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Article:	Portrayal of Military Operations of Pakistan in War on Terror by Leading American and British Newspapers
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ABSTRACT

Mass media do not only portray the facts rather they play a significant role in construction of the facts by framing events/issues/ individuals. The present study was designed to explore the framing of Pakistan's military operations in UK and USA press, which it took to uproot terrorism in the country. The researcher implied content analysis research methodology to examine portrayal. Online archives and newspaper subscriptions were accessed for data collection. The researcher deduced frames and developed exclusive and mutually exhaustive content categorization scheme to explore frames in pre and post operation period by implying content analysis method. The variation in use of frames by UK and US press was significant, however Conflict frame and international politics frame in pre operation time period and domestic Politics frame and Economic frame in post operation time period yielded insignificant difference as UK followed US policy on War on Terror. The study has found significant evidence about the influence of foreign policy and vested interest, on media image of a country as post operation coverage remained negative.

Keywords: *United Kingdom, United States of America, Pakistan's Military operations, War on Terror, Portrayal of Pakistan.*

Introduction

Pakistan as a front-runner ally of United States in the war-on-terror (WoT), played a key role in combating terrorists at its own soil as well as facilitated logistically the American and NATO forces who were engaged against al-Qaida and Taliban in Afghanistan. Pakistan has conducted 735 minor and 251 major military operations to combat Taliban insurgency since the inception of War on Terror (Khalid & Roy, 2016). As a consequence of these military operations, Pakistan endured numerous terror attacks resulting in loss of a great number of security personnel, civilians, damage to infrastructure and large scale of internal displacement of the population. In addition to human losses, Pakistan has suffered a loss several billion dollar economic losses in this war (Husain & Munawar, 2010). However, even all such sacrifices did not earn good image for Pakistan amongst the international community. Even the United States, who waged the war on terror, kept on demanding “*do more*” from Pakistan, which was an ally of the US in this WoT (Iqbal and Zubair 2014). Moreover, the US and its other allies in the war on terror always expressed doubts over Pakistan’s role in combating terrorism. Rather many western countries blamed Pakistan as a safe haven for terrorists.

There may be different reasons for not acknowledging the efforts of Pakistan in the War on Terror by the US-UK or the international community but one aspect which can play a crucial role in making and damaging images of people and nations at international level is mass media’s portrayal of the nations. Mass media’s penetration into our lives is increasing by each passing day. It influences social and political discourse and changing social fabric of the society (Esser & Stromback, 2014). It not only affects our cognitions by reporting rather it change audiences’ perceptions, attitudes and behavior towards people, situations, ideologies, etc. by framing them. Shoemaker and Reese, (1996) point out the capability of media framing in construction of a pseudo-environment far from the reality present in the social world. The presented reality becomes the real one once the stories of unknown/ fewer familiar places and societies are covered in the media. Thus, maintaining a scenario of media driven society, where people turn to media for making sense of their surroundings. Therefore, stressing the centrality of media as a prime source of information, in American and British era where majority is still not traveling (Saleem, 2007).

Keeping in view the dominant role of media, the present study examined how the American and British press portrayed Pakistan in the backdrop of its military operations in War on Terror.

Framing of War and Conflicts

Framing is among the theoretical concepts that has been widely used by political science and mass communication scholars, to study of media coverage of international conflicts (Barnett & Reynolds, 2009: 47), as it is among the most relevant approaches to explain how the media effect audiences’ attitudes towards wars and conflicts (Fahmy & Al-Emad, 2011: 218). Many scholars have applied framing theory to understand media effects, by going through coverage of certain phenomenon (Tankard et al., 1991). For these scholars, the most Significant component of framing is perspective and that is actually what the news media creates. Entman (1993) theorized that the most significant aspect about a frame, is its capacity to make certain

features prominent than others. Its potential effects are not only determined by what is included, but also by what is excluded. As Nelson et al. (1997) explain, “frames affect opinions simply by making certain considerations seem more important than others, these considerations, in turn, carry greater weight for the final attitude” (p: 569).

