Journal of Peace, Development and Communication

Article:	**Representation of Immigration and Refugee Issues in Pakistani Mainstream Print Media: A Content Analysis of News Coverage of US Presidential Election 2016**
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Published:	21st December 2022
Publisher Information:	Journal of Peace, Development and Communication (JPDC)
To Cite this Article:	Ramzan , M. M., Riaz, S., & Shah, B. H. (2022). Representation of Immigration and Refugee Issues in Pakistani Mainstream Print Media: A Content Analysis of News Coverage of US Presidential Election 2016. *Journal of Peace, Development and Communication*, *06*(02), 335-351. https://doi.org/10.36968/JPDC-V06-I04-22
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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the stance of Donald Trump on the issue of refugees and immigration through the technique of content analysis. For this study framing analysis of two prominent English newspapers- the daily Dawn and The News International, from Pakistan was carried out. Articles were evaluated for the extent of coverage and tone from August 2016 to February 2017. The quantity of coverage, frequency, and tone of the coverage in these sample newspapers was determined by content analysis. Overall, the trends from all these sample sources suggest that most stories focused on immigration in general, with some articles focusing explicitly on refugees. Furthermore, the focus on immigration broadly supports the agenda-setting theory; the news outlets analysed most frequently described Donald Trump's immigration statements negatively.
Keywords: Agenda setting, Conflict, Xenophobic, Hate, Racist, Hope, Content analysis, Trump, Immigration, Refugees

Introduction

The United States of America has a deep influence on world politics. The election of the American president was a key event in 2016 that gained momentous media coverage and public attention throughout the world. The public is media-dependent because media is considered trustworthy and the primary source of information for individuals around the world. Media is considered the fourth pillar of the state. It has the power to blend, blur and bend the human mind. Media influences the public and society. Notably, the media use different techniques to make a news story prominent. Framing theory explains how something is presented to the audience by different media outlets.

There has been an increasing public interest in politicians, political parties, and elections ever since the advent of electronic media. People stick to television channels for hours watching their favourite politicians, who engage in endless debates with other political rivals. Nielsen, (2015) notes that TV reaches 87% of Americans, whereas an average American spends 5 to 6 hours a day watching TV. Ever since its advent, TV has rather become a household item in every country of the world. Today, people all over the world watch TV for various purposes, such as entertainment, information, and persuasion. However, this is just one side of the coin.

Thus, one cannot rule out the significance of media shaping the public worldview. We have countless examples in history and the recent past, where governments or powers-that-be used media to create a certain perception about wars, presidents, political parties, and rival countries.

Likewise, media also play a crucial role in shaping public opinion in countries beyond their borders. In other words, the so-called independent media of respective countries -friends or foes - tend to follow nationalist narratives, which may reflect a country's foreign policy and relations with other countries as per given policy guidelines.

In other words, how media tend to reflect certain political agendas of friends and foes manifest the guiding national interests, which may also include protecting a friendly country's interests and projecting them in appreciating terms.

The new US policy for South Asia, particularly about Pakistan and India, may be termed proverbial to selling old wine in new bottles e. On the one hand, Pakistan faces increasing US aid cuts and suspension of the Coalition Support Fund, while threats of resultant economic sanctions loom over its skies. Pakistan as a country is being projected as a sponsor of terror while its concrete efforts in combating terror as well as the sufferings owing to terrorism are brushed under the carpet (S. Yousaf, 2015).

Background

The United States of America follows a presidential system. It is often referred to as the superpower, because of its economic prosperity and military prowess. There is not a single country in the world that, either directly or indirectly, is not influenced by the US foreign policies -- to some countries, it may not even be a matter of choice.

A US president is the epicenter of power and authority not just in his/her country but is also a global influencer in the sense that his foreign policy, such as military assistance to other countries, international crises management, conflict resolution aids and global initiatives; have a significant impact on the participation of every single country on this planet.

A study by Fouad Touzani reveals that from Harry S. Truman to Donald Trump, all the US presidents have swiftly responded to -- Republicans more actively than the Democrats -- any resistance or challenge to their foreign policy interests in the Middle East and North Africa by launching military actions, imposing economic and travel sanctions, increasing/decreasing foreign aid and authorizing arms sales -- the two key US interests for that matter are protecting Israel and its global war on terror (Touzani, 2017).

On the other hand, the very incident brought international embarrassment to Pakistan. Global media termed Pakistan a state sponsor of terror blamed it for playing a double game with the world and urged for the strictest economic bars if it factor acts against extremist elements and pro-Taliban policy (Fair, 2014).

Yousaf further argues that this negative framing of Pakistan in US media is then blindly followed by media houses of other countries in the West and Europe, and thereby any country with hostile tendencies toward Pakistan -- India, for that matter. It is observed that this tendency is reciprocal, meaning negative framing of Pakistan comes along with positive framing of the United States in either implicit or explicit terms.

