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## Abstract

The study Framing of Pak-Afghan Relations by Pakistani and American Press during PMLN Government (2013-2018) is focused to analyze the Pak-Afghan relations as both countries are neighbors sharing a long border on one hand and is focus of the international powers since decades due to cold war and the war on terrorism after 9/11 attacks in the United States. The study is focused to analyze that how the elite Pakistani and American press frames the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan during the PMLN government that is from June 2013 to May 2018. For the study the elite English newspapers of the two countries Pakistan and United States were selected. Dawn and The News were selected from Pakistan and The Washington Post and The New York Times were selected from US. The editorials of selected newspapers were analyzed in this study using content analysis method. The study is supported by agenda setting theory focusing on the media agenda and the framing concept. Four categories discussing terrorism, US as factor in Pak-Afghan relations; the Pakistani and American stance on the Pak-Afghan bilateral relations are analyzed in three directions positive, negative and neutral. The study concludes that the elite Pakistani press has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than US press whereas both Pakistani and US press has framed Pak-Afghan relations negatively.

**Keywords:** Pak-Afghan, Press, Framing, PMLN, United States, Terrorism

## Introduction

Media has been considered as an important tool to shape the minds of the people at present, it has got a prominent position among all the circles of life across the globe and people are no more unaware about the happenings. They have in fact become part of the global village through media and they are having keen interest to know about the events and incidents from politics to the social issues and local to global matters. They are interested to know about the global market and economy to the regional matters and international relations as well. Nations are being transformed into globalization through media and the world scenario is being reshaped. Media has become a key tool of information at one end whereas creating an opinion and perception on the other. Media agenda is considered as more important in recent age which transforms and reshapes public opinion and agenda (Yousaf & Ali, 2012; Ali & Shahid, 2012).

The relationships between two neighbors and Islamic states Pakistan and Afghanistan are having greater importance not only at regional level but international level as well. Both countries are sharing a long boundary line of about 2250 kilometers, a large movement of the people is there between both countries on regular basis. Pakistan and Afghanistan are having a long history being neighbors but there are some historical differences too due to borderlines since independence of Pakistan. These disputes have become a base for the differences between both the countries. Afghanistan claims to have the right on certain parts which are under the territory of Islamic republic of Pakistan at present and this thing has created a sense of hate between both nations particularly in Afghanistan (Qaseem, 2008). As said earlier that both Pakistan and Afghanistan enjoyed a prominent position among the international powers since decades as during cold war United States and the allies used this region as a battlefield against USSR and later on in the war against terrorism after the September 2001 (9/11) attacks in the

United States claiming almost three thousand human lives. The region again became a center for the world as United States announced to start war against terrorism and its center was once again Afghanistan as it was claimed by the United States that the masterminds of the 9/11 attacks were hiding in Afghanistan and Pakistan being its neighbor had to become a part of the war against terrorism (Yousaf & Ali, 2012; Sultan, 2013).

The US led war against terrorism influenced the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan as Pakistan was asked by the US authorities to help her in the war against terrorism whose center was Afghanistan. Pakistani leadership agreed to support the United States in the war against terrorism. The 9/11 incidents left deep effects at global political, economic and social arenas. The government of Taliban was there in Afghanistan and United States demanded the government to hand over leadership of the organization named Al-Qaeda including Osama Bin Laden who was considered as mastermind of the 9/11 attacks but the Taliban government refused to do so. As result United States along with her allies attacked certain places in Afghanistan to target Al-Qaida and its leadership whose head was Osama Bin Laden. Pakistan being immediate neighbor of Afghanistan had to play its role by one mean or other and ultimately Pakistan supported United States and her allies in the war against terrorism. After this support to the United States Pakistan faced a series of terrorism and extremism for long time which damaged Pakistan at various fronts (Yousaf, Ali & Ahmed, 2013). Pakistan also faced a pressure by the United States to revisit the foreign policy regarding Afghanistan which also played a role to worsen the circumstances in Pakistan particularly law and order situation as Pakistan was the direct target of certain forces who were fighting against United States and her allies in Afghanistan (Sultan, 2013; Ali & Shahid, 2012).

