Image of U.S. in Pakistani Elite Newspaper Editorials after 9/11 Incident: A Comparative Study of The Dawn and Nawa-i-Waqt with Special Regard to Media Conformity Theory

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Abstract
This study examines the media conformity theory that argues the mass media generally conform to the foreign policy of governments. Pakistan which is participating in US-led anti terrorism war, has acquired the status of non NATO alley and its government has adopted the pro-American stance, it was assumed that Pakistani media would toe its foreign policy. The study basically analyzes the US portrayal in Pakistani elite newspapers after 9/11 incident. It explores that when Pakistani government supports pro-American stance after 9/11 then how Pakistani media respond to it. The study conducts the content analysis of the editorials of two Pakistani elite newspapers; The Dawn and Nawa-i-Waqt from 11 September 2001 to 10 September 2004. A total of 394 editorials, 186 in The Dawn and 208 in Nawa-i-Waqt were analyzed. The findings depict that US has a negative image in Pakistani newspapers after 9/11. The findings do not support media conformity theory in this case.

Keywords: Image of US; Pakistani Newspaper Editorials; Media Conformity Theory; 9/11 incident

I. Introduction
The Americans are one of those who are facing acute image problems. It is not the current time period that American image has badly tarnished. American designs to rule the world bound US policy makers to derive strict international policies towards the rest of the world. That’s why the affected countries are annoyed by its aggressive policies and a general hatred towards US has been witnessed. The present article studies US portrayal after 9/11 incident.

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.

The Guardian (2001) states, “Shock rage and grief there has been aplenty. But any glimmer of recognition of why people might have been driven to carry out atrocities, sacrificing their own lives in the process or why the United States is hated with such
bitterness, not only in Arab and Muslim countries, but across the developing world seems almost entirely absent”

In the aftermath of September 11 attacks, the American policies generated the impression that the Muslims in general are viewed as suspects. This aggressive attitude of Americans enraged the Muslims around the globe. It has been observed that anti-American emotions are among not only in Muslim countries such as in Asia and Middle East but also in Europe and Latin America. 9/11 attack is a catastrophic incident that affected the entire world drastically. The policies that were initiated after the 9/11 incident such as the attack on Afghanistan and Iraq enhanced the anti American sentiments in the world, especially the way in which Bush administration treated the Muslims, annoyed all Muslim community.

Marshallzio (2001) argues that the resentment against America is rife, particularly among European elites. But its culture, universities, movies, food, clothing and technologies is just as strong and today no power in the world can balance it. For every European who resents America for what it is, there are many euro kids who want what America is. America is both menace and seducer, both monster and model”

However, the opinion about the US is complicated and contradictory, people around the world embrace American things but at the same time they condemn US influence on their societies. Pakistan, that acquires quite important strategic position on the map of the world, has become non-NATO US alley in the war on terror. In the post 9/11 scenario, Pakistan officially supported US policies, but on the other hand the anti-American feelings flared up among the Pakistani people.

Pakistani media got notable freedom after 1999. The electronic and the print media developed themselves rapidly. It projected the feelings of the masses that were entirely contradictory to the policies of the Pakistani government. This study attempts to shed light on the portrayal of US in Pakistani elite newspaper editorials as represented by The Dawn & Nawa-i-Waqt from Sept 2001 to Sept 2004.

II. Literature Review

Steven (2003) pointed out that history towards America has reached shocking level. The war in Iraq and the intensified conflict in the Middle East had increased anger against US and the people throughout the world were annoyed of US policies. Juan (2006) argues that the hostility towards the US is generated not by fears of its uncontrolled policies but by foreign policy stances taken by US elites which effect the world and public perceive it negatively. He further says that American policies of capitalism and globalization annoying the world market because US always tries to monopolize the world market. Anti Americanism springs due to its rejection of individual liberties, democratic governance and free market capitalism.

Cheema (2008) says that America is facing image problems throughout the world but more prominently in the Islamic world it has quite distorted image. Pakistan is also one of those countries whose population is much aggressive against the US policies. After 9/11, this image became more negative. A large portion of Islamic World considers American policies as unfair. Most of the Islamic countries consider American policies as anti-Islamic campaign.
Chiozza (2004) writes in his article that Islamic masses have negative perception about US. He studies these perception on two levels namely, attitude towards American culture and society and altitude towards American policies. Park (2007) in his article discusses the rising anti-American sentiments in South Korea and also describes the deterioration of bilateral relations between Korea and America. This change in Korean attitude towards US is also seen as part of a heir wave of anti-Americanism throughout the world. It is basically protest against hegemonic influence of US.

