

Comparative analysis of editorial pages of Dawn and Jang to investigate the framing of US-Pakistan relations: Ten years before and after 9/11

Maha e Darakshan¹, Muhammad Shamsuddin² & Hafsa Maqbool³

Abstract

This study is based on the comparative analysis of the editorial pages of Dawn and Jang to explore the framing of US-Pakistan relations ten years before and after 9/11. The time period selected for this study is presented in phases: Phase A (from 1990 to 2000) and Phase B (from 2001-2011). The relation between Pakistan and the US during the above-mentioned phases can be categorized into periods of engagements (where Pakistan enjoyed the status of the most trusted ally without compromising its regional interest) and periods of disengagements (where Pakistan faced US sanctions and was left alone to deal with the aftermath of the Afghan war and the war on terrorism). Hence, the understudied period provides an interesting insight into how Dawn and Jang framed the issue of US-Pakistan relations on their editorial pages.

Keywords: US-Pakistan Relations, Framing, 9/11 issue, Post-cold war era, Portrayal of America, Post 9/11 era

Introduction

The media have turned the world into a global village in such a way that any news from one part of the world reaches another part within seconds. Hence, the media have become vital in highlighting and disseminating issues of public interest, policy matters, conflicts among nations and news from war zones to the masses. In this context, the media, by presenting and packaging the news related to foreign policy or foreign nations or providing some angle to it, can increase its salience in public discourse. Media effect researchers and social scientists have identified this as a construction of reality for the masses: that is, the media can create and reinforce the images people already have in their minds. As pointed out by Lasswell (1980), people have pictures in their minds, and their acceptance or rejection of media messages are based on those stored data. It was further pointed out by media researchers and social scientists such as Iyengar,

¹ Assistant Professor, Bahria University Karachi Campus.

Email: darakshan.bukc@bahria.edu.pk

² Prof. Emeritus, University of Karachi.

³ Lecturer, Bahria University Karachi Campus.

Wanta, McQuail, and Scheufele that media, through carefully designed frames, can play a significant role in constructing favorable or unfavorable images of foreign nations (Iyengar & Simon, 1993; McQuail, 2010; Scheufele, 1999, 2000; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Wanta, Golan, & Lee, 2004).

This study, therefore, attempts to conduct a comparative analysis of the content published by Dawn and Jang to identify how US-Pakistan relations were framed by both newspapers on their editorial pages ten years before 9/11 (Phase A: Ten years before 9/11 i.e. 1990-2000) and ten years after 9/11 (Phase B: Post 9/11 era i.e. 2001-2011). This study is of significant importance in identifying the way in which the Pakistani press had covered US-Pakistan relations which were, since the very beginning, interest-based. The two countries established their diplomatic relations in 1947 which have been under close scrutiny of both national and international press ever since. It has been observed that even a minute fluctuation or rift between the two countries has created headlines and received maximum media coverage in both countries.

US-Pakistan relations have passed through many phases of engagements and disengagements; promises and betrayals. The understudied period is selected because both disengagement and engagement periods are connected. That is, Phase A was the period of disengagement in which, after the end of the Afghan war and the disintegration of the USSR, Pakistan lost its strategic importance to America. Moreover, US interest shifted towards India, which had its own hegemonic designs for the South Asian region. This time period highlights Pakistan's decade-long struggle of coping with the aftermath of the Afghan war as its relations with the US turned bitter. Pakistan was left to clean the debris of war, deal with the Afghan refugee crisis, the increasing weaponization of its society, cultural disintegration and a shift in US interests. The second timeframe was Phase B, wherein the catastrophic incident of 9/11 entirely reshaped world politics. Pakistan regained its strategic importance and became the most allied ally of America in this war against terrorism. The events taking place during both phases, with their unique circumstances and historical connections, were under the focus of the press of both countries.

Pakistan's press observed the developments in US-Pakistan relations during both phases critically and voiced against the discriminatory policies of the US with respect to Pakistan. Moreover, there is another aspect to this study which increases its significance: during Phase A, the media landscape was limited. Pakistan had only one state-owned television channel and radio station, along with a vibrant, privately managed press divided into Urdu, English and regional languages. The English and regional press enjoyed limited access as compared to the Urdu press which had

maximum reach, though literacy was a barrier. However, during Phase B, a complete shift in media dynamics was observed. Many new privately owned 24/7 news and entertainment channels and FM radio networks, along with considerably active press emerged. Government control on news for the broadcast medium loosened and access to information became relatively easy in comparison with Phase A. Moreover, increase in the literacy rate consequently increased the newspapers' readership, hence, media literacy also increased. Therefore, this study provides an interesting insight into the ways the press framed US-Pakistan relations during both phases.

The newspapers selected to study the framing of US-Pakistan relations are Dawn and Jang. Both newspapers were selected because of their historical importance and influence on the ruling elite as well as on the masses. Dawn, being a representative of the elite press, has a readership that includes policymakers, ambassadors, foreign dignitaries and readers from the elite class who are English literate. Jang, on the other hand, while also a representative of the elite press, has a reach that includes power corridors and a niche market. Both newspapers are used by policymakers to gauge public opinion through the lens of editorials and opinions published by newspapers and vice versa. Hence, the study not only provides an insight into the contrast in phase-wise coverage in terms of framing of US-Pakistan relations, but also contrasts in framing on the basis of the difference of coverage by both newspapers with respect to their readership.

Literature Review

Literature reviewed for this study is divided into the following two themes:

Theme-1: US-Pakistan relations during Phase A and Phase B

Theme II: The Role of the Press and Framing

Theme-I: US-Pakistan relations during Phase A and Phase B

The literature reviewed for this study consists of books, policy papers, research papers, interviews, speeches and statements of scholars and diplomats, all of which provides an in-depth analysis of US-Pakistan relations during the understudied period. It also provides an insight on how this partnership is presented in newspapers, academic papers, policy statements and scholarly discourse by scholars, academicians, policymakers, foreign affairs analysts and experts. One aspect that becomes clear after a thorough review of the above-stated work is that a large number of literature contributed by western scholars, authors and experts failed to recognize the sacrifices made by Pakistan as a strategic partner, and focused more on suggesting that Pakistan did more to maintain good relations with the US. The collective opinion that seemed to emerge was that despite the monetary support that the US was providing in the form of

US aid, Pakistan was not performing as per US expectations most of the time. There is, however, some literature by western authors, researchers and foreign experts, which contradicts the above-mentioned notion and was appreciative of the role of Pakistan as a strategic partner and the sacrifices that the country had made as a coalition partner during the Cold War, post-Cold War, and in the war on terrorism.

Similarly, the literature reviewed for this study which was authored by local policymakers, researchers, academicians and foreign affairs experts depicted the same patterns of mixed stances on the issue. While some termed this relationship as mutually beneficial for both countries; a large majority presented the US-Pakistan relations as episodic or need-based cycles of engagements and disengagements depending on the interests of America.