Since the presidential election in the United States is closely monitored by the international community and framed by respective media houses as per national interests, it is observed that in the wake of the 2016 US Presidential election race, Indian media also geared up to cover every single aspect of the electoral agendas of two top rivals, Hillary Clinton, and Donald Trump.

A little too much for their expectations, Donald Trump's chauvinistic style, populist discourse, and verbal blitz against a range of countries and international issues, such as Pakistan and China resulted in his immediate approval of the mostly hardline Indian ruling quarters and radical Hindu majority. On the other hand, Trump's criticism of Pakistan and statements casting doubts on Pakistan's 'double game' in the US-led war on terror were not too welcoming for Pakistan and its media houses. Likewise, Donald Trump's political agenda as announced in the election campaign 2016 was based on national and international issues. According to a Pew Research Center study, the economy, terrorism, foreign policy, health care, gun regulations, immigration, social security education, Supreme Court selections, and the treatment of racial and ethnic minorities were the top problems. (Anderson, 2018).

As for his immigration rants in the post-2016 election campaign, Donald Trump announced and later implemented strict immigration policies, such as detent the ion of illegal immigrants, cancellation of several clauses that barred expulsion of illegal immigrants, elimination of temporary protections and a huge cut in immigrant intakes (Dumont, 2018). Throughout his election campaign and post that, Trump successfully exploited anti-Muslim rants for his political gains and to strengthen voter base, especially the white *Islamophobic* Americans.

For instance, soon after becoming president, one of Trump's first decisions was to impose a ban on Muslim immigrants from seven Muslim-majority states, citing a cliched reason that threats of terrorism from such countries exist.

Nuruzzaman, (2017) digs into Donald Trump's rhetoric on Muslim immigrants as well as refugees only to find out that his anti-Muslim or Islamophobic statements not only strengthen his

political support but also widen the societal gap between white supremacist Americans and Muslims. A compilation by (Change, 2018) enlists 86 instances the US President Trump displayed or promoted Islamophobia. It includes the appointment of notorious anti-Muslim US politicians, like Mike Pompeo and John Bolton to top state positions.

Since Trump's speeches and remarks are covered by media globally, the researcher looks at them from an angle that has remained untouched and unexplored by the researchers in this field, especially by researchers in Pakistan; that is, how Pakistani and Indian print media organizations covered and framed Trump's pre- and post-election comments on the said issues, namely immigration, Islamophobia, and refugees for gaining voters' attention.

Statement of the Problem

The presidential elections of the USA have significant effects on the social and political conditions of the whole world. The world media cover this political event with keen interest. Analysis of the coverage of the US presidential elections discovers how the media of different areas perceive this mega event. This research will examine how global media sources covered the US election 2016. Particularly how Pakistani leading newspapers covered this mega event and how Pakistani English print media set their agenda to represent this political event.

The rationale of the Study

The research is being conducted on "Framing of Donald Trump's political agenda in leading newspapers of Pakistan. Results of the US presidential election 2016 indicate a drastic change in American voters' behaviour. It is an entire need to examine how Pakistani newspapers framed Donald Trump's agenda during and after the election campaign.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because the study will discuss an important issue of the US presidential election and its coverage in Pakistani leading newspapers. This study will help us to explore frames used during media coverage of Donald J Trump's Political agenda during the US presidential election 2016. This study will enrich the existing literature on agenda setting, and political communication in Pakistani media perspectives. This research will be beneficent for policymakers, world political leaders and scholars of international relations, media experts and experts of political communication along with the public.

The study will enrich the existing research on agenda setting by making further contributions to its body of knowledge.

Objectives of the research

The study's primary goals are as follows.

1- To determine the extent to which Donald Trump's political agenda has been covered by leading Pakistani newspapers.
2- To determine the frequency with which leading Pakistani newspapers cover Trump's political agenda on immigration and refugee
3- To investigate the tone of coverage of Donald Trump's political agenda in Pakistani leading newspapers, whether positive, negative, or neutral.

Research Questions

RQ 1: What was the extent to which Trump's political agenda was covered in Pakistan's leading newspapers?

RQ 2: How did the frequency of the coverage of immigration and refugee issues change between August 8, 2016, and February 8, 2017?

RQ3: Which topic, immigration or refugees, was covered the most frequently by each source?

RQ 4: What was the overall tone of the coverage of the sample newspapers during the pre and post-presidential election campaign?

Literature review

Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump has slammed the media's coverage of the US election. During democratic elections, the media serves as an important watchdog by providing information about parties, policies, candidates, and the electoral process. But what about the 2016 US presidential election? To find out, we spoke with journalists and political analysts. (Gabriela Boccaccio, 2016).

