

PORTRAYAL OF THE US IN LEADING PAKISTANI NEWSPAPERS: AN ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The study aims to analyse the image of US in the Pakistani English press. The study tells; how Pakistani newspapers frame the US in their news stories. It determines whether Pakistani press portrays the American image positively or negatively, and to find out whether or not Pakistani media makes the US responsible for present scenario in Pakistan. For this inquiry, the analysis of the contents of three English newspapers of Pakistan The Dawn, The News and The Nation from November 01, 2009 to January 31, 2010 has been made by adopting a quantitative and descriptive approach. The findings maintain that overall these newspapers presented the US image negatively. The study explores that whenever the US shielded the Pakistan's interests, the Pakistani press framed the US image positively, whereas whenever the US adopted unfriendly policies towards Pakistan, at that time the newspapers of the study depicted the US image negatively.

KEYWORDS: Framing, Hard and Soft News, Pak-US Relations, U.S Image, War on Terror

INTRODUCTION

Pak-US diplomatic relations were established in late 1947. These relations were made stronger with the visit of Pakistan Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in May 1950. Since then Pakistan's dependence is increasing by the day on the US economic and military assistance. Subsequently, Pakistan signed a joint defense accord with US, and turned into a part of South East Asian Treaty Organization SEATO and pro Western Treaty Organization CENTO in 1954. (Saqib, Ehsanullah. 2002, p411).

It is crystal clear from the fact that Pakistan's geographical position made it valuable partner in Western alliance system in order to block the expansion of communism in this part of the world. Pakistan's relations with US became stronger when it signed Baghdad Pact, CENTO and SEATO. Today the relationships of the two countries are so well-built that US considers Pakistan as "most-allied ally" in Asia.

Because of the fragile political and economic institutions of Pakistan, the US is playing significant role in Pakistan's political, military and economic state of affairs. Due to this reason, the media gives special coverage to the stories associated to the US. These stories are based on the US strategy interests in Pakistan which covers a large number of issues. The stability of democracy in South Asian region, economic restructuring and countering narcotics trafficking are the significant issues among them. Counter terrorism, nuclear weapons and missile proliferation in this part of the world are the chief concerns of the US establishment. But quite a lot of developments over the years like sanction related to democracy and proliferation, Indo-Pak conflict over Kashmir matter, joint nuclear confrontation and more over 9/11 fanatic attacks on US affected these concerns a lot.

Subsequent to the 9/11, the nature of Pak-US relation has been changed once for all. After these attacks, the US built massive diplomatic pressure over Pakistan, as a result the President of Pakistan, General Musharraf, offered the US

unconditional cooperation in the war against terror. The US president Mr. George Bush, declared Pakistan as their non-NATO collaborator. President Musharraf's administration, initially patronized the Taliban, but after that he got a U-turn and sided with the US in its war against terror. President Musharraf anticipated that his decision of taking the side of the US would be fruitful for Pakistan in terms of bringing more foreign aid on one hand and support to prolong his illegal military coup on the other hand as well.

Today Pakistan is passing through a critical phase. Bomb blasts, suicide and terrorists attacks are now common phenomena in Pakistan whereas these terms were absolutely unfamiliar to the people of Pakistan before September 11 incident.

The Taliban have re-emerged themselves in Pakistan and Afghanistan in current years. Military operation in Swat (Rah e Nijat) resulted in hundreds of thousands of internally displaced person (IDPs) who were forced to go away from their homes because of the ongoing fight between Pakistan Army and Talibans. Military operation (Rah e Haq) is producing the same results in the Taliban stronghold in the South and North Waziristan.

Majority of the Muslims view this war of terror is against Islam and Muslims. The target of this war was Osama Bin Laden, but ironically he could not be captured by the Americans, but all through this time the US- led forces executed uncountable innocent people in Afghanistan. This brutal activity is still carrying out over there by the NATO forces.

The US illegal drone attacks hurt the sentiments of Pakistani people, because they not only put innocent people to death but also infringe the autonomy of Pakistan on regular basis. The Americans has to think about that how roughly US policies towards Pakistan have internally divided this country.

Due to the US interest oriented policies; Pakistan is facing a series of suicide bombings and much serious waves of terrorism. These policies are promoting extremism in the entire region and at the receiving end the Pakistanis are suffering. This all has made the Pakistani people to hate the U.S. imperialistic designs in the region.

