Coverage of War on Terror: A Comparative Analysis of Pakistani, Indian and American Print Media Shahid Minhas

Abstract

The study "Coverage of War on Terror: A Comparative Analysis of Pakistani, Indian and American Print Media" conducted to determine the comparative coverage and portrayal of War on Terror in Pakistan. The study also aimed to find out how these three selected countries i.e. Pakistan, India and America, print media portray and how considerably they covers the War on terror in Pakistan, which also benefit to know the policy of government concerned. This study also analyzes to what extent Pakistani, Indian and American print media followed its foreign policy guidelines in the coverage of War on Terror.

This study observes that actually, the New York Times pays little consideration to Pakistan and third words countries, and when it pays consideration, it tends to cover negative news. Pakistan is more frequently covers unfavorable than positive likewise encircled more frequently as a fundamentalist than a liberal state by the Hindu. Dawn focuses on lacerates of Pakistani nation in-terms of lives.

Keywords: War on Terror, Terrorism, War on Terror in Pakistan, Pak-India Relation, Pak-US relation

Introduction

Since the 9/11 incident and Pakistan role as front line state in War on Terror, the country has experienced several terrorist attacks.

The attacks have varied from grenade attacks to gun attacks to suicide attacks. The Pakistani media vastly covered the incidents, the aftermaths and even at times live as they occurred. The government also launched a security campaign to smoke out the terrorists from the Country.

Several questions have emerged from this background: The role and significance of media an unwitting accomplice with the government and its policies, the media actually magnifying the threat and terror in people in the way they report War on Terror instead of allaying their terrors. The media really objective and accurate in the way they report War on Terror in Pakistan and in their narrative and framing the War on Terror in Pakistan. It is these and others that the study aims to establish,

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the Coverage of War on Terror in Pakistan, having comparative analysis of these three country print media. This research Study is based on content analysis, which examine both the qualitative and quantitatively the coverage of war on terror in Pakistan in the American, Indian and Pakistani print media. The study examined all the stories (Hard news) during the 2012 time period. This study examined the frame and slant used to describe the coverage given by these three countries media to the War on terror in Pakistan.

The study focused on the three countries print media i.e. Pakistani, Indian and American newspapers, Dawn is selected from Pakistan, The Hindu from India and New York Time from America, Pakistan and America are directly associated to War on Terror, however India as rival of Pakistan by nature and neighbor country have a great impact on War on Terror in Pakistan and on international scenario and policies.¹

Literature Review

Generally, media contemplates contend that writers socially build significance for their audiences just by the determination and oversight of segments making up a news story.² Moreover, the idea of social constructionism has made ready for the build of framing.³ In addition, numerous individual level components, including a writer's close to home source, encounters, dispositions, qualities and convictions conceivably shape media content all of which can be considered as their own frame of reference.⁴

By and large, literature on media framing of terrorism mongering related issues has focused on insight into the past judgment, by means of contextual analyses, and contends parochial framing of the pave the way to the Iraq war after 9/11 that "agreed completely with U.S. organization strategy and never recognized the propriety of a totally, elective frame".⁵

The "War on Terror" frame, for instance, has turned into the essence of both announcing and understanding country security issues in America.⁶

Theoretical Framework

Two basic theories are applied and get benefits, for this study to evaluate the frame and slant analyzing the content of selected three newspapers.

Framing Theory

Goffman was the first to deliberate on framing as a form of

communication and defined "framing" as a "schemata of interpretation" that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and *The Dialogue* 107 *Volume XIV, Number 2*

label" occurrences or life experiences.⁷Today, media effects can be characterized as "social constructionism".⁸

Agenda Setting Theory

Lippmann sets up the central association between world occasions and the pictures in people in general personality.⁹ Cohen mentioned the objective fact that "the world will look changed to changed individuals relying upon the guide that is drawn for them by journalists, editors and distributers of the paper they read.¹⁰

Research Methodology

This study is based on the method of content analysis of these three countries, i.e. America, India and Pakistan print media while the period of the study is year 2012. This time period was selected because in the year American presidential election was held while this time period also has some importance because U.S president Barak Obama was participating in the election as he was already remain president of America in the last tenor.

