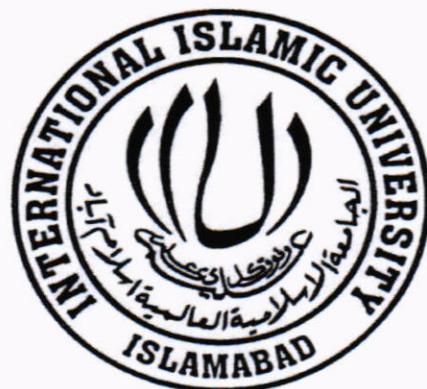


**“US Image in Pakistani Print Media: Framing Analysis of  
the Editorials of *Dawn*, *the News* and *the Nation*”**

**MS THESIS**



***Research Scholar***

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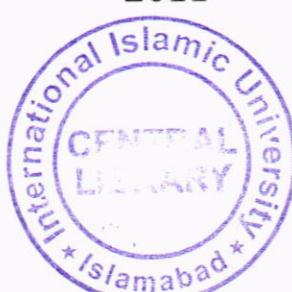
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## **Dedication**

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

## **Acknowledgement**

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

I would also like to pay special thanks to my friends Afifa, Nadira and Munazza for their unconditional support. Special thanks to my affectionate family who supported me in every respect in completing my thesis.

May God bless you all.

Regards  
Zahra Amrish

## ABSTRACT

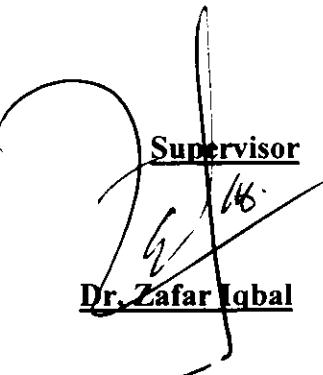
This research examines the US image in the editorials of leading Pakistani newspapers. The results are sought by analyzing the editorials of newspapers in terms of their slants and frames.

US image building through print media discourses is analyzed by comparing three (English) newspapers' editorials, which describe the policy of their respective newspapers. The population of this study consists of three newspapers; '*Dawn*', '*The News*' and '*The Nation*'. These three newspapers are rated as the elite newspapers of Pakistan and the rationale for their selection was their high distribution and diverse editorial policies. The findings of the study are interesting enough to examine the very basic difference in the policy/ ideology of these newspapers. The study adopts the systematic sampling method for choosing editorials. Since the researcher expects this study to bring some valid and authentic results, the time frame in which editorials are examined was one year (January 1st 2009 to December 30th 2009). Three major areas identified for the research are; the Economic issue, War on Terror and Pak-US Government relations. At theoretical level, the thesis builds on framing theory complemented by the editorials framing for analysis. Results show that overall US perception portrayed is negative.

Though some newspapers, such as *Dawn*, tries to build a positive image on certain issues, yet the prevailing opinion sounds negative. The image is probably fostered by US frosty policies against Pakistan.

## **Certificate**

This is certified that the contents and form of the research report entitled "US Image in Pakistani Print Media: Framing Analysis of the Editorials of The News, Dawn, and The Nation" by Zahra Amrish has been found satisfactory and fulfills the requirement of the degree.

  
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**FINAL APPROVAL**

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

**COMMITTEE**

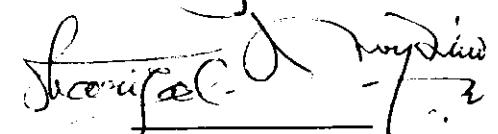
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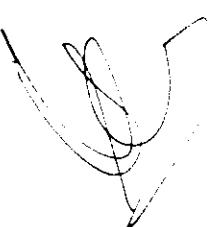
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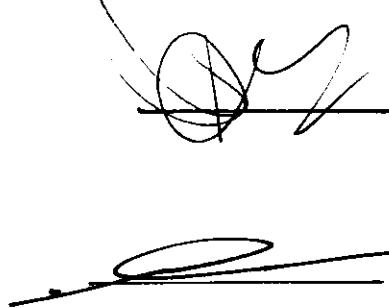
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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

## Introduction

All countries are interdependent to each other for their survival and development, so there is hard to find any independent state. This interdependency does not guarantee the equality in terms of their common concerns. The vulnerability of these common concerns is likely to be affected by the image a country has in form of trust. Only then it is possible to win the trust of other countries. So image of a country plays a pivotal role in a country's foreign relations with others, which if defamed once is hard to rebuild.

Mass media is a key player in building the image of its respective country depending upon their credibility among the masses. According to McCombs (1972) media construct and organize the world for us

He continues to argue that (McCombs, 1972, p. 1)

"Considerable evidence has accumulated that journalists play a key role in shaping our pictures of the world as they go about their daily task of selecting and reporting the news".

The US is one of those states which have been facing acute image problems since long but its image has been tarnished lately due to some obvious reasons. Generally its strict international policies towards weaker countries are found aggressive and cause hatred among them. It is generally assumed that American image has taken a steep dive downward after the tragic events of 9/11. There are many reasons, which tarnished the image of US in the Islamic world in general and in Pakistan in particular.

This paper begins with a historical overview of developments of the American Image in Pakistan from the time of its birth (1947) till present.

## 1.1: The Development of the Pakistan- US Relations

The Pak-US relationships have passed through many stages from the very beginning. Even though there has been turmoil in the relationship between the two countries, still generally US has been as friend of Pakistan.

The inconsistency of this relationship has been described by Baloch (2006, P.28)

“The United States and Pakistan relations, broadly speaking have been synchronized on the same wavelength during the Eisenhower, Nixon and Reagan presidencies. During the Kennedy, Johnson, Carter, Bush, and Clinton administrations, however, policy differences have been more pronounced and significant.”

The researcher has identified Few stages that these relationships have passed by which are as follows:-

### 1.1.1: First Stage: Unknown and Indefinite Image

The political relationships between two countries started in 20th October 1947. Pakistani government tried to make the connection firm between US and Pakistan, but US was not interested to be mixed up in the upcoming clashes in South Asia.<sup>1</sup> So in the beginning the image of US in Pakistan was unknown and not very much clear.

### 1.1.2: Second stage: Defense agreements and Military Aid

In 1954 the US and Pakistan had a joint defense agreement, the main issues in that agreement were about Soviet expansion.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan\\_%E2%80%93\\_United\\_States\\_relations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan_%E2%80%93_United_States_relations), retrieved on December 10, 2009.

In an essay about US and Pakistan, Kux (2001, p. 11) said that

“Indeed, the US-Pakistan relationship, which is traced in *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000, Disenchanted Allies*, has been extraordinarily volatile, almost like a ride on the roller coaster. In the 1950s, the two countries became alliance partners against the communists.”

In 1955 Pakistan signed to security pacts SEATO and CENTO.<sup>2</sup> Because of this coalition, Pakistani government received \$508 million aid, between the time period of 1953 and 1961. The image of US started to build in a positive way, as they were providing Pakistan substantial amount of aid.

#### *1.1.3: Third Stage: Ban on Arm Shipments*

The military assistance program between two countries sustained until the 1965 India and Pakistan War. In 1965 President Lyndon restricted canceled weapons delivery to Pakistan and relations started to get bad between both countries. During the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 ban on arm shipments by US remained in place. Ban was not lifted until 1975, during the administration of President Gerald R. Ford. In 1975 US resumes limited financial aid to Pakistan.<sup>3</sup>

#### *1.1.4: Fourth Stage: Convergence of US and Pak Interest*

A convergence of US-Pak interests and concerns in 1979 was brought by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. US provide 3.2 billion dollars to Pakistan over a period of six year which was evenly divided between economic and military assistance. Another economic and military assistance aid was offered to Pakistan in 1986. The United States took a harder position on the nuclear weapon's issue Soviet left Afghanistan in 1989 and the Cold War ended,

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.dawn.com/weekly/dmag/archive/080824/dmag2.html>, retrieved on December 12, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

#### *1.1.5: Fifth Stage: Pressler Sanction and US Aid Suspended.*

Under the Pressler Amendment, In October 1990 another ban was enforced on Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> In 1992/93 Relations between both countries got worse. Washington accused Pakistan as a state sponsoring terrorism in the continent. In 1993 additional bans were enforced on Pakistan by US. In 1998 Pakistan tested its nuclear weapons and US again imposed more sanctions on Pakistan.

