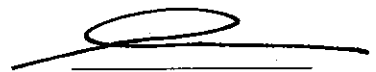
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**This thesis is dedicated to my parents
for their love, endless support
and encouragement**

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Islamabad, Pakistan, December, 2011.

Ishtiaq Ahmad.

ABSTRACT

While talking governance in Pakistan, the war between democratic forces and dictatorship is continuing till today. Because Pakistan occupies an important geo strategic location and remained in focus of world powers throughout of its history. The media of United States is actually leading the world as Pakistan and United States of America has a long history of love and hate relationship depends upon the support of the media of sole super power during democratic and dictatorship eras. The study investigates the how Pakistan is portrayal during both the eras.

This thesis deals with portrayal of Pakistan in the leading US Newspapers: Pre and Post February 2008 Elections. To know this a content analysis of editorials of two US dailies (The New York Times and Washington Post) was conducted. Editorials regarding democracy and dictatorship were chosen in a time period of two years (Feb, 2007 to Feb, 2009). That whether American media supports democracy in Pakistan during democratic era or it does support dictatorship during dictatorship era or otherwise and we analyze that how they frame democracy during democratic era whether positive, negative or neutral. And also frame dictatorship in the same way during dictatorship era. The findings of the study suggest that both the newspapers carried more editorials in disfavor of dictatorship during dictatorship era (Feb2007-feb, 2008). On the other hand The New York Times published more editorials in favor of democracy and Washington Post published less editorials in favor of democracy during democratic era from February 2008 to February 2009. Study tells that as a whole US press supported democracy in Pakistan. But the level of support of democracy during democratic era is less than the level of condemnation of dictatorship during dictatorial regimes. Hence, the results show that the American media is always dismissive of the Pakistani government whether it is democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan.

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Chapter-1

Introduction

1.1 Pakistan in the global limelight

In the present times, Pakistan has acquired a key position in the American policy formulation. This is mainly due to the geographical location of Pakistan and the US obsession with the war on terror in Afghanistan and the adjoining areas, including the border areas of Pakistan. Pakistan had to take sides with the US in this War. However historically speaking, the bilateral relations between Pakistan and the US have remained unbalanced in the past 62 years. Sean M Lynn (1998) says that the US media highlight the cause of democracy the world over. The reason behind that democracy makes a cornerstone of American foreign policy since the start of uni-polar world. On the other hand, Pakistan has experienced both democratic and dictatorial regimes. He also has been believed that the US media precedes the policies of the administration, especially on foreign policy issues. In this regard, it will be interesting to investigate the coverage of US media of Pakistan in times of dictatorship and democracy. This will help ascertain which form of government in Pakistan is supported by the United States, why, and to what extent. The study will investigate the level of support extended by the successive US administrations to dictatorship as well as to democracy in Pakistan.

Though both Pakistan and the US have in a league for well over 60 years, the chemistry between the two has not been the ideal one. It has been observed that America has so far supported military governments in Pakistan more than the so called democratic ones. It is worth noting that the last US-supported military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf, left

the stage four years ago. During his rule that spread for more than nine years, the military set-up in Pakistan was generally accepted to the US administration as well as their media.

Such an attitude towards democracy by the US administration has put Pakistanis in a state of confusion. Reasonable Pakistanis argue that they can perform better. They, similar to few Americans, say that fighting terrorists is not possible only by military task. It is also crucial to utilize political and economic means. A government led by people, they think can deliver better than a military government.

But this argument has a stiff opposition in the US for various reasons. The most obvious is perhaps they do not get their terms as easily as when one man is in charge, especially in the form of a military dictator. In this situation, the US media does not remain a silent spectator and start criticizing Pakistani democracy for not doing its best. This scenario provides a fodder for media researchers to investigate the US media orientation while discussing the bilateral relations. This study is actually an effort to unravel any possible relations between the US interests and their media portrayal specifically while dealing with Pakistan.

Moreover, as previous studies have confirmed that US media reflects the administration policies and also at times sets agenda for it, this study will look into such a relationship in the case of Pakistan. More specifically, it will investigate the treatment and slanting of the selected newspapers in their coverage of democratic and military rules in Pakistan. It is hoped in the end of the study, it will help researchers, academia, journalists and policy makers of Pakistan to devise better policies in safeguarding their interests while dealing with the US. It will also help the present democratic set up on how best to deal with the US and their media for protecting our crucial national interests. Moreover, it will also

discuss the semi-democratic postures of dictators in Pakistan while appearing in the US media and at the same time Pakistani democratic leaders posing as dictators to follow US policies and avoid criticism by their media. Last but not the least, this study will also shed some light on how the respective governments of both Pakistan and US, use each other media for positive portrayal of their policies.

Dick K. Nanto (2009) in his global financial crises article says that the US media play major task in their foreign policy making by performing as observer, member and critic. The motive behind it that American media wants to safeguard the national interest of the Americans that's why they have an eye on the foreign policies of America and they broadcast everything from American perspective. That's why they project America's perspective and priorities. A number of case studies show that American media owners and practitioners have become extremely nationalistic and chauvinistic when American interests came under question. They have highlighted respective administrations' views and policies. In the present times, media have projected the policy of passivity and made sure the White House designs associated to Iran, Iraq, Syria, Pakistan, and Afghanistan and not lost but least war against Al-Qaeda /terrorism.

It will be interesting to analyze how the US media treat both the military and political dispensations in Pakistan while they are engaged in the region. This study has been particularly devised to ascertain whether the US media will support democracy or dictatorship while on one hand their national interests are concerned and on the other hand, one of the primary goals of their foreign policy is to promote democracy in the third world countries.

1.2 An appraisal of Pak- US Relations

Since its inception, Pakistan was faced with security uncertainties, lack of road and rail network and limited economic resources. It badly needed support from the US, which initially was less interested in the state of affairs of the region. But in the next seven years, Pakistan was able to grab the US's attention despite the political unrest and power grappling between bureaucracy and politicians. By 1955, Pakistan had joined US sponsored defense agreements of Baghdad Pact and South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and organization which later became known as CENTO. Pakistan got \$500 million as a result of joining these organizations.

When General Ayub Khan staged a coup in 1958, relations between the two countries became stronger and in fact, as long as 1958 to 1969 emerged a strong era of US-Pakistan ties. In 1959, Aub's government permitted the US to set of contacts an intelligence facility in Badaber, Khyber Pakhtunhwa province and activate U2 surveillance flights to observe Soviet Union from the cities of Pakistan. This new understanding and the new relationship of the Pakistani government with the US government to acquire more and more military equipment for Pakistani armed forces. In the coming years, with the ouster of General Ayub Khan and defeat in a war with India and dismemberment of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Prime Minister of Pakistan. During Bhutto's government Pakistan's foreign policy was allied to create a healthy relationship between its ties with China, USA and Russia. Pakistan sited a special warmness in its relations with the Arab countries and in the Middle East. This angers the US and in the democratic regime, Pakistan relations with America went ascend and this type of relationship continued till General Zia ul Haq came into power.

Though initially US was unfriendly to the development in Pakistan but the disturbing relations between the two countries took another U-turn when the Soviet Army invaded the neighboring country Afghanistan in 1979. Pakistan warmly cooperated with the America and was honored with \$3.2 billion money for the later years. During this era, Pakistan was measured as a valuable friend of US. America ignored all the new developments on the nuclear side and other rights violations of Pakistanis by the Zia administration. But when Soviet withdrawal and general Zia's sudden death took place together, America left Pakistan without taking Pakistan into confidence and hence all Pakistani interests were in danger.

In the coming decade of democratic era in Pakistan, US showed extreme concern for the nuclear program and pressured the fragile democratic government to eschew. This demand along with the threat of extremism became the major threshold of Pakistan's whipping coupled with a new chain of sanctions. When Pakistan went nuclear in 1998, US imposed a set of sanctions on Pakistani, thus further debilitating the weak political government. This was followed by a military coup in Pakistan. The 9/11 tragedy once again shifted the nature of US – Pakistan ties one more time. President Pervez Musharraf jumped into the president Bush's war against terrorism. US assisted Pakistan both economically and militarily. After the ouster of Pervez Musharraf, a PPP led democratic government came into power. Though the US initially hailed democracy in Pakistan, but there are strong indications that the US is not happy with the dispensation though the critics are unanimous that the present government is toeing the previous government commitments to the US.

As the above analysis shows, US have worked closely with the Pakistani dictators than the democrats. One argument as held by Hussain (2008) carries weight that USA faced difficulty while dealing with the elected Pakistani leaders. They have to create a balance among the electoral politics and with U.S. interests in this region. As Pakistan's history tells that Washington has always preferred to deal with military dictators, because they don't answer to the public and, they are always ready to serve America better than the other citizens of Pakistan.

It may be a coincidence but is a fact that whenever an important event takes place in the world and Pakistan becomes important for USA a military dictator is governing the country. Whether it be Ayub Khan, Zia Ul Haq or Musharraf Pakistan had military dictators and Pakistan suffered because of them. In 50's when USA needed a base to spy on USSR we had Ayub Khan, in 80's when USSR was in Afghanistan and USA needed Pakistan we had Zia Ul Haq and finally in 2001 when USA needed Pakistan we had Musharraf. Due to military rulers Pakistan was not able to gain much however suffered a lot.

1.3 Factors Shaping U.S. Media Policy towards Pakistan

American foreign policy reflects their internal policy and it's totally based on their domestic security. And they don't care foreigners. There are number of factors behind this. For example they are against Pakistan because Pakistan has always supported Palestine cause and are continuously extending moral courage for the people of Palestine. This act of Pakistan hurts Israel as well as The US. And the Security of Israel is totally dependent on America. This is the reason that American media often show biasness

towards Pakistan. There is no question that what party is in Power in the United States; the question is why Pakistan is carrying Nuclear weapons?

Another blame which comes on Pakistan is that Pakistan is financing terrorists in Afghanistan and Kashmir and they have disturbed the whole region through death and destruction. And American analyst say that all the people who have sacrificed their lives in this war in the region are only because of Pakistan and not by Indian security forces. They simply not think that why India has deputed more than half a million army in the Jammu and Kashmir. They never criticized India for the violation of Human Rights and their troops committed crimes against Humanity and armless civilians.

Because India is a big country and it has so many professionals and academicians who are penetrating in America political circles. And they lobbying against Pakistan and project India's defect o soft image to the whole world. That s why they have so many Indian chairs in different universities of US. American media usually invites Indian scholars and they talked on these issues like Kashmir and Afghanistan as well as the whole region and they project India's perspective regarding these critical issues and media projects them. Media don't analyze what they say and why they say? Because these intellectual will be biased and they will always show tilt towards the country who gave them birth.

1.4 US media and foreign policy issues

Historically, US media has the traditions of following American administration as far as their foreign policy is concerned. As far back as with the war with Mexico (1846-1848), the American media blindly supported its government decisions and the literature that

was printed at that time was also much supported. And when there was a civil war in the era of President Abraham Lincoln, he implemented all dictatorial policies and introduced censorship on all journalists who supported the policies of Mexico govt. At that time the journalists of America did not report exact number of casualties and their reporting was not fair and they did not project the war blunders of their army. So you can say that American journalists boosted the morale of American army indirectly. Then there was a time when American media played the most dynamic role in the history of US diplomacy when there was a war between Spain- America and Cuba in 1898.

Some critics say that, President McKinley was first man who developed the wonderful relations with the media. He also developed very good relations with editors of press as well. Through this he prepared American people in the war like situation against Cuba through media. After McKinley there was a list of American presidents who maintain this position of cordial relations with the press. His skills to handle the press were followed by successive presidents William Howard Taff, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. Now we discuss how American media follows the policies and orders of its governments. One editor of Time Magazine did not broadcast the dramatic interview of Flamboyant William (Wilhelm) II of Germany in 1908 by the orders of President Roosevelt. And in 1961 President Kennedy convinced the same magazine for not publishing the story about the military preparation on the eve of the Bay of Pigs invasion. At that time the committee on Public information was established during the First World War by Wilson for the purpose of twisting information and projecting it according to their will. This committee worked hard to mould information and then reach it to the public of America. Its function was to support the military efforts and to establish the

goodwill among Americans and to project patriotism and encouragement for the American establishment. So to fulfill this purpose journalists performed their role according to the will and wishes of that committee.

