

PORTRAYAL OF PAKISTAN BY U.S. LEADING NEWS MAGAZINES

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ABSTRACT: *This study aims to investigate the Portrayal of Pakistan in two American leading news magazines i.e. "Newsweek" and "Time". Basically this research tries to present an overview of the image of Pakistan depicted by the US press. This study conducts content analysis of "Newsweek" and "Time" magazines. Contents of the both magazines, Newsweek and Time were analyzed separately for the study. The rationale behind the choosing of these magazines for the research was that these magazines had wide circulation in the world. The unit of analysis for the study was the articles related to Pakistan. In this study 128 article of both magazines are examined. Both of the magazines were yield different results. These results were accumulated separately. These results project negative image of Pakistan in US leading news magazines.*

Keywords— *Pak-US relations. Terrorism. Media Framing. Image of Pakistan*

I. INTRODUCTION

Communication is an essential part of life. Print media is a tool of communication. We know that the media is a mirror of the society. Media's basic utility is to provide the information and news to audience. Through this way media influence the society and socialize the individuals. All the media organizations have their own perception or the point of view in selecting or rejecting any news story or article. Selection and editing of any news items according to personal observation is called "Gate keeping". Gatekeeper may be the reporter, editor, anchor or producers in any media organization. They frame any news story or issue in the media in particular point of view. Behind framing there is another driving force of agenda setter which set the media agenda that what should be presented to the audience.

Media organizations have the powerful influence in making and mould the public opinion. Print media set his agenda on the opinion pages. They frame the news issues according to their agenda. Impact of modern technology has shrunk the world as "Global Village". In this way people come to know that what media expose to them on media. They determine their opinion on the basis of their exposure. In the global war against terrorism, media has become an important battlefield. Pakistan is an Islamic democratic country who is facing terrorism from many years.

The entire world comes to be familiar with what the media expose to them. In the West there are many misconceptions about the Pakistan. Were these misconceptions portrayed by the western media? These were the questions which arise in the researcher mind. In this study researcher tries to meet these questions.

Top two leading news magazines of US are selected for the rationale of this research. These magazines have not only vast readership in US but also in the whole world. Editorial and opinion pages have strong influence in making the opinion of readers. Content analysis of both magazines of six month is studied for this research. The data is collected from primary sources. Focus of this study was to investigate the Pakistan's image. Content of both magazines were

analyzed for this study. Berelson [1] quoted definition, "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"

A. Pakistan's Image in the West

Pakistan is a failed state it has been claimed by many western writers and in CIA reports. Western media and writers without any realization of people and government's attitudes toward extremism and terrorism kept biased wordplay about the country and asserted that it is a hub of terrorism [2]. Such arbitrated messages about war and terrorism obviously created diverse perception about Pakistan in the mind of US citizens [3]. In fact US media supported their government policies and interests. MaChesney [4] criticized that American media support its country policies. It is due to the fact that US media provide protection to interest of ruling class in the country.

All the contents generated in US media after the 9/11 were biased. CNN has produced biased news coverage on war against terrorism in different for the world as its US channel served [4]. When any issue is more important to America, US media give most importance to these issues. Sleem, [5] describes it that, "US media protect and project national interest Vis-à-vis U.S. competing powers such as China and Russia". US media frames the negative image of South Asian countries in its contents [6]. Besides sacrifices US urges Pakistan to "do more". US media as well as Obama administration blame that Pakistan is secretly supporting Taliban. US National Council and CIA predict that Pakistan will become failed state by 2015. These so called reports about Pakistan arise a question in the researcher mind to investigate the phenomena. US media has a strong influence on US foreign policy. As it proved that mass media is a powerful institution in constructing the public opinion.