Zunes & Stephen (2008) argued that the rise of anti Americanism was due to the double standards of American policies towards North Africa and Middle East. Bhatta (2008) describes that anti Americanism is quite intense in Arab Middle East. It is found not only in states such as Syria, Iraq and Sudan but also in pro American states Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Moehleri (2008) discusses in his study that anti-Americanism is more muted in such Saharan Africa than in other regions of the world. Monti (2008) examines the political consequences of anti Americanism for the US national interest. The findings show that public opinion influences foreign policy outcomes.

Russell (2008) describes the effects of anti-Americanism on consumer behavior. The research focuses on the relationship between anti-American sentiment and American movie consumption. Jhee (2008) elaborated in his study that how anti-Americanism affecting the electoral political in Korea. His study is based on 2003 East Asian Barometer Survey. He described how anti-Americanism threatening the “brotherhood” between Korea and US for more than fifty years affected vote choice in the 2002 presidential election. Sides (2008) described the structure and sources of anti-Americanism attitudes cross nationally in his research work. He particularly considered the US foreign policy, aspects of US society or individual frustration that increased such antipathy.

Katzenstein and Santa (2007) write that as in other parts of the world, resentment against US has been on the rise in recent years. This paper considered the critical opinion, skepticism and different types of anti-Americanism. Its findings showed that even in close proximity to the US, different types of anti-Americanism was found that affected the world politics more generally. Chiozza (2008) narrates that anti-Americanism has become the dominant frame through which foreign publics relate to the US. The findings show that public has simultaneously positive and negative opinions of US. It also showed that the respondents have greater information and contacts with US had less anti US views whereas who with anti-market ideologies outlooks were more negative towards US. Chiozza (2004) in his paper describes the perceptions about US in the masses of Islamic countries. He discusses American image in two dimensions the attitude towards American society and culture, and US policies. He concludes that negative images of America are more likely to emerge in other countries.

The above studies suggest that the perceptions about US among different nations are generally not positive and US is severely facing this problem especially in the Muslim world.
III. Media Framing

Framing is described as the social construction of a social phenomenon by media sources. It is a selective influence of individual’s opinion attributed to words or phrases. A frame gives a packaging to a concept that can favor any interpretation or can oppose (Entman, 1993).

Goffman (1974) defines framing as a specific set of expectation that is exercised to make sense of a social situation. Entman (1983) defines framing by dividing it into two parts “selection” and salience. Entman said that to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation moral evaluation and treatment recommendation.

Tankard (2001) suggests that “Journalists at times circulates frames to deceive their audience”. Reese (2001) is of the opinion that framing always implies on active process. Gitlin (1980) writes, “Frames are principle of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little trait theories about what exists, what matters”. Annie (2007) says that recent popularization of the term escalation to dislike an increase in American troop levels in Iraq. This implies that the US has deliberately increased the scope of conflict in a provocative manner. It also implies that US strategy initials a long term military presence in Iraq whereas surge framing implies a powerful but brief, transitions increase in intensity

Youngke (2008) in his article, “policy or politics” argues that the priming of the media frames of the president in the public presents the leading Korean newspaper to explore the different framing of the 14th and 16th president. The new stories are examined in the context of topics, sources title of the presidents quotations the study concludes that the effects of media framing occurs when its framing, devices are printed in the public’s political judgment.

Archetti (2006) explores the way international politics issues are constructed through association among political actors and media. This study concludes in the context of 9/11. The study explores how US government was able to affect international perceptions of 9/11. It also elaborates the American administration’s ability to create and communicate a specific interpretation of the events. This study particularly identify the 9/11 frame in the US government’s political statements.

Xigen (2008) explored how US television networks framed 9/11 incident in their news coverage during 24 hours and how this crisis affected coverage frames and media functions during 24 hours of crisis. The study concludes that media frame does not found during early stage of coverage but it affected later stages of coverage.

IV. Media Conformity to Foreign Policy

Fishman (1980) says that in the democratic setup the media is allowed to operate free from the government and work according to the democratic norms. But during the crisis the mass media both in US and UK have generally conformed to their respective government foreign policies. Khan (2007) in his article “The image of Pakistan in prestige American newspaper editorials: A test of the media conformity theory” argues that American mass media mostly conform to foreign policies of its governments.
Largio (2004) argues in his study that The New York Times in the coverage of Iraq war considerably conforms the US foreign policy towards the war. Zheng (2006) examined the media conformity during the coverage of Iraq war 2003 among three prominent US newspapers and found that the newspapers generally followed the official lines.

