Portrayal of US Presidential Elections 2012 in Pakistani Print Media
(Comparison of Dawn & the News English Dailies)

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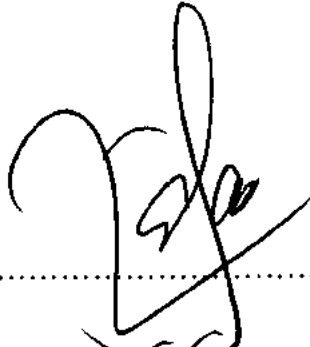
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It is certified that we have read this thesis entitled "Portrayal of US Presidential Elections 2012 in Pakistani Print Media: Comparison of Dawn and The News English Dailies" submitted by Muhammad Nawaz Malik. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University Islamabad for the award of MS Degree in Media and Communication Studies.

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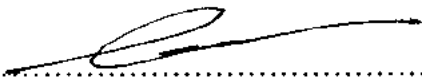
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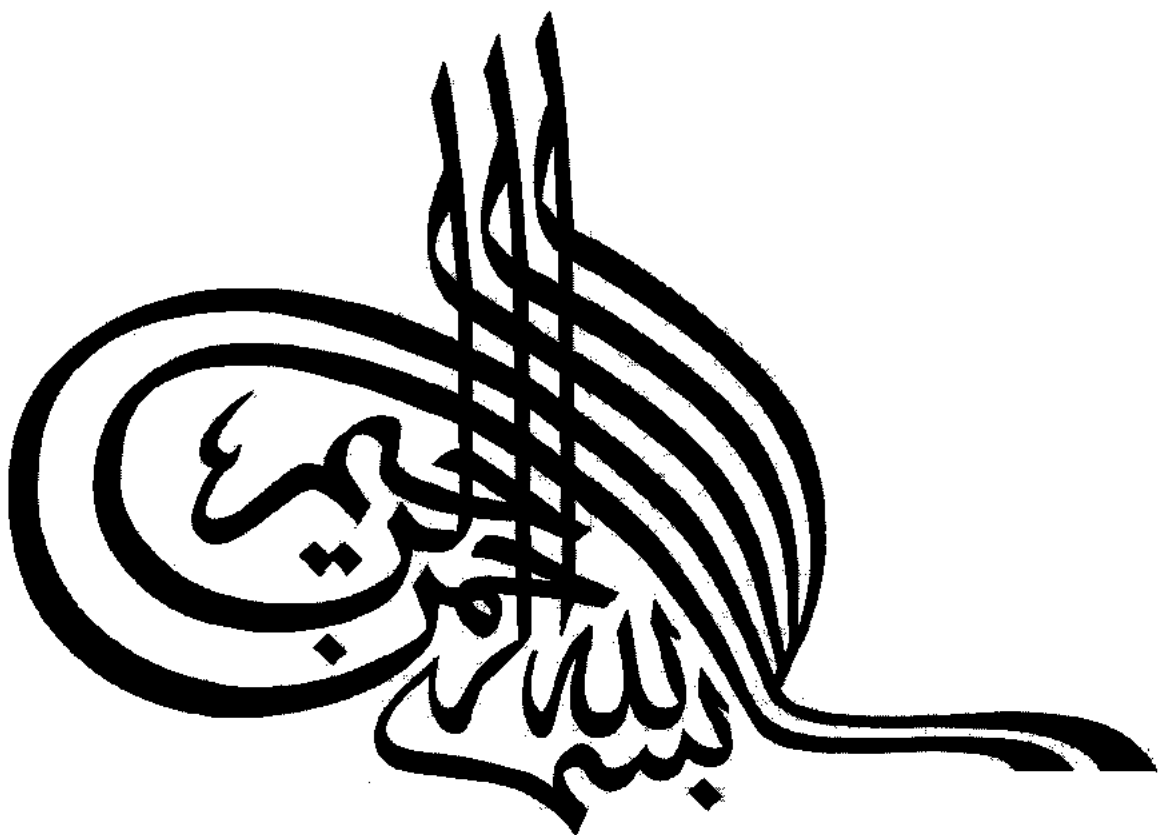Syed Inaam ur Rehman

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In the name of Allah,
the Most Beneficent,
the Most Merciful

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DEDICATION

Dedicated to my Father, who was the finest person the noblest soul, and the most innocent person I ever saw in my life, who left me early, but his love and care is always with me.

Dedicated to my Mother, who is the Greatest in the World for me.

Hafiz Muhammad Nawaz

Abstract

The main focus of this study is to analyze that how Pakistani print media portrayed the US elections 2012. All the news stories are quantitatively analyzed to test the hypotheses. This study examines that how the Pakistani print media (*The News* and *Dawn)* used Episodic and Thematic frames while portraying the US presidential elections. News stories published in the three months of 2012 in both newspapers on front page, back page and international page are collected to evaluate the positive and negative portrayal of the elections, variables and categories are constructed under the light of Episodic and Thematic frames and results show that *Dawn* leads the way portraying US elections much effectively positive.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background of the Study

Diplomatic relationships between states are very important for social and economic development. The relation between Pakistan and US were established from the time of independence of Pakistan. The US has important role on the political, military and economic state of affairs of Pakistan. Due to this, Pakistani media gives special coverage to the matters associated to the US, same in the case with US Presidential Election 2012.

It is general phenomena that Elections are the cornerstone of any democracy, and the media has a vital role in informing the public about what the politicians are promising, in telling the politicians what ordinary people want, or do not want, and in ensuring that the polls are "free and fair". This is particularly important in countries lacking a solid background of democratic rule. Many states of the world have to use media to control opposition candidates, restrict the supply of newsprint and exclude opposition candidates from appearing on TV, and Newspaper. One frequent abuse by incumbent governments is to allow balanced coverage in designated election broadcasts, but then show politically biased programs on other programs.

The United States presidential election of 2012 was the 57th quadrennial presidential election. It was held on Tuesday, November 6, 2012. The Democratic nominee, President Barack Obama, and his running mate, Vice President Joe Biden, were elected to a second term. Their major challengers were the Republican nominee and

former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney and his running mate, Representative Paul Ryan of Wisconsin.

On November 6, by around 11:15 pm (EST), most major media (print Media, Electronic Media) projected the winners would be Obama and Biden. At about 1:00 AM (EST) (6:00 AM GMT) on November 7, Romney conceded the election to Obama, just as the polls in Alaska were closing. By November 10, the electoral outcomes of all 50 states and the District of Columbia had been definitively projected, with final vote counts still outstanding in some states. Obama carried all the states and districts (among states that allocate electoral votes by district) that he had won in the 2008 election except North Carolina, Indiana, and Nebraska's 2nd congressional district.

In this research the researcher wants to investigate that Pakistani print media of *Dawn* and *The News* in which context present the US Presidential Election. Furthermore the researcher will examine the coverage of Dawn and The News that portray US presidential election 2012 positive or negative. Also the researcher investigated which newspapers coverage are highly effects on state of Pakistan.

Candidates as well as the people of America in 2012 presidential elections used and consumed not only traditional media but also social media. The most crucial period for any election is the month before it. There will be TV advertisements, newspapers advertisements, public speeches, debates and dialogues. US elections 2012 provide a great platform for academic research and debate.

Campaign is related to the academic notion of frame building. President Obama spent more time on attacks the Republican candidate Mitt Romney in the late part of his

campaign. Campaign authorities, political scientists and journalists have been arguing the point that is it really a good strategy? (Sides, 2012; Hopkins, 2013; O'Connor, 2012). Campaign officials and prominent journalists had stated the president's negative advertising of the opponent as a turning point that helped "shape voters' impressions" (Thrush and Martin, 2012). President Obama has successfully, framed Mr. Romney as a tax thief, who also cared about more profit and less about the workers. Researchers also considered it as a very bold and risky tactic to spend a large budget on election campaign so early (O'Connor, 2012), however, several scholars didn't agree with this point of view (Sides, 2012 & Hopkins, 2013).

1.2   Pakistani Print Media

In 1947 only four major Muslim-owned newspapers existed in the area now called Pakistan: Pakistan Times, Zamindar, Nawa-i-Waqt, and Civil and Military Gazette. A number of Muslim papers moved to Pakistan, including Dawn, which began publishing daily in Karachi in 1947, the Morning News, and the Urdu-language dailies Jang and Anjam. By the early 2000s, 1,500 newspapers and journals existed in Pakistan.

