

## **WAR ON TERROR INTERPLAY OF GOVERNMENT AND PRESS POLICIES A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF AMERICAN, PAKISTAN PRESS AND GOVERNMENTS (2001-2010)**

**<sup>1</sup>SAJJAD AHMAD PARACHA & <sup>2</sup>ABIDA NOUREEN**

<sup>1</sup>Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan

<sup>2</sup>M.Phil Fellow at Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Pakistan

### **ABSTRACT**

The research work named “War on Terror, Interplay of Government and press policies, a comparative study of American and Pakistan press and government (2001-2010)” is an attempt to get information about both country’s media and government’s attitude on war on terror. The main focus is to find out the relationship between Pakistan press and Pakistan government over war on terror and the same with American press and American government and later on the interplay of both countries press and government. This research examines the interplay between editorial policies of these newspapers and the policies of their respective governments. To get press policy, editorials of 10 years of both Daily Dawn and Daily New York Times were observed and for government policy, the foreign statements of both countries governments statement issued by foreign ministry were analyzed. Foreign policies of both countries were studied from the official websites of the foreign offices of America and Pakistan. The results depict that press of both countries toed their respected governments on the issue of war on terror but New York Times is more supportive to her government as compare to the daily Dawn. The theoretical frame work for this study draws from the Bernard Cohen (1963) works “The Press and the foreign Policy”. According to Cohen, press is considered as the important part of making every country’s foreign policy.

**KEYWORDS:** War on Terror, Policies, Media, Decision Making.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Press is considered the fourth pillar of state. Press is the watch dog of the society. Media has power to eradicate the wrong doings in the society by pointing out and bring voice of layman to the relevant authority over an issue. The relationship between press and government is very controversial and deep as well. A layman can easily confuse about the relations which is existing between them. This is the study specially focused on the issue of terrorism to make clear the wrong concepts about Pakistan government and the Pakistan media that they are not willing to eradicate the terrorism sincerely. This is also about the stance of US government and media regarding the War on terror. Sometimes press is considered to be bound to government and sometimes considered to be independent. Basically this study

is about the interplay between press and government policies to check the positive and negative interplay between them over war on terror.

### **MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY**

Media involves at the every stage of foreign policy making. Political leaders take media as a serious tool in the process of building foreign policy. Previously it was considered that media is only for delivering messages in foreign policy now it is very cleared that media itself a great part of this process. Media is not just the part of international environment but media is the part of internal environment of the state. Government sets the policies according to the policies of the state communication's general pattern called media. Media at a time performs double functions, input and output. Media carries input variables by setting the foreign policy with government and it carries out variables by scrutinizing the government officials and to relate them with the foreign policy. The policy making is taken in the environment set by the media. Media influence the policy makers by setting agendas and framing the factors and compelled them towards their own policies. (Navel 2002). Media plays a very complex role in making the foreign policy. This role is sometimes direct or indirect in other means. Different PR professionals and the media experts take part in this process. Government officials consult with them and make decisions accordingly. (Srivastaver 2009)

### **THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theoretical framework for this research goes to Bernard Cohen works "*The Press and the foreign Policy*". Cohen says Media is an important institution and it plays an important role for shaping government's foreign policy. Media plays a dominant role towards government policies. (Cohen 1963). The news media is the better to be known as the effected factor on the foreign relations and the foreign policies (Larson 1986). The main focus of news media is on to the particular individuals and government leaders rather to give the background knowledge and the latest trends in politics. Some time media role is more effective than the representative of nation. During 1991 both countries (Iraq and America) Presidents fully rely on the CNN channel and formulate their policies accordingly. (Harris 1999)

### **REVIEW OF PRESS GOVERNMENT RELATIONS**

John& Everett (1996) argue the relationship between press and government. According to them press and government should survive with good terms, instead of being rivals and adversaries they should be cooperative in nature. They further say that adverse relations may be good sometimes, in the countries where the press is free, this relation may not be successful. They say that in particular matters and in particular situation press does not oppose the government but otherwise governments always implement the principle of opposing free and independent press. Robinson (1989) states that in history there is no political system which gave the complete freedom to their press. Although they maintained some legal and formal policies in which they describe that the press is not under their control. The commercial press system cannot survive the antithetical press because the lack of financing, advertising