It appears that most of the leading Pakistani newspapers which form the public opinion, criticize the US excessive interference in Pakistan's political, economic and military settings. It seems that the Pakistani media condemns the US policies which exploit the political, economic and military conditions of Pakistan. It looks that print media criticizes the US policies regarding Pakistan and makes the US responsible for present crises in Pakistan. This study aims to analyze the picture of the United States as presented in leading newspapers of Pakistan. The focus of the study is to find out to what degree Pakistani press provides coverage to the news concerning the US. Another purpose of the study is to investigate either American image is portrayed positively or negatively in national dailies of Pakistan. This study analyzes the content of the media to investigate whether or not media make USA responsible for the present scenario of Pakistan.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Pak-US Relations

Talking about the Pak-US relations Kronstadt (2007) assumes that democratically and economically stable and prosperous Pakistan is considered very important to US interests. According to him, a thriving Pakistan can play its role in combating terrorism and militancy in a better way. He says that US top concerns in South Asia include fighting terrorism, political and democratic stability of Pakistan and Afghanistan as well. According to Kronstadt, although after 9/11, Pakistan emerged as a major ally of the US led war on terror, but still the objectives of the US policies regarding Pakistan could not be achieved. Kronstadt (2007) believes that US policies have neither get rid of the anti Western activists and lessen the religious extremism in Pakistan nor have they played any role in stabilizing Afghanistan. According to him, critics are of the view that the US should re-assess its policies which are causing anti- US sentiments inside Pakistan. He

assumes that majority of the people of Pakistan views that the US by supporting Musharraf regime, did not contribute to strengthen the democracy in Pakistan.

Maliha Lodhi (2009) notes, that since the inception of Pakistan, its foreign policy has been compelled by the pursuit for security. She is of the view that Pakistan's sensitive geographical position has been threatening this country with severe risk to its integrity and cause security problems. According to her, Pakistan is not an ally of the US rather a target of their so called war on terror. She says that, no matter its Republicans or Democrats sitting in the US parliament, both placed Pakistan in their bad books irrespective of the fact that Pakistan has rendered huge sacrifices in combating US so called war against terror. Whereas they place India in their good books and considers it as their strategic partner. On the other hand they call Pakistan as their strategic partner but do not treat it like that. The US always takes UK, Israel, Afghanistan and India under confidence while designing its strategy against war on terror but kept aside Pakistan. Maliha Lodhi, (2009) while criticizing the US, argues that the Americans make lame claims saying that Pakistan is one of their big strategic partners of the US. She asserts that the US can not win this war in Afghanistan with out Pakistan's support. So this is hypocrisy on the part of the US policies which reveal that Pakistan is its target, not an ally, she believed.

Asif Haroon, (2009) argues that the US not only has concern about the security of its own country but also the security of Israel, Afghanistan and even India as well. But it least bother about the security concerns of Pakistan.

Talking about the US non-proliferation agenda towards South Asia, Maliha Lodhi, (2009) noted that although the motivation for proliferation always came from India but ironically the US penalized Pakistan and imposed different sanctions and penalties on it. She evaluated that when India did its nuclear explosion in 1974, awkwardly it was Pakistan that became the victim of the US non-proliferation policy.

She sates that the United States' non-proliferation rules like Symington Amendent 1976 that was amended later on as Glenn Amendment 1977, called for providing military and economic assistance to any state that attain nuclear technology after 1976. She concluded that when India acquired reprocessing means of nuclear technology, it was debarred from the sphere of such non-proliferation laws of the US. She asserts that because of such double standards of the US, the intellectuals believe that denuclearization of Pakistan is the veiled target of the US alliance.

The axis which is comprised on United States, Great Britain, Israel, India and Afghanistan, has possessed Pakistan under the trap of friendship in order to denuclearize it. Asif Haroon, (2009) believes that this axis wants to apply its hidden agenda to weaken and destabilize Pakistan in order to turn it into a vassal state, so that they could capture its nukes.

The geographic and strategic location made Pakistan crucial for the US. The US can not win war on terror in Afghanistan with out the help of Pakistan. Smith (2009) notes, that Pakistan is one of the crucial partners of US in this so called war against terror. The US wants to have a long-term relationship with Pakistan and these relations are not confined to military aspect alone, but also finding ways to accelerate economic and social development programs in Pakistan. He believes that US tries hard to find ways so that it could show the worth of Pak-US strategic relations to Pakistani people.