V. Research Question

This study explores Pakistani elite newspapers about the portrayal of US. The objective of study is to investigate the portrayal of US in elite Pakistani newspapers editorials after 9/11 incidents. The literature review advances that mass media generally follow the policy guidelines of respective governments especially on international affairs. As US is leading partner in war on terror with Pakistan, it can be assumed that US may be portrayed favourably in Pakistani media. On the other hand, it is also possible that US might be portrayed negatively due to a general anti-American sentiment among the Muslim community.

i. What was the US image portrayed in Pakistani press?
ii. Did Pakistani newspapers toe the foreign policy regarding the coverage of US?
iii. What was the slant of coverage about US?

Hypothesis

H1: The favourable portrayal of US will be higher than unfavourable.

H2: The unfavourable portrayal of US will be higher than favourable.

H3: The Dawn will portray US more positively than Nawa-i-waqt.

H4: Naw-i-waqt will portray US more negatively than The Dawn.

VI. Method

This study explores editorial coverage of Daily Dawn and Daily Nawa-i-waqt about the portrayal of American image after 9/11 incident using content analysis. All editorial of Dawn and daily Nawa-i-waqt from 11 September 2001 to 11 September 2004 are considered as the universe of the study. The population for this research study includes all editorials using the word “United States” “9/11” in the headline or lead paragraph in the selected newspapers from 11 September 2001 to 11 September 2004. The total population comprises 550 editorials in Dawn and 637 editorials in Nawa-i-waqt. The total number is 1187.

A sample of 394 editorial/editorial notes has been taken; 186 editorials from the Dawn and 208 from Nawa-i-waqt 208 are selected. The tool of systematic sampling has been applied to select the sample. The time period of the research is from 11 September 2001 to 11 September 2004. From its population, every third date has been chosen in a month in which editorial / editorial note is published about the issue.

Content Categories

Hanan (2006) describes that positive or negative portrayal of a country in terms of political, diplomatic, economic, military, historic and religious context in the media
determines its national image. Schramm and Atwood (1981) also classified 15 different categories that provide a base to examine the coverage of a country.

Keeping in view the need of this study, some modifications have been made in these categories. These categories are:

1. War on terror,  2. Attack on Iraq,   3. Bush administration,  
4. Nuclear issue,   5. Pak-United States relations,   6. Religion,  
7. Politics,   8. Development,    9 Disaster,  
10. Others

In this study, slant refers to the writer’s stance to the editorial. The study divided slant into three categories as used by Kim (2000) and Liu (1969) i.e., Favourable, unfavorable and neutral. Slant was coded separately for each of the ten topics.

Coding Unit
In this particular study, headline and leading paragraph was the coding unit for identifying the topic. The expression of the entire editorial was taken as a contextual unit. Each paragraph was the coding unit for identify slant in the editorial. The positive stance towards war on terror, attack on Iraq, Bush administration nuclear issue, Pak - United States relation, religion, politics, development, disaster and other was coded as favourable slant. The negative stance about these categories was coded negative. All editorial that did not depict favourable or unfavorable code as neutral.

VII. Rationale of the Newspapers
The researchers have chosen English daily the Dawn and Urdu daily Nawa-i-Waqt for the study because these two newspapers are considered as elite newspaper of Pakistan. Dawn is the elegant newspaper that has extended readership. Mostly policy makers, foreign persons and elite class studies it. It has extensive circulation that is increasing day by day. Nawa-i-Waqt is second major Urdu newspaper by circulation. Nawa-i-Waqt is widely read newspaper in elite and middle class. It represents the public emotion and also gives guidelines to Govt. about various matters.

The other reason for selection of two different language newspapers is that the Dawn is comparatively a liberal and generally supports the positive changes whereas Nawa-i-waqt is considered as a hardliner and normally does not support the policies which are even slightly against the ideological stances of the nation.

VIII. Results
There were 394 editorials analyzed _186 in daily Dawn (33.8%) and 208 in Nawa-i-Waqt (32.7%). This research made the comparative analysis of American image in daily dawn and Nawa-i-Waqt. While analyzing the distribution of slant in Daily Dawn, the data shows that there are total 186 editorials studied in which 22 (11.8%) are favorable towards America, 119 (64%) unfavorable and 45 (20%) are neutral. (See table 1).