Farooq (2014), in her doctoral study, explained the strategic preferences during Phase A with reference to US-Pakistan relations and pointed out that the relations were mainly driven by the Cold-War mindset, which consequently created a rift between the global goals of the United States as a sole superpower and Pakistan's regional goals. She also pointed out that with the end of the Cold War, Pakistan experienced major shifts in US policies which included decreasing tolerance for Pakistan's nuclear program; strategic disengagements and a change in US policy which preferred strengthening relations with India. Bush & Scowcroft, (1998), endorsed the start of US' losing strategic interest in South Asia after the end of the Cold War. Similarly, Kux, (2001), viewed US-Pakistan relations as extremely volatile and largely influenced by twists and turns. According to him, the end of the Cold War had withered US-Pakistan relations which were driven by their common interest in the war against a common enemy, the USSR. He, after examining the pattern of the relationship between US and Pakistan, termed the two countries as disenchanting allies. Moreover, American policy of imposing sanctions on Pakistan also proved counterproductive, hindering the dialogue process and damaging the economic and social growth of the country (Anwar, 2013; Farooq, 2014; Mehmood, 2003).

In her doctoral study, Saleem (2007) identified various factors that contributed to Pakistan's rather cold relations with America such as Pakistan's nuclear program, the missile development program, the controversy over the F-16 delivery, the 1998 nuclear test, the country's support to the Kashmir cause, and the Kargil issue. Sunawar & Coutto, (2015), examined the US-Pakistan relations during the Cold War and identified that a large population in Pakistan did not trust America and, instead, believed that the US had not treated them fairly, never honoring and recognizing their sacrifices as a close ally and strategic partner in South Asia. The researchers identified three root causes of this bitterness and mistrust: 1) The passive role of the US in the war between

Pakistan and India over the separation of Bangladesh; 2) The US turning its back on Pakistan after the Afghan war to serve its strategic goals in South Asia; and 3) Imposition of sanctions by the US on Pakistan to pressurize the latter to curtail its nuclear program. Hussain (2016), explored US-Pakistan relations as a cyclical pattern of cooperation and disengagement.

A study of post-9/11 literature revealed that US-Pakistan relations focused on the war against terrorism, the safety of Pakistan's nuclear weapons, political stability in the South Asian region which was of strategic importance and regional partnership. Tellis, (2004), acknowledged that Pakistan had played a vital role in the war against terrorism and by doing so, Pakistan had become a part of the solution rather than the problem. Mehmood (2003), also pointed out that the United States had relaxed its nuclear non-proliferation policy towards Pakistan and rescheduled the country's debts. Rizvi, (2002), maintained that 9/11 played a decisive role for both countries in reorganizing their relations. It forced the US to recognize Pakistan's support in the war against terrorism by terming Pakistan a frontline state in the war on terror. Khan,(2005), identified counterterrorism, nuclear proliferation and democracy in Pakistan as the top most agendas on the priority list of the Bush administration. Mullick, (2004), suggested that Pakistan and America have had realistic expectations from each other during this period and acknowledged mutual needs as the only way forward for both countries. Huffman, (2012), recognized the geo-political impact of Pakistan, the security threats posed to Pakistan from India and its need to be equipped with the latest military equipment to counter security threats. Similarly, Cohen, (1997, 2004), pointed out the episodic nature of US-Pakistan relations and identified the end of the Afghan war as the lowest point in their relations, while their relations post-9/11 as to be at their peak. Kronstadt, (2009, 2011, 2012), summarized US-Pakistan relations in his Congress reports as the most important element of American foreign policy in the post-9/11 era, stating that the US's consideration of Pakistan as a key ally assisted its development into a more democratically and economically stable country. He established that the Obama administration acknowledged Pakistan's contributions as a frontline state in US's counterterrorism efforts and maintaining peace and stability in the region.

The literature reviewed showed that while the majority of the body of work by foreign authors contained negative portrayals of Pakistan or criticized Pakistan's role as an ally of the US, a significant number of studies not only acknowledged Pakistan as an important ally, but also acknowledged Pakistan's sacrifices in supporting the US to attain its regional objectives in South Asia. The literature reviewed contributed by local authors showed similar patterns, that is, a significant portion of literature reviewed was

critical of the US's role in South Asia during both phases along with the literature that presented US-Pakistan relations in a balanced way.

Theme-2: Role of Press and Framing

When it comes to matters of foreign policy, the masses are generally dependent on information provided by the media (Holsti, 2004). Similarly, the media collect news and information through government officials who are involved in foreign policy formulation. He also added that the media can prime any issue according to the significance assigned to it by policymakers. Wolfe, Jones, & Baumgartner, (2013), identified the disconnect between the role of the media and the political system, and suggested building it through an information processing framework that encourages mutually beneficial relations between both. Eilders, (2002), identified that the press plays an active role in the political process. She continued that the press, by selecting and providing editorial coverage, highlights or provides salience to some issues and, in doing so, it then provides an ideological distinction to such issues.

Chaudhry & Ashraf, (2012), examined the editorial coverage of leading English newspapers of Pakistan during the Musharraf era to identify the frames used for issues covered by selected newspapers. The findings show that the press was either neutral or positive towards government policies. Dardis (2006) in his examination of the press coverage of public protests against the Iraq war concluded that the application of framing in such investigations would contribute significantly to the current literature and develop an understanding of the dynamics of press coverage and protest groups. Ali, Iqbal, Jan, & Ahmad, (2013), investigated the coverage of US-Pakistan relations, specifically on the issue of counterterrorism in leading US news magazines such as Newsweek and Time, and identified pro-US coverage in both magazines. Bennett & Manheim, (1993), examined the level to which these frames assisted in initiating meaningful public discourse on policy responses to the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, suggesting that throughout the crisis, a favorable stance was promoted by the administration and its allies. They also observed that the audience did not have the access to information to make independent judgments about government policies related to the Gulf crisis. Entman, (2003, 2010), found that the initial frame "war on terrorism" used by President Bush after the 9/11 attacks dominated the press coverage. He examined the framing of 9/11 attacks to identify the relations between the government and the press in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy to develop a better understanding of the issue in the context of war and conflicts.

Hence, it can be concluded from the literature reviewed to identify the framing of US-Pakistan relations that the press plays a significant role where the masses have a limited access to information and are usually dependent on the media for information

related to government policies, foreign relations, war and conflicts. Moreover, the press, through carefully designed frames, may have an ability to influence public discourse and provide communication currency related to the said domains.

Research Questions

- Q1. Which newspaper has published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations with pro-American frame during Phase-A?
- Q2. Which newspaper has published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations with anti-Pakistan frame during Phase-A?
- Q3. Which newspaper has published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations with pro-American frame during Phase-B?
- Q4. Which newspaper has published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations with anti-Pakistan frame during Phase-B?

Research Framework

The researchers while identifying the framing of US-Pakistan relations on the editorial pages of Dawn and Jang during Phase A and Phase B employed a blend of qualitative and quantitative content analysis of data. Content analysis is a significant research tool used in media and communication research to interpret complex themes, trends and stereotyping in various types of media messages such as in textbooks, feature films, assessments of open-ended survey questions, interviews, propaganda content, advertising messages and photographs (Neuman & Robson, 2014). Content analysis directly deals with textual analysis, transcription and interpretation of data that are of historical significance. It is also used in longitudinal researches where the data size is huge (Weber, 1990). Moreover, it helps the researcher to decode the complex data by combining contextual and interpretative analyses. Textual analysis is further used in an observational study for a systematic evaluation of all types of recorded data. Data can be examined by employing both qualitative and quantitative content analysis techniques such as by encoding the data through conversion into numbers and codes and then interpreting the coded data in ways that add more value to the research and strengthen the findings.