Maliha Lodhi (2009) argues that both states want to achieve their national objectives, therefore recognize the crucial importance of each other. She is of the view that the US security objectives to defeat terrorism and stabilize Afghanistan can not be achieved without the pivotal cooperation of Pakistan. According to her, importance of Pakistan goes beyond that because it is the second largest Muslim nation of the world and moreover a newest nuclear power. The US considers Pakistan very crucial as it has to play a vital role in eradicating extremism (as a major cooperator of US troops), strengthen democracy and building healthy relations between the Western and Islamic world.

The extra ordinary cooperation of Pakistan to US has never been witnessed ever in the history. Pakistan has provided major support for the US after 9/11 terrorist attacks on United States. Kronstadt (2007) argues that, after these attacks Pakistan offered unmatched cooperation to the US by permitting it to use the military bases of the country so that it could fight against terrorism, helping the US to identify and control extremism and to block the financing of terrorists.

On the other hand, Pakistan has fought several wars against India over Kashmir dispute but the US has never extended any help to resolve this issue. Shujah Nawaz (2009) suggests that the US has to play its role to eradicate tension between Pakistan and India by resolving the sticky Kashmir issue.

Most of the intellectuals of Pakistan are of the view that US driven policies are the root cause of the problem for Pakistan. Asif Haroon (2009) notes that the US neither wants Pakistan to become a failed state nor it let Pakistan to prosper politically and economically because Pakistan would then start pursuing self-determine foreign policy. He believes that the US always tries to weaken Pakistan, so that it remains dependent upon the US and consequently submissive to India.

Asif Haroon (2009), view that President Obama is not different than his predecessors. He has the same US imperialistic agenda to follow. He says that Obama's administration just wants to shelter US interests in South Asia and even in Middle East. Therefore he has sent more troops to Afghanistan and consequently physically intervening into Pakistan's sovereignty. He is of the view that the US should not sideline Afghan Pashtuns and Taliban because they had effectively ruled over Afghanistan till they were ousted forcibly by the United States itself.

WorldPublicOpinion.org (a website) conducted a survey from 21 countries which consisted of 64 percent population of the world. The survey was conducted in largest nation of the world like China, Indonesia, India, and Pakistan etc.

The population of the survey was asked about the US whether it is mutually supportive in its relations with other states or not. So 59 percent of them respond in favor of the US that it is supportive and cooperative in its relations with other states, whereas 30 percent said that the US is not co operative with them.

Director of WPO comments, "Clearly President Obama has turned the tide against the image of the US as a leader in the world. When Obama called for greater cooperation at the UN, most people saw the US as ready to carry its share of the water" (Kull, 2009). The nations that voted against the US have Muslim population in majority like Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey and Iraq. Ironically all these countries have close relations with United States.

Pakistan played a significant job in defeating Soviet Empire and provided a way to US to become a super power in the world. But the US did not give any credit to Pakistan for its sacrifices rather penalized Pakistan through different means. According to Asif Haroon (2009), Pakistanis have serious reservations against the US as it left Pakistan in a state of chaos which played a significant role in fragmenting Soviet Union into a number of Empires. Pakistan was not rewarded by the US for rendering sacrifices rather penalized by imposing sanctions for almost one decade. Moreover the US befriended India that was one of the players of the Soviet camp and backed them up against the US forces.

US Image in World's Media

Different researchers have conducted noteworthy studies regarding portrayal of the US in other countries as well. Lee in 1980 conducted a study on US image in Chinese leading newspapers "People's Daily". He suggested that the US image in the Chinese press was depended upon how far US policies were favorable to Chinese domestic, regional and international interests. Becker in 1996, examined the US image in Soviet political cartoons from April 1985 to August 1990 and proposed that Soviet press was a product of policy choice of the party and government. According to Becker, US

image in the Soviet press shifted from negative to neutral and positive in the end of 1990's because of Gorbachov's policies that left remarkable impact upon the media policies that convinced these newspapers to change US image in their coverage. Noshina Saleem (2010) documented in her research study regarding the US image in Pakistan, that Pakistan had gained the status of "front line state" after the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. She found that both "The Pakistan Times and "The Daily Dawn" portrayed a critical image of the US. She suggested that Pakistani government should not sign mutual defense agreement like 1959 with US. According to her, both newspapers retained that Pakistan should not provide military bases on its territory against the Soviet Union, which would be dangerous for the sovereignty of Pakistan as well as Pakistan's image in the Muslim world. Khalifa (1982) conducted a study of US image in Egyptian media. He presented the image of the US at two levels, first by the Egyptian government and the business sector and second by the Egyptian media. He discovered that the US image was presented generally negative by Egyptian media from late 1950s to throughout 1960s due to the estrangement of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the US. Moreover during this strained period, the Egyptian government and media became sloping towards the Soviet Union. Similarly, another researcher, Wolfe (1964) conducted a study regarding the US portrayal in Latin American press and maintained that the press presented a dual image of the US as imperialist and generous as well.

