

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press: A comparative study of Editorial Treatment of *Washington post* & *New York Times* (Duration 2008-2012)

Shehla Jabeen and Abdul Wajid Khan*

Abstract

Pakistan is first Islamic Atomic Power and second largest Populated country in Muslim World after Indonesia. Pakistan has always preferred to make friendly and peaceful relations with all countries of the world. Pakistan and USA has long journey of relationship since the birth of Pakistan in 1947. The present study explored the Pak-US relations in term of War on terror, NATO supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan and Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations. The study was based on content analysis and editorials of two American newspapers, Washington Post and New York Times which were examined from 2008 to 2012 during Pakistan People's Party regime in Pakistan. This research study was conducted in the light of Agenda Setting Theory and Framing Theory. It was census study and all editorials were examined during the period five years. Results of this study showed that US press gave more space to Pak-US relations during 2008 to 2012 and both newspapers published 165 editorials regarding Pak-US relations on the issues concern in which Washington Post published 90 editorials and New York Times published 75 editorials. Furthermore, on all issues American press portrayed negative image of Pakistan. Hence overall treatment of both newspapers about all issues was against Pakistan and both American newspapers portrayed negative image of Pakistan.

Keywords: US press, Pak-US relations, War on terror, NATO supply, Afghan factor.

Introduction

In this present age, media has got the major significance at national and international level. People become aware about different happenings around the globe with the help of media. Every media organization has its own policy regarding highlighting nay issue and is more interesting to search out media policies regarding any issue which leaves its impact on the relations among the countries at international level (Ali & Shahid, 2012).

For media researchers, to check media treatment of national, international issue and foreign policy is very interactive. A large number of researches regarding media policies highlighting have been conducted. According to results, all researches shows different relationship that goes to positive and sometimes negative. In the era of global village, all states have formed political setup that leads that state in the world. For development and to fulfill need, cooperation, collaboration, co-existence have more importance. How to make relationship with other countries for the benefits and make better understandings among the nations are called foreign policy. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan gave the fundamental principal to

*Authors are Ph.D. Scholar, and Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University Bahawalpur

devise foreign policy in these words; “To live peacefully and maintain cordial and friendly relations with other countries” (Amin, 2010).

With the birth of new state, Pakistan tends towards United States with respect to foreign policy. Political relations among Pakistan and USA were established in 20 October 1947. With the beginning, Pakistan has given more importance to make better relations with United States and Pakistan considered this relationship more important by keeping in view of international situation and geographical location at that time. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah welcomed American Ambassador with the key aimed to have better relationship among both countries and key partners in promoting democracy on equal basis (Haq & Khan, 2011).

Due to economic and security concern, after the independence Pakistan showed its inclination towards American Block and America was also looking friend in this region for its own interests because of Russian hegemony in this region. At many steps, various treaties signed among Pakistan and America and military assistance were also offered by USA (Sial, 2007).

Actually Pak-US relation is based on economic and military assistance. At start Pakistan decided to be part of American block instead Russian block. In early decades of 19th century, there were two main super powers of the world named United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In this way world divided into two camps. Pakistan was in American block due to the formally signatory of CENTO and SEATO in 1950's. During the war of Pakistan and India in 1965, USA suspended military supply to both countries whereas Pakistan was totally relying on USA. In 1971 once again USA disappoint Pakistan when Pakistan appeal for stopping Indian interference in Eastern Pakistan. Not only this, US also suspended economic assistance once again when Pakistan started Nuclear Weapon program in 1979 (New York Times, April 7, 1979).

In result of 9/11 attacks, US blamed to Al-Qaida as terrorist attack in USA. President of that time George W. Bush ordered war against terrorism and decided to attack on Afghanistan to arrest or assassinate Al-Qaida leader Usama Bin Ladin blamed that were hiding in there. This time was as critical exam for Pakistan to decide and President Musharraf decided to stand with US in war against terrorism. Since the birth of Pakistan, the relationship between Pakistan and America turned to many ups and downs. National interests were the key elements for the both countries. During cold, after 9/11 incident Pakistan became strong allies of US as US opened new volume of relationship with Pakistan.

As a result of 9/11, US once again started to look at Pakistan to start new relationship and providing assistance on some demands that were included;

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

- 1) Stop Al-Qaida operation in Pakistani border and end of logistical support for Usama and other terrorists.
- 2) Pakistan will provide landing and flight facilities for intelligence and military purposes.
- 3) In Pakistani areas, where necessary, US and allied forces will be allowed to take operation against terrorist.
- 4) Intelligence information will be shared with US when necessary.
- 5) All terrorist acts must publically censure.
- 6) People's movement across border should be stopped and fuel supply should be cut off to Taliban.
- 7) Pakistan must break association with Taliban government. (9/11 Commission Report, 2004)

Pakistan government lead by General Pervaiz Musharraf accepted the American demands unconditionally and became the Non-NATO ally with the America and also gained the status as front line ally against the US lead war against terror. During General Musharraf's regime Pakistan fully supported the United States and after he left the office the forthcoming president Asif Ali Zardari who was also co-chairman of the ruling party Pakistan Peoples' Party continued Musharraf's policies for the United States. Pakistan supported the United States in war against terrorism and during Zardari regime various incidents also made the relations critical including the killing of Pakistani citizens in Lahore by an American diplomat Raymond Davis in Lahore, US operation in Pakistani city Abbotabad and assassination of Osama Bin Ladin, killings of the Pakistani soldiers at Salala Check post in US attack resulting the blockade of the NATO supply through Pakistan. (Zahid and Ali, 2012)

The Media plays a vital character in building image of different societies as Navasky noted "it is based largely on journalism that we make up our national mind" (Navasky cited in Zelizer & Allen 2002).