During the World War II the US media strongly supported the British army. They also supported the American efforts indirectly. In this context president Roosevelt established an office to provide information to the journalists and media men during World War II. The main purpose of this committee was to portray the policies of American administration and to strengthen War their War efforts. Official of OWI worked day and night to approach media executives and practitioners, including the heads of Hollywood studio to inform them about the war efforts. Another thing which is very important to note that during the World War II, a number of media persons accepted the censorship at their own. They actually had an unwritten agreement with the American administration for not projecting America like a wounded and dead. They were abstained to project pictures that may ham the morale of United States of America. Media also play down Moreover, media in United States play down incident of shyness when there was a war of Bulge.

Likewise, when cold war started, once again US media became active because The United States involved international politics with full concentration and with confrontation with the USSR. American media forcefully backed the US on its foreign policies. It was a very difficult time for the media persons that they were writing for America or they might be labeled as the agent of the communist regime. At that time the main stream media of America blindly supported the American administration and all major papers like the Times and the Herald Tribune and other news magazines as Time

and News Week, these magazines never criticized the policies of Harry S. Truman during Cold war era.

While talking the other war eras like Korean War, The US media followed the policy guidelines of their administration and in December 1950, the media men blindly accepted the censorship that was implemented by White House. And the administration used the word National interest for all this happening. But as for as the Vietnam War is concerned the US media according to the most Americans played an unpatriotic role because in the newspapers and television channels like CBS declared that America had lost the war in Vietnam. Because of these American authorities placed journalists far from there. Apart from the admired view which shaped negative feeling about the role of journalists. There is another good impression of United States foreign policies, many times; media men are always ready to follow pentagon / White House policy line on military progress not only in the battle field but on the combined United States and South Vietnamese hard work to win the hearts of the people.

Then in Gulf war also, American acted for the first time and it ignored all diplomatic actions of the world community and the media only paid attention to the Bush administration. When Us administration strained incorrectly that the Bush administration had done and tired the diplomatic option, the central media in America also acknowledged it as correct and served as obedient to United States policies. Other than this the American media totally ignored the point of view of American public as well as the world. You can say that the media has always or most of the times obeyed the orders of pentagon and White House official. They usually concealed and unsuccessful to boost a healthy debate on political resolution supported by the public. As we discussed earlier,

the Bush administration forced censorship on free flow of information. In this regard main media protested softly and they helped America to create war hysteria.

Douglas Kellner's critical analysis, about the coverage of conventional media during the Gulf War say that media during that was served as public relations for the military, overwhelm the country with descriptions of war and showed high equipment of army. They also projected wrong images to the world, while the cruelty of war was regulated and even glamorized in their media coverage. The customs of militarism became the central culture and their TV sets after a long time played these images. The us Media became the tool of propaganda, spread innumerable rumors, fictitious stories about the size of Iraq's military in Kuwait and chemical and others arms capabilities and they saved the all the designs of US for getting oil and mineral resources of the region..

It is also important to note that in gulf war media portrayed the foreign policies of America. American media also play down the democratic credentials of US during the gulf war. The way it broadcast the stories about the gulf, it could not bring democracy in the region. Similarly, when the war finished, the American mass media handled so calmly on the fact that the clash for democratic grounds could not bring democracy to Kuwait or Saudi Arabia. As Edward Harmon say, American media paid minimum attention to the penalizing killings in Kuwait that may have exceeded the magnified and resentfully publicized Iraqi execution of Kuwaitis. It is important to explain that media in its post coverage had portrayed much attention to Iraq barrier and give negative response to allow inspection, on flights and devastation of its military possessions. They highlighted all these issues in such a way that they helped United States in imposing economic sanctions on the Iraqi government of that era.

The mainstream media of America deliberately not paid any attention to overcome the hunger of Iraqi people, their miseries and death and destruction. They just put all their attention to support America's weapon projection. The media proved itself the best servant of American administration. They used the media to mobilize the American public and prepared them for the gulf war. The media simply failed to project the truth and facts to the public. At that time embedded journalism was started for the first time in the known history. When journalist traveled along the army personnel and reported in a environment from where and what to report for the public. And it was totally controlled journalism which came into existence. The last but not least as Timothy J. the United States mass media/channels have correctly been condemned for biasness slanting, and negative reporting approach while coverage of alien news. American press pay great attention and deliberation to United States foreign policy aims in coverage of international actions. United States personals usually talk about free access to information, freedom of press. The owners of US media argue with strong voice that their channels are custodians of freedom of press and objectivity; they simply undermined the interest of their county as well as the corporate economic interests. For example, many media practitioner have been underprivileged access to the knowledge when the American took action against Panama and Gulf people.

There are a number of studies which suggests that how American used its media in their favor and restricted it within some limits. The US government took strict measures to dictate its media to take up their policy line and to project it accordingly. And when they think that American interests are at stake then they simply behave with iron hands. In this situation mangers of media practice the jest of American foreign policy. Critically

analyzing, American media is criticized for policy of dichotomization for friends of America and enemies of United States. MR Graber Doris has said that American media routinely follow official title of which America's friends and enemies are, and read between the lines their hidden motives as per requirement. This policy of Double standard has been utilized by the American media in selling their relationship with the friends of America and the enemies of it as well. For example, in 1983 the USSR fighter plane shot down the plane of Korea in result 269 passengers lost their life. In other accident Americans do this exercise so many times. In this scenario the US media portrayed USSR action an act of outrage but Americas action justified the incident of Iranian plane is a clear evidence of it. They declared it a technical reason. Time Magazine printed this as "*shooting to kill / the soviet destroy an airliner*. They printed American action as "*What went wrong in the Gulf*, News week said "*Murder in the air*, while for them, they wrote *The Gulf tragedy, why it happened*".

When the Korean Airline 007 shot down by the USSR, the American president Reagan maneuvers it to harm USSR. At that time the US media totally supported the American administration stance with great zeal and zest. They used many non parliamentary words like "barbarian", "savage" and cold blooded murder et.c. In this scenario American media fully ignored the point of view of USSR government about this incident. Because according to the USSR authorities this plane was on a spy mission incident soviet official claimed that the plane was on a spy mission, and that they were totally unaware that it was a civilian aircraft. An editorial by the New York Times in this regard explained that to shoot down the civilians is not acceptable. While, when America shot down the Iranian airline with 655 shot dead, the main stream media had not used unpleasant language. The

New York Times in its editorial (Global media journal 2008) wrote "*the ones for avoiding such accidents in future rests on civilian air craft's: avoid command zone: fly high; acknowledge warning*". The central media of the super power, without any disinclination pursue the Washington line of direction and represented the incident according to the wishes and ambitions of state department. This repeated exercise of media makes public opinion in the favor of their policy makers. A popular majority of the masses think that it was a justified action. The policy of double standers of American main stream media can be determined by the happening in which the Israel air force shot down a Libya civilian aircraft in February 1973. Everybody knows that America is the bigger supporter of Israel. Both countries have mutual understanding and equal interest on every issue. They have wonderful friendship between them as for as diplomatic politics is concerned. In this case, American media does not use the language that it had been using against the Muslim world and the USSR. On the other hand they are hand in the glove in this case to keep public opinion in control.. In its editorial, the New York Times wrote that nothing achieved by a hostile debate over the mission of blame for the downing of a Libyan plane in the Sinai Peninsula.

Keeping these instances in mind, it will be interesting to analyze the role of US elite newspapers The New York Times and The Washington Post while discussing the framing of democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan. The study poses interesting questions that while democracy is the cornerstone of US's foreign policy, will they also support democracy in Pakistan when the dictators are deemed to be more obedient to them as far as their national interests are concerned.

1.5 Statement of the Problem

The present study will analyze how the US leading newspapers frame democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan keeping in view the current US engagement in the region and common perception that dictatorship suits US interests' best and also the contrary view that strengthening democracies in the third world countries is the US foreign policy goal. The study will also investigate as to what extent there is conformity between the US administration and the US media regarding democratic process in Pakistan.

1.6 Significance of the of the study

The study has great significance because it is very crucial to investigate that portrayal of Pakistan by the foreign media and especially US media matters as for as Pakistan is concern. Because the things portray in US media usually affects the governments as well as the interest groups in Pakistan. It is also important to see that if the US media support democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan.

1.7 Objectives of the of the study

The objectives of the present study s are:

- To analyze the extent of the US elite newspapers while covering issues relating to democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan.
- To find out whether US elite daily press support democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan by analyzing coverage given to the two types of governments in Pakistan.

Chapter- 2:

Literature Review

Often it has been observed that the elite US media reflects the official policies. It is also no denying the fact that American media has served to be a trend-setter for the media in other regions and countries around the world in a number of ways. The history of US and Pakistan's relationship has spread around the time span of more than six decades; there have been significant ups and downs. Siraj (2008) in his study of US elite newspapers' coverage of Pakistan has observed that the US media often depict Pakistan in negative perspective. The researcher contently analyzed the two leading newspapers of US and records their framing in war and peace journalism perspective. John Galtung framing and methodologies were adopted in this important study. The two US elite newspapers projected Pakistan in adversarial perspective and gave it less positive coverage as compared to India, which was highlighted, as a friendly state with positive coverage. Pakistan was censured for harboring terror and dictatorship while India was lauded for democracy. The researcher also concluded that peace journalism perspective was dominant in Indian framing while Pakistan was framed in the warring context.

Mughees (1994) has discussed in his doctoral thesis about the role of American media i.e. the New York Times, the Washington post and the Los Angeles Times, that how these papers perceive Pakistan as for as American foreign policy is concern. The researcher analyzed the editorial contents of these newspapers in 1980-92. The study was a content analysis where the image of Pakistan was discussed. The study showed that Pakistan was negatively portrayed. The researcher used the propagandistic model of Noam Chomsky.

Ali (2009) also worked on portrayal of 12 Muslim countries by Newsweek and Time magazine for the period of 1991-2001. The researcher carried out content investigation of 219 articles concerning twelve Muslim countries, and there was 107 articles selected from Newsweek and 112 articles, were preferred from the Time Magazine. He analyses the content of these magazines. The results indicated that 107 articles of Newsweek related to 12 Muslim countries shows much negative coverage (31.84%, 1794 sentence) as compared to the positive coverage (12.79%, 721 sentence). The Newsweek conceded 5634 sentences about Muslim countries. The study applied the image theory, compounded by propaganda theory model.

Likewise, Seow Ting Lee and Crispin C. Maslog(2006) examined the news coverage of the Iraq War and Asian conflicts by eight newspapers from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and the Philippines to compare the framing of two different levels of conflicts – international and local. Based on Galtung's war/peace journalism framework, the study showed the Asian newspapers used a war journalism frame in covering local conflicts but deployed a peace journalism frame in covering the Iraq War. The three most salient indicators of peace journalism used in the study are the avoidance of demonizing language, a nonpartisan approach, and a multiparty orientation. The war journalism frame is supported by a focus on the here and now, an elite orientation, and a dichotomy of good and bad.

In another study, Perez (2010) analyzed the war and peace journalism framing in the US press coverage of Iraq war. The media discourse was highly warring in approach and espoused frames of the war journalism. She has also suggested in her study, ways and means to make the discourse more objective and fairer by adopting the ideals of peace journalism.

Ersoy(2006) analyzed the Turkish newspapers coverage of the Lebanon conflict by using the Galtung classification of war and peace journalism frames. He concludes war journalism frames were used more frequently than the peace journalism frames.