Noshina Saleem, (2010) the post Mao-Chinese press was found to be impressed by the US advancement in science and technology as well as its competence in management, regardless of repeated warning against the scene of importing corrupt capitalist lifestyle and association with social problems like divorce, broken families, juvenile delinquency etc. Noshina Saleem (2010) viewed that findings of previous studies indicate that the US image has been framed in other countries media with the context of the degree of autonomy and pluralism in the specific countries.

The media of other countries projected the US image positively if the US foreign policy makers considered the domestic policy of other countries in mind while designing their policies towards that country. The distance of interests of US and other countries in terms of political, economic and military aspects had a great impact on the perceptions of the editors, journalists, writers and general public of other countries. She asserted that the United States hegemonic and superpower role, its involvement in regional and international conflicts and strategies to protect the interests of subject country with economic and military aid are significant factors which shaped the image of the US in the media of other countries of the world.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Framing is very important part of the mass media studies for the reason that it has a great influence upon the minds of the audience. The theory argues that media gives attention to certain issues and put them within specific context of meaning. Although framing is a crucial element in agenda setting theory but most of the scholars while emphasizing the agenda setting do not quote Ervin Goffman, who is the father of this theory. Goffman defines framing as "cognitive structure which unconsciously lead the individual to what is to be noticed and which define that situation for the individual." Lippmann (1922) asserts that mass media possesses the ability to depict picture of different events of the world for us. But this picture is imperfect and unclear often. He views that media presents most of the time only glimpses of reality rather reality itself to the audience. So these glimpses or reflections shape the perception of the audience regarding the world.

Shaw and McComb, (1972) endorse the agenda setting concept of Lippmann and claim that audience opinion about the world is motivated by the way the news media portrays the world to them. Both the researchers investigated either people's perception about the issues of the world is dependent upon the topics which mass media covers or not.

They are of the view that setting the agenda is an ever changing or dynamic process, "in which changes in media coverage lead to or cause subsequent changes in problem awareness of issues"(Lang & Lang, 1981). This is a crucial function of the agenda setting theory that it does not only presents an issue in front of the audience to think but also tells them different ways to perceive that issue. Bernard Cohen (1963) predicted that most of the time "the press may not be successful in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about".

The researchers are of the view that if media provides more amount of information to an issue, then the audience gives value to that news story and learn more about that.

McComb and Shaw conducted a research on US presidential election campaign in 1968 and rejected all the previous theories that reveals that media exerts a significant influence on public perception and can change the attitude of the people. Their study found that media exercised pressure on those issues during the campaign which voters considered as significant.

The term framing means how to portray an event in a particular story, article, feature and editorial. Framing deals with how media messages are constructed, organized and presented through media outlets. Media has the ability that it can gain the audience attention by selecting certain aspects of the issue and then frames those aspects in a particular way.

"Frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters." (Gitlin, 1980)

Entman, (1993) argues that framing technique is used in agenda setting where certain portion of an issue is selected and then its features are highlighted by the media in such a way to promote a particular aspect of it. Through this way the audience attention towards a specific point is achieved by the mass media.

Most of the researchers do not agree with Entman instead of D. Angelo (2002), who defines frame as a deliberate attempt to angle powerful discursive indicators. Tankard (2001) goes even beyond the deliberate attempt to select frames; he argues that sometimes journalists use frames to mislead the targeted audience. Reese (2001) further argues that media framing all the time involves an active process of selecting, stressing and presenting an issue in a particular way to achieve some set goals. Such question does not make any sense in Goffmanian framing. According to him, it is not only an asset of those who deliberately construct it but also an inherent property of social procedures of the world.

McCombs (1997) examines how mass media presents issues through emphasizing certain aspects of it. He defines framing as "the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion of the media agenda". Through this way he links the concept of framing with agenda setting theory.

Hypotheses

H: 1. The Daily Dawn portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

H: 2. The Daily News portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

H: 3. The Daily Nation portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

H: 4. Soft news portrayed the image of the US more negative as compared to hard news.