In the early 21st century, as in the rest of the world, the number of print outlets in Pakistan declined precipitously, but total circulation numbers increased. From 1994 to 1997, the total number of daily, monthly, and other publications increased from 3,242 to 4,455, but had dropped to just 945 by 2003 with most of the decline occurring in the Punjab Province. However, from 1994 to 2003 total print circulation increased substantially, particularly for dailies (3 million to 6.2 million). And after the low point

in 2003 the number of publications grew to 1279 in 2004, to 1997 in 2005, 1467 in 2006, 1820 in 2007, and 1199 in 2008.

Newspapers and magazines are published in 11 languages; most in Urdu and Sindhi, but English-language publications are numerous. Most print media are privately owned, but the government controls the Associated Press of Pakistan, one of the major news agencies. From 1964 into the early 1990s, the National Press Trust acted as the government's front to control the press. The state, however, no longer publishes daily newspapers; the former Press Trust sold or liquidated its newspapers and magazines in the early 1990s.

The press is generally free and has played an active role in national elections, but journalists often exercise self-censorship as a result of arrests and intimidation by government and societal actors. The press is much more restricted in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), where no newspapers are published, and in Azad Kashmir, where publications need special permission from the regional government to operate and pro-independence publications are generally prohibited.

Prior to 2002, News Agencies in Pakistan were completely deregulated. Established under the Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance in October 2002, the body operates on a semi-autonomous nature along with an Ethical Code of Practice signed by President Musharraf. It is mandated with multi tasks that range from protection of press freedom to regulatory mechanisms and review of complaints from the public.

However, the Press Council never came into operation due to the reservations of the media organizations. In protest over its establishment, the professional journalist's organizations refrained from nominating their four members to the Council.

Nevertheless, the chairman was appointed, offices now exist and general administration work continues. This has led the government to review the entire Press Council mechanism.

The Press Council Ordinance has a direct link to the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance (PNNABRO) of 2002. This legislation deals with procedures for registration of publications of criteria of media ownerships.

Among the documents required for the permit or 'Declaration' for publishing a newspaper is a guarantee from the editor to abide by the Ethical Code of Practice contained in the Schedule to the Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance. Though the Press Council procedure has made silenced or paralyzed, these forms of interlinking laws could provide the government with additional means for imposing restrictions and take draconian actions against newspapers. The PNNABRO, among many other requirements demands that a publisher provides his bank details. It also has strict controls and regulations for the registering procedure. It not only demands logistical details, but also requires detailed information on editors and content providers.

Ownership of publications (mainly newspapers and news agencies) is restricted to Pakistani nationals if special government permission is not given. In partnerships, foreign involvement cannot exceed 25 percent. The law does not permit foreigners to obtain a 'Declaration' to run a news agency or any media station.

Pakistan's major news agencies include:

- Associated Press of Pakistan

- Pakistan Press International

- Associated Press Service

- News

- Network International

- Independent News Pakistan

- Asian News Agency

- News Network

1.3 *The News*

The News International, published in tabloid size, is the largest English language newspaper in Pakistan. The News has an ABC certified circulation of 140,000. It is published from Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi/Islamabad. An overseas edition is published from London that caters to the Pakistani community in the United Kingdom and plans are currently underway to start publication in New York City, USA.

The News is published by the Jang Group of Newspapers, publisher of the Daily Jang the largest Urdu language newspaper in Pakistan [citation needed]. Mir Khalil Ur Rehman was the founder of the newspaper and his younger son, Mir Shakil Ur Rehman, is the present owner.

1.4 *Dawn*

In Pakistan, Dawn is the oldest and reputable newspaper. It is one of the two largest circulated English dailies. Dawn is under the flagship of Dawn Group of Newspapers, published by Pakistan Herald Publications, which also owns the Herald, a magazine, the evening paper The Star and Spider, an information technology magazine.

Dawn was founded by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in Delhi, India in 1942 and the first edition was printed at Latifi Press on 12 October. The newspaper has offices in Karachi (Sindh), Lahore (Punjab), and the federal capital Islamabad, as well

as representatives abroad. As of 2004, it has a weekday circulation of over 138,000. The CEO of Dawn group is Hameed Haroon, and the current editor of Dawn is Zaffar Abbas.

Founded by Mohammad Ali Jinnah on 26 October 1941 as a mouthpiece for the Muslim League, Dawn was originally a weekly publication, published in New Delhi. Jinnah summed up the paper's purpose when he stated:

"The Dawn will mirror faithfully the views of Hindustan's Muslims and the All Hindustan Muslim League in all its activities: economic, educational and social and more particularly political, throughout the country fearlessly and independently and while its policy will be, no doubt, mainly to advocate and champion the cause of the Muslims and the policy and programme of the All Hindustan Muslim League, it will not neglect the cause and welfare of the peoples of this sub-continent generally".

Dawn became a daily newspaper in October 1942 under the leadership of its first editor, Pothan Joseph who later quit because of the paper's support for the Partition of India. In 1944 Altaf Husain took over as the editor and brought nationwide awareness of its daily circulation. After the creation of Pakistan, Hussain moved the newspaper to the then federal capital, Karachi. Under the instruction of the owner, Mr. Jinnah, it became the official organ of the Pakistan Muslim League in Delhi, and the sole voice of the Muslims League in the English language, reflecting and espousing the cause of the Partition of India. Hussain, as the journal's editor, galvanized the certain sections of Muslims of India for partition by his editorials, which earned him ire of the Congress Party as well as Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy and Governor General of the British Raj both of whom wanted a united India.

In 1947, senior Dawn staff led by Altaf Husain set off for Karachi to launch a local edition starting 15 August 1947. Under Yusuf Haroon a close confidant of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was given the task to facilitate the publication. The offices of the newspaper were housed in the small premises on the commercially busy and a crowded narrow street then known as South Napier Road, in premises belonging to Haroon. He was at that time planning to bring out a newspaper called "The Herald" but agreed to publish DAWN at his facilities, at the bidding of Mr. Jinnah. The street where Dawn was first published is now known as Altaf Hussain Road. Dawn became a most outspoken publication under the editorship of Hussain, who fiercely opposed the tyranny and corrupt politicians and military dictators after the independence of Pakistan. In 1965, Hussain resigned as editor when he accepted the invitation of President General Ayub Khan to join his government as a cabinet minister.

1.5   Problem Statement

This study aims to find out the role of two leading Pakistani English newspapers, *Dawn* and *The News*, towards portrayal of US elections 2012. This is an attempt to spotlight the growing academic loopholes just because of the unforeseeable impacts of relations between the two countries and the image of US in Pakistan. Is media doing justice with its duty or not? How much media playing responsible role regarding to promote democracy in Pakistan? Portrayal of US presidential elections, whether it is positive or negative, is logical or just media wants to frame it image according to its policy and ideology? How much focus on the real issues? Is the media playing objective role? How can one avoid violence or distortion? What are they manners to expose reality?

1.6   Objectives of the Study

Core objectives of the study as under:

- To find out to what extent Pakistani print media leading English newspapers (*Dawn and the News*) give coverage to US presidential election 2012.

- To examine Pakistani print media portray the US image positively or negatively?

- To know about the impact of US Presidential Election on Pakistani print media and Pakistani political system and Presidential Election.

- To find out whether Pakistani leading newspaper support democracy or not, while analyzing coverage to certain US presidential election 2012.

1.7   Significance of the Study

Media is main source of awareness about the current situation in the states. No one can deny from the importance of media throughout the world. Particularly in the developing countries like Pakistan the responsibility of media is much more than any media in the world, because Pakistan needs a big change and only media is now, as much powerful. At present media is the only source which is easily accessible by all walks of people through various electronic appliances i.e. TV, Radio, Internet, News Papers and now mobile phones also used by people to aware of events every time. Media affects people's perceptions and priorities their thinking about the political contents. Media shapes the public's behavior about the issues and plays vital role in highlighting certain attributes of issues.

The present research study provides us the clear understanding about the Pakistani print media leading English newspaper (*Dawn and the News*), towards US

presidential election 2012. Furthermore this study will present the complete picture about positive or negative attitude of Pakistani print media (*Dawn and the News*) regarding US presidential election 2012.

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Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Review of the Relevant Literature

Mass Media is one the leading debatable institution in the present era. A lot of work has been done by different researcher and writer in different perspective, but much work has been left undone in Pakistan. US representation in Pakistan, it is implicit that US have negative image in Pakistan, while the Pakistani media has been plying critical role in establishing positive image of Pakistan in the world (Haq, 2013). Although Pakistan have done extra ordinary cooperation to US, while US has never been witnessed in the history. Often it has been observed that the elite US print media reflects the official policies. It is also no deny the fact that American print media has served to be a trend setter for the media and other region and countries of the world in number of ways. While the Pakistani print media not clearly define polices of the government. The history of US and Pakistan relationship has spread around the times span of more than six decades; there have been significant ups and downs. Siraj (2008) in his study of US elite newspaper coverage of Pakistan has observed that the US media often defect Pakistan in negative perspective.