The year wise distribution of slant depicts that with the passage of time the unfavourable stance towards US grew more prominently. During 11 September 2001 to 10 September 2002, there were 16(24.2%) editorials having favourable slant, 33(50%) were unfavourable and 17(25.8%) were natural towards the American image. But during
the second year (11 September 2002 to 10 September 2003), the unfavourable slant become more dominant because during this time period, America attacked on Iraq and Afghanistan. The coverage pattern of Pakistani press was highly unfavourable to US.

There were 3(4.2%) editorials favourable towards US, 56(78.9%) unfavourable and 12(16.9%) were neutral towards US out of 71(100%) editorial. The third year (11 September 2003 – 10 September 2004) depicts almost the same stance towards US. Out of 49(100) editorial 3(6.1%) have favourable slant towards US, 30(61.2%) unfavourable 16(32.7%) were neutral towards America. (See table 1)

The overall results depicts that the unfavourable slant remains dominant during this time period. To some extent, Dawn tried to portray neutral image of America but ratio of positive slant towards US fell rapidly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table: 1</th>
<th>Distribution of slant by period in Dawn newspaper (11 September 2001 to 10 September 2004).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Favorable N (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sep. 2001 – 10 Sep 2002</td>
<td>16 (24.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sep. 2001 – 10 Sep 2003</td>
<td>3 (4.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sep. 2001 – 10 Sep 2004</td>
<td>3 (6.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total time period</td>
<td>22 (11.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While analyzing the distribution of slant in Nawa-i-Waqt during the same time period (11 September – 10 September 2004). The data reveals that out of 208(100%) editorials, there are 5(2.4%) favourable towards US, 170(81.7%) unfavourable and 33(15.9%) were neutral (See table 2). Nawa-i-Waqt that is leading Urdu daily in Pakistan depicts heavily unfavourable slant towards America and its policies. Nawa-i-Waqt adopts highly critical and strict policy towards the portrayal of American image.

The year wise data depicts that the positive portrayal of American image in Nawa-i-Waqt remained very low. Even the neutral portrayal went down. During 11 September to 10, September 2002, out of 76 editorials there were 3(3.9%) editorials depicted favourable slant to the American image, 61(80.3%) unfavourable and 12(15.8%) were neutral.

During the second year (11 September to 10, September 2003), there were total 67 editorial studied in Nawa-i-Waqt. The data highlights that there were 55(82.1%) editorial show unfavourable slant, 12(17.9%) neutral and no editorial had favourable slant towards America. But during this time period, Iraq and Afghanistan wars were at peak and
Pakistani newspapers were highly critical of American policies about the Muslim world and especially to Pakistan.

Table: Distribution of slant by period in daily Nawa-i-Waqt (11 September 2001 – 10 September 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Favourable N (%)</th>
<th>Unfavourable N (%)</th>
<th>Neutral N (%)</th>
<th>Total N (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 Sep. 2001 – 10 Sep 2002</td>
<td>3 (3.9)</td>
<td>61 (80.3)</td>
<td>12 (15.8)</td>
<td>76 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sep. 2001 – 10 Sep 2003</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>55 (82.1)</td>
<td>12 (17.9)</td>
<td>67 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sep. 2001 – 10 Sep 2004</td>
<td>2 (3.1)</td>
<td>54 (83.1)</td>
<td>9 (13.8)</td>
<td>65 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total time period</td>
<td>5 (2.4)</td>
<td>170 (81.7)</td>
<td>33 (15.9)</td>
<td>208 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the third year of 9/11 (11 September to 10, September 2004) out of 65 editorials only 2 (3.1%) editorial showed favourable slant to US image, 54 (83.1%) unfavourable and 9 (13.8%) were neutral. The analysis of Nawa-i-Waqt showed that it continuously portrayed negative image of America. The newspaper also used hard language for America and its policies. (See table 2)

The comparative analysis of daily Dawn and Nawa-i-waqt shows significant difference about the portrayal of US image in Pakistan. Daily Dawn has used more (22) favourable slant about US image than Nawa-i-waqt (5), while Nawa-i-waqt has used significantly more (170) unfavourable slant about US image as compared to daily Dawn (119) slant.

