Construction of Pakistan Army during Operation ZarbeAzb in the US Media: Discourse Analysis of the Leading Articles of *New York Times* and *Washington*

Research Scholar
Chaudhary Mohammad Asif Ali Bhatti

Reg # 243-SS/MSMC/S-15

Department of Media and Communication Studies
Faculty of Social Science
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD

Abstract

Newspapers are source for any society to know about the outer world and whatever is portrayed and written in those newspapers forms opinion of the masses about the outside world. Pakistan army has been fighting a long war against terrorism and has sacrificed in monetary and human forms but US society and government never had positive viewpoint about Pakistan and its military institution. This article attempted to explore leading US newspapers covered Pakistan and its institutions and consequently formed US attitude towards Pakistan. NY Times and Washington Post were analyzed in order to know how Pakistani Army was portrayed in US newspapers during operation Zarb e Azb. The study found out that Washington Post had comparatively favorable view of Pakistan army and its sacrifices in the war against terrorism while NY Times followed stricter and more negative view towards Pakistan Army. NY Times had more pressing editorial policy and followed official "do more" stance no matter how huge or small Pakistan Army's occasional success against terrorists was. India and Afghanistan, whenever mentioned in NYT, had more positive slants associated compared to Pakistan. India, especially, whenever mentioned in relation to Kashmir and border tensions with Pakistan, was termed as "biggest democracy", "emerging economic power", and "leader of the region" while Pakistan was blamed for all the tension between both the neighbors. Pakistan army, in this regard, was more bashed by NYT in worsening the ties with India. USA media overall slants were negative towards Pakistan and its institutions. It is notable to see how historical US involvement in the creation of Taliban was not mentioned even once and blame was solely put on Pakistan and its military.

Keywords: Terrorism, Pakistan Army, NY Times, Washington Times, Pakistan, War on Terror, US Media,

Declaration

This Thesis on "Construction of Pakistan Army during Operation Zarb-e-Azb in the US Media: Discourse Analysis of the Leading Articles of New York Times and Washington Post" has been submitted as partial fulfillment of Masters in Media and Mass Communication to the Department of Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University Islamabad. I, solemnly, declare that this research work has not been plagiarized and whatever has been quoted in it, proper citations and references have been made.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1
Introduction

US war on terror took a new momentum after the sad incidents of 9/11 in 2001 and within days NATO forces had invaded Afghanistan overtaking most parts of the country and a couple more years later NATO forces jumped into Iraq and deposed Saddam Hussein and instated a puppet regime which could not hold together for long. But these incidents together with many others exacerbated the terrorist activities across the globe. Pakistan was also not only severely hit by these terrorist activities but was also victimized by the global media and political forces for being an accomplice to the terrorists. Pakistan Army was the most criticized and targeted institution.

Since 2001, Pakistan has been severely hit by a series of terrorist attacks by militants and anti-state elements in the form of rocket assaults, bomb explosions, and suicide hits claiming the lives of 49,000 civilians and 15,000 security personnel (Raja, 2013). Two suicide bombings occurred in Pakistan in 2002, and this number rose to an all-time high of 76 in 2009. Between 9/11 and the end of 2013, Pakistan was hit by suicide bombers 376 times, claiming 5,714 lives (Conflict Monitor Center, 2013). Pakistan's military has been engaged in armed conflict against the militants since 2004 in the northwest part of the country bordering with Afghanistan, in pursuit of the international war against terrorism. Before Operation Zarb-e-Azb, Pakistan successfully launched military offensives in the adjoining regions against the Taliban militants and insurgents in, for example, Operation Rah-e-Haq ("right path"), also known as the first battle of Swat region, and Operation Sher-Dil ("lion heart"), also known as the battle of Bajaur agency. Operation Zarb-e-Azb is a joint military offensive of the Pakistan army that was launched on June 15, 2014, against the armed

insurgent militant groups involved in terrorist activities in Pakistan who are hiding out in North Waziristan tribal belt near Pakistan-Afghanistan border (Yousaf, 2015).

Zarb-e-Azb offensive was launched to eliminate terrorism within and across the border in Afghanistan so that Pakistan might progress and be taken as a peaceful destination for global capital investments. Although, operation has itself marked tremendous success along with many sacrifices by the armed forces and around 3500 militants have been killed till December last year (Express Tribune, 2015), but international media has been wary and doubtful of Pakistan army as an institution. Director General ISPR Major General Asim Bajwa in a recent interview with CNN's Amanpour complained that we (Pakistan Army) wouldn't get the coverage from CNN and any other US media outlet what we deserve (Amanpour, 2015). As most of such news occurs outside real-life experiences of the people, they learn about these through media. In today's world, people obtain much of their information about current events, politics, celebrity gossip, and even the weather from the mass media. This is mainly because much of the information that people seek, including information on climate change, exists outside of their own experiences, and the media is the main source of information(Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). So, whatever way something is presented on media is considered to be very influential for audiences and ultimately translates into public opinion and affects global political policies.

In the Continent of Asia, Pakistan has a very strategic location that keeps it under the continuous focus of the powerful nations and especially United States of America (USA). Neighborhood with Afghanistan, presence of Al-Qaeda, ISIS and growing trends of Talibanization in the region are the main reasons for tension in the West.

And that is why Pakistan is being supported by comity of nations in the war against terrorism. The USA has so far provided lots of aid in this connection and their demand of 'do more' against terrorism is still valid.

The root cause of Talibanization started way back in 1979, when Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and Pakistan became the front-line state. Therefore USA, along with its NATO countries supported Afghan Mujahidin to fight against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The Mujahidin created by USA and Pakistan fought bravely against Russian forces and after a decade long fight in Afghanistan, former USSR was defeated and left Afghanistan with a lot of casualties. This defeat of USSR left them into brake away states like central Asian States and USA became the only Super Power in the world. This was the time when the west should not have left Afghanistan without any development and economical support. The mujahideen which fought against Russia became Taliban and consolidated their positions in Afghanistan from 1988 to 2001. For almost fifteen years Taliban became one of the strongest forces with the help of Taliban from Arab states and central Asian states. Since there was no strong force in Afghanistan nor in Pakistan to fight against them, so they became a force who could do anything at their will, especially against civilians.

The US administration under the leadership of Obama, having no other option, strengthened military relations with Pakistan. In the war against USSR in 80's the USA was not directly involved but this time they (US) got involved directly with different ground realities. Khan (2010), a strategic analyst, is of the opinion that Hindustan has increased its interference in Afghanistan and cordial relations between

Kabul and India is a source of disturbance of Pakistan. To avail this opportunity to be in the good books of the super power, Pakistan has been supporting USA in the war against terrorism and provided all possible support like provision of routes for North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) convoys and air space and even some airports for the US forces to operate. Pakistan has to bear the brunt in the form of suicide bombings on the military installations and even schools, colleges and universities. According to analysts, the fragile security situation in Pakistan is due to support of USA in War against terrorism.

Despite a decade-long collaboration between Pakistan and USA, militancy is increasing in Pakistan. The terrorists are increasing, who work as Taliban, in various part of Pakistan. In 2008, it was quite clear from number of military operations conducted in the region (FATA) that USA and NATO wanted to get hold of famous terror groups of Taliban. Pakistan Army was on the horns of dilemma as they were reluctant to take actions due to so many reasons. This increased the level of pressure on the Army to control Haqqani Network but the Pakistan Army were facing challenges as they were fully committed in South Waziristan. The inquisitor both local and international believes that Pakistan is in need of Taliban against Indians who have been busy against the interest of Pakistan in Afghanistan. (Ibid)

The continuous air strikes and ground operations by NATO and US forces in Afghanistan against the terrorists and offenders left them with no option but to move to Pakistan's safe heavens, Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). The US President Barak Obama time and again warned about complexity of this issue and had predicted that the war against terror could shift towards Pakistani border areas.

Moreover, it is also a general perception that policy makers in Pakistan have failed to meet the goals desired by the US and its allies. (Kronstadt, 2008)

Pakistan shares 2500km controversial, Durand Line, border with war-torn Afghanistan. The wanted and unwanted frequent movements of the extremists on both side of the border, is the most challenging tasks for both the countries. Pakistan has a lot of importance in the Muslim world due to its strategic location. (IJC, 2007) Most of Pakistanis are in favor of democracy but are chiefly affected by the old system. (Rahman, 2007) Pakistan's position becomes very awkward when government starts releasing negative statements about the presence of Al Qaeda in Pakistan. (Fergusson, 2007)General Musharraf, the then dictator-cum-politician, was the thinker behind enlightened moderation in spite of supporting the US as a proper dictator and had all the control on weapons (Wintour, 2001) UK Prime Minister Tony Blair had also seconded the USA action and said that Britain would support the War on Terror at all cost.

Even though USA had been supporting Pakistan's dictatorial regime and had been a mouthpiece for democracy but strangely the dictatorial regime of Musharraf had been closest to US. Surprisingly the regime of military rulers had been getting more US aid especially military aid more than the civilian leaderships in Pakistan. Ali (2009) pointed out that America was least bothered about Pakistan and its democracy as it had its own issues to be solved under a dictator's regime. (Ibid)When Musharraf was the President of Pakistan, we had been receiving $382.9 million every year whereas in a democratic government the limit was $178.9 million each year.

Pakistan supported USA (willingly or unwillingly) against War on Terror after the 9/11 attacks. In spite of the fact Pakistan was supporting a super power in war against terrorist but surprisingly Pakistani media was talking against government policies.(Fair, 2005)Although the famous writers of the western side had a clear idea about Pakistan's condition and also what the public and the government think about fanaticism and terrorism, they kept on presenting the country as the focal point of Islamic terrorism.

Due to such intolerant ideas an altogether different concept about Pakistan was generated in the west. (Vender, 2004) Because of the opposed perception Iraq like situation could have erupted meaning thereby closure of nuclear program of Pakistan. According to Poole (2002), Said (1997) and Mescher (2008) Islam and Muslims have been portrayed as dissentious.(Leon, 2002)Surprisingly, one of the famous American paper gave exceptional room to Pakistan for quite a long term and declaring it as an unsuccessful country and blaming it to be a friend for a short span of time and problem for a long period of time. (Amstrong2002) very wrongly pointed out negative perceptions regarding Muslims in the west and threw aspersions on Pakistan also. Khalid (2001) while referring to six American newspapers declared that Pakistanis were negative in their thinking even when 9/11 attacks had not taken place. Numerous researchers like Zaidi (1991) and Al-Zahreni (1988) approved the idea of wrong impression like Establishment of Islam in the western media.

According to Said (1997), the western media joined religious extremism with despotism and Islam projecting it to be frightening to the culture of the west, which resulted in the objectionable Danish Cartoon dispute. Although we can't say as yet

that the pessimistic portrayal of Muslims in media of the west as well as in Pakistan has nil importance for the people. Alternatively, these predictions of media enable people to create new ideas.

These messages in the media give different signals to the people. This concealed communication is also mentioned as framing and typical presentations, which stays in the public's brain even after the problem is resolved. Lippmann (1992) said that framing has great value and considered it to be an image that is permanent. Entmann (1991) mentions that its purely for collecting news for the masses to create an idea of their own about current affairs. Scheufele (1999) also said that media framing helps in showing progress related to public issue which helps in the formation of truth related the unknown problems which explains that the audience grasps only what is shown to them.

This research emphasizes on representation of Pakistan Army and its Operation Zarb-e-Azab, to the global public. As USA has some stance in relation to Pakistan and Britain has always supported America, it becomes very significant to get an idea where the Armed forces of Pakistan and its operation stand in the western media. Our Armed forces had been used by them when they fought against Afghanistan after 9/11. Thus, it is essential to find out how they have presented it in their media.

Pakistan Army, in a bid to eliminate the terrorist's networks, since 2003, has initiated a number of Special Forces operations in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Swat, a northern part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK). On the insistence of the US and its allies to 'do more' Pakistan Army under the command of General Raheel Sharif started an Operation Zarb e Azb in Waziristan in 2014. This operation is still continued and has brought a number of success stories with heavy backlash in almost all parts of Pakistan.

"Operation Zarb e Azab"

"Zarb e Azb" is a joint armed attack being carried out by Pak Army opposing numerous violent kind of gangs, which included "The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)", "The Islamic Movement Of Uzbekistan", "The East Turkestan Islamic Movement" , "Lashkar-e-Jhangvi" , "Al-Qaeda", "Jundullah" and "The Haqqani Network."

