

# **A Comparative Study of *Dawn* and *Jang* with Special Regard to Agenda Setting Theory of Press: Ten Years before and after 9/11**

***Mahae Darakshan\* & Javeria Shakil\*\****

## **Abstract**

The relationship between Pakistan and America has always been a focus of the media of both countries as well as the international media. Even a slight shift in the policies of these two countries for each other is capable of making newspaper headlines and attracting maximum attention of the press of both countries. This study is a comparative analysis of the editorial pages of daily *Dawn* (English) and daily *Jang* (Urdu) to explore the agenda setting role of two of Pakistan's oldest and most credible newspapers, vis-à-vis the Pakistan-US relationship. The research takes into consideration a total of 20 years of Pakistan-US relations by dividing the period into two groups which are ten years before the incident of 9/11 and ten years after 9/11. This understudied period is specifically important because the relations between Pakistan and America during these phases have vacillated between periods of engagements, wherein Pakistan enjoyed the status of the most favoured ally without compromising its regional interest, and the periods of disengagements wherein Pakistan faced sanctions from the US and was left alone to deal with the aftermath of the Afghan war and the War on Terrorism. Hence, this study obtains interesting insights about how the two Pakistani newspapers which represent the Urdu and the English press of Pakistan highlighted the agenda-setting role of the press through the coverage of the issues between Pakistan and US on their editorial pages.

**Keywords:** US-Pakistan Relations, Agenda Setting, Afghan War, Pre-9/11 era, Post-Cold War era, Post-9/11 era, Terrorism, 9/11, Disengagement period, Engagement Period

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## **Introduction**

The relations between Pakistan and the US have always been a focus of the media of both countries. The US being a far more powerful country than Pakistan, even a minute change in US policies towards Pakistan

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\* Mahae Darakshan, Assistant Professor, Bahria University, Karachi Campus.

\*\* Javeria Shakil, Lecturer, Bahria University, Karachi Campus.

creates headlines and is widely covered by the press of both Pakistan and America. It is also important to note that because of America's hegemonic designs and various past policies, anti-American sentiment has always existed in countries affected by US policies, including Pakistan, and is critically covered by the print media. As far as Pakistan is concerned, the post-Cold War time period is quite significant as it is marked with the emergence of the New World Order and America's emergence as the sole superpower of the world. The US-Pakistan relations were at their lowest during this phase as Pakistan had faced stringent sanctions for the US showed a complete disregard for the sacrifices made by Pakistan during the Afghan war. Similarly, after the catastrophic terrorist attacks that took place on US soil on September 11, 2001, the entire world joined together in its efforts to combat terrorism. Consequently, Pakistan once again gained the position of most favored ally and an important strategic partner in the War on Terror.

As there had been alterations in US-Pakistan relations over time, the changes in foreign relations were also evident in the coverage of issues pertaining to both countries in the media of Pakistan and US. In any country of the world, mass media is considered an important tool which helps shaping public opinion on issues and crises of national and international importance. This role of the media has always been one of the widely researched domains by researchers studying media effect on public opinion. In his study Soroka<sup>1</sup> identified that the relationship between the press and the public plays an important role in gauging public opinion on policy issues by selecting a few issues and providing salience to those issues over others, consequently translating them into public agenda which can be defined as agenda setting role of the press. According to McComb,<sup>2</sup> the media can guide the public attention to an issue by providing it prominence. Cohen<sup>3</sup> puts the same idea in a slightly different way by stating that the press may not be successful in telling the public what to think, but is quite successful in telling the masses what to think about. In their study, Wanta, et. al.<sup>4</sup> also sum up a more or less same idea that the conceptual development in agenda setting theory over

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<sup>1</sup> S. N. Soroka, 'Agenda-setting dynamics in Canada UBC Press', 2002.

<sup>2</sup> M. McCombs, 'A look at agenda-setting: Past, present and future', *Journalism Studies*, 6:4, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> B. C. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1963).

<sup>4</sup> W. Wanta, 'G. Golan & C. Lee. Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations' *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81:2 (2004), 364-377.

the time let many researchers believe that the press under some conditions might be successful in guiding the public on what to think about. The readers trust the mediated information disseminated by the press for the world that is not known to them, that is the information related to foreign countries and policy issues.

Hence, this study is aimed at exploring a much neglected area that is agenda setting and foreign relations. The relation time frame between Pakistan and America is divided into two phases. The first phase focuses on pre-9/11 period that is the relationship between the two countries spanning ten years before the incident of 9/11, i.e., the post-Cold War era. The second phase of the research focuses on the post-9/11 period, i.e., ten years after 9/11. A comparative analysis of the editorial pages of *Dawn* and *Jang* has been done to identify the agenda setting role of the press with reference to US-Pakistan relations during these two understudied phases.