and government negating policy factors are unable to sustain and maintain their position. Hibert & Reuss (1988) say that the government is not the party which confined US press but it is the Press who censor the government. Media official's censor the government issues and decide that what kind of issue goes forward. Government cannot make the law to control the press they use some tools of public relations and the good will with the press by conducting the presidential campaigns and put forward the figures and information that shape the government stance over an issue. Cutlip et al (2000) says that more recent constitutions guaranteed access freedom towards government policies towards press. Now the press is free to ensure the policies of government and this is more effective way to make proficient government policies and in the interest of people. Press freedom also minimizes the corruption, false determination and ensures the crystal clear system. The government motive towards press freedom is that the great administrations and organizations feel free while making policies when there is the privacy in matters. Cutlip et al declared press as the watchdog on the government policies. Franklin (2004), Davies (2008), argue that democratic process is threatened to rise by public sphere and the failure of media to fulfill their role as the fourth state. This is the fear that produces the relationship between media and government. McQuail (1987) says that media is the actual and potential adversary of government from the very start, especially in their own terms. Shoemaker & Reese (1991) say that media contents are effecting by number of factors. There may be some time financing matters, adversaries, and personal attitudes of media workers, professionalism, ownership, economic and social policies and the more important government itself. Herman & Chomsky (1988) believe that media is the subordinate of elite class. They emphasize that it is equal whether it is privately owned or controlled by the state. Hirsh (1977) points out that the media is always under the state control even if they are not financing them.

### **IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

The study named “*War on Terror, Interplay of Government and press policies, a comparative study of American and Pakistan press and government (2001-2010)*” is an attempt to explore the comparison between Pakistan press and government with the American press and government. This is basically the interplay between Pakistan American press and government over the war on terror. This study will clear the relationship of government and media of two important countries in war on terror. The research works main focus is

1. To analyze the commonalities and differences between New York Times and Government of America regarding WOT
2. To explore the similarities and differences between daily Dawn and Government of Pakistan regarding war on terror.

### **Research Questions**

1. Does the Daily Dawn Toe the policy of Government of Pakistan?
2. Does the Daily New York Times Toe the policy of Government of America?

### **Hypothesis**

$H_0$

It is more likely that Dawn toe the policy of government of Pakistan in portrayal of war on terror.

$H_1$

It is more likely that Dawn does not toe the policy of government of Pakistan in portrayal of war on terror.

$H_0$

It is more likely that New York Times toe the policy of US government in portrayal of war on terror.

$H_2$

It is more likely that New York Times does not toe the policy of US government in portrayal of war on terror.

## **RATIONALE**

1. It is more likely that Dawn being a Pakistani newspaper will not follow the Government policy over war on terror
2. It is more likely that dawn being a liberal newspaper toes the policy of Government of Pakistan in the issue of war on terror
3. It is more likely that New York Times being an American Newspaper will toe the Government policy
4. It is more likely that New York Times being an independent newspaper will not toe the government policy

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research aims to analyze the interplay between press and government policies on the issue of war on terror. For this both qualitative and quantitative content analysis research method were applied. Content analysis is the technique in the social sciences by which variables are to be measured to analyze them and examine them in a particular way. It explores the interplay between press and government policy. Government policy was conducted by the press statements given by the foreign offices of both countries. Press policy was being managed by conducting editorials over the issue of the particular time period. The time period of the study was 2001 to 2010; editorials and foreign statements of that time period were collected by the simple purposive sampling technique.

## **OPERTATIONALIZATION**

The term war on terror further break up in three categories, these categories will be measure from Pakistan and American newspapers to achieve press policies and from foreign statements of both countries for the attainment of foreign policy of both countries. These categories are

- By Pakistan

- By US
- By Militants

**Table: 1 Variables of the Study**

Topic/Category	Break up	Rules
War on terror	1.By US	Positive
		Negative
	2.By Pakistan	Positive
		Negative
	3.By Militants	Positive
		Negative

		3. They have the real image of Islam
		4. They are against the US policy

### SLANT

Slant gives particular tone to the editorial. Editorials will be

- Supportive
- Non supportive
- Neutral

An editorial will be considered positive if it is supportive to the particular government policy, it will be considered negative if it is not supportive to the particular government policy statement and will consider neutral if it is neither supportive and non supportive towards government policy statement over the issue of war on terror

### DATA PRESENTATION

This research work is basically to explore the relationship between press and government of two main countries Pakistan and America over the issue of war on terror. In this research work the term war on terror further divided into three categories which are “by Pakistan” “by America” and “by militants”, from these categories the researcher explored the role of these categories under the umbrella of war on terror. The researcher finds that both countries press toe their respective government in their policies.