This research is a blend of qualitative and quantitative content analysis. This method has been endorsed by Johnson & Christensen (2000) as cited by Saleem, (2007) in her doctoral work as a widely recognized combination that provides a systematic analysis of data in its real sense. Hence, the qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the editorials and opinions published on the editorial pages of both newspapers will not only add value to the findings, but also provide an interesting insight on how both newspapers framed the many ups and downs in US-Pakistan relations during the

engagement and disengagement phases. Therefore, it can be concluded that the content analysis of editorial pages of Dawn and Jang during the understudied period can provide an in-depth analysis of framing shifts corresponding to policy shifts between the two countries.

The newspapers selected for the study, Dawn and Jang, are considered the universe of this study. The editorial pages of both newspapers are the element of the study and all the editorials and opinion pieces discussing US-Pakistan relations are the sample for this research. A sample of 1440 editorials and 3189 opinions were selected after a careful examination. Words, themes and sentences published in editorials and opinion pieces on the issue of to US-Pakistan relations were coded as pro-American and anti-American on the basis of their implied meaning and contextual analysis of the unit of analysis. Editorials/opinions critical of or showing disagreement with American policies or statements with reference to Pakistan or critical to government decisions related to US-Pakistan relations are considered as anti-American (such as Pressler Amendment, sanctions, threatening Pakistan). Editorials and opinions supportive of the US narrative, policies and lifting of sanctions are considered as pro-American (US-acknowledgement, lifting bans on purchase of strategic and military equipment).

Discussion and Findings

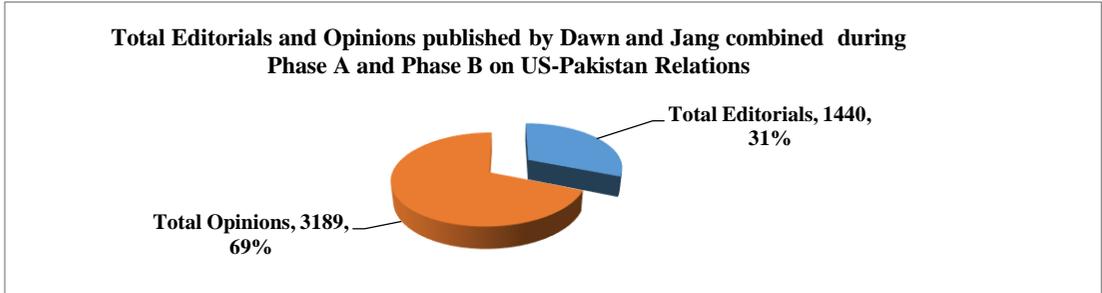
1. Total editorials and opinions published during the study period

Finding 1: The data analysis of 4629 editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations shows that a total of 1440 (31%) editorials and 3189 (69%) opinions published by both newspapers combined during both phases (Table-1, Chart-1, Graph-1A). Both newspapers published a total of 575 editorials and a total of 834 opinions in Phase A. Similarly, both published 865 editorials and 2355 opinions in Phase B (Table-1; Chart-1; Graph 1)

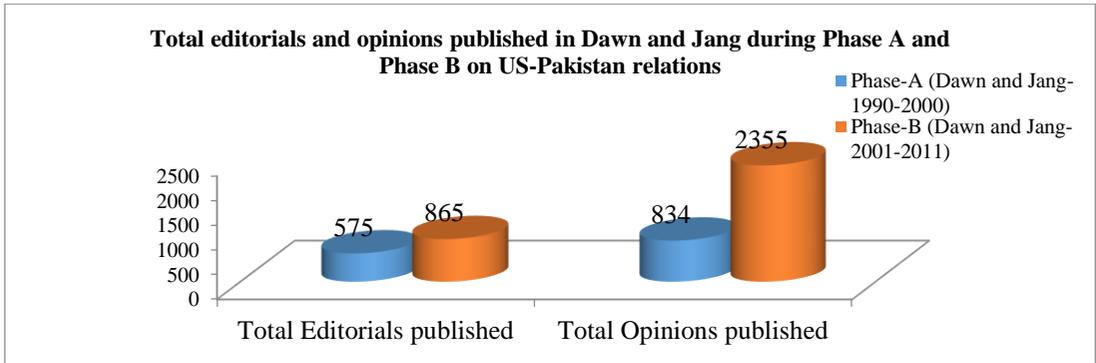
Table 1: Comparative analysis of total editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relation in Dawn and Jang during both phases

Phases	Total Editorials	Total Opinions	Total Editorials and Opinions
Phase-A (Dawn and Jang)	575	834	1409
Phase-B (Dawn and Jang)	865	2355	3220
Total (Both Phases)	1440	3189	4629

Chart-1: Comparative analysis of the editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relation in Dawn and Jang combined during both Phases



Graph 1: Comparative analysis of total editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations in Dawn and Jang during both Phases



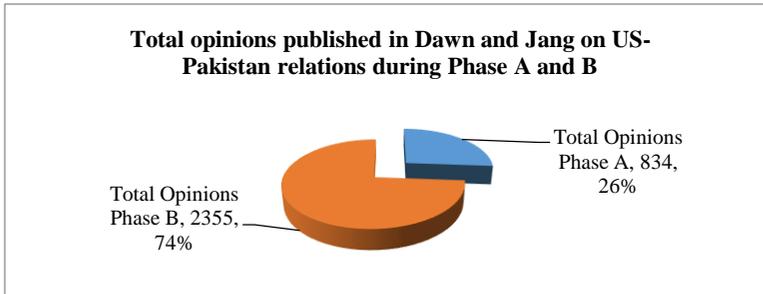
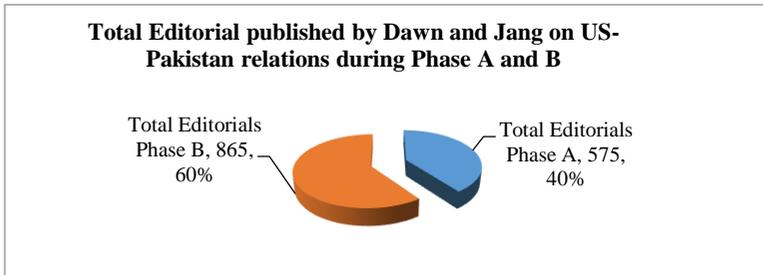
1A. Proportionate share of Dawn and Jang in total editorials and opinions published during both Phases

Finding 1A: A comparative analysis of the editorials and opinions published in Dawn and Jang shows that both newspapers had published 865 (60%) editorials during Phase B as compared to 575 (40%) during Phase A. Jang has the higher share of 63% (365) in total editorials (575) published by both newspapers combined during Phase A, whereas in Phase B, Dawn has the higher share of 52% (447) in total editorials (865) published by both newspapers combined. Similarly the data analysis of total opinions published on US-Pakistan relations during Phase A and B shows both newspapers had published 2355 (74%) during Phase B as compared to 834 (26%) during Phase A. A comparative analysis of data shows that Jang had a higher share with 61% (511) of total opinions (834) published during Phase A and 59% (1401) of total opinions (2355) published during Phase B as compared to Dawn’s 37% (323) and 41% (954) respectively (Table 1A; Chart 1A; Graph 1A).