Cook (2008) finds that American media indulge minute details and do not concentrate on analytical understanding especially in regard to south Asia and Islam. He observes that US media judge the world in terms of American' standard and values which they erroneously consider to be universal. In the same vein, Jameel (2005) while discussing the portrayal of Pakistan in the US media views that dictators have always been the favorites with the US media. American media usually ignore the positive aspects of Pakistani society. Pakistan's open culture, free press emergence of political acumen in the society and struggle for the independent judiciary and political institutions are few of those aspects. If American constitution and the utterances of its elite is any guide then these features should have been a cementing force between the two countries. However, these features in the Pakistani polity and society are rarely covered or remarked upon in Washington.

As per the US media coverage of Pakistan, the US administration has perceived Pakistan to be a typical underdeveloped nation, where there is societal oppression and lack of tolerance. Ironically, dictator Musharraf has been highlighted as a true democrat. Along with its security ambitions in the region US has several other options to pursue its goals of strengthening rule of law and democracy in Pakistan. Even on the highest state level, in his article "Defending Dictatorship: U.S. Foreign Policy and Pakistan's Struggle for Democracy." Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari (2008) said

"The majority of Pakistan's people, across the expanse of our nation, have been ignored and even subjugated by Pakistan's establishment. This concentration of unchecked power has strained our government to the point of fracture
.(Zardari.A(2008).www.thenews.com.pk)

Nevertheless, if the US sticks to its principled foreign policy goal of promoting democracy worldwide, Pakistan will require the continued support of the administration and their media. To establish democracy in Pakistan is much difficult task. Because Pakistan has difficult history which is very uneasy with its anxious political history, and centuries-old regional and feudal mindset and violent extremists devoted to the defeat of democracy is even more challenging.

This study attempts to discuss this nexus between the US administration and their media relationship while dealing with Pakistan when governed by democracy and dictatorships. The logical perception will be that US media supports democracy and discourages dictatorship. However, it is a fact that this idealism is contingent upon the serving of the US interests. I.e. Such an eventuality may not occur if the national interests of the US do not demand. News media plays a role as a window to make people understand society and show how things change. Therefore, as many people watch or read news, they can contact their surrounding affairs such as accidents and information. Indeed, the news media are expected to expose the public to the problems or issues facing the country. Meanwhile, public opinion is supposed to be the great engine of democracy, in that it determines what governments do (Dempsey, 1987). However, the process in which public opinion has substantial proximate effects upon policymaking is not simple. As Iyengar (1997) mentioned, *“political issues are defined primarily through news reports, and since news coverage is inevitably expressed in particular frames, the influence of the media on public opinion can be significant”*. In that sense, the success or failure of public policy or political issue is decided by a three-way relationship between the parties, the media, and public. While endeavoring to understand and tackle issues in this three-way

relationship, communication experts are increasingly focusing on studying media framing to understand the communication phenomenon. According to Entman (1993) framing is to choose some portions of a apparent reality and make them more most important in a news transcript through the main purpose of framing; define problem, diagnose cause, make moral judgment, and suggest remedies for the item described. Similarly, Ghanem (1997) has identified four major dimensions of frames: topic of a news item; presentation; cognitive attributes; affective attributes. Media frames have also been defined as the core or central organizing idea of the news package that provides the means for understanding events (Gamson, 1983). In fact, literature on media framing has been separated into issue-based frames (De Vreese, 1999).

Particular issue frames focus on the media framing of particular events or topics by examining them in great detail and they are difficult to generalize. Generic frames on the other hand, are broader and can be applied to different news topics and issues across time and different cultural context. Reese (2001) suggests that frames also represent a system that can exert influence and power over public opinion and adds the way a given piece of information is framed can create differences in the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of audience members. While framing studies have been used frequently to ascertain slanting in national policy issues; foreign policy issues also cannot be ignored in media framing analysis because it seems to influence the media adoption of news frames. Many studies have revealed that foreign policy is the main factor in defining events as covered by U.S. news media.

Major American newspapers systematically frame news stories in ways that correspond to either a government or corporate view, and exclude or minimize interpretations and

facts that do not match with such views (Sigal, 1973). Shoar (1985) compared the New York Times and the Times (UK) coverage of Iran from 1968 to 1978. She found that not only did Iran's international affairs receive more coverage than other international affairs, but also that the every newspaper covered the stories that were relevant to the national interest of that particular country. On the other hand Studies reveal that mass media in the U.S. generally conforms to their's foreign policy. Based on his investigation of the New York Times' treatment of foreign policy, Berry (1990) concluded that during the Bay of Pigs crisis, the Times reported foreign policy in its formulation and execution stages reliable with the current American administration's frame of reference, situational analysis and national interests.

Keever (2000) examined that how The New York Times frames American nuclear weapons testing during 1946 to 1962 in the Pacific. The study concluded that the Times' framing emphasized U.S. technological prowess, but minimized or ignored the negative impact of that prowess on Marshallese and their homelands. In Park's (1999) study of the New York Times' reporting of American national security issues and concerns, the end of the Cold War has had significant consequences for how this elite newspaper has delivered the stories about U.S. national security. The study found that the amount of coverage about U.S. national security dropped by half when the Cold War ended, both in the front page and editorial page. The study of the New York Times' coverage also showed that subjects related to security, such as economic security and environmental security, have become increasingly salient in the coverage when the Cold War ended.

In terms of international issues, the influence of foreign policy on U.S. media framing... can also be found in their tendency to unbalanced dealings with news sources. Chang

(2003) examined how Israel and Palestine are framed in four mainstream U.S. newspapers by their uses of news sources from the two nations. The study found that Israeli officials were treated more favorably than their counterpart Palestinian officials, as a result of greater U.S. press access in Israel and the U.S.'s friendlier foreign policy toward that country. In Dickson's (1992) investigation of the New York Times' and the Washington Post's coverage of the U.S.-Nicaraguan conflict, about half of all sources were government officials. She came to know there were neutral treatment of both the papers toward U.S. Nicaraguan policy, and there was a sufficient proportion of articles which were showing negative trends toward American policy and a very little amount of coverage were positive, particularly those who belong to congressional Democrats and Nicaraguan officials.

Several studies have revealed that the portrayal of political leaders in media coverage is also closely related to foreign policy (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). According to Dennis (1991), leaders' images framed by media may change along with the foreign policy. For example, when the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in World War, Joseph Stalin was affectionately called "Uncle Joe" by Franklin D. Roosevelt, but this quickly changed after the war and as the Cold War accelerated.

Kanghui Baek (2006) in his study "U.S. Foreign Policy and Media Framing: A Content Analysis of U.S. Newspapers' Coverage of The Nuclear Tests in North Korea and India" concluded that external factors were the basic reason for the American newspapers coverage regarding the nuclear tests in North Korea and India. American papers randomly chose some angles of news stories and reflected a particular framing of American foreign policy on the way to North Korea and India.

In another important study, entitled "*Framing North Korea's nuclear crisis: Comparing the media and audiences' frames in U.S. and South Korea*", Ban, Baek, Kim and Reese (2009) concluded that the two countries' different policies toward North Korea affected the reactions of their respective media's coverage of the crisis. Unlike the South Korean media, the U.S. media emphasized the government's policy to put pressure on, rather than reconcile with, North Korea. The U.S. media's dominant "response" frame over all three periods confirmed that foreign policy is an important factor in influencing the media's adoption of news frames. In addition, it indicated that media have systematically framed news stories in ways that correspond to a government view, and exclude or minimize interpretations and facts that do not match such views.

Many peace media researchers agree that the US media have a penchant for war frames in their discourse. They will follow the military stories and even guide government to wage wars and use blatant force to ensure their national interests. A report submitted at the yearly meeting of the International Communication Association (2005) entitled "framing American Politics: A Content Analysis of Television News Coverage for the State of the Union Address in 2004" showed that The US media broadcasted the State of the Union address that was fully focusing the economy issues as well as the war in Iraq. The findings tell that the media covered negative frames of state of the union address prominently. The media outlets used different sort of framing about the issues. Responsibility and conflict frames were the most major strategies to cover the matter.

Likewise, in yet another report "Stages of a Crisis and Media Frames and Functions: U.S. TV Networks Coverage of the 9/11 Tragedy during the 24 Hours". The study investigates that steps of a crisis were a significant feature in shaping coverage frames and media

purpose. Media did primarily as a factor of information about the disaster in the untimely stages rather than supervision and comfort in the disaster. The scale of the disaster and the improbability during the early steps of a crisis controlled media in utilizing government administrators as means and the authority of government officials was found to be not as physically powerful as they were expected in a difficult situation having national interest. And there was no human interest found as a story frame as the early stages of the coverage but at the end it rose dramatically.

News media plays a role as a window to make people understand society and show how things change. Therefore, as many people watch or read news, they can contact their surrounding affairs such as accidents and information. Indeed, the news media are expected to expose the public to the problems or issues facing the country. Meanwhile, public opinion is supposed to be the great engine of democracy, in that it determines what governments do (Dempsey, 1987). However, the process in which public opinion has substantial proximate effects upon policymaking is not simple. As Iyengar (1997) mentioned, "political issues are defined primarily through news reports, and since news coverage is inevitably expressed in particular frames, the influence of the media on public opinion can be significant". In that sense, the success or failure of public policy or political issue is decided by a three-way relationship between the parties, the media, and public. As framing play the bridging in this three-way relationship, communication experts are increasingly focusing on studying media framing to understand the communication phenomenon. Entman (1993) describes framing as a method of selecting some features of a apparent reality and make them much prominent in a news text by the major purposes of framing; define problem, diagnose cause, make moral judgment, and

suggest remedies for the item described. Similarly, Ghanem (1997) has identified four major dimensions of frames: topic of a news item; presentation; cognitive attributes; affective attributes.

Media frames have also been defined as the core or central organizing idea of the news package that provides the means for understanding events (Gamson, 1983). In fact, literature on media framing has been divided into general news frames and issue based specific frames (de Vreese, 1999). Issue-specific frames focus on the media framing of particular events or topics by examining them in great detail and they are difficult to generalize. Generic frames on the other hand, are broader and can be applied to different news topics and issues across time and different cultural context. Reese (2001) suggests that frames also represent a system that can exert influence and power over public opinion and adds the way a given piece of information is framed can create differences in the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of audience members.

While framing studies have been used frequently to ascertain slanting in national policy issues; foreign policy issues also cannot be ignored in media framing analysis because it seems to influence the media adoption of news frames. Many studies have revealed that foreign policy is the main factor in defining events as covered by U.S. news media. Major American newspapers systematically frame news stories in ways that correspond to either a government or corporate view, and exclude or minimize interpretations and facts that do not match with such views (Sigal, 1973).

Studies reveal that mass media in the U.S. generally conform to their government's foreign policy. Based on his investigation of the New York Times' coverage of foreign policy, Berry (1990) concluded that during the Bay of Pigs crisis, the Times reported

foreign policy in its formulation and execution stages consistent with the current U.S. administration's frame of reference, situational analysis and national interests. Keever (2000) examined the New York Times' framing of U.S. nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific from 1946 to 1962. The study concluded that the Times' framing emphasized U.S. technological prowess, but minimized or ignored the negative impact of that prowess on Marshallese and their homelands. In Park's (1999) analysis of the New York Times' coverage of U.S. national security concerns, the end of the Cold War has had significant consequences for how this elite newspaper has delivered the stories about U.S. national security. The study found that the amount of coverage about U.S. national security dropped by half after the end of the Cold War, both in the front page and editorial page. The analysis of the New York Times' coverage also showed that subjects related to security, such as economic security and environmental security, have become increasingly salient in the coverage since the end of the Cold War.

In terms of international issues, the influence of foreign policy on U.S. media framing can also be found in their tendency to unbalanced dealings with news sources. Chang (2003) examined how Israel and Palestine are framed in four mainstream U.S. newspapers by their uses of news sources from the two nations. The study found that Israeli officials were treated more favorably than their counterpart Palestinian officials, as a result of greater U.S. press access in Israel and the U.S.'s friendlier foreign policy toward that country. In Dickson's (1992) investigation of the New York Times' and the Washington Post's coverage of the U.S.-Nicaraguan conflict, about half of all sources were government officials. She said that in this study there were mostly neutral sources found while discussing Nicaraguan policy and major part of articles were negative.