The United States attacks in Afghanistan after 9/11 worsen the situation in Pakistan as well because Pakistan supported United States in war against terrorism and it was considered by certain circles in Afghanistan the Pakistan is playing role as a key player to damage Afghanistan and the situation was already not smooth between the two neighbors due to the boundary line dispute. Afghanistan went against Pakistan at time of independence and opposed its membership of the United Nations. In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded in Afghanistan and after this a war got strike. The circumstances between Pakistan and Afghanistan got better during cold war when United States supported Afghanistan through Pakistan to fight against USSR and at that time Mujahedeen (Holy fighters) were supported by United States with weapons and every type of support they were required. During that period Pakistan warmly welcomed the Afghan refugees and provided them with all the support that was required to live a normal life. The circumstances became better between the two states during this period and an atmosphere of brotherhood and harmony was also observed. At the end of war in Afghanistan in 1989 United States left Afghan territory in a vulnerable situation and after this US withdrawal a battle to hold the power and rule over Kabul started between different forces. The weapon that was given to fight against USSR was now being used against each other to seek power in Afghanistan. Pakistan also faced various issues after the US withdrawal from Afghanistan (Sultan, 2012). Pakistan and Afghanistan being neighbors could never ignore one another and the smooth terms between the two states were necessary for regional peace and stability as foreign forces ultimately had to leave the region but the permanent neighbors had to be there forever. So, the need of the hour was to establish strong ties between the two states but due to the internal political situation of Afghanistan stability among the relations could not be ensured. During the decade of 1990s the relations were neither too cordial nor too worse. So, a situation of normality was there which caused to greater extent

after 9/11 incident in the United States which changed the global scenario to greater extent. The war against Afghanistan built new nexuses as well particularly in the South Asian, South East Asian and Central Asian regions.

The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan faced various ups and downs particularly after the start of war against terrorism and the US intentions to eliminate terrorism from the world whose center was Afghanistan. In Afghanistan there were major powers including Afghans and Taliban and it was now a tough time for Pakistan to extend her support to any of the stakeholder in Afghanistan. The relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan faced ups and downs during Hamid Karzai as Kabul blamed Pakistan to destabilize the Karzai government whereas Pakistan claimed Afghan involvement to destabilize Baluchistan by supporting Baluch nationalists on one end and also allowing Indians to fuel insurgency in Pakistan (Sial, 2011). Similarly, during Ashraf Ghani regime circumstances also remained same although after holding office by Ashraf Ghani it was decided to create an atmosphere of smooth relations between the two neighbors. Efforts for peace building in Afghanistan were made by Pakistan on one end but at the other end the evidences for creating instability in Pakistan by Afghanistan were found (Maqsood, 2014). Sial (2016) addresses that the rapprochement policy was adopted by the Ghani regime after assessing that a stable Afghanistan is not possible without establishment of smooth ties with Pakistan. Afghanistan has suffered a lot due to the wars and it requires peace and stability in the country, United States also intends to withdraw from Afghanistan and give hold to the local leaders but it is not possible without the facilitation of Pakistan. Smooth relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are necessary for peace building process in Afghanistan (Maqsood, 2014). Studies show that the smooth relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are important for peace and stability in Afghanistan and the region as well.

Keeping in view the regional and international circumstances the current study intends to analyze the framing of Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of the two major stake holders in Afghan peace process Pakistan and Afghanistan. The study is aimed to analyze that how Pak-Afghan relations are presented by the Daily News and Daily Dawn from Pakistan whereas The Washington Post and New York Times from United States during PMLN government during June 2013 to May 2018. The era is important to study as during the same time period it is witnessed that the peace building efforts are made in Afghanistan where the role of Pakistan is considered integral on one end whereas at the other end the evidences of the involvement of Afghan territory in terrorism and extremism in Pakistan were also there (Mateen, 2014; Krista & Hashim, 2016). Media being fourth pillar of the state and it is necessary to study that how media has framed the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The purpose behind selection of the press from United States and Pakistan is that both are key stake holder in Afghan peace process and smooth Pak-Afghan relations are key to ensure the peace and stability in the region.