METHODOLOGY

The research procedure for the required study is the analysis of the content published in the above mentioned newspapers. This method is commonly employed in analyzing the content of the mass media. It is an efficient and effective

process to analyze the content of the media messages. Berelson, (1952) views that “content analysis is a research technique that is objective, systematic and quantitative in description”.

The content analysis has four distinctive characteristics. These characteristics are objectivity, systematic, quantitative and manifest content. The key to understand content analysis competently lies in understanding the meaning of these characteristics. Content analysis facilitates the researcher to predict about the communication process.

It is used with other methods of inquiry to line message content with other parts of the communication setting. The content analysis permits the investigator to deal with larger questions of the process and effect of communication.

The newspaper group approach has been adopted to collect the sample for this study. There are three major and old media groups in Pakistan namely the Dawn, the Jang and the Nawa-i-Waqt groups of publications. In order to investigate the problem, One English newspaper of every group has been selected for content analysis for the present inquiry. The Dawn, The News and The Nation from November 1, 2009 to January 31, 2010 has been selected as the sample of the present study.

Rationale for Selecting the Sample

These newspapers maintain a large circulation and have a great number of readerships in Pakistan and other countries of the world as well. All the three newspapers cover approximately all important national and international issues of the day.

The rationale behind selecting this time period is to avoid the systematic biases. For example, cases like Kerry-Lugar Bill, Raymond Davis and Osama Bin Laden affect the coverage on any particular issue. So in order to eliminate biasness, the researcher keenly observed the situation and selected this time frame for study as there is no such big event occurred during this time slot that may affect the coverage of the newspapers regarding the US.

Analysis Procedure

Every single line of the news story regarding the US in above mentioned newspapers has been analyzed and counted by the researcher. On the basis of these lines, the researcher found the news story as positive, negative and neutral. For instance, if the content of the news story, column or editorial contained more positive lines and favored war on terror and drone attacks in the FATA region, it was considered as positive (+).

The stories that appreciate the US image optimistically and emphasize the US role as indispensable for Pakistan have been coded as positive. If the content of the stories, columns and editorials contained more negative lines and opposed war on terror and drone attacks in the FATA region it was counted as negative (-).

The stories that oppose the US role in Pakistan and against war on terror have been termed as negative. If a story, column or editorial contained equal number of positive and negative lines and presented a blur image of the US, the researcher has considered that story as neutral (0). The news stories that lay blurred which emphasis or include both sides of the picture have been coded as neutral.

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis was the main consideration of the study. The purpose was to know the number or frequency and length of the content. It is important to state here that the researcher also used qualitative approach as well in interpreting the results of the study. For this, the researcher read the whole analyzed material thoroughly to satisfy him in order to draw the inferences from the findings of the study.

FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

Finding 1

The finding 1 suggests that the daily Dawn framed the US in a more positive way than negative. The t and p value indicate that the difference between the means of two groups is partially significant. (t-test= 20.791, for positive coverage and t-test= 17.016, for negative coverage, and significance level $p=0.000$). The findings of the study have endorsed the basic supposition that the Pakistani newspapers presented US image negatively. Only the daily Dawn projected the US image positively which is apparent from the Mean of the table 1. So the first premise of the present study that "*the daily Dawn portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive*" has been rejected. The daily Dawn adopted a favorable attitude regarding US policies and strategies towards Pakistan.

Table 1: Coverage of the Daily Dawn from Nov.1st, 2009 to Jan. 31st 2010

Hard & Soft News	N	Mean	Df	Sig.
Positive	92	.8261	91	0.000
Negative	92	.7609	91	

Finding 2

The finding reveals that the daily News portrayed the US image more negative way than positive. The t and p value indicate that the variance between the means of positive and negative coverage of the US is highly significant. (t-test= 5.81, for positive image and t-test= 36.116, for negative image, and significance level $p= 0.000$). On the contrary as compare to the daily Dawn, the daily News portrayed the US image negatively.

The second hypothesis of the research study that "*the daily News portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive*" has been accepted. The mean difference of the table 2 of the positive and negative stories reflects that the daily News has framed the US image in a much negative way as compared to the positive frame.

Table 2: Coverage of the Daily News from Nov.1st, 2009 to Jan. 31st 2010

Hard & Soft News	N	Mean	Df	Sig.
Positive	92	.2717	91	0.000
Negative	92	.9348	91	

Finding 3

The finding reveals that the daily Nation portrayed the US image in a more negative way than positive. The difference between the means of the positive frame and negative frame is highly significant. (t-test= 13.062, for positive image, t-test=7.944, for negative image, and significance level $p= 0.000$).