This research is an important attempt at identifying that how a country like Pakistan utilized its press to disseminate policy information to masses, by taking Pakistan and America as a case to understand the agenda setting role of the press, moreover to identify the significance US-Pakistan relations had received in the press by observing the pattern of coverage during the understudied duration of ten years before and after 9/11 in editorial pages of *Dawn* and *Jang*. The time period selected for this study divided in Phase A (post-Cold War and pre-9/11) and Phase B (post-9/11) is also significant because of the changing landscape of media. During Phase A, newspapers were considered more credible than the electronic media; however, the emergence of a large number of private news channels in the post-9/11 era changed this perception and provided 24/7 hours coverage to the happenings around the world. Hence, this study also provides an interesting contrast and an insight into the agenda setting role of the press before 9/11, where the press had no competition with the state-owned electronic media; and after 9/11 where press had to compete with state-owned and private electronic media outlets which provided news coverage 24/7. Additionally, it is crucial to understand the significance of US-Pakistan relationship during Phase A and B and how the understudied newspapers covered it in their editorial pages.

### **US-Pakistan relations before 9/11**

After Pakistan came into being in August 1947, the United States of America was one of the few countries to establish relations with Pakistan as early as October 1947. The two countries started relations at the

ambassadorial-level in February 1948.<sup>5</sup> Pakistan joined SEATO in 1954, and METO, renamed as CENTO, in 1955.<sup>6</sup> Pakistan joined these organizations to get support of America against India's hegemonic desires.<sup>7</sup> During the early 60s, the US started supporting India to have a check on communist China, a move which was strongly disliked by Pakistan and adversely affected the US-Pakistan relations.<sup>8</sup> America's ignorance of Pakistan's security concerns forced Pakistan to revisit its policies toward America and have better relations with China and the USSR. Moreover, US-Pakistan relations further deteriorated after the refusal of America to help Pakistan in the 1965 Indo-Pak war.<sup>9</sup> The United States again failed to provide assistance during the 1971 war, instead, it put an embargo on all military and economic assistance to Pakistan.<sup>10</sup> It was also pointed out by Khan,<sup>11</sup> that after the conduct of nuclear tests by India in 1974, the United States imposed sanctions on Pakistan under Symington (1976) and Glen (1977) amendments to curb Pakistan's efforts to establish its nuclear program. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter posed an embargo on all US aid to Pakistan which was reassessed and redesigned by the United States after the USSR's invasion into Afghanistan. Pakistan, by virtue of its significant geostrategic and geopolitical position, gained significance in the US war to contain Russia from furthering its political ideology and gaining access to warm waters.<sup>12</sup> Further to this, Rizvi<sup>13</sup> identified the Afghan crisis, the Kashmir insurgency and the conduct of nuclear tests by

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<sup>5</sup> H. A. Rizvi, *Pakistan in Major Powers and South Asia* (Islamabad: Institute of Regional Studies, 2004), pp????

<sup>6</sup> J. Khan, 'US-Pakistan relations: The geo-strategic and geopolitical Factors/ Relations Americano-Pakistanaises: LaGEOSTRATEGIE ET DES FACTEURS GEOPOLITIQUES', *Canadian Social Science*, 6:2 (2010), 61.

<sup>7</sup> H. Iqbal, *Pak-Afghan Ties in the Light of Pak-US Strategic Dialogue* (Peshawar: Institute of Regional Studies, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> J. Khan, 'US-Pakistan relations: The geo-strategic and geopolitical Factors/ Relations Americano-Pakistanaises: LaGEOSTRATEGIE ET DES FACTEURS GEOPOLITIQUES', *Canadian Social Science*, 6:2 (2010), 61.

<sup>9</sup> H. Rizvi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004. Briefing Paper for Pakistani Parliamentarians* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2004).

<sup>10</sup> J. Khan, 'US-Pakistan relations: The geo-strategic and geopolitical Factors/ Relations Americano-Pakistanaises: LaGEOSTRATEGIE ET DES FACTEURS GEOPOLITIQUES', *Canadian Social Science*, 6:2 (2010), 61.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. H. Rizvi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004. Briefing Paper for Pakistani Parliamentarians* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> H. Rizvi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*:...

Pakistan as the main reasons for fissures in US-Pakistan relations and among the top agenda points on the priority list of Pakistan's policymakers in the period of 1990-2000. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and its disintegration in 1991, made this world unipolar, dominated by America and the interest was shifted to non-proliferation and repairing relations with India.<sup>14</sup> President George Bush Senior's refused to endorse that Pakistan does not possess nuclear weapons resulted in suspension of all military and economic aid to Pakistan. Moreover, US also withheld the F-16s which were to be given to Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment. It left Pakistan to cope with the aftermath of the Afghan war all on its own. However, in 1995, under the Brown Amendment, sanctions on non-military aid were removed.