Several studies have revealed that the portrayal of political leaders in media coverage is also closely related to foreign policy (Iyengar & Simon, 1993). According to Dennis (1991), leaders' images framed by media may change along with the foreign policy. For example, when the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in World War, Joseph Stalin was affectionately called "Uncle Joe" by Franklin D. Roosevelt, but this quickly changed after the war and as the Cold War accelerated.

De Vreese and Boomgaarden (2006) in their study "Effects of Issue News Framing on Public Support for Turkish Membership in the EU" investigated the presence and possible effects of issue specific news frames. The study focused on the topic of potential membership of Turkey in the European Union. The frames conceptualized in this study were theoretically driven, delineated from other news frames, and were found in actual news media content providing external validity to the study of the effects of these frames. The news media framing of the issue was assessed through a content analysis of national newspapers and television news. Several frames in the political, economic and cultural realm were identified. These frames all carried an inherent valence that framed the issue in either positive or negative terms. A first experimental study showed significant differences in the level of support between respondents who had received a positive news frame and respondents who had received a negative news frame. The results of a second experimental study corroborated the first study, but demonstrated that negative news frames yield stronger effects than positive news frames and that exposure to news frames can affect public policy support even in a multivariate test controlling for other influences.

Baek, Kim and Reese (2009) concluded that the two countries' different policies toward North Korea affected the reactions of their respective media's coverage of the crisis. Unlike the South Korean media, the U.S. media emphasized the government's policy to put pressure on, rather than reconcile with, North Korea. The U.S. media's dominant "response" frame over all three periods confirmed that foreign policy is an important factor in influencing the media's adoption of news frames. In addition, it indicated that media have systematically framed news stories in ways that correspond to a government view, and exclude or minimize interpretations and facts that do not match such views.

In another important study, researchers examined the role of mainstream US media and general elections in the Latin American states of El Salvador, Nicaragua and Dominican Republic. America had supported elections in El Salvador. Not only this, the US government facilitated elections in these state so that the pro-US dictator can stay in power. These elections got huge coverage in the US media which actively supported the administration policies, it criticized the activities of 'rebels' and did not bother how rigged these polls were and illegal means used. But in Nicaragua elections, the US media turned a blind eye to the democratic practice of these people. The US government machinations were ignored and actually they supported the rebel leaders there to disrupt the elections. These studies actually draw attention to the belief that US media follows the dictates of administration and furthers the interests of foreign policy.

Many peace media researchers agree that the US media have a penchant for war frames in their discourse. They will follow the military stories and even guide government to wage wars and use blatant force to ensure their national interests. A report entitled "framing American Politics: A Content Analysis of Television News Coverage for the

State of the Union Address in 2004" showed that American media framed negatively the whole speech. The different media outlets focused on the different aspects of the conflicts covered in speech and draw different conclusions. Likewise, in one another report five US TV channels were analyzed for how they covered 9/11 incident in the next 24 hours of its occurrence. The study showed that in the initial stage, the TV channels focused more on the information frame than on the consolation frame. While the human interest frame was ignored. With the passage of time, the information frame was replaced by the human interest frame.

In another study entitled as "A comparative analysis of South and North Korea's newspaper coverage of international conflicts" examined some of the important framing patterns in the two Korea's terrorism coverage in the U.S. The study revealed how the media framing in the two Koreas is influenced by the dominant ideology in each country. Theoretically, this study suggests that the relationship between a dominant ideology and media framing patterns has been used in both countries news coverage as a means to channel political ideology into the public and society. Media scholars have observed that journalists take cues from the foreign policy of their home government when reporting on international events. The South Korean media can be expected to reflect and reinforce the dominant ideology in Korean culture, and ignore or minimize alternative opinions and facts which do not correspond to their world views. The media in North Korea are closely tied to their communist sociopolitical structures. Therefore, news in North Korea has always been shown as the representation of the political ideology and interest of the communist party. By comparing and contrasting South and North Korea's media editorials about the New York attacks, this study examines the overall framing patterns in

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their countries' news editorials on September 11 as a means of exploring the influence of dominant ideology and national interests on news reporting. The study tried to explain; what are the key frames of news stories regarding U.S. terrorism news coverage in both South and North Korea and the impact of the dominant ideology and national interests on the news framing. The two newspapers selected, included the Chosun Ilbo (27 editorials) in South Korea and Workers' Daily (12 editorials) in North Korea. Data collection was conducted from September 11, 2001 to December 7, 2001. In December 7, the war in Afghanistan comes to close. The results show that the Cold War frame can modulate the manner in which the media covers terrorism in the Post-Cold War era. The results, however, illustrate the apparent differences in the overall symbolic patterns. It means that the framing of the media of the two Koreas can be expected to reflect and reinforce their own dominant ideology and national interests. Youngkee Ju, in his study "A Study of the Priming of Media Frames of the South Korean President in the Public Mind" explored the interaction between the media framing and image of the two important political personalities (Kim Young-sam and Roh Moo-hyun). Both a content analysis and surveys were conducted. The study concluded that Mr. Kim being covered in politics frame got more public approbation than Mr Roh who as less framed in politics and hence got less approval rating among the masses. Similarly, Joo Teo and Benjamin H. Detenber worked on the various styles of frames employed in the two main newspapers of The Strait Times and Le Monde. The researchers found that both the papers significantly differed from each other in dominant framing that signified the difference between ideology and framing. They were similar in horse race frame that pointed to the issue that time of indecision in the US, media focused on the secondary issues. But, as the limbo geared

towards more indecision, the constitutional frame emerged that worked for exploring new avenues in this regard. This study explores whether the US media endorses democracy or dictatorship in Pakistan when the country has experienced both form of governments. It is usually believed that US media will support democracy in third world countries because of the New World Order guiding principles. But, there is also a perception that US has been always in favor to deal with dictators because it is easy to make transactions with a strong man at the centre. Similarly, this study will also investigate whether the US media links itself with the US administration goals vis-à-vis Pakistan.

2.1 Research Questions:

RQ 1-Whether the US media frame democracy in Pakistan positively?

RQ 2-Whether the US media frame dictatorship in Pakistan positively?

RQ 3-Whether the US media frame democracy in Pakistan negatively?

RQ 4-Whether the US media frame dictatorship in Pakistan negatively?

RQ 5-To what extent the US media favor democracy in Pakistan?

RQ 6-To what extent the US media favor dictatorship in Pakistan?

2.2 Theoretical Framework:

2.2.1 Media Framing Theory

We use Framing theory as a pattern for understanding and explore foreign policy, communication and related manners in so many disciplines. In general, many researchers (Ghanem, 1997; Iyengar, 1991; Reese, 2001; Tankard et al., 1991) have stated that framing determines how the media present an issue. Frames can be defined as the mental

mechanisms helping us to organize our thoughts and ideas and make sense of the world. Often these mechanisms are applied by us inadvertently in our daily routine lives but they have a huge role how we decipher the reality around us. Frames can also be defined as the conceptual structures used in thinking process which can be evoked even by a single word. Media is the prime transmitting and reinforcement agent of the frames in society. Concepts and words perpetuate frames and the groups that better understand the application of these concepts, get social approbation in a society (Lakoff, 2004). Journalists consciously or unconsciously use news frames to simplify, prioritize and structure the news discourse (Norris, 1995).

The process of framing occurs when media persons prioritize some aspects of reality in their texture as against others for whatever reasons by using certain words, concepts phrases and sentences that give thematically reinforcing bundles of facts or findings. (Entman, 1993). Iyengar (1991) used the general categories of thematic and episodic frames to examine news coverage. The episodic news frame focuses on specific events or cases, whereas the thematic frames places the issue in some general context. Reese (2001) further developed the meaning of framing; he considered frames as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world”. Foreign policy cannot be ignored in media framing analysis because it seems to Foreign Policy and Media influence the media adoption of news frames. Many studies have revealed that foreign policy is the main factor in defining events as covered by U.S. news media. (Dickson, 1992; Entman & Rojecki, 1993). Major American newspapers systematically frame news stories in ways that correspond to either a government or corporate view, and exclude or minimize

interpretations and facts that do not match with such views (Sigal, 1973). Shoar (1985) analyzed the New York Times' and The Times' (UK) treatment of Iran between 1968 to 1978. She said every newspaper treated and cover the stories of their relevant country according to the national interest of their own countries.

Most of the studies on the media and foreign policy have traditionally dealt with matters of security, conflict, war, and revolution (Mowlana, 1997). Several empirical studies have revealed that when international issues are concerned, especially nuclear testing, war, and other crises, the mass media in the U.S. generally conform to their government's foreign policy. Based on his investigation of the New York Times' treatment of foreign policy, Berry (1990) concluded that during the Bay of Pigs crisis, the Times reported foreign policy in its formulation and execution stages constant with the current American administration's frame of reference, situational analysis, national interests, Foreign Policy and Media goals, and strategies (p. 52). Keever (2000) examined in the Pacific s the New York Times' framing of Americas. Nuclear weapons test from 1946 to 1962. The study concluded that the Times' framing emphasized U.S. technological prowess, but minimized or ignored the negative impact of that prowess on Marshallese and their homelands. In Park's (1999) study of the New York Times' coverage of U.S. national security concerns, the end of the Cold War has had significant consequences for how this elite newspaper has delivered the stories about U.S. national security. The study found that the amount of coverage about U.S. national security dropped by half behind finishing of the Cold War, both in the front page and editorial page .Siraj (2008) analyzed the New York Times and Washington Post coverage to both India and Pakistan and concluded that India got more favorable coverage than Pakistan. Fishman (1980) found that the way

media establish the news sense of events is based on the way their governments wish to present. In sum, these studies above have shown that the U.S. media have often covered and interpreted world affairs in accordance with U.S. foreign policy, or simply used it as the standard. Consequently, the studies provide evidence that frames are prevalent in the U.S. media, and that foreign policy could be identified as factors influencing the creation as the media frames.

2.2.2 Media Conformity Theory:

The other theory to be applied in this study would be media conformity theory because we want to explore that is there any conformity exists between the US media and US administration while portraying Pakistan during both the eras. As media conformity theory states that media does not stand for anything altogether different from the dominant viewpoint in a society. Media perpetuates the views of state and society where it exists and does not challenge the dominant views of the people rather it conforms with the views of majority.

Chapter-3:

Methodology

The present study used content analysis to examine coverage of democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan and the role of US media February 2007 to February 2009, one year prior and after the general elections in Pakistan.

According to Fred Kerlinger, content analysis is a way of studying and evaluating communications in a objective, systematic and quantitative mode to quantify variables. While according to Paisley, J. A. (1964), content analysis is the method in which a message is recoded in categories through rules and you can compare the data and it can be summarized as well. Stempel identifies content analysis as a quantitative depiction of the apparent content of communication. Content analysis has four major distinctions, Krippendorff (1980 as quoted by Dr Siraj (2006)). It is a modest technique, this accepts formless material, it is situation-sensitive and it can also process the figurative forms as well and it can also handle with large amount of data.

Using this content analysis technique, this study will examine editorials of New York Times and Washington Post. The issue will be coded in three types of framing (favorable, unfavorable and neutral).

3.1 Research Design:

Content analysis is the research design.

"Content analysis is considered a scholarly methodology in the humanities by which texts are studied."

It is a research tool for determining the presence of certain words or concepts within texts. It quantifies and analyzes the presence, meanings and relationships of words and concepts to make inferences about them. The editorial content is analyzed as to see the attitude of US newspapers towards democracy and dictatorship. It has three categories: Positive, negative and neutral.

3.2 Population

A population is a comprehensive and well defined group of the elements pertinent to a given research question. A target population is an aggregation of the entire element pertinent to a study. Population of research shares common characteristics from which the sample is generated. The population of the study includes editorials published in the newspapers relating to democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan. The shared characteristic of the population is those editorials that are describing rule either democracy or dictatorship. The chosen country for analyzing newspaper editorials is United States of America.