B. Significance of the Study

The role of press has been acknowledged throughout the world. We know that the press is the fourth pillar of the state. It plays a fundamental function in the societies in shaping and moulding the public opinion. Pakistan and America have close

relation on war against terror. U.S. supports Pakistan in fighting poverty, educational and military development. This study focuses at understanding each other's feeling in the media coverage. This study intends to inspect the temperament of US leading news magazines towards Pakistan. This research will be helpful for the students of mass media and the international relations who want to explore Pakistan's image in US press. It will also offer the adequate knowledge for the researcher, policies makers, journalists and the ambassadors of both the countries.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Historical Background of Pak-US Relations

The history of Pak-US relations spreads over more than last three decades. These three decades show many ups and downs between the relations of two countries. Pak-US relations started when Paul Alling, a US diplomat arrived Karachi. After that, in 1950 first Prime Minister of Pakistan visited America. That was the formal initiate of relationship between the two countries. As we examine the history of these relations we come to know that relationship of US with India was balanced while Pak-US relation in the region was unbalanced [7].

Soviet Union had started to expand its interest toward the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. It created the most critical situation in the region. Revolution of Iran and Russian's attack on Afghanistan in 1979 put Pakistan to gain more attention of the world as well as Washington. A security agreement was laid down between America and Pakistan for strategic cooperation in 1959. US think tank and policy maker consider Pakistan as failed state but the incident of 9/11 again increases the geo strategic position of Pakistan. [8] describes it as, "The growing consensus among American policymakers and lawmakers was that Pakistan was not only losing its strategic importance to the United States; it was also becoming an unreliable failed state."

Former prime Minister of Pakistan M.A. Bogra joined a "mutual defence assistance program" with Eisenhower Former President of America. Later Pakistan joined the West through signing two security accords, South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). These two pacts were signed based on the different motives of both the countries. US joined these pacts because he required a military base in south Asia against Soviet Union. But Pakistan joined these pacts as she was looking for a powerful friend against Russia which was an ally of India.

In the cold war era, Pakistan provided full cooperation and assistance to US and the Western world. Pakistan supported the western promoted Jihad against Russian invasion in Afghanistan. This support of Jihad affected the Pakistani society very badly. Pakistan faced the problems of more than two million Afghan refugees. It dragged Pakistan into religious extremism, drug culture and proliferation of weapons. Pakistan has suffered very destructive situation and torment after the end of cold war. At the end of cold war US changed its policies toward Pakistan. The immediate and basic cause of differences between two countries was nuclear program of Pakistan. US officials, Ambassadors and

policy makers tried to persuade Pakistan to avoid attaining the nuclear power.

In 1992, US imposed military and economic sanctions on Pakistan through the Pressler Amendment. This amendment was made only for one country on the issue of nuclear technology. In fact main reason to impose these laws was to hold back the military equipment worth of \$1.2 billion which was paid by Pakistan (Khan, 2010) [9]. It is reality that policies at US are altered according to its national interest. Its ally of decades may be its foe in the next year and recompensation of their sacrifice will not be entertained. Kissinger said that in global politics "there are neither permanent friends nor permanent foes of a state"[9].

In 1965, India attacked Pakistan, At that time of trouble US left Pakistan alone and stopped the military support [9]. Later on freedom of Bangladesh position of US was skewed toward Pakistan. After that when Pakistan became a Nuclear power in 1998, US imposed sanctions against Pakistan. In 1999 when military General Pervez Musharraf overthrew the political government of Nawaz Sharif, US vehemently criticized it [10].

After the horrible attacks of 9/11, US and its allies once again saw Pakistan as a forefront country against Al-Qaeda. Thus 9/11 opens another opportunity for both countries to work closely. Pakistan had an open threat from US to join or be ready for consequences. Robert Nolan reported, "American officials had told Musharraf's government that Washington would use every lever short of war to punish Pakistan unless it cooperated". President Musharraf at that time endowed with extensive support to America. Pakistan hoped that through US support she will achieved the economic growth and Kashmir dispute will be resolved [11]. But solution of these problems seemed an illusion.

Through the historical background we conclude that mutual relations between US and Pakistan are grounded on convergence of common interests periodically. In the cold war Pakistan was an important country for US and after that it turned off his policies, and after 9/11 once again Pakistan has importance for america. US support military dictator for his national interest not for Pakistan prosperity.