The daily Nation is more critical so far the US image is concerned. Table 3 reflects that the hard news of the daily Nation as compared to the above discussed newspapers severely criticized the US concerns in Pakistan. So, the third hypothesis that the "*the daily Nation portrayed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive*" has been accepted.

Table 3: Coverage of the Daily Nation from Nov. 1st, 2009 to Jan. 31st 2010

Hard & Soft New	N	Mean	Df	Sig.
Positive	92	.6522	91	0.000
Negative	92	1.9565	91	

The findings of the table 1, table 2 and table 3 advocate that there is a difference among the agenda setting technique of these three English newspapers. The daily Dawn depicted the US positively whereas the daily News and the daily Nation presented the image of the US negatively. Moreover, by investigating the mean difference of the findings of table 2 and table 3, it is stated that there is an abundant deal of variation so far the negative coverage of the daily News and the daily Nation is concerned. The scale of negative coverage of the daily Nation is higher than the daily News. The daily Dawn’s readership includes influential, diplomats, foreigners etc. On the other hand, daily News and the daily Nation are read by general educated masses. The reason of variation of their coverage regarding the portrayal of the US might be a result of their readership. According to Noshina Saleem (2010), daily Dawn depends on government's advertisements and information sources and involvement of high level of national interests. According to her, this supports the Shoemaker and Reese (1996) theoretical concepts that the official, ideological and commercial patterns influence the newspaper contents.

Finding 4

The finding reflects that both hard news and soft news of the daily Dawn, daily News and the daily Nation portrayed the US image in a negative way. But the inspection of the mean suggests that the soft news stories presented the US image in a more negative way as compare to the hard news stories. According to mean difference, the soft news stories of the above mentioned three newspapers covered more negative image of the US than the hard news stories of these newspapers. The difference between the mean of two groups is highly significant. So the fourth hypothesis that *"soft news portrayed the image of the US more negative as compared to hard news"* has been accepted. The scale of the negative coverage of the US image in soft news is much more negative as compared to the compared to the hard news. The difference at positive and negative levels is statistically highly significant.

Table 4: Overall Comparison of the Hard and Soft News of Dailies Dawn, News and Nation

Story Type		N	Mean	Sig. (2 tailed)
Positive	Hard News	276	.53	.000
	Soft News	276	.05	
Negative	Hard News	276	.68	.000
	Soft News	276	.54	

CONCLUSIONS

As per findings, the Pakistani press portrayed negative image of the United States of America. The only exception lies in coverage of daily Dawn where the image was framed in positive manner. Whereas the daily News and the daily Nation depicted the US image negatively. It is pertinent to mention that whenever the US government shielded the Pakistan's interests, for instance, addressing Pakistan's security apprehensions, economic and military aid, strengthening of democracy etc. all the three newspapers portrayed a positive US image. But whenever the US adopted hostile policies towards Pakistan like scrutinizing Pakistan's nuclear program, imposing economic and military sanctions and drone attacks inside Pakistani territory, the daily News and the daily Nation condemned such attitude of the US. After 9/11, Pakistan joined the US camp and participated in anti terror war. The editorial pages of the three newspapers condemned the US policies against Pakistan and suggested that Pakistan should not provide military basis on its territory to the US as it is dangerous for the sovereignty of Pakistan. The editorial pages of the three newspapers viewed that the drone attacks in their current form are breaching the UN charter and hence a clear violation of international law. So the findings of the study suggest that the Pakistani press condemn the US policies regarding Pakistan. The media workers and the common mass of Pakistan considered that the anti-Pak policies of the US like drone attacks inside Pakistan territory, presence of

Black Water's personnel, and violation of aerial territory of Pakistan by the NATO planes are the causes of present extremism in Pakistan. The country of Pakistan is trailing down in every walk of life just because of US-led so called anti terror war in which Pakistan is helpless to participate because of its sensitive geographical location. The general perception of the people of Pakistan has been endorsed by the results of study that the US is responsible for present socio- economic, political and military crisis in Pakistan. To conclude the study, only the hard news stories of the daily Dawn framed the US image positively whereas the soft news of the same newspaper portrayed the US image negatively. The front, back and editorial pages of the dailies News and Nation framed the image of the US as negative more often than it was portrayed as positive.

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