The operation started on June 15th2014 in North Waziristan beside Pak-Afghan border as a revived attempt opposing the fanatics to make them realize of the 8thJune attack on "Jinnah International Airport", whose culpability had been taken by "TTP" and the "IMU". Almost 30,000 Pakistani men at arms are associated with "Zarb e Azb", expressed as a "comprehensive operation" for completely destroying overseas as well as regional extremists which are concealed in "North Waziristan". "Zarb e Azb" has earned extensive encouragement from the Pakistanis. Consequently, the nationwide safety condition became much better and maniac assault in Pakistan decreased tremendously as compared to 2008.

The Armed forces of Pakistan applied a fighting master plan, which was never used before, called "Seek, Destroy, Clear, Hold." The prey will be found out by the Pakistan Army. As soon as they will be found, they'll be killed. Afterwards, the framework, remains and explosives are going to be removed and the entire place will be held even when the process is going on and even when its accomplished to be certain about the security following the operation and framework reconstruction and repairing that region. "The Seek and Destroy" element is from "Vietnam War"

whereas "Clear and hold" element is from "Iraq War". Pakistani armed forces joined two ideas as a one theory for the operation to be victorious.

Harmony Dialogues:

Harmony dialogues with the chauvinist were declared by "Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif" following his appointment, even though prior efforts for grabbing "TTP" in talks had been all in wane. The initial meeting of discussion, which involved the cabinet and the extremists, which took place on "26thMarch 2014" at "Khyber Pakhtunkhwa House" in Islamabad. These fanatics never mentioned the spokesperson from their level, rather recommending pro-Taliban holy personage for expressing their point of view. Extremists wanted Sharia Law to be enforced in Pakistan. The Pakistani Government interrogated the halt of wrath, stressing that discussion should be taking place not beyond the substructure of the Pakistani charter. A truce was attained for one month on "March 1st 2014".

Besides the frequent meetings at "Khyber Pakhtunkhwa House", mediation contained journey through "helicopter" by "government electives" to places where extremists were residing close to Pak-Afghan bounds. Our ministry had implied the execution of powerful defense act in case the discussion was of no use.

Failure of Dialogues:

Arbitration crumbled after the killing of twenty-three "Pakistani Frontier Corps" warriors by the zealots on "February 17th2014". Pakistani comrade in arms was held by the rebel since "2010", and on "April 17th 2014" the "TTP" methodically reached the truce. Hidden conflict with the extremists since March 2014 eliminated "more than 90 militants". Conflict, caused by disagreement between the "Mehsud group (led

by Sheheryar Mehsud)" and "one more TTP wing (led by Khan Said Sajna)", disrupted the discussion. Debates had been permanently mutilated due to the "fanatic attack on Karachi Airport" for which Taliban declared themselves of being guilty and which murdered twenty-eight individuals who included police officer. An authenticated person of the Armed forces of Pakistan said, "The army is ready for an operation. It now all depends on the government to make a decision."

Karachi Airport attack

In retaliation to Karachi Airport attack, the Pakistani armed forced blasted off a number of airstrikes picking out terrorist foxholes in the places near the Afghan border. Minimum 25 militants were terminated on "10th of June" which included overseas extremists too. Two drone attacks on 12th of June assassinated Uzbek, Afghan and local militants. On "15th of June" the Pakistan army escalated "air bang" and blasted eight outsider fanatic hidey-holes, causing the "destruction of more than one hundred and forty extremists (most Uzbek, including persons linked to the airport attack and airport attack commander and manager Abu Abdur Rehman Almani) in North Waziristan".

Preparation

Pakistan army along with the government of Pakistan planned three dimensional strategies: segregating selected extremist gangs, mustering encouragement from the government and keeping the public away from the Operation's retaliation.

Defense Minister Khawaja Asif stated: "The decision was taken after the strategy of dialogue failed. The operation will continue until it reaches its logical conclusion. Any group that challenges Pakistan's constitution, attacks civilians, soldiers, and government installations and uses Pakistani territory to plan terrorist attacks will be

targeted". Khawaja Asif added: "We will try to ensure that the displaced do not have to stay away from their homes for too long."

The fighting surrounded bases of militants in the areas of "Mirali and Miranshah". Pak army said that the "Afghan's National Security Forces (ANSF) demanded to close the borderline on their side so that militants may not cross the border on their side." The operation was conducted by the military which included all arms teams by especially inducting Pakistan Air Force. Army stated, "On the directions of the government, armed forces of Pakistan have launched a comprehensive operation against foreign and local terrorists who are hiding in sanctuaries in North Waziristan." The government official with the military said, "Between 14,000 and 20,000 soldiers were normally posted in North Waziristan before the operation, and expect the offense to need not more than 30,000 troops in total".

The initial stage of the "Zarb e Azb" started with magnified air attacks in "North Waziristan", attacking extremist preparation equipment, hidey holes, as well as alternative framework. The Armed forces of Pakistan demolished eight Taliban fox holes through intensified bombing using "JF-17 Thunder" fighter jets. Hideouts in "Degan-Boya and Datta Khel" were chosen by fighter jets, as overseas and regional rebels connected with the "Karachi airport attack" as long standing; and the weapons were ruined too. More than one hundred and forty extremists (mostly Uzbek) were terminated, including "commander and airport attack mastermind Abu Abdur Rehman Almani". "North Waziristan" was closed securely by Pak army along with the partition with neighboring agencies and "FATA" regions restricting the militants to move any further. In North Waziristan, Pak army isolated rebel stations, which

included the ones present in the burgh of Mir Ali and Miranshah. Disaster Management Agency helped a lot in Logistical and administrative arrangements for IDPs, by creating the areas for registration and camps for IDPs. Surrender points were built for extremists who wanted to capitulate. Flying inspection was carried out in the region. A request to close the border from the Afghan side was forwarded by Pak army to the Afghan security forces to stop the fanatics from running away by crossing the borderline and urgent steps should be taken to abolish "TTP militants" and their hiding places in "Kunar", "Nuristan" and elsewhere in "Afghanistan".

Seven escaping extremists were assassinated on the margin of Mirali overnight, and three servicemen injured in the exchange of fire. In a different episode, seven more extremists were assassinated when they tried to run from the sealed region. Two Pakistani soldiers were reportedly martyred during the counter attack. Six hidey holes of extremists in Shawal, North Waziristan were bombed by two fighter jets, which assassinated 27 militants. There were no private citizens in Shawal. "Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR)" declared six servicemen martyred and three injured in an Improvised Explosive Device (IED) explosion between the Afghan borderline and Ghulam Khan Tehsil in North Waziristan. According to ISPR, a company of security forces was fired on Bane Dar Road in Ghulam Khan (on the Pakistani-Afghan border). Pak army cleared the area, through a search operation. Three rebels were assassinated by sniper fire of the Special Services Group while planting IEDs near Miranshah.

Although all these efforts and operations have gained quite admirable success but the way it has been portrayed in foreign media is another and totally different story. US

media mostly rallies behind its state stance and most of the stories are reported on the same stance. So, it becomes very interesting to assess and examine the frames constructed by the US media when reporting on Pakistan and Pakistan army.

Building upon what have been said so far, it can easily be inferred that whatever way a country and its institutions are depicted, framed, and portrayed in a certain country's media outlets, it affects the image of that country and ultimately common populace support/opposition is also built upon these news media frames built by that country's media. Pakistan army, as mentioned earlier, has suffered irreparable losses and has sacrificed number of human lives, but the way it is personified and framed in the US media, it severely impacts its image.

Problem Statement

To learn in detail and evaluate construction of Pakistan Army during operation Zarb-e-Azab initiated by Pakistan Army in the US media (New York Times and Washington Post) as Pakistan has been one of the major players in the War against Terror.

Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study is:

• Comprehending and judge the concept of Pakistan Army and its operation Zarb e Azb in the US newspapers New York Times and Washington Post.

• To confirm the framing approach about the image of Pakistan, imagining the importance of Pakistan for USA

This study is aimed to study the frames and discourse set and constructed about Pakistan Army by New York Times and Washington Post newspapers from US. This

study attempts not only to quantitatively measure certain slants but also qualitatively assess those through in-depth interviews from editors and journalists from US and Pakistan.

Study also aims to explore construction of Pakistan army in US media keeping in mind the theories of critical discourse analysis and social construction of reality.

Significance of the Study

This study and its result will be of great use in deliberating on the fact that USA and its relation with other countries in relation to this region especially Pakistan. Getting an idea that How United States of America newspaper build Pakistan army's image, its army operations in newspapers, do they abide by their relations with other countries or highlighting the sentiments against Muslims and anti-Pakistan feelings prevalent in west. As the media influences, up to great extent, making of the public policy, it also manipulates people's thinking towards other groups and ultimately has an impact on the relationship between countries and start diplomatic discussion, which usually imitate media discourses forming a cyclical procedure. Therefore, it's important to understand the facts regarding Pakistan.

This study will not only add to the existing body of literature on construction of reality and discourse analysis but it can also be a useful document for policy guidelines to build and improve Pakistan army's image in the media.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

"The media is always American" (Tunstall, 1977). "US media reporting carries considerable value throughout the world as it has an impact on its foreign policy and on a universal level" (Cohen, 1963). "It is apparent that the US media have a vital part in creating and developing knowledge that guarantee the belief of the communal and also on national extent decision making" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In the similar way, Khalid (2001) also expressed, "US channels do not depict only photos in its reportage of news in America and of worldwide".

"America and additional western states do not show a good picture of the developing countries. And the slight reporting and undergo major deals of ferocity and misdeed. This striking investigation of developing nations has an effect on their global stature and afterwards on their development and progress" (Wilfred, 1993).

While keeping US reports in mind, it is alarming requirement to notice its satisfaction related to the developing nations. Surprisingly states like India, which has immense trade speculation with the West particularly the US, has an opposing representation on US media. Kumar and Sahu (2011) calculated India's reportage in America's prime channels and found out that US televised news related to India where it has endowed concerns. Besides this, they mentioned that America generally highlights its own perspective following its strategy contrary to the real case. "Afghanistan, the war zone for America after 9/11 has been personification of negative condemnation in spite the reality the similar 'Mujahedeen' were shown in an affirmative way before USSR break up" (Ali et. al, 2011).

Because of this reality, communication on the news channels are created depending on the curiosity of the first class (Djik, 1988), It gets very essential for us to interpret the impact on the viewers. Announcements in the media force the individual to think over it. A person piles up the news unintentionally in his mentality and mistakenly reacts as controlled by media. McCombs (1997) certainly clarified the way in which media schedule works in connection to brain power. The initial move by media is to seek the concentration of the general public on a problem that accompanies the transmission procedure (conversation, feedback etc.). When a person is confused in that difficulty, build on reality initially given by the media, a view is formed about something. This judgment in majority instances is equipped by the media itself. As a result, it changes the response of that person in the finalizing his decision. Besides this, media not just sets the sound of the news supplied to the viewers, it also set ascribes allotted to explain a thing or matter. During his investigational study, McCombs rounded off that repeated users of media have 74% requirement for adaptation of theme. Furthermore, adaptation requirement for schedule setting effect of TV (issue agenda) is +.55 and of the newspaper is +.66. This clearly displays that media has a great effect on a human's brain and therefore it is significant to examine and study the media content.

"The media doesn't inform us what to believe; it informs us what to wonder about" (Cohen, 1968). It is still accurate in the present modern world of technology. McCombs also acknowledged with this thought and revealed that components which have well known position in the media will have leading position in the people's head (McCombs, 2004).

Huge firms are exploring millions and billions of dollars in media establishment. Plenty of simultaneous approach to above idea was stated by Chomsky (2008) in his Authors Google talk, which described media in the same way too. Media works in a humdrum way where the words of the upper class are telecasted. These gentry, as that of the Pentagon in America, manage what sort of news is reported in electronic media as well as in print media. On the Vietnam War, he claimed that usage of words by the American media was self-protective and refused the concept of being incorrect for beginning the battle. In 1969, a formal election declared that more than 70% of the individuals entitled the conflict of a war as evil and useless. So, there was a clash between the US media and its public. The same thing happened while storming Iraq for fighting war against terror.