### **Objectives**

The major objectives of the study are to study the following;

- Interference of the United States in Pak-Afghan relations
- Terrorism as factor between the relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan
- Stance of Pakistan on Pakistan Afghanistan bilateral relations
- United States stance between Pakistan Afghanistan bilateral relations

Media is controlled by the powerful class in any society which holds maximum resources and means of production including media and this powerful class plays an important role to establish the facts regarding the events and issues using the media Altschull (1984). The study in hand is

focused to determine the Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of Pakistan and the United States where Altschull (1984) refers elite press as the responsible, objective, independent and widely circulated press.

### **The News**

The News is a leading English newspaper of Pakistan. Its target audience is both elite and metropolitan. It started its publication in 1991 and is published from the major cities of the country including provincial capitals Karachi and Lahore along with the federal capital Islamabad. The News also publishes from London, England where its main audience are Pakistani nationals settled in the United Kingdom.

### **Dawn**

The Dawn newspaper is also an elite English newspaper of Pakistan. It was first published in 1942 in Delhi before the independence of Pakistan. The best thing about this paper is it was founded by Pakistan's founder Muhammad Ali Jinnah for media coverage of All India Muslim League. It played an important role in the Pakistan movement. After independence of Pakistan it started publishing from Karachi. It is famous because of its news stories, articles and columns on national and international level. Its editorials play an important role in writing about the hidden issues of Pakistan and also guide its audience about international matters.

### **The Washington Post**

The Washington Post is an American newspaper. It is one of the elite newspapers of the United States. It is a hundred years old newspaper. Media organization set some objectives for the editorial policy of the newspaper that it has to follow. The newspaper should tell the truth to its audience. It must tell the truth about the important matters of America and other world. It also



states that printing should be up to the mark, reading should be fit for all ages of audience i.e. young, adults and old.

### **The New York Times**

It is an elite newspaper of United States of America that is published in New York daily and distributed internationally. The New York Times Company publishes number of other newspapers including the New York Times. This paper was founded in 1851 and it has the privilege to win 98 Pulitzer Prizes that is a record itself. The name of this newspaper is abbreviated as The Times and its motto is “All the news that's fit to print” is written in the upper left-hand corner of the front page like other newspapers.

Every newspaper has an editorial section and is very important part and consideration. Editorials include columns, articles and editorials. Editorials mostly show the policy of any newspaper. The reason of selecting the editorials of elite newspapers is to show how these editorials portraying and validating the topic of study. For this study, the selected anonymous editorials of chosen elite newspapers are position representative. As stated above editorials show the policy of any newspaper so it will help the researcher to understand the approach under specific issues. (Mughees, 1994; Salim, n.d; Yousaf& Ali, 2012; Ali, Jan &Saleem, 2013).

### **Hypotheses:**

#### **Hypothesis 1:**

The elite English press of Pakistan has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than American press.

#### **Hypothesis 2:**

The elite English press of Pakistan has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations.

**Hypothesis 3:**

The elite press of United States has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations.

**Hypothesis 4:**

Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given maximum coverage.

**Hypothesis 5:**

America's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given least coverage.

**Literature Review**

A number of studies are there regarding the coverage and framing of the bilateral relations between the different countries. The purpose of the study is to find out the framing of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan in the elite press of Pakistan and the United States analyzing the editorials of the Pakistani and US newspapers. The topic under study is also widely discussed by the scholars and researchers. Press and foreign policy by (Cohen, 1963) is considered as one of the pioneer study in this domain which presents that press is an important medium to discuss the foreign policies of the countries. Mughees (1997) presents that media is an important tool to analyze the policies of the states and to frame the policies between the countries. Media framing of the events are considered very important to make perception of the people.