3.3 Sampling:

Sample is the subset of population. A representative sample as a sample selected in such a way that it reflects well the characteristics of its parent population. It is taken out of population. Chosen US newspapers are The Washington Post and The New York Times. Editorials published from February, 2007 to February, 2009 are the sample of the study.

Purposive sampling technique is used in the study as there is a criterion for the selection of editorials that are related to democracy and dictatorship, other than these no editorial is included. It is a form of sampling in which the selection of the sample is based on the judgment of the researcher as to which subjects best fit the criteria of the study.

The content analysis of only those editorials is conducted that are on the theme of rule by governments, either democracy or dictatorship.

3.4 Content categorization:

Variables	Category	Rules
NP ID Newspaper Identification	1-The New York Times 2-The Washington Post	Two Years Editorials of US leading newspaper from Feb.2007 to Feb.2009 Two Years Editorials of US leading newspaper from Feb.2007 to Feb.2009
Type	1-Editorial	Editorials are the write-ups in the newspapers that show the policy. This study will analyze all the editorials in the study.
Era	1-Democratic Era 2-Dictatorship Era	
Frames: Frame 1	Two frames have been identified in the study. These are democracy and dictatorship, coverage to these issues is recorded in Positive, Negative and Neutral categories. 1-Positive towards Democracy	An editorial will be coded as a positive if it is about: Pakistan is a state governed by their elected representatives and their governance show the public consent. Human right, freedom and equality as enjoyed by people in the US are also a norm in Pakistan. US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by democrats. Pakistan is fulfilling its international responsibilities well in democracy. If the US media supports the democratic government.

	<p>2-Negative Dictatorship.</p> <p>towards</p>	<p>of the country and their governance show the public consent. Human right, freedom and equality as enjoyed by people in the US are also a norm in Pakistan during dictatorship. US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by a dictator. Pakistan is fulfilling its international responsibilities well in dictatorship. If the US media supports the dictatorship. If the US media praises the dictator that it is fulfilling the US interests in the region. If the US media talks about the extended hand of friendship towards a dictator. If the US media talks about economic and military support for a military dictatorship.</p> <p>An editorial will be coded as Negative towards dictatorship if it is about: Dictatorship is not a best political option and hence not justified to rule Pakistan. Pakistan problems are associated with dictatorship and these can be solved if democracy is allowed in the country. US interests cannot be defended if there is dictatorship in Pakistan. That dictatorship destroys the very structure of state in Pakistan and hence turning to a failed state. US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by democrats. Pakistan is not fulfilling its international responsibilities well in dictatorship. If the US media not supporting the dictator in Pakistan. If the US media pressurizes the dictator. If the US media projects dictators rule a weak govt. If the US media condemns shows a grim pictures of Pakistan during a dictator's regime.</p> <p>If the editorial can not belong to Democracy or dictatorship and discuss</p>
Frame 3	1-Neutral in Democratic Era	

	2-Neutral in Dictatorial Regime	some other topic in democratic era. If the editorial can not belong to Democracy or dictatorship and discuss some other topic in dictatorship.
Length	(in words)	To be measured
Democracy		Democracy is the form of government practiced in the US and other developed nations. It is the government where the people are ruled by their elected representatives. All the editorials during this era regarding Pakistan of us elite newspapers are analyzed without their headlines. Headlines of editorials were not considered while reading the theme of said editorials. Because headlines give you biased opinion and it hurts the objectivity.
Dictatorship		This is the form of government in which military general rule the country. The governance is carried out by army personnel and politicians have no business in the running of the government. Dictatorship is a form of government that has the power to govern without consent of those being governed(wikipedia.org)

3.5 Time Period of Research Study

The specified newspapers will be contextually analyzed in a time period from February 2007 to February 2009. This time period is significant as Pakistan switched from dictatorship to democracy. Both the governments in Pakistan have closely collaborated with the US against terror in the region.

3.6 Selection of the Newspapers

The two leading US newspapers The New York Times and The Washington Post have been selected for this study. These newspapers have the widest circulation and cross-section readership in the US and round the world.

3.7 Frames

Two frames have been identified in the study. These are democracy and dictatorship, coverage to these issues is recorded in Positive, Negative and Neutral categories.

3.7.1 Definition of Positive

As Webster's revised unabridged dictionary, Positive is optimistic, helpful, constructive, conducive, encouraging and upbeat, affirmative, a probative, approving, convenient, flowingly, friendly, pleasing.

3.7.2 Definition of Negative

According to negative means pessimistic, unhelpful, oppose, not encouraging or approving, adverse, bad, contrary, critical, disapproving, harmful, hostile, invidious, reproachful, reproofing, untoward, and negative.

3.7.3 Definition of Neutral

According to Wikipedia, it means that you are projecting the conflicting views fairly and there must not be any unfair or undue weight to any of the party as being true.

3.8 Editorials

Editorials are the write-ups in the newspapers that show the policy. This study will analyze all the editorials in the study.

3.9 Length of the story

Length of the item will be measured in words and inches.

3.10 Coding units

Coding unit as defined by Holsti is the definite section of content that is distinguished by putting it in an available category. A single word is generally the smallest unit of analysis while the context unit can be explained as the biggest part of the content. In this research topic and frame of the story will be examined as variables and to measure these variables, the entire story will be context unit and unit of analysis. Frames will be recognized in the editorials from the contextual point of view. The frames identified in this study are democracy and dictatorship.

3.10.1 Democracy

Democracy is the form of government practiced in the US and other developed nations. It is the government where the people are ruled by their elected representatives. All the editorials during this era regarding Pakistan of us elite newspapers are analyzed without their headlines. Headlines of editorials were not considered while reading the theme of said editorials. Because headlines give you biased opinion and it hurts the objectivity.

3.10.2 Positive towards Democracy

An editorial will be coded as a positive if it is about:

Pakistan is a state governed by their elected representatives and their governance show the public consent.

Human right, freedom and equality as enjoyed by people in the US are also a norm in Pakistan. US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by democrats.

Pakistan is fulfilling its international responsibilities well in democracy.

If the US media says that government is doing well.

If the US media praises the democratic government that they are trying hard to curb the terrorism in Pakistan. If the US media do suggest that Pakistan should be given a chance to flourish its democracy and not the dictatorship.

If the US media talks about economic and military support for democratic government.

If the US media condemns the dictatorship and the way they rule the country in democratic government.

3.10.3 Negative towards Democracy

An editorial will be coded as negative if it is about:

Democracy in Pakistan cannot work.

It is the US interest if there is dictatorship in Pakistan.

If General Perez Mshahrraf is praised and politicians ridiculed.

That democracy has failed to deliver in Pakistan and hence turning to a failed state.

US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by democrats.

Pakistan is not fulfilling its international responsibilities well in democracy.

If the US media not supporting the democratic govt.

If the US media pressurizes the democratic govt.

If the US media projects democratic government a weak govt.

If the US media talks about a fragile and uncertain democracy.

If the US media condemns shows a grim pictures of Pakistan during democratic govt.

3.10.4 Neutral

Editorial which places unclear focus on either the favorable or unfavorable features will be treated as neutral. When a story carries an equal number of favorable and unfavorable

paragraphs, then it will be coded as neutral if the headline does not carry the slant. In case of equal number of favorable and unfavorable and neutral paragraphs, the length of the paragraph will decide the category for the given item.

3.11 Dictatorship

This is the form of government in which military general rule the country. The governance is carried out by army personnel and politicians have no business in the running of the government.

3.11.1 Positive towards Dictatorship

An editorial will be coded positive towards dictatorship as if it tells about:

Pakistan is best served if a dictator rules.

US interest can be defended if military person control the affair.

Pakistani politicians have failed to deliver and hence democracy cannot work in Pakistan.

Pakistan is a state governed by a dictator who himself act as as an autocratic ruler of the country and their governance show the public consent.

Human right, freedom and equality as enjoyed by people in the US are also a norm in Pakistan during dictatorship.

US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by a dictator.

Pakistan is fulfilling its international responsibilities well in dictatorship.

If the US media supports the dictatorship.

If the US media praises the dictator that it is fulfilling the US interests in the region.

If the US media talks about the extended hand of friendship towards a dictator.

If the US media talks about economic and military support for a military dictatorship.

3.11.2 Negative towards Dictatorship

An editorial will be coded as Negative towards dictatorship if it is about:

Dictatorship is not a best political option and hence not justified to rule Pakistan.

Pakistan problems are associated with dictatorship and these can be solved if democracy is allowed in the country.

US interests cannot be defended if there is dictatorship in Pakistan.

That dictatorship destroys the very structure of state in Pakistan and hence turning to a failed state.

US interest can be best served in Pakistan if the country is ruled by democrats.

Pakistan is not fulfilling its international responsibilities well in dictatorship.

If the US media is not supporting the dictator in Pakistan.

If the US media pressurizes the dictator.

If the US media projects dictators rule a weak govt.

If the US media condemns shows a grim picture of Pakistan during a dictators regime.

3.11.3 Neutral

Story which places no clear emphasis on either the favorable or unfavorable aspects will be coded as neutral. If a story carries an equal number of favorable and unfavorable paragraphs, then it will be coded as neutral if the headline does not carry the slant. In case of equal number of favorable/unfavorable and neutral paragraphs, the length of the paragraph will decide the category for the given item.

3.12 Others

This category will include all the stories where the above two topics of democracy and dictatorship have either been mixed or the stories where other issues are narrated that go in favor or disfavor of one form of government or the other.

3.13 Keys for the coders

3.13.1 Newspapers' ID

For the identification of the newspapers, value 1 was assigned to The NY times and 2 to The Washington Post.

3.13.2 Length

The length of the editorial was measured in inches and words.

Chapter- 4:

Results and Findings

There were 322 editorials and opinions published about Pakistan during February 2007 to February 2009 in both the newspapers, 177 in The Washington Post and 145 in The New York Times respectively. But there were only 61 editorials out of 322 documents published in both the newspapers regarding democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan between the said periods. We chose only editorials as these are the population of the study. In this regard the analysis of 61 editorials conducted; with New York Times publishing 34 editorials and The Washington Post 27 editorials from February 2007 to February 2009. Further division of editorials by framing are displays in heading 4.1, heading 4.2, and figure 1 and in figure 2.

4.1 Analysis of The New York Times:

.As figure 1 describes that The New York Times in its total publication of 34 editorials, published 17 editorials in the dictatorship era in Pakistan; prior to the general elections of 2008 in Pakistan, and the same number of editorials during the democracy era; after the general elections.