Selection of the Newspapers

The New York Times, The Hindu and Dawn have been selected for this study because they are the leading newspapers of these countries and circulated widely across the country as well as across the world. High officials, critics, policy makers and senior media practitioners in Pakistan also read these newspapers for critical insight of the world issues.

Method of the Study

The study is based on the content analysis method to find out how Pakistani, Indian and American newspapers covered and portrayed the War on terror in Pakistan. According to Paisley content analysis is a process in which communication message is recorded through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared.¹¹Researchers also define content analysis as descriptive and inferential. Using the content analysis techniques; this study will examine all the stories including hard news and soft news. Although photo image is important in framing analysis, this study will not include photos, because analyzing visual image requires different operational definitions. All items on Pakistan in each issue will be coded in term of slant (favorable, neutral and unfavorable) topics etc. Classification of all the stories will be based on careful qualitative

judgment for identification of the key words/terms as mentioned in the specified hypothesis.

Variables

The variables selected for this study are Topic, Frame and Slant. The below categories topic are selected for the study.

- Terrorism
- War on Terror
- Pakistan's Nuclear Program
- Pak India Relation
- Pak America Relation
- Drone Attacks
- Foreign Relation
- Pakistan's Politics

Slant

"Slant" and "topic" are interdependent in the content analysis research. Studies argue, topic reveals what has been reported, and tone indicates how it has been narrated. Tone and topic are two different approaches in measuring media content.¹²

- 1. Positive: the story was coded positive if more paragraphs showed favorable to Pakistan in the war on terror
- 2. Negative: the story was coded negative if more paragraphs showed unfavorable to Pakistan in the war on terror.
- 3. Neutral: the story was coded as neutral if no clear emprise on either positive or negative aspects found.

Frame

To identify frame in this study such as Pakistan being Ally, foe and hardliner, Researcher used this frame category by describing it as deionization frame.¹³ To identify frames, the entire story will be analyzed from the textual point of view.

- 1. Ally: Pakistan being ally in the war on terror in Pakistan
- 2. Foe: Pakistan being foe in the war on terror in Pakistan
- 3. hardliner: Pakistan being a hardliner in the war on terror in Pakistan

Coding Unit

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Coding unit defined as the specific segment of content that is characterized by placing it in a given category.¹⁴a single word or symbol is generally the smallest unit of analysis. In this research, topic, slant, frame, placement and source of the story will be examined as variables and to measure these variables, the entire story will be the context unit and unit of analysis. The all types of hard news stories published in newspapers were the contextual unit and topics, frame, slant; covered by these newspapers were the unit of analysis.¹⁵

Data Interpretation

After examining the coverage of these country newspapers New York Time, The Hindu and Dawn through content analysis method the follow data extracted out of it. The total number of News stories (Hard News) on the issue of War on Terror in Pakistan Coverage for the specific time period of year 2012 covered by these Newspapers was (N 189) in which 42 (22%) was published in the New York Times and 37 (20%) was published in The Hindu while more coverage was given by Dawn and was published 110 (58%) during this time frame.

Overall Coverage

Overall Coverage		
New York Time	The Hindu	Dawn
42 (22%)	37 (20%)	110 (58%)
Total = N 189		

Table 1 elaborate that Dawn give more coverage than the other two newspapers while New York Time also give enough coverage to the War on Terror in Pakistan, one of the reasons of such a good coverage of New York Time is that it was the year of US presidential election and Mr. Barak H. Obama also completed its first period as a president of US, he was propagating its policy regarding War on Terror and especially War on Terror in Pakistan as its opponent republican candidate deadly opposing his policy in shape of war against Pakistan, while on the other hand the Hindu was not given such an adequate coverage to the war on terror in Pakistan. As described in the Table 2, the American newspaper New York Times give 25 (59%) favourable coverage to War on Terror in Pakistan as it covered 42 (22%) number of stories about the issue in which 25 (59%) were favourable to the War on Terror in Pakistan and covered 5 (11%) unfavourable while 12 (28%) were neutral coverage.

Slant of the Coverage

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New York Times Coverage					
Total	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral		
42 (22%)	25 (59%)	5 (11%)	12 (28%)		

As described in the above Table 2, the slant of New York Time is favourable than unfavourable which showed that the newspapers supported the role of Pakistan and its efforts contributing in the War on Terror in Pakistan, the slant also showed that Pakistan is facing deadly opposition as also

appreciated the struggle of Pakistan in War on Terror. Generally the newspapers also gave a satisfactory coverage in favourable slant to economical and livelihood loss occurred while fighting the War on Terror. The newspapers did not ignore the role as a front line ally with US in this deadly war.