The Clinton administration, in order to balance power of China, supported India while ignoring Pakistan's sufferings and maintained a cold stance on Pakistan's efforts to maintain mutually beneficial relations with the United States. India's second nuclear test in May 1998 forced Pakistan to decide its fate vis-à-vis maintaining nuclear deterrence with India hence Pakistan went ahead with carrying out nuclear tests in the same month. As a result, Pakistan faced harsher consequences from the world as compared to India. The Kargil issue, which ended in July 1999, also became another major conflict between both countries.

The change of government in America in 2001 brought no change in its policies for Pakistan. The George W. Bush administration continued to maintain good relations with India and blamed Pakistan for supporting terrorist organizations and creating disturbances across the border in the Indian-held Kashmir. Furthermore, the US viewed Pakistan's support to the Taliban government with extreme dislike.

In the post-Cold War phase the US-Pakistan relations were overall tense in nature. After the withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan and the end to the long-running war in Afghanistan, the United States left Pakistan in isolation to deal with over two million Afghan refugees, proliferation of weapons, introduction of drugs in society and the more complex issue of installing a government in Afghanistan that could ensure peace and stability. The conduct of nuclear test by Pakistan and the Kargil war also affected Pakistan's reputation.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947-2012: A Concise History*, 3rd ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015); H. Rizvi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1947-2004. Briefing Paper for Pakistani Parliamentarians* (Islamabad: PILDAT, 2004); Maleeha Lodhi, 'The Pakistan-US relationship', *Defense Journal*, 1998.

### US-Pakistan relations after 9/11

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 on US soil affected the entire world. These were condemned by the United Nations which directed its members to institutionalize a combined strategy to combat terrorism and not allow their lands to be used for planning of such activities. The US sought support of the entire world in its 'War on Terror' to ensure world peace. Pakistan, rightly sensing the global sentiment, joined hands with America in its war against terrorism and became a front-line state. However, the general public rejected this because of its deep-rooted distrust of America and American policies towards Pakistan. The United States, as a result, relaxed sanctions on Pakistan and moved to revive bilateral relations in areas such as economic and social development, modernization of military, and supply of modern military equipment to Pakistan. US Secretary of State Collin Powell, while visiting Pakistan in 2004, declared Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally of the US and, in 2 April 2004, in Berlin mentioned Pakistan as the strongest ally in the war against terrorism.<sup>16</sup> In June 2008, an air strike on a check-post of the Pakistan Army on Pak-Afghan border evoked a fierce reaction from the Pakistani nation. Pakistan termed this an attempt to destroy mutual trust and cooperation between the two countries. The Kerry Lugar Bill of October 2009, which imposed sanctions on the military aid, translated the mistrust of United States on Pakistan. According to Ashraf<sup>17</sup>, policymakers of both countries opined that Pakistan and America had common interest to eliminate the threat of terrorism and ensure peace in South Asia and for that they needed to develop a consistent policy of mutual cooperation for this region to ensure long-term sustainable partnership. In his research, Anwar<sup>18</sup> termed American policy of imposing sanctions on Pakistan as a failed strategy, instead recommended America to encourage diplomatic negotiations with Pakistan. Moreover, he concluded that the sanctions were counter-productive and damaging to the constructive dialogue process, consequently affecting the economic and social growth in the country. Post-9/11 literature revealed that Pak-US relations after 9/11 were mainly focused on 'War on Terror, US-Aid, nuclear weapon safety and

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<sup>16</sup> H. Rizvi, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: An Overview...*

<sup>17</sup> Naeem Ashraf, 'US and Pakistan Relations: Muddling towards Compelling Coincident Interests' MS dissertation (Carlisle Barracks PA, Army War College, 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Muhammad Fiaz Anwar, 'US Sanctions Against Pakistan: Rationale and Impact (1990-2001)', *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, 5:2 (2013).

political stability in the region. Pakistan's relations with America went through many ups and downs; were unpredictable and showed a deviation of interests during the Cold War, post-Cold War and post-9/11 eras.<sup>19</sup> The literature studied also indicated the American policy shifts related to Pakistan during post-9/11 era, which include decline in concern for nuclear proliferation, whereas its strong emphasis on War on Terror resulted in Pakistan regaining the status of a frontline ally state of the US, with all the sanctions waived off and debts rescheduled.<sup>20</sup> Christina Fair criticized United States over failing to achieve its goals in the South Asian region and recommended to formulate a course of action to ensure peace for Pakistan and its neighbors.<sup>21</sup> Ashraf,<sup>22</sup> who did the contextual analysis of Pakistan-US relations in the past, present and future and examined the related issues, recommended a way forward for areas that can help in strengthening this relationship such as: social, political, military, diplomatic, information and communication fields. Maleeha Lodhi identified the problem areas, stating that both the countries feel that they have given a lot to this strategic partnership and gained nothing. Pakistan viewed United States indifferent of its security concerns and the Kashmir issue. It blamed the United States for not dealing with the nuclear issue in South Asia even handedly and not accommodating Pakistan's interest in Afghanistan. Further to this, she recommended both to redefine the relations in order to bring a balance to it and to pursue their strategic objectives such as defining terrorism, peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and stability in a nuclear South Asia.<sup>23</sup>