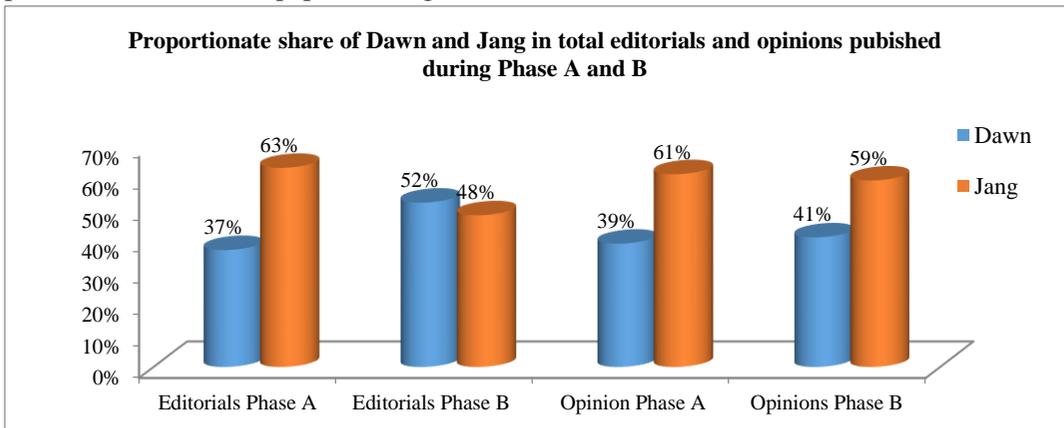
Table 1A: Share of Dawn and Jang in total editorials and opinions published during both Phases

Newspapers	Editorials Phase A	Editorials Phase B	Opinions Phase A	Opinions Phase B
Dawn	210 (37%)	447 (52%)	323 (39%)	954 (41%)
Jang	365 (63%)	418 (48%)	511 (61%)	1401(59%)
Total	575	865	834	2355

Chart-1A: Total editorials and opinions published by both newspapers during both Phases



Graph 1A: Comparative analysis of the share of Dawn and Jang in total editorials published in both newspapers during Phase A



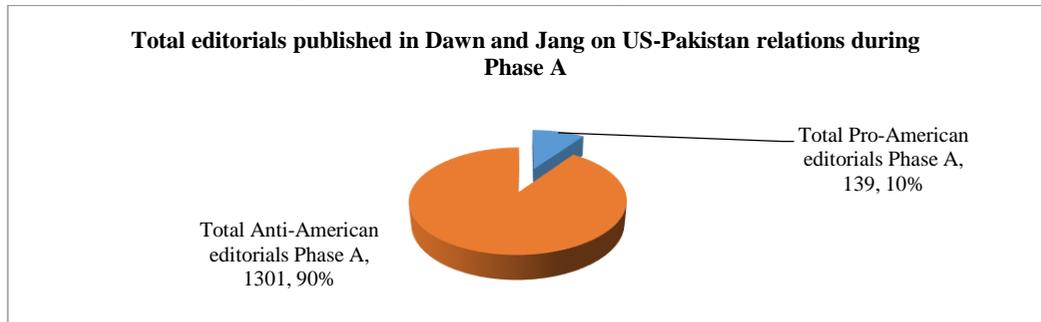
2- Framing analysis of total editorials published in Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations during both Phases

Finding 2: The framing analysis of the total data shows that both newspapers have a combined publication of 139 (10%) editorials with pro-American stance out of which 87 were published in Phase A and 52 in Phase B; moreover 1301(90%) editorials were published with an anti-American frame, out of which 488 editorials were published during Phase A and 813 during Phase B. The data also indicated an interesting contrast that both newspapers published more pro-American editorials (87) during Phase A (disengagement period) than in Phase B (engagement period) which were 52 (Table 2; Chart-2; Graph 2).

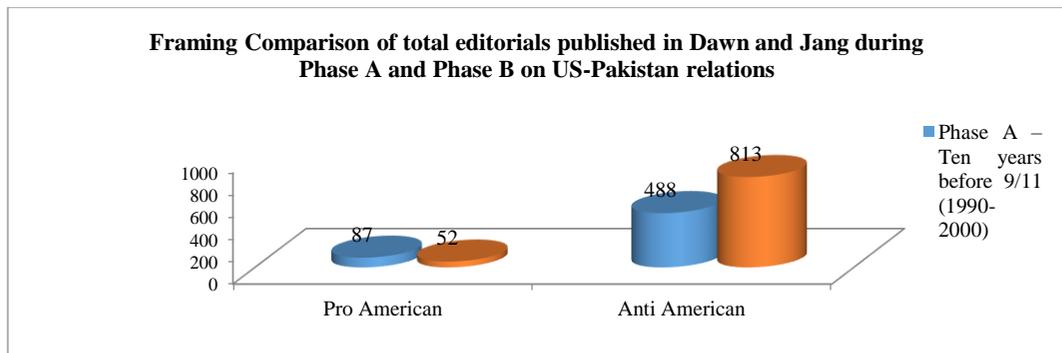
Table 2: Framing analysis of total editorials published in Dawn and Jang on Us-Pakistan relations during both Phases

Phases	Frames	
	Pro-American	Anti-American
Phase A – (1990-2000)	87	488
Phase B – (2001-2011)	52	813
Total	139	1301

Chart-2: Total editorials published in Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations (Phase A)



Graph 2: Framing analysis of total editorials published in Dawn and Jang during both Phases



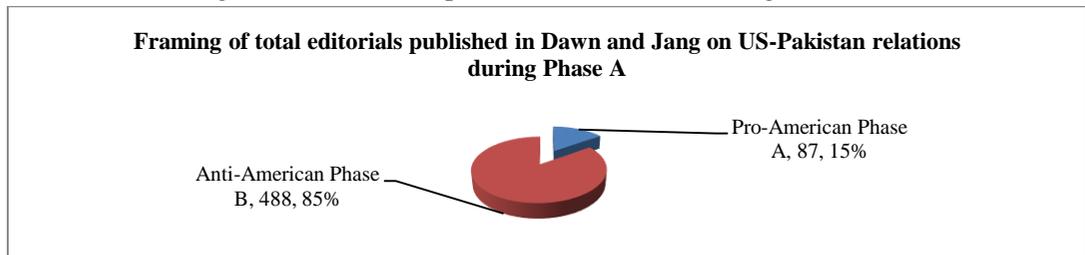
2A: Proportionate analysis of framing of editorials published in Dawn and Jang during Phase A

Finding 2A: The proportionate analysis of framing of editorials published on US-Pakistan relations in both newspapers during Phase A indicates that both newspapers published 15% of the total editorials (575) framed as pro-American and 85% of the total (575) framed as anti-American. A detailed analysis to identify the respective share of Dawn and Jang indicated that Jang has the highest share of 70% in total editorials (87; 15%) framed as pro-American and 62% in total editorials (488; 85%) framed as anti-American as compared to Dawn’s 30% and 38% respectively (Table 2A; Chart 2A; Graph 2A).