According to Cohen (1963) the foreign policy of the United States is having greater influence of the media and media plays an integral role to define the official policies of the country which are based on the suggestions by media and are also having the input of the public through media. Pakistan has got prominent position in the US newspapers before, during and after cold war where the framing was quite controversial regarding Pakistan before the cold war period, during the cold war the US media showed a soft tone towards Pakistan whereas it has

again presented Pakistan in a critical manner after cold war. This shows that the media in United States presented Pakistan according to the situation keeping in view the national interests. Media of the United States used a hard tone while framing Pakistan particularly over the economic and the military aid given to Pakistan during different time periods. Similarly, the media in United States frames the Muslim states keeping in view their own interests and intentions. The media praises until they are having their own interests and after that an entirely opposite stance may be witnessed by the media in United States. Moreover, the media also criticize the government policies in its coverage (Ali & Shahid, 2012; Mughees, 1991) and such criticism is observed during war in Afghanistan and gulf war. The media of any country protects the national interests and it ensures that the policies of the state are in larger interest of the nation and the stakeholders are working in a positive manner (McQuail, 1983). Ali & Shahid (2012) says that the western media frames Muslims and Islam in a negative manner and Islam is presented as a violent and destructive religion.

Muslims have always been insulted by American media since a long ago so violence or terror is not the only issue where Muslims have been projected in an offensive way. The Western Media have always been very biased in some issues like human rights, women issues, child welfare, patriotism, democracy and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. About these issues American media always done disproportionate criticism and hence proved as biased and prejudice on those issues. In the US media, since 9/11, Islam has been portrayed as a very negative religion that should not follow and if it is to survive in present world that need to be modified. They have done this only with Islam. It is evident from history that this harsh criticism has never been done with any other community or religion like "Christianity", "Judaism",

"Hinduism" nor "Buddhism". Even if these communities were involved in violent acts directed against American or the Western world in general, they never got such a cruel criticism.

While discussing the Pak-Afghan relations (Sial, 2016) says that Pakistan and Afghanistan are the nations which are having long borders and peace and stability of both countries is linked with the regional peace and stability. While discussing the Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of Pakistan Khan et. al (2014) concluded that the major newspapers of Pakistan mostly framed Pak-Afghan relations in a negative manner.

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **Agenda Setting**

The agenda setting concept deals with the priorities of the news and events presenting that which issues are considered more important and which are taken as less important (McCombs & Shaw, 1972 cited in Ali & Shahid, 2012). The study is supported by the agenda setting theory which presents that there are certain agendas which work at same time in different manners. The said agendas include the media agenda which serves the media and presents the media point of view including the official policies of the media houses and their editorial treatments. The media agenda is considered as important because it frames the events which make the public perception as well. The second is public agenda deals with the public interests and intentions over certain issues and events, it presents that what public thinks and what they want media to present and how to present the issues and events and the third is policy agenda which refers to the policy making of the media (Yousaf & Ali, 2012).

The study in hand deals with the media agenda setting which refers to what media intends to present to the public in its coverage of the editorials and the news stories and to which issues more importance is given and how the incidents are presented.

## Concept of Framing

Framing deals that how media presents the frames or images of certain events and incidents. Framing allows the readers to create images of the pictures in the minds of the readers that how image of any news or story may be made by the media consumers. In the study the images or frames of the events related to Pak-Afghan relations are created and according to these frames study will be analyzed. Gitlin (1980) says that the media frames are considered just like the images which are interpreted according to the perceptions and understandings of the observer or the readers.

## Methodology

In this study the content analysis method is used. Content analysis is a documented method, and its objectives include the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content of texts, pictures, films and other forms of verbal, visual or written communication. (Sarantakos, 1998). According to Krippendorff (1980), “content analysis is a research technique for making replaceable and valid reference from data to their context”. Kerlinger’s (1986) states that “For the purpose of calculating variables, content analysis is a method of studying, and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner”. In the study the triangulation method is used as it contains both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The study is aimed to analyze that how Pak-Afghan relations are presented by the Daily News and Daily Dawn from Pakistan whereas The Washington Post and New York Times from United States during PMLN government during June 2013 to May 2018. The editorials of the selected newspapers during selected time period is analyzed where the editorials are considered as unit of analysis. The triangulation method is employed where each and every word, sentence, paragraph and even entire editorial is analyzed related to Pak-Afghan relations.