The current research study aims to explore the issue concern highlighted by "The New York Times" and "Washington Post" during the period January 2008 to December 2012. The study explore whether the topics under discussion framed as stereotypical or given prominence in the media. The study is aimed to determine the relationship between the two countries during the civil leader Asif Ali Zardari.

Significance of Time Period

The present study "Pak-US relations during Asif Ali Zardari's regime" intends to find out the relations with United States i.e. from Jan, 2008 to December 2012 when Pakistani president Asif Ali Zardari completed its tenure as president. During PPP period various ups and downs were seen between both countries as war on terrorism

started by the US and its allies, continuous terrorist attacks in Pakistan and suicide attacks in Pakistan.

Became ally with US, it was blamed that Pakistan providing sanctuaries to Taliban in FATA region. US forces in Afghanistan, started air attacks in Pakistani regions by making the issue of presence of terrorist groups that causes killing many innocent people. US military supply from Pakistan repeatedly hit by militants in Pakistan. Food energy crises in Pakistan caused turn the poorer and prices soared. By electing first women speaker of National Assembly, Pakistan makes the history in 2008.

During this period Al-Qaeda's head Osama Bin Laden assassinated in Abbottabad, Pakistan. US drone attacks in Pakistan and killings of innocent Pakistanis, NATO supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan. Intelligence sharing with US, Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations and US aid to Pakistan in various terms is also having importance during the selected time period.

Rationale of Selected American Newspapers

In the current study, researcher focuses on two leading American newspapers that include "The Washington Post and The New York Times". These two newspapers are considered reading newspapers of America. Leading newspaper or elite newspaper can be examined by its independency, objectives, responsibility and circulation (Altshcull, 1984). The researcher chooses "The Washington Post and The New York Times" of America because these both newspapers fulfill this criteria that fall in elite press.

The Washington Post

This newspaper includes one of the most circulated newspapers of US and considers as elite newspaper with heavy circulation. Sometimes, it is written as "The Post". The started history of this newspaper goes back more than century old and this newspaper was started in 1877. Its majority circulation is in Washington DC that is also the capital of America. This newspaper writes news specially emphasis on political, national and international news.

The publication of this newspaper is in both color and black and white printed photographs with caption. It has maintained sections containing the National news, international news politics, features, columns business, stock exchange, arts, showbiz, science, information technology, local news, and sports and classified. This newspaper also won Pulitzer prizes in 1991, this includes six separate Pulitzers awarded in 2008. Its circulation is 474,767 daily.

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

The New York Times

The New York Times is popular newspaper of America that is published from New York City and distributed not only nationally but internationally. This newspaper is owned by The New York Times that published 15 other newspapers also. International Herald Tribune and The Boston Globe are also publishing under the umbrella of New York Times. It is widely circulated newspaper in the USA. Ochs Sulzberger Jr. is publisher of this group that's family controlled the paper since 1986. Politician and journalist Henry Jarvis Raymond and Former Banker George Jones started The New York Times with the name New York Daily Times in 1851. Later on in 1857, this newspaper changed its name by "The New York Times". Its circulation is 1,865,315 daily.

Objectives of Study

- To find out the US mainstream print media treatment with regard to Pak-US relations.
- To investigate and examine the editorial treatment and extent of treatment given to Pakistan during the selected time period.
- To analyze the US press stance towards Pakistan given by the selected newspapers in the selected time period.
- To explore the total treatment of US print media regarding war on terror in Pakistan
- To analyze the stance of US print media regarding war on terror in Pakistan
- To find the overall treatment of US press regarding NATO Supply through Pakistani territory.
- To explore the American print media stance regarding NATO Supply through Pakistani territory.
- To examine the US press treatment regarding Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations.
- To analyze the stance of American press regarding Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations.

Literature Review

Ali & Shahid (2012) explored the Pak-US relationship in Pakistani elite press. By using the content analysis technique, Agenda setting role, and classifying key issues study explored the relationship between two countries i.e. Pakistan and USA. To explore the relationship among Pakistan and USA, study focused on Afghanistan, India and terrorism since the 9/11 incident till the death of Osama Bin Ladin in May 2011. This study was based on Pakistani and American press. In this way Pakistani newspaper The Dawn and American newspaper The New York Times were analyzed. The Study concluded that Pakistani press has given more treatment as compare to

American press. The results of study showed that during the selected period, selected newspapers of both countries showed maximum negative behavior regarding Pak-US relationship. Furthermore Study concluded that American media does not support foreign policy of their country whereas Pakistani media support state policy on critical issues but in less ratio.

Yousaf and Ali (2012) stated that generally Pakistani media do not support the policy of government whereas US media particularly do not support the government policy regarding foreign policy. By using content analysis method, they analyzed two newspapers of Pakistan and America. The study was based on agenda setting theory and the time period was 2008 to 2012. They checked the stance of Pakistani government and American government regarding drone attacks in Pakistani areas, war on terrorism, and Chinese Russian, Iranian and Indian influence on two-sided relations of USA and Pakistan were focused. Regarding above mentioned issues, the study concluded that newspapers of both countries shows unhappy behavior. It is also concluded that Pakistani media gave more treatment as compare to American media.

Iqbal (2011) conducted study to explore the role of US media in eradicating terrorism. Study was based on content analysis and US news magazines selected as data source. The study concluded that US media portrayed negative image of Afghanistan and it is said to be that it is main hug of extremism and safe place for Taliban and Al-Qadia. Furthermore, US media presented Islam and Islamic countries negatively.