Hence a large number of studies, books, speeches, presentations, policy papers and research findings were explored by the researchers to understand the dynamics of US-Pakistan relations in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 era. Most of the literature from foreign authors contained a negative representation of Pakistan and criticized Pakistan's role. However, a significant number of literatures signifies Pakistan as an

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<sup>19</sup> T. Hashmi, 'The destiny of Pakistan and Pak-US relationship', *Journal of South Asian Studies*, 1:1 (2013), 10-34.

<sup>20</sup> A. Mehmood, 'American Policy of Non-proliferation towards Pakistan: A Post-cold War Perspective', *Pakistan Horizon*, 56:1 (2003), 35-58.

<sup>21</sup> C. C. Fair, 'Time for Sober Realism: US-Pakistan Relations', *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (April 2009), 166-7.

<sup>22</sup> Naeem Ashraf, *US and Pakistan Relations...*

<sup>23</sup> Maleeha Lodhi, *The Future of Pakistan-US Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*, available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235026793\\_The\\_Future\\_of\\_PakistanUS\\_Relations\\_Opportunities\\_and\\_Challenges](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/235026793_The_Future_of_PakistanUS_Relations_Opportunities_and_Challenges)

important ally and suggested that the US employ a balanced policy in South Asia and recognize Pakistan's sacrifices in supporting the US to achieve its goals in this region. Similarly, US representation in local literature has been found to be negative as well. The main issues highlighted as the bone of contention between the US and Pakistan were the Kashmir issue, the Afghanistan conflict, US sanctions, allegations of nuclear proliferation on Pakistan by the US, fluctuating patterns in relations or interest-based relations, military equipment supply and US aid.

## Theoretical models

### a. The Agenda Setting Theory and the role of the press

In their research, Wolfe, et. al.<sup>24</sup> examined media and policy studies of agenda and pointed out disconnect between these two areas. They suggested a common agenda focused on the role of media in the political system through an information processing framework, emphasizing the mutually beneficial effects for both. While examining the presidential election campaign to identify the role of media in shaping voters opinion, researchers pointed out that by assigning salience in term of selection and placement of an issue, the press makes it a prominent public agenda. They defined this process as the agenda setting function of the media. McCombs and Shaw<sup>25</sup> provided a comprehensive account of the agenda setting theory; its initiation; trends of its development; sources of media agenda; consequences on public opinion; their attitudes and behaviors. They also discussed Lippmann's notion of pictures in our head, and elaborate attribute agenda setting and framing. Takeshita<sup>26</sup> discussed the current and critical problems faced by the agenda-setting researchers, recommending that they should explore further to address the issues for future progress in this media effect notion. According to Eilders,<sup>27</sup> media plays an active role in the political process and suggested that media provides salience to some issues by selecting and providing editorial

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<sup>24</sup> Wolfe, et. al., 'A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting in Media and Policy Studies', *Political Communication*: Taylor & Francis, 2013.

<sup>25</sup> M. E. McCombs & D.L. Shaw, 'The Agenda-setting Function of Mass Media', *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36:2 (1972), 176-87.

<sup>26</sup> T. Takeshita, 'Current critical problems in agenda-setting Research', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 18:3 (2006), 275-296.

<sup>27</sup> C. Eilders, 'Conflict and Consonance in Media Opinion: Political Positions of Five German Quality Newspapers', *European Journal of Communication*, 17:1 (2002), 25-63.