B. The Impact of 9/11 on Pakistan

After the tragedy of 9/11 US labels that Al-Qaeda was responsible of these terrible attacks. US president G.W. Bush declared war against terrorism. All the Al-Qaeda accounts were freezed in the world and had pronounced that Al-Qaeda was a terrorist organization. US government had firmly announced to clean the world from terrorists. This war is called "war against terrorism". It was proclaimed that Osama Bin Laden and his companions was occupant of Taliban government. US invaded on Afghanistan to castigate the terrorist. US forces along with Britain, Germany and other countries with her back started heavy missile and air strike on Afghanistan at October 7, 2001.

In 2002, Mushraf ordered a military operation in the tribal areas of Pakistan. This was the first military operation of the Pakistan Army on its homeland which was resulted hundreds of civilians and arms forces casualties. In 2003, Pak-army killed several Al Qaeda suspects and captured

more than 400 terrorist. While in 2004, Pakistan launched a military operation on the US will in Waziristan and killed about 300 terrorists. These operations resulted chaos and antipathy in the mind of Pakistani masses. Local tribal leaders stood against Pakistan's so called war on terror which generated immense problems for Pakistan's security forces. In 2005, Pakistan confirmed that it had captured more than 600 militant and round about 150 have been killed. In this operation Pakistan army sacrificed 200 soldiers. This proves the unremitting labours of Pakistan's efforts in this war on terrorism. US government and media again alleged that Pakistan is secretly supporting Taliban [12]. In 2006, seven terrorist attacks had been conducted inside Pakistan. Pakistan armed forces had to face reverent of rebellion and insurgency in the country. Baitullah Mehsud in 2007 had spread its anti state and anti human activities with the help of his foreign advisors in FATA. Pakistan army launched its military operation Rah-e-Rast against these insurgents. Pakistan forces defeated terrorists in this operation successfully. Pak-US Business Council Report [13], calculated that Pakistan was the prime victim of terrorism and instability, and its economy has so far suffered directly or indirectly a gigantic failure of 35 billion dollars.

C. Media Framing

During the agenda setting media often have a preference to encourage or refuse some news. Basic factor in agenda setting is the process of framing the stories. It is an analyzing method that how news media defined the issues of public interest. Goffman's, [14] define framing as "the principles of organization, which govern social events" (p. 232). Miller [15] suggests that in perspective of the agenda-setting, "framing is a process through which the media emphasize some aspects of reality and downplay other aspects" (p. 262).

Nature and appearance of any issue presented by news media is called framing [16]. For instance, during Iraq's war media move toward their stories through plenty of news stories of its interest. Dillard, Solomon, & Samp framing is; "frames are the lenses through which social reality is viewed" [17].

According to Gitlin [18] media frames determined, "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual". Framing is a term used in mass communication means that how any event is portrayed in any article or story. The central organizing idea of any issue which makes a sense is called framing [19].

News media framing is a solemn matter now-a-day and it determined the agenda setting procedures. In this way media frames had great impact on the masses. It develops the public opinion about any issue either positively or negatively.

Research Question

RQ: What image of Pakistan, the US magazines portray?

Hypothesis

H: Most of the coverage given by the US magazines after 9/11 portrays the negative image of Pakistan.

III. METHOD

Universe of this study is US leading news magazines. Online study with combination of the hard copies of both magazines was calculated for the purpose of research. These magazines have the largest wide circulation in the US as well as in the world. On the basis of wide circulation both magazines were selected for the study. Both magazines of six months from July 2009 to December 2009 were selected for this research. The entire articles related to Pakistan economic, politics and military issues published in both magazines are the sample size of the study.

A combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis has offered the better understanding of research question. Findings of quantitative analysis were followed by qualitative analysis. In this study basic categories of context were recognized. These categories were based on articles of Newsweek and Time magazines. Researcher read whole material many times for the accuracy of findings of research. For the classification of the text researcher has categorized the data into four categories. Similarity of issues were labeled into a category which given a specific name. In these news magazines articles related to Pakistan has been categorized into four categories. These categories are as;

Article Related to Terrorism

All articles based on terrorism, bomb blast, suicide bombing, activities of terrorist organizations, terrorist training camps, and support to terrorism in Pakistan were categorized in terrorism.