Mughees (2010) explored the image of Pakistan in US elite media during 1980 to 1990. He selected New York Times for this purpose. In its treatment, newspaper opposed Pakistan nuclear program and also opposed the US policy to give military aid to Pakistan. Whereas, newspaper gave favor US policy regarding Pakistan position on Afghanistan. He stated that US press especially New York Times does not unavoidably to follow the policy maker of America. His study concluded that American policy regarding Pakistan especially in case of New York Times somewhat advocative and somewhat adversarial.

Lodhi (2009) argued that there are mistrust and doubt in PAK-US relations. To achieve mutual interests, both countries should understand the importance of each other. Cooperation among both countries is necessary and is benefit for both states.

Haq & Khan (2008) argued that in war against terrorism, Pakistan faced more suffering due to sharing large border with Afghanistan and its proximity. Pakistan gained heavy loss in term of finance and lives in war against terrorism.

Khan & Safdar (2008) put light on the issue that at international level, US has faced sever image particular in Islamic world. Focusing on western media, Said (1987)

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

stated that in majority, western media is anti Islam and western media portrayed Islam as aggressive religion and pained for both civilizations and individuals.

Noshina (2007) in her article “US media framing of Foreign Countries Image: An Analytical Perspective”, views that US media gave substantial favorable treatment to the countries where its political, economic, and military interests are involved. The US media supported US policies on foreign affairs and portrayed the foreign countries images according to the government’s interests. Moreover if US media countered government policies, it was subsidiary depending upon the US concerns and nature of government and media differences on those issues.

Baum & Potter (2007) discussed relationship between foreign policy, mass media and public opinion. They found that public opinion and foreign policy both showed as progressed but yet not agreement or compromise made between stake holders. Anyhow, media can play important role in figure out public opinion that may influence the foreign policy.

Elkon (2007) presented the model about foreign policy relations with other issues of international affairs. This study was the merger of international and mass media theories. In his study, he focused on US media and its role during the Bosnian crises during the 1992 to 1995. To know about the policies of US media, two elite newspapers were selected that were Washington Post and Wall Street Journal. Furthermore, study examined the headlines of two American newspapers Washington Post and USA Today. The study concluded that there were relationship among media contents, public opinion and foreign policy at various level of international crisis.

Ali (2007) Checked the treatment of Muslim world in US media. in this way he selected US magazines News Week and Time for the period of ten years. He prepared a coding sheet and categorized sheet into three categories. These categories include US allies, US enemy and neutral counties. For this purpose, the selected twelve Muslim countries. He placed Pakistan as neutral country. In this study, he examined that total 1943 articles were published during the selected period of ten years i.e. from 1991 to 2001. Sample size of this study was 219 articles of twelve countries. The treatment of both magazines showed greater percentage of disapproving and negative treatment of selected twelve Muslim countries. Overall negative treatment was greater than the positive treatment. But for the Pakistan, gave positive treatment due to the pro-western policies and Pakistani leadership during the period of 1991 to 2001.

Siraj (2006) stated that in US media, Pakistan treated as West versus Islam. This point has been highlighted by different scholars. Like Said (1997) said that no other ethnic group or religious is targeted as Muslims are ascribed in mainstream media.

Evans (2006) said that all the Muslims are not terrorists. He treated this issue as positive and favorable to some extents. He concluded that all the Madrassas are not school of terrorists. Majority of madreassas gave the opportunity to learn about religion and are not threat. These Madrassas provide education millions of poor children in the Islamic world. He suggested to European and American policy makers that Madarassas offers significant ground of public peacekeeping and it is chance that Muslim Leaders of tomorrow do not see the West as their enemy naturally aggressive to all Muslim institutions

Luther & Miller (2005) stated that media contents that go against the political elites and social power holders usually merged in the news. He stated that how media frame any event that have more significance in society for the detailed considerate for the real issue.

Auerbach & Elkon (2005) explored the role of US elite print media like Washington Post and The New York Times in the formation of US policy about foreign concern. In his study, he focused on humanitarian interests, security interests and power interests. The study analyzed the Bosnian crises and showed that both of newspapers condemned the government policy. In this way, Washington Post played more critical role as compare to New York Times. On the one hand, newspaper played watchdog role over US supervision whereas on the other hand, twofold role of newspapers were seen.

Munshi & Vender (2004) analyzed the responses related to the issues of 9/11 from the point of view of Middle Eastern and Asian countries all consequences and impact. By examining the media as tool of war fare and construction of public opinion through electronic media they analyzed the American view point and rest of the world. They found that media played important role in highlighting any issue and making public opinion.

Philip (2004) conducted research to analyzed how world work. He argued that it is critical due to analysis adopted by the media and policy makers both effect how to cover any issue and frame it in the front of world that there is threat posed by radical Islamist extremists. He criticized the clash of civilization theory be Samuel Huntington. In this way, work should be done other variation so that calm the clash between west and Islam.

Theoretical Framework

Theory predicts that how one thing causes another thing. Theory insist researcher to confine research area. Theory expends the knowledge. It provides general theme and insist the researcher to verify that theme. Kaye (2000) stated that “A good theory helps to guess what will occur in future by give useful approaching into how the fact

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

being studied works”. Every study according to its objectives has some theoretical structure. Theory linked the research with the basic theme. Theory provides background to solve the problems. In the current study, research want to explore Pak-US relations issues in elite American press Washington Post and New York Times. The present study conducted under the light of “Agenda Setting Theory”.

Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting is the major theory in Mass Communication research. The concept of this theory embossed in early 1970’s as it recommended that mass media have influenced on society. Walter Lipman (1992) gave the concept of agenda setting. He stated that media is responsible to created an image in our mind. According to Dominick, “When we say that media have an impact on agenda setting, we mean that they have the ability to choose and emphasize certain topics, thereby causing the pubic to perceive these issues as important”.

Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang phrase the concept in the following words, “The mass media force attention to certain issues. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the masses should think about, know about, have feeling about” (cited in tankard & Severin).