coverage to those issues, consequently providing an ideological distinction to them. The findings of the paper indicated significant differences between degrees of attention the media had shown for some institutions, and the political issues highlighted by the media system, which she assumed can create social conflict and demanded further political processing. To address this issue she maintained further research to explore the possibilities of relating the collective media agenda to the political agenda. Zhang & Meadows III<sup>28</sup> employed the first and second level agenda setting to investigate the influence of media agendas on the perception of foreign countries in America. They noted that the prominence of a country in the media's agenda increased the salience of that country in the public agenda as well. Findings supported a strong relation between foreign countries' prominence in media coverage, while in second level agenda setting process it was observed that there was a correlation between the negative tone of news stories and presidential public papers with the public agendas. They noted that there was no correlation observed to the positive tone in coverage, the presidential papers and the public agenda. Riaz<sup>29</sup> examined the agenda setting role of media in the global perspective. He explored the literature of various studies conducted in various parts of the world and concluded that media can play a strong and responsible role in public agenda setting in a society. Walgrave & Aelst<sup>30</sup> identified that the recent studies in agenda setting suggests a relationship between the media and political agenda. While examining the possibility of mass media's political agenda setting power, they assumed that the political agenda setting is not a single phenomenon; it is dependent on various factors such as selection of issues and amount and type of coverage they received. Riaz<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> C. Zhang & C.W. Meadows III, 'International Coverage, Foreign Policy, and National Image: Exploring the Complexities of Media Coverage, Public Opinion, and Presidential Agenda, *International Journal of Communication*, 2012.

<sup>29</sup> Saqib Riaz, 'The Relationship between the Public and Print Media Agendas on National Issues in Pakistan', 2008, [https://scholar.google.com.pk/citations?user=PczF1gcAAAAJ&hl=en#d=gs\\_md\\_citad&u=%2Fcitations%3Fview\\_op%3Dview\\_citation%26hl%3Den%26user%3DPczF1gcAAAAJ%26citation\\_for\\_view%3DPczF1gcAAAAJ%3AW7OEmFMy1HYC%26tzm%3D420](https://scholar.google.com.pk/citations?user=PczF1gcAAAAJ&hl=en#d=gs_md_citad&u=%2Fcitations%3Fview_op%3Dview_citation%26hl%3Den%26user%3DPczF1gcAAAAJ%26citation_for_view%3DPczF1gcAAAAJ%3AW7OEmFMy1HYC%26tzm%3D420).

<sup>30</sup> S. Walgrave & P. Van Aelst, 'The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory', *Journal of Communication*, 56:1 (2006), 88-109. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00005.x

<sup>31</sup> S. Riaz, 'The Relationship between the Public and Print Media...'

conducted a study to understand the relationship between the public and press agendas in Pakistan, where he found a strong relation between both, however, he pointed out that this relationship is not successful where personal sufferings are involved. Dalton and his fellows tested the media agenda setting function by examining the news coverage of the US Presidential election in 1992. They suggested that the agenda setting process is the convergence of different agendas, i.e., the elite's agenda, the media's agenda, and the public's agenda, toward a set of common issues outlining the campaign.<sup>32</sup> In another study Wanta<sup>33</sup> pointed out that a strong relationship existed between the media prominence received by a nation and audience perception about that nation's significance in relation to American interests.<sup>34</sup> The study maintained that to support the basic agenda setting notion of the media role, the more negative attribution to a nation in media coverage, the more likely the audience is to think negatively about that nation, as suggested in second level of agenda setting. The study also identified that the positive coverage had seemingly no influence on public perception. In their study Nickalaev and Porpora<sup>35</sup> on the editorial and opinion pieces coverage of the Iraq war, observed that the elite media mostly was supportive of the American foreign policy during the Iraq war. A researcher Bloch-Elkin<sup>36</sup> also identified a significant correlation between the media and public's agenda and the policy throughout the different phases of an international crisis. Soroka<sup>37</sup> examined the relationship between the agenda of the media, public and that of the foreign policy makers, in the United States and the United Kingdom. He identified that the agenda setting role of the press plays a significant role in creating a healthy relationship between public opinion and foreign policy of a country. In her study on media

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<sup>32</sup> R. J. Dalton, P. A. Beck, R. Huckfeldt & W. Koetzle, 'A Test of Media-centered Agenda Setting: Newspaper Content and Public Interests in a Presidential Election', *Political Communication*, 15:4 (1998).

<sup>33</sup> W. Wanta, G. Golan & C. Lee, 'Agenda Setting and International News: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations', *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81:2 (2004), 364-377.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> A. G. Nikolaev, & D. V. Porpora, 'Talking war: How elite US newspaper editorials and opinion pieces debated the attack on Iraq', *Sociological Focus*, 40:1 (2007), 6-25.

<sup>36</sup> Y. Bloch-Elkon, 'Studying the Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in International Crises: The United States and the Bosnian Crisis, 1992-1995', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12:4 (2007), 20-51.

<sup>37</sup> S. N. Soroka, 'Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy', *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 8(1), (2003), 27-48.

and foreign policy, Ejaz<sup>38</sup> classified into international and national perspectives in the backdrop of media effect theories such as agenda-setting, framing, CNN effect, gate keeping and propaganda of Herman and Chomsky. She identified that Pakistan's media has maintained a neutral stance towards foreign policy as compared to the US media.