According to Cooper, S. D., Kuypers, and Althous (2008), by the end of formal military operations in Afghanistan, the press was increasingly framing its reports in a way that misrepresented President Bush's public statements to the public. Three important findings are presented: The media portrayed the Bush administration as a foe of civil liberties; hard news stories echoed editorials and opinion essays, and the media actively promoted civil liberties. Patterson, T. E. (2016) came to the conclusion that both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump were subjected to coverage that was overwhelmingly negative in tone and extremely light on policy.

According to Prashanth Bhat et al. (2017), "The Clinton and Trump campaigns used fear and anger to attack their opponents." The Clinton campaign's second most popular emotions were fear (14 ads, 36.8%) and anger (14 ads, 36.8%). Ten of Trump's 17 advertisements were coded as "fear" or "anger." K. Ireri (2014) looked at the prevalence of four racial frames associated with Obama's multifaceted racial identity: "African American," "black," "Kenyan roots," and "white roots." The findings revealed that the most common racial frame was 'Kenyan roots,' followed by the 'black' frame. Across the four newspapers, Obama received more positive coverage than negative coverage.

During the 2007-2008 presidential campaign, Tariq, A., and Moody, M. (2009) investigated how various news outlets handled the rumour that Sen. Barack Obama is Muslim. The use of Arabic words, the concealment of information, and the emphasis on specific parts of Obama's biography that appeared foreign were all common framing techniques. M. EshbaughSoha and J. S. Peake (2008) investigated the coverage of President George W. Bush in local newspapers in 2003. Local newspapers would almost certainly favourably cover the president.

Theoretical Framework

To provide the theoretical foundations, agenda-setting theory is used to conduct this research.

Agenda Setting Theory

"Theoretically, media companies must prioritize the stories, events, and subjects they cover. As a result, the stories chosen by a source to cover affect the media agenda. Many articles are omitted from the agenda because they are judged unimportant or unprofitable. Recent studies have employed agenda-setting theory to examine the relevance and influence of media agendas."

When a country gets more in a particular media outlet it is inferred that this country is more significant and prominent in the eyes of media and the world as well (Wanta et al., 2004). This study revealed that how a country is covered on the agenda is also important.

Foreign media matters represent foreign countries because it influences views of significance and negativity (Wanta et al., 2004). This phenomemnon is proved true; specifically regarding negative news coverage, and the more is the worst coverage on the media the more is negative image of that particlur country or persona is exhibited.

"York, (2013) discovered that negative objectives have a substantial association with bad public opinion. It was discovered to be especially important in political media agendas. According to the research, the more a negative political occurrence was publicized, the lower the media users' negative opinion of the participating player grew."

Culture and governance are the most likely reasons objectives diverge between national and foreign media agendas, according to Zhang, (2013). As a result, the rating of an issue on a national agenda is frequently affected by how the culture perceives certain concerns and what society considers significant.

"More study is needed to better understand how different international framing affects public perception about foreign countries and nations. Hence, it is concluded that a study is requisiste that will analyze that how the issue of how media of different countries provided political agenda of Donal Trump on the issue on the issue of immigration and refugees during his campaign in US presidential election 2016 and how these issues were framed?" It still demands investigation.

Methodology

The study's goal is to investigate how President Trump was portrayed in Pakistan's leading English newspapers. The study employs a mixed-method approach that includes both quantitative and qualitative content analysis for this purpose. Content analysis methodology was pioneered by Lasswell (1927) as a systematic approach to investigating mass media. He first used this technique to investigate propaganda."In the world of quantitative research, content analysis has been a rapidly expanding technique," Neuendorf writes (2002, p. 1).

A content analysis technique is used in this study to examine the extent and tone of coverage of Donald J Trumps in leading newspapers in Pakistan.

Content analysis is used to examine the agenda-shaping trends of these Pakistani sample sources. The framing research and content analysis both use the same sample of articles. For analysis of the general research topics, some guiding questions are used.

RQ 1: What was the extent to which Trump's political agenda was covered in Pakistan's leading newspapers?

RQ 2: How did the frequency of the coverage of immigration and refugee issues change between August 2016 to February 2017?

RQ3: Which topic, immigration, or refugees, was frequently reported by each source?

Reading Process. To find out the answers to these questions, each item was labelled with the letter "I" for immigration, "R" for refugee, or "B" for both. Items labelled "neither" were removed from the sample and did not contribute to it. "The articles were classified based on their news source and month of publication." "The number of "I," "R," and "B" articles from each source was counted and recorded to determine the most common issue and the source with the most articles overall and on each topic." "To see how Trump coverage evolved, all the articles were divided by source and then by month of publication.

"Finally, the articles from that month were analyzed to determine which topic or incident drew the most attention during that month. This method of determining which stories received the most attention revealed which issue was the source's top priority on the media agenda and which issues received the most attention each month.