According to Tankard & Severin (1992, p.207), “Agenda setting is the idea that the new media by their display of news, come to determine the issues the public thinks and talks about”.

The major focus of the proposed study intends to be on the priming aspects of the theory. In 80’s researches under the agenda setting theory focuses on the concept of priming. The priming concept is related to the cognitive psychological process. Priming concept stated that enhancing effects of media by offering audience preceding context that understand ensuing communication. Media serve audience by framing any event in his/her mind. Agenda setting deals with importance of issue and priming create the concept of good or bad about anything.

Priming means drawing attention to some aspects of some issues, particularly, the political ones at the expense of others. Agenda setting involves interaction of three kinds of agenda;

- a) **Media Agenda** means priorities of concentration in media content about any issue or even.
- b) **Public Agenda** means the related to the interest of public.
- c) **Policy Agenda** means the issue related to the interests of Politicians.

Mass media is believed to influence the political agenda and public agenda, in return, influences the policy agenda, as politicians or policy makers give importance to what public want (McQuail & Windhal, 1993 cited in Durrani, S 2005).

Media agenda is also influenced by the content of other media. Previous researches sustain that Elite media e.g. Washington post & New York Times can set the agenda for other media. This process is termed as intermediate agenda setting (Danielian & Reese, 1989, cited in Tankard & Serverin, 1992).

The proposed research project aims to examine what sort of agenda is set for the public and other media by the elite U.S media, Washington post and the New York Times with reference the portrayal of Pakistan.

This research study aims to analyze the editorial treatment of Pak – US relation during the period of 2008 to 2010 during PPP regime.

Research Methodology

Methodology is way that a researcher follows to achieve the results. For the current research, the researcher chooses the methodology of content analysis to analyze the hypothesis and research questions. In content analysis methodology, content may be written words or visual presentation of anything. In daily life, content analysis any means of communication employed by people who communicate society. Content analysis is systematic approach in which data is collected and analyzed by using the standard principles and method to achieve the results.

Hypothesis

H 1: It is more likely that Washington Post gave more editorial treatment to Pak-US relations under study issues as compare to New York Times.

H2: It is more likely that both newspapers opinion against the stance of Pakistan Government on under studies issues of Pak-US relations.

Research Questions

- 1) How much treatment is given in both newspapers about under studied issues in their editorials?
- 2) What is the manner of treatment of US press regarding the issue of war on terror?
- 3) What kind of treatment given by US press on the issue of NATO Supply through Pakistani territory?

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

- 4) What is the stance of US press towards Pakistan on the issue of Afghanistan as important factor of Pak-US relations?

Unit of Analysis

All the editorials of both American newspapers Washington Post and New York Times considered as basic unit of analysis during the period of 5 years from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012 Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime.

5.5 Issues to be Studied in Research

- i. War on terror and its implications for Pakistan
- ii. NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan
- iii. Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations

Study Period

The current study explored the Pak-US relations during the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime. In this way, editorials selected from Washington Post and New York Times from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012 period of 5 years.

Census of Study

In the current study, researcher examined the all editorials published in Washington Post and New York Times related to Pak-US relations on specific issues during the period of 5 years from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012. In this way no sampling technique used to select the editorials. So, it was census study.

Sample Frame

All published editorials in US newspapers Washington Post and New York Times during the period of 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012 on Pak-US relations issues specially War on terror and its implications for Pakistan, NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan and Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations and US aid to Pakistan during the period of 5 year from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012 selected as sample frame of study.

Sample Size

All editorials of Washington Post and New York Times published from 1st January 2008 to 31st December on the issue of Pak-US relations specifically on the issues of War on terror and its implications for Pakistan, NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan, and Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations and US aid to Pakistan was the sample size of this research study.

Data Measurement

For the current research study, the researcher used the measurement of Quantitative and Qualitative.

Quantitative Measurement

Quantitative measurement refers to the measurement that can be measured in figure. For example total number of published articles related to Pak-US relations includes in Quantitative measurement.

Qualitative Measurement

Qualitative measurement refers to the measurement that cannot be measured in figure. For example who we determined that US press written any editorial related to Pak-US relation is in the favor of Pakistan, against Pakistan or neutral.

Coding Sheet

To analyze the data, the researchers designed coding sheet. Furthermore, researchers divided coding sheet into three categories Positive, Negative and Neutral.

Positive

Editorial considered positive if it favours the Pakistan Government stance on the under study issues in Pak-US relations.

Negative

Editorial considered negative if its overall impression is unfavourable about stance of Pakistani government on the under study issues of Pak-US relations.

Neutral

Editorial considered neutral if it has no positive or negative representation of Pakistan on the issues of concern.

Criteria of coding slant

The researcher analyzed all editorials of Washington Post and New York Times from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012 and coding their slant into three distinct categories i.e. positive, negative and neutral. The criteria of coding slant of American newspaper's editorials were as follows;

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

- a. If the no of negative paragraphs in the entire editorial would be more than the positive or neutral paragraphs then the entire editorial would be coded into negative.
- b. If the number of positive paragraphs more than the number of negative or neutral paragraphs in the entire editorial then the whole editorial will be coded into positive category.
- c. If the number of neutral paragraphs in the editorial will be more than that of negative or positive paragraphs then the whole editorial will be treated as neutral with regard to Pak US relations.

Inter Coder Reliability

For reliability, the researchers themselves read carefully all the editorials of both American newspapers Washington Post and New York Times. Furthermore, for inter coder reliability, editorials were sent to 10 experts including Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor, Lecturer and Ph.D scholars for code the editorials. In this way, the researcher apply the evaluated formula of inter coder reliability to know about the reliability of coded data.