The New York Times, in its total editorials of 34, in the dictatorship era (one year prior to the general election in Pakistan), 14 editorials negatively framed the military rule in Pakistan, 2 editorials positively framed Pakistan and one editorial was neutral in its depiction. Similarly, in democracy era (one year after the general elections in Pakistan), the new York Times published 17 editorials, with 8 editorials positively framing

democracy in Pakistan, 7 editorials negatively framing democracy in Pakistan and 2 were neutral. (See figure 1)

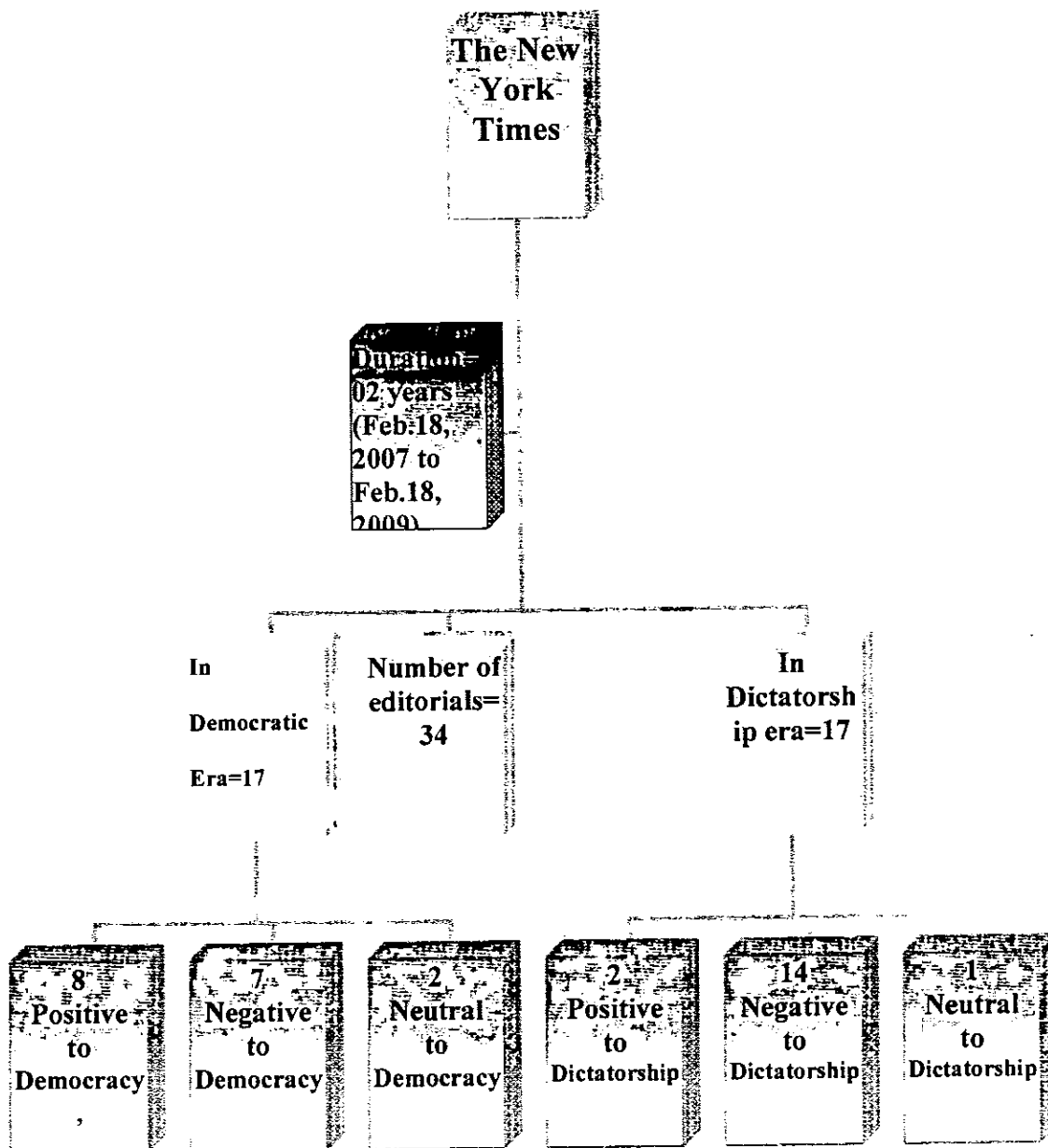


Figure 1 The figure shows division of editorials on the basis of framing in The New York Times

4.2 Analyses of the Washington Post:

Likewise, as figure 2 shows that Washington post, in its total editorials of 27, 18 editorials were published prior to the general elections of 2008 and 9 editorials were published after the general elections of 2008 in Pakistan. Of the published 18 editorials regarding Pakistan during the editorship era, with 12 editorials negatively framing the military rule, 4 editorials were neutral and 2 editorials positively framing dictatorship in Pakistan. Similarly, during the democratic era (time span of February 2008 to February 2009), the Washington post published a total of 9 editorials. Out of these, 5 editorials negatively framed the era, 3 editorials positive framed the era and 1 editorial was neutral.

(See figure 2 on next page)

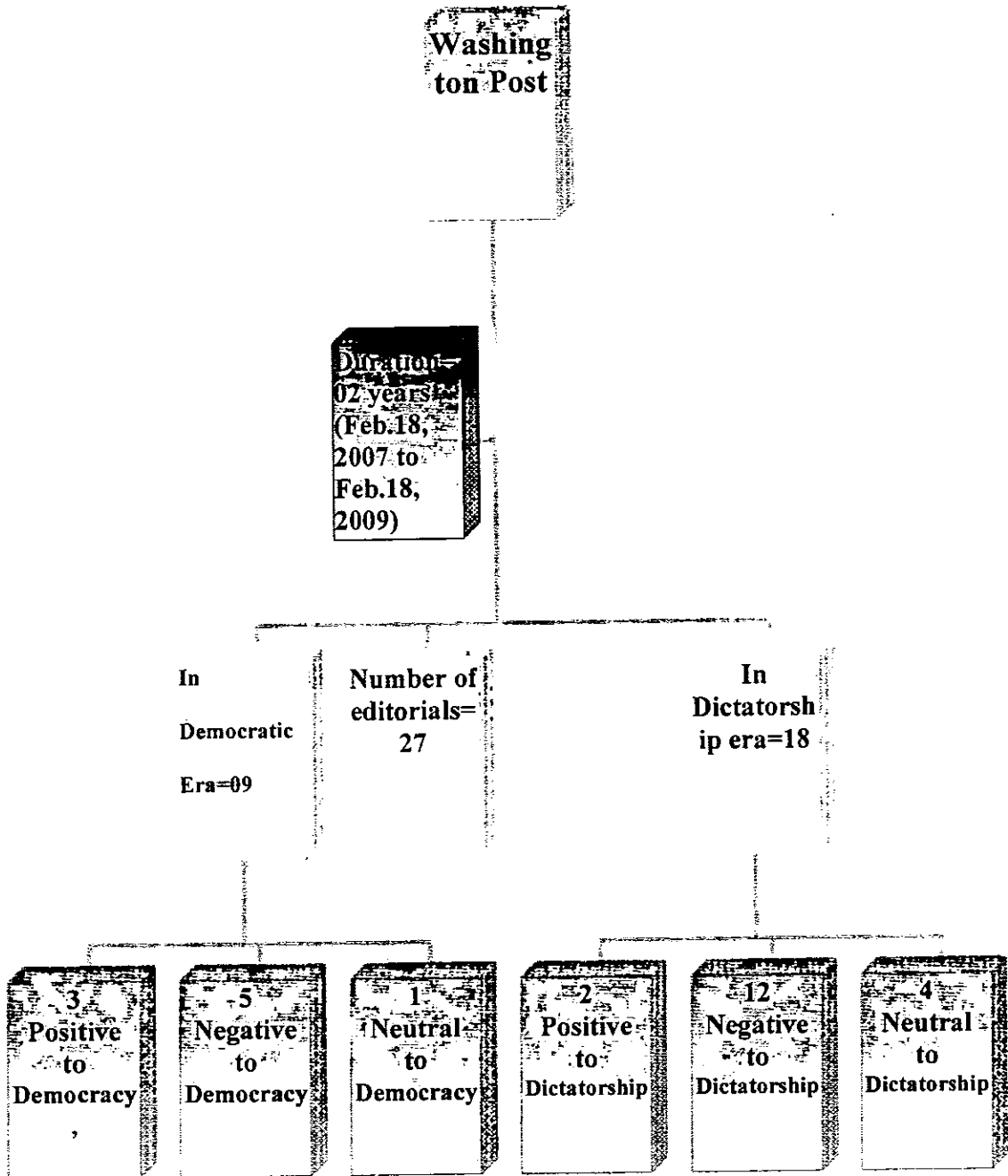


Figure 2 The figure shows division of editorials on the basis of framing in

Washington Post

Bar Chart

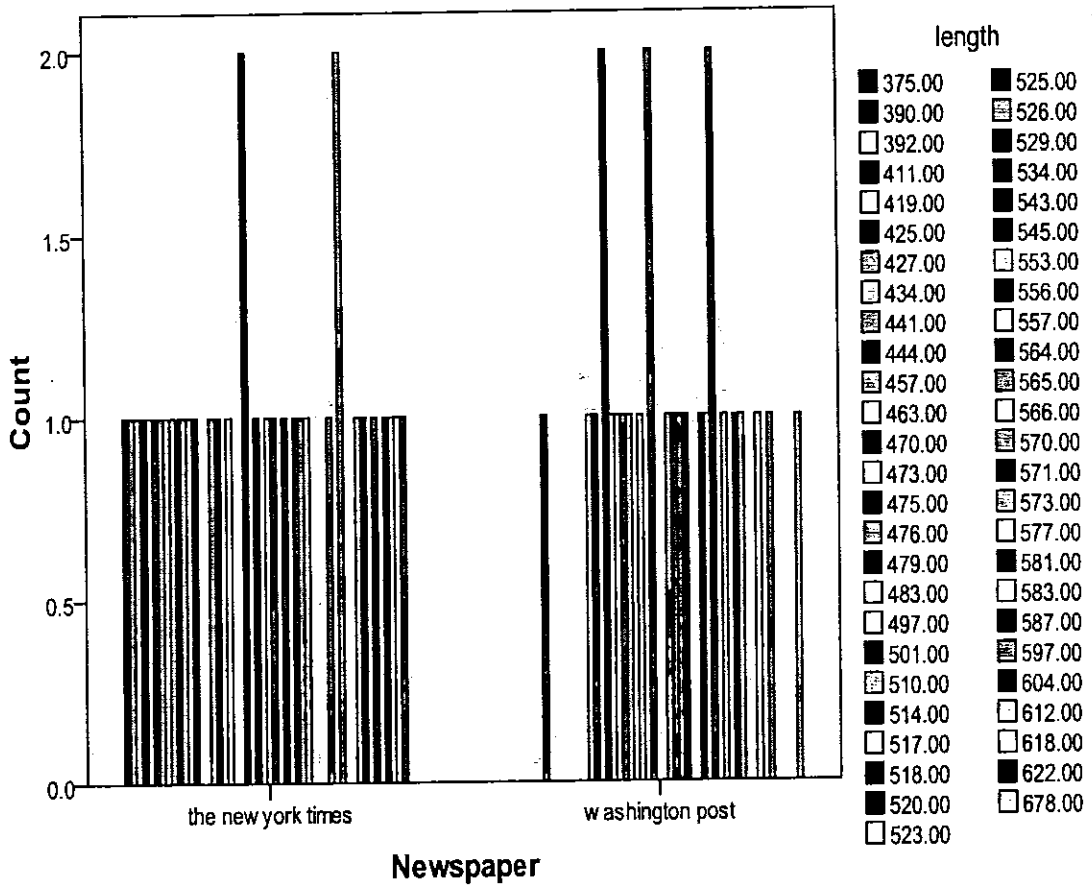


Figure 3 Here are word counts of every editorial in both the newspapers just for the records. There are more words counted in Washington post than The New York Times but numbers of editorials are less in WP than that of NY Times.

Table 1 The amount of Editorials positive to democracy and negative to democracy in The New York Times and The Washington Post. (Frame1 Cross tabulation)

		frame1		Total
		positive to democracy	negative to democracy	
Newspaper	the new York times	22	10	32
	Washington post	15	6	21
Total		37	16	53

The *Table 1* finds that in Frame-1 the amount of editorials found to be positive towards democracy is 22 in The New York Times whereas 10 are negative to democracy. Compared to Washington Post the amount of editorials positive to democracy are 15 whereas the amount in Washington Post negative to democracy is 6 only. Hence the percentage of Positive towards democracy is higher in The New York Times i.e 59.45 % as compared to Washington Post i.e 40.5%. The New York Times supports that Pakistan is a state governed by their elected representatives and their governance show the public consent.

Table 2 The amount of Editorials positive to dictatorship and negative to dictatorship in The New York Times and The Washington Post. (Frame 2 Cross tabulation)

		frame2		Total
		positive to dictatorship	negative to dictatorship	
Newspaper	the new York times	10	22	32
	Washington post	6	15	21
Total		16	37	53

The *Table 2* indicates in Frame-2 that the amount of editorials found to be positive towards dictatorship is 10 in The New York Times, but amount of 22 is found to be negative to dictatorship. In Washington Post the amount of editorials positive to dictatorship is 6 whereas the amount negative to dictatorship is 15.