Table 3 shows that the Hindu gave 25 (67%) unfavourable coverage to the war on terror in Pakistan, as it covered total 37(20%) stories regarding the War on Terror in Pakistan in which it covered 4 (10%) was favourable to the war on terror in Pakistan and 25 (67%) unfavourable coverage while it gave 8 (21%) neutral coverage to the issue.

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THE HINDUC	OVERAGE		
Total	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
37 (20%)	4 (10%)	25 (67%)	8 (21%)

On the other hand the Table 4 shows that Dawn gave more coverage to the war on terror in Pakistan than other two newspapers as it gave 110 (58%) coverage to the issue in which it covered 87 (79%) favorable and 3 (2%) unfavorable while 20 (18%) neutral coverage was given the issue in the selected time period.

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THE DAWN C	OVERAGE		
Total	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral
110 (58%)	87 (79%)	3 (2%)	20 (18%)

Frame of Coverage

The below Table 5 illustrate the overall framing of the selected newspaper for the War on Terror.

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OVER	ALL FRAME OF T	HE COVERAGE	
Frame	Ally	Foe	Hardliner
NYT	35 (83%)	1 (2%)	6 (14%)
Hindu	03 (8%)	7 (18%)	27 (72%)
Dawn	01 (91%)	2 (1%)	7 (6%)
N=	139	10	40
189			

The above table 5 shows how these three selected newspapers frame the war on terror in Pakistan. According to findings New York Times frame 35 (83%) Pakistan as an ally in the War on Terror and only 1 (2%) as foe while 6 (14%) portrayed Pakistan as hardliner country. Meanwhile the Indian newspaper The Hindu frame 3 (8%), Pakistan in the war on terror as ally and 7 (18%) as Foe while 27 (72%) as hardliner country, While Pakistani newspaper Dawn which was selected for this study was frame 101 (91%) Pakistan as an ally in the war on terror in Pakistan while only 2 (1%) as foe and 7 (6%) as hardliner country.

Coverage of Topics

The below Table 6, shows deliberately the quantity of coverage given to each of the topic selected for the study, as discussed in methodology chapter the topics were selected which will be helpful during the analyses pertaining to the slant of the story covered. The Table showed that all these three newspapers i.e. New York Times, The Hindu and Dawn given more coverage to the topic Drone attacks in Pakistan against the militants and terrorism topic but Pak-American relation and Pak-Indian relation topics were also given more coverage. While war on terror and Pakistan internal politics were also got significant coverage by these three newspapers in the selected time period.

Table 6				
Overall Top	ics Coverage			
Topics	NYT	Hindu	Dawn	Total
Terrorism	55 (61.1%)	13 (14.4%)	22 (24.4%)	90
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War on terror	22 (24.4%)	11 (12.2%)	42 (46.7%)	75
Pakistan Nuclear	5 (5.6%)	3 (3.3%)	4 (4.4%)	12
Pak Indian relation	20 (22.2%)	30 (33.3%)	32 (35.6%)	82
Pak-US relation	34 (37.8%)	21 (23.3%)	42 (46.6%)	97
Drone attacks	17 (18.9%)	31 (34.4%)	63 (70%)	111
Foreign relation	2 (2.2%)	7 (7.8%)	13 (14.4%)	22
Pakistan politics	4 (4.4%)	5 (5.6%)	37 (41.1%)	45

Statistical Analysis

After conducting the ANOVA test for the overall coverage and for variable Slant and frame. As showed in the below table.

Table 7						
ANOVA						
Source of	SS	d	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Variation		f				
Overall	1108.667	2	554.333	0.81679	0.50413	6.94427
Coverage			3	8	7	2
Slant	1684.667	2	842.333	1.24115	0.38076	6.94427
			3	9	7	2
Error	2714.667	4	678.666			
			7			
Total	5508	8				

Here the P value 0.50 which is greater than the 0.05, so for the overall coverage of the War on Terror in Pakistan given by the selected countries newspapers and P Value for the Slant variable by the newspapers is 0.3 which also greater than the alpha value (0.05) which showed that we cannot reject the null hypothesis and that the difference between the mean is not statistically significant. We cannot conclude that the null hypothesis is true. But we can conclude that it don't have sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.The statistical Analysis

also prove that the amount of coverage given by these three newspapers have the same average.