Qualitative Content Analysis Method

The following questions are developed for qualitative analysis of the content of the sample newspapers.

RQ4: Is Donald Trump's speech about immigration and refugees generally framed in a positive, negative, or neutral way across all sample newspapers?

To check the tone of coverage, the words/phrases used to describe Donald Trump in each story were noted and utilized to determine if a frame was favourable, negative, or neutral. The phrases describing Trump with an unfavourable meaning were designated negative frames for example, "Xenophobia," "racism," "rapist," and "disaster".

Positively framed phrases that described Trump were considered as a strategy for constructing a favourable framing of Trump. Endorsements and support were also viewed as solid foundations for Trump's statements. Finally, papers that used both negative and positive language to illuminate both points of view, as well as publications that avoided emotionally charged phrases, were deemed impartial/neutral.

Sampling

For this study, two leading newspapers from the Pakistani press have been selected. The newspapers include daily Dawn (Pakistan), daily The News International (Pakistan) These papers have been selected because they are the leading English newspapers in Pakistan and have a vast readership in Pakistan among the bureaucracy and elite class of Pakistan. national and international issues are reported regularly in these papers. For data collection, the Newspaper Database of Riphah International University is used to draw the required articles. The 204 articles were selected from the sample newspapers for analysis.

Study Limitations

The study will focus on leading newspapers in Pakistan including the daily Dawn and The News International from August 2016 to February 2017 six months before and after the

presidential election campaign. This study has also been limited to the following content categories.

Content Categorization Scheme

The entire news article is the unit of analysis. The coding instrument is made up of the name of the newspaper, the month, the date, the tone and the issue.
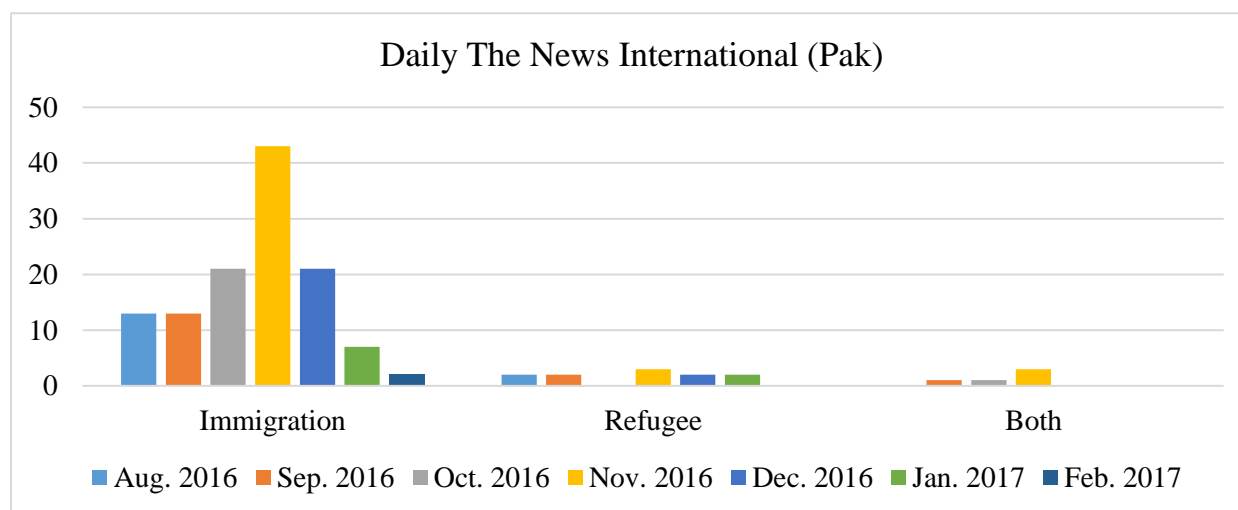
Results

After codification of the retrieved data from these sample newspapers. The analysis yields the following results.

Month Wise Topic Breakdown by Daily the News International (Pak)

Table 1 *Daily the News Intel (Pak) content stratified by month that addressed Donald Trump's immigration and refugee agenda*

Newspaper	Daily The News International (Pak)			
Frame	Immigration	Refugee	Both	Total
August 2016	13	2	0	15
September 2016	13	2	1	16
October 2016	21	0	1	22
November 2016	43	2	3	50
December 2016	21	2	0	23
January 2017	7	2	0	9
February 2017	0	0	0	0
Total	118	10	5	133

Figure *1 Daily the News Intel (Pak) content stratified by month that addressed Donald Trump's immigration and refugee agenda*