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

Haroon (2009) of the view, that President Obama is not different than his forerunners. He has the same US imperialistic agenda to follow. He says Obama administration just wants to shelter US interest in south Asia and even Middle East". Therefore he sent more troops to Afghanistan and consequently physically intervening into Pakistan sovereignty.

This research explores the coverage of Pakistani print media in the leading English newspaper Dawn and the News to US presidential election demonstrate to the audience that the US democratic election system and their policies of democracy. While the US concerned in Pakistan, it prefer the dictatorship instead of democracy. Voorhees (2013), in his study[1], presents the results of his analysis of MSNBC that are not very much surprising. Although the network presented conservative viewpoints, their voices were minimal, moderate, and often contested. Steve Schmidt played the unfortunate role of the conservative prop, merely adding fuel to the flames if the liberal fire was dying. While CNN filled time with polls, focus groups, electoral maps, reality checks, spin room interviews, and balanced partisan discourse, MSNBC just presented a lot of liberals yelling, mixed with some softball liberal interviews and a few contentious conservative ones. The biggest difference between the two approaches can be read in a quote from MSNBC anchor Chris Matthews as he wrapped up an interview with Obama campaign manager Stephanie Cutter. Matthews stated, "Congratulations, I think you guys won tonight." That is a statement an objective journalist could never make and one never heard during an interview throughout CNN's coverage.

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[1]CNN's Coverage of the 2012 Presidential Debates: Balanced or Liberally Biased? A Comparative Analysis with Left Leaning MSNBC. Paper presented at the 2013 Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) Annual Conference, Washington D.C.

He further argues that he believed analyzing live political news events is a great way to reveal ideologies or agendas because although the coverage is mediated, it can only be so to an extent. Post-debate coverage is live and features quick reactions from commentators and journalists who are digesting and analyzing the same broadcast viewers at home just watched, but also immediately reacting to comments, interviews, and poll results. Much of the commentary is done without a script, so journalists need to be acutely aware of what they're saying. These types of situations present the greatest chance of bias to appear and CNN appeared to be more than prepared for the challenge.

While this study summarized each debate individually, it draws its conclusions from the context of all three debates combined. Judging from CNN's coverage, one can see a trend where Romney received the most favorable coverage the first night, followed by both candidates receiving favorable coverage on the second, and concluding with Obama receiving the most favorable coverage after the third debate. The trend is clearly indicative of the nature of the debates and Americans' reactions, rather than CNN driving its own agenda.

His results coincide with Adam Schiffer's findings in his study, "Assessing Partisan Bias in Political News." Schiffer argues that in order to assess media bias, scholars should take into consideration "expected coverage."[2] In other words, how a politician performs in contrast to his political adversary directly correlates to the news coverage he can expect to receive. This is especially relatable to CNN's fact checking segments where each candidate was proven correct or incorrect an equal amount of times each night. The network must have felt that proving one candidate incorrect and not the

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[2]Schiffer, "Assessing Partisan Bias,"

other could be perceived as bias. This is why Schiffer is not a proponent for only using a balance baseline; it can lead to faulty conclusions.

Schiffer (2012) based his study of Senate election news coverage upon C. Richard Hofstetter's notion of examining for structural bias, rather than partisan bias. He created structural categories, such as "market forces," "national conditions," and "candidate quality/skills" that could affect news coverage of candidates and explain why one candidate could be expected to receive more coverage than another. For instance, the majority party in Congress should, at times, expect to receive more news coverage than the minority party. This is not bias, but rather what can be expected given the national conditions.

He also tried to take the same approach in my analyses of CNN and MSNBC. While the two networks' ideological philosophies are quite different, both carried Romney's quote from the second debate when he uttered, "binders full of women." It came as no surprise for MSNBC to discuss it, but CNN reported it as well, citing it as a mistake for Romney. Even though the network had no way of balancing it with something Obama had said, one could argue it was national conditions or Romney's skills that prevented it from being considered partisan bias. Here, a balance baseline would fail scholars, because it would not account for the social media explosion that occurred during the debate. This certainly doesn't mean scholars should abandon the balance baseline approach, but rather supplement it with Schiffer's structural bias categories. According to his arguments it would have helped CNN avoid having to perfect the balance of their fact checking segments and allow the audience to get a more realistic view of the candidates' factual accuracy. By using this method, Schiffer concluded, as do I in my own analysis of CNN, that partisan bias in media is largely exaggerated.

He sums up his argument by stating that there was a lot at stake when charges of media bias are made. Noyes' article mentioned at the beginning of this study is more indicative of conservatives peddling their "liberal media" agenda than actually examining individual news sources for bias. Instead, the mainstream media is lumped together in a one-size-fits-all model, scapegoating all the networks in one fell swoop. Further research is suggested to see how CNN compares with broadcast networks that are also considered to be liberally biased. If conservative wish to blame the "so-called liberal media" (to borrow Eric Alterman's phrase), I don't see much of a case against the post-debate coverage on CNN. With an average of nearly six million viewers tuned in, CNN left little for conservatives to criticize.

Page & Duffy (2013) argue in their research[3] focusing US Presidential Election campaign 2012 and their focus was on the social media. They argue that a Web-empowered community interrogated U.S. presidential campaign messaging and articulated responses through visual imagery that spread throughout the Internet and into major media outlets. This study analyzes how Internet memes appropriated candidates' brand narratives, first using Fantasy Theme Analysis to examine the Obama and Romney Twitter and Face book images during the most heated period of campaigning, and then applying Durand's rhetorical matrix to the most popular candidate images and citizen-generated memes.

They also surface that Social media had added a powerful voice to political argument, specifically the discourse surrounding the election of a U.S. president. As we see from

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[3] *Big Bird, Binders, and Bayonets: The Persuasive Power of Social Media Visual Narratives in the 2012 Presidential Campaign.* Paper presented at Refereed Paper Research Session, Visual Communication Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication 2013 Conference, August 8-11, Washington, D.C.

this review and analysis of social media during the most heated and critical period of campaigning, candidate and citizen messaging both amplified and subverted messages. In our examination of how campaign-generated pictorial images functioned rhetorically to communicate a political brand, we observed that both content and form influenced the visual narrative, with repetition and similarity characterizing the dominant themes. Thus they discussed that visuals and Internet memes functioned as crucial rhetorical devices both supporting and attacking the candidates.

They highlighted themes, which differed markedly between the candidates. The Romney campaign's dominant message focused on the vital need for his leadership, taking form in facts, numbers, words, and graphics that promised change and criticized his opponent. For example, written statements like "Under the Romney-Ryan Plan: 713,000 jobs will be created in Florida by 2016," and "Under President Obama, 'Hope and Change' has failed the youth of America." The narratives embedded in the Romney images lacked the emotive qualities so heuristically communicated through photographs. Conversely, Obama's dominant message focused on an inclusive momentum, a spirit of "we are Obama," represented more often through photos of diverse people, close-up shots, and less often with words and numbers celebrating strength and popularity. His personal brand representations reflected as Guzman & Sierra (2009) find out that candidate branding is communicated through shortcuts: personal attributes, personality and perceived benefits for citizens.

They putted, according to dominant worldview or master analogue (in FTA terms), Obama's visual narrative is social, communicating symbiotic relationships between people and groups. Its attributes include trust, loyalty, brotherhood and humanness.

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This social worldview is strategically constructed by recurring visuals of inclusiveness and family, and images of humility and accessibility. An example is a photo of Obama fist-bumping a custodian (figure 20) that first attracted media attention in 2009 and appeared on his Face book page just weeks before Election 2012.

They placed Romney's visual narrative is a pragmatic one communicating expediency, efficiency, practicality—whatever it takes to get the job done (Cragan & Shields 1995). His recurring visuals that construct the pragmatic master analogue are content-focused, featuring facts, figures, charts and framing that positions the candidate as leader—all images characterized by purpose, efficiency, and practicality.

They find the citizen-generated memes demonized and trivialized the candidates, most often Romney more than they contributed to positive branding. During this time period, the three televised debates definitely provided meme-worthy material. While memes attacking Romney's campaign slogan, his stance on PBS funding, his verbal blunders about women, his misstatements, and his dated views on policy certainly ridiculed and scorned him, they also served as points of comparison to his opponent. Obama suffered few negative memes relevant to the campaign during this time period; rather, the "I've got his back" meme offered defense and support, and both the "Obama phoning" and "hug" memes marked victory. Obama's lackluster performance in the first debate failed to generate much online visual satire, though earlier in the campaign his "you didn't build that" statement drew negative social media attention.