#### *1.1.6: Sixth Stage: 9/11 and the War on Terror*

After the September 11 attack on US, Pakistan offered full support to US to fight against terrorism in the region. President Musharraf presented President Bush Pakistan's complete assistance and become an imperative supporter anti-terrorism alliance.<sup>5</sup>

#### *1.1.7: Seventh Stage: US over Flowing Aid*

US aid started coming into Pakistani after the alliance of Pakistan and US in war against terror. The US also carried scholarship, loan, and debt rearrangement programs for Pakistan by the different key international financial institutes.<sup>6</sup>

#### *1.1.8: Eighth Stage: War against Terror*

US army and law enforcement started their operation in the region with the help of Pakistan arm force to fight against the Al Qaeda and Taliban's on Pakistani land.

President Bush selected Pakistan as an important part of US war against terror in June 2004.<sup>7</sup> This shift taken by US was more figurative than realistic. This act firmed the connection between Pakistan and US.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.defencejournal.com/april98/pakistanus.html>, retrieved on December 15, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/pakistantimeline.html>, retrieved on December 11, 2009.

<sup>6</sup> <http://usforeignpolicy.about.com/od/countryprofile1/p/uspak.html>, retrieved on December 14, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War\\_on\\_Terror](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terror), retrieved on December 18, 2009.

#### *1.1.9: Ninth Stage: Diplomatic Ties Strengthen*

US President Bush and President Musharraf meet in 2006 and reinsurance their joint dedication to maintain their association on the ongoing matters like the war on terror, trade and investment and many other important issues.

US government also started solving the Pakistani government and opposition issues. US government also offered \$750 million in aid to Pakistan's ethnic areas for 5 years<sup>8</sup>.

#### *1.1.10: Tenth Stage: Obama's Pakistan New Strategy*

After joining the office in January 2009, US President Barack Obama focused more on war in Afghanistan than other issues. He appointed Ambassador Richard Holbrooke as an envoy for Pakistan and Afghanistan and for the assessment of the whole condition in Pakistan and Afghanistan so that his government can make a decision to create new policies on the area. The new strategy aims to "disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al-Qaeda and its safe havens in Pakistan, and to prevent their return to Pakistan or Afghanistan."

It links stability in Afghanistan to efficient action adjacent to these jihadist groups in Pakistan. \$7.5 billion US aid was announced for the next five years and also aims to improve the US-Pakistan relationship yet triggers controversy.<sup>9</sup>

Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, sharing her view about the U.S and Pakistan relation said:

"Despite sharing a number of common goals, the Pakistan-US relationship is characterized today by mutual frustration and a growing trust gap. While the leaderships of the two countries place a high value on their ties, and acknowledge the dangers of a collapse of their relationship, their publics and legislatures do not share these perceptions and increasingly view the other with suspicion and depict one another as an unreliable ally. In a recent poll, most Pakistanis did not

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.cfr.org/publication/18392/>, retrieved on December 16, 2009.

<sup>9</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan\\_-\\_United\\_States\\_relations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan_-_United_States_relations), retrieved on December 16 2009.

believe the Pakistan-US security cooperation had benefited Pakistan. According to a Gallup Poll, Americans view Pakistan as among their five least favorite nations, along with Iran and North Korea.”<sup>10</sup>

#### *1.1.11: Anti-Americanism Image in Pakistan*

Pakistan and US relations have been in different paths after the 9/11 and US has shown a great interest in the region since then. US government has helped Pakistan in great ways but mostly help was in the form of military aid to supplement America's war in Afghanistan. Civilian aid provided to Pakistan by US is in very little amount as compared to the military assistance aid provided by US government in order to help them fight war against terrorism. Therefore the image of US is pretty negative in the minds of most of the Pakistani people.

Pakistanis present three different reasons for bad feeling against US;

- One includes US fake strategies towards Pakistan
- A second deals with US worldwide strategy, which includes supporting of Israel
- The third contains US government relationship with Pakistan, just for the fulfillment of their interest in war on terror.

Mostly Pakistanis are puzzled about the Pak-US affiliation state, that it is friendly or unfriendly. US support all those countries which are against Pakistan and this generates a bad notion of US in Pakistani community minds.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the leading Pakistani newspapers criticize the US pointless intrusion in government matters, and it is helping Pakistani public to form their point of view against US. Media in

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<sup>10</sup> Lodhi, M, *The Future of Pakistan-U.S. Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*, www.ndu.edu, retrieved on December 17, 2009.

<sup>11</sup> <http://pakistan.foreignpolicyblogs.com/2009/08/20/richard-holbrooke-and-pakistan/>, retrieved on December 16, 2009.

Pakistan also condemns negative US policies against Pakistani government. Pakistani Print media criticizes the US policies and strategies against Pakistan and hold US responsible for the Pakistan ongoing conditions. This research examines the image of the US in Pakistani leading English elite newspapers. This study is expected to know about the US image in the editorials of the elite English newspapers in terms of their slants and frames. This research also aims to study that how the print media discourse is building US image. This study will further explore how the US image is portrayed (positively or negatively) in the editorials. This study also investigates the editorial text to explore if print media is portraying negative image of US in Pakistan or not.

## **1.2: Problem Statement**

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

## **1.3: Objectives of the Study**

The main objectives of the study are as follow:

- To explore the portrayal of USA in Pakistani print media
- To analyze the coverage of Pakistani Print media on USA image either it is favorable, unfavorable, or neutral.
- To investigate the Pakistani print media discourses mainly condemning or appreciating the US image.
- To evaluate the use of frames differ among *The News*, *Dawn* and *The Nation* while constructing the image of US in Pakistan.
- To see the coverage pattern of the three different newspapers on US image regarding the Economic issue, War on Terror and Pak-US Government relation.

## **1.4: Significance of the Study**

The main focus of the research is to check how the editorials of newspapers can help to make better relations between US and Pakistan Governments. This study will also help both governments to build new relations. Moreover, it will also explore that how the strategy and policies should be made and how both governments should be framed on broader bases. The study attempts to tell how to build bridges between two nations in order to foster greater understanding between them. The study will also classify the present scenario of socio-political and military situation which become the context of the relationship between the two countries. The research can also be helpful in understanding the role of media in building the positive or negative image of country and can help to make better relationships.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The research study proceeds by giving an account of the scholarly debate on the relationship between Pakistan and US. Scholars have been found to be very curious and uncertain about the relationship between US and Pakistan; especially it got special attention of the western scholars. But in particular, negative sentiments seem to exits in the West towards the relationship. In scholarly context, Haqqani (2005) assumes that Pakistan and US relation have always been in a crisis, even though they have friendly relationship between them. The United States knew about the high tendency influence of Islamist politics in the very first years of US engagement with Pakistan. Pakistan is cooperating with US on war on terror but till the relationship between them is not clear. Whereas, Kronstadt (2005) believes a constant, independent and efficiently flourishing Pakistan is very essential for US involvement in Asia. He further argues that despite the fact that US top officials on a regular basis admire Pakistani government for its ongoing collaboration, but still they have uncertainties about their commitment to some main US interests in the continent. Otterman (2003) also doubts and says that as ex-President Pervez Musharraf accommodated US requests for support after 9/11, to prove Pakistan as an effective ally of the United States but still US have doubts about Pakistan which could never be fulfilled.

In a meeting with Pakistani leaders, President Obama shared his views about U.S- Pakistan friendly relations and expressed US great interest in the success of Pakistani people.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand it is very much clear that the future that U.S wants to give to Pakistani people is nothing but catastrophe and their assistance has just offered them devastation and desolation.

More recently Khan.J (2010) suggests that the relations between the United States and Pakistan (US-Pakistan relations) have a very tumultuous history, which is spread over nearly six decades.

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<sup>12</sup> <http://merln.ndu.edu/index.cfm?secID=137&pageID=3&type=section>, 25 September 2009.

Owing to the diverse strategic and, sometimes, incompatible strategic interests, these relations have seen various engagements and estrangements. He further suggests that by exploring the geo political and geo strategic factors of both countries relationship can help in building a better relation with each other.

The image building of a state always stands first amid the fundamentals of foreign policy makings in-order to overcome the thrust of state interest. The word "image" appears too simple but it is multifaceted. A country's foreign relation with other countries very much depends upon the image of that country. Mekasha (2008) believes that if the domestic polices of a country is going in a smooth track and people are accepting it, so the democratic image inside the country would also build the good image internationally. The national and international media both have their own ways of portraying the image of a country and both sides consider themselves the master of truth. Mostly national or state run media portray good image of a country but international media is free to portray what they want according to their own revelation. As Louw (2005) has pointed out that the image building of a nation has been more unsecure because of the media globalization. He thinks that media is operating as a storytelling platform where the journalists are performing as main actors in myth making and identity building. Media presents both positive and negative images of a nation. In a panel discussion on "Media and Image-Building" Rainey and Morelli (1996) suggest that a country can offer a positive substitutes in order to counter its negative stereotype images in the media and those efforts should be made in a very focused and controlled manner.