Tests of Hypotheses & Research Question

RQ1: To explore the quantitative coverage of Pakistani, American and Indian print media given the War on Terror in Pakistan during the study period?

H1: It is more likely that Dawn gave more coverage than the New York Times.

The result shows 42 (22%) was published in the New York Time and 37 (20%) was published in The Hindu while more coverage was given by Dawn and was published 110 (58%) during the selected time period. This showed that Dawn give more coverage than the other two newspapers which prove the hypothesis H1as true.

RQ2: What was the slant of these print media on the War on Terror in Pakistan?

H2: It is more likely that the Hindu gave negative coverage to War on Terror in Pakistan.

According to the results the slant of the newspapers Dawn and New York Times were favorable to the War on Terror in Pakistan while the Indian Newspaper the Hindu gave mostly unfavorable and neutral coverage. The study shows that the hypothesis H2 as true.

Analysis and Discussion

This study observed that actually, the US news extent especially of the creating scene has met with significant feedback in the past in light of the fact that it pays little consideration to Pakistan and third words countries, and when it pays consideration, it tends to cover negative news. As per statistics US media for the most part depict underdeveloped nations in negative stories taking into account violations, fiascos, clashes, and disappointment of governments while ranges including science, expressions and society were fundamentally underestimated.¹⁶ Pakistan was more frequently covered unfavorable than positive and more regularly covered as an enemy than a friend, in general. Pakistan was likewise encircled more frequently as a fundamentalist than a liberal state. Additionally, a large portion of the stories on Pakistan had US bylines, trailed by Indian and Pakistani bylines.

When Pakistan turned into a partner of the US, the daily papers reliably underscored the part of Pakistan and of the present administration of President Pervez Musharraf as an associate of the US in the war against terrorism. The daily papers specified President Musharraf's push to favor the US against the inner political weight as a rule and the Islamic bunches specifically.

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While covering different subjects/topics (War on Terrorism, Pakistan-India Relations, Drone assaults, Internal Politics, and Foreign Relations), every one of the daily papers gave the majority of the scope to Pakistan-India Relations, trailed by War against terrorism and Drone assaults. The Pakistan-India Relationship figured the greater part of the scope on the issue of Kashmir and Indian judgment of terrorists' penetration from Pakistan. Amid the study period, both nations were at the very edge of war. Although after the end of the unfriendly war, United State keeps up great association with India however this did not influence the inclination and casing in the scope of Pakistan in the US media. The scope on the topic of Pakistan-India relations was generally towards peace between the two nations. By then, the US government never needed war in the middle of Pakistan and India rather needed Pakistan to completely focus on the war against terrorism and to prepare its powers on the fringe with Afghanistan to battle terrorism, and so on.

The daily papers had a tendency to depict Pakistan government as a genius Western pioneer and noticed his expectation to contradict radicalism. The 1998 military upset that he was in charge of was named as a bloodless coup after 9/11 and was examined regarding its constructive outcomes. Pakistan government was introduced as attractive, for a nation helpless to Islamic radicalism. The daily papers talked about his arrangement for fighting defilement, enhancing expectations for everyday comforts and guaranteeing an honest to goodness majority rule government by organizing top-down controls in the administration. The daily papers more than once underscored Pakistan government as a progressive, modern, liberal and valiant who endeavored to move the nation far from the radical strengths. These finding are in accordance with prior exploration on US media scope of inviting undemocratic pacesetters.

Conclusion

The coverage more often than not reflected the changed relationship between the United States and Pakistan after the 9/11 attack, wherein Pakistan became an ally of the United States in its War against Terrorism. The coverage confirms Shoemaker and Rees's theoretical contention that foreign policy influences media content relating to international events. The findings are also in line with the arguments of several other studies that the U.S. media tend to portray positively those countries that are close to the interests of the United States even when they represent non-democratic regimes. To sum up, this study concludes that these three newspapers framing the issue War on Terror's image

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depends upon the degree of US interest in that country as well as the US foreign policy.

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