They conclude by saying social media played an unprecedented role in candidate branding in the 2012 election. They also provided the vehicles for citizen participation and creativity in dramatizing and demonizing candidates' images, statements, and

gaffes through visual rhetoric. In addition, the citizen-produced memes and parodies that chained out served to reinforce the perceived similarities of group members who "got the joke." And, the memes and parodies that chained through social media appeared in traditional news and commentary, functioning as powerful rhetorical elements and demonstrating symbolic convergence among supporters.

Beding field & Anshari (2013) Analyze, in their study,[4] Ohio newspaper's 466 articles to investigate the framing of Mitt Romney in a key battleground state during the 2012 presidential election. Campaign officials and political journalists contend that attacks launched by President Obama in late spring defined Romney for the remainder of the campaign. Their results suggest partial support for this claim by revealing increased use of negative media frames after the attacks began.

They argue, specifically, framing of Romney as a "vulture capitalist" increased significantly during the Obama frame-building effort. Their findings offer theoretical insights into the concept of frame building during political campaigns.

They outline that through the framing process; journalists select certain aspects of that communication flow and grant it more salience in their reports. In doing so, they send strong signals that help voters assess candidates and evaluate policy choices. Political actors spend enormous amounts of money and energy trying to influence this journalistic decision-making. By employing these frame-building efforts, skilled and powerful communicators can skew news media framing in their favor, despite the journalistic norm of balance at most mainstream U.S. news organizations. Entman describes this outcome as content bias. In its most significant finding, this study revealed evidence that this type of content bias existed in Ohio newspapers in late

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[4]Thinking about Romney: Frame Building in a Battleground State in the 2012 Presidential Election

spring and summer, after the president launched a concerted frame-building campaign in the state. Overall, Ohio newspapers used more negative than positive frames to depict Mitt Romney after the president's assault began. More importantly, the newspapers significantly increased their use of the vulture capitalist frame, a charge intended to undermine Romney's perceived strength as a former businessman who knew how to create jobs.

They air out that political framing contests do not occur in a vacuum. To begin to assess the impact of the president's frame-building effort, their study first sought to identify the media frames used to depict Romney before the Obama attacks began. Findings showed that Republican opponents during the primary season had successfully constructed a prominent news media frame that depicted Romney as not sufficiently conservative. Yet the Romney team had also embedded a media frame that portrayed their candidate as a successful businessman who understood the economy and could help lower unemployment. Additionally, newspaper coverage in Ohio also emphasized Romney's fund-raising prowess and strong political organization.

They further discussed that electable and understands the economy frames received significant attention during the primary campaign. Yet Republican opponents also managed to push the out of touch and unelectable frames into news coverage with some frequency. Surprisingly, vulture capitalist received more modest newspaper attention in Ohio during the primary races, despite the national spotlight focused on it when the Gingrich campaign sponsored the frame in January and February.

They settle their discussion at this point that online and social media are increasingly important mediators of political communication. Future studies should identify and compare frames used online and in social media with those found in traditional media. Additionally, the interactive nature of online and social media allows researchers to examine public responses to frame-building efforts and better understand the dynamics of the frame-building process. Finally, this research focuses on a key battleground state. Future research should consider the simultaneous exploration of national and state-level campaigns.

In its annual state of the media study in 2013, the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism bemoaned the increasing power of partisans to influence news coverage. Political actors are finding ways to get their message out "with little or no journalistic vetting," the study proclaimed (Pew, 2013, 1). This study found evidence of frame-building success by perhaps the most powerful actor in U.S. politics, an incumbent president running for re-election. Yet findings also revealed constraints on the president's ability to shape media coverage, despite his advantage in resources. The results of this research, combined with the Pew study's findings, argue for increased theoretical understanding of frame building and the role of political journalism in the democratic process.

Beding field & Anshari (2013) investigate the framing of Mitt Romney in a key battleground state during the 2012 presidential election. Campaign officials and political journalists contend that attacks launched by President Obama in late spring defined Romney for the remainder of the campaign. Results suggest partial support for this claim by revealing increased use of negative media frames after the attacks began. Specifically, framing of Romney as a "vulture capitalist" increased

significantly during the Obama frame-building effort. Findings offer theoretical insights into the concept of frame building during political campaigns.

One of the most contentious academic debates to arise out of the 2012 presidential campaign concerns the theoretical concept of frame building. At issue is President Obama's decision to spend heavily to attack Republican Mitt Romney in late spring rather than saving those resources for use closer to the election. Did the president's early assault permanently alter voter perceptions of Romney and thus prevent the GOP nominee from delivering a positive message across the summer and fall? Campaign officials, political journalists, and political scientists have argued this point since the campaign ended (Sides, 2012; Hopkins, 2013; O'Connor, 2012; Thrush and Martin, 2012). Though they prefer to use the word "define" rather than "frame," their debate raises theoretical questions that are critical to frame-building research: How are political frames constructed, and what role do powerful sponsors play in the process? Campaign officials and prominent journalists have cited the president's decision to bombard battleground states with negative advertising in May and June of 2012 as a turning point that helped "shape voters' impressions" of Romney for the rest of the campaign (O'Connor, 2012; Thrush and Martin, 2012; McCormack, 2012). They contend that the Obama campaign successfully framed Romney as a wealthy tax avoider who cared more about profits than workers and was out of touch with middle-class voters. In their view, these negative frames helped define Romney for voters before the GOP nominee could successfully sell himself as the candidate with the skills needed to fix an ailing economy. Spending such a large amount of the campaign's advertising budget so early in the race was "bold" and "risky," the *Wall Street Journal* reported, but the decision to attack Romney early was crucial because

it "turned the election from a referendum on the president almost into a referendum on the challenger" (O'Connor, 2012).

Some political scientists have disputed this narrative of the 2012 campaign (Sides, 2012; Hopkins, 2013). They cite opinion polls that show little change in the public's impression of Romney after the president's team began the negative messaging campaign in late spring. Studies show the effects of political advertising wear off quickly, they argue. Negative ads that ran in late spring and summer would be unlikely to resonate with voters through the November election. As one political scientist put it, "Political ads are a bit like morphine; you need dose after dose for them to keep working" (Sides, 2012). The campaign officials and political journalists who tout the impact of Obama's attacks on Romney offer no empirical evidence other than the fact that the president eventually won the election. The political scientists who dispute the campaign's effectiveness focus exclusively on television advertising and its impact on public opinion polls. If the polls show no immediate change in public perception, they believe the messaging campaign must have failed (Sides, 2012). Ignored in this ongoing debate has been the role of news media coverage in the framing process. The chain of communication from political actor to voter is a multistep process in which journalists play an important mediating role (Hanggli & Kreisi, 2010; Wolfsfeld, 1997). Framing researchers contend that *individual frames* -- defined as "mentally stored clusters of ideas" that help people process information (Entman 1993, 53) can shift over time when exposed to consistent *media frames* (Iyengar& Kinder, 1987; Chong &Druckman, 2007). To fully assess the effectiveness of the president's late spring attacks on Romney, researchers should consider their impact on media frames in the battleground states.

DE Hart (2013) surveyed 4,556 college students after Election 2012 to investigate which elements of social media use predict online political participation. Structural equation modeling and hierarchical multiple regression results showed that political uses of Face book and Twitter, political self-efficacy, online social capital, and group participation were positive predictors of online political participation. Extensive Face book and Twitter use was a negative predictor, and social trust did not directly influence participation. Implications for research and practice are discussed.

He argues that United States citizens' online political participation is on the rise, fueled by the phenomenal growth of social media. This rise has received considerable attention from both academia and politicians. In the 2008 election, the Pew Internet & American Life Project found that, for the first time, the majority of U.S. adults (55%) used the internet to stay informed or get involved in the political process (Smith, 2009). Two years later, the Pew Internet & American Life project reported that, in the 2010 midterm elections, 73% of adult Internet users (54% of U.S. adults) received political news or information, or got involved online, and 35% of social networking site (SNS) users (about 22% of online adults) visited these sites for political information or getting involved in the campaign (Smith, 2011a & 2011b). A more recent Pew survey found that, on SNS, 66% of social media users (39% of U.S. adults) engaged in one of eight civic or political activities (Rainie et al., 2012). Political scientists and communication scholars urged politicians to tap the huge potential of engaging voters and campaigning via social media (Utz, 2009) because those who use social media for political purposes are more likely to vote or to donate to a campaign (e.g., Kim &Geidner, 2008).