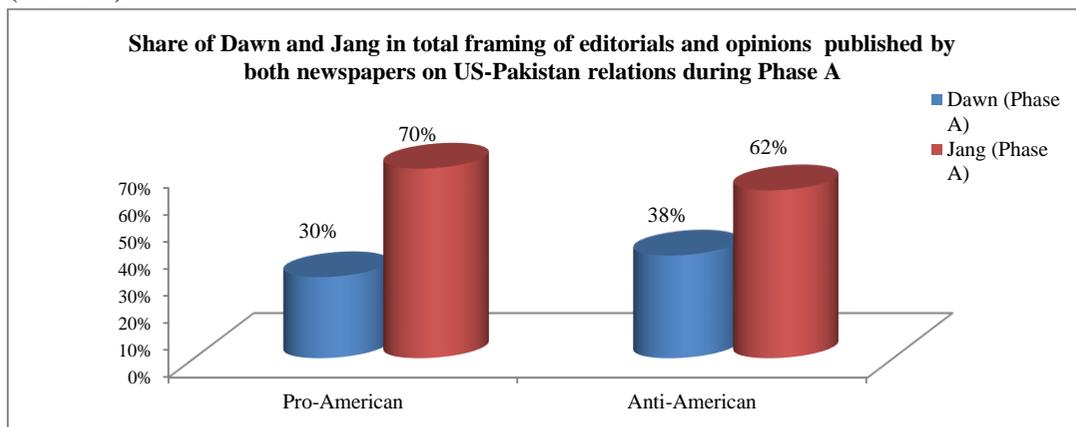
Table 2A: Proportionate analysis of framing of editorials published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)

Newspapers	Frame	
	Pro-American	Anti-American
Dawn (Phase A)	30% (26)	38% (184)
Jang (Phase A)	70% (61)	62% (304)
Total	15% (87)	85% (488)

Chart 2A: Framing of total editorials published in Dawn and Jang (Phase A)



Graph 2A: Proportionate share of framing of editorials published in Dawn and Jang (Phase A)



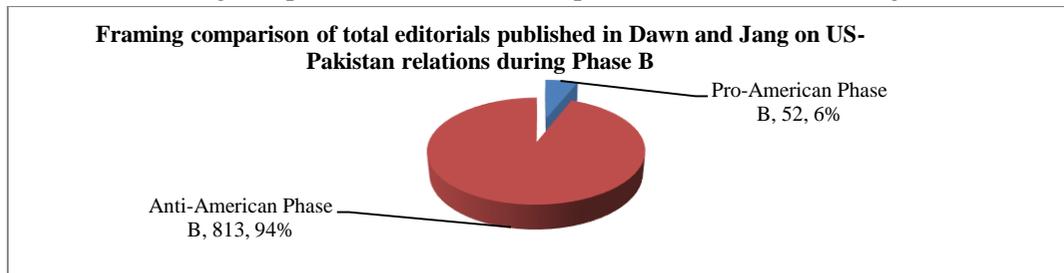
2B- Proportionate analysis of framing of editorials published in Dawn and Jang during Phase B

Finding 2B: The proportionate analysis of total framing of editorials published by Dawn and Jang during Phase B indicated that both newspapers published 865 editorials in total out of which 52 (6%) were framed as pro-American and 813 (94%) were framed as anti-American. A detailed analysis to identify the respective share of Dawn and Jang in total framing of editorials indicated that during Phase B, Dawn has a higher share of 55% (422) in total editorials (813; 94%) framed as anti-American as compared to Jang which has published 45% (391). However, Jang has the highest share of 52% (27) in total editorials (52; 6%) framed as pro-American as compared to Dawn’s 48% (25) (Table 2B; Chart 2B; Graph 2B).

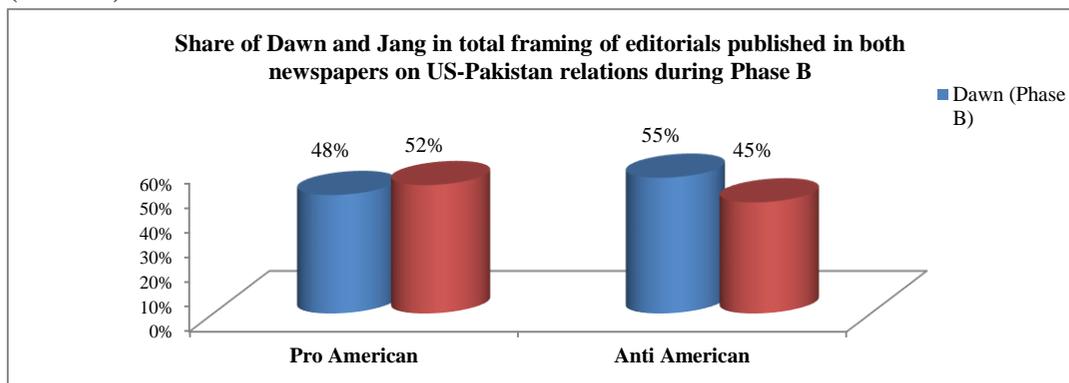
Table 2B: Proportionate analysis of framing of editorials published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)

Newspapers	Frame	
	Pro-American	Anti-American
Dawn (Phase B)	25 (48%)	422 (55%)
Jang (Phase B)	27 (52%)	391 (45%)
Total	52 (6%)	813 (94%)

Chart 2B- Framing comparison of total editorial published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)



Graph 2B: Proportionate analysis of framing of editorials published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)



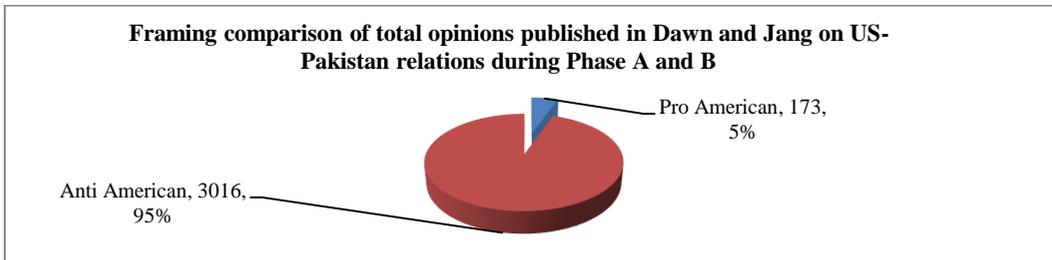
3-Framing analysis of total opinions published during both Phases

Finding 3: The framing analysis of the total opinions published in Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations indicates that both newspapers combined published 3189 opinions out of which 173 opinions had a pro-American frame which made only 5% of the total opinions published by both newspapers during Phase A and Phase B . It is also worth noticing that both newspapers combined published more opinions with a pro-American frame which is 89 during Phase A (disengagement period) than during Phase B (engagement period) which were 84. Similarly, both newspapers combined published 3016 opinions with an anti-American frame, both published a higher number of opinions 2271 during Phase B (engagement period) as compared to 745 published during Phase A (disengagement period) (Table 3; Chart-3; Graph 3).