Application of chi square on newspaper and slant
Tabulated Statistics: Newspaper, Slant
Rows: Newspaper Columns: Slant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favourable</th>
<th>Unfavourable</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.75</td>
<td>136.43</td>
<td>36.82</td>
<td>186.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawa-i-Waqt</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.25</td>
<td>152.57</td>
<td>41.18</td>
<td>208.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27.00</td>
<td>289.00</td>
<td>78.00</td>
<td>394.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cell Contents: Count
Expected count
Pearson Chi-Square = 20.385, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.000
Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square = 21.227, DF = 2, P-Value = 0.000
There is association (p=0.000) between newspaper and Slant

Application of two proportion test

Two proportion test is applied on data to see which newspaper Dawn or Nawa-i-Waqt favours America.

Test CI for proportions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0.16028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>0.28571</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference = p (1) - p (2)

Estimate for difference = 0.127457

95% lower bound for difference = 0.730890

Test for difference = 0 (vs>0); Z = 4.03   P-value = 0.00

Fisher's exact test: P-Value = 0.000

Dawn favors US more than Nawa-i-Waqt

The study reveals that Pakistani elite press shows highly unfavourable slant towards the America image. Specially, the issues like war on terror, attack on Iraq, nuclear issue, and Pak-US relations, the Pakistani media doesn’t favor US Polices the Dawn frequently gave favourable or neutral slant towards US but Nawa-i-Waqt did not give favour to US. While analyzing the overall distribution of slant in 394 editorials, 22 (6.85%) were favourable, 289 (73%) were unfavorable and 78 (20%) were neutral. In this regard, the data shows that only 6.85% editorial which portrayed American image as a friend, 73% editorial frame its image as a foe and 20% editorial were neutral.

Hypothesis H1 suggests that the favourable portrayal of US will be higher than unfavourable. The findings of the content analysis did not extend the support to the hypothesis as only 6% editorials show favourable slant towards United States image. In Dawn newspaper only 22 (11.8%) and in Nawa-i-waqt only 5 (2.4%) editorials show favourable slant. The hypothesis is not supported.

Hypothesis H2 depicts that the unfavourable portrayal of US will be higher than favourable. The results supported this hypothesis. In Dawn there were 119 (64%) editorial portray American image as a foe and 45 (24.2%) were neutral. While in Nawa-i-waqt, there were 170 (81.7%) editorials that portrayed American image as a foe and 33 (15.9%) editorials were neutral. So the unfavourable editorials were in majority in both newspapers.

Hypothesis H3 states that Dawn newspaper will portray United States more positively than Nawa-i-waqt. The dawn in its coverage has given 11.8% favourable slant to America as compared to Nawa-i-waqt which has given only 2.4% favourable slant to United States.

Dawn gave favourable coverage to the Pak – American issues and the developmental activities of United States in Pakistan. Dawn was also critical of American policies towards Pakistan and the Muslim world but to some extent it adopted neutral policy. As the neutral portrayal of United States image is of 24.2%. While Nawa-i-waqt did not spare America at any cost. The favourable portrayal of America was only 2.4% in Nawa-i-waqt. There were few editorials on Pakistan-United States relation which had
favourable slant towards America. Even the neutral coverage of America was only 16%. So the H3 hypothesis is very well supported by the results.

Hypothesis H4 predicts that Nawa-i-waqt will portray US more negatively than dawn. The results showed that 81.7% negative portrayal has given to American image in Nawa-i-waqt while Dawn has given 64% unfavourable slant to American image. Nawa-i-waqt highly criticized America on the issues of war on terror, attack on Iraq, nuclear issue of Pakistan, internal politics of Pakistan and the Bush administration. Nawa-i-waqt adopted very strict policy to deal with American and uses harsh language for US and its policies. There is few instances where Nawa-i-waqt adopte neutral policy. Its neutral coverage to United States was determined only 16%.

While comparing the coverage of the Dawn with Nawa-i-waqt seemed to be little humble. It gave 64% unfavourable slant to United States and 24.2% portrayal was neutral. Dawn mainly criticized the American policies towards Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and Palestine and undue favor to Israel by the Bush administration is highly condemned by Dawn Newspaper. But the overall results illustrated that Nawa-i-waqt superseded Dawn in the negative portrayal of American image. The hypothesis H4 is truly supported.

First research question asked, what was United States image in Pakistani press, generally, the findings reveal that American has dominantly negative image in Pakistan. Whether its English or Urdu press, they did not favor American policies. The issues which were highly criticized by the media were the war on terror, nuclear issue, Palestine issue, relationships with Israel, American’s anti Pakistan activities, United State’s involvement in Pakistan’s internal policies. It was felt that Urdu press was more aggressive against US than English press. Dawn sometimes adopted neutral or positive attitude towards American but Nawa-e-waqt was not willing to trust on the American’s policies.