He discovers that political candidates have turned the Internet into a major fund-raising tool since 2000 when John McCain made history by raising $2.7 million within 3 days of winning the New Hampshire primary (van Natta Jr., 2000). In the 2008 presidential campaign, Barack Obama's campaign raised $500 million dollars of contributions with the help of 35,000 groups organized by My Barack Obama website, the most popular Face book page, and 1,800 YouTube videos (Learmonth, 2009). Of $1.1 billion raised by the Obama team in the 2012 presidential campaign, $690 million came from online donations (Green, 2012; Mason &Tanfani, 2012).

He further surface that little is known, however, about how U.S. college students' general social media use, political use of social media, political self-efficacy, general social trust, and online social capital influence their online political participation. A few pioneering studies shed some light on the relationship of social media use, civic engagement, and political participation (Gil de Zuniga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012; Valenzuela, Kim, & Gil de Zuniga, 2012; Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009; Baumgartner & Morris, 2010) but their results are mixed or even conflicting. The present survey study intends to validate and extend these studies to deepen our understanding of social media use and online political participation in the presidential election year in a "swing" state.

Vultee (2013) explains that in the strange political autumn of 2012, it suddenly became fashionable for pundits not merely to draw deep meaning from public-opinion data, but to question the techniques by which those numbers are gathered, measured, and presented. The insider press uncritically recited claims of "frustration that polls are skewed in favor of Obama" (Easley, 2012). The opinion media complained that "those on the center and on the left" were unfairly mocking "those on the right

'unskewing' the polls" (Trinko, 2012). In the sulfur pits of talk radio, it became a full-fledged plot to discourage conservative voters with rigged data: "There could be a lot of reasons for this. Voter suppression, voter depression, set up the possibility of allegations of voter fraud" (Limbaugh, 2012). Predictably, the contagion spread to other domains: Were government statistics themselves being doctored to tilt the election toward the incumbent, Barack Obama?

A particularly unusual result from two routine employment surveys conducted by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics in October produced cries of fabrication – "total data manipulation" and "can't debate so change numbers" were among the phrases on Twitter – and the press reported those claims as well (Nocera, 2012). There was no reason to believe the accusations, and in higher-register circles, they were soon toned down to a more palatable formula: However valid the numbers, they are consistently presented – framed – in a way that puts Democrats in the best light available and Republicans in the worst (Hassett, 2012).

Claims about media bias are certainly not new, any more than are dark hints about the slipperiness of poll numbers or social science in general. But in an atmosphere in which the self-proclaimed "new media" are on a self-proclaimed crusade to expose the corruption and malfeasance of the so-called "mainstream" (Lee, 2012) a specific fact claim about quantitative evidence – "the media" always make a patterned set of framing choices with routine statistical data to serve the interests of the candidate they all presumably favor – offers a chance to revisit the bias debate in a contemporary atmosphere. Claims that one number always follows another might look as silly as a claim that batting always precedes pitching in a baseball summary, but they do present a chance to draw, or redraw, the line between general sentiments and testable

claims in discourse about media performance. At the same time, they allow for reexamining that performance with an eye toward seeing what factors do shape reporting on the economy during a particularly expensive and media-soaked election. He also airs out that any specific claim of media cheating rests in a broader background of claims about "bias." That literature includes an endless thicket of claims that have already filled several books and are better explored on their own (a summary concentrating on the relationship of media and political elites is in Smith, 2010). More interesting is the broader array of ideologies that go into making news look the way it does. When a tabloid endorsed Obama's Republican opponent, Mitt Romney, headlines the very framing choice that critics see as evidence of pro-Obama bias, something – or some ideology – is afoot other than bare partisanship. "Ideology" here is less a "simple system of ideas" than "an interpretive frame, through which social actors make sense of their relationship to the world" (Mumby and Mease, 2009, p. 286), and an ideology of journalism is a way of exploring how journalists "give meaning to their news work" (Deuze, 2005, p. 444). News practice, whether conceptualized as an ideology itself or seen as an expression of such sub-ideologies as "objectivity" (see, for example, Reese, 1990) helps to organize news so that journalists can in turn organize the frames that allow the audience to make sense of the news.

The ideologies of news reports might not show which party or candidate a news organization supports but will tend to illuminate group identities, activities and norms (van Dijk, 2009) – the "we" for whom "we're spending more money" or "we're seeing bigger incomes" makes sense as an introduction to an economic story. The tabloids' empathy, brevity, and disdain for ambiguity mean details will be lost; the candidate who benefits from that is the one who gains from a situation in which there

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are winners and losers, rather than part-winners, part-losers, and contingent conditions that move some winners and losers around without notice . However paradoxical it might seem, those ideologies are also what compel news organizations to take even outlandish criticisms – and some of the accusations about polling essentially require a belief in inexpensive, widely available time travel – seriously enough to report them in traditional news fashion (for example, Lee and Lemire, 2012). The role of group norms is illustrated by stories that point fingers at people who violate them. The standard Fox News outrage story about a veteran ordered by a homeowners association to stop flying his outsize American flag is more like than unlike the story NPR is carrying at this writing about an Alaska congressman's bungled attempts to apologize for using an ethnic slur during an interview: both are transgressions against the society "we" want, even if they assume radically different values for "we." Though those ideological norms are not party preferences, they are highlighted during election campaigns – particularly those with the many social-cultural fault lines evident in 2012.

The 2012 election was barely a month away when, on the first Friday of October, the US Bureau of Labor Statistics released the results of its two monthly surveys on unemployment: the household survey, from which the unemployment rate is calculated, and the "establishment" survey, which measures changes in nonfarm payrolls. In a campaign in which each side at least nominally concentrated on the economy – specifically, jobs and the "middle class" – the monthly statistics had generated claims and counterclaims from the outset. But the October ones were unusually favorable to the incumbent, and that brought about unusual results: "Unbelievable job numbers," former General Electric CEO Jack Welch said on Twitter. "..These Chicago guys will do anything ... can't debate so change numbers"

(LoGuirato, 2012). His comments, echoed by right-wing politicians and commentators, drew widespread attention (Lemire, 2012) to the point of being the focus of some coverage themselves (Nocera, 2012).

Jacobsmeier & Lewis (2013) the 2008 presidential election campaign that resulted in the election of Barack Obama was unusual in many ways. For the first-time, a black American won the nomination of a major political party, and he did so by surpassing early favorite Hillary Clinton – who would have been the first female to win a major party nomination – to earn a spot on the Democratic ticket. For the first time, a woman won a spot on the Republican ticket, with John McCain choosing Sarah Palin as his running mate. An incumbent president facing unprecedented levels of disapproval, two unpopular wars, and an severe economic crisis all came together to aid Obama in the general election. Yet when the votes were tallied, Obama's victory fell short of the landslide that some had predicted (Lewis-Beck, 2010). They suggested that factors such as racial attitudes (Lewis-Beck &Tien, 2009; Tesler & Sears, 2010; Pasek, 2009) and religion (Hollander, 2009; Barreto, et al., 2009) had important roles to play. Perhaps the scholars offering these explanations, however, are simply barking up the wrong tree. After all, Mutz (2010) has proposed a particularly elegant and compelling explanation; in a recent issue of PS, Mutz argues that Obama was penalized to a significant degree by the fact that he, quite literally, did not have a dog in the race. The fact that the Obama family did not own a dog during the campaign seems to have depressed his level of support, and if that were not bad enough, Obama unintentionally emphasized this deficiency by publically vowing to fulfill his daughters' wishes for a dog after the campaign had run its course.

Putnam (1995) argues that TV was to blame partly for the strange disappearance of social capital, citing Williams' (1986) study. Actually, many scholars could not find any positive influence of social media use on political participation (e.g., Ancu & Cozma, 2009; Baumgartner & Morris, 2010; Kushin & Yamamoto, 2010; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012; Gustafsson, 2012; Zhang, 2010) although a few studies have identified the general social media use as the positive predictor of online political participation (e.g., Kim & Chen, 2012; Valenzuela, 2009). The present study showed that the total amount of time spent on Face book and Twitter negatively predicted U.S. college students' online political participation. It serves as a warning to scholars and politicians who are advocating the positive role of social media in political processes and participatory democracy. Heavy users of social media may have spent a lot of time and energy on socializing, when that time could have been channeled to civic and political participation. The negative relation between the use of Face book /Twitter, and online political participation suggests that the efforts of political communicators, campaign organizers, and fund raisers might be more productive if not focused on heavy users of Face book and Twitter.