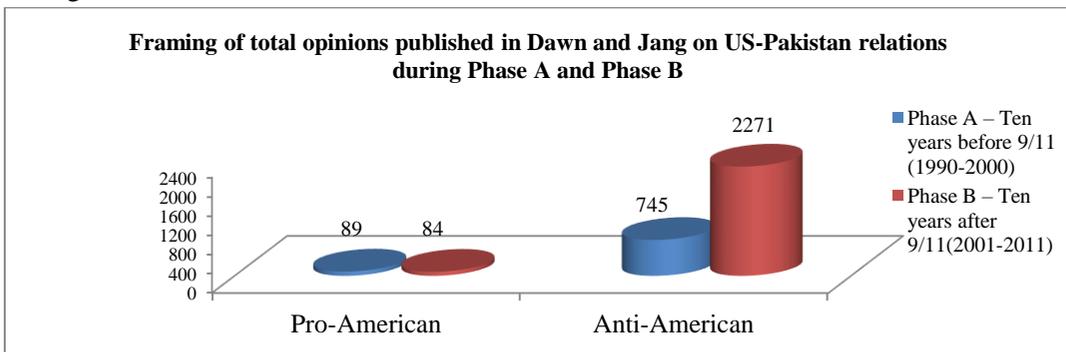
Table 3: Framing analysis of total opinions published in Dawn and Jang during both Phases

Phases	Frames	
	Pro-American	Anti-American
Phase A – (1990-2000)	89	745
Phase B – (2001-2011)	84	2271
Total	173	3016

Chart-3: Framing analysis of total opinions published in Dawn and Jang combined in both Phases



Graph 3: Framing analysis of total opinions published in Dawn and Jang combined during both Phases



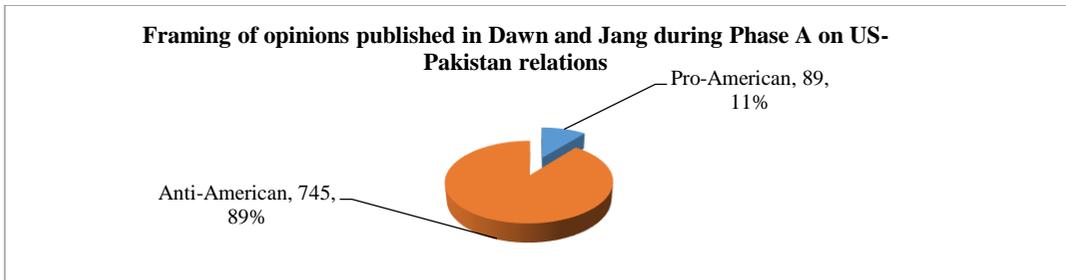
3A- Proportionate analysis of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang during Phase A

Findings 3A: The proportionate analysis of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang during Phase A shows that both newspapers published 11% (89) of the total opinions (834) framed as pro-American and 89% (745) were framed as anti-American. The detailed analysis indicated that Dawn has the highest share of 66% (59) in total opinions (89; 11%) framed as pro-American as compared to Jang's 34% (30). Moreover, the analysis also shows that Jang has the highest share of 65% (481) in total opinions (745; 89%) framed as anti-American as compared to Dawn's 35% (264) (Table 3A; Chart 3A; Graph 3A).

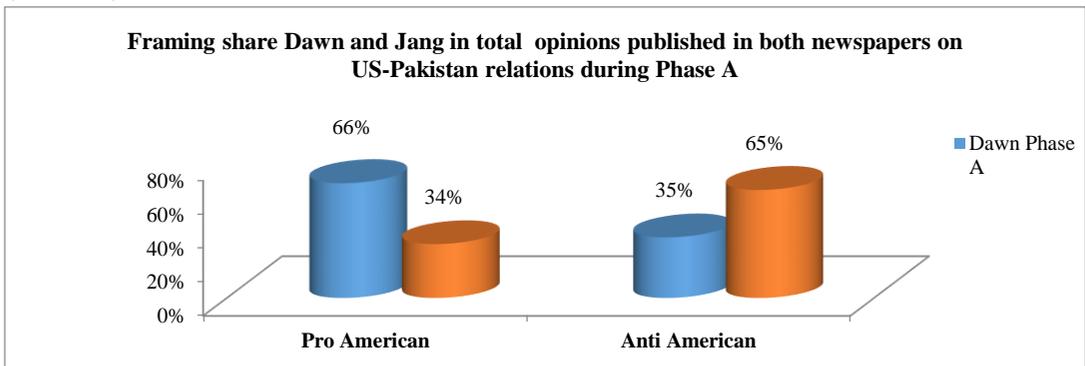
Table 3A: Proportionate analysis of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang (Phase A)

Newspapers	Frame	
	Pro-American	Anti-American
Dawn (Phase A)	66% (59)	35% (264)
Jang (Phase A)	34% (30)	65% (481)
Total	11% (89)	89% (745)

Chart-3A: Framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations (Phase A)



Graph 3A: Proportionate share of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang (Phase A)



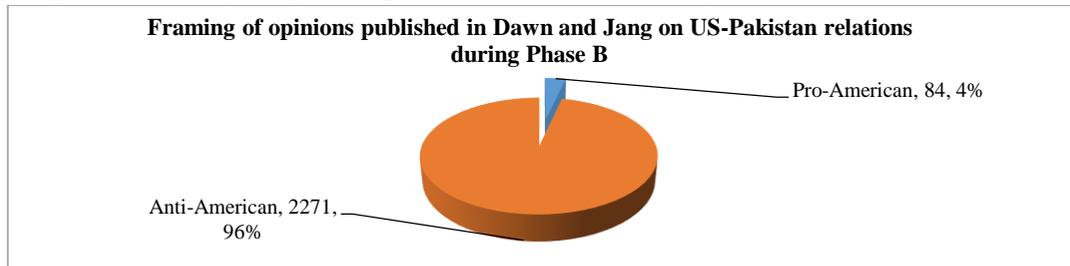
3B- Proportionate analysis of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang during Phase B

Finding 3B: The comparative analysis of data of total opinions (2355) published in Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations to find out the share of Dawn and Jang in total framing of opinions indicated that both newspapers published 4%(84) of the total opinions (2355) with a pro-American frame and 94% (2271) of the total opinions (2355) with an anti-American frame. The data also indicated that Dawn has the highest share of 74% (62) in total opinions (84; 4%) framed as pro-American as compared to Jang’s 26% (22); whereas Jang has a 61% (1379) share in total opinions (2271; 96%) with an anti-American frame as compared to Dawn’s 39% (Table 3B; Chart-3B; Graph 3B)