Data Analysis

After categorized the data into three categories i.e. Positive, Negative and Neutral, the researchers analyzed the data to conclude results. In this way, researchers uses Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software for analysis the results to maintain objectivity and data presented in table with quantity and percentage and Microsoft Excel software used for making graphs and charts. Furthermore, for composing whole thesis, researcher used Microsoft Word software.

Data Interpretations

Table 1: Comparison of Editorial treatment of Washington Post and New York Times on the issue of War on Terror in Pakistan

News Paper	Total Editorials	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
		No's.	%	No's.	%	No's.	%
Washington Post	57	10	18	35	61	12	21
New York Times	26	2	8	15	58	9	35
Total	83	12	14	50	60	21	25

Note: The above frequency distribution table shows the total editorial treatment of both US newspapers Washington Post and New York Times on the issues of War on Terror in Pakistan. During the selected period, Washington Post published total 57 (100%) editorials and New York Times published 26 (100%) editorials regarding the issues of war on terror in Pakistan. Washington Post published 10 (18%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan and New York Times published 2 (8%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan. On the other hand, Washington Post 35 (61%) editorials against Pakistan and New York Times published 15 (58%) editorials against Pakistan. Furthermore, Washington Post published 12 (21%) editorials as neutral and New York Times published 9 (35%) editorials as neutral. In this way, both US newspapers mostly published editorials against the Pakistan. By examining the whole treatment of both newspapers, table shows that out of 83 (100%) editorials of both newspapers, 12 (14%) editorials found positive, 50 (60%) editorials found negative and 21 (25%) editorials found neutral on the issue of war on terror in Pakistan.

Table 2: Total Editorial treatment of Washington Post and New York Times on the issue of NATO Supply through Pakistan

News Paper	Total Editorials	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
		No's.	%	No's.	%	No's.	%
Washington Post	14	4	29	7	50	3	21
New York Times	28	11	39	12	43	5	18
Total	42	15	36	19	45	8	19

Note: The above frequency distribution table shows the total editorial treatment of Washington Post and The New York Times on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistan. According to the results, Washington Post published total 14 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years in which 4 (29%) editorials written in the favour of Pakistan, 7 (50%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 3 (21%) editorials written as neutral on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory. Furthermore, on the same issue, New York Times published total 28 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years. From which, New York Times published 11 (39%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan, 12 (43%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 5 (18%) editorials as neutral on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory. Hence, New York Times written most of the editorials 12 (43%) against the Pakistan on the issue of concern during the period of 2008 to 2012. Both newspapers written total 42 (100%) editorials on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory in which 15 (36%) written in favour of Pakistan, 19 (45%) written against Pakistan and 8 (19%) written as neutral. Hence, overall editorial treatment of both newspapers on the issue of NATO supply is against the Pakistan.

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

Table 3: Comparison of Editorial treatment of Washington Post and New York Times on the issue of Afghanistan as Factor of Pak-US Relations

News Paper	Total Editorials	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
		No's.	%	No's.	%	No's.	%
Washington Post	19	4	21	10	53	5	26
New York Times	21	11	52	7	33	3	14
Total	40	15	38	17	43	8	20

Note: The above frequency distribution table shows editorial treatment of Washington Post and The New York Times on the issue of Afghanistan as factor of Pak-US relations. According to the results, Washington Post published total 19 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years in which 4 (21%) editorials written in the favour of Pakistan, 10 (53%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 5 (26%) editorials written as neutral on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations. Furthermore, on the same issue, New York Times published total 21 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years. From which, New York Times published 11 (52%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan, 7 (33%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 3 (14%) editorials as neutral on the issue of Afghanistan as factor of Pak-US relations. Hence, New York Times written most of the editorials 11 (52%) in the favour of Pakistan on the issue of concern during the period of 2008 to 2012. Both newspapers written total 40 (100%) editorials on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations in which 15 (38%) written in favour of Pakistan, 17 (43%) written against Pakistan and 8 (20%) written as neutral. Hence, overall editorial treatment of both newspapers on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations is against the Pakistan.

Table 4: Total Editorials Treatment of Washington Post on the all under research issues of War on terror, NATO supply, Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations.

Washington Post				
Issues	Total Editorials	Positive	Negative	Neutral
War on terror	57 (17.54%)	10 (17.54%)	35 (61.40%)	12 (21.05%)
NATO Supply from Pakistani Territory	14 (9.52%)	4 (28.57%)	7 (50.00%)	3 (21.42%)
Afghanistan as Factor between Pak-US relations	19 (12.92%)	4 (21.05%)	10 (52.63%)	5 (26.31%)

Grand Total	90 (100%)	18 (20%)	52 (57.77%)	20 (22.22%)
--------------------	----------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------------	------------------------------

Note: The above frequency distribution table shows the total editorial treatment of Washington Post during the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) regime on the issues of War on terror, NATO supply, Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations, US aid to Pakistan, According to the results, during the period of 5 years, Washington Post published total 90 (100%) editorials about the issues concerned in which 18 (20%) editorials were in the favour of Pakistan, 52 (57.77%) editorials were against Pakistan and 20 (22.22%) editorials were neutral. Hence during the period of 5 years from 2008 to 2012, Washington Post by covering the all 3 issues of concern Portrayal negative image of Pakistan as ally with US in its editorials.

Table 5: Total Editorials Treatment of New York Times on the all under research issues of War on terror, NATO supply, Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations.