The issue of immigration was at the top agenda of The News International (Pakistan) with 118 articles from Aug 2016 to Feb 2017. It published 43 articles in November 2016 and 21 articles in October & December, 2016. Only 5 articles are found that discussed both aspects of immigration
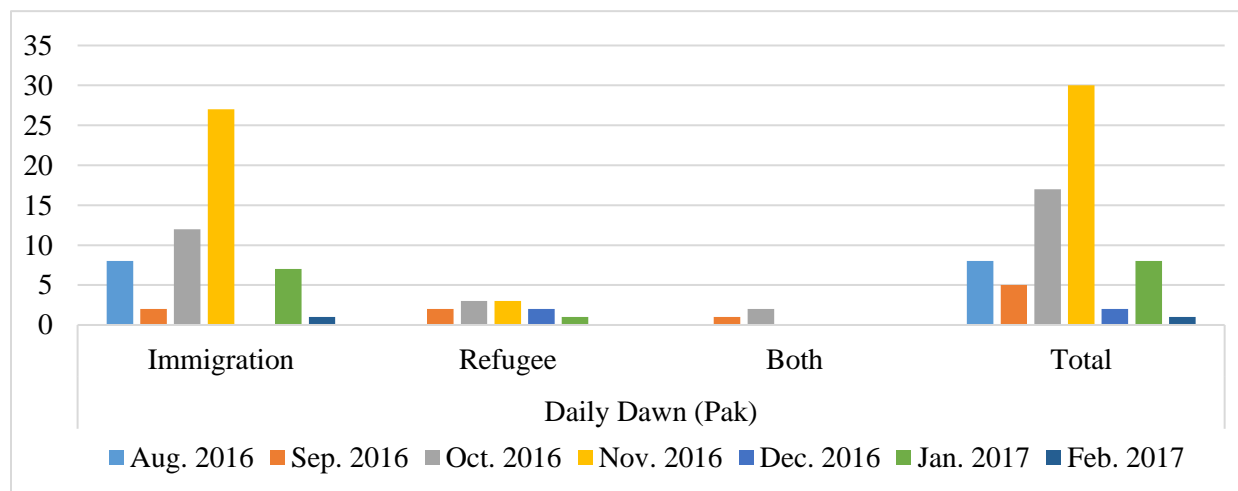
and refugee. In comparison with Dawn, News international gave more coverage and highlighted Trump's agenda on immigration and refugee.

Month Wise Topic Breakdown by Daily Dawn (Pak)

Table *2 The* d*aily Dawn (Pak) content stratified by month that addressed Donald Trump's immigration and refugee agenda*

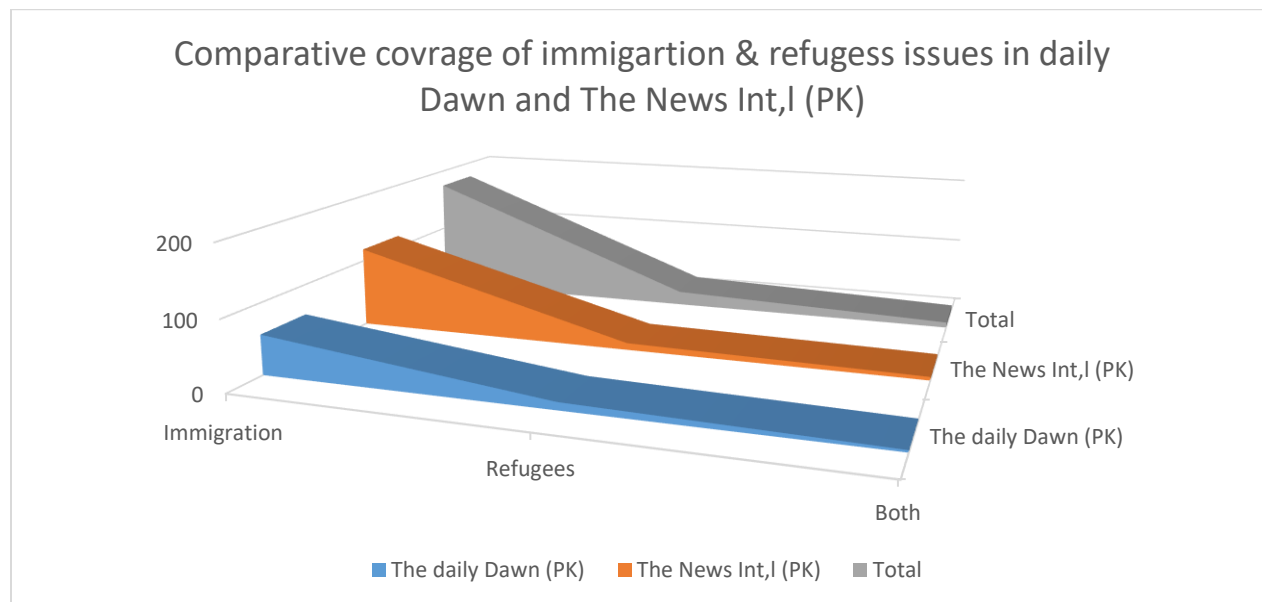| Newspaper	The daily Dawn (Pak)			
Frame	Immigration	Refugee	Both	Total
August 2016	8	0	0	8
September 2016	2	2	1	5
October 2016	12	3	2	17
November 2016	27	3	0	30
December 2016	0	2	0	2
January 2017	7	1	0	8
February 2017	1	0	0	1
Total	57	11	3	71