Cappella and Jamieson elaborate news framing by comparing it with the construction of a new house: “Like the framing of a house, a news frame creates a structure on which other elements are built. The frame determines the shape of the house and without it there is no house” (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 38). By applying Cappella and Jamieson’s analogy, to coverage of terrorism, the press may select to portray the issue in terms of; individual’s tenancies that led them toward radicalization, outside influences that corrupted them, lack of educational and employment in society for the culprits involved, opportunities for those involved, or even the mental health of the perpetrators.

Scholars suggest that since a large group among masses isn’t well informed about socio-political issues, they might be greatly influenced by the media framing (Iyengar, 1991; Abdullah, 2014). Entman (1991) while conducting comparison of narratives of international news in American newspapers, found that the news frames employed in news were the ones dominated by the US perspective on the international issue, neglecting the interpretations of the other countries involved. Thus, media framing plays the fundamental role in defining the social issues, their causes and solutions, so it turns out to be of particular interest to understand the phenomenon of terrorism (Huckstep, 2009: 30).

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five news frames, related to journalistic conventions. They noted absence of consistent indicators for assessing these generic frames through content analysis, and attempted to solve this issue by developing chain of questions to study frames. The idea to develop these common indicators was to measure framing between multiple news outlets and between the presses of different countries as cited in Urich (2017). Therefore to study framing variations among the press of US and UK, frames by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) has been adopted.

Framing of Pakistan in American and British Press

International media coverage of a country or nation plays a two-tiered role by either constructing a positive identity or by promoting a distorted identity of the country/ nation concerned which lead to its negative image in the American and British arena (Ezeah & Emmanuel, 2016; Li & Chitty, 2009, pp .1-11). Kunczik (1997, p.47) viewed that national image as cognitive representation influences perception of an individual about a country. Hence, the repeated exposure of constructed images of a nation leads people to think of a nation in a certain way.

US press coverage holds greater importance in American and British media as it sets the narrative for American and British platforms to follow and consequently defining the issues for rest of the world (Iqbal & Zubair, 2014). Poornanandra (1998) identified the limited

coverage of South Asia as primarily negative in US press since only the stories of violence, disasters, political unrest etc made the headlines. The coverage given by US press varies from country to country as it is influenced by its national interest and foreign policy (Saleem, 2007; Siraj 2006; Iqbal and Zubair, 2014; Z. Peng 2004; Dorogi 2001 ; Herman & Chomsky 2000; Perlmutter 1998; ; Merrill 1995; Hackett 1984) .

The cultural and geographical prejudices shape the media coverage of Muslim world. Sometimes by exaggerating the power of enemy states, by selecting and presenting certain contents and by projecting the voice of elites (Yousaf, 2015; Saleem, 2007). Therefore, the perception of Muslim as militants, fundamentalists is an embedded part of the overall framing of Islamic world and Pakistan in western media. Negative media frames, such as hard-line Islamic Clerics, jihadist, xenophobic, oppressor of females and radical Islam dominates Pakistan's media image (Khan and Zaheen, 2014).

Mughees (1995) Identified religion as another predictor of favorable or unfavorable media representation in American and British media as the religious dichotomy has portrayed Islam a violent religion. It has been projected as a harbinger of militancy and a threat to western interest (Karim, 2000). He further adds that Muslims have been connected with terrorism and identified as a new enemy to fight after the end of cold war. Said (1997) mark these as deliberate attempt to distort the image of Islam.

The framing of British press has not remained much different of American press. It has been supporting its government's policy in the coverage of international conflicts as (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Robinson, *et al.*, 2009) indicated. Though British govt. shares dominantly ideological arena with USA but still sometimes differs on treatment of the issues, such as multilateral approach to deal with War against terrorism unlike unilateral approach, focusing humanitarian crisis as result of war (Safdar, Budiman, & Hamid, 2014).

Hence, exploring the representation of Pakistan in lieu of military operations in UK and USA press is significant to understand the role of media framing in construction of image of Pakistan.