Article Related to Politics and Economy of Pakistan

All the articles presenting Pakistan economic conditions, political development, Pakistan's foreign relations and restoration of democracy are categorized in this category.

Article Related to Pakistan Military Operations

All the articles based on Pakistan military operations and Pakistan army role on war against terrorism. All the achievements of Pakistan's military like capturing the terrorist and destroying their net work and other military forces related activities in Pakistan are categorized in this category.

Miscellaneous

Article based on presenting the women's condition, judiciary crisis, culture, religious harmony and minorities condition in Pakistan. The articles which were not falling into one of above category but have the significance are categorized in this category.

Quality and Direction of the Contents

Each paragraph of the article was coded in term of slant paragraph which indicate positive change and development in war on terrorism, portrays Pakistan as a friend country of US, nuclear non proliferation, handover the terrorist to us, religious harmony, helping investigative agencies and protection of US citizen, economic development, art and culture were coded as favorable or positive. On the other hand, paragraph which present Pakistan reluctant to cooperation, provide support to terrorist, sympathizing with the Taliban, nuclear proliferation, religious dissonance, lawlessness, were coded as negative. Paragraphs which had

not any direction on image of Pakistan were coded as neutral.

IV. ANALYSIS OF DATA

This part is combination of both findings, qualitative and quantitative. This part has analyzed the data with discussion of both qualitative and Quantitative findings. It also provides the answer of research question on the findings of analysis and discussion. Cooperatively articles related to Pakistan published in both magazines are calculated here for final conclusion. Total numbers of Pakistan related articles are 128 where 56 (43.75%) articles are published in Category A, in Category B 28 (21.87%), category C 24 (18.75%) and Category D 20 (15.62%) articles. These four Categories express the direction and coverage of magazines that is, Positive 36 (28.12%), Negative 63 (49.21%) and Neutral 29 (22.65%).

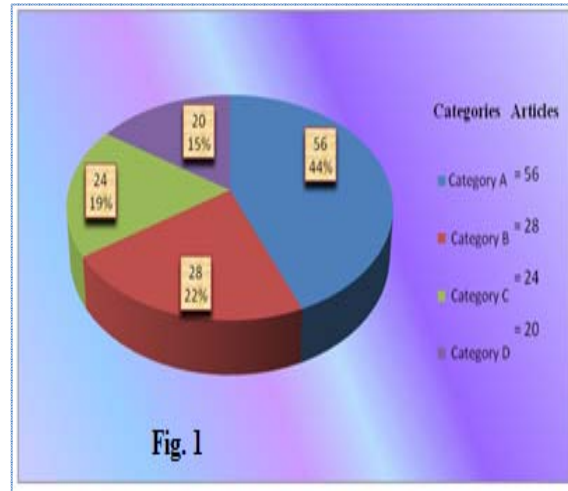


Fig. 1

Table 1: Comparative Direction of Categories

Types of Articles	Total Articles	Frequency	Direction of Articles		
			Positive (+)	Negative (-)	Neutral (0)
A	128	56 (43.75)	11 (19.64)	30 (53.57)	15 (26.78)
B	128	28 (21.87)	8 (28.75)	10 (35.71)	10 (35.71)
C	128	24 (18.75)	9 (37.5)	13 (54.16)	2 (8.33)
D	128	20 (15.62)	8 (40)	10 (50)	2 (10)
Total		128	36 (28.12)	63 (49.21)	29 (22.65)

A; Article Related to Terrorism, B; Article Related to Politics and Economy, C; Article Related to Pakistan Military Operations, D; Miscellaneous.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

US media has particularly portrayed the developing country image in his contents negatively giving a little attention. US media often used official biased source of information in the coverage of developing countries issues. The overall results magazines covered Pakistan as a political unrest country and base of religious terrorism. US media has often followed the policy of state towards the developing countries. of coverage of both magazines are not different. Pakistan is mostly covered negative than positive and more

Fig. 1: Comparative Direction of Categories

Fig. 2: Comparative Quality of Categories

often frames are unfavorable than favorable. Pakistan was covered as an extremist country than a moderate state. Both After 9/11 American policies toward Pakistan change the scenario, sanctions were lifted and statements about Pakistan’s government relaying positively. But after the passage of time when Americans and NATO forces faced critical situation in Afghanistan and fail to counter with Taliban they start to blame Pakistan that she is supporting to Taliban.