New York Times				
Issues	Total Editorials	Positive	Negative	Neutral
War on terror	26 (22.22%)	2 (7.69%)	15 (57.69%)	9 (34.61%)
NATO Supply from Pakistani Territory	28 (23.93%)	11 (39.28%)	12 (42.85%)	5 (17.85%)
Afghanistan as Factor between Pak-US relations	21 (17.94%)	11 (52.38%)	7 (33.33%)	3 (14.28%)
Grand Total	75 (100%)	24 (32%)	34 (45.33%)	17 (22.66%)

Note: The above frequency distribution table shows the total editorial treatment of New York Times during the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) regime on the issues of War on terror, NATO supply and Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations. According to the results, during the period of 5 years, New York Times published total 75 (100%) editorials about the issues concerned in which 24 (32%) editorials were in the favour of Pakistan, 34 (45.33%) editorials were against Pakistan and 17 (22.66%) editorials were neutral. Hence during the period of 5 years from 2008 to 2012, New York Times by covering the all 3 issues of concern Portrayal negative image of Pakistan as ally with US in its editorials.

Table 6: Hypothesis Test 1

Hypothesis 1: It is more likely that Washington Post gave more treatment to Pak-US relations as compare to New York Times.

Issues	Washington Post	New York Times
War on Terror and Its implications for Pakistan	57	26
NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan	14	28
Afghanistan as Factor Between Pak-US Relations	19	21
TOTAL	90	75

$$N = V1 + V2$$

Where N is the total numbers of editorials,

V1 is the total editorial treatment of Washington Post

V2 is the total editorial treatment of New York Times

So,

$$165 = 90 + 75$$

Here R is the result in term of number of editorials that Washington Post published more than New York Times

$$R = V1 - V2$$

$$15 = 90 - 75$$

$$V1 (90) > V2 (75)$$

So it is proved that Washington Post published overall more editorials on Pak-US relations are compare to New York Times.

Hypothesis 2: It is more likely that both American newspapers gave opinion against the stance of Pakistan Government on under studied issues of Pak-US relations.

In Row: Total editorial treatment of Washington Post on all issues

In Columns: Total editorial treatment of New York Times on all issues

Table 7: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	26.296 ^a	4	.000
Likelihood Ratio	27.272	4	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.486	1	.223
N of Valid Cases	117		

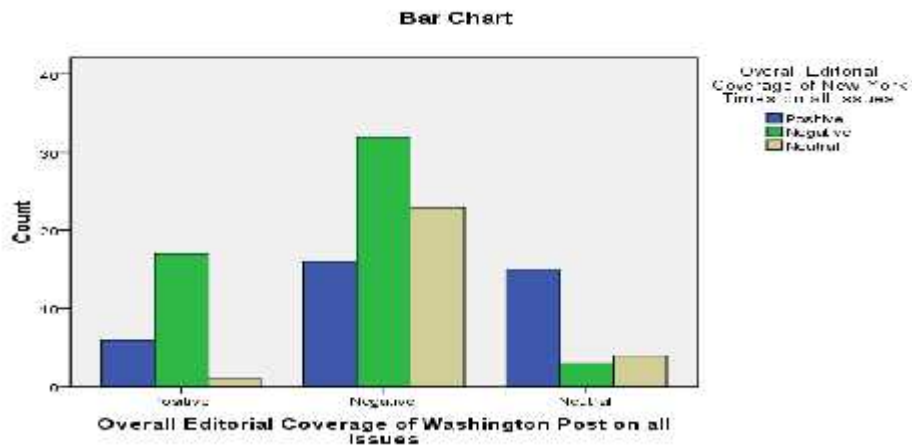
For the value of Chi-Square

$$t^2 = \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\frac{(O_i - e_i)^2}{e_i} \right) \text{ and under } H_0 \quad t^2 \sim t^2_{r,(c-1)(r-1)}$$

Chi-Square = 26.296 P-value = 0.000

The above cross tabulation shows the association among the attributes of the assumed hypothesis according to the population American Print media Washington Post and New York Times. The Chi-Square test is used to check the significance of the association. The value of Chi-Square is 26.296 and the P-value for the test is 0.000 shows there is significant association among the attributes at 5% level of significance.

Figure 1: Hypothesis Test 2



Discussions

Research Question 1: How much coverage is given in both newspapers about under studied issues in their editorials?

The current research study explored the Pak-US relations during Pakistan People's Party regime. According to the results, both American newspapers i.e. Washington Post and New York Times regarding the all 3 issues of under study including war on terror, NATO supply from Pakistani territory and Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations. Results showed that both American newspapers Washington Post and New York Times given more coverage to the issue of "war on terror" and published total 83 editorials during the selected period of 5 years during the PPP regime and ranked this category as 1st. On the issue of "NATO supply" from Pakistani territory, both newspapers published total 42 editorials and ranked this issue as 2nd. On the issue of "Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations" both newspapers published 40 editorials and ranked this issue as 3rd. In this way, Washington Post published total 90 editorials on all 3 issues of concern in the period of 5 years from 2008 to 2012 and New York Times published 75 editorials on the all 3 issues of concern. Furthermore, both American newspapers Washington Post and New York Times published total 165 editorials on all 3 issues of concern related to Pak-US relations during the period of 5 years from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012 during the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime.

Research Question 2: What is the manner of treatment of US press regarding the issue of war on terror?