Statement of the problem

Framing in news postulates that the way any issue or topic is presented in media, carries a significant bearing in the minds of audiences. The study was also aimed at investigating that whether leading press of the selected countries differ in their frames, visibility and evaluative tone given to Pakistan. Framing in news postulates that the way any issue or topic is presented in media, carries a significant bearing in the minds of audiences. The present study had been designed to investigate how much coverage has been given to military operations of Pakistan against the war on terror by the elite daily newspapers of USA, UK. More importantly it explored that how the US and UK press framed Pakistan's role in War on Terror in the perspectives of these military operations. The study was also aimed at investigating that whether leading press of the selected countries differ in their frames, visibility and evaluative tone given to Pakistan.

Military Operations

Pakistan being a fore front ally on war against terrorism has been fighting the war since 9/11 on its eastern borders with Afghanistan and within its borders, against unseen enemy and has conducted 735 minor and 251 major military operations to combat Taliban insurgency (Khalid & Roy, 2016).

The researcher selected major three operations with respect to their success in combating terrorism. These operations are Rah-e-Rast, Zarb-e-Azb and Rud ul Fasad.

Methodology:

Krippendorff (2004) defines content analysis as a systematic procedure to find meanings in images and text. Weber (1990) further elaborates it as a technique to draw inferences from the content. Therefore, Content analysis was opted as research methodology for the present study. The researcher analyzed US based elite newspaper The New York Times and UK based elite newspaper The Guardian. These newspapers have been selected on the basis of their reach and popularity (Godefroidt, 2014). Unit of analysis was all news stories which were covering military operations (Rah-e-Rast, Zarb-e-Azb, Rud-ul-fasad) conducted by Pakistan Army during the specific time period. All news stories related to Pakistan's military operations and role in War on Terror published in the selected period of time.

Time Period of the Study

The researcher divided the time period into two zones for studying the portrayal.

- *Before the military Operation*
- *After the military operation*

Since the news coverage of Pakistan is incident based in American and British media, a time period of 3 months before, and 3 months after the each military operation is studied for developing understanding of the media frames as only events with high domestic impact are more likely to be reported (Pande 2009). By dividing the time period in two zones, the researcher can explore the frame differences. How it was framed before the operation and after the operation? (Godefroidt, 2014; Yousaf, 2015; Urich, 2017). Time period of the present study for operation Rah-e-Rast in before period is 25th Jan- 25th April 2009 and in after period is 26th April-1st July 2009 (IPRI Factfile, 2011). Operation Zarb-e- Azb in before period from March 15th -14th June 2014 and in after period from 15th June 2014-14th Sep 2014. Furthermore operation Rud-ul-Fasad in before period from 21st November-21st February 2017 and in after period from 22nd February 2017- 21st May 2017. Online archives and newspaper subscriptions were accessed for data collection (*the researcher has considered the "after" operation coverage as the coverage from the beginning of the operation till a specific time after the conclusion of the operation*).

The present study applied deductive approach and deduced generic frames (Terrorism, social, Economic consequences, Domestic Politics, conflict, and International relations frame) from (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) as employed by (Yousaf, 2015). The researcher to date could not find any instances of application of these generic frames on War on terror in American and British & regional press in context of Pakistan's contributions in the war.

Since, the study aimed at exploring how the American and British press framed Pakistan in context of its military operations and war against terrorism and the presence of generic frames in it. A comprehensive set of 6 clusters and 29 indicators / questions were initially used for the study, with Conflict and economic frame indicators by (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), domestic politics, social, I.R and terrorism indicators by (Yousaf, 2015). The researcher also developed five more indicators for terrorism frame (out of which two achieved the level of consistency, *Does the story suggests the problem requires urgent action?* *Does the story suggests that urgent action (military operation) is solution of terrorism?*), added two more to social and one to domestic politics frame to the model. A minimum three questions were considered necessary to measure a frame. The presence of the frames was coded with simple Yes (1), and absence with (0). One questions from domestic politics “*Does the story relate the law-and-order situation of Pakistan with political instability?*” was excluded from the study. A total of 17 items were retained for the study.