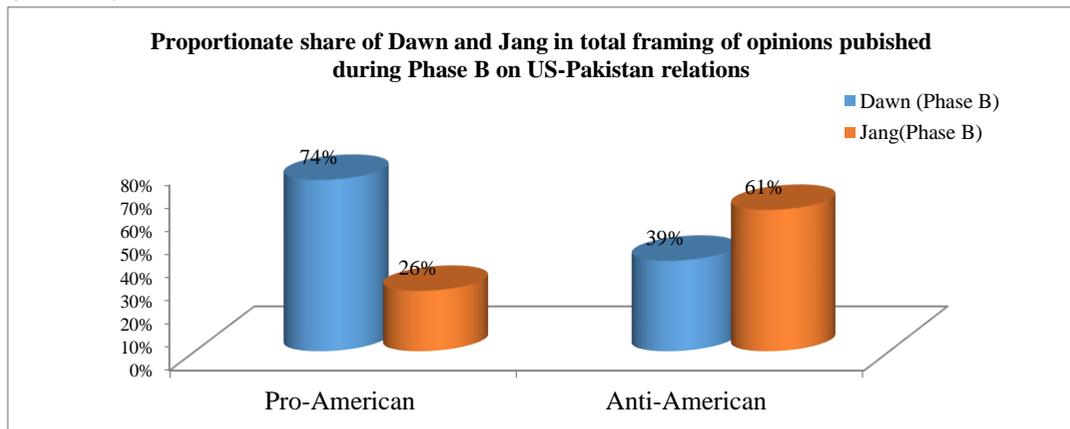
Table 3B: Proportionate analysis of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)

Newspapers	Frame	
	Pro-American	Anti-American
Dawn (Phase B)	74% (62)	39% (892)
Jang (Phase B)	26% (22)	61% (1379)
Total	4% (84)	96% (2271)

Graph 3B: Framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)



Graph 3B: Proportionate analysis of framing of opinions published in Dawn and Jang (Phase B)



4- Findings and Discussion

Based on the data analyzed, the researchers attempted to identify:

- 1- The newspaper which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as pro-American during Phase A
- 2- The newspaper which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as anti-American during Phase A
- 3- The newspaper which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as pro-American during Phase B
- 4- The newspaper which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as anti-American during Phase B

1- The newspapers which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as pro-American during Phase A

Finding-1 of the data analysis indicated that both newspapers combined published 1440 editorials and 3189 opinions during Phase A and B, out of which both newspapers had published 575 editorials and 834 opinions during Phase A (1990-2000; disengagement period). A comparative analysis of framing of editorials and opinions published by Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations to identify which newspaper published more editorials and opinions with a pro-American frame during Phase A shows that both newspapers published 87 editorials out of 575 and 89 opinions out of 834 with a pro-American frame (Findings-1A, Table 1A, Table 2; Chart 1A; Chart 2; Graph 1A, Graph 2). Jang had the highest share of 70% (61) in total editorials (15%, 87) as compared to Dawn's 30% (26); whereas Dawn had the highest share of 66% (59) opinions in total (11%; 89) opinions as compared to Jang's 34% (30). (Findings-2, Findings 2A, Findings 3, Findings 3A; Table 2, Table 2A, Table 3, Table 3A; Chart 2, Chart 2A, Chart 3, Chart 3A, Graph 2, Graph 2A, Graph 3, Graph 3A).

2- The newspaper which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as anti-American during Phase A

As per Findings 1, both newspapers combined published 1440 editorials and 3189 opinions during Phase A and Phase B. During Phase A, both newspapers had published 575 editorials and 834 opinions (1409 editorials and opinions) on US-Pakistan relations (Table 1, Chart 1, Graph 1). Moreover, Findings 2 suggested that out of 1409 editorials and opinions, both newspapers had a combined publication of 1301 with an anti-American frame (Findings 2, Table 2, Chart 2, Graph 2). Findings-1A of the comparative analysis of both newspapers to identify which newspaper had published more editorials and opinions with an anti-American frame during Phase A indicated that out of 575 editorials, Jang had published 365 editorials and Dawn published 210 (Findings 1A, Chart 1A, Graph 1A). Furthermore, Findings 2A to identify the share of

Dawn and Jang suggested that both newspapers combined had published 85% (488) editorials out of 575 with an anti-American frame, in which Jang had the highest share of 62% (304) as compared to Dawn's 38% (184) (Table 2A; Chart 2A; Graph 2A;).

Similarly, Finding 1 of the comparative analysis of opinions published by both newspapers indicated that both newspapers had published 834 opinions during Phase A (Findings-1, Table 1, Chart 1, Graph 1). Findings 1A suggested that Jang had published 511 opinions as compared to Dawn's 323 (Table 1A, Chart 1A, Graph 1A). In addition to this, Findings 3 and 3A indicated that both newspapers had a combined publication of 745 (89%) opinions out of 834 with an anti-American frame (Table 3, Chart 3, Graph 3). A comparative analysis of opinions published by both newspapers to identify which newspaper had published more opinions with an anti-American frame indicated that Jang had the highest share with 65% (481) as compared to Dawn's 32% (323) (Table 3, Table 3A; Chart 3, Chart 3A; Graph 3, Graph 3A).

The findings of the comparative data analysis is also indicative of the fact that both newspapers had the highest share of editorials and opinions with an anti-American frame, however Jang had published more editorials 62% (304) and opinions 65% (481) with an anti-American frame than Dawn's 38%(184) editorials and 35%(264) opinions. This also indicated that though both newspapers were highly critical of American policies during Phase A, Jang maintained a more critical stance with regard to the American policies during phase A, which is considered as the period of disengagement between Pakistan and America.

3- The newspapers which published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations framed as pro-American during Phase B

Finding 1 of the data analysis indicated that both newspapers had a combined publication of 3220 editorials and opinions during Phase B out of which both newspapers combinely publish 865 editorials and 2355 opinions during Phase B (Table 1, Chart 1, Graph 1). Furthermore, Findings 1A indicated that out of 865 editorials, Dawn had published 447 editorials as compared to Jang's 418. Moreover, out of 2355 opinions, Jang had publish1401 as compared to Dawn's 954 opinions (Table 1A, Chart 1A, Graph 1 A). Finding 2 and 2B of the comparative analysis of both newspapers to identify the share of Dawn and Jang in total editorials and opinions with a pro-American frame to establish which newspaper had published more editorials and opinions with a pro-American frame indicated that both newspapers combined publish 52 editorials and 84 opinions with a pro-American frame. A further exploration of the issue indicated that Jang had the highest share of 52% (27) in total editorials with a pro-American frame as compared to Dawn's 48% (25) (Table 2, Table 2B; Chart 2, Chart 2B; Graph 2, Graph 2B). Similarly, Findings 3 and 3B of the comparative analysis of total 2344 opinions to

identify the share of Dawn and Jang in total opinions framed as pro-American to establish which newspaper had published more opinions with a pro-American frame indicated that both newspapers had combined publication of 84 (4%) opinions with a pro-American frame, out of which Dawn had the highest share 74% (62) as compared to Jang's 36% (22) (Table 3, Table 3B; Chart 3, Chart 3B; Graph 3, Graph 3B).

The analysis indicated that both newspapers had published a negligible number of editorials and opinions with a pro-American frame that is 52 editorials out of 834 and 84 opinions out of 2355 during Phase B which is in general considered as the period of engagement between Pakistan and America. It also indicated that during this period, though both newspapers had published a minimal number of editorials and opinions with a pro-American frame, Jang had the highest share of 52% (27) editorials whereas Dawn had the highest share of 74% (62) in total opinions.