Theoretical Framework

In the Propaganda Model it is claimed that the prominent media has no choice but to serve the 'first class organizations' without any sort of compromise (Chomsky, 1997). This popular media deals with the ideology of jet set organizations so that they can earn valuable profit. The 'solicitous elite' deals with the type of news that passes to the 'ignorant' crowd through 'powerful propaganda'. And for that reason, it works.

When the Cold War ended, America was a world power already. Along with supervising the media, management of the financial situation as well as the diplomatic framework of the entire world was under its control. When the Second World War came to an end the propaganda began. Chomsky claimed that US media illustrated its impression as it supports the elective government; let the public be involved in different reports on sports, fashion sphere of stars as well as heap commercials. Herman (1997) also quoted:

The power of the U.S. propaganda system lies in its ability to mobilize an elite consensus, to give the appearance of democratic consent, and to create enough confusion, misunderstanding, and apathy in the general population to allow elite programs to go forward.

According to Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model of 1988, the popular media is a kind of profession that is concerned about earning money. Here, media earns through advertising agencies and put up for sale for the masses. In this model, the data undergoes through five different stages:

1. Ownership of the medium

2. Medium's funding sources

3. Sourcing

4. Flak

5. Anti-communist ideology

The initial three steps carry great weight age; both researchers described the way news passes on to the public after it has gone through these filtration steps. This model was originally made for America but can be relevant for states with similar systems. This promotes the media biasness in the mass media without taking care of the public sentiment. In this manner, the cause of propaganda is found in the technical factors of media. This model originally directed to clarify media acts and the way it works (Herman, 1997).

Propaganda Model proposes that media is an occupation of earning money where news is transformed and managed by the upper class. Upper class mention the country, non-media firms, corporations etc. This upper class is capable of stressing

the media by frightening that they are not going to give commercials. As media runs on wealth, it has no choice but to abide by that standard. In this manner the upper class has all the power to manage news in different parts of the country. Also, rules and benefits of these corporations have impact on the type of news telecasted. If we follow the model, the authenticity of the news on any topic is decided by the elite. Any debate started off to keep a check on the matter is also preserved as their attentiveness (Herman, 1997). The actual goal of the model was unfolding the practice of using negative connotations, slant, framing, etc.

Both researchers support the idea that media's aim is to assemble news with the government's assistance which guides the public to support the selection of the upper class (Shabbir, 2011). He said that Hermen's model spotted ways which the media used for the language so that it could 'fulfill scheming conclusions. In this writing, the researchers examined the impression of Afghanistan in US media (Newsweek and Time). They judged that these two magazines applied 'annoying, intense as well as magnificent degree' for the Muslims in that particular district. Moreover, 'hostile headlines' were printed to spotlight the matter of Afghanistan. It stated:

"…misconception, distorting images and creating hatred in the minds of US citizens about Islam and the Muslim World". (Shabbir, 2011)

In the same report it was judged that the type of news description performed for the Muslims were corresponding to the appeal of the White House. There was very less or no reportage of progress acts in Pakistan. Affirmative news was not noticed by the viewers. News which did get attentiveness was dissentient. Some of this news was also overstated without any purpose. Maximum reporting was done for subjects like

Taliban presented as fanatics; Problems of Afghan women; Production of Opium and other drugs; Islamization rule; and the problem of Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden (Shabbir, 2011).

Propaganda Model can be used on the American reporting of the Gulf War in 1991 and afterwards in 9/11 attacks. Keeping the superior cabinet of Bush in mind, it was losing its vogue in 1990 and it wanted urgent formula that could save his presidency. "In spite of supporting Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq war (1980-88), it was a great chance for the Bush government to make a scheme to dislodge him with involvement of the American army" (Kellner, 2004). "US media used to portray Saddam Hussein as an extremely negative person who was heading the state by presenting him as a danger to peace in the whole world. The coverage of US media of Kuwait War is arguable as most of the information was biased. But Bush had gained 90% popularity by the end of the war. This media framing of Kuwait war and the 'New World Order' discussion permitted Bush to fix his position in the presidency" (Kellner, 2004).

Besides this, Bush junior thought that he was at the same position before 9/11. The way he was being admired by people was lessening because the commitment of the plan undertaken in 2000 wasn't ready and the economy of US was decreasing to considerable extent. 9/11 attack proved to be quite fortunate and useful for his admin purposes. He announced War against Terror in the entire world will start with entire American and British media recommending strict action on WOT. Afghanistan was targeted at the initial stage and shortly after 9/11 attacks, Britain and American army blasted Afghanistan from the Arabian Sea's base. With complete emphasis on Osama bin Laden, and when he was found nowhere, Bush wanted a new master plan to get

back to his level. As 2002 poll was near, Saddam Hussein was again considered useful for George Bush and Iraq War was formally announced. Media was utilized to powerfully support anti-terrorism opinion which nourished the place of Bush in the White House. Kellner (2004) describes how implanted journalists published news based on fraud and were biased in some cases so that the position of America could remain powerful during this war. He suggested that Bush family wars in opposition to Iraq lead US for 'using media specs so that extremely contentious agendas can be encouraged'. In addition to this, Bush had been appointed with 'intensified power' his stature after the 9/11 attacks (Walker, 2006).

Hutcheson et. al (2004) said the American government and army executives stated the idea of the public putting the US patriotism beforehand which includes its 'power and strength' and side by side downgraded and the foe was kept as a wicked organization, entirely for state business as its main cause. The similar report, mentioned that media, as well as the journalists, are engaged side by side, arranged by authorized people for using their particular type of speech. After 9/11 attacks, the administration was assisted for getting help of the public against the War on Terror because of which a Nationalistic Act was suggested by then "Attorney General John Ashcroft" and as a result it was approved by the Senate by 98-1 ballot just in the same month after the attacks. Fascinatingly, the report stated that White House Secretary at that time told everyone who was speaking against US or against the national interest decides by the political side. This distinctly manifested American government's impact on its media and endorses the propaganda model.

The foreign countries' representation by the US media, was given considerable amount of coverage to those countries which involved the economic, military and

political interests (Saleem, 2007). Moreover, she also noticed that by selecting the news on any matter, the American media is inclined towards building a good or bad impression of the state in agreement with foreign policy of America.

Khan (2008) examined media from US that he could research on the Pakistan's image before and after 9/11 attacks. He found out that Pakistan experienced condemnatory projection before 9/11 attacks and in spite of the fact that Pakistan was formally united with America against its 'War on Terror', it still had a negative impression on the outer world even after 9/11. General Musharraf who completely supported America, its media presented him in pessimistic way using words like 'A General least bothered about his commitment' and 'Only an autocrat', etc. Ruigrok and Van Atteveldt (2007) said that media of the West presented Muslims as extremists and linked terrorism with Islam.

As Pakistan is very closely connected with terrorism in spite of being a strong supporter of America against War on Terror, it is represented as the main hub of Al-Qaeda network. This is due to an inundation of immigrants, extremists and asylum seekers, residing in Pakistan after the US-Afghan war. Moreover, President Obama had even given a consideration of war extending to Pakistan. Ronstadt (2008) claims that Pakistan is unable to resolve its issues as far as anti-western militants and religious extremism is concerned.

Siraj (2006) also affirmed that America presents those states more often in which it has too much of interests. Pakistan was presented in a negative manner before and after 9/11 attacks although Pakistan had been very supportive throughout, since America started its war against terror.

In his theory, Dainton (2004) recommended that using extreme argumentation in a text assists in convincing the reader or making an impression on his mind which is long lasting. The cognitive reaction is approvable for the subject, which is under stress. It then works according to the reader's perception. Furthermore, a lot of duplication can expand the impact of pressure of such sound controversy. A piece of barrier in the passage can result in decrease in wanted influence.

Iqbal and Shabbir (2010) inspected upper class British papers with the help of corpus modus discourse analysis method to analyze the image of extremists. In this report, similar procedure is going to be applied to investigate image of Armed forces of Pakistan in The New York Times and The Guardian.

Theoretical Framework

Luhmann (2000), in his book 'Reality of Media', takes basic framing to a different stage. In his report a question was raised that "which mass media portrays the true depiction of reality if all three, news/in-depth reporting, entertainment, and advertising aspects are completely fulfilled". "The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning."

According to Luhmann (2000), there are secret methods of collecting data deserving of news and these are simultaneously inevitable. He asserts that this is absolutely true for classifying different kinds of presentation of actual news, widely telling, and it also considered to be correct for informal attributions, that is, the point of view upon which everything is explained be contingent on a few philosophical or standardize

biasness and which concludes it is difficult to get rid of it. The dissimilarity between the opinions comes in a form of dispute the ones who use repeatedly with some informal attributions and therefore the attribution and attached together and cannot be detached after a specific period of time.

He contends that rules that are approved towards a particular mind set leans to one side the issue. But according to his point of view, this can be well adjusted by sensibly adjusting the attribution on right decision (Luhmann, 2000). He has a profound belief that mass media decides the manner in which the entire world comprehends news and itself allot virtuous perceptions to its context (ibid).

Luhmann applied an expression second-order observation that was taken by him from Maturana and Varela which had the truth of the mass media in it (Luhmann, 2000). To have a clear understanding of this case, he said that the community depends on the media. For observing the community by themselves and this network of media is then able to manipulate reports from the monitors (informants like reporters, journalists).

He proceeded towards the mass media as one of the extremely important and attractive subsystems of the present era. He presumed a positive outlook to this subsystem that is not only created on the binary code of what is true and what is false. It is dissimilar since what public believes is not the truth it proposes; rather it generates its person an authenticity depending on its personal methods of programming and coding of news. Luhmann states that the mass media is a form of self-viewing of present era. He explains that it is a method that is managed

structurally, with joint agendas, instead of an exclusive individual handling the complete structure itself.

Finally, Luhmann assumes that the mass media heads to an overestimation of others independence, however every person is just well informed of the cognitive fence to the level of independence, he or she has (ibid). And this unbalancing of attribution of independence may have a lot of outcomes in a community which at all stages has immensely increased the range for making judgment and caused correlating unpredictability's.

With the steady progression in perceiving the framing theory and agenda-setting theories, Scheufele (2007) discussed about creation of subjects by media at two level, micro-level and macro-level. Micro-level creation depends on public's point of view on different issues. Macro-level, deals with planning certain subject composed in a manner that has the capability to give more or less importance to it. It basically doesn't mean that the reporting is not true, but the points considered as actual problems might not even have so much significance.

In this research we will notice how the impression of Pakistan Army is built and which similar/dissimilar discourses have been manufactured related to it. As New York Times is more liberal newspaper while Washington Post is believed to be rather conservative and pro Republican Party while NYT is often accused of even siding with Democrats, we will now observe how it portrays Pakistan Army. Are the policies of US visible in its write up?

Research Questions

In order to measure those frames and discourses following questions have been asked in order to gauge Pakistan Army's construction in the US media.

RQ: What does the use of words, language and content reveal regarding the US media's portrayal of Pakistan Army?

RQ: Do news frames related to Pakistan Army significantly differ in their coverage in New York Times and Washington Post with respect to war on terrorism, nuclear issue, Pak-India conflict, and domestic politics?

RQ: Is there any sort of attempted vilification through choice of words in order to demonize Pakistan Army as an institution?

RQ: Has there been any shift in the frames over time especially for last two months (May-June 2016) since bilateral ties between Pakistan and US dipped to a record low?

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

According to Fulcher (2012) discourse analysis is a qualitative technique to examine the news report or conference to get an idea of the unrevealed communication and communal structures which may be presumed in that write up or discussion. The analyst in this case tries to recognize, roles, themes, stances, attribution and attitudes within the passage itself. "Critical Discourse Analysis is a method for deconstructing the beliefs of the mass media and other upper-class groups and for highlighting and explaining economic, historic and social power relations between supreme and inferior groups". (Henry and Tator, 2002)

Critical discourse analysis is a debauched rising and emerging field. "Adequate researching in said area generates formulate academic disciplines. It may also include disciplines methods, such as 'psychology in social/cognitive domain, communication and artificial intelligence. The word 'discourse and discourse analysis' varies in meaning from linguistic point of view. Usually it narrates as 'beyond sentence'. According to Fasold in early nineties, language study involved study of discourse. As in physics, this relates to illustrations or waves. Though, theorists in favor of the idea term discourse as 'power' and refer it to a wide accumulation of linguistic and nonlinguistic practices.CDA is a different mode in discourse studies. It is a diverse field, as it highlights awareness among the societies explicitly. Most of the scholars argue that it is an inherent quality of social structures and correlate to social interaction.