Agenda setting theory of press is the focus of this research to understand the agenda setting role of the press in context with foreign nations more specifically with America. As suggested by researchers, Severin & Tankard<sup>39</sup> agenda setting is the capability of the media to assign salience to an issue in the public's mind through repeated coverage. The media's influence in setting up a nation's agenda or direct audience attention to some important public issues is a known and well documented influence. It suggests that people, while acquiring information from the media, can judge the importance of an issue by the level of importance assigned to it by the media. Salience of an issue in the print can be identified by the space given to a story, bold headlines, and its placement.

The agenda setting concept is not a new phenomenon in media effects research. This framework has now become a prominent tradition in communication effect researches since 1970s.<sup>40</sup> It endorses the notion of Bernard C. Cohen about the power of media in telling the audience on what to think about.<sup>41</sup> Recent researches have explored new directions in the agenda-setting role of the press (Soroska, 2003).<sup>42</sup> There is still a need of more clarity in the explanation of the cause and effects. However, the researches in agenda setting have broadened its

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<sup>38</sup> A. Ejaz, 'Media Affecting upon or Affected by Foreign Policy: The Case of Pakistan. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 5:1 (2012).

<sup>39</sup> W.J. Severin & J.W. Tankard, *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (USA: Addison Wesley, Longman, 2001).

<sup>40</sup> M.E. McCombs & D.L. Shaw, 'The Evolution of Agenda-setting Research: Twenty-five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas', *Journal of Communication*, 43:2 (1993), 58-67; M. L. DeFleur, *Mass Communication Theories: Explaining Origins, Processes, and Effects* (USA: Allyn and Bacon, 2010); W. J. Severin & J. W. Tankard, *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (USA: Longman, 2001).

<sup>41</sup> M.E. McCombs & D. L. Shaw, 'The Evolution of Agenda-setting Research: Twenty-five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas', *Journal of Communication*, 43:2 (1993), W. J. Severin & J. W. Tankard, *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (USA: Longman, 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Soroska, 2003, *op. cit.*

significance from a descriptive framework to the one which is potentially significant in investigating the dynamic relationship between the press and public agenda.

### **b. Agenda setting and foreign policies**

People learn about the outside world through the media. They are now citizens of a global village where they have instant access to information in real time. News of a tsunami in Japan reached millions of people around the world in seconds and people were watching it as it happened. The Iraq war also received maximum exposure in the press. With this information function of the media, it is observed that it has an influence on audience's attitudes, opinions and behaviors. Additionally, through its interpretation function, the media provides a detailed account of all important international, national and local issues. Media is also a part of the foreign policy decision making process, by providing them an insight to the audience's response to an issue, policy decision, foreign policy, conflicts and war. It is also a tool to propagate the policy decision in establishing healthy relationships with other countries. It greatly contributes to shaping the image of a country, positive or negative portrayal through the influence of the audience's perception like in the case of Germany during the Second World War. The image of Germany as portrayed by the American and allied countries in the media created hostility toward Germany.

In Pakistan, US-Pakistan relations have been under the limelight of the media since the independence of Pakistan. The relationship has passed through significant phases and saw many ups and downs. The role of the US in Pakistan-related issues such as the 1965 war, the Afghan Jihad, the Pressler Amendment, the F-16 issue and the US attitude towards Pakistan after 9/11 are some of the major issues that received maximum media exposure and influenced the audience's perception about America as a country. 9/11, a tragic incident that shaped a new political world order, received massive attention from the media all over the world, which influenced the global audience's perception about the Muslims. Hours after this incident, the President of America blamed al-Qaida for the attack and declared war against terrorism. Pakistan, being a neighbor of Afghanistan, a country which America wanted to invade in search of Osama Bin Laden, got the central importance. Pakistan became an ally of America and its allied nations in this war of terror. The role of media in Pakistan-United States relations, foreign policy shifts and public opinions was widely studied by the researchers, scholars, academicians and policy makers. Cohen's study in 1963 on press and foreign policy is considered as a basic framework to

study media and foreign policy relationship in maintaining inter-state relations.

For this study, the researcher identified the agenda-setting theory as a primary framework, the selected theory is closely related and has a well-documented influence in shaping a nation's political or policy agenda. This would be beneficial in understanding the complex process of opinion formation of masses and in investigating the relation of media agenda over the audience's agenda for shaping the opinion of masses in reference to Pakistan-America relations through a comparative analysis of daily *Dawn* and daily *Jang*. This comparative analysis is also an attempt to explore the editorial page treatment of the selected newspapers, moreover to identify the agenda-setting for issues related to both countries and to gauge the role of agenda setting in context of Pakistan and America relations.

## **Research methodology**

### **a. Research objectives**

This is a comparative study of the editorial pages of *Dawn* and *Jang* with reference to Pakistan-US relations during the time period of ten years before and after 9/11 to understand the agenda setting functions of the press and identify its connection with press, policy and public agendas specifically with reference to foreign relations.