A nation’s image in media is influenced by a number of factors. Manheim and Albritton (1984) has identified the two factors influencing the media portrayal, visibility and tone. Visibility would be studied as amount of coverage in media i.e. number of news stories, tone as positive, negative and neutral in this study. (*As per the Wang’s 2007 categorization scheme*). According to this scheme news stories are coded as positive (1) in which the primary aspects of Pakistan indicate reliability progress, stability, prosperity, security, trustworthiness, and efficiency in managing its political, cultural, economic, administrative, and societal activities. Contents coded as ‘Neutral’ (0) in which the primary aspects of Pakistan are poised between positive and negative sides.

News content are operationally defined as negative (-1) when the primary aspects of Pakistan suggest unreliability, weakness, instability, danger, insecurity, untrustworthiness, and inefficiency in managing its political, cultural, economic, administrative, and societal activities.

Two coders were trained for the process to establish inter coder reliability. To maintain the consistency in coding process, the researcher discussed coding sheet with the coders to explore any ambiguities and held coding session. The coders coded 10% of the total dataset selected for the study and applied Krippendorff Alpha to asses inter coder reliability. The assessed KALPHA indicated satisfactory reliability.

Results and Findings

Coverage before and after the military operations in British & American press

Table 1 : Difference between amount of coverage given to Pakistan by American and British Press before and after the military operations

				95% Interval Difference	Confidence of the			
N	M	SD	Lower	Upper	t	df	p	

1	American and British Press coverage before Operations	137	1.26	.442	-2.729	-2.412	-31.958	171	.000
2.	American and British Press Coverage After Operations	36	3.83	.378	-2.717	-2.424	-35.005	62.562	.000

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to determine whether there is a difference in the amount of coverage given to Pakistan by American and British press in “before” and “after” periods of the military operations. The results indicate a significant difference between “before” (M=1.26, SD=.442) and after period of military operations (M=3.83, SD=.378), [t (62.562) = -35.005, p = .000 ≤ .05]. The 95% confidence interval of the difference between means ranged from [-2.717 to -2.424]. therefore, H1 (*It is more likely that amount of coverage given to Pakistan by American and British press will vary significantly in before and after periods of the military operations.*) is supported as the data reflects more coverage in before time period as compared to after the operation coverage. The result is consistent with previous studies as vested interests of American and British press influences the extent and nature of media coverage. The negative incidents (terrorism activities) receive more coverage, in comparison of anti-terrorism activities (Herman & Chomsky 2000 ; Dorogi 2001; Z. Peng 2004; Ali & Qadir 2005; Asmal, 2008).

Comparison of Coverage of American press with British press

Table 2 : Coverage of US press and UK press in terms of before military operations periods

		News coverage before military operations	Total
		The Guardian	New York Times
Military operations	n	32	5
	Rah e Rast % within News coverage before	31.7%	13.9%
	Zarb e Azab n	46	27

	% within News coverage before	45.5%	75.0%	53.3%
	n	23	4	27
Radul Fasad	% within News coverage before	22.8%	11.1%	19.7%
	n	101	36	137
Total	% within News coverage before	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3 : Coverage of US press and UK press in terms of After military operations periods

		News coverage after military operations			Total
		The Guardian		The New York times	
	n	0	14		14
	% within News coverage after	0.0%	46.7%		38.9%
	n	5	6		11
Military Operations	Zarb e Azab	% within News coverage after	83.3%	20.0%	30.6%
	n	1	10		11
	Radul Fasad	% within News coverage after	16.7%	33.3%	30.6%
	n	6	30		36
Total		% within News coverage after	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 2 &3 reflects significant differences in coverage of military operations by UK press and US press in before and after period. The Guardian has remained consistent in covering Pakistan before the operation time period with 31.7 % to Rah e Rast, 46 % to Zarb e Aazb and 23% to Rud ul Fasad. While the New York Times gave 75% coverage to Zarb e Azb in before time period. In after the operations time period Guardian gave 83% coverage to operation Zarb-e-Azb and about 17% to operation Rud ul Fasd. Whereas New York Times have given 46.7 %, 20 %, 33% to these operations respectively in after the operation time period. Consequently, H2(*It is more likely that coverage of US press and UK press will differ in terms of extent of the coverage given to the military operations as well as framing and evaluative tones*) is supported in terms of coverage given to Pakistan.