A sample of all the articles from both the publication containing word "Pakistan" in

the news story title and mentioning "Pakistan Army" or "Armed Forces" anywhere in the story is drawn for analysis starting from June 2014 to June 2016. A Content analysis of articles to identify frames is the best suitable method for the research while in-depth interviews with the editors (consisting same/similar questions for each) of prestigious publications from US (and maybe Pakistan too) has been conducted in order to explore on those identified frames and use of language. A mix of quantitative content analysis and qualitative in-depth interview survey from editors and reporters in US has been employed in determining the dominant frames and construction of Pakistan Army and then understanding the motives behind such construction. Detailed in-depth interviews might also suggest some remedies for the improvement of image for Pakistan Army abroad.

All the articles from June 2014 to June 2016 appearing in New York Times and Washington post are the population of the study while the sample extracted from all these articles includes only those articles where the words "Pakistan", "Pakistan Army", "Zarb e Azb", "Afghanistan", "Waziristan" "FATA", and "Tribal Areas" are used in the title/ headlines of the article. Rationale for selecting articles this way is that articles where Pakistan or Pakistan Army have been mentioned in the headline will have more meaty and detailed material about Pakistan and its armed forces. Thus, it is more feasible and accurate to apply theories of framing, social construction of reality, and Von Dijk's methods of critical discourse analysis to extract answers to the research questions.

Here in this study we used Von Dijk's Argumentation, Rhetorical figures, Lexical styles, Storytelling, Structural emphasis, and Quoting of credible sources (Dijk, 1993)

to apply critical discourse analysis on the sample articles. Keeping in view the nature of the study and data "Corpus" Modus Operandi for discourse analysis will be used to analyze the sample articles in two newspapers.

Both quantitative and qualitative research designs have be used to collect data and then using relevant statistical techniques to infer results out of them. Quantitative design shall primarily focus on the placement of news story in a given media outlet, whether the story was bylined or forwarded by any correspondent, national / international news agency etc., which domain / theme it falls in, and what has been the sub-theme it actually comes under, how women were identified / recognized and whether any stereotypes reinforced / challenged in the contents of the news and if there has been any derogatory remarks passed etc.

Qualitative analysis of news story will be based on corpus modus technique of discourse analysis. It would focus on four main aspects; namely, epistemological stance, attitudinal stance, style stance of the news story besides collecting data on metaphors used for Pakistan Army in media contents. Here, epistemological stance would look for informational tinge in the news story as whether the news item covering Pakistan Army does pegged with some useful and meaningful information in it. While studying the contents through attitudinal stance would help us understand whether any negative / positive construction of Pakistan Army in the story is based on a cogent rationale capable of changing attitudes of the individual readers / viewers. Style stance would help us determine the overall tune of the story, which usually impresses an individual to set his/her predisposition on the issue under focus. While, metaphor search in a story will help us identify any strong adjective(s) used for

Pakistan Army in a given story or if Pakistan Army is identified with any negative stereotype. Qualitative analysis will us understand the construction of image of Pakistan Army in US media, which then are more often carried by the individuals and the society overall.

In qualitative analysis, while using corpus modus technique social stereotypes will be analyzed under two main categories: blatantly stereotyped news stories and subtle stereotyped news contents. Blatantly stereotyped news contents usually employ language and images to denigrate Pakistan Army social status in a demeaning fashion and in comparison, present US army role as socially justified. On the other hand, in subtle stereotyped news contents generally negative socially constructed stereotypes are presented to make them appear normal and in way part of the culture.

Population: All articles from New York Times and Washington Post appearing during June 2014 to June 2016 period.

Sample: Articles with the words "Pakistan", "Army", "Military", "Zarb e Azb", "Operation", and "Waziristan" in the headlines will be selected for analysis. As the whole sample did not amount to a huge number of articles so, all the articles have analyzed and no further sampling techniques was employed). A total of 69articles were finally selected after getting the sample from LexisNexis database. NYT published 35 news articles while Washington post published 34 news articles during the assorted time period. Although database gave a whopping 171 articles from NYT and 282 from Washington Post but the database had provided all the updated versions of the already published stories as separate articles. In that case all the first-time

published articles were chosen and rest were left from the sample.

Unit of Analysis: An article with the selected "keywords" is unit of analysis for this study.

Rationale for Selecting Discourse Analysis: Discourse analysis of the content is best suitable method for this study to examine and understand structure underlying in the US media through which an image of Pakistan army has been constructed because, through corpus modus operandi techniques of discourse analysis, structures can be easily understood in relation with the Argumentation, Rhetorical figures, Lexical styles, Storytelling, Structural emphasis, and Quoting of credible sources.

Theoretical Framework

Luhmann (2000) takes basic framing to a newer level. He argues in his study that there are ways of selecting information worthy of news and these are concurrently unavoidable. He furthers with that this stands true for classification of types of depiction of factual information, broadly speaking, and it also stands true for casual attributions, i.e., the viewpoint by which each subject described depends on some ideological or normative biasness and as a result it is hard to avoid it. The difference of opinion comes in a form of conflict with those operate repetitively with various casual attributions and therefore the attribution and the subject are tagged with each other and after a period of time cannot be separated(Luhman, 2000).

He argues that conformity that assents towards a single perception tends to anchor the issue to one side. But in his opinion, this can be balanced by balancing the attribution on moral judgments. He strongly believes that mass media determines the

way the world perceives an information and itself allocate moral perceptions to its context.

Luhmann used a term second-order observation, which he took from Maturana and Varela. He stated that the reality of the mass media is the reality of second-order observation. To understand this phenomenon, he said that the society relies on the media for their own observation of society and this system of the media then is capable of manipulating information from the observers (sources such as journalists, reporters)(Luhman, 2000).

With the gradual progress in understanding the agenda-setting theory and framing theories, Scheufele talked about construction of subjects by media on two levels, macro-level and micro-level. Macro-level, like in this research study, deals with projecting certain subject framed in a way that has the ability to give more or less importance to it. It generally does not mean the reporting is false, but the matters discussed, as main issue may not even be of as much importance on ground(Scheufele, 2007).

In this study we shall see how image of Pakistan Army is constructed and which different discourses have been made(Zubair & Iqbal, 2014). Since New York Times and Washington Post are US based newspapers, we shall see how it portrays Pakistan Army, specially being its ally on the WoT. Are the US policies visible in these articles and how have those frames changed over time in last two years?

Language is deliberately selected for intended purposes and a careful examination as suggested by Van Dijk can help in understanding those intended purposes. As discourse analysis has no single and bound method to be conducted (Educational Foundation and research, University of North Dakota, 2015) and there can be multiple ways to conduct and write up a discourse analysis, here, we have

employed Van Dijk's principles and method of conducting critical discourse analysis aka CDA.

Here in this study we used Von Dijk's Argumentation, Rhetorical figures, Lexical styles, Storytelling, Structural emphasis, and Quoting of credible sources (Dijk, 1993) to apply critical discourse analysis on the sample articles using corpus modus operandi.

All reports were recovered from Lexis Nexis search engine for New York Time and Washington Post. The time period for searching was June 2014 to June 2016. Total 69 articles were found which were related to Pakistan Army and its role on war against terror, as an institution, in relation with Pakistan-US: Washington Post (34news stories and articles) and The New York Time (35 articles). Keeping in mind the limited number of articles and new stories, sampling technique was not applied. For investigation of the data given above corpus modus operandi method was used. This method assisted in measuring 'stances' in the reports:

a) Epistemological Stance (reliability of information, comments, source of information, or doubt);

b) Attitudinal Stance (positive, neutral or negative);

c) Style Stance (condemning, sarcastic, explanatory, exploratory, questioning, authoritative, appreciative, sympathetic, defensive, descriptive);

d) Attribution (various facets of Pakistan, the Army, Adjectives used to describe political figures);

e) Metaphors were emphasized regarding negative or positive stance on the Pakistani military.

First paragraph after the headline was used as the coding unit. Each paragraph was taken as contextual unit.

Styles coding:

a) Sarcastic: Ridiculing Pakistan Army, government, relations between US and Pakistan or any other detail connected with Pakistan

b) Condemning: Seriously accusing Armed forces of Pakistan in any case with no justification.

c) Exploratory: Exploring Pakistan Army from different aspects and situation.

d) Explanatory: Clarification of some occasions or rules made by the top leaders of Pakistan Army.

e) Authoritative: Keeping a commanding, superior tone (superiority complex of the west)

f) Questioning: Asking various questions, as usual, regarding decisions made

g) Sympathetic: A caring feeling to any incident that shows sympathy towards Pakistan Army (Attack on school in Peshawar)

h) Appreciative: Appreciating and praising the efforts of Pakistan Army during disasters.

i) Descriptive: Applying adjectives, adverbs and creative language to explain the condition of armed forces of Pakistan.

j) Defensive: Defensive for or against Pakistan Army for a particular action or inaction that occurred.

Attitudinal Stance:

Negative (-1):

The paragraphs that were against Pakistan Army were considered to be negative.

Neutral (0):

The paragraphs that were neither negative nor positive were considered to be neutral.

Positive (+1):

The paragraphs that were favoring Pakistan Army were considered to be positive.

Each paragraph of every article was coded along style stance, epistemological stance, attitudinal stance, theme it possesses, attributions and metaphors. For example:

Title (Headline): "Pakistan begins long-awaited offensive to root out militants from border region– News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "Sunday 15 June 2015"

Words: 600

Paragraph: 4

Style: Exploratory (Exploring the situation in Pakistan and the army operation against terrorists in FATA

Epistemological Stance: Details of the area where they think that operation in those areas like Shawal Valley is very important

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Pakistan US relations will strengthen in case of more military operations.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: "Taliban-dominated part of Pakistan's borderlands"

CHAPTER 4

Results, Analysis and Discourses

Following are the results and analysis for all the articles appearing in New York Times and Washington Post regarding Zarb-e-Azb operation and with selected keywords that mentioned Pakistan army. Stories have been cited and analyzed in ascending chronological order from June 2014 to June 2016.

New York Times Stories:

Story 1

Title (Headline): In Drive Against Militants, Pakistani Airstrikes Hit Strongholds

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*17 June 2014

Words: 1194 words

*Paragraph:*24

Style: Explanatory (Explaining the nature of attack and details of the area where the attack has started)

Epistemological Stance: Details of the area where they think that operation in those areas like Miran Shah is very important

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Sympathetic towards Pakistan and appreciative towards Pakistan Army.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: "Without any discrimination, Burning to ashes (by Taliban)"

As this article is written towards the beginning of the operation so, it tries to explain and explore the region along with appreciating army with adjectives and metaphors like carrying out the operation "without discrimination". It will be very interesting to see if this stance changes over time as the operation proceeds and time passes by.

Story 2

Title (Headline): A Long History of Rebellion in the Mountains of Pakistan

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*01 July 2014

Words: 707 words

*Paragraph:*11

Style: Exploratory (Trying to explore the history of the troubled region and trying to draw historical comparisons)

Authoritative: Information provided tend to suggest that US is right in using drone airstrikes to kill militants.

Epistemological Stance: Historical narratives have been built in order to show the complexity and troubles ahead for the operation by mention details of the historical incidents and invasions the area.

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Capability of Pakistan as state have been questioned in order to get through the operation successfully although there has been no direct negative maligning of Pakistan Army.

Use of adjectives like sporadically leashing the airstrikes suggests that there has been non seriousness towards total eradication of such elements before.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No metaphors were used in the articles.

This article is a mix of warnings, legitimizing, and bashing of others as drone strikes' success has been repeatedly mentioned while British were quoted to be unsuccessful and Pakistan's non-seriousness to rout out the militants previously has also been hinted, all while giving the historical exploration of the region where operation is taking place.

Story 3

Title (Headline): Pakistani Forces Begin Assault on Militant Strongholds

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*01 July 2014

Words: 1120 words

*Paragraph:*19

Style: Explanatory (Explaining the causal relationship in the attack and army's attitude towards it previously

Questioning*:* Questions previous reluctance of army to conduct this operation

Authoritative: Information provided tend to suggest that US is right in using drone airstrikes to kill militants.