Editorial Coverage of Daily Dawn

Table 2 shows that dawn gave 207 editorials which are further divided in three categories. It gave By Pakistan to 33%, By America to 25.1% and by militants to 41.9%. Daily dawn gave maximum coverage to the Militants.

**Table: 2 Overall Coverage of the Editorials in Daily Dawn Over WOT**

WOT Categories	Frequency	Percentage
By Pakistan	68	33%
By America	52	25.10%
By Militants	87	41.90%
<b>Total</b>	207	100%

Editorial Coverage of Daily New York Times

Table 3 shows that daily New York Times gave 181 editorials which are further divided in three categories. It gave By Pakistan to 31%, By America to 27% and by militants to 42%. Daily New York Times also gave maximum coverage to the Militants like daily dawn.

**Table: 3 Overall Coverage of the editorials in Daily NYT over WOT**

WOT Categories	Frequency	Percentage
<b>By Pakistan</b>	56	31%
<b>By America</b>	48	27%
<b>By Militants</b>	77	42%
<b>Total</b>	181	100%

By Pakistan

68 editorials of daily Dawn and 56 editorials of daily New York Times focused on the role of Pakistan in War on terror

	<b>Supportive to Govt Policy(+)</b>	<b>Non Supportive to the Govt policy(-)</b>	<b>Neural (0)</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	44(21%)	7(4%)	17(8.2%)
<b>NYT</b>	19(10.4%)	21(11.6%)	16(9%)

This table is about the results of daily Dawn and Government of Pakistan (GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN) interplay and Daily New York Times and Government of America (GOA) interplay towards Pakistan role in war on terror. This table shows that in daily Dawn, 21% editorials support government of Pakistan policy in the category of “By Pakistan” whereas 4% editorials of the Dawn were remained non supportive towards GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN under category “ by Pakistan”, 8.2% editorials remain neutral. On the other hand in Daily New York Times, 10.4% editorials support GOA policy under category “ By Pakistan” 11.6% editorials were non supportive and 9% editorials were neutral towards government of America under category “By Pakistan”

By America

Dawn gave 52 editorials and NYT gave 48 editorials towards the role of America in war on terror under category “BY America

	<b>Supportive(+)</b>	<b>Non Supportive(-)</b>	<b>Neural(0)</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	3(1.3%)	33(16%)	16(7.7%)
<b>NYT</b>	41(22.6%)	2(1.1%)	5(2.7%)

This table is the interplay between Pakistan press and Pakistan government and American press and American government on war on terror under category “By America”. This category shows the role of America in war on terror and the American press and American government and Pakistan press and Pakistan government give their supportive non supportive and neutral stance over it. Daily dawn remain supportive with government of Pakistan policy towards America role in war on terror with only 1.3% editorial coverage while it remain non supportive in 16 % editorial coverage and its 7.7% editorials remain neutral. Daily New York Times was totally supportive of their government policies in the role of America in war on terror, only 1.1% editorials were non supportive towards government policies while 2.7% editorials remain neutral. Under this category dawn was not seen supportive towards government of Pakistan policy whereas American press gave full support to their government.

By Militants

Dawn gave 87 editorials and NYT gave 77 editorials towards the role of Militants in war on terror under category “BY Militants”

	Supportive(+)	Non Supportive(-)	Neural(0)
<b>Dawn</b>	79(38%)	0(0%)	8(3.8%)
<b>NYT</b>	71(38%)	0(0%)	6(4.2%)

Dawn remain supportive to the government of Pakistan with 38% editorial coverage under category the role of militants in war on terror as for as concern the non supportive policy daily dawn has clear stance by giving 0% coverage to the militants and remain neutral with 3.8%. New York Times were also 38% supportive and 4.2% non supportive towards government of America policies to the militants.

**OVERALL INTERPLAY OF PRESS AND GOVERNMENT POLICIES**

Figure 1 shows that daily dawn supports government of Pakistan with 60.3% editorial coverage towards war on terror and New York Times support government of America policy over war on terror with 72.3% editorial coverage. Figure 1