Table 4 Coverage of US press and UK press in terms of evaluative tones before military operations.

					News coverage before military operations	Total	
					The Guardian	New York Times	
Tone	Negative	n			58	23	81
		% within News coverage before			57.4%	63.9%	59.1%
	Neutral	n			11	3	14
		% within News coverage before			10.9%	8.3%	10.2%
	Positive	n			32	10	42
		% within News coverage before			31.7%	27.8%	30.7%
Total					n		
					101	36	137
					% within News coverage before		
					100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5 : Coverage of US press and UK press in terms of evaluative tones after military operations

				News coverage after military Operations		Total
				The Guardian	The New York Times	
Tone	Negative	n		4	7	11
		% within News coverage after		66.7%	23.3%	30.6%
	Neutral	n		1	14	15
		% within News coverage after		16.7%	46.7%	41.7%
	Positive	n		1	9	10
		% within News coverage after		16.7%	30.0%	27.8%
Total			n	6	30	36
			% within News coverage after	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4 presents the coverage of US and UK press in terms of evaluative tones highlighting the dominant use of negative tones for Pakistan by the presses of both countries. It further indicates the use of about 64% use of negative tones by US, in comparison to 57% by the UK press. While the positive tone was used more in UK press in comparison to 27.8 % of US press in before the military operation time period. While, Table 5 presents the coverage dominantly negative for Pakistan even after the conducting military operations as the result indicates about 67% use of negative tones by UK in comparison of 23% of US press. While the positive coverage remained 17% and 30% respectively. Thus highlighting a slight shift of US press in its use of negative tone to neutral tone (46.7%) after the military operations time period. Therefore H2, is supported for significant difference in the use of evaluative tones.

Table 6 : Paired Sample t test indicating difference between coverage of Frames by American and British Press before Military Operations

		M	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		df	P
					Lower	Upper		
1	Terrorism Guardian	−4.12	1.422	.195	1.352	2.122	8.921	.000
	Terrorism New York Times	2.39	1.7746				136	
2	Social Guardian	−1.58	1.062	.128	.345	.852	4.663	.000
	Social New York Times	.98	1.197				136	
3	Domestic Guardian	−.97	.727	.086	.275	.615	5.177	.000
	Domestic New York Times	.53	.619				136	
4	Conflict Guardian	−.66	.546	.087	-.348	-.003	-2.008	.047
	Conflict New York Times	.84	.833				136	
5	Economic Guardian	−1.06	.914	.135	.177	.713	3.287	.001
	Economic New York Times	.61	1.214				136	
6	International Guardian	.40	.575	.086	-.396	-.056	-2.629	.010
	– International New York Times	.63	.858				136	

A paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare between coverage of American and British frames before military operations. There was a significant difference in the American and British press coverage of frames before military operations as $p \leq .05$ for frames of Terrorism, social, domestic politics and economic frames. However, the conflict frame and International relations frame reflected insignificant difference as the $p \ 0.47 \geq .05$ and $p \ 0.10 \geq .05$ respectively for the frames.