Epistemological Stance: relying and believing the information that has so far been provided by Pakistani military and quoting military sources as credible and authentic

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Growth of militants in the area has been shown as threat to the state, which was overlooked intentionally.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: Use of "slow-burning embarrassment to the Pakistani military" tells how the story is tilted towards condemning and questioning the previous inaction of Pakistan Army.

Story 4

Title (Headline): Hard-Line Splinter Group, Galvanized by ISIS, Emerges From Pakistani Taliban

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*07 August 2014

Words: 716 words

*Paragraph:*10

Style: Descriptive and Explanatory for giving reasons to the split of Taliban in Pakistan

Epistemological Stance: relying and believing the information that has so far been provided by Taliban sources through releases and interviews

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Growth of militants in the area has been shown as threat to the state, which was overlooked by state and has now turned into huge problem.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: Use of "TTP is ours' now not theirs" tells how the information and claims from Taliban have been magnified.

Contradictory to when NYT, previously, mentioned achievements of Pakistan army, it did not used strong direct quoted statements while it has been done here in the case of Taliban.

Story 5

Title (Headline): Insurgents in Pakistan Stepping Up Iran Strikes *Border region*:

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*10 October 2014

Words: 472 words

*Paragraph:*8

Style: Condemning (Condemns the inaction of Pakistan army in dealing with Sunni terrorists infiltrating Iranian border areas) but at the same time it is blaming that Pakistani forces don't have control over border areas.

Epistemological Stance: relying and believing the information that has so far been provided by Iranian revolutionary guards and blaming Pakistani army of not having any control.

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: There is no control exercised by Pakistani border forces aka military.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No metaphors have been used in this case.

Although the story is condemning and stance/slant a tilted towards being negative towards Pakistan army but reporter has been skeptic in blaming all out and favoring Iranian authorities.

Story 6

Title (Headline): Allure of ISIS for Pakistanis Is on the Rise.

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*22 November 2014

Words: 1379 words

*Paragraph:*21

Style: Descriptive and Explanatory for giving reasons to the rise of ISIS even though it is still symbolic

Epistemological Stance: relying and believing the information that has so far been provided by Pakistani authorities and Taliban both

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Growth of militants in the urban areas has been shown as threat to the state, and it has been cautioned to security forces that it might become a huge problem.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No strong metaphors were used but use of adjectives likes symbolic presence undermines ISIS claims to have got footing in Pakistan.

This article is more of exploratory nature which explores different connections among ISIS and Pakistani Taliban factions but is very wary of the claims made by Taliban.

Story 7

Title (Headline): Pakistani Military Kills a Senior Qaeda Leader.

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*07 December 2014

Words: 663

Paragraph: 10

Style: Appreciative, as it tells in detail about the pursuit and effort taken by Pakistan Army to hunt down the militant.

Descriptive, as it describes the whole story with different angles.

Sympathetic, as it also accounts the suffering and loss of life foe Pakistan Army.

Epistemological Stance: relying and believing the information that has so far been provided by Pakistani army officials.

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Strong, positive adjectives used for describing Pakistan army's pursuit to kill the militant.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No strong metaphors were used.

Story 8

Title (Headline): Taliban Besiege Pakistan School, Leaving 145 Dead.

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*17 December 2014

Words: 1463

Paragraph: 22

Style: Sympathetic, as it also accounts the suffering and loss of life foe Pakistan Army and innocent kids who went to school and never came back.

Defensive, as it defends Pakistan army for taking action and bearing loss in retaliation to the operation against militants.

Epistemological Stance: relying and believing the information that has so far been provided by Pakistani authorities.

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Strong, positive adjectives used for describing Pakistan army's pursuit to kill the militants and also shown grievance over loss of innocent children lives. While adjective like "ruthless" have been used to negatively anoint with Taliban.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: Use of "chilling echoes of Beslan, Russia*"*, where 186 children were massacred is very strong metaphor in drawing parallel to the loss of lives of the children in war against terror.

This story has elements of sympathy, appreciation, and acknowledging the loss of innocent lives of army men and their children in Pakistan. Strong parallels have been drawn with other such attacks around the world during past.

Story 9

Title (Headline): Group Evolves into Potent Enemy.

Border region: News story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*17 December 2014

Words: 1073

Paragraph: 17

Style: Condemning, as it doubts Pakistan army of providing umbrella to Taliban.

Authoritative: As it asserts that Pakistan army unwillingly took action against Taliban due to the pressure from US.

Descriptive, as it describes history of attacks by Taliban in Pakistan.

Epistemological Stance: There is strong and verdict like believe in the authenticity and correctness of information because the US reporter is providing it.

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Army has been described in negative slant and been shown that it acts only due to the pressure from global forces.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistani Army

Metaphors: "loose umbrella of organizations" have been used to show how diverse and many of Taliban groups have prospered in Pakistan.

This information piece appearing in NYT aiming to provide historical knowledge of Taliban organizational sketch and list of deadliest attacks undermines Pakistan army due to its inaction against militant groups.

Story 10

Title (Headline): After the Attack in Peshawar, Will Afghanistan and Pakistan Cooperate?

Border region: Blog Post

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*18 December 2014

Words: 372

Paragraph: 6

Style: Condemning, as it blames Pakistan for not cooperating with Afghanistan and providing refuge to anti afghan forces in Quetta.

Questioning, if the attitude of both Afghan and Pakistan military will change towards mutual cooperation.

Sarcastic, in a way that, Pakistan's military head flew to Kabul to seek cooperation only when their own kids have been slaughtered.

Epistemological Stance: Pakistan army is doubted of its sincerity through the information provided in the article

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Army has been described in negative slant and that it sought cooperation only when its own kids were slaughtered.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistani Army

Metaphors: No strong metaphors were used.

Story 11

Title (Headline): Pakistan's 9/11?

Border region: Op-Ed Opinion

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*20 December 2014

Words: 871

*Paragraph:*09

Style: Condemning and Descriptive (The opinion piece criticizes both military and civilian establishment of lacking the cooperation and courage to rout out the extremists.

Epistemological Stance: Information and opinions have been depicted in a way that both military and political figures have been shown in negative way and lacking courage to oust terrorists.

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Political figures have been depicted to lack the strength to challenge military's policy to entertain terrorists while politicians themselves retain close ties with them.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistani Army

Metaphors: "profess helplessness" "opportunistic" and "bemoan institutional limitations" are very strong metaphors and adjectives to express incapacity to fight terrorism.

Story 12

Title (Headline): Resolve Hardened by Massacre at School, Pakistani Forces Kill Dozens of Militants

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*20 December 2014

Words: 604

*Paragraph:*9

Style: Appreciative, Sympathetic

Epistemological Stance: Supporting Pakistan army's drive against militants

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: The ability of Pakistan army and coalition forces is capable enough to beat militants.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistani Army

Metaphors: "hardened resolve"

Since articles coded so far have relate to the time when strikes against militants were in early phase most of the news stories have supported Pakistan army's stance.

Story 13

Title (Headline): Pakistan's Baffling Response to Extremism

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*23 December 2014

Words: 530

*Paragraph:*7

Style: Questioning (As it doubts the response from Pakistan military after the Peshawar massacre)

Condemning, as it condemns the duplicitous behavior from military

Epistemological Stance: Focuses on the information, which proves military claims to be false.

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Pakistani military is caught up in dilemma to distance itself from militants.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistani Army

Metaphors: "good and bad Taliban" metaphor has been used to showcase military's dual standards.

One point worth noting here is that almost all the editorial pieces so far have negative attitudinal stance despite many positive news stories. So, the editorial policy seems to be more skewed against Pakistan army and other institutions.

Story 14

Title (Headline): Pakistani Premier Announces Military Courts for Terrorism Cases

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*25 December 2014

Words: 531

Paragraph: 7

Style: Questioning (as the story talks about the legitimacy and concerns about abuse of such courts against common people)

Explanatory, as it chalks out all the rules devised by the top military and political brass during the meeting to combat terrorism.

Epistemological Stance: Focuses on the information, which gives details to the plan for counter terrorism famously called National Action Plan.

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral (0)

Attribution: Presents prime minister as somber-looking while appearing on national TV

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

Metaphors: "Faustian bargain" is strong metaphor used to depict the military courts to fight terrorism and prosecute terrorists in those special tribunals.

Although the news story has a neutral tone but condemning comes through the use strong metaphors like "Faustian bargain" which has been associated with military courts and allowing military to try terrorists in those special courts.

Story 15

Title (Headline): Where War Was Transferred to Afghans Long Ago

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*29 December 2014

Words: 944

Paragraph: 10

Style: Exploratory, as it tells the case study of Afghan forces achievements in Kunar province.

Epistemological Stance: Focuses on the information to emphasize the grip of security forces.

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral (0)

Attribution: None

Theme: War on Terror and Afghanistan and Pakistan cooperation

Metaphors: No metaphors regarding Pakistan army were used but adjectives used for Afghan forces' achievements were very strong i.e. "speeches filled with florid prose"

Narration totally changes in this story as the news about a ceremony is being presented as celebration and taking of journalists for interviewing different officials through helicopters is being told to be the achievement of its kind. While, the same could have either been reported in condemning or questioning style if it was not associated with allied and Afghan forces.

Story 16

Title (Headline): U.S. Drone Strike in Pakistan Is Said to Have Killed 6 Militants

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*05 January 2015

Words: 341

Paragraph: 5

Style: Authoritative as US drone attack has been presented as normal activity.

Sarcastic in a way that after mentioning the results achieved it also mentions protests from Pakistani diplomats against Drones and suggests that no heed is paid to such diplomatic protests.

Appreciative style has been used in later part of the story as achievements of Pakistan military have also been recognized in killing several terrorists.

Epistemological Stance: Killing of terrorists by Pak army has been mentioned to legitimize the drone attack killings.

Attitudinal Stance: 0 (Neutral)

Attribution: General Sharif is making efforts to get National action plan work in right direction.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

Metaphors: No metaphor were used in the story

Although this story is primarily about the drone attack by US but it also mentions Pakistan army's operation and killing of several militants in the same breath and it, kind of, approves/legitimizes the drone strikes by US.

Story 17

Title (Headline): Is Pakistan Worth America's Investment?

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: Editorial

*Date:*10 January 2015

Words: 608

*Paragraph:*8

Style: Authoritative, as if US has the authority to decide and Pakistan and its institutions are merely there to act accordingly

Questioning, as it asks questions about the previous military aid and how it has been spent. It also sheds strong doubts and accuses of double crossing the US

Condemning: As the story also condemns the military and questions whether the aid should be continued or not?

Epistemological Stance: Skeptical of government's announcement to stop distinguishing between good and bad Taliban

Attitudinal Stance: -1 Negative

Attribution: Pakistan army has double-crossed so should not be given aid and aid should dry gradually.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

Metaphors: double-crossing

Yet again this editorial proves that despite the better results of the Zarb-e-Azb operation New York Time, through its editorials, have tried to cast doubts on whatever has been achieved and is being tried to done on ground against militants.

Story 18

Title (Headline): Kerry Vows Aid for Displaced Pakistanis

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*13 January 2015

Words: 766

Paragraph: 10

Style: Authoritative (As it asks for operation against Haqqani network militants in return of the emergency aid)

Sympathetic (At the same time it also sympathizes the loss of life and displacement of the locals from operation hit areas and promises aid money.

Epistemological Stance: Focus on the demands from Kerry in return for the emergency aid

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral (0)

Attribution: Skepticism about Hen. Raheel Sharif's promises to hold an across the board operation

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

Metaphors: the term "good and bad Taliban" has been used metaphorically.

Story 19

Title (Headline): In a Shift, Pakistan Pats Afghanistan on the Back

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 13 February 2015

Words: 476

Paragraph: 8

Style: Exploratory

Epistemological Stance: Focus on the demands made by Pakistan military for assistance in capturing top brass militants.

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral (0)

Attribution: Skepticism about the continuity of Af-Pak cooperation.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

Metaphors: No metaphorical terms were used in the story.

Story 20

Title (Headline): Pakistan: Lahore Attacked by Taliban Suicide Bomber

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 18 February 2015

Words: 467

Paragraph: 7

Style: Sympathetic (As the incident is connected with the on-going operation against terrorist outfits in tribal areas)

Epistemological Stance: Focus on the loss of life and details of the bombing attack

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral (0)

Attribution: No political figure described.

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

Metaphors: No metaphors were used.