Figure *2 The daily Dawn (Pak) content stratified by month that addressed Donald Trump's immigration and refugee agenda*

Daily Dawn from Pakistan highlighted the issue of immigration in 57 articles, in 11 articles covered the refugee issue whereas three articles focused on both aspects of immigration and refugee rhetoric. Coverage of immigration issues peaked in November 2016 with 27 articles which discussed this issue significantly. Notably, in December there was no article on this topic. Trump's Rhetoric on refugees was covered in 11 articles. August 2016 and February 2017 has no mention of refugees in any article. Coverage was at its peak in October and November 2016 with three articles in each month.

Table No 3 Comparative coverage of immigration & refugee issues in daily Dawn and The News Intel (PK)

Newspaper	Immigration	Refugees	Both
The daily Dawn (PK)	57	11	3
The News Intel (PK)	118	10	5
Total	175	21	8

Comparative covrage of immigartion & refugess issues in daily Dawn and The News Int,l (PK)

Data given in table # 3 indicates that the issue of immigration highest coverage whereas the refugee issue is highlighted in only 21 articles. When this data is broken into a percentage, Pakistan media gave 85% coverage to Trump's policy on immigration and the issue of refugees got only 12% of the total coverage. The data revealed that immigration got more coverage in Pakistani mainstem English print media. This data supports the agenda-setting trends in the print media of Pakistan.

In Pakistan immigration and refugee are also burning issues due to the Afghan border crisis. According to Bombardon & Vliegenthart, (2009) in recent years, immigration has become an increasingly important political issue in many European countries, as well as in Pakistan. This is due in part to an increase in the number of migrants arriving in Europe. Media coverage has been one of the factors influencing the formation of immigration attitudes.

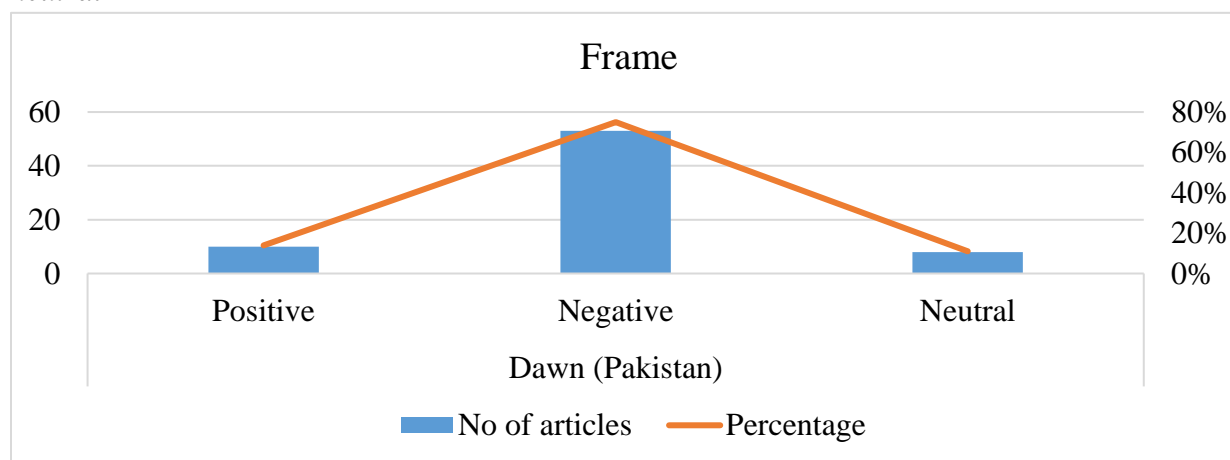**Coverage Trends: The daily Dawn (Pakistan)**

Dawn is Pakistan's oldest and most widely read English-language newspaper, published by Herald Publications. This paper is considered left-wing and a representative of Pakistan's secular lobby.Over a six-month period, the newspaper Dawn published 71 articles, 53 of which criticised Donald Trump's political statements about immigration and refugees negatively. Only the tone of 8 articles was neutral, while 10 articles covered Trump,s as favourable. As a result, the majority

of the articles portrayed Donald Trump's remarks negatively. The results are shown in the table below.