## Categories of Analysis

Category is basically set criteria on the basis of which study is pursued and this is evaluated according to defined theme (Sarantakos, 1998). The category is considered as a center point of the study in content analysis because it allows the study to analyze the situations or themes under investigation. Without the proper construction of the categories the study cannot be pursued using the content analysis technique. For the study there are four categories designed to determine the Pak-Afghan relations, the selected categories are analyzed in the three different directions named as positive or supportive, negative or non-supportive and balanced or mixed. Any word, sentence, paragraph, editorial or theme which favors the Pak-Afghan relations by any mean will be placed in positive or supportive; any word, sentence, paragraph, editorial or theme which opposes the Pak-Afghan relations by any mean will be placed in negative or non-supportive whereas neutral or balanced refers to a mixed stance. These categories are as follows;

- (A) America as a factor in Pak-Afghan Relation
- (B) Terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations
- (C) Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations
- (D) US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations

## Results

**Frequency of the selected Newspapers**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The News	34	25.8	25.8	25.8
Dawn	46	34.8	34.8	60.6
Washington Post	24	18.2	18.2	78.8
New York Times	28	21.2	21.2	100.0
Total	132	100.0	100.0	

**Table 1**

Table 1 show that form the Pakistani elite newspaper Dawn 46 (34.8%) editorials has included on Pak-Afghan relations whereas 34 (25.8%) from The News has included in the study about Pak-Afghan relations. From American newspapers 28 (21.2%) editorials have given by New York Times and 12 (18.2%) on Pak-Afghan relations has given by Washington Post.

**Category A: America as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	10	7.6	38.5	38.5
Negative	14	10.6	53.8	92.3
Neutral	2	1.5	7.7	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19.7</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**Table 2**

According to the results of Table 2 America as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations that the positive observations are 10 (7.6%), negative observations 14 (10.6%) and 2 (1.5%) neutral observations given by the selected newspapers from Pakistan and the United States. Total 26 (19.7%) articles are included regarding the selected issue.

**Category B: Terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	10	7.6	25.0	25.0
Negative	26	19.7	65.0	90.0
Neutral	4	3.0	10.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>30.3</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

**Table 3**

The results about the category B are 10 (7.6%) positive observations, negative observations are 26 (19.7%) whereas 4 (3%) on neutral observations given by the selected Pakistani and American newspapers. Total 40 (30.3%) editorials are included concerning terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations.

#### Category C: Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	12	9.1	27.3	27.3
Negative	25	18.9	56.8	84.1
Neutral	7	5.3	15.9	100.0
Total	44	33.3	100.0	

**Table 4**

According to the findings of Table 4 about category C i.e. Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations contains 12 (9.1%) positive observations, 25 (18.9%) negative observations whereas the neutral observations are 7 (5.3%) given by the selected Pakistani and US newspapers. Total editorials are 44 (33.3%) are included about border issue between Pak-Afghan relations

#### Category D: US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Positive	3	2.3	13.6	13.6
Negative	14	10.6	63.6	77.3
Neutral	5	3.8	22.7	100.0
Total	22	16.7	100.0	

**Table 5**



About the category D i.e. US’s stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations the results show that there are 3 (2.3%) positive observations 14 (10.6%) negative observations whereas 5 (3.8%) neutral observations given by the selected Pakistani and US newspapers. Total 22 (16.7%) editorials are given about the category D.