Media has been playing the role as an agenda setter for past many years. Almost half a century has gone that media as an agenda-setter is used, to influence the public mind about a certain issue or an event, in our culture. So, the theory of agenda setting in our culture is for the media to

selectively choose between what we see or hear and what we not see or hear in the media. Same is the case with the Pakistan and US relation, it is also in the hand of media to decide what to see or hear about this certain issue.

Recent researches on media portrayal of Pakistan' brought some unexpected facts as Khan.T (2009) describes how foreign media is portraying the twisted image of Pakistan and how important Pakistan has become after 9/11. And it has been possible with the assistance of US that Pakistan is now considered an important country in the world and also in global media. In 2006, US president George W. Bush visited Pakistan at a very critical time when great deals of changes were taking place in the region. The main reason of his visit was to make a good image of US in front of Pakistani people. In an interview to Pakistani television he showed his concerned about Pakistani people and their problems. George W. Bush said that American people care for Pakistani people and they have bigger relations, like to share concerns and to talk about ideas than just war on terror. As in recent few years the relationship of US and Pakistan is getting more importance in media discussions.

From the past many years, Pakistani newspapers have been constantly studied or surveyed by different scholars. Most of the studies were focused to know about the differences between personal experience image and the media created image of events or issues. Majority of the studies have adopted framing theory along with the agenda setting theory to guide with it. The approach and strategies used in framing fluctuate between who is framed and by whom being framed. Many studies have also used framing analysis as a research method to examine media texts but have not introduced framing as research method in the study. The term frame has indistinct conceptualization, that's why it has been used constantly in diverse ways. Choi (2003) examined the national image of North Korea through framing analysis. He analyzed US

newspapers, from Jan 2001 to Dec 2002, articles, and features, editorials related to North Korea. He used the negative and positive frames to analyze the North Korean image and further divided the frame into three categories (pro-North Korea, anti North Korea, neutral). Amos, Tversky & Kahneman's (1981) also have worked on 'message frames' and their impact on decision-making. They have explained that framing can affect the outcome of the choices made for a certain problem.

To look at the Iraq war coverage in media, Stromback (2005) did a comparative analysis of one Sweden and one U.S newspaper. He analyzed the tone and sources used in the war coverage. The number of frames used in the article was eight, but there were only two dominant frames in both newspapers. The significant of this study was that it covered the news reporting of the 2003 Iraq. Newspaper editorials have the opportunity to question, criticize and suggest alternative opinions to official policy. An analysis based on framing explored the tone and different frames used in the coverage of the leaders' pre and during war (Landreville & LeGrange, 2007). They analyze how the leaders were framed in the editorials by using quantitative content analysis like Stromback (2005) used his study. They analyzed how the leaders of US and U.K were framed in the editorials of three US and three U.K newspapers, during the months of before and during the Iraq war. They used three pair of frames. The frames were constructed according to the social, individual, problems, issues, consequences and attitude in the editorials. The result showed that both leaders were responsible for the occurrence of war in Iraq

Many comparative framing analysis studies associated to global news coverage have also been conducted. By using frame analysis, Chang & Chang (2003) conducted a comparative framing analysis study to examine how different newspapers worldwide framed the September 11 terrorist's attacks. This study attempted to analyze the editorials in two levels, their content of

editorial frames and its methodology of mixing framing analysis with international media coverage. The main variables were the dominant theme in the editorials, causal responsibility of the terrorist attack and their attitude towards U.S and terror attacks. The results showed that most of the editorials blamed the whole world for the terror attack and also criticize the U.S policies against the Muslim world. However the study limits the opinions because of the small number of editorials used in the research. With the help of this study the concept of "framing" has verified significant in the area of communication as mass media dynamically place the frames that receivers use to understand and identify in news events.

Eilders, Christiane & Luter (2000) suggest that framing approaches should be unambiguous in political editorials because editorial writers do not have to follow the standard of impartiality and editorials are written to communicate views on significant issues.

Mintz & Redd (2003) focus on various subtypes and disparities of framing. The study explores the different methods of framing and how they have been employed tactically to build the US policies and to counter frame the positions of their opponents. They further conclude that framing effects both thought and expression; however strategic framing not only produce a preferred opinion but also provides a frame of reference and control people attitudes to maintain support for a certain policy.

Framing has a significant control on political approaches; however the exact influence of frames on the thoughts is not well understood (Thomas & Zoe, 1999). An experiment was conducted to check the effectiveness of newspaper coverage. The study examined how newspapers inform readers about surrounding matters. Results showed that regarding the consequence of different viewpoints about policies, an affective judgment was done by framing.

Scheufele (1999, p.103) described framing research as a hypothetical and experimental uncertainty:

“Classified framing research into two proportions: the kind of frame like media frames vs. audience frames and the method frames are operationalized like independent or dependent variables”.

He identified four methods of explaining the framing those were related to building, setting processing and responding of frames. Scheufele argued that framing should develop as a theory and experimental research is required to construct a model to check the effects of framing.

Ceren, (2006) explains framing as an extendable form Agenda-setting theory. Ceren analyzes the New York Times' and the Washington Post's reporting of nuclear tests in North Korea (Oct. 9, 2006) and India (May 11-13, 1998) to explore how US newspapers framed the two events. This study can provide media frames for future studies on policy and international issues. He expects that US newspapers would differ in their news reporting of the two nuclear tests in terms of issue, tone, defining the nuclear tests, portraying the leaders, and selection of news sources in terms of national origin. The US newspapers' coverage of North Korea's nuclear testing is found more unfavorable than that of India's nuclear testing. Ceren finds the press as more likely to pursue foreign policy in casing international issues. Further the study contributes that media reporting is influence by the country foreign policy.

Many researchers (Iyengar, 1991; Reese, 2001; Scheufele, 1999) have confirmed that an essential role is played by framing in influencing how an issue should be portrayed by media. In short, framing has become gradually very important part in the media research in media studies (Entman, 1993).

## 2.1: Theoretical Framework

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 theory and frame analysis is a broad theoretical approach that has been used in Social sciences research.

Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997, p. 221) has defined framing as,

"Framing is the process by which a communication source, such as a news organization, defines and constructs a political issue or public controversy".

### 2.1.1: *Framing Analysis*

The idea of "framing" according to Ettman ( 1993) is kind of a scattered conceptualization, which refer lack of clear conceptual definition and depending upon the context specific rather than the generally valid operationalization. Whatever its specific use, the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text.

At present, the media framing has become prevailing in addressing the news media's methods, their functions, and their effects in the world. Thus, framing strategies is essential to examine media and speech texts. So, this study plans to inspect the editorials of between Jan 2009 to Dec 2009, and will investigated the frames used by sampled English elite newspapers, (*The News, Dawn and The Nation*)

Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 1) defined a media frames as

“A central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an upholding strip of events....

The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue”

Generally framing is taken as a research process instead of a research theory. On the other hand, researchers have formed the hypothetical sphere regarding the notion of framing and they are using concept of framing as a theory. Although media frames are conceptualized in various ways, Reese's (2001, p. 7) definition also fits this study:

“Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world.”

Furthermore, Reese (2001) has extended Entman's (1993) model, suggests frames also works as a concept to create an impact upon the viewpoint of the public. So Reese (2001) and Entman (1993) propose that attitudes, views, and beliefs of common people are influenced by how the information is being framed.

Framing clarify that Communication has the power to build realities. (Entman 1993). In 1974, Goffman marked a communication process, how information and experiences are organized, framing. Will McCombs and Shaw developed framing along with the agenda setting in 1972. Framing is a very important part in agenda setting theory.

Gitlin says news frames are “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, presentation, selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse.”

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) say that news frames are the central organizing idea of an interpretive package “media discourse can be conceived of as a set of packages that give meaning to an issue. A package has an internal structure. At its core is a central organizing idea,

or frame, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue." (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 8)

The framing literature has identified a handful of generic frames that occur in the news. Framing analysis is useful as a research method for conducting this study because framing analysis has value far beyond just revealing what is in the news. It also determines the types and patterns of the news that ultimately portray social issues or event for the special purpose.

Therefore, by using framing analysis, this study will see how English newspaper editorials have framed the image of US on different issues, as it is favorable, unfavorable or neutral. It will also carry out a comparative analysis among three newspaper editorials, how they have portrayed US according to their newspaper policies.

## 2.2 Hypotheses

The above brief literature narrows down the research in to six hypotheses, so based on the purpose of this study following research hypotheses are formulated:

H1: *Dawn* framed more positive image of US on economic issue as compared to *The News*.

H2: *Dawn* framed more positive image of US on economic issue as compared to *The Nation*.

H3: *The News* framed more negative image of the US on the issue of War on terror as compared to *Dawn*.

H4: *The Nation* framed more negative image of the US on the issue of War on terror as compared to *The News*.