Their study has revealed that the Face book use contributes to U. S. college students' online social capital which, in turn, leads to more active online political participation, while establishing the position generator as a valid measure of online social capital. The present study has provided evidence that the use of social networking websites can increase one's online social capital, which is consistent with relevant studies (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Kim & Geidner, 2008; Steinfield, Ellison, & Lampe, 2008; Utz, 2009; Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009). Their research provides new insights into the relationship of online social capital and online political participation, as the online social capital was measured in this study differently from

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previous studies that broke social capital into bridging and bonding social capital. Although the position generator has not been widely adopted by communication scholars, the present study has validated this simple and single measure of online social capital. It turns out that our findings on the relationships of online social capital, online political participation, and general social trust are consistent with previous studies that measured bridging and bonding social capital (Gibson & McAllister, 2013; Skoric, 2009).

The online social capital of U. S. college students emerged as an important predictor of their online political participation, and their general social trust was positively related to online social capital. Our study has confirmed that U. S. college students can reap the benefits of broadening their online social networks by getting to know people from different occupations through the SNS. As a result, social media users with relatively wide online social networks are more likely to get involved seriously in politics. There are some important implications for political practitioners. It makes sense for them to invite many young people to join online civic and political groups on Face book, especially when Face book group participation was also identified as a significant driver of online political participation in the present study. Parents, educators and activists could also advise U. S. college students to consider join various civic and political groups on Face book, because these online activities might transform them into engaged citizens in a participatory democracy. In addition, both civic and political campaign organizers could increase their reach by communicating the message that U. S. college students can benefit from wide online social networks – online social capital in terms of finding a good internship or even a permanent job.

2.2   Theoretical Frame Work

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

Theory of framing relates to how a matter is portrayed in a particular story, picture, cartoon or an article, are used to examine the portrayal of US through news stories in Pakistani English newspapers. Content analysis is the method to complete the desired work of the study. Categories according to the nature of the study are created, which are discussed by Presidential candidates in their campaign as follow.

➢ Category A: Thematic Frames

➢ Category B: Episodic Frames

The researcher has operationalized all the categories that any news story which highlights US presidential election 2012 and the candidates talked about Pakistan. The news stories in which they appreciate Pakistan's role are counted as favorable. News stories in which they aired out any conspiracy regarding Pakistan are considered as negative.

Any news story, in which a suspicious point of view is highlighted, is considered as unfavorable. Any news story which was about the killing of OBL, attack on Salalah, role of Pakistan in war on terrorism, drone attacks was also selected. If a news story neither favorable nor against US rather it gave out general impression of international political issues, political actions, statements, is considered as Neutral.

2.3   Theory of Framing

Framing theory and the concept of framing bias suggests that how something is presented (the "frame") influences the choices people make. This idea is important because it is contrary to the central concept of of rational choice theory. According to this theory, people always strive to make the most rational choices possible. Thus, rational choosers should always make the same decision when given the same data.

Tversky and Kahneman (1981), however, conducted an experiment with undergraduate students that suggested something else. In the experiment, they gave different students the same decision. For some, however, the decision was phrased in positive terms as a choice between a sure gain and an uncertain gamble. The majority chose the sure gain option, a tendency called "risk aversion." For others, the same choices were phrased in negative terms as a choice between a sure-loss option and the risky gamble. Here the majority chose the risky gamble, a tendency called risk seeking. Thus the way a decision was presented or "framed" affected the choice people made.

Communication itself comes with a frame. The elements of the Communication Frame include: A message, an audience, a messenger, a medium, images, a context, and especially, higher-level moral and conceptual frames. The choice of language is, of course, vital, but it is vital because language evokes frames.

Negative campaigns should be done in the context of positive campaigns. To avoid negating the opposition's frame and thus activating it, do the following: Start with your ideal case of the issue given. Pick frames in which your ideal case is positively valued. The contrast will attribute the negatively valued opposite quality to the opposition as a nightmare case."

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Framing is an important topic since it can have a big influence and therefore the concept of framing expanded to organizations as well.

2.4 Episodic Framing and Thematic Framing

Media would frame almost every Issue of Political, social, and cultural significance, researchers studied that diverse approaches of framing news stories, TV dramas and movies have different effects on how readers/viewers feature responsibility for both the reason and answer to social problems. To communicate effectively concerning social matters an essential understanding of these distinctive media frames and their effects is necessary. Episodic framing means the most coverage of public issues (Iyengar, 1991).

Episodic frames cover an issue in detail, focusing on individual studies. On the other hand, thematic frames cover the issue by using wide-angle lens method, focusing on developments over time, and discussing contexts by large. Episodic frame shows a portrait, and thematic frame drags the camera back to show a landscape image. These two types of frames are of much significance as they have different effects on peoples' point of view concerning an issue. People would see it on individual-level and/or broader social lever or institutional level.

Researchers have examined that how thematic and episodic frames be different. Thematic frames could be different with episodic frames in many ways. Where a thematic frame would focus on an individual, an episodic frame would focus on the issue at large. An episodic frame focuses on a single event; a thematic frame focuses on trends over time. An episodic frame keep its focus on individuals' psychology, behavior and attitude while a thematic frame focus on the public, surrounding environment and/or public institutions. Episodic frames emphasize how an individual's problems could be fixed, while a thematic frames stress upon how to fix the causes of problem.

A thematic frame approaches the audience as citizens whereas episodic frame approaches the audiences as customer. Better and detailed information can be obtained by using episodic frames while on the other hand thematic frames deal about more accurate policies. Episodic frames decrease life to a series of detached episodes whereas thematic frames categorize deficiency at the community level that could contribute to the problems.

Episodic frame presents issues with an exact case study, or event leaning report while thematic frames, in contrast, put issues into an extensive context, for journalists, both frames can be used in news coverage. They are the tools of providing information that make it comprehensible and available to the readers. Journalists frequently use episodic frames as they believe they are much convincing and illustrate the viewer into the story.

Episodic coverage directs to individualistic analysis while thematic coverage produces societal analysis. Iyengar also demonstrated that causal attributions were associated with views on policy in systematic ways. For example, people who

attribute causal responsibility for poverty to societal factors were particularly likely to support social welfare spending increases. Iyengar did not, however, directly test the effects of episodic and thematic frames on emotional response. Nor did he investigate the role that emotion plays in determining the effect of these frames on attributions or policy views. In addition, he examined news coverage, not persuasive political communication. In this research, I examine the role episodic frames and thematic frames play in enhancing the role of a persuasive appeal and the role emotion plays in explaining these effects.

2.5   Hypothesis

H1:   *Dawn* portrayed the image of the US presidential election as positive more often than it is portrayed as negative.

H2:   *The News* portrayed the image of the US presidential election as negative more often than it is portrayed as positive.

H3:   *Dawn* uses the thematic frames of the US presidential election more often than episodic frames.

H4:   *The News* focuses on democracy more often than politics.

H5:   *Dawn* published stories which are significant for Pakistan more than *The News*.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN\

3.1 Research Methodology and Data Collection

Research Methodology is a systematic description and logic in use of the technique and tools employed during the conduct of research of the collection of reliable information about the phenomenon under study. Research methodology is the manner of investigation, collection of relevant data, its proper interpretation and analysis to establish relationship between variables. The present research portrayal of US Presidential Election in Pakistani print media, Comparison of *Dawn and the News* is analyzed under the hypothesis by using a systematic procedure of data Collection. The method is content analysis. Information about US Presidential Election is obtained from *Dawn and the News*.

3.1 Population

Population of the research study are the reports of *Dawn and the News* of one month before the election, about the Presidential Election of US and its impact on Pakistani election.

3.2 Sampling Method

In this study, the researcher has used systematic Random Sampling method to get samples from its population. For this to work, researcher has ordered the whole population, which comprise the reports of Dawn and the News. The Sample size is three months before the election

3.3 Data Collection

The role of print media is analyzed under the hypotheses by analysis of two English newspapers (Dawn and the News). Given the nature and focus of this study, contents analysis is of crucial importance. The time period in order to get as much information as possible to the policy of these newspapers and the way they adopted to highlight US Presidential Election.

3.4 Techniques of Data Analysis and Interpretation

All the collected data is analyzed to test hypothesis and all the findings are discussed in "Discussion Chapter" to get accurate results that how Pakistani media portrayed the US Presidential Election.

3.5 Description and design of the methodology

Research methodology was content analysis. Berelson (1952) describes this method as "A technique for the unbiased organized and quantitative depiction of the obvious communication content".