The present research study explores the Pak-US relations issues in American elite press during the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012. The researcher chose editorials of Washington Post and New York Times to know the opinion of American press about role of Pakistan as ally with US on the issue of War on terror and its implications for Pakistan, NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan, and Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations. The researchers chose the all editorials related to the Pak-US relations during the selected period of 5 years. According to the results, both US newspapers Washington Post and New York Times on the issues of War on Terror in Pakistan during the selected period, Washington Post published total 57 (100%) editorials and New York Times published 26 (100%) editorials regarding the issues of war on terror in Pakistan. Washington Post published 10 (18%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan and New York Times published 2 (8%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan. On the other hand, Washington Post 35 (61%) editorials against Pakistan and New York Times published 15 (58%) editorials against Pakistan. Furthermore, Washington Post published 12 (21%) editorials as neutral and New York Times published 9 (35%) editorials as neutral. In this way, both US newspapers mostly published editorials against the

Pakistan. By examining the whole treatment of both newspapers, it is concluded that from total 83 (100%) editorials of both newspapers, 12 (14%) editorials found positive, 50 (60%) editorials found negative and 21 (25%) editorials found neutral on the issue of war on terror in Pakistan. In this way the answer of research question “What is the manner of treatment of US press regarding the issue of war on terror?” is that in quantitative treatment, Washington Post published more 57 (100%) editorials as compare to New York Times that published total 26 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years. Furthermore, in qualitative treatment, Washington Post portrayed more negative image of Pakistan as it published 35 (61%) editorials against Pakistan as compare to New York Times that published 15 (58%) editorials against Pakistan as ally with US on the issue of War on terror.

Research Question 2: What kind of treatment given by both American newspapers on the issue of NATO Supply through Pakistani territory?

The forth issue of concern in this research study was Pak-US relations in term of NATO Supply through Pakistani territory to Afghanistan portrayed by both American newspaper Washington Post and New York Times. According to the results, Washington Post published total 14 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years in which 4 (29%) editorials written in the favour of Pakistan, 7 (50%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 3 (21%) editorials written as neutral on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory to Afghanistan. Hence Washington Post wrote most of its editorials against Pakistan on the issue of concern. Furthermore, on the same issue, New York Times published total 28 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years. From which, New York Times published 11 (39%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan, 12 (43%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 5 (18%) editorials as neutral on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory. Hence, New York Times written most of the editorials 12 (43%) against the Pakistan on the issue of concern during the period of 2008 to 2012. Both newspapers written total 42 (100%) editorials on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory in which 15 (36%) written in favour of Pakistan, 19 (45%) written against Pakistan and 8 (19%) written as neutral. Hence, overall editorial treatment of both newspapers on the issue of NATO supply was against the Pakistan. In quantitative point of view, both newspapers published total 42 (100%) editorials through which 14 (100%) published in Washington Post and 28 (100%) published in New York Times on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory. In Quantitative approach New York Times has given more treatment to this issue as compare to Washington Post. Whereas in Qualitative point of view, Washington Post wrote most of its editorials 7 (50%) against Pakistan and New York Times also written most of its editorials 12 (43%) against Pakistan. In overall qualitative approach both newspapers wrote 19 (45%) of their editorials against Pakistan from the total of 42 (100%) editorials on the issue of NATO supply from Pakistani territory to Afghanistan portrayed negative image of Pakistan.

Research Question 3: What is the stance of both newspapers towards Pakistan government stance on the issue of Afghanistan as an important factor of Pak-US relations?

The fifth issue of concern in this research study was Pak-US relations in term of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations portrayed by both American newspaper Washington Post and New York Times during the time period of 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012. According to the results, Washington Post published total 19 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years in which 4 (21%) editorials written in the favour of Pakistan, 10 (53%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 5 (26%) editorials written as neutral on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations. In this way, Washington Post wrote most of its editorials 10 (53%) against Pakistan with the argument that Al-Qadia and TTP leaders was hidden Pak-Afghan border area of Waziristan territory and there are training camps of militants. And these militants cross the border easily and create disturbance for US and NATO army in Afghanistan. Furthermore, on the same issue, New York Times published total 21 (100%) editorials during the selected period of 5 years. From which, New York Times published 11 (52%) editorials in the favour of Pakistan, 7 (33%) editorials written against the Pakistan and 3 (14%) editorials as neutral on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations. Hence, New York Times written most of the editorials 11 (52%) in the favour of Pakistan on the issue of concern during the period of 2008 to 2012. Both newspapers written total 40 (100%) editorials on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations in which 15 (38%) written in favour of Pakistan, 17 (43%) written against Pakistan and 8 (20%) written as neutral. Hence, overall editorial treatment of both newspapers on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations was against the Pakistan. In Quantitative point of view, both newspapers wrote 40 (100%) editorials from which New York Times written more editorials 21 (100%) as compare to Washington Post that written 19 (100%) editorials on the issues of concern. While in Qualitative point of view, Washington Post wrote most of its editorials 10 (53%) against Pakistan and New York Times wrote most of its editorials 11 (52%) in favour of Pakistan on the issue of Afghan as factor between Pak-US relations. Overall qualitative point of view, treatment of both newspapers fell down in the category of against Pakistan with the 17 (43%) editorials.

Hypothesis 1: It is more likely that Washington Post gave more treatment to Pak-US relations as compare to New York Times.

The current research study discussed about Pak-US relations portrayed by the American press. In this study, Pak-US relations checked in different angels and explored the stance of American press on the issues of War on terror and its implications for Pakistan, NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan, and Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations and US aid to Pakistan. The

researchers assumed hypothesis 1 Quantitative point of view. So, Washington Post published total 90 editorials (See Table 6) during the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012. On the other hand, New York Times published 75 editorials in this specific period about Pak-US relations. Hence the hypothesis "It is more likely that Washington Post gave more treatment to Pak-US relations as compare to New York Times" is true.

Hypothesis 2: It is more likely that both American newspapers gave opinion against the stance of Pakistan government on under studies issues of Pak-US relations.

The hypothesis 2, researchers assumed qualitative point of view and Chi-Square test applied to check the assumed hypothesis. The values of Chi-Square for the test showed 26.296 and P-value is 0.000 showed significant associations among the attributes at 5% level of significance. So the hypothesis "It is more likely that both American newspapers gave opinion against the stance of Pakistan government on under studies issues of Pak-US relations" is true.