Story 21

Title (Headline): Pakistan in Its Labyrinth

Border region: Op-Ed Column

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*24 February 2015

Words: 818

Paragraph: 13

Style: Sarcastic (As it questions in funny way that logic behind all Pakistani decisions

has been flawed)

Condemning and Questioning (Condemns the "strategic depth" banter)

Epistemological Stance: Doesn't provide sources and talks more in opinionated way)

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: casts doubt and skepticism on the future direction

Theme: War on Terror and Pakistan

*Metaphors: "*strategic depth" metaphor has been used repeatedly in sarcastic way

As the writer himself has worked with NYT in covering Middle east and knows some very basic facts about Pakistan and its history, he attempts to malign its institutions through very vague information and assumed ideas.

Story 22

Title (Headline): Nuclear Fears in South Asia

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*6 April 2015

Words:576

*Paragraph:*7

Style: Condemning (As it accuses armed forces of wielding power and national resources fir itself through enmity with India)

Authoritative (As the newspaper tends to sound that US has right to interfere and meddle with the policies being followed by Pakistan, especially friendship with China)

Epistemological Stance: No credible sources are quoted and accusation are pelted one after another

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: Defines Pakistan army as "obsessed" with enmity with India

Theme: India Pakistan relations, China, and Nuclear arms race in South Asia.

Metaphors: Although no metaphors have been used but strong adjectives like "sunk deeper" and "increasingly dependent" stress on negative connotations with Pakistan army.

This is yet again another Editorial piece that associates negative stance and connotation with Pakistan and its institutions especially armed forces.

Story 23

Title (Headline): China's Big Plunge in Pakistan

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*23 April 2015

Words: 536

Paragraph: 8

Style: Explanatory (As it explains and digs into details of economic corridor and skeptical of Pakistan's ability to complete)

Epistemological Stance: Focus on the details of the project and security concerns

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: Skepticism about the continuity of CPEC and security concerns.

Theme: Pak-China relations, CPEC, Security, Terrorism

Metaphors: No metaphorical terms were used in the story.

Although this editorial piece is slightly less biased but still voices skepticism of Pakistan's security institutions and Pakistan's ability to fulfill promises made for receiving Chinese investment.

Story 24

Title (Headline):Hamid Gul, Ex-Spy Chief of Pakistan, Dies at 78

Border region: News Story/ Obituary

Newspaper: New York times

*Date:*17 August 2015

Words: 612

Paragraph: 10

Style: Explanatory (As it explains the past and involvement of the deceased in matters of state and politics)

Epistemological Stance: Death of the general has been reported

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: Army is involved in meddling the politics. General Gul as the face of Right-wingers in Army and Islamist politicians

Theme: Pakistan Army and Pan-Islamism

Metaphors: No metaphors were used

Story 25

Title (Headline): Suicide Bombing Kills Minister in Pakistan

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*17 August 2015

Words:426

*Paragraph:*7

Style: Sympathetic (As it convenes sympathy towards the deceased and security institutions), Appreciative (Because it appreciates the struggles made by the late minister and military to maintain law and order.

Epistemological Stance: Supporting govt. stance against militancy

Attitudinal Stance: Positive +1

Attribution: Army is capable of carrying out the operation.

Theme: Terrorism

Metaphors: None

Story 26

Title (Headline): The Need for Restraint in Kashmir

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 20 August 2015

Words: 373

Paragraph: 5

Style: Condemning (As the newspaper assumes that Pakistan army has been testing Modi and citing experts without giving credible sources)

Epistemological Stance: Army like dressed attackers attacked police in India near Indo-Pak border

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: Pakistan army draws power from constant tension with India

Theme: Indo-Pak relations, Security, Terrorism, Kashmir

Metaphors: No metaphors were used to hint or explain military.

This editorial is again tilted towards bashing Pakistan army and putting the whole blame on Pakistan while letting India walk free of any involvement in cross border firing.

Story 27

Title (Headline): Asia; Pakistan: Civilians Killed as Troops Trade Fire with India in Kashmir

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 29 August 2015

Words: 342

Paragraph: 6

Style: Exploratory

Epistemological Stance: Military sources from India and Pakistan quoted for damages

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral 0

Attribution: Sialkot is volatile region. More Pakistani live near working boundary

Theme: Indo-Pak relations, Kashmir, Military

Metaphors: None

Story 28

Title (Headline): The Mysteries of Abbottabad

Border region: Feature

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 18 October 2015

Words: 7254

*Paragraph:*100+

Style: Explanatory (As it explains the story of Hersh's work on Bin Laden operation)

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral 0

Attribution: He wanted me to start looking into Pakistan's radar system which was way too sophisticated.

Theme: In Laden, Abbotabad

Metaphors: "dimwitted third world guys" to refer to Pakistan and its military in sarcastic way

Story 29

Title (Headline): Military Expands Its Power, and Is Thanked for Doing So

Border region: Opinion Column

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*18 November 2015

Words:1466

*Paragraph:*23

Style: Sarcastic (As it tells in sarcastic way how military has gained control and is thanked by masses)

Questioning (because it raises the questions about aggressive media policy and staunch control over social media and internet.

Epistemological Stance: 'I wouldn't describe it as a soft coup, but I would definitely say the civilian leadership has yielded space to the military -- for their own survival

and because there were major failures on their part," said Talat Masood, a retired lieutenant general and military analyst.

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: General Sharif's public appearances have been less ostentatious than those of some of his predecessors. But at the same time, his face has become ubiquitous on social media, after giving a free hand to the officer commanding the Inter-Services Public Relations office, the military's media arm, to modernize that service

Theme: Pakistan Army, Media, Control, Internet

Metaphors: "Success Speaks" like metaphor has been used to describe how military success in Zarb-e-Azb has helped it gain power within the society again.

Story 30

Title (Headline): Asia; India: Pakistan Talks Rescheduled

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*15 January 2016

Words:409

*Paragraph:*7

Style: Exploratory as it explores Pakistan army through its political influence

Questioning (Article questions seriousness of Pakistan army through a source to conduct operation against militants)

Epistemological Stance: Criticizing Pakistan army for meddling into political affairs

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: "Pakistan's army in the past has controlled Pakistan's foreign and security policy,"

Theme: Terrorism, India Pakistan relations, Kashmir

Metaphors: No metaphors were used

Story 31

Title (Headline): Taliban Attack Shows Limits of Pakistan's Military Crackdown

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*22 January 2016

Words:1197

*Paragraph:*18

Style: Questioning (As it questions the continuity of the operation)

Appreciative (The article mentions and praises the gains from the operation against militants

Epistemological Stance: 'we must question how long we can continue to live like this,"

Attitudinal Stance: Positive +1

Attribution: The Pakistani military enjoys authority that would be unthinkable in many countries.

Theme: Terrorism, Af-Pak relations, War against terrorism

Metaphors: No evident metaphors used to depict army

This article, along with, mentioning the detailed split among Taliban factions, also chalks out the successes of Pakistan army who seems to be in control with the operation and despite raising some questions about military overall stance on the article is positive towards military.

Story 32

Title (Headline): Another Bombing, This Time in Pakistan

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*29 March 2016

Words: 490

Paragraph: 9

Style: Condemning (Article condemns the inaction of government)

Authoritative (It questions the corruption-laden leadership's ability to devise a policy and talk about the suffering of the common people.

Epistemological Stance: Pakistani political leadership is extremely corrupt

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1 towards political leadership

Attribution: Pakistani people have suffered too much from Taliban and hypocrisy of political leaders

Theme: Pakistan, Corruption, and Terrorism

Metaphors: No strong metaphor used to depict army or government

Story 33

Title (Headline): Time to Put the Squeeze on Pakistan

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 12 May 2016

Words: 653

Paragraph: 11

Style: Condemning (Putting blame on Pakistan army for double-game, stating the onus lies on Pakistan for fueling the war against US)

Questioning (Editorial questions the aid flowing to Pakistan and argues to squeeze on Pakistan)

Epistemological Stance: Pakistan army is double crossing

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: Army supports Haqqani network and terror outfits

Theme: Pakistan army and War on Terrorism

Metaphors: Usual metaphor of double-game/double-cross used to associate with Pakistan army

Yet another editorial emphasizes upon cutting the aid and ask to do more from Pakistan's political and military leadership and it overlooks Pakistan's gains and success in war against terror.

Story 34

Title (Headline): What Happens After the Drone Strike?

Border region: Editorial

Newspaper: New York Times

*Date:*25 May 2016

Words:612

*Paragraph:*10

Style: Condemning (Accuses Pakistan military of providing safe haven and covers to terrorists, accuses army of no cooperating)

Questioning (Because US has to act alone after pouring so much money in aid to Pakistan military, is it worth aiding Pakistan?)

Authoritative (US can act alone and target militants in Pakistan via drones that too without permission from Pakistan)

Epistemological Stance: Pakistan army provides shelters to terrorists

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: Pakistan army is non-cooperative in fight against terrorism

Theme: Pakistan army and War on Terrorism

Metaphors: "Killing of Bin Laden in Abbotabad" is used metaphorically to legitimize US operations in Pakistan.

Yet another editorial piece accuses Pakistan army of proving shelters to militants and neglecting all the gains and support given by Pakistan to the allied forces.

Story 35

Title (Headline): Heavy Gunfire Traded Across Afghan-Pakistan Border, Escalating Tensions

Border region: News Story

Newspaper: New York Times

Date: 14 June 2016

Words: 793

Paragraph: 12

Style: Exploratory (As the news explores the details of the incident on border)

Epistemological Stance: Four reporters have contributed and story is rich with information

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral (0)

Attribution: Both sides blamed each other for opening fire

Theme: Pakistan army and War on Terrorism

Metaphors: No metaphors were used in the story.

Story 36

Title (Headline): Seize Upon the Taliban Split

Border region: Op-Ed Column

Newspaper: New York times

Date: 7 August 2015

Words: 1082

Paragraph: 15

Style: Explanatory (It explains the split among Taliban, reasons for south Asia to come together)

Epistemological Stance: Information has been quoted as authentic and reliable

Attitudinal Stance: Positive +1

Attribution: Pakistan army has not been discussed more

Theme: India Pakistan relations, Terrorism, Security, South Asia

Metaphors: No metaphors have been used.

This is the only Op-Ed column so far which doesn't have negative slant towards Pakistan or its institutions.

Editorial Bias towards Pakistan Army by New York Times

New York Times, despite occasional positive and favorable news stories about Pakistan and its military, shows editorial bias towards Pakistan and its military institutions. A total 8 (22.22%) of the stories were editorials from editorial board and all of those 8 (100% of editorial) were negatively slanted towards Pakistan, its political leadership and military institutions.

A total of 16 (44.44%) out of 36 articles were negatively slanted while only 6 (16.66%) articles were positively treated and acknowledged Pakistan's achievements in war against terrorism. Although 20 (55.55%) of all the articles were either neutral or positively slanted towards Pakistan and its military but no editorial piece 0 (0%) out of 8 such editorials was neither positive nor neutral towards Pakistan and its military.

Table 1: Slants of the stories as positive, neutral, and negative from NYT

	No of Articles	Positive	Neutral	Negative
News Stories	28	6	14	8
Editorial	8	0	0	8
Total	36	6	14	16

N= 36

Washington Post Stories:

Story 1

Title (Headline): "Pakistan airport attack kills 11–

Border Region: News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "Monday June 9, 2014"

Words: 1032 words

Paragraphs: 22

Style: questioning (one of the worst security breaches at a Pakistani airport, is raising serious questions about the country's ability to protect its major transit hubs amid the persistent threat of terrorism

Epistemological Stance: details of the airport breach

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Such high-profile security breaches put Pakistan nowhere on claims of its success regarding terrorism.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No metaphors were used

Story 2

Title (Headline): "Pakistan expands offensive against Taliban

Border Region: News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "June 17, 2014 Tuesday"

Words: 1007 words

Paragraph: 25

Style: appreciative (For years, Pakistan's leaders have adopted a restrained approach toward the Taliban, which had found refuge in lawless tribal areas in the northwest. But the recent attack on Karachi's international airport, which killed 26 people and undermined the global image of Pakistan's largest and wealthiest city, triggered the more muscular response.