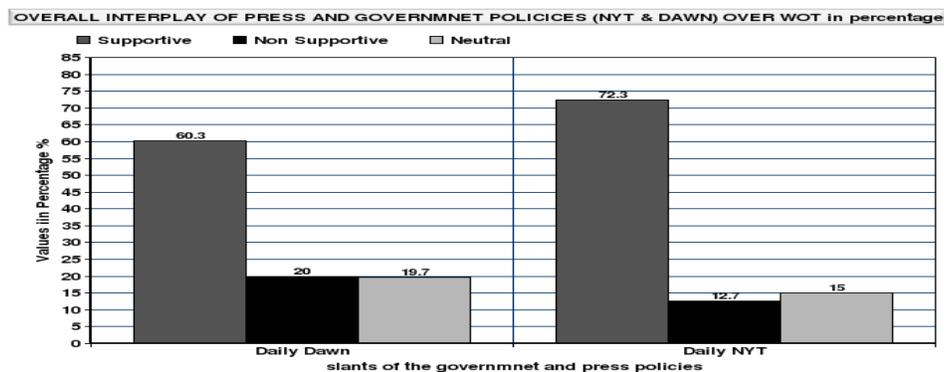


Figure: 1

## CONCLUSIONS

The study depicts that both countries press toe their respective government policies towards war on terror. Daily dawn support government of Pakistan with the ratio of 60% but New York Times support her respective government with 70% editorial coverage. Pakistan press was not supportive towards American aggressive policies towards war on terror but the situation was different towards Pakistan government, new York times was non supportive towards Pakistan role in war on terror but with less percentage as compare to the supportive towards Pakistan role in war on terror. The coverage and the foreign policy of both countries towards militants remain same. The results depicts that both countries press support their respective governments but American press is more supportive their foreign policy than Pakistan press.

Government and press relation always remain controversial from the very start, both pillars of the state had lots of complains with each other, media has complains to not give the real stance of situations towards government whereas the government has complains to undue interruption in their privacy and policies towards press. With all these things, the two pillars are considered the most important and the most wanted to meet the responsibilities towards state and sovereignty. War on terror is a serious phenomenon from a long time and demands a mature solution regarding press and government. The results of the study found mutual understanding of both countries press and government where the strong connection was found between American press and American government and Pakistan press and Pakistan government, the need is only to make true policies to solve the monster of the terrorism.

## REFERENCES

1. Navel, C. (2002). The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision Making. A theoretical Framework in Conflict and Communication, online, Vo. 1, No. 2. Retrieved from <http://icswww.leeds.ac.uk/papers/pmt/exhibits/801/naveh.pdf>
2. Srivastava, S. (2009). The Role of the Media in foreign policy: A dicsion making. Retrieved on 1-6-2012 from [http://utcc2.utcc.ac.th/amsar/PDF/Document52/Shubham\\_template.pdf](http://utcc2.utcc.ac.th/amsar/PDF/Document52/Shubham_template.pdf)
3. Cohen, B. (1963). The Press the Public and Foreign Policy. Princeton: University Press.
4. Larson, (1986). (Cite in Bryant, Jennings and Thompson, Susan (2002). Fundamentals of Media Effects. New York: McGraw Hill.
5. Harris, (1999). (Cite in Bryant, Jennings and Thompson, Susan (2002). Fundamentals of Media Effects. New York: McGraw Hill.
6. John, M., Everett, D. (1996). Media Debates: Issue in Mass Communication, United states: Longman Publishers
7. Robinson. (1989). International Encyclopedia of communication. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
8. Hibert, R. E., Reuss, C. (1988). Impact of Mass Media, current issue, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York & London: Longman.

9. Cutlip, S. M., Center, A. H., & Broon, G. M. (2000). *Effective Public Relations*. 8<sup>th</sup> Edition, India: Person Education, INC.
10. Franklin, B. (2004). *Packaging Politics: Political Communication in Britain Media Democracy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Arnold.
11. Davies, N. (2008). *Late Earth News*. London: Chatto&Windus
12. McQuail, D. (1987). *Mass Communication theory: an Introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Sage Publication
13. Reese. (2001). *Framing Public Life*. L. Erlbaum Associates: New Jersey London.
14. Rehman, A. (2011). The Nature of Pak-US relations in Hameed, T. (Edt). *Current Affairs Digest*, Book 205, September 2011, Lahore.
15. Shoemaker, P. J., Danielian, L. H., & Brendlinger, N. (1999). Deviant Acts, Risky Business and U.S Interest, The News Worthiness of world events. *Journalism Quarterly*, 68(4). PP. 781-795.
16. Herman, E., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon, P.2.
17. Hirsh, p. (1977). Occupational, Organizational and Institutional Models in Mass Media Research: Toward an integrated framework in P. M. Hirsch, P, V. Miller., & F, G. Kline (Eds.), *Strategiesfor Communication Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, pp. 13-40