### **b. Research design**

According to Balnaves,<sup>43</sup> research method is a technique of collection, evaluation, and systematic presentation of research data. The researcher has employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis as a research technique to identify the trends and coverage pattern of *Dawn* and *Jang* with reference to Pakistan-US relations in their editorial pages and for the evaluation of data.

Content analysis is considered as an important research technique in mass communication, used to understand and investigate themes, symbols, trends, and ideological tone of the contents of media.<sup>44</sup> Berelson<sup>45</sup> termed content analysis as a technique that provides a systematic qualitative interpretation of the content examined. Further to this, researchers presented it as an observational study used in systematic

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<sup>43</sup> M. Balnaves & P. Caputi, *Introduction to Quantitative Research Methods: An Investigative Approach* (SAGE, 2001)

<sup>44</sup> W.L. Neuman, *Social Research Methods*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Pearson Education, 2007).

<sup>45</sup> B. Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1952).

evaluation of all type of recorded content.<sup>46</sup> Content analysis in quantitative terms is devised through counting and coding of data and conversion of the data into numbers, which is then examined by the researcher along with the qualitative techniques to interpret the understudied data extracted from print or electronic media. Hence, a combination of both qualitative and quantitative interpretation of the data strengthens the findings and adds more value to the research.

In this study, a mix of quantitative and qualitative content analysis framework has been employed by the researchers which was endorsed by researchers<sup>47</sup> (Burk & Christensen, 2000) as a widely recognized combination that provides the best blend of systematic analysis of data in its real sense.

The research period is divided into two phases. Phase A spans the period of ten years before 9/11 (1990 to 2000) and Phase B spans a period of ten years after 9/11 (2001 to 2011). The content published on the editorial pages of two leading dailies of Pakistan, *Dawn* and *Jang*, have been analyzed to identify how sensitive both newspapers were with the policy shifts in these two phases with reference to US-Pakistan relations and how the ideological differences had affected the editorial policy and agenda of both newspapers during the understudied period. In other words, this comparative analysis of the editorial page of the understudied newspapers can provide an in-depth analysis of coverage patterns of US-Pakistan relations and the prominence assigned by both newspapers on said issue during Phase A and Phase B.

Newspapers *Dawn* and *Jang* were selected for this research with the aim to identify the agenda setting role of the press during both phases selected for this study. The editorial pages of both newspapers are the universe of study with all the editorials and opinion pieces appearing on US-Pakistan relations selected after careful examination.

The researcher collected the data of 40 months from each phase which is 4 months each year. The researcher divided the year into 4 sessions: January–March, April–June, July–September and October–December and selected 1 month from each session on a random basis. A total sample of 606 editorials and 1457 opinion pieces published during both phases in *Dawn* and *Jang* were selected for a comparative analysis

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<sup>46</sup> R.H. Kolbe & M.S. Burnett, 'Content-analysis Research: An Examination of Applications with Directives for Improving Research Reliability and Objectivity, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18:2 (1991), 243-250. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209256>

<sup>47</sup> B. Johnson & B. Christensen, *Educational Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Pearson, 2000).

to identify the patterns of the coverage and salience assigned by both newspapers to US-Pakistan relations in terms of placement, positioning, length, and frequency.

Words, sentences, themes and paragraph mentioned Pakistan and America relations in editorial and opinion pieces are considered as the unit of analysis for this research. Coding of the unit was done by the researcher herself. Words, theme or sentence appeared in editorials and opinion pages related to Pakistan and America relation were encoded in numbers and recoded for the purpose of data storage, interpretation and analysis.

### **c. Rationale behind selection of newspapers**

The both selected newspapers are one of the oldest English and Urdu dailies catering a diverse audience. *Dawn* was launched in 1941, turned into a daily in 1942, because of its historical background and large readership base which include policymakers, foreign dignitaries, ruling elites, has a tendency to influence the policy agenda by giving space to the public agenda in its editorial page. Moreover, other than having a team of professional editors and staff columnists, many prominent scholars, experts, foreign secretaries, policymakers and opinion leaders also contributes to *Dawn*'s editorial pages as guest columnists.

*Jang* is also one of the oldest and widely circulated Urdu language newspapers, with a large readership base which includes both policymakers and masses. It is more accessible for masses than *Dawn* because of Urdu language. Hence, *Jang*'s agenda can be viewed as an influencer for policy and public agenda both. *Jang* also has a team of professional editors and columnists and presents the opinions of influencers from academia, policymakers, area experts, political parties, religious parties, and NGOs, on various social, cultural, developmental, and educational and policy issues.