Table 4 *Articles published in daily Dawn (Pakistan) classify the frame as positive, negative, or neutral*

Newspaper	Frame	No of Articles	Percentage
The daily Dawn (Pakistan)	Positive	10	14%
	Negative	53	75%
	Neutral	8	11%

Figure 4 *Articles published in daily Dawn (Pakistan) classify the frame as positive, negative, or neutral*
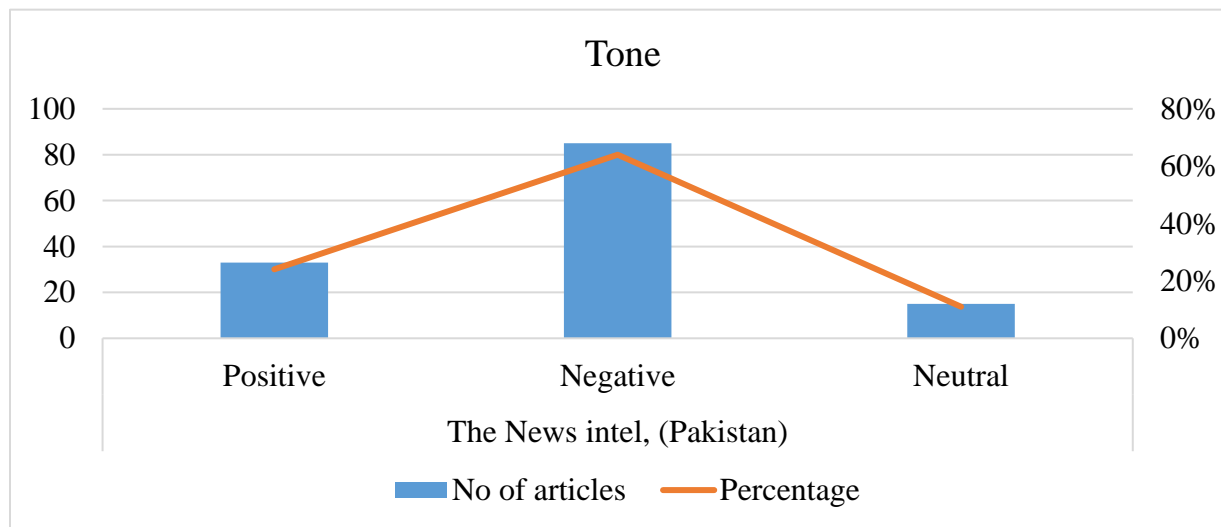

Dawn covered Donald Trump's immigration and refugee rhetoric 75% negatively, 14% positively.

Coverage Trends: The News International (Pakistan)

The News International, published in broadsheet format, is Pakistan's second-largest English language daily. To serve the Pakistani community in the United Kingdom and Europe, an overseas version is published from London. It is considered more serious and less sensational than tabloids. In total, 85 of the 133 stories portrayed Donald Trump's immigration and refugee statements negatively.

Table 5 *Articles Published in Daily the News Intel, (Pakistan) classify the frame as positive, negative, or neutral*

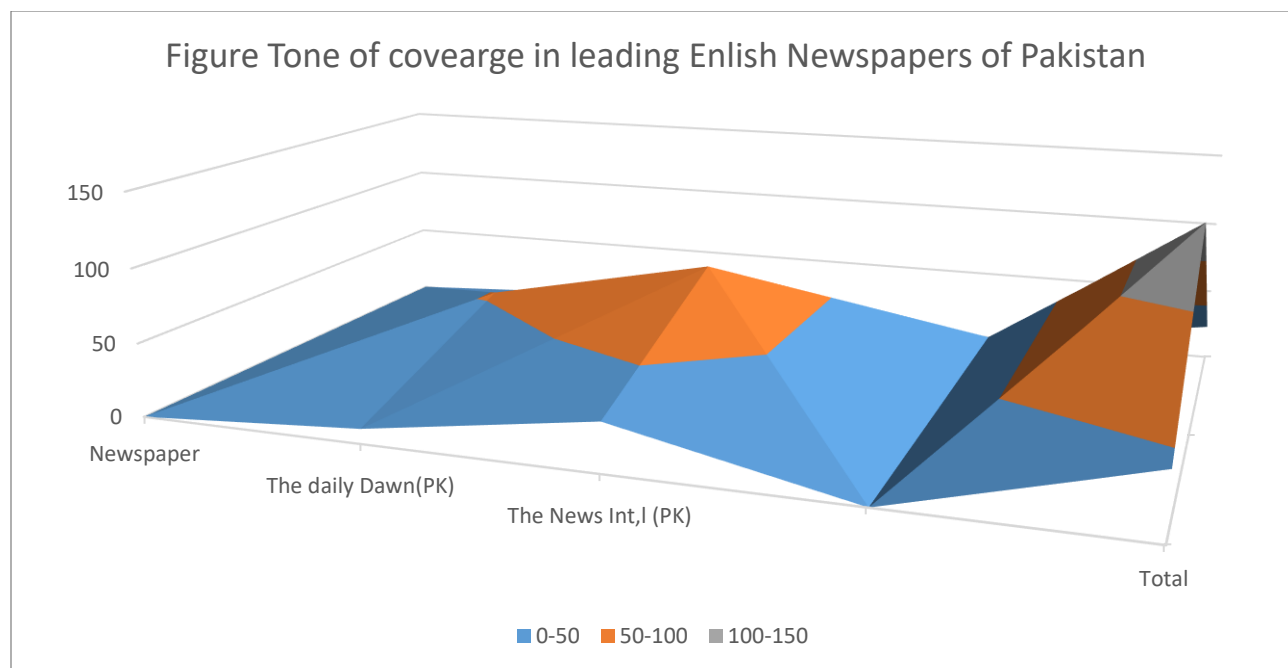| Newspaper	Frame	No of articles	Percentage
The News intel, (Pakistan)	Positive	33	24%
	Negative	85	64%
	Neutral	15	11%