Conclusion

The present research study explored Pak-US relations issues in American elite press during the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012. The researcher chose editorials of Washington Post and New York Times to know the opinion of American press about role of Pakistan as ally with US on the issue of War on terror and its implications for Pakistan, NATO Supply through Pakistan to Afghanistan, and Afghanistan as a factor between Pak-US relations. The researchers chose the all editorials related to the Pak-US relations during the selected period of 5 years. Especially study focused on image of Pakistan being ally to US mission on war on terror with regard to editorial treatment of US elite press in order to frame Pakistan.

It is concluded that both newspaper of USA Washington Post and New York times published total 264 editorials on Pak-US relations during Pakistan People's Party (PPP) regime from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012. From the total of 165 editorials, 90 published in Washington Post and 75 published in New York Times. In this way, quantitative point of view Washington Post published more editorials as compare to New York Times.

On the issue of war on terror, Washington Post published 57 editorials, on the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory to Afghanistan published 14 editorials, on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations published 19 editorials, By summing up all Washington Post published total 90 editorials in the period of 5 years from 1st January 2008 to 31st December 2012.

Portrayal of Pak-US Relations Issues in Elite American Press

New York Times gave treatment to the issue of war on terror in 26 editorials during the selected period of five years. On the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani to Afghanistan, New York Times published 28 editorials and on the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations 21 editorials, In this way New York Times published total 75 editorials during the selected period of five years.

In qualitative point of view on the issue of war on terror, Washington Post published most of its editorials against Pakistan and same policy is followed by New York Times. Pakistan is ally with US since the birth of Pakistan but in this journey of 69 years, Pak-US relations seen many turns. At every stage, US prefer its interests and Pakistan faces many difficulties as ally with US. But this relation seen every season sometimes these relations goes more friendly and strong and sometimes threes relations goes breakup on crucial circumstances. On the issue of war on terror, American press show negative image of Pakistan of Pakistan with the argument that Pakistan is not serious about eradication of terrorism and in hidden supporting to Taliban, Al-Qaida and other militants groups.

On the issue of NATO supply through Pakistani territory to Afghanistan, Washington Post and New York Times both American newspapers wrote most of their editorials against Pakistan with the argument that Taliban and other militants groups create disturbance and destroy many of NATO trucks and have given heavy loss to US. As 19 editorials out of 42 were against Pakistan and portrayed negative image of Pakistan regarding NATO supply through Pakistani territory.

On the issue of Afghanistan as factor between Pak-US relations, Washington Post wrote most of its editorials against Pakistan and portrayed negative image of Pakistan as ally with US. Washington Post argued that there are terrorists training camps in Pakistan and there is no secure border. In this way terrorists easily cross the border and gave lost to NATO forces in Afghanistan. On the other hand, New York Times wrote most of its editorials in favour of Pakistan on the issue of Afghan as factor between Pak-US relations. Hence overall treatment of both newspapers showed the negative image of Pakistan as both newspaper published total 17 editorials against Pakistan out of 40.

By analyzing the both American newspapers Washington Post and New York Times, it is concluded that American newspaper showed the negative image of Pakistan. As from the total of 90 editorials, Washington Post wrote 77 editorials against Pakistan and showed negative image of Pakistan on all seven issues of concern about Pak-US relations. Same policy is followed by New York Times and out of 75 total editorials 52 editorials wrote against Pakistan and showed negative image of Pakistan.

References:

- Ali, E. & Shahid, K. (2012). *Media and Foreign Policy, A study of Pak-US Relations in US & Pakistani press post9/11 era (2001-2011.)*US: Lap Lambert publishing.
- Amin, S. (2010). *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*. 2nd Ed. Karachi. Oxford University Press.
- Haq N.U., & Khan M. N. (2011). Editorial, Daily Times, March 29, 2011, eds., "Recent Trends in Pak-US Relations," IPRI Factfile, September 12, 2011, <http://ipripak.org/factfiles/ff137.pdf> (accessed Mar 21, 2012), 4
- Iqbal, K. (2011). The seesaw of Pak-US relations. Retrieved from <http://nation.com.pk>
- Kaye, B.K., & Medoff, N.J. (2000). *A theoretical perspective for the worldwide web. The worldwide web: A mass communication perspective*. London: Mayfield Publishing Company.
- Lippman, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Mughees-Uddin (2010). Image of Pakistan in the New York Times (1980-1990). *Pakistan Vision*. Vol.11. No.1, Pp.12-43
- McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass Communication Theory an Introduction (Third Edition)*. London: Thousand Oaks. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Noshina, S. (2000). *Editorial treatment of U.S. image in the two English dailies, "The Pakistan Times," and "the Dawn", with special reference to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan 1979-88*. Unpublished master's of Philosophy thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
- Sial (2007) *a concise History, Karachi: Oxford university press*.
- Siraj, S. A. (2006). *Image of Pakistan in the US Media Exploring News Framing* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, USA.
- The New York Times, April 7, 1979.
- Tankard, J. W., Severin, W.J. (1992). *Communication theories: Origins, methods, and uses in the mass media*. New York & London: Longman.
- Yousaf M., Ali, E. (2012) *Treatment Of Pak-Us Relations In Elite Press Of Pakistan And Us During The Democratic Government Of Pakistan People's Party; March 2008 To February 2012 (Media & Foreign Policy Perspective)*.
- Zahid and Ali, (2012). Treatment of Pak-Us Relations in Elite Press of Pakistan and Us during the Democratic Government of Pakistan People's Party; March 2008 To February 2012 (*Media & Foreign Policy Perspective*) *IOSR Journal* (Nov. - Dec. 2012).
- Zelizer B. & Allan S. (2002). *Journalism after September 11*. London & New York: Routledge.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/the_New_York_Times

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Washington_Post