H5: *The Nation* framed more negative image of U.S on Pak-US relations as compared to *Dawn*.

H6: *The Nation* framed more negative image of U.S on Pak-US relations as compared to *The News*.

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## **CHAPTER 3**

## **METHODOLOGY**

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

To conduct this research, newspapers editorials are selected as media texts.

According to McClure & Patterson (1976, p. 45)

"Newspapers succeed where television news fails because newspapers can clearly demonstrate the significance they attach to a given story. Newspapers have at their disposal the traditional means of indicating emphasis and significance long stories, short stories; stories with pictures, stories without pictures; large headlines, small headlines; front page, back page; above the fold, below

the fold. Thus the print medium gives readers a strong, lasting, visual indication of significance."

By using the Quantitative Content analysis methodology, the study analyses the reflection of US in the editorials of leading Pakistani elite English newspapers in 2009.

### **3.1: Research Design**

The research focused on the US image and how it is being built in the Pakistani Press discourses.

The researcher analysed data through a content analysis of editorials. The ideas and objectives of the research inflict an expressive principle upon the study, as they include questions: (1) Do editorials portray negative, positive or neutral image? (2) Which newspapers have framed the US more positive? (3) Which Newspaper has framed the US more negative? By analyzing and answering of these questions main objective of the study can be achieved.

### **3.2: Sample**

#### **3.2.1: Population of the Study**

Elite English newspapers of Pakistan are the population for this research. The editorials of three English newspapers namely *Dawn*, *the News* and *the Nation* have been chosen as a sample of the

research study. The total population of the study includes 136 editorials in *Dawn*, 133 editorials in *The News* and 228 editorials in *The Nation*. The total number is 497.

### **3.2.2: Sample Size**

A sample of 144 editorials was selected in which 39 editorials were from *Dawn*, 40 from the *The News* and 64 from *The Nation*.

### **3.2.3: Sampling Technique**

To choose the sample, systematic sampling has been adopted by the researcher. The research time period was from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2009 to 30 December 2009. Every third editorial has been chosen in a Month from the total population.

### **3.2.4: Rationale of the Newspapers**

*Dawn*, *The News* and *The Nation* were selected for research because these three newspapers are thought to be as important elite newspapers of Pakistan. *Dawn* is the well-designed newspaper that has comprehensive readership. Mostly strategy makers, foreign people and high class people read it. It has wide circulation that is rising day by day. *The News* is second most important newspaper by circulation.

*The News International* is the second biggest Elite English newspaper in Pakistan. *The News* readers include those people who like to know recent national and international topics and interesting happenings. *The News* have tremendously extensive readership.

*The Nation* is another English-language newspaper in Pakistan. *The Nation* is globally the most citation Pakistani elite English newspaper. *The Nation* is the most appreciated publication in English, with compact and productive views, and outstanding news reporting. *The Nation* is not only the choice for not the opinion leaders but also those young future leaders of Pakistan.

The reason for selection of these newspapers is that by comparing three different newspapers researcher can have a clear idea about the US image in the Pakistan.

### **3.2.5: Editorials**

As Van Dijk (1992) said that an editorial is “the expression and persuasive communication of opinions” He further said that Editorials create a significant content for the assessment of main philosophical statements in the world. Thus, the importance on the dissimilarity “between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’” mostly relies “on the political structure of the newspaper”.

Generally Editorials are structured in three types.

1. They describe the circumstances and give a sum up of the news event.
2. They present an assessment of the circumstances going on in the news event.
3. They move forward and present the realistic conclusions in the form of expectations, suggestions, opinions, and cautions (Van Dijk, 1992).

## **3.3: Content Analysis**

The research method for this study is to analysis the content published in the sampled newspapers. This method of analyzing the text is frequently used in the mass media content. It is a competent and effectual process to examine the media content. Berelson (1952) views that “content analysis is a research technique that is objective, systematic and quantitative in description”. The content analysis authorizes the researcher to deal with larger issues of the procedure and consequence of communication.

### **3.4: Analysis Procedure**

Every editorial concerning the issue of the US is analyzed by the researcher. On the basis of their content and views the researcher will mark the editorials as positive, negative and neutral.

### **3.5: Quantitative Analysis**

Another major contemplation of this study is quantitative analysis. The researcher used qualitative analysis to understand the results of the study in a more detailed manner. The researcher also interpreted the editorials in a systemic way in order to get to the conclusions of the study in a better and comprehensive way.

### **3.6: Framing**

Framing is the central variables and the main part of the agenda setting method in this study. By using framing analysis, this study will see how English newspaper editorials have framed the image of US on different issues, as it is positive, negative or neutral. It will also carry out a comparative analysis among three newspaper editorials, how they have portrayed US according to their newspaper policies.

### **3.7: Conceptual & Operational Definitions**

Operational definition helps to give an insight that how specific terms are relevant to the study and on which standard the variable are going to be measured. While conceptual definition gives the meaning of the concept and it is especially important when conducting a content analysis.

The study has used the following variables;

### **Economic issue:**

Issues related to the productions, distribution and consumption of goods and services between the two countries. Economic issues are further divided into following categories;

#### ***Trade and Investment:***

Relations based on the development of structures which seek the economic integration between the countries. For instance, U.S. and Pakistan Government are doing Strategic Dialogue to develop an open results-oriented partnership between our two countries.

#### ***Aid and Congressional Actions:***

Financial assistance provided by US in any development project. For instance, Pakistan received nearly \$2 billion military assistance from The US.

#### ***Trade and Legislation:***

Laws related to trade introduced by US. For instance, US had imposed new Policies towards Pakistan on Nuclear Nonproliferation treaty.

#### **War on Terror:**

News coverage given to the issues related to any kind of news related to the ongoing campaign by US and its allies to counter terrorism in Pakistan. For instance, the current U.S. engagement with Pakistan is mainly focused on the war on terrorism.

To examine War on terror frame in the newspapers, the researcher has categorized the frame into three sections;

### ***Pakistan-US Security Cooperation:***

The relationship between two countries based on defense related issues. For instance, the U.S. government has provided large-scale foreign assistance to Pakistan with an eye toward short-term U.S. security interests and longer-term relationship with Pakistan.

### ***International and National Terrorism:***

Coverage of all violent acts either national or international. For instance, US has pointed out that Pakistan's terror groups are providing material support to international terror groups.

### ***Drone attacks:***

US drone attack on Pakistani territory. For instance, In Pakistan, no issue is more controversial than American drone attacks in Pakistani territory along the Afghan border

### ***Pak-US Government relation:***

To investigate US-Pakistan Government relation frame in the given three newspapers frames are classified into three divisions;

### ***Pak-US official Meetings and Agreements:***

Editorials that covered the meeting held between the two countries officials for taking decisions and making agreements on the above issues. For instance, An American official is the visiting Pakistan to talk about the issues related nuclear agreement between two countries.

### ***Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation:***

Production and distribution of nuclear weapons. For instance, US has imposed sanctions on Pakistan because of missile proliferation activities going on in the state.

***Democratization and Human rights:***

Issues related to equality, freedom and basic human rights in Pakistan. For instance, US is providing Aid to Pakistan for improvement in the sector of democratization, human rights, good governance and poverty reduction.

**Positive:**

Editorials portraying favorable image of US.

**Negative:**

Editorials portraying unfavorable image of US.

**Neutral:**

Editorials that leave indistinct image of US.

**Others:**

Editorials that do not come in any of the mentioned dimensions.

**Epistemic stance:**

Expression of doubt and uncertainty by editor.

**Attitudinal stance:**

The expression of the editor's beliefs.

**Style stance:**

The way in which the information is encoded and organized in the editorial by editor.

**Aggressive:**

Editor has used offensive language in the editorial.

**Polite:**

Editor has used kind and favorable language in the editorial.

**Dramatic:**

Editor has used form or manner of the drama in the editorial.

**Opinionated:**

Editor has used his own personal opinion, views, feelings and beliefs in the editorial.

**Political agenda:**

a set of issues and policies presented by government regarding Pakistan and US relation.

**Business agenda:**

Business points discussed on US and Pakistan issue.

**Development agenda:**

Development issue discussed on US and Pakistan issue.

### 3.8: Coding Unit

Variables	Categories	Coding Rules
<b>1. Economic Issue:</b>  <b>2. War on terror</b>	Trade and Investment  US Aid and Congressional Action  Trade-Related Legislation  Pakistan-US Cooperation  International and National Terrorism  Drone attacks	Editorials related to Pakistan and US Trade and Investment relation  Editorials related to the US funding to Pakistan.  Editorials related to the US Trade-Related Legislation towards Pakistan  Editorials related to the Pakistan-US Security Cooperation  Editorials related to the US and Pakistan action about International and National Terrorism.  Editorials associated to the US drone assail in Pakistan region.