Epistemological Stance: details of army's different operational fronts against terrorists

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: much of Pakistan is on a war footing amid concern about retaliatory strikes from the Taliban.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: firefight, short-term blow

Story 3

Title (Headline): "Pakistani forces launch ground offensive against terrorists in northwest– News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "July 1, 2014 Tuesday"

Words: 523 words

Paragraph: 15

Style: Exploratory (army's efforts against terrorists o Pak-Afghan border and its problems it is or can face due to porous borders)

Epistemological Stance: "It is difficult to independently verify the army's statements because foreign journalists are barred from traveling to the area."

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: credibility of source of information (Pak army) has been questioned

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: exodus

Story 4

Title (Headline): "Pakistanis displaced by military offensive seek refuge in Afghanistan; Pakistanis displaced by a military offensive

Border Region: News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "July 2, 2014 Wednesday"

Words: 770 words

Paragraph: 18

Style: Condemning (The Pakistani military operation in North Waziristan, aimed at clearing a longtime Taliban sanctuary, began with airstrikes. Then came what army commanders called a "house-to-house" search for terrorists. The offensive has displaced about a half-million people.)

Epistemological Stance: "The effectiveness of the Pakistani offensive also remains in question"

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: "As the Pakistani military continues its offensive, it is likely that Afghanistan is serving as sanctuary to more than just civilian refugees."

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: no metaphors were used

Story 5

Title (Headline): "In bomb-battered Pakistan, an explosives master works his magic-

Feature"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "July 20, 2014 Sunday"

Words: 1340 words

Paragraph: 35

Style: Sympathetic (PESHAWAR, Pakistan - In a country awash in bombs, Shafqat

Malik races against time.)

Epistemological Stance: "Malik is one of Pakistan's top explosives experts and head

of the police bomb disposal unit in one of the country's most conflictive provinces -

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in the country's northwest near the Afghan border."

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: "As the violence increased in the mid-2000s, Malik was thrust onto the

front lines of a new kind of war. He had become a highly specialized ammunition and

explosives expert during a two-decade career in the Pakistani army."

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: awash, mugging

Story 6

Title (Headline): "10 held in shooting of Malala"

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "September 13, 2014 Saturday"

Words: 558 words

Paragraph: 11

Style: Exploratory (It digs into details and history of Malala's shooting and capturing of militants)

Sympathetic and Appreciative (Article also shows empathy towards terrorism victims and praises Pakistan army's efforts to quell terrorism)

Epistemological Stance: Source of information is reliable

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Pakistani intelligence is capable of finding terrorists and capturing them

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No metaphors were used

Story 7

Title (Headline): "Analysts say Pakistan is expanding nuclear force

Border Line: News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "September 22, 2014 Monday"

Words: 1558 words

Paragraph: 31

Style: Exploratory and Condemning (Along with exploring the details of the nuclear program, reporter tries to condemn the military and civil establishment for wanting to develop second strike capability

Epistemological Stance: Information is source based

Attitudinal Stance: Negative -1

Attribution: "a hawkish Pakistani-government-funded think tank" referring to PISS

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: tit-for-tat policy for the exchange of heavy firing on border between India and Pakistan

Story 8

Title (Headline): "Ahead of Pakistani army chief's visit to U.S., a friendlier tone

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "November 15, 2014 Saturday"

Words: 1140 words

Paragraph: 26

Style: Exploratory

Epistemological Stance: Information is reliable

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: U.S. officials say the operation has boosted their confidence in Pakistan's commitment to combating terrorist groups operating within its borders.

Metaphors: "put back in the box" referring to leave past aside between Af-Pak relations

Story 9

Title (Headline): "Senior al-Qaeda leader killed in Pakistan

Border Line: News story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "December 7, 2014 Sunday"

Words: 669 words

Paragraph: 14

Style: Exploratory (As the report details the incident which resulted in killing of Shukrijumah)

Epistemological Stance: Security forces put a brilliant effort to kill the militant

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: "Lawless region in Waziristan" putting emphasis on inability of Pakistani govt. to control its own territory.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: No metaphors were used

Story 10

Title (Headline): In Pakistan, Taliban massacre of schoolchildren fuels broad outrage; The bloody siege of an elite army high school left at least 141 students and teachers dead.

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "December 16, 2014 Tuesday"

Words: 1410 words

Paragraph: 29

Style: Explanatory and Questioning (Apart from detailing the massacre, reporter also raises the questions in inability to counter extremists from security forces

Epistemological Stance: Information is credible

Attitudinal Stance: Neutral 0

Attribution: This massacre might lead to decisive take on militant by Pakistani forces

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: "double-game" citing Pakistan army double-crossing while dealing with militants.

Story 11

Title (Headline): "Confronting the Taliban-

Border Line: Editorial

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "December 17, 2014 Wednesday"

Words: 550 words

Paragraph: 14

Style: Sympathetic and Appreciative (as the editorial appreciates the efforts to curb terrorism by military)

Epistemological Stance: Pakistan army is capable

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: In the past six months the army has conducted an aggressive campaign against militants based in the country's northwestern tribal territories.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: "Getting new lease of life "referring to the resolve by army to eradicate terrorism

Story 12

Title (Headline): "After school attack, Pakistan vows to pursue militants outside its borders-News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "December 18, 2014 Thursday"

Words: 1119 words

Paragraph: 21

Style: Appreciative and Descriptive (As the article chalk out the details and vow to eradicate terror from it soil by military)

Epistemological Stance

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, on a visit to Peshawar, vowed to pursue militants beyond Pakistan's borders and said his government "will not rest until every terrorist is killed."

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: Perpetrators were "the same who attacked our children" Afghan president's attempt to end any discrimination among Taliban factions and to put efforts against all of them.

Story 13

Title (Headline): "Pakistan intensifies crackdown on militants

Border Line: News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "December 29, 2014 Monday"

Words: 1670 words

Paragraph: 34

Style:

Epistemological Stance: "

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors:

Story 14

Title (Headline): "Pakistani lawmakers vote for new military courts to try terror suspects; the new courts were proposed two weeks ago, in the wake of a Taliban massacre at an army-run school-News story"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "January 6, 2015 Tuesday"

Words: 497 words

Paragraph: 09

Style: Explanatory and Condemning

Epistemological Stance

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors:

Story 15

Title (Headline): "In bomb-battered Pakistan, an explosives master works his magic-

Border Line: Feature"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "July 20, 2014 Sunday"

Words: 1340 words

Paragraph: 35

Style: Sympathetic (PESHAWAR, Pakistan - In a country awash in bombs, Shafqat

Malik races against time.)

Epistemological Stance: "Malik is one of Pakistan's top explosives experts and head

of the police bomb disposal unit in one of the country's most conflictive provinces -

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in the country's northwest near the Afghan border."

Attitudinal Stance: 1

Attribution: "As the violence increased in the mid-2000s, Malik was thrust onto the

front lines of a new kind of war. He had become a highly specialized ammunition and

explosives expert during a two-decade career in the Pakistani army."

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: awash, mugging

Story 16

. Title (Headline): "Kerry urges Pakistan to press fight

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "January 13, 2015 Tuesday"

Words: 746 words

Paragraph: 16

Style: Authoritative

Epistemological Stance: US wants Pakistan to do more against militancy

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: double-game

Story 17

Title (Headline): "Tribesmen in Pakistan fear giving up weapons-

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "January 18, 2015 Sunday"

Words: 1303 words

Paragraph: 33

Style: Questioning

Epistemological Stance: Pakistani forces are not helping the local leaders enough to

fight against terrorists

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors:

Story 18

Title (Headline): "Mosque attack kills at least 19 in Pakistan-Feature"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "February 15, 2015 Sunday"

Words: 420 words

Paragraph: 09

Style: Sympathetic and Questioning

Epistemological Stance:

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Militants are still capable enough in attacking anywhere in Pakistan

Metaphors: None

Story 19

Title (Headline): Pakistan braces for a long and deadly war in tribal areas

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "February 22, 2015 Sunday"

Words: 1163 words

Paragraph: 24

Style: Appreciative

Epistemological Stance: Pakistan army is capable of conducting the long-term operation

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Pakistan braces for a long and deadly war in tribal areas

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None

Story 20

Title (Headline): "Pakistan says it will deploy its own drones, a missile-carrying mini-fleet

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "March 14, 2015 Saturday"

Words: 919 words

Paragraph: 23

Style: Exploratory and Authoritative

Epistemological Stance: Pakistan who contested US drone attacks moves to deploy its own mini fleet

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None

Story 21

Title (Headline): "Training soldiers for the fight in front of them-

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "April 17, 2015 Friday"

Words: 1080 words

Paragraph: 26

Style: Exploratory

Epistemological Stance: Hard training of the army personnel is bearing fruit in operation

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Pakistan army is capable

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None used

Story 22

Title (Headline): "Malala Yousafzai's attackers sentenced to life in prison;

Ten men who tried to attack the Pakistani activist and future Nobel Prize winner are headed to prison –

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "April 30, 2015 Thursday"

Words: 490 words

Paragraph: 10

Style: Explanatory

Epistemological Stance: Information are reliable

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Pakistani forces take strides in combatting terrorism

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Story 23

Title (Headline): "Pakistan's war on militants bears fruit-

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "June 18, 2015 Thursday"

Words: 1433 words

Paragraph: 31

Style: Appreciative

Epistemological Stance: Pakistani army is combating with upper hand

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Pakistan army is making gains against terrorists

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: "Put all of his eggs in Pakistan's basket" citing Ghani's reliance on Pakistan to control terrorism

Story 24

Title (Headline): "Mountains are clear of Islamist militants, Pakistani army says-

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "July 5, 2015 Sunday"

Words: 865 words

Paragraph: 24

Style: Explanatory

Epistemological Stance: Information provided by military is reliable

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Pakistani army is trying to complete its offensive in the Shawal Valley before snow begins falling there in September.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors:

Story 25

Title (Headline): "What a Taliban in disarray could mean for Afghanistan and Pakistan; it's unclear what the Taliban's new leader means for peace efforts and the growing Islamic State threat

Border Line: Editorial

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "August 3, 2015 Monday"

Words: 523 words

Paragraph: 06

Style: Explanatory

Epistemological Stance: There is opportunity while Taliban are divided

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Pakistan and Afghanistan can gain from Taliban divide

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None used

Story 26

Title (Headline): "Pakistan begins drone warfare on its own soil-Feature"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "September 7, 2015 Monday"

Words: 632 words

Paragraph: 6

Style: Appreciative Questioning (along with appreciating Pakistan's move to use drones it also raises questions about safety measures put in place to avoid civilian casualties.

Epistemological Stance: Pakistani has successfully armed an unmanned drone

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Three suspected terrorists were killed by an unmanned Pakistani drone on Monday, marking the first time that the country's military has used drone technology on the battlefield, officials said.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None

Story 27

Title (Headline): "Taliban kills 29 at Pakistani military base-

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "September 19, 2015 Saturday"

Words: 891 words

Paragraph: 14

Style: Questioning and Explanatory

Epistemological Stance:

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None

Story 28

Title (Headline): "Islamic State seems to lack foothold in Pakistan

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "December 6, 2015 Sunday"

Words: 1141 words

Paragraph: 28

Style: Appreciative and Explanatory (Along with showing that ISIS lacks its foothold, it also appreciates how security forces in Pakistan have moved to eradicate militants)

Epistemological Stance: Information and news is credible

Attitudinal Stance: +1

Attribution: Even as the Islamic State gains strength in neighboring Afghanistan, there have been only scattered signs that it is gaining followers in this nuclear-armed country of 180 million.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None used

Story 29

Title (Headline): "Gunmen storm university in Pakistan, killing at least 20 people; A Taliban faction claimed responsibility for the attack

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "January 20, 2016 Wednesday"

Words: 1200 words

Paragraph: 33

Style: Explanatory

Epistemological Stance: Young university students have been martyred

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: Security forces are fighting a lengthy war with repercussions

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors:

Story 30

Title (Headline): "Terrorists take new aim in Pakistan

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "January 21, 2016 Thursday"

Words: 1040 words

Paragraph: 27

Style: Sympathetic towards victims

Epistemological Stance: eyewitness details have been added

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution:

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None used

Story 31

Title (Headline): "Pakistani army chief to retire in Nov

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "January 26, 2016 Tuesday"

Words: 862 words

Paragraph: 18

Style: Sarcastic, Appreciative

Epistemological Stance:

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: "Thank you Raheel Sharif," one of Pakistan's most prominent and progressive columnists, Cyril Almeida, tweeted after Sharif announced his plans to retire.