4- The newspapers which published more editorials and opinions framed anti-American during Phase B

Findings 1 of the comparative analysis of the data of editorials and opinions examined by the researchers showed that during Phase B, both newspapers combined published 3220 editorials and opinions out of which both newspapers had a combined publication of 865 editorials and 2355 opinions (Table 1, Table 1A; Chart 1, Chart 1B; Graph 1B, Graph 1B). Further to this, Finding 2B suggested that out of total 865 editorials, both had published 813 editorials and 2271 opinions framed as anti-American. Findings 2B to identify the share of Dawn and Jang in total editorials with an anti-American frame to establish which newspaper had published more editorials with an anti-American frame shows that out of 813 editorials published by both newspapers, Dawn had the highest share with 52% (422) as compared to Jang's 48% (391) (Table 2, Table 2B; Chart 2, Chart 2B; Graph 2, Graph 2B).

Similarly, Finding 1 indicated that both newspapers had published 2355 opinions during Phase B. Findings 3 and 3B of comparative analysis of data to identify the share of Dawn and Jang to establish which newspaper had published more opinions with an anti-American frame indicated that out of 2271 (96%) opinions with anti-American frame published by Dawn and Jang on US-Pakistan relations, Jang has the highest share of 61% (1379) as compared to Dawn's 39% (892).

The findings indicate that even though US-Pakistan relations were cordial and Pakistan was enjoying the status of the most significant ally during Phase B, both newspapers were highly critical of US policies.

Conclusion

Based on the overall data examination and findings, it can be concluded that both newspapers, were highly critical of US policies towards Pakistan and published a large

number of editorials and opinions framed as anti-American during both phases. Though both newspapers had published some editorials and opinions that showed a favorable stance towards US policies during phase A and Phase B, those were so few in number that it did not impact the overall portrayal of US-Pakistan relations in both newspapers.

The comparative analysis also showed that Jang had the highest share of 70% out of 61 and 52% out of 27 editorials with a pro-American frame published during both phases. The analysis of the anti-American frame indicated that Jang had published the highest number of editorials 62% out of 488 with an anti-American frame during Phase A, whereas during Phase B, Dawn had published highest number of 52% out of 422 editorials framed as anti-American. The analysis to identify which newspaper had published more opinions with pro- and anti-American frames during Phase A and B showed that Dawn had the highest share of 66% out of total 59 and 74% out of total 62 in opinions framed as pro-American during both phases, whereas Jang had the highest share of 65% out of 481 and 61% out of 1379 in total opinions framed as anti-American.

Hence, on the basis of the overall analysis and discussion, it can be concluded that the comparison of editorials and opinions framed as pro-American published during both phases indicated that both newspapers either agreed or supported only a few policy initiatives by the US. On the other hand, the large number of editorials and opinions published with an anti-American frame showed a rigid stance of both newspapers towards US policies on their editorial page coverage in both phases as both were critical to the then US policies and treatment of Pakistan during the disengagement period (where US-Pakistan relations were at their lowest) and engagement period (where Pakistan regained the most allied ally status).

References

- Ali, Z., Iqbal, A., Jan, M., & Ahmad, A. (2013). Coverage of Pak-US relations on issue of counter terrorism by US leading news magazines. *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research*, 15(10), 1464-1471.
- Anwar, M. F. (2013). US sanctions against Pakistan: rationale and impact (1990-2001). *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies Vol*, 5(2), 22-45.
- Bennett, W. L., & Manheim, J. B. (1993). Taking the public by storm: Information, cuing, and the democratic process in the Gulf conflict. *Political Communication*, 10(4), 331-351.
- Bush, G. & Scowcroft, B. (1998). *A world transformed*. New York: Knopf.
- Chaudhry, N., & Ashraf, A. (2012). Agenda setting and framing of elections during Musharraf period in Pakistani print media (1999-2008). *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2(17), 274-282.
- Cohen, S. P. (1997). *The United States, India, and Pakistan: Retrospect and Prospect. ACDIS Occasional Paper*.
- Cohen, S. P. (2004). *The idea of Pakistan*: Brookings Institution Press.
- Dardis, F. E. (2006). Marginalization devices in US press coverage of Iraq war protest: A content analysis. *Mass Communication & Society*, 9(2), 117-135.
- Eilders, C. (2002). Conflict and consonance in media opinion: Political positions of five German quality newspapers. *European Journal of Communication*, 17(1), 25-63.
- Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11. *Political Communication*, 20(4), 415-432.
- Entman, R. M. (2010). Media framing biases and political power: Explaining slant in news of Campaign 2008. *Journalism*, 11(4), 389-408.
- Farooq, N. T. (2014). *Explaining Pakistan's strategic choices in the 1990s: The role of the United States*. University of Leicester.
- Holsti, O. R. (2004). *Public opinion and American foreign policy*: University of Michigan Press.
- Huffman, M. M. (2012). *The United States and Pakistan During Crisis: From the Russian Intervention in Afghanistan to 9/11*.
- Hussain, M. (2016). Pak-US Relations: An Historical Overview. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, Vol XXXVII, No. 2, 61-76.
- Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: A study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. *Communication research*, 20(3), 365-383.
- Johnson, B. & Christensen, B. (2000) *Educational Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*: Pearson.
- Khan, R. A. (2005). Strategic partners or tactical allies *Pak-US relations in the Post-9/11 era. Al-Siyasa*, VIII (Special Conference Issue) (April 2005), 47-53. .
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2009). *Pakistan-US relations*. Library of Congress Washington Dc Congressional Research Service.
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2011). *Pakistan-US relations: A summary*. Congressional Research Service Washington, DC.

- Kronstadt, K. A. (2012). *Pakistan-US relations*: Congressional Research Service Washington, DC.
- Kux, D. (2001). *The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies*: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Lasswell, H. D. ((1980).). The Future of World Communication and Propaganda. . *Propaganda and Communication in World History*,, 3, , 516-534.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*: Sage publications
- Mehmood, A. (2003). American Policy of Non-proliferation towards Pakistan: A Post-cold War Perspective. *Pakistan Horizon*, 56(1), 35-58.
- Mullick, H. (2004). *US foreign aid and economic growth: A post-9/11 case study of Pakistan as a key ally in the war against terrorism*. Paper presented at the Proceedings to the Pennsylvania Economic Association Conference Summer.
- Neuman, W. L., & Robson, K. (2014). *Basics of social research*: Pearson Canada Toronto.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2002). The state of Pakistan-. *India Relations. Dawn*, (March 23).
- Saleem, N. (2007). *US Image in Pakistani English Dailies Dawn, The Nation & The News with Special Reference to United States Relationship during Post Cold War Era (1991-2004)*. University of Punjab.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, 49(1), 103-122.
- Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. *Mass Communication & Society*, 3(2-3), 297-316.
- Sunawar, L., & Coutto, T. (2015). US Pakistan relations during the cold war. *The Journal of International Relations, Peace Studies, and Development*, 1(1), 6.
- Tellis, A. J. (2004). US strategy: Assisting Pakistan's transformation. *The Washington Quarterly*, 28(1), 97-116.
- Tewksbury, D., & Scheufele, D. A. (2009). News framing theory and research *Media effects* (pp. 33-49): Routledge.
- Wanta, W., Golan, G., & Lee, C. (2004). Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(2), 364-377.
- Weber, R.P. (1990) *Basic Content Analysis*. Sage Publications, London.
- Wolfe, M., Jones, B. D., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2013). A failure to communicate: Agenda setting in media and policy studies. *Political Communication*, 30(2), 175-192.