3.6 Content Analysis

Content Analysis is research tool concentrated on actual content and internal features of the media. It is used to determine the manifestation of certain words, ideas, theme, phrases, character or sentence within the content. It is methodical way to study the content of recorded information (Walizer & Wienir, 1978). It is a systematic, quantitative and objective method of measuring communication variable (Kerlinger 1979).

The method to find out the meaning of something, reasoning or significance of communication is termed as content analysis. Content analysis, mostly, is a process in the social sciences to evaluate the content. The study of reported materials like books, websites, TV programs, Movies, paintings and laws is known as content analysis (Earl, 2009). Content analysis is considered an academic process concerning study of social communication in its meanings (Farooq 2010). The essential questions of content analysis were established by Lasswell as who says what? To whom? Why? And to what extent? Etc. Holsti describes content analysis as a technique for conclusion factually, scientifically and systematically. This method lets researchers to quantitatively study words, themes, ideas and their imports so that the message of such words or visual can be understood.

3.7 Conceptual Definitions of Key Variables

- **Episodic Frames**

Framing of individual political leaders of US in the selected sample size was considered as episodic framing. Researchers discussed that frames covering issues in detail but focusing on individuals is an episodic frame. It focuses on attitude, behavior and psychology of individuals

- **Thematic Frames**

Framing of political parties or concerned departments to democracy of US in the selected sample size was considered as thematic framing as scholars argued that frames covering issues by using wide-angle lens method and talking the contexts by large are thematic frames.

- **Theme of Discourse**

The news stories regarding US elections in Pakistani newspapers were conceptualized and categorized. The main themes of selected sample size focus on US Policy, PAK Policy, Economy, Politics, Democracy, and Positive and Negative portrayal of US elections. Concepts were conceptualized and clarified to understand the indicators. All the concepts and key terms related to the variable are defined below;

- **US Policy**

A course or principle of action adopted or proposed by US officials during the election campaign conceptualized as US policy.

- **PAK Policy**

A course or principle of action adopted or proposed by Pakistani officials during the US election campaign conceptualized as PAK policy.

- **Economy**

The state of a country or region in terms of the production and consumption of goods and services and supply of money. (oxforddictionaries.com, 2014)

- **Politics**

The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power. (oxforddictionaries.com, 2014)

- **Democracy**

A system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives. (oxforddictionaries.com, 2014)

Anybody who is willing to consider new and different ideas or opinions

- **Portrayal**

A depiction of someone or something in a work of art or literature; a picture. (oxforddictionaries.com, 2014)

- **Positive**

Consisting in or characterized by the presence rather than the absence of distinguishing features. (oxforddictionaries.com, 2014)

- **Negative**

Consisting in or characterized by the absence rather than the presence of distinguishing features.[5]

- **Neutral**

Not supporting or helping either side in a conflict, disagreement, etc.; impartial[6].

3.8 Operational Definitions of Key Variables

- **Episodic Frames**

All of the stories framing an individual US political leader especially the presidential candidates were examined under episodic frames.

- **Thematic Frames**

All of the stories having frames of political parties during the US election at large were taken to examine under thematic frames.

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[5] http://www.oxforddictionaries.com, Last accessed 15 September 2014.
[6] Ibid.

- ## US Policy

The concept of US policy was operationalized by examining the news stories representing US policy of selected time period, towards democracy, elections and/or towards other nations.

- ## PAK Policy

The concept of PAK policy was operationalized by examining the news stories representing PAK policy of selected time period, towards democracy, elections and/or towards other nations.

- ## Economy

The stories in which US presidential candidates talked about the economic policies they will adopt after being in the office were taken under this category.

- ## Politics

The stories in which US presidential candidates talked about the politics were taken under this category.

- ## Democracy

The stories in which US presidential candidates talked about the democratic norms were taken under this category.

- ## Positive Portrayal

The stories in which US presidential elections were portrayed as "good" for the society and for the country were taken under this category.

- ## Negative Portrayal

The stories depicted negative points of US presidential elections were taken under this category.

- ## Neutral Portrayal

The stories depicted US presidential elections neither good nor bad were taken under this category.

3.9   Population

The population for this study is three months, September, October and November. Researcher had selected those months by keeping in mind the time of elections in US as it was due on the first Monday of November according to the US constitution.

3.10   Sample Size

During the three months of 2012, 112 stories were published in the selected newspapers about US elections. The researcher collected all those stories as sample size.

3.11   Sampling method

The movies were selected through purposive method of sampling.

3.12   Unit of Analysis

Any news story about the US elections published in the selected newspapers during the selected time period is unit of analysis.

3.13   Tools of Data Collection

Data was collected through coding sheet by making categories.

3.14   Techniques of Data Analysis

Researcher selected Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) technique for data analysis. SPSS is a computer program used for statistical analysis. It use for quantitative research.

3.15   Data Interpretation

The analyzed data is presented through tables, graphs, pie charts and bar charts and is interpreted accordingly.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

4.1   Analysis

All the collected data is analyzed by using SPSS. Results and findings are presented through tables and graphs. These results show how Pakistani newspapers portray US elections. The results are presented separately, which are discussed in "Discussion" part of this study to critically analyze them.

Newspapers
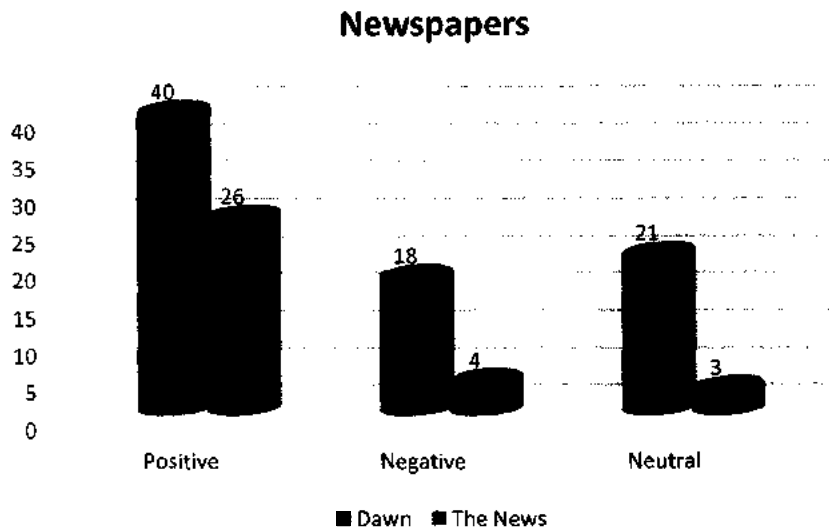
Fig 4.1

Fig 4.1 shows the number of stories portrayed US elections positively, negatively and neutral during the three months of time period. As Dawn led the total number of published stories so it also led the all three categories of those news stories.

Count

		Portrayal			Total
		Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Newspapers	Dawn	40	18	21	79
	The News	26	4	3	33
Total		66	22	24	112

Fig 4.2

Fig 4.2 shows the percentage of all stories published in Dawn and Then News covering US presidential elections in 2012. Dawn led in all the categories as it published 79 news stories out of 112 while The News published only 33 news stories.

H1: Dawn portrayed the image of the US presidential election as positive more often than it was portrayed as negative.

Dawn
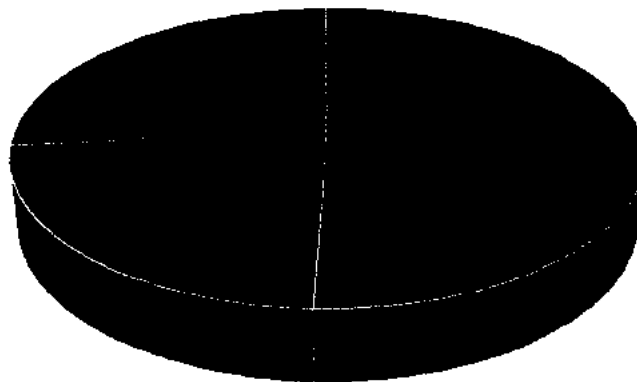
Fig 4.3

Fig 4.3 proves H1 correct as Dawn published 51% news stories portraying US elections positive as compare to 23% negative and 26% neutral stories.