Hence the percentage of negative towards dictatorship in editorials is higher in The New York Times i-e 59.45 % as compared to Washington Post i-e 40.5%. The New York Times shows that Dictatorship is not a best political option and hence not justified to rule Pakistan.

Table 3 The amount of Editorials neutral to democracy as well as neutral to dictatorship in The New York Times and The Washington Post. (Frame 3)

Count		frame3		Total
		neutral to democratic	neutral to dictatorship	
Newspaper	the New York times	2	1	3
	Washington post	1	4	5
Total		3	5	8

The *Table.3* finds that in Frame-3 the amount of editorials found to be neutral to democracy 2 in The New York Times whereas 1 is neutral to dictatorship. Compared to Washington Post the amount of editorials neutral to democracy is 1 whereas the amount in Washington Post neutral to dictatorship is 4.

Hence the percentage of neutral to dictatorship is higher in Washington i-e 80% as compared to The New York Times i-e 20%.

Table .4 Overall Era wise count of editorials (Positive/Negative)

		Slant			Total
		positive	Negative	neutral	
topic	democratic era	11	12	3	26
	dictatorship era	4	26	5	35
Total		15	38	8	61

The *Table 4* finds that in measuring the newspaper's slant, it has been found that newspapers' showed negative slant towards democratic and dictatorial era overall. The percentage of negative slant is higher than the positive or neutral slant. The percentage of negative slant for dictatorial era i-e 68.42 is higher than the democratic era i-e 31.57%. The newspapers are showing pessimistic, unhelpful, opposed and disapproving attitude towards dictatorship.

Table 5 The number of editorials positive towards democracy and negative towards democracy in democracy and in dictatorial regime. (Frame 1)

		frame1		Total
		positive to democracy	negative to democracy	
topic	democratic era	11	12	23
	dictatorship era	26	4	30
Total		37	16	53

AS *Table 5* explains about Frame-1 that democratic era is found to be negative to democracy i-e 12 more as compared to positive to democracy i-e 11 in amount whereas the dictatorial era is found to be more inclined towards positively regarding democracy.

The percentage of positively towards democracy is higher in dictatorship era i-e 86.6% as compared to negativity i-e 13.33%. In democratic era negativity towards democracy is higher i-e 52.17% than 47.82% of positively towards democracy. Overall percentage of positively towards democracy is higher i-e 69.81%.

Table 6 The number of editorials positive towards dictatorship and negative towards dictatorship in democracy and in dictatorial regime. (Frame 2)

Count		frame2		Total
		positive to dictatorship	negative to dictatorship	
topic	democratic era	12	11	23
	dictatorship era	4	26	30
Total		16	37	53

The *Table 6* finds that in Frame-2 within slant shows that democratic era is found to be more positive to dictatorship i-e 12 as compared to negative to dictatorship i-e 11 whereas the dictatorial era is more inclined towards negativity regarding dictatorship. The percentage of negativity towards dictatorship is higher in dictatorship era i-e 86.6% as compared to positively i-e 13.33%.

In democratic era positively towards dictatorship is higher i-e 52.17% than 47.82% of negativity towards dictatorship. Overall percentage of negativity towards dictatorship is higher i-e 69.81%.

Table 7 The number of editorials neutral towards democracy and neutral towards dictatorship in democracy and in dictatorial regime (Frame 3)

Count		frame3		Total
		neutral to democratic	neutral to dictatorship	
topic	democratic era	3	0	3
	dictatorship era	0	5	5
Total		3	5	8

Table 7 shows the neutral stance towards democracy is higher in democratic era i.e 3 editorials, 100% results. But neutral stance towards dictatorship is found in dictatorship era with 100% and 5 editorials in amount.

The overall percentage of neutral to dictatorship is found more i.e 62.5% as compared to neutral towards democracy i.e 37.5%.

Table 8 Stander Deviation Report

Length

Newspaper	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
the new York times	504.8571	35	71.89909
Washington post	531.5385	26	51.10556
Total	516.2295	61	64.76583

In Table 8 the mean value Washington Post in covering editorials is higher i.e 531.5385 as compared to The New York Times i.e 504.8571. This means Washington Post has given more space to editorials related to democracy and dictatorship as compared to The New York Times.

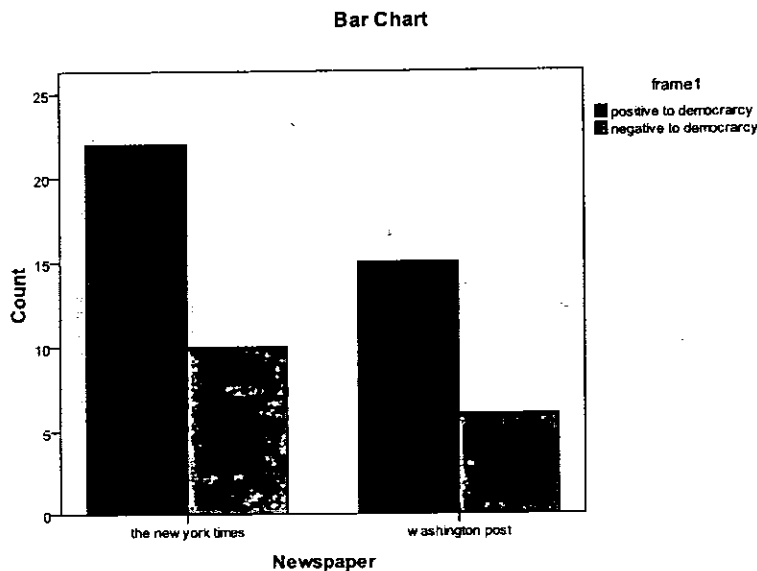


Figure 4 Both the newspapers covered democracy positively in great numbers and negatively portray democray in less numbers.

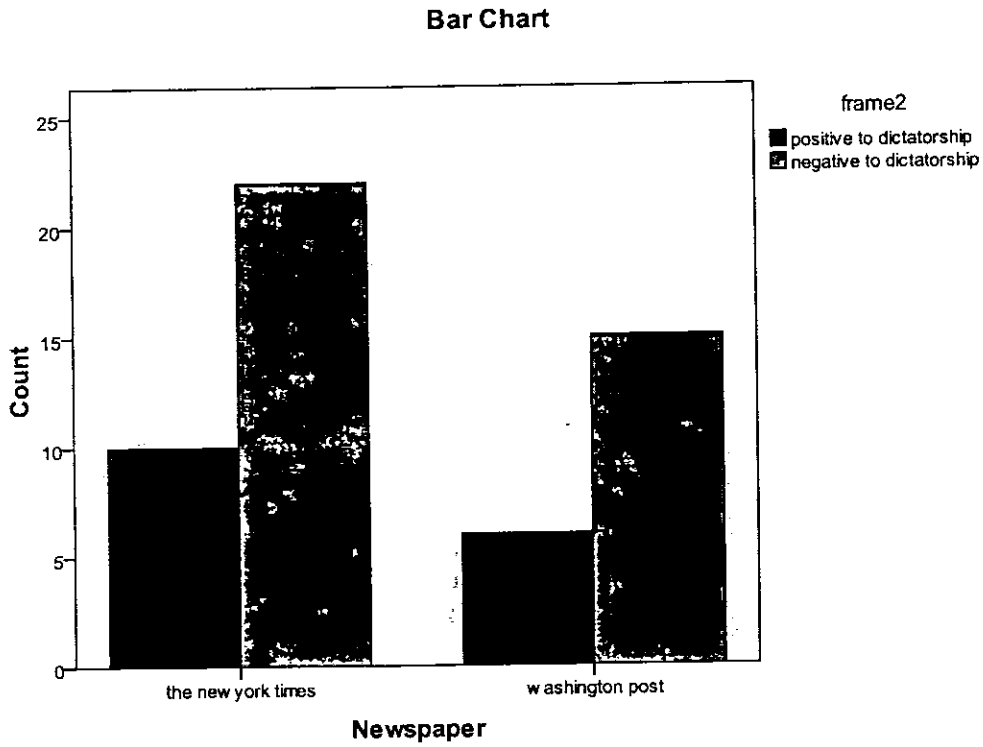


Figure 5 Both the newspapers condemns dictatorship almost double then to praise it.

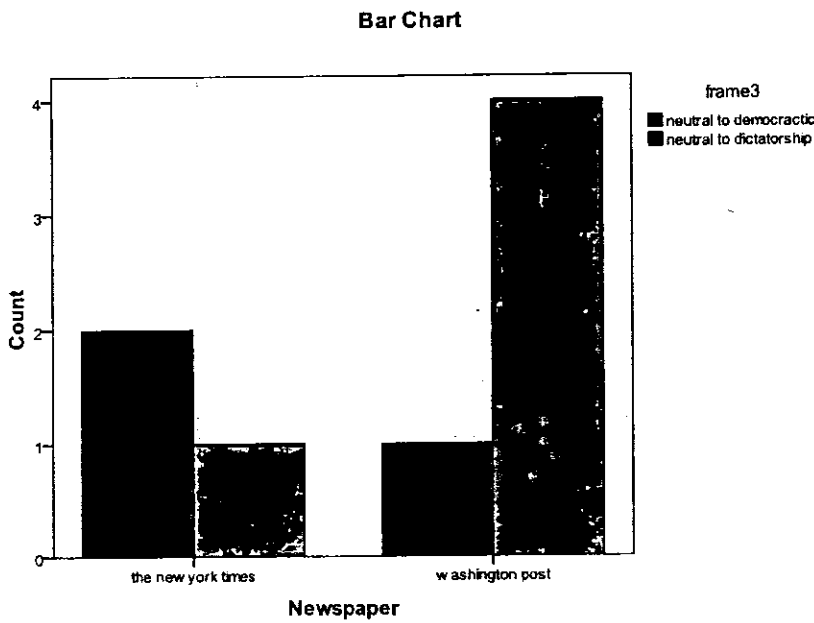


Figure .6 There were more neutral editorials in dictatorship than democracy in Washington Post and vice versa in The New York Times

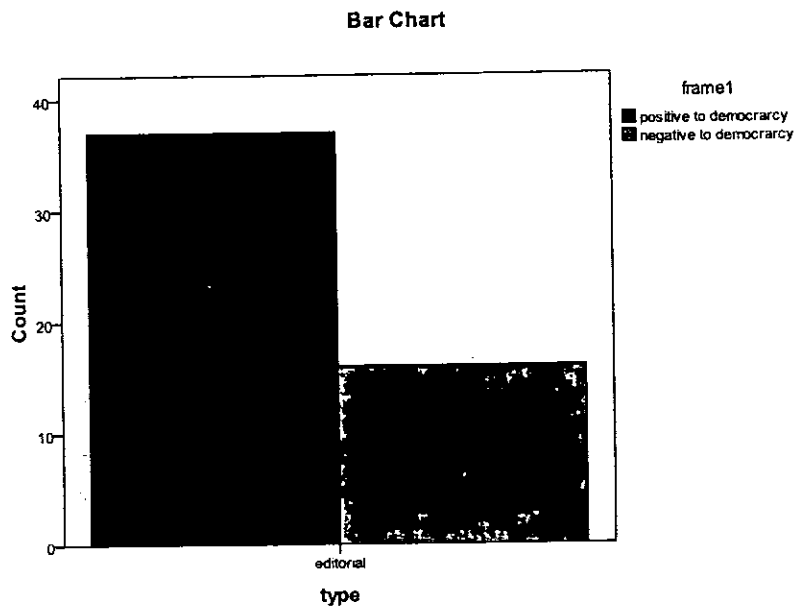


Figure 7 From the total editorials of both the newspapers, positive towards democracy bar is much higher than the negative towards democracy.

Due to the low frequency of neutral editorials in the study, the category was omitted. This was done as this minimal presence was twisting the data and impacting on the credibility of the statistical precision.

One important proposition that needs to be explained as for as this study is concern, like the previous military regime, the new democratic government after the general elections of 2008, has not changed its policy towards the US in the war on terror and other dealings. This along with the other proposition that democratic dispensation has the public support is well received by the US media and hence favored democracy in Pakistan.