**Statistical Results using Chi-Square**

	America as a factor between Pak- Afghan relations	Terrorism as a factor between Pak- Afghan relations	Pakistan’s stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations	US’s stance on Pak- Afghan bilateral relations
Chi-Square	8.615 <sup>b</sup>	19.400 <sup>c</sup>	11.773 <sup>d</sup>	9.364 <sup>e</sup>
Df	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.013	.000	.003	.009

**Table 6**

Table 6 shows that all the categories are statistically significant as p is less than .05

**Overall Analysis**

Country of Newspaper	Newspaper	Direction	Category				Total	
			A	B	C	D		
US Newspapers	New York Times	Positive	01	03	01	01	28	52
		Negative	04	07	06	02		
		Neutral	01	00	01	01		
		Total	06	10	08	04		
	Washington Post	Positive	01	04	04	02	24	
		Negative	01	02	04	03		
Neutral		00	00	02	01			

		Total	02	06	10	06		
Pakistani Newspapers	Dawn	Positive	04	01	03	00	46	80
		Negative	07	08	10	05		
		Neutral	01	02	03	02		
		Total	12	11	16	07		
	The News	Positive	04	02	04	00	34	
		Negative	02	09	05	04		
		Neutral	00	02	01	01		
		Total	06	13	10	05		
Overall Newspapers	Total	Positive	10	10	12	03	132	132
		Negative	14	26	25	14		
		Neutral	02	04	07	05		
		Total	26	40	44	22	132	

**Table 7**

Table 7 shows the overall analysis about the issues described in above mentioned categories

### Discussion and Conclusion

Numerous researchers have conducted research studies on the Pak-US and Pak-Afghan relations. Specifically, American foreign policies have given more significance by the researchers due to the reason of being world power and also US is directly or indirectly related to concerns of various nations. In the present study Framing of Pak-Afghan Relations by press of Pakistan and United States during PMLN Government from June 2013 to May 2018. The study is conducted using the content analysis method employing the agenda setting theory focusing on media agenda along with the concept of framing.

Keeping in view the regional and international circumstances the current study intended to analyze the framing of Pak-Afghan relations in the elite press of the two major stake holders

in Afghan peace process which are Pakistan and Afghanistan. The study analyzed that how Pak-Afghan relations are presented by the Daily News and Daily Dawn from Pakistan whereas The Washington Post and New York Times from United States during PMLN government during June 2013 to May 2018. The era is important to study as during the same time period it is witnessed that the peace building efforts are made in Afghanistan where the role of Pakistan is considered integral on one end whereas at the other end the evidences of the involvement of Afghan territory in terrorism and extremism in Pakistan were also there (Mateen, 2014; Krista & Hashim, 2016).

The study is based on the categories including America as a factor in Pak-Afghan relation; Terrorism as a factor between Pak-Afghan relations; Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations and US's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations which were analyzed in three directions as positive, negative and neutral. The study shows that Pakistani press has given more coverage to the Pak-Afghan relations as compared to the US press. In category A, Pakistani press had given more negative coverage followed by positive and then neutral coverage. In US press there was more negative coverage followed by positive. In category B, Pakistani press had given more negative coverage whereas in the US press maximum negative coverage was observed. In category C, Pakistani press had maximum negative coverage whereas in the US press maximum negative coverage was seen followed. In category D, Pakistani press had given maximum negative coverage followed by neutral and no positive coverage was given, whereas in the US press maximum negative coverage was seen followed by positive coverage, there was no positive coverage in the US press in this category.

It is concluded from the analysis of selected newspapers of Pakistan and US that as compare to US press, Pakistani newspapers had given more coverage in all the A, B, C and D

categories. In Pakistani press maximum negative stance was observed regarding all selected categories. Similarly, maximum negative stance is observed in US newspapers. While discussing the hypotheses it is analyzed that H1: The elite English press of Pakistan has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than American press is proved (Table 1). H2: The elite English press of Pakistan has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations is also proved (Table 7). H3: The elite press of United States has given maximum negative framing to Pak-Afghan relations (Table 7). H4: Pakistan's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given maximum coverage is proved (Table 6 & 7) whereas H5: America's stance on Pak-Afghan bilateral relations is given least coverage is also proved (Table 6 & 7). The overall statistical analysis presents significant response for all selected categories. The study showed that the media of both the selected countries Pakistan and the US had given free opinion while covering the selected issues. The study concludes that the elite Pakistani press has given more coverage to Pak-Afghan relations than US press whereas both Pakistani and US press has framed Pak-Afghan relations negatively.

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