<b>3. US-Pakistan Government relation</b>	US-Pakistan official meetings and agreements  Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation  Democratization and Human Rights	Editorials related to the US-Pakistan official meetings and agreements.  Editorials related to the US attitude concerning Pakistan nukes.  Editorials connected to the U.S-action about Democratization and Human Rights in Pakistan
<b>Story type</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Soft news</li> </ul>	Editorials
<b>Frame</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Positive</li> <li>▪ Negative</li> <li>▪ Neutral</li> </ul>	Editorials that portray the US image as positive.  Editorials that represent the US image as negative.  Editorials that do not talk about categories.

### **3.9: Implication of the study**

In this study, we want to know about the US image in Pakistan, and it will help both governments to construct new relations. Our goal is to explore that what kind of the strategy and policies should be constructed and how both governments should be conceived on broader biases. It will be easy to build links between two nations' people in order to foster greater understanding between them. It can assist the US think tanks to reconsider and modify their policy concerning Pakistan and terrorism. And after examining the outcome of the study, the governments of both countries can reconsider their relationship of government and public level.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULT AND FINDINGS**

To conduct this research, newspaper editorials are selected as media texts. By using the Quantitative Content analysis methodology, the study analyses US image in the editorials of leading Pakistani English newspaper in 2009. The time period of the research is from 1<sup>st</sup> January 2009 to 30 December 2009.

Total number of editorials included in the research was 136 from *Dawn*, 133 from *The News* and 228 from *The Nation*. So the total numbers of editorials are 497. Every third editorial has been taken from the total population. Therefore, 144 editorials were selected through systematic sampling method from the three newspapers; in which 39 editorials from *Dawn*, 40 from *The News* and 64 from *The Nation*. Editorials were analyzed as positive, negative and neutral.

Framing is the central variables and the main part of the agenda setting method in this study. By using framing analysis, this study will see how English newspaper editorials have framed the image of US on different issues, as it is positive, negative or neutral. It will also carry out a comparative analysis among three newspaper editorials, how they have portrayed US according to their newspaper policies. This was calculated by the research tool.

The study describes the coverage pattern of the three different newspapers on US image regarding the Economic issue, War on Terror and Pak-U.S Government relation. To analyze economic frame, researcher has categorized the frame into three segments – trade and investment, aid and congressional actions, and trade and legislation. To examine War on terror frame in *Dawn*, *The News* and *The Nation*, researcher has categorized the frame into three sections Pakistan-US Security Cooperation, US International and National Terrorism, and Drone attacks. To investigate US-Pakistan Government relation frame in the given three newspapers frames are classified into three divisions – Pak-US official Meetings and Agreements, Nuclear

Weapons and Missile Proliferation and Democratization and Human rights. Variables are analyzed with the help of SPSS software.

### **Hypothesis 1**

#### **Dawn framed US on economic issues more positively as compared to *The News*.**

The overall results indicate that *Dawn* did not have any editorial on economic issues concerning the US while *The News* framed negative image of US on trade and investment issues with almost entirety of its contents. However, *The News* framed the US negatively in its 55.6% of editorial contents and 22.2% positively on aid and congressional actions.

The amount of US coverage in editorial contents in both the newspapers has been quite low, especially in *Dawn*. Nevertheless, it has been quite evident that *The News* framed US negatively on economic related issues. This provides support for H1.

**Table 1: Comparison of the framing of *Dawn* and *The News* on economic issue**

Economic Issues						
Categories	Trade and investment		US Aid and Congressional Action		Trade-Related Legislation	
	Frame	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive
Dawn	.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%	0
The News	.0%	1	100.0%	2	22.2%	5
					55.6%	0
					.0%	.0%

## Hypothesis 2

**Dawn framed US on economic issues more positively as compared to The Nation.**

The results indicate that Dawn did not have any editorial on economic issues concerning the US.

At the same time *The Nation* did not frame US on trade and investment issues. However, *The Nation* framed the US negatively in its 63.6% of editorial contents in US Aid and Congressional Action and 100.0% again negatively on Trade-Related Legislation.

The amount of US coverage in editorial contents in both the newspapers has been quite low, especially in *Dawn* as it had no editorials related to economic issue in it. Nevertheless, it has been quite evident that *The Nation* framed US negatively on economic related issues.

**Table 2: Comparison of the framing of Dawn and The News on economic issue**

Economic Issues							
Categories	Trade and Investment		US Aid and Congressional Action		Trade-Related Legislation		
	Frame	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Dawn	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%
The Nation	0 .0%	0 .0%	0 .0%	7 63.6%	0 .0%	1 100.0%	

Newspapers did not framed US on economic issues to a great extent as they covered other topics because the US- Pakistan economic relations are not much sturdy and it is more broadly sighted as bilateral peace development in the region apart from economic development. Regardless of Pakistan's many serious economic difficulties, US is always more concerned of Terror matters. So the research indicates that reason behind the less coverage on the economic issue is because of the lesser amount of attention on this topic by US.

In economic issue *Dawn* have framed US neutral, as US help Pakistan is economic issues and *Dawn* approach is mostly objective without any biased and emotional concerns. As *The News* and *The Nation* are more emotional and country oriented, however tries to portray US image negative, even in some issues, where they can be neutral or positive. Economic ties between two countries are always in unstable situation, never constant and poise. US is always more concerned about the war on terror issue, and by keeping this issue in mind, they try to offer Pakistan economic aid. Pakistan is receiving aid from the US as it has become ally in the so-called “War on Terror.” However, it has been a difficult relationship between two countries as on the one side, the US aid has been significantly little of the price Pakistan has been spending in the war; on the other, the US has been putting unnecessary pressure on Pakistan, incessantly demanding from the government and people of Pakistan to do more and more for them.

### **Hypothesis 3**

***Dawn* framed US on War on terror more negative as compared to *The News*.**

The results explain that *Dawn* framed more (58.3%) negative image of US then *The News* (36.4%) on Pakistan-US Security Cooperation issues. The result showed that there were more negative frames (34.6%) against US in the daily *Dawn* than positive frames (3.8%) on International and National Terrorism issue. On the other hand *The News* also have more negative frames on US (12.5%) then the positive frames (6.3%) in International and National Terrorism issue. On Drone attacks issue *The News* framed the US more negatively (75.0%) then *Dawn* (66.7%).

Not surprisingly, both newspapers framed the image of US negatively than positively. However, the amount of negative editorial contents in both the newspapers has been quite the same. Nevertheless, it has been quite evident that *Dawn* framed US more negatively on War on terror

related issues *The News*. *Dawn*, which is foremost English newspapers in Pakistan, shows great number of negative frames towards US and its policies against Pakistan. *Dawn* has adopted extreme significance and firm procedure towards representation of the image is US on War on terror issue. The study also showed that the positive frames of US in *Dawn* and *The News* remained very low.

*Dawn* condemned the US strategies against the war on terror as US has incorporated Pakistan as an unidentified backup since it started bombing Afghanistan in 2001. The US commitment with Pakistan is mainly focused on the war on terror; however it is not restricted to it. Pakistani people have made huge sacrifices in current years in the struggle against terrorism and it is thought to be because of US. We need to reconsider the essentials of our bond with the US to get better clearness. The editorials depict that war on terror is the reason behind the extremism in Pakistan, that's why they have framed US more negatively in their editorials. Therefore the collaboration between the two countries is required to renew on the topic of war against terrorism.

**Table 3: Comparison of the framing of *Dawn* and *The News* on War on terror**

War on terror						
Categories	Pakistan-US Security Cooperation		International and National Terrorism		Drone attacks	
Frame	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
The News	0 .0%	4 36.4%	1 6.3%	2 12.5%	0 .0%	3 75.0%
Dawn	0 .0%	7 58.3%	1 3.8%	9 34.6%	0 .0%	2 66.7%

#### **Hypothesis 4**

***The Nation* framed US on War on terror more negative as compared to *The News*.**

The result notifies that *the Nation* framed more (48.8%) negative image of US than *The News* (36.4%) on Pakistan-US Security Cooperation. Moreover, *The Nation* has framed US more (53.6%) negatively than *The News* (12.5%) on International and National Terrorism. On Drone attacks issue *The Nation* framed US more (77.8%) negatively than *The News* (75.0%).

The amount of negative editorial contents in both the newspapers has been quite the same.

However, it has been quite evident that *The Nation* framed US more negatively on War on terror related issues the News. The analysis of *The Nation* constantly framed negative image of US on War on terror matter. *The Nation* considerably used more negative frames regarding US as contrasted to *Dawn*. The study exposes that Pakistani elite press has framed the US highly negative, particularly in the issue of war on terror. Another reason behind the negative frames toward US is because Pakistan government and people had suffered "unimaginably" since the war on terror issue. Though Pakistani government has always supported US in the war against terrorism but still their differences on various issues are obvious and fundamental.