Moreover, the study found that the US media was preoccupied with the Pakistani government involvement in the war on terror and hence the editorials analyzed Pakistan role keeping this view in perspective. But as the previous studies show US media will highlight only those international events that have relevance for the US people. As the US government have very obvious interests in the region, 61 editorials in both the elite US newspapers are quite significant from all counts. This also shows how the US papers are concerned about the developments in the region.

Another important proposition that needs to be further worked upon is the present study has analyzed dictatorship era in Pakistan only in its last year. That means that the era was criticized by the American media because they had been reporting on the military government for the last eight years and they may have got irritated with the previous government policies. This also means that the same can happen with the democratic set, though presently the US media is supportive of democracy in Pakistan.

It is suggested that a separate study may be conducted to analyze the elite US newspapers coverage of both form of governments for a long period to study how the US media is actually projecting Pakistan.

Chapter- 5:

Conclusion and Discussions

This study regarding framing of democracy and dictatorship in Pakistan during democratic and dictatorship eras yielded a total of 61 editorials by both newspapers, with New York Times publishing 34 articles and the Washington Post 27 editorials from February 2007 to February 2009. The New York times in its total publication of 34 editorials, published 17 editorials in the dictatorship era in Pakistan; prior to the general elections of 2008, and the same number of editorials during the democracy era; after the general elections. Likewise, the Washington post, of its total editorials of 27, 18 editorials were published prior to the general elections of 2008 and 9 editorials were published after the general elections of 2008 in Pakistan.

The New York Times, out of the total editorials of 34, in the dictatorship era (one year prior to the general election in Pakistan), 14 editorials negatively framed the military rule in Pakistan, 2 editorials positively framed Pakistan and one editorial was neutral in its depiction. Similarly, in democracy era (one year after the general elections in Pakistan), the new York Times published 17 editorials, with 8 editorials positively framing democracy in Pakistan, 7 editorials negatively framing democracy in Pakistan and 2 were neutral.

Similarly, the Washington Post, out of the published 18 editorials regarding Pakistan during the dictatorship era, with 12 editorials negatively framed the military rule, 4 editorials were neutral and 2 editorials positively framed dictatorship in Pakistan. Similarly, during the democratic era (time span of February 2008 to February 2009), the

Washington post published a total of 9 editorials. Out of these, 5 editorials negatively framed the era, 3 editorials positive framed the era and 1 editorial was neutral.

One interesting fact recorded in the study is that the US media covered Pakistan related stories more during the dictatorship era unlike the democratic era though the specified time period of both eras is same (one year each). This point to the fact that the US media more concerned about the affairs in the region when Pakistan is ruled by a military dictator unlike the democratic set up. Probably this is due to the reason that they consider democracy as a normal form of government hence praises it as the data shows. As military dictatorship is quite out of comprehension for the westerners, they believe this system is strange, and hence newsworthy and probably also they fear that the US interests are not well protected.

Against the common perception that the US media follow the administration policies when it comes the foreign policy, here the US media seemed to have stuck to the stated principled US foreign policy goals of promoting democracy in the third world countries as per its New World order instead of the playing the real politic. Both the newspapers carried more stories in favor of democracy in Pakistan and disfavored dictatorship. But probably it would not be easy to project that US media is supportive of democracy in Pakistan because during the democratic era (from February 2008 to February 2009), there were more editorials that disfavored democracy in Pakistan. But during the dictatorship era, editorials disfavored military rule in Pakistan and called for democracy in Pakistan. The results show that America is in pursuits of its national interest in the region other than the considerations of promoting democracy.

Type 1-Editorial

Topic Era 1-Democratic Era

2-Dictatorship Era

Frames:

Frame 1 1-Positive towards Democracy
2-Negative towards Democracy

Frame 2 1-Positive towards Dictatorship
2-Negative towards Dictatorship

Frame 3 1-Neutral in Democratic Era
2-Neutral in Dictatorial Regime

Slant:

1-Positive

2-Negative

3-Neutral

**Titles of Editorials of the New York Times being investigated for the
Thesis**

1

The New York Times
February 28, 2009 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

Playing With Fire in Pakistan

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 463 words

2

The New York Times
December 6, 2008 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

The Pakistan Connection

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 20
LENGTH: 476 words

3

The New York Times
December 1, 2008 Monday
National Edition

The Horror in Mumbai

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 28
LENGTH: 618 words

4

The New York Times
November 21, 2008 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Talking With the Taliban

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 34

5

The New York Times
October 15, 2008 Wednesday
Late Edition - Final

Downward Spiral

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 34
LENGTH: 529 words

6

The New York Times
October 2, 2008 Thursday
Late Edition - Final

Pakistan's New Spy Chief

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 32
LENGTH: 411 words

7

The New York Times
September 22, 2008 Monday
Late Edition - Final

'Running Out of Time'

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 543 words

8

The New York Times
August 19, 2008 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

Pakistan without Musharraf

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 18
LENGTH: 612 words

9

The New York Times
August 9, 2008 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

Musharraf Under Fire

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 18
LENGTH: 427 words

10

The New York Times
July 28, 2008 Monday
Late Edition - Final

A Fresh Start With Pakistan

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 18
LENGTH: 577 words

11

The New York Times
July 11, 2008 Friday
Late Edition - Final

The Taliban's Rising Tide

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 16
LENGTH: 570 words

12

The New York Times
June 13, 2008 Friday
Late Edition - Final

A Dangerous Place

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 28
LENGTH: 444 words

13

The New York Times
May 13, 2008 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

Not a Time for Rivalry

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 20
LENGTH: 479 words

14

The New York Times
April 28, 2008 Monday
Late Edition - Final

Making Their Own Mistakes

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 518 words

15

The New York Times
March 28, 2008 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Sense and Insensitivity in Pakistan

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 525 words

16

The New York Times
March 15, 2008 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

Leaving Musharraf Behind

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 18
LENGTH: 545 words

17

The New York Times
February 20, 2008 Wednesday
Late Edition - Final

Twilight of the Dictators

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 20
LENGTH: 565 words

18

The New York Times
February 1, 2008 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Pakistani P.R.

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 24
LENGTH: 622 words

19

The New York Times
January 22, 2008 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

The Boomerang Effect

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 20
LENGTH: 497 words

20

The New York Times
January 7, 2008 Monday
Late Edition - Final

Conspiracy and Democracy in Pakistan

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 20
LENGTH: 419 words

21

After Benazir Bhutto

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 581 words

The New York Times December 28, 2007 Friday

22

The New York Times
December 22, 2007 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

Weakening Pakistan

Pakistan's Detainees The New York Times December 22, 2007 Saturday
SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 24
LENGTH: 523 words

23

The New York Times
November 29, 2007 Thursday
Late Edition - Final

Sharif, Bhutto and the (Ex-) General

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 30
LENGTH: 425 words

24

The New York Times
November 23, 2007 Friday
Late Edition - Final

Digging In Deeper in Pakistan

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 36
LENGTH: 441 words

25

The New York Times
November 14, 2007 Wednesday
Late Edition - Final

Digging a Hole

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 587 words

26

The New York Times
November 8, 2007 Thursday
Late Edition - Final

Gathering Storm

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 32
LENGTH: 553 words

27

The New York Times
November 6, 2007 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

The Pakistan Mess

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 28
LENGTH: 604 words

28

The New York Times
October 19, 2007 Friday
Late Edition - Final

The Return of Benazir Bhutto

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 24
LENGTH: 434 words

29

The New York Times
October 9, 2007 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

Gen. Musharraf's Cynical Win

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 30
LENGTH: 514 words

30

The New York Times
September 12, 2007 Wednesday
Late Edition - Final

Running on Empty

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 20
LENGTH: 514 words

31

The New York Times
August 11, 2007 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

High-Maintenance Musharraf

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 14
LENGTH: 375 words

32

The New York Times
July 9, 2007 Monday
Late Edition - Final

The General in His Labyrinth

SECTION: Section A; Column 0; Editorial Desk; EDITORIAL; Pg. 16
LENGTH: 392 words

33

The New York Times June 12, 2007 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

Pakistan's Dictator

SECTION: Section A; Column 1; Editorial Desk; Pg. 18
LENGTH: 390 words

34

The New York Times
May 23, 2007 Wednesday
Late Edition - Final

Propping Up the General

SECTION: Section A; Column 1; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22
LENGTH: 457 words

Titles of Editorials of the Washington Post being investigated in the Thesis

1

The Washington Post

December 22, 2008 Monday

Regional Edition

Time for Truth;

Pakistan's civilian leaders must face their country's responsibility for the Mumbai attacks.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A20

LENGTH: 470 words

2

The Washington Post

December 2, 2008 Tuesday

Regional Edition

Pakistan's Task;

Peace in South Asia requires a crackdown on terrorists.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A20

LENGTH: 520 words

3

The Washington Post

November 30, 2008 Sunday

Bulldog Edition

Massacre in Mumbai;

To preserve their region's peace, India and Pakistan must work together against terrorism.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. B06

LENGTH: 526 words

4

The Washington Post

September 14, 2008 Sunday

Regional Edition

The War in Pakistan;

U.S. attacks on Taliban and al-Qaeda targets are risky -- and necessary.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. B06

LENGTH: 566 words

5

The Washington Post

August 21, 2008 Thursday

Regional Edition

The Perils of Pakistan;

Now that Mr. Musharraf is gone, perhaps the country's democrats can focus on governance.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 520 words

6

The Washington Post

August 3, 2008 Sunday

Bulldog Edition

A Strategy for Pakistan;

The United States must support the new democratic government but also do what is needed to stop al-Qaeda.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. B06

LENGTH: 564 words

7

The Washington Post
August 2, 2008 Saturday
Regional Edition

A Strategy for Pakistan;

The United States must support the new democratic government but also do what is needed to stop al-Qaeda.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A14

LENGTH: 564 words

8

The Washington Post
May 1, 2008 Thursday
Regional Edition

A Separate Peace?;

Pakistan's new government negotiates with the militants who harbor al-Qaeda and target U.S. forces in Afghanistan.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A18

LENGTH: 597 words

9

The Washington Post
March 16, 2008 Sunday
Regional Edition

A New Pakistan;

Agreement on a more democratic system is close, but Pervez Musharraf must let it happen.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. B06

LENGTH: 497 words

10

The Washington Post
March 16, 2008 Sunday
Regional Edition

A New Pakistan;

Agreement on a more democratic system is close, but Pervez Musharraf must let it happen.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. B06

LENGTH: 497 words

11

The Washington Post
February 20, 2008 Wednesday
Regional Edition

Pakistan's Victory;

A democratic vote gives a decisive rebuke to Pervez Musharraf and Islamic extremists.

SECTION: EDITORIAL COPY; Pg. A16

LENGTH: 475 words

12

The Washington Post

February 12, 2008 Tuesday

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But still Pervez Musharraf clings to power, prolonging Pakistan's crisis.

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Pervez Musharraf has become an obstacle to U.S. interests in Pakistan -- and to Pakistan's interests as well.

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A Bet Goes Sour;

President Bush can hardly be surprised by Pakistan's state of emergency.

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Gen. Pervez Musharraf is likely to be reelected as president; whether he can maintain power is another question.

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Pakistan's Tainted Election;

Gen. Pervez Musharraf is likely to be reelected as president today; whether he can maintain power is another question.

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LENGTH: 479 words

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Pakistan's Pervez Musharraf tries to dictate the terms for keeping a presidential office most Pakistanis want him out of.

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The General's Best Chance;

Pakistan's Pervez Musharraf finally turns to his country's secular political parties.

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With the terrorists growing stronger, their sanctuary in Pakistan must be eliminated.

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The General Under Siege;

Pakistan's Pervez Musharraf is running out of supporters -- except in Washington.

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In trouble, Gen. Musharraf shuns the moderate parties that could save him.

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Why is the Bush administration 'proud' to support Pakistan's military ruler?

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A Problem of Passivity;

Once again the United States stands by while al-Qaeda operates in a safe haven.

SECTION: Editorial; A14

LENGTH: 543 words

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