The second research questions stated that as “were Pakistani newspapers toeing the foreign policy of Pakistan regarding the coverage of United States? In this regard, it was found that the Pakistani press did not toe government’s foreign policy. After 9/11 where Pakistani Govt. took U turn towards Afghanistan issues and joined hands with America against war or terror. But on the other hand, the Pakistani newspaper overwhelmly criticized America, her policy and even Pakistani government as well. The time period which has been chosen from 2001-2004, has much significance due to the major events of the world such as 9/11, attack on Afghanistan and Iraq, nuclear issue of Iran and Pakistan and brutal activities of Israel against Palestine. These are the issues that have enraged the Muslim world and the Pakistanis. The Pakistani newspapers purely represented the nation’s feelings in the framing of United States image. On the nuclear issue and the Palestine issue where Govt. adopted submissive policy but press reacted sharply. The war on terror has been discussed from various angles but the terms of engagement with United States was the main of the media. The research that relates to the media conformity theory, the findings of the research did not support the media conformity theory.

The research question RQ3 asked what was the slant of coverage about US. It was not only the 9/11 incident that had triggered the Pakistani press against United States. The history of American relations with Pakistan show that American always used
Pakistan for its own national interests and Pakistan had to compromise with it due to its economical dependencies. The Govt. always tried to justify its dependence on America’s said but the Pakistani nation doesn’t accept. They wanted to have relation with America on equal terms which was not possible for the Govt. practically. Even before the 9/11 incident, the Pakistani press had negative perception about America. When 9/11 incident happened, initially Dawn newspaper adopted positive and neutral stance towards America. It thought perhaps that war would be suitable for Pakistan’s interest. But as the time passed on United States’s engagement with Afghanistan, Iraq and planning Pakistan for supporting terrorists enraged the Pakistanis press. Nawa-e-waqt that strictly follows the ideology of Pakistan, national interest and power of truth, had quite uniform policy against United States. Its editorial policy became stricter against America. It even used every strict wording while depicting the American image. Nawa-e-waqt always favored the Palestinians, and Kashmiris, and raised voice for the oppressed. America was highly criticized for its support to Israel, criticism or Iran, attack on Iraq and Afghanistan and its involvement in the internal matters of Pakistan. Overall the negative slant was used to portray the image of America in the Dawn and Nawa-i-waqt.

IX. Conclusion
Several American image studies have shown that United States is facing acute image problem. Even the American has also become conscious of their image. Although US tries to rebuild its image by involving itself with relief activities. But its oppressive policies have suspended its humanitarian and developmental activities.

The findings of study indicate that America is framed as ‘foe’ by the elite Pakistani press. After 9/11 Pakistani authorities decided to join hands with America on war on terror and Pakistan was obliged for this by lifting up the sanctions on foreign aid. America declared Pakistan as its front line Non NATO ally. Pakistan which faced strict restriction after 1998 atomic explosion, now these were released. The Pakistani authorities emphasized upon the importance of war on terror for Pakistan. But the media’s response towards America was very negative.

The Pakistani media was not ready to trust on America. The same situation was prevailing in American press where American Govt. had accepted Pakistan as its friend but the American newspapers were using harsh language against the Muslims and the Pakistanis. According to Khan (2008) the response of American media towards Pakistan especially after 9/11 incident was also negative in response to this the Pakistani press could not make the soft corner for America.

There were no positive editorial found on war on terror, attack on Iraq, politics and nuclear issues. The favourable slant was noticed only on development activities and Pak-US relations. Although it is evident that the English press tried to portray to some extent the positive image of US but the Urdu press (Nawa-e-waqt) did not favour to America.

It is explored that Dawn newspaper tried to be neutral and favourable towards US after 9/11 attacks but as US was engaged into Afghanistan and Iraq crisis, the policy of Dawn became strict towards US. The Urdu daily Nawa-i-waqt had adopted hard policy towards US. All anti Muslim policies of America were harshly criticized by Nawa-i-waqt.
The overall discussion shows that the media conformity theory is not supported by the findings of this research in the case of US. The Government of Pakistan adopted pro-American foreign policy after 9/11 incident but Pakistani media did not follow it and America was clearly framed as foe in the elite Pakistani press.

References