Additional investigation also showed significant role on framing that *Dawn* on economic issue did not portray US at all but in War and terror issue, it framed US negatively.

**Table 4: Comparison of the framing of *The Nation* and *The News* on War on terror**

War on terror						
Categories	Pakistan-US Security Cooperation		International and National Terrorism		Drone attacks	
Frame	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
The News	0 .0%	4 36.4%	1 6.3%	2 12.5%	0 .0%	3 75.0%
The Nation	3 7.0%	21 48.8%	4 14.3%	15 53.6%	1 11.1%	7 77.8%

### Hypothesis 5

**The Nation framed US on US-Pakistan Government relation more negative as compared to Dawn.**

The finding suggests that *The Nation* framed the US more (50.0%) negatively on US-Pakistan Government relation issue, where as *Dawn* framed it more (28.6%) positively. Furthermore *The Nation* (60.0%) and *Dawn* (100.0%) both have framed US negatively on Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation matter. On Democratization and Human Rights issue *The Nation* framed US more (50.0%) negatively where as *Dawn* framed it more positively (33.3%).

Amazingly both newspapers framed the image of US negatively and also positively. However the amount of negative editorial contents in the nation was more than in *Dawn*. Nonetheless, it has been relatively clear that *The Nation* framed US more negatively on US-Pakistan Government relation linked issues than *Dawn*. But the in general results portray that *The Nation* outdated *Dawn* in portraying US image negatively. H5 is also supported.

The US has been treating Pakistani government officials as if they were controlled by Washington, while both countries are confined in a transactional affiliation based on shared distrust. Therefore the newspapers have a noteworthy amount of negative frames. Whereas the study foresees that *The News* used more negative frames while *Dawn* editorials also used negative frames but less in quantity.

**Table 5: Comparison of the framing of *The Nation* and *Dawn* on US-Pakistan Government relation**

US-Pakistan Government relation						
Categories	US-Pakistan official meetings and agreements		Nuclear Weapons And Missile Proliferation		Democratization and Human Rights	
Frame	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
The Nation	3 11.5%	13 50.0%	1 10.0%	6 60.0%	1 10.0%	5 50.0%
Dawn	2 28.6%	1 14.3%	0 .0%	1 100.0%	2 33.3%	0 .0%

## Hypothesis 6

***The Nation* framed US on US-Pakistan Government relation more negatively as compared to *The News*.**

The result attempted to show that *The Nation* framed US more (50.0%) negatively where as *The News* framed it more (38.5%) positively on US-Pakistan official meetings and agreements issue. Furthermore *The Nation* (60.0%) and *The News* (55.6%) both framed US Negatively on Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation topic. On Democratization and Human Rights issue *The*

*Nation* framed US more (50.0%) negatively while no editorials appeared on *The News* on this topic.

Both newspapers framed the image of US negatively and also positively. However the amount of negative editorial contents in *The Nation* was more than in *The News*. Yet, it has been quite obvious that *The Nation* framed US more negatively on US-Pakistan Government relation linked issues than *The News*.

**Table 6: Comparison of the framing of *The Nation* and *The News* on US-Pakistan Government relation**

US-Pakistan Government relation						
Categories	US-Pakistan official meetings and agreements		Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation		Democratization and Human Rights	
Framing	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
<i>The Nation</i>	3 11.5%	13 50.0%	1 10.0%	6 60.0%	1 10.0%	5 50.0%
<i>The News</i>	5 38.5%	0 .0%	2 22.2%	5 55.6%	0 .0%	0 .0%

#### *Framing of the economic issues in Dawn, the News and the Nation*

While studying economic frames in trade and investment dimension, it has been found that quite a little number of editorials have been published by almost all the newspapers. There have been only 2 editorials – one in *The News* and other in *Dawn*. The result reveals that *The News* framed the US negative and *Dawn*, on the other hand, framed it neutral.

**Table 7: Framing of the Editorials of Trade and investment in three Newspapers  
(*Dawn, The News and The Nation*)**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Dawn</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>The Nation</i>	0	0	0	0
Total	0	1	1	2

Whereas exploring economic frames in U.S. Aid and Congressional Action aspect, it has been found that total 21 editorials have been published by all the newspapers. *The News* published 9 editorials in which 2 were positive, 5 were negative and 2 were neutral, while *Dawn* published one editorial and it was neutral. *The Nation* published 11 editorials in which 7 were negative, 4 were neutral and no positive. The finding shows that the *News* framed the US negative and *Dawn* on the other hand framed it neutral. The result shows that *The News* and *The Nation* framed US image more negatively, whereas *Dawn* framed US image more neutrally.

**Table 8: Framing of the Editorials of US Aid and Congressional Action in three Newspapers**

	Frame			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
<i>The News</i>	2	5	2	9
<i>Dawn</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>The Nation</i>	0	7	4	11
Total	2	12	7	21

Examining the economic frames in Trade and legislation element, it has been found that quite a few editorials have been published by almost all the newspapers. There have been only 3

editorials – one in *The Nation* and 2 in *Dawn*. The result discloses that the Nation framed the US negative and Dawn on the other hand framed it neutral.

**Table 9 Framing of the Editorials of Trade and legislation in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
Dawn	0	0	2	2
The News	0	0	0	0
The Nation	0	1	0	1
Total	0	1	2	3

#### *Framing of the War on terror in dailies Dawn, News and Nation*

While investigating War on terror frame in US Security Cooperation attribute, it has been found that quite a large number of editorials have been published by all the newspapers. There have been total 66 editorials – 11 in *The News*, in which 4 were negative and 7 were neutral, while *Dawn* published 12 editorials in which 7 were negative and 5 were neutral, and *The Nation* published 43 editorials in which 3 were negative, 3 were Positive and 31 were neutral. So the result shows that *Dawn* and *The Nation* presented the image of US more negatively then *the News*.

**Table 10: Framing of the Editorials of Pakistan-US Security Cooperation in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	0	4	7	11
<i>Dawn</i>	0	7	5	12
<i>The Nation</i>	3	21	19	43
Total	3	3	31	66

As exploring War on terror frame in International and National Terrorism dimension, it has been found that total 66 editorials have been published by all the newspapers. *The News* published 16 in which 1 was positive, 2 were negative and 13 were neutral, at the same time *Dawn* published 26 editorials in which 1 were positive, 9 were negative, and 16 were neutral, *The Nation* published 43 editorials in which 4 were negative, 15 were Positive and 9 were neutral. So the result shows that *Dawn* and *the News* represented the image of US more neutrally, while *the Nation* was more negative on this issue.

**Table 11: Framing of the Editorials of International and National Terrorism in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	1	2	13	16
<i>Dawn</i>	1	9	16	26
<i>The Nation</i>	4	15	9	28
Total	6	6	38	70

Examining War on terror frame in Drone attacks dimension, it has been found that 16 editorials have been published by all the newspapers - 4 in *The News*, in which 3 were negative and 1 were neutral, while *Dawn* published 3 editorials in which 2 were negative and 1 were neutral, and *The Nation* published 9 editorials in which 7 were negative, 1 were Positive and 1 were neutral. So the result shows that all three newspapers portrayed the image of US negatively on Drone attacks issue.

**Table 12: Framing of the Editorials of Drone attacks in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	0	3	1	4
<i>Dawn</i>	0	2	1	3
<i>The Nation</i>	1	7	1	9
Total	1	1	3	16

*Framing of the US-Pakistan Government relation issue in dailies Dawn, News and Nation*

Whereas exploring US-Pakistan Government relation frames in Pak-US official Meetings and Agreements aspect, it have been found that total 46 editorials have been published by all the newspapers. *The News* published 13 editorials in which 5 were positive and 8 were neutral, while *Dawn* published 7 editorials in which 2 were positive and 1 were negative and 4 were neutral. *The Nation* published 26 editorials in which 3 were positive, 13 were negative, and 10 were neutral. The finding reflects that *the News* and *Dawn* framed US image more neutrally as compare to *the Nation*, which was more negative.

**Table 13 Framing of the Editorials of Pak-US official Meetings and in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	5	0	8	13
<i>Dawn</i>	2	1	4	7
<i>The Nation</i>	3	13	10	26
Total	10	10	22	46

Examining US-Pakistan Government relation frames in Nuclear Weapons and Missile aspect, it has been found that quite a little number of editorials have been published by *the News* and *Dawn*, while *the Nation* published 10 editorials. There has been only 1 editorial in *the News*, and 3 editorials in *Dawn* and they all were negative. *The Nation* published 10 editorials in which 1 were positive, 6 were negative, and 3 were neutral. The finding reveals that *Dawn* framed the US neutral and on the other hand *The News* and *The Nation* framed it negative.