Figure 5 *Articles Published in Daily the News Intel, (Pakistan) classify the frame as positive, negative, or neutral*

Thus, 64% of The News Intel., (Pakistan) coverage of Donald Trump's political agenda was negative. Only 11% of the articles on the topic were neutrally framed, while 24% were positively framed. As a result, overall coverage was overwhelmingly negative. The following table illustrates the comparison of the tone of the coverage of both leading newspapers in Pakistan.

Table No # 6 Tone of coverage in leading English Newspapers of Pakistan

Newspaper	Positive	Negative	Neutral
The daily Dawn (PK)	10	53	8
The News Intel (PK)	33	85	15
Total	43	138	23

Figure Tone of covearge in leading Enlish Newspapers of Pakistan

Data represented in table 6 highlights policy statements of Trump on the issue of immigration and refugee are covered negatively. It is noted that 138 articles negatively covered these issues. It is 68% of the total coverage. Only 21% of articles reported these issues positively whereas 11% of articles were found neutral which reports both aspects of these burning issues of international politics.

According to Bombardon & Vliegenthart, (2009) immigration has recently become a major political issue in many European countries, as well as in Pakistan. This is partly due to an increase in the number of migrants entering Europe. One of the influencing factors in the formation of immigration attitudes appears to be media coverage.

In Pakistan immigration and refugee are also burning issues due to the Afghan border crisis. Data represented in table 6 highlights the policy statements of Trump on the issue of immigration and refugee covered negatively. 138 articles negatively covered these issues. It is 68% of the total coverage. Only 21 articles reported these issues positively whereas 11% of articles were found neutral which reports both aspects of these burning issues of international politics. Data analysis indicates that the overall tone of the coverage of Trump's stance on immigration and refugee issues in leading English print media of Pakistan is negative.

Discussion

The main objective of this research is to identify the extent of coverage of Donald Trump's stance on immigration and refugee issues in Pakistani English print media. This study examined a quantitative content analysis of English-language news outlets to obtain findings.

The research revealed that 204 news stories covered statements of Trump on immigration and refugee policy during his presidential campaign. The issue of refugees was less published from August 2016 to Feb2017. The daily Dawn and News International reported the issue of immigration in 175 articles whereas the refugee issue was covered in only 21 stories. This data supports the agenda-setting theory that suggests that media outlets must prioritize the stories, events, and subjects they cover. As a result, the stories chosen by a source to cover affect the media

agenda (Wanta et al., 2004). Content analysis indicates that overall coverage of Trump's political agenda in sample news outlets is found negative.

Conclusion

The content analysis supports that the immigration issue is more covered as compared to the refugee issue. The data of content analysis of all these newspapers confirmed the Agenda Setting Theory, which states that some issues will be covered more frequently by the media. Furthermore, the tone of the newspapers in the sample from Pakistan, mainly framed Trump's immigration and refugee policy negatively, lending credence to the notion that these sources appeal to a left-leaning audience.

The overall tone of the coverage is negative. This skews the data in favour of anti-Trump coverage in Pakistani English print. "This study added to the body of knowledge on agenda-setting theory. "The study discovered that most of Donald Trump's statements were episodic, ignoring the complexities of immigration and refugee issues. All these findings are important, but they do not prove any theories or discoveries.

Recommendations

Media outlets should keep framing and gatekeeping theories in mind when covering specific issues. They must understand that the frames used, and the tone of the coverage has the power to influence the audience.

A. Media organizations should enforce balanced reporting on issues and events. Conflicting situations/issues at the international and regional levels must be reported objectively.

B The overall coverage of Donald Trump was negative, but the results were the opposite. Media outlets prioritise objectivity over partisanship.

Opportunities for Future Research

Further research is recommended with the theatrical framework of domestication and world system theories to compare news frames and media agendas from various nations. Similarly, the flow of information can be checked within the framework of world system theory or digital divide theory for these sample newspapers of both countries to check whether these sample newspapers received media content from the developed world or not.

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