R.Q. What image the US leading news magazines portray?

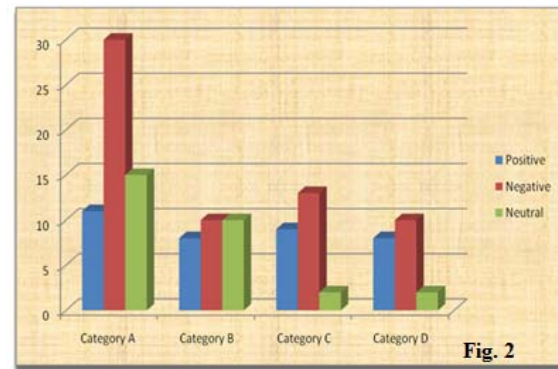


Fig. 2

Basically results of study support the assumption that portrayals of US leading news magazines portray Pakistan negatively. No. of articles related to terrorism Fig. 1 showed that among the 56 (43.75%) articles related to terrorism 30 (53.57%) articles portray the negative image of Pakistan. Calculations of both magazines in category A, illustrate that majority of article are portrayed negatively. In category B article related to politics and economy of Pakistan portrayed as out of 28 articles 10 (35.71%) articles are negative and 8 (28.57%) are positive while 10 (35.71%) are neutral. This is because to that US media discuss that America is supporting to the falling economy and democracy in the country. Where US strategic concerns were related it depicted that Pakistan has soft corner for Taliban.

In the category C article related to Pakistan military operations in Table: 1 presents that both magazines portray Pakistan as negative. In this category articles related to military operations of Pakistan 13 (54.16%) articles have negative direction, 9 (37.5%) have positive and 2 (8.33%) have neutral direction from the 24 articles. It presents that the coverage about Pakistan military operations is covered negatively. As the CIA and US official’s reports describes critically Pakistan role in war against terror. US magazines also portrayed these issues in favor of the State policies. As Time [20] reported that,

“Pakistan is not betting on a U.S. victory in Afghanistan, nor is it going out of its way to help achieve one. Instead, say analysts and former top officials in Islamabad, Pakistan

views the conflict in Afghanistan through the lens of its own national interests and its conflict with India — and it will act accordingly, prioritizing securing its own interests in Afghanistan's future. And that could be bad news for a U.S.-led military campaign that depends on Pakistan's help for thwarting the Afghan insurgency”.

Category D that is based on general articles like religious, culture and art also resulted that majority of articles are portrayed the image of Pakistan negatively out of total 20 articles of this category only 8 (40%) article are positive and the 10 (50%) articles are negatively depicted.

Comparatively coverage of both magazines in the time period of July to December, 2009 showed that most of the coverage of Pakistan's image is negative. In the Fig: 2, it is clearly showed that except category B all categories have the obvious ratio of negative image. Aggregate of the findings presented in Table 5 showed that there is significant ratio of negative image of Pakistan in 128 articles 36 (28.12%) were positive, 63 (49.21%) were negative and 29 (22.65%) were neutral.

V. CONCLUSION

US government invaded on Afghanistan, an Al-Qaeda supported government to eliminate terrorism from the world. US charged that Osama Bin Laden al-Qaeda leader concealed himself in Afghanistan. Pakistan decides to join US war against terrorism in critical circumstances. Pakistan government provides all the possible support to America's and NATO forces. Pakistan army has launched military operations on its homeland against suspected terrorists on US demand. Pakistan has successfully achieved the goal to eradicate the terrorist in its tribal areas. As NATO forces have failed to control on insurgency and bomb blasts in Afghanistan. Change of US administration Bark Obama holds the presidency in 2009, his administration has demanded to Pakistan 'to do more' in war on terror. Besides the sacrifices of Pakistan military and public US departments and media has started propaganda against Pakistan of supporting Taliban and has soft corner for religious extremist. Results of this study show that over all findings of both magazines have portrayed negative image of Pakistan.

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