**Table 14: Framing of the Editorials of Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>Dawn</i>	0	0	3	3
<i>The Nation</i>	1	6	3	10
Total	1	1	6	14

While inspecting US-Pakistan Government relation frames in Democratization and Human rights aspect, it has been found that total 29 editorials have been published by all the newspapers. *The News* published 6 editorials in which 2 were positive and 4 were neutral, while *Dawn* published 13 editorials in which 2 were positive and 3 were negative and 8 were neutral. *The Nation* published 10 editorials in which 1 were positive, 5 were negative, and 4 were neutral. So the result shows that the *News* and *Dawn* framed US image neutrally where as *the Nation* was more negative on this subject.

**Table 15: Framing of the Editorials of Democratization and Human rights in three Newspapers**

	Frame			Total
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	
<i>The News</i>	2	0	4	6
<i>Dawn</i>	2	3	8	13
<i>The Nation</i>	1	5	4	10
Total	5	5	16	29

To get more clearness in the results, the researcher has considered the three stances, epistemic, attitudinal and style stance to check the language used by the editor in the editorials.

While analyzing the editorials, to check the existence of epistemic stance, it has been found that there were 97 editorials out of 144 in all three newspapers, which have expression of epistemic stance. On the issue of US, *The News* and *Dawn* offered 25 editorials on epistemic stance, while *The Nation* has epistemic stance on 47 editorials and it offered light comments without covering it in a critical manner.

Editorials are mostly opinionated and depict what newspapers police is all about. Whereas the analysis of three newspapers highlighted that editorial have more epistemic stance. *The News* and *The Nation* seem to be covering to the opinion of common people regarding US whereas *The Dawn* covers the opinion of influential class on the topic.

**Table 16: Epistemic stance is used by the editor in editorials of *Dawn*, *The News* and *The Nation***

	Epistemic stance		Total
	No	Yes	
<i>The News</i>	15	25	40
<i>Dawn</i>	14	25	39
<i>The Nation</i>	18	47	65
Total	47	97	144

While examining the editorials to check the existence of attitudinal stance, it has been found that there were a large number of occurrences of expressions showing editor's attitudinal stance. There were 99 editorials out of 144 in all three newspapers, which have expression of attitudinal stance. There were 26 (65.0%) editorials in The News, 23 (59.0%) in Dawn and 50 (76.9%) in The Nation. The overall attitudinal stance of US image in Pakistan was portrayed in 99 editorials. The analysis give you an idea about (table 17) attitudinal stance that it had more occurrence same as the epistemic stance. Editor tried to show that he is portraying the opinion of the mass regarding US image.

**Table 17: Attitudinal stance is used by the editor in editorials of *Dawn*, *The News* and *The Nation***

	Attitudinal stance		Total
	No	Yes	
The News	14	26	40
Dawn	16	23	39
The Nation	15	50	65
Total	45	99	144

While examining the editorials to check the existence of style stance, it has been found that there different expressions showing editor's style stance. There were 144 in all three newspapers, and different editorials had various expression of style stance. We have divided them into 4 types of style stance, aggressive, polite, dramatic and opinionated. *The News* has used aggressive expression in 8 editorials; whereas *Dawn* has exercised same expression in 4 editorials and *the Nation* has used it in 15 editorials. This demonstrates that the Nation had more aggressive behavior towards US as compare to *Dawn* and *the News*. *Dawn* as always was more easygoing on US than *The News* and *the Nation*, as it had only 4 aggressive expression based editorials. While in Polite style, *The News* has used polite expression in 8 editorials; whereas *Dawn* has used polite style in 12 editorials and *the Nation* has used it in 16 editorials. So *the Nation* was the politest among the three editorials while *Dawn* also had almost same quantity of editorials while *the News* had lesser polite expression editorials. The dramatic expression editorials ratio is almost the same; there is not much difference in all the newspapers. The amount of opinionated editorials are more in number then rest of the style as editorials are mostly opinionated and describing the opinion of the editor. Whereas the rate of opinionated editorials in *the Nation* is

20, in *the News* it is 13 and *Dawn* has 12 opinion expression based editorials. So the result reveals that the overall quantity of aggressive editorials were 27 where as polite and dramatic style editorials were 36 each, and opinioned editorials were leading with 45 editorials in number. Editorials are based on opinion, and the job of editor to deliver the opinion regarding the topic in a professional manner and according to the paper policy. Selected newspapers have been constructing the US image in dramatic and opinionated way. Still, they are opinion about US image is different in many place.

**Table 18: Style stance is used by the editor in editorials of *Dawn*, *The News* and *The Nation***

	Style stance				Total
	Aggressive	Polite	Dramatic	Opinionated	
<i>The News</i>	8	8	11	13	40
<i>Dawn</i>	4	12	11	12	39
<i>The Nation</i>	15	16	14	20	65
Total	27	36	36	45	144

The researcher also studied the agenda promoted in the editorials. As a result in economic issue different agendas were promoted. So the frequently discussed agenda in economic issue was political and development agenda. Business agenda was not discussed that much in economic issue. In war on terror issue over all frequently discussed agenda was also political and development agenda, where as few other agendas were also discussed. In Pak-US Government relation in all newspapers political and development agenda was frequently discussed. The ratio of political agenda was more in *The Nation* and *The News* where as *Dawn* mostly discussed development agenda in it editorials.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS**

The main objective of the research was to explore the portrayal of US in Pakistani print media and to analyze the coverage of Pakistani Print media on US image; either it is negative or positive. Researcher studied the editorials of three newspapers (*The News*, *The Nation* and *Dawn*) on US image regarding the Economic issue, War on Terror and Pak-US Government relation.

The focal point of this research was to observe the print media content in affecting the image of a country and how it can help to make better relations. A keen observation of editorials contents has made it known that this data can also help government to improve their policies for the betterment on broader basis.

Several studies based on US image have shown that US is facing sensitive image problem. US people have also become conscious of their representation in the world. Even though US is trying to rebuild its country image by connecting with community work and helping countries in disaster situation, but its repressive strategies have poised its kind and constructive behaviors.

The results show that US is framed as 'enemy' by the elite English Pakistani media. After 9/11 Pakistani government united with US on war against terrorism and US lifted the ban on overseas aid along with the removal of restriction which was implemented on Pakistan after 1998 atomic explosion.

The results depicted that the Pakistani press do not rely on US policies. The same response can be observed in US media where US media also do not accept. Pakistani people and keep using ruthless tone towards the Muslims people and the Pakistanis public. According to Khan (2008) the US media reaction against Pakistan was always negative and in the reply Pakistani media also had negative attitude towards US.

Therefore the first argument of the this study is that “*Dawn* framed US on economic issues more positively as compared to *The News*” has been expected, as the finding revealed that *the News* framed the US negative and *Dawn* on the other hand framed it neutral on economic issue. The finding showed that Newspapers did not frame US on economic issues to a great extent, as they covered other topics, because the US- Pakistan economic relations are not much sturdy and it is more broadly sighted as bilateral peace development in the region apart from economic development. The second hypothesis that “*Dawn* framed US on economic issues more positively as compared to *The Nation*” has been accepted. But the conclusions of the table 1 and table 2 showed that the agenda setting method is three newspapers are totally different from each other. It is normally supposed that Urdu and English newspapers in Pakistan comprise of same agenda and they enclose the issues in the similar way. *Dawn* depicted US positive image of US while *the News* and *The Nation* portrayed the US image negatively on economic issue. The amount of US coverage on economic in editorial contents in both the newspapers has been quite low, especially in *Dawn* it had only one editorials and it was neutral. Nevertheless, it has been quite evident that *The Nation* framed US negatively on economic related issues. In spite of the fact that Pakistan has severe economic difficulties, US is always more concerned of Terror matters. That’s why economic issues have been given lesser amount of attention by the newspapers editorials.

As a result, the third hypothesis that the “*Dawn* framed US on War on terror is more negative as compared to the News” has been accepted. Nevertheless, it has been quite evident from table 3 that *Dawn* framed US more negatively on War on terror related issues than *the News*. Hence, the fourth hypothesis that the “The Nation framed US on War on terror more negatively as compared to the News “has been also accepted. It is quite evident through table 4 that *The Nation* framed

US more negatively on War on terror related issues than the *News*. Pakistan is receiving aid from the US as it has become ally in the so-called “War on Terror.” However, it has been a difficult relationship between two countries as on the one side the US aid has been significantly little of the price Pakistan has been spending in the war; on the other, the US has been putting unnecessary pressure on Pakistan, incessantly demanding from the government and people of Pakistan to do more and more for them. No positive editorial was collected on war on terror issue. The positive frame was observed only on progress actions and Pak- US relations. Even though *Dawn* framed US image positive in some points as it was assumed in hypothesis 1 and 2 but it also did not favored US in many issues. It is discovered that *Dawn* attempted to be neutral and favorable towards US but as where US was against Pakistan and its policies, the policy of *Dawn* was strict towards US. *The News* and *the Nation* were rigid towards US. The number of negative frames was always high in *the News* and *the Nation* editorials. The study shows Pakistani press has framed the US highly negative, particularly in the issue of war on terror. Another reason behind the negative frames toward US is because Pakistan government and people had suffered “unimaginably” since the war on terror issue. Though Pakistani government has always been supportive with US in the war against terrorism but still their differences on various issues are obvious and fundamental.