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: Thank You Raheel Sharif

Story 32

Title (Headline): "2 attacks in Afghanistan kill 27, injure several dozen

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "February 28, 2016 Sunday"

Words: 406 words

Paragraph: 14

Style: Explanatory

Epistemological Stance: Neutral

Attitudinal Stance: 0

Attribution: No adjectives used

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None used

Story 33

Title (Headline): "Death toll in Pakistan Easter suicide attack climbs past 70

Border Line: News Story

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "March 28, 2016 Monday"

Words: 1085 words

Paragraph: 12

Style: Questioning

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Pakistani security forces have left minorities more vulnerable

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors:

Story 34

Title (Headline): Here's what led to the Lahore terrorist bombing - and what to do next; who is being protected, and who is left vulnerable?

Border Line: -Feature"

Newspaper: "Washington Post"

Date: "March 31, 2016 Thursday"

Words: 1758 words

Paragraph: 26

Style: Questioning

Epistemological Stance: Details of minorities' grievances have been reported

Attitudinal Stance: -1

Attribution: Security forces have left minorities more vulnerable

Theme: War on Terror and involvement of Pakistan Army

Metaphors: None used

More Positivity from Washington Post

A total of 34 articles that were published by Washington Post over the selected time period, whereby it showed more positive and neutral slants respectively compared to NYT. Only 2 (5.88%) of total 34 articles were editorials and that too one in favor and other slightly negatively slanted. Out of 32 news stories 23 (71.87%) were either positively slanted or neutral in their slants towards Pakistan army. Only 9 (28.13%) were negatively slanted towards Pakistan army and its politician and institutions.

Compared to What, NYT had shown more negative slants in this regard. NYT is considered more liberal and Washington Post to be rather conservative newspaper,

which might have given the notion that Washington Post, would be more negative in its approach but the results show a completely opposite picture.

Table 2: Slants of the stories as positive, neutral, and negative from Washington Post

	No of Articles	Positive	Neutral	Negative
News Stories	32	13	10	9
Editorial	2	1	0	1
Total	34	14	10	11

N= 34

More Positivity in the Beginning of the Operation

Both the sets of publications for the early six months since the start of Zarb-e-Azb in June 2014 to December 2014 took more positive stance towards Pakistan army compared to the later phase of the operation.

Table 3: Slants of the stories as positive, neutral, and negative during first six months of Zarb-e-Azb operation. (June 2014-Dec. 2014)

	No of Articles	Positive	Neutral	Negative
NYT	12	4	4	4
Washington Post	13	8	2	3
Total	25	12	6	7

N= 25

Out of a total 25 article published by NYT and Washington Post 18 (72%) were either positively slanted or neutral in their nature. NYT, especially, took more negative stance towards Pakistan army in the later phase.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

NYT and Washington Post coverage of operation Zarb-e-Azb was analyzed in previous chapter based upon which researcher has concluded that,

- Although it can't be said with certainty but there seems to more pressing editorial policy towards Pakistan by NYT as it published 8 editorial pieces during the sample time and all eight had negatively portrayed whatever efforts were made by Pakistan against terrorists.

- Washington Post was, surprisingly, more supportive towards army's efforts compared to how NYT covered the whole operation.

- Metaphors were used more in connection with Pakistan army and most of the times double standards, double games, and double crossing was used to represent Pakistan army's response towards foreign alliances. One such article in NYT took to the length of cautioning China in its CPEC investment, warning her to be vigilant of Pakistan army as it can't fulfill its promises and double-crosses. All such blames were leveled but were not supported with epistemological and reliable source and information, which, in a way, shows NYT's editorial bias towards Pakistan and its security institutions.

- India and Afghanistan, whenever mentioned in NYT, had more positive slants associated compared to Pakistan. India, especially, whenever mentioned in relation to Kashmir and border tensions with Pakistan, was termed as "biggest democracy", "emerging economic power", and "leader of the region" while Pakistan was blamed for all the tension between both the neighbors. Pakistan army, in this regard, was more bashed by NYT in worsening the ties with India.

- As a result of Zarb e Azb, which started on "15 June 2014", a flood of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) started moving from Miran Shah, the Capital of North Waziristan, towards settled areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, like Bannu and Kohat. Both the newspapers have pointed out rather have also sarcastically reported that the IDPs were not treated properly without any support or help by the federal government or by the Provincial government.

- Both the newspapers have also reported sarcastically that whatever number of Taliban casualties were being claimed by the Pakistan army cannot be verified because nobody was allowed for any independent reporting.

- Both the newspapers have claimed that Pakistan has always protested against US drone attacks and Pakistan Foreign Office has always protested as violation of territorial integrity.

- Both the newspapers have reported the indigenous production of Burraq drone by Pakistan. By this indigenous production of drones by Pakistan has made us to join an elite group in which only USA, Israel, China, and South Africa are capable of producing drones.

- The US media has also reported about Haqqani group and support of Haqqani group by Pakistan army, in spite of declaring Haqqani group as one of the enemy but western media kept on saying sarcastically as strategic assets of Pakistan, because Pakistan has not been launching operation in North Waziristan despite repeatedly suggested by Americans to attack North Waziristan immediately as Taliban had moved from South Waziristan to North Waziristan, but Pakistan did not listen to USA's suggestions.

- Zarb e Azb was a long-awaited operation, which should have been started few years ago, but Pakistan army did not do so because of its own reasons and compulsions.

Limitations and Future Direction

Although the study has been diligently done but it was done through manual corpus and efforts to do it with software coded CDA were not met with success due to researcher's inability to get hold of the software and other computational methods. So, the same study can be repeated in more strict way through computerized programmed corpuses, which might bring more enlightenment to the fore.

This study is a reflection of the last year complaint from then DG ISPR while being interviewed by Amanpour that Pakistan does not get the deserved coverage from west and especially US media. This document can serve as an enlightenment to look at the matter and devise better policy to provide access and work closely with,

maybe, local journalists who are working for international media organizations and thus might decrease the negative coverage.

This document opens a window for the strategic communication scholars too, to study the matter in depth and also adds to the existing body of knowledge already available with the scholarship.

References

Ahmed, Akbar S. (1993). Living Islam: from Samarkind to Stornoway. London: BBC Books.

Ali, S. I. (2011). US Mass Media and Image of Afghanistan: Portrayal of Afghanistan by Newsweek and Time. *South Asian Studies*, pp. 83-101.

Al-Zahrani, A. A. (1988). 'United States Television and press coverage of Islam and Muslims'. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, United States.

Amanpour. (2015). Pakistan: 'We'll eliminate terrorism from our soil'. Retrieved June 21, 2016, from CNN.com: http://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2015/01/20/intv-amanpour-asim-bajwa-pakistan-combating-terrorism.cnn

Chomsky, N. (1996). Chomsky.info. Retrieved march 22, 2012, from http://www.chomsky.info/onchomsky/199607--.htm

Conflict Monitor Center. (2013). Considerable escalation in suicide attacks in 2013. Conflict Monitoring Center.

Djik, T. (1988).News Analysis – Case Studies of International and National News in the Press. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers..

Educational Foundation and research, University of North Dakota. (2015, APRIL 6). How to Write Up a Discourse Analysis. Writing up a Discourse Analysis . North Dakota: UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Entman, R.M. (1991). Framing US coverage of international news: Contrasts; in narratives of KAL and Iran air incidents. Journal of Communication, 41(4).

Express Tribune. (2015, DECEMBER 31). 3,400 militants killed in Operation Zarb-e-Azb: ISPR. Retrieved JUNE 21, 2016, from Tribune.com.pk: http://tribune.com.pk/story/1008791/3400-militants-killed-in-operation-zarb-e-azb-ispr/

Fair, C. (2005).Demographics and security: the contrasting cases of Pakistan and Bangladesh. Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies. Vol. 28, No. 4, pp.53-76.

Field, C D. (2007). 'Islamophobia in Contemporary Britain: The Evidence of the Opinion Polls, 1988-2006'. Islam and Christian-Muslims Relations. London: Routledge, Vol.18, No.4, 447-477, October.

Fowler, R. (1991). Language in the News. London: Routledge.

IJC (2007). The media in and After9/11. Review essay by Douglas Kellner. University of California, Los Angeles, pp.127-132.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media Discourse and Public opinion on Nuclear owner: A Constructionist Approach. American Journal of Sociology, 95 (1), 1-37.

Iqbal, Zafar and Shabbir, Ghulam (2010) Media Construction of Pakistan's Image: Discourse Analysis of Editorials of the Elite UK Newspapers. China Media Research. Pg. 48.

Kellner, Douglas (2004). Spectacle and Media Propaganda in the War on Iraq. (http://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/papers/mediapropaganda.htm) Retrieved on March 22, 2012)

Khalid, Muhammad. (2001). 'United States mass media and image of Muslim world'. Pakistan Perspective, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi.

Khan, M (2010) Pakistan-US Relations: A New Chapter, A New Theater. http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1299569410_88067869.pdfAs retrieved on April 15, 2012

Kumar, N. &. (2011). Coverage of India by Major US Television. Global Media Journal – Indian Edition/ Summer Issue, 1-15.

Lippmann, W. (1922). Public Opinion. New York: Macmillan.

Luhmann, N (2000) & Translator Cross, Kathleen: Reality of Media. Stanford University Press.

Luhman, N. (2000). Reality of Media. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

McCombs, M. (2004). Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion. Polity.

McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, (1997), Communication & Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual frontiers in Agenda Setting Theory. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Publishers. pp. 21

Mescher, H. (2008). 'Policing and Islamophobia in Germany: The Role of Workplace Experience'. . . International Journal of Conflict and ViolenceVol.2(1), 138-156.

Poole, E. & Richardson, J.E. (2006).Muslims and the News Media. London: I.B. Tauris.

Poole, E. (2002). Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.

Poole, E. (2006). The effects of September 11 and the war in Iraq on British newspaper coverage. In Poole E and Richardson, J. E (eds.) Muslims and the news media. London: I. B Taurus publishing.

Rahman, B. (2007). 'Al-Qaeda in GHQ, Rawalpindi', South Asia Analysis Group in International Terrorism Monitor (New Delhi), paper no. 2522. December 28, 2007.

Raja, M. (2013, March 23). Pakistani victims: War on terror toll put at 49,000. Retrieved June 21, 2016, from tribune.com.pk: http://tribune.com.pk/story/527016/pakistani-victims-war-on-terror-toll-put-at-49000/

Shah, S. A. A. (2018). Pakistan's Relations with the United States and China in the Post-9/11 Era. *Journal of Politics and International Studies*, *4*(2).

Shah, S. A. A. (2018). *The social construction of Muslim minority groups in Canada* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Saskatchewan).

Said, Edward. (1997). Covering Islam: how the media experts determine: How we see the rest of the world. New York: Qintage Books.

Scheufele, D. A (2007) Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. Journal of Communication ISSN 0021-9916

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. Journal of Communication, 49(1), 103-122

Sheikh, Mughees-uddin (1994).'Elite press editorial framing of United States foreign policy: The case of Pakistan, The New York Times, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times (1980-92)'. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. The University of IOWA, United States (Abstract published in Journalism Abstract, Vol. 32).

Siraj, S. (2006). Image of Pakistan in the US Media. University of Southern Illinois.

Vender, V.P. & Shoma, M. (2004). Media, war and Terrorism: responses from the Middle East and Asia. London: Routledge-Curzon Taylor Francis Group.

Wilfred, Nina (1993), "A Content Analysis of the Coverage of the India in The New York Times before and after the New World Information Order debate", a Thesis at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL.

Wintour, P. (2001). Blair brief MPs on war aims. The Guardian, September 27, 2007.

Yamani, A. Muhammad (1997). 'Islam and the West: The need for mutual understanding'. The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. Vol. 14, No. 1, Spring.

Yousaf, S. (2015). Representation of Pakistan: A Framing Analysis of Coverage on the US and Chinese News Media Surrounding Operation Zarb-e-Azb. International Journal of Communication, 9, 3042-3064.

Zaidi, Nayyar (1991). 'Medium is the Mischief'. The Message International: January, 25-26.

Zubair, Z., & Iqbal, Z. (2014). Construction of Pakistan Army in Western Media: Discourse Analysis of Leading Articles of Time and The Economist. Journal of Political Studies, 21 (2), 143-167.