H2: The News portrayed the image of the US presidential election as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

The News
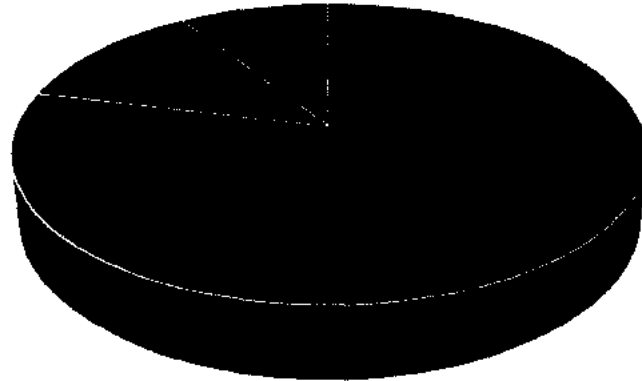
Fig 4.4

Fig 4.4 proves H2 wrong as it shows that *The News* published only 12% news stories portraying US elections negatively as compare to 79% of stories portraying positively. There was only 9% news stories published in The News portraying US elections neutral.

H3: Dawn uses the thematic frames of the US presidential election more often than episodic frames.

Newspapers * Frame Cross Tabulation

Count

		Frame		Total
		Thematic	Episodic	
Newspapers	Dawn	36	43	79
	The News	10	23	33
Total		46	66	112

Fig 4.5

According to Fig 4.5 *dawn* focused more on episodic frames than thematic frames as the percentage was 43 and 36 respectively, which proves H3 wrong with a slight difference.

H4: The News focuses on democracy more often than politics.

Newspapers * Theme of Discourse Cross Tabulation

Count

		Theme of Discourse					Tot al
		US Policy	Economy	Politics	Democracy	Others	
Newspapers	Dawn	18	4	48	8	1	79
	The News	6	2	22	3	0	33
Total		24	6	70	11	1	112

Fig 4.6

Fig 4.6 shows that *the News* published only 3 news stories about democracy as compare to 22 news stories about politics with 9.1% and 66.7% respectively that proves H4 wrong with a huge difference.

H5: Dawn published stories which are significant for Pakistan more than The News.

Newspapers * Significance for Pakistan Cross Tabulation

Count

		Significance for Pakistan			Total
		Yes	No	Somehow	
Newspapers	Dawn	3	63	13	79
	The News	3	27	3	33
Total		6	90	16	112

Fig 4.7

Fig 4.7 proves H5 wrong as it shows that both newspapers published equal number of stories that are significant for Pakistan in the selected time period but when we look at the percentage, *The News* has some edge as it has 9.1% as compare 3.8% of the news stories published by *Dawn.*

Image-1

The image-1 was published in *Dawn* on November 7, 2012 on their website and on November 8, 2012 in print edition. The headline shows that how Americans feel about casting their vote as they shared their feelings on social media. This news story shows *Dawn* tilted towards democracy as well as people feel happy after casting their vote. This is an attempt to attract Pakistani public to "go and cast your vote".

Image-2

Image-2 shows the importance of US former senior politicians and their point of view regarding the elections so *Dawn* published the point of view expressed by former US secretary of state Mr. Colin Powell for both the running candidates.

Obama, Romney sing the same tune on drone hits

Wednesday. October 24, 2012
From Print Edition

Romney vows to impose conditions on aid to Islamabad if he wins election; worries over power of ISI; says civilian leadership not calling the shots in Pakistan; Obama says Osama would have escaped if permission sought from Pakistan

Image-3

Image-3 was published in *The News* on October 24, 2012 on the website and on October 25, 2012 in the print edition. The story of much significant for Pakistan as it covered the policy of both candidates regarding drone strikes in Pakistan. The story shows that both candidates have the same policy for Pakistan regardless of competing each other. The introduction of that story discuss financial aid to Pakistan to be conditional. Criticizing the ISI and Barak Obama showed his fear of escaping Osama bin Laden.

Republicans cry foul over timing of Osama film

Rory Carroll
Published Oct 25, 2012 09:08pm

LOS ANGELES, Oct 25: A film about the killing of Osama bin Laden which will air two nights before the US presidential election has been re-edited to feature more footage of President Barack Obama, prompting accusations Hollywood is trying to swing the vote.

Image-4

Image-4 depicts the political scenario and the role of Hollywood movies as Republicans panned the timing to release a movie about OBL that it was to gain the credit of killing OBL by Obama and his party. That movie was released just two nights before the elections and it would remind the voters about OBL killing and portrayed as a victory for US ensured by the democrats.

Small percentage of voters to decide race for White House

From the Newspaper
Published Oct 26, 2012 10:39pm

WASHINGTON: The outcome of the hard-fought but still deadlocked presidential race between President Barack Obama and Republican challenger Mitt Romney will be decided on Nov 6 by a small percentage of voters in just nine of the 50 US states.

Image-5

Image-5 shows the story that was published few days before the elections, which illustrates the tough competition between Obama and Romeny, and the floating voters of very small in numbers would decide that who would be in the Oval office.

Image-6

Image-6 shows a news story about the standing of both candidates on internal and external issues. The major internal issue for both of them was economy, jobs creation and external issue was war on terror. Both candidates focused on those issues and surfaced their policies that how they would tackle them.

Image-7

Image-7 shows the importance of economic issues, unemployment, and new jobs creation. Recession in the country had bad results for world leaders in the history and US also has economic problems that would be hard on Mr. Barack Obama, which lead him to end of his political career.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

5.1   Discussion and Conclusion

"Media coverage is the very lifeblood of politics because it shapes the perceptions that form the reality on which political action is based. Media do more than depict the political environment; they are the political environment." (Graber, 2001)

Portrayal of US presidential elections in Pakistani print media is quite an interesting area to investigate; especially few of Pakistani media organizations have the policy to promote democracy in the country. Pakistan is a country located in an area where so many communities have been living for thousands of years resulted so much diversity. Despite the autocratic control and political pressures from the state, Pakistan generally has a vibrant media landscape. On his visit to Pakistan (a lecture tour) Noam Chomsky, a well-known media analyst and communication expert regarded Pakistani media as one of the freest media of the world even more than its neighboring competitor India.

Pakistani media assumed to be influenced by the international media, which have been dominated by the American media. US has been dominating not only in the field of media but in almost every field so if anything happens in US would affect the world. The landscape reflects a multi ethnic, multi linguistic and class-divided society with a clear difference in the two languages on which are media is based on English and Urdu. There are newspapers TV channels which are clearly English, Urdu or some a mix of both. English media is more urban based therefore it is targeted towards a very limited number of audience. Due to such literacy divide Urdu

counterparts have a greater audience and even among that the medium that is mostly used is the television as much people especially the rural based audience don't know how to read or write.

Elections have always been attracted the media. The media groups set their agendas while covering elections. They frame political issues to gain certain goals. They influenced and cultivate public opinions according to their policies. US elections would be a great chance for Pakistani English language newspapers to achieve them. They have been publishing the stories on international issues.

The media are essential to democracy, and a democratic election is impossible without media. A free and fair election is not only about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters engage in public debate and have adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself in order to make informed choices. Furthermore, media acts as a crucial watchdog to democratic elections, safeguarding the transparency of the process. Indeed, a democratic election with no media freedom, or stifled media freedom, would be a contradiction in terms.

Both media organizations, The News and Dawn, assumed to be pro-democracy so it was presumed by the researcher that both newspapers gave much positive coverage to the US elections so that they can promote democratic norms in Pakistan. Analysis showed that Dawn published more stories than The News, more positive portrayal of US elections, more stories promoting democracy. It came to know the reason why Dawn published more stories about the topic is that it has more reporters and correspondent in US than The News. Dawn published stories and articles with by lines, which shows they have much access in US to gather news information. More

reporters made them able to focus on more issues related to the US elections like economic news, political news, information about democratic norms, issues between Pakistan and US etc.

5.2   Conclusion

The print media in Pakistan especially most of the English language newspapers assumed to be liberal and pro-democracy. Dawn and The News always published news stories in the favor of democracy. This is showed that how they portrayed US presidential elections. They published a lot of news stories regarding the elections. The one reason is already discussed and the other is that US has enough influence on the world so on our country. Influence in the sense of media, economic matters, political and cultural issues.

Both newspapers portrayed US elections positively and published news stories to promote democracy through election coverage, however, Dawn has an edge on The News as it has more overseas reporters and correspondents while The News mostly rely on International news agencies to its news stories of international matters. Very few stories, published in The News, were seen with byline and the rest were taken from the international news agencies. Dawn also published stories with pictures of both presidential candidates, Mr. Barak Obama and Mr. Mitt Romeny while they were on their campaign and addressing the American public. The point they, both newspapers, missed was the news stories significant to Pakistan had very low numbers. There should be more news stories that highlighting US elections and linking it to Pakistani elections, electoral system and vote turn out.

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