As a result, the fifth hypothesis that the “*The Nation* framed US on US-Pakistan Government relation more negatively as compared to *Dawn*” has been accepted. It has been relatively clear by the table 5 that *The Nation* framed US more negatively on US-Pakistan Government relation linked issues than *Dawn*. Whereas the examination of the editorials foresees that *The News* framed US negatively whereas *Dawn* also labeled its editorial with negatively but less in quantity. So ,the Sixth hypothesis that the “*The Nation* framed US on US-Pakistan Government

relation more negatively as compared to *The News*" has been also accepted. As *The Nation* and *the News*, both newspapers framed the image of US negatively and also positively. However the amount of negative editorial contents in *the Nation* was more than in *the News* as seen in table 6. Yet, it has been quite obvious that *The Nation* framed US more negatively on US-Pakistan Government relation linked issues than *The News*. The US has been treating Pakistani government officials as if they were controlled by Washington, while both countries are confined in a transactional affiliation based on shared distrust. The negative reporting of *The Nation* is high than *The News*. *Dawn*'s reader's circulation includes elite people whereas *The News* and *the Nation* are read by common educated people. The distinction of their reporting is because of the difference in their readership. Noshina Saleem (2010) believed that *Dawn* relies on government's ads, new sources and participation of high rank of nationwide interests. According Shoemaker and Reese (1996) that the influence of official powers, personal ideologies and manipulate the newspaper contents and create their own media agenda.

In order to bring more clarity in the results, the researcher has considered the three stances, epistemic, attitudinal and style stance to check the language used by the editor in the editorials. Epistemic stance refers to facts or faith on some culture, or some hub of fear, including degrees of belief or information, among other epistemic qualities. (Ochs, 1996, p. 410) Editorials are mostly opinionated and depict what newspapers police is all about. Whereas the analysis of sampled newspapers (table 16) highlighted that epistemic stance is dominating in the editorials. *The News* and *the Nation* cover the common people whereas while *Dawn* covers the view of influential class for building of US's image. As can be seen from the analysis (table 17) attitudinal stance also had more occurrence same as the epistemic stance. The editor tried to use word "we" not only open up dialogic space but also aligns the reader into a particular view. And

to show that he is delivering what people thinks about US. Editorials are based on opinion, and it is editor's responsibility to give opinion regarding the topic in a professional manner and according to the paper policy. In the style stance all three newspapers are building US image in dramatic and opinionated style as shown in table 18.

### ***Conclusion***

Relations between the United States and Pakistan have had an up and down history since Pakistan were founded in 1947. The relationship between two countries has alternated between collaboration and dissonance. Both countries have commonness in diverse issue but terrorism has brought them closer more than on any other issue. Combating terrorism has become a vital national interest for both countries and the proximity of combat operations requires close cooperation and coordination. Even though Pakistan is termed as ally of US, but still the research study on editorials content proved this in the opposite way. As Khan & Safder, (2010) findings suggest that, the Pakistani press framed US negatively and there were only few exemptions where the US image has been portrayed as positive. Same trend is observed while conducting this particular research study. There was only *Dawn* which presented the favorable image of US, but still its overall coverage was negative. Favorable content was found just in economic and trade issues.

The overall discussion shows that although after the 9/11 incident government of Pakistan adopted pro American foreign policy but Pakistani media did not follow it and America was clearly framed negatively in the elite Pakistani press. To improve the quality of media coverage of US–Pakistan relations, the two governments will have to first become more transparent in their dealings with each other.

### **5.1: Limitation of the Study**

Due to time constraints the researchers could not include Urdu newspapers. Although each section of newspaper has its own importance and it affects its readers, but due to limited time and resources only editorials were taken for the research study. Furthermore, the researcher only chose those editorials which were related to the topic of Pak-US Government Relation, war on terror, drone attacks, and US aid. The editorials other than these topics were not included in this research.

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# APPENDIX

## *Research tool to Analyze the Editorials*

1. What kind of editorial stance is used by editor in editorial?
  - a. Epistemic stance is used by the editor in editorial
  - b. Attitudinal stance is used by the editor in editorial
  - c. Style stance is used by the editor in editorial

### **1. Economic Issue:**

#### 1. ***Trade and Investment***

- A. Editorials include discussions about trade and investment?
  - i. Yes
  - ii. No
- B. If yes: what discussion about trade and investment is discussed in the editorials?
  - i. Positive
  - ii. Negative
  - iii. Neutral
- C. What agenda is promoted in trade and investment discussed in the editorials?
  - i. Political agenda
  - ii. Business agenda
  - iii. Public agenda
- D. What is promoted in that agenda?
  - i. Policy
  - ii. Agreement
  - iii. Law

## **2. U.S. Aid and Congressional Action**

A. Editorials include discussions about US Aid and Congressional Action?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

B. If yes: what discussion about US Aid and Congressional Action is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

C. What agenda is promoted in trade and investment discussed in the editorials?

- i. Political agenda
- ii. Business agenda
- iii. Public agenda

D. What is promoted in that agenda?

- i. Policy
- ii. Agreement
- iii. Law

## **3. Trade-Related Legislation**

a. Editorials include discussions about Trade related Legislation?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b. If yes: What discussion about Trade related Legislation is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

c. What agenda is promoted in Trade related Legislation discussed in the editorials?

- i. Political agenda

- ii. Business agenda
  - iii. Public agenda
- d. What is promoted in that agenda?
  - i. Policy
  - ii. Agreement
  - iii. Law

2. ***War on terror***

1. ***Pak-U.S. Security Cooperation***

- a. Editorials include discussions about Pak-US Security Cooperation?
  - i. Yes
  - ii. No
- b. If yes: What discussion about Pak-US Security Cooperation is discussed in the editorials?
  - i. Positive
  - ii. Negative
  - iii. Neutral
- c. What agenda is promoted in Pak-US Security Cooperation discussed in the editorials?
  - i. Political agenda
  - ii. Business agenda
  - iii. Public agenda
- d. What is promoted in that agenda?
  - i. Policy
  - ii. Agreement
  - iii. Law

## **2. International and National Terrorism**

Editorials include discussions about International and national Terrorism?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b. If yes: What discussion about International and national Terrorism is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

What agenda is promoted in International and national Terrorism discussed in the editorials?

- iv. Political agenda
- v. Business agenda
- vi. Public agenda

What is promoted in that agenda?

- vii. Policy
- viii. Agreement
- ix. Law

## **3. Drone attacks**

Editorials include discussions about Drone Attacks?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b. If yes: What discussion about Drone Attacks is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

What agenda is promoted in Drone Attacks discussed in the editorials?

- iv. Political agenda

- v. Business agenda
- vi. Public agenda

What is promoted in that agenda?

- vii. Policy
- viii. Agreement
- ix. Law

### 3. **Pak-US Government relation**

#### *1. Pak-US official meetings and agreements*

Editorials include discussions about Pak-US official Meetings and Agreements?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b. If yes: What discussion about Pak-US official Meetings and Agreements is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

What agenda is promoted in Pak-US official Meetings and Agreements discussed in the editorials?

- iv. Political agenda
- v. Business agenda
- vi. Public agenda

c. What is promoted in that agenda?

- i. Policy
- ii. Agreement
- iii. Law

## ***2. Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation***

Editorials include discussions about Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b. If yes: What discussion about Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

What agenda is promoted in Nuclear Weapons and Missile Proliferation discussed in the editorials?

- iv. Political agenda
- v. Business agenda
- vi. Public agenda

c. What is promoted in that agenda?

- i. Policy
- ii. Agreement
- iii. Law

## ***3. Democratization and Human Rights***

a. Editorials include discussions about Democratization and Human rights?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b. If yes: What discussion about Democratization and Human rights is discussed in the editorials?

- i. Positive
- ii. Negative
- iii. Neutral

c. What agenda is promoted in Democratization and Human rights discussed in the editorials?

i. Political agenda

ii. Business agenda

iii. Public agenda

d. What is promoted in that agenda?

i. Policy

ii. Agreement

iii. Law