Table 7: Paired Sample t test indicating difference between coverage of Frames by American and British Press after Military Operations

		M	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		df	P	
					Lower	Upper			
1	Terrorism Guardian	-.75	1.763	.322	-2.237	-.929	-4.915	35	.000
	Terrorism New York Times	2.33	1.568						
2	Social Guardian	-.44	.939	.272	-2.079	-.976	-5.624	35	.000
	Social New York Times	1.97	1.594						
3	Domestic Guardian	-.19	.577	.117	-.515	-.040	-2.376	35	.023
	Domestic New York Times	.47	.609						
4	Conflict Guardian	-.42	.937	.176	-.912	-.199	-3.162	35	.003
	Conflict New York Times	.97	.696						
5	Economic Guardian	-.25	.841	.189	-.884	-.116	-2.646	35	.012
	Economic New York Times	.75	1.317						
6	International Guardian	.19	.467	.146	-.825	-.231	-3.607	35	.001
	– International New York Times	.72	.815						

A paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare between coverage of American and British frames after military operations. There was a significant difference in the American and British press coverage of frames after military operations as $p \leq .05$ for each frame except the frames of economic and domestic politics.

The difference between use of frames by UK and US was significant for majority of the frames.

The result with respect to coverage, evaluative tones and frames is consistent with findings of previous studies indicating the multilateral approach of United Kingdom (Safdar et al. 2014).

Comparison of positive coverage evaluative tones of UK press with USA press

Table 9: Independent sample t test to measure the portrayal of Pakistan by American and British Press before and after military operations.

95% Confidence Interval of the Difference
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	n	M	SD	Lower	Upper	t	df	p
1								
Tone of coverage by Guardian before Operations	101	-.26	.913	-.245	.453	.587	135	.558
Tone of coverage by New York Times before Operations								
2.	36	-.36	.889	-.247	.454	.592	62.472	.556
3.								
Tone of coverage by Guardian After6 Operations	6	-.50	.837	-1.253	.119	-1.679	34	.102
4.								
Tone of coverage by New York Times After30 Operations	30	.07	.740	-1.444	.311	-1.543	6.657	.169

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to determine whether there is a difference in the tone of coverage given to Pakistan by American and British press in the “before” and “after” periods of the military operations. The results indicate no statically significant difference between “before” period of military operations ($M = -.26$, $SD = .913$), [$t(135) = .587$, $p = .562 \geq .05$] and “after” period of military operations ($M = -.50$, $SD = .837$), [$t(34) = -1.679$, $p = .610 \geq .05$]. *H3 (It is more likely that American and British press will portray Pakistan positively after the operation as compared to before the military operation)* isn’t supported indicating the lack of positive coverage given to Pakistan by the American and British press in after time period, supporting the findings of dichotomies of good and bad.

Discussion & Conclusion

The present study explored the representation of Pakistan in American and British press in context of its military operations by implying framing theory. The study has found significant evidence about the influence of foreign policy and vested interest on media image of a country. The basic function of news media to sustain objectivity and unbiased reporting /coverage of incidents is largely absent, validating the findings of (Saleem, 2007; Siraj 2006; Iqbal and Zubair, 2014) etc. The study highlights that only negative stories are given coverage in American and British media, as the efforts and losses of Pakistan after the initiation of military operations were covered less. Moreover, difference in terms of coverage, evaluative tones and frames were identified between US and UK in pre and post the operation time period. The insignificant values of frames were found consistent with previous studies as UK followed US policy on WoT as indicated by (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994; Robinson, *et al.*,

2009). Furthermore, it highlighted the dichotomous relationship of east and west, influences of foreign policy on media coverage.

Pakistan has suffered the most previously in US proxy war in Afghanistan and then in War against Terrorism. Its efforts to appease the super powers and to bring peace to world have always been discredited; increasing the plight of Pakistani nation. But now the growing dissatisfaction, the labelling of Pakistan as foe, the demeaning treatment of its citizens and increasing Islamophobia indicates that Pakistan should gain reputation from an extremist state to a state who has paid the cost of terrorism, to change its image from a victimizer to victim. PM Imran Khan has also chanted the slogan of “Do More” to “No More” in this respect.

It is time for American and British press too to acknowledge Pakistan for the irreparable losses it bore. The persistent misrepresentation and underrepresentation would increase anti-western and anti-American sentiments in Pakistan and Muslim world at large.

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