### **d. Variables**

- i. *Prominence*: Salience or prominence of an issue is an important factor of agenda setting, the more prominence as issue will get in the media, the more it is primed in individuals schema. Determinants of prominence were identified as: placement, positioning, length and frequency of editorials and opinions. The more the issue will get prominence, the more it will gain perceived importance in public agenda.
- ii. *Placement*: Placement of an editorial and opinion piece is categorized into: upper half of the page and lower half the page.

- iii. *Positioning*: Positioning of the editorials in the editorial column is an important determinant of the salience of issue. Positioning of an editorial is measured by its position in the editorial column such as at the top of the editorial column, second, third and 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box (1<sup>st</sup> place, 2<sup>nd</sup> place, 3<sup>rd</sup> place, 4<sup>th</sup> place).
- iv. *Length*: The length of the opinion pieces also influences the readers' perception of the significance. For columns and opinion pieces, the length is considered as a factor to determine the salience of an issue in terms of space and measured by the researcher in number of columns such as two columns, three columns, four columns, five columns and 6 columns space.
- v. *Frequency*: The number of times an issue related to US-Pakistan relations appeared on the editorial page of both newspapers is the frequency of the unit. The more it appeared the more it shows the agenda of the media organization and more salient it became on the agenda of masses. Number of editorials and opinion pieces published during Phase A and B in *Dawn* and *Jang* on US-Pakistan relations were counted and recorded to measure frequency.

#### e. Research questions

1. Did the newspapers *Jang* and *Dawn* provide equal importance to US-Pakistan relationship during Phase A and Phase B?
2. Among *Jang* and *Dawn*, which newspaper had provided maximum prominence to US-Pakistan relations in their editorial pages?

### Data Analysis and Discussion

#### a. Total number of editorials and opinions:

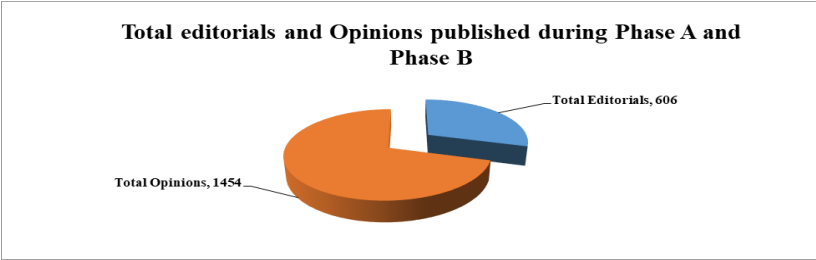
The comparative analysis of total editorials and opinions published in *Dawn* and *Jang* on US-Pakistan relations indicated that both newspapers had published a total of 605 editorials and 1454 opinions during Phase A and Phase B. Comparative analysis of both Phase A and Phase B indicated that the understudied newspapers had published 249 editorials in Phase A and 357 in Phase B. Similarly both *Dawn* and *Jang* had published 383 opinions during Phase A and 1071 during Phase B. This indicated that both newspapers had published comparatively highest numbers of editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations during Phase B; which is ten years after 9/11 than Phase A that is ten years before 9/11(post-Cold War era) (See Table 1, Graph 1, Table 2, Graph 2).



**Table 1: Total Editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations during Phase A and B**

Total editorials published in Phase A and Phase B	Total opinions published on US-Pakistan relations in Phase B
606	1454

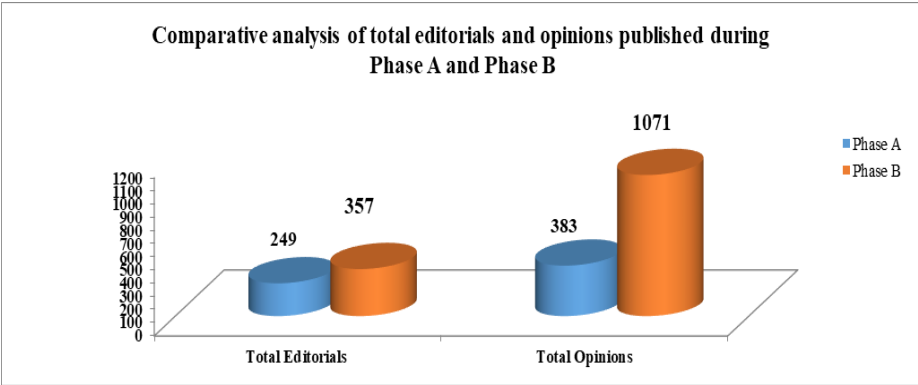
**Graph-1: Total Editorials and Opinions on US-Pakistan Relations in Phase A and B**



**Table 2: Comparative Analysis of Total Editorials and Opinions on US-Pakistan Relations in Phase A and B**

Phases	Total Editorials	Total Opinions
Phase A	249	383
Phase B	357	1071

**Graph-2: Total editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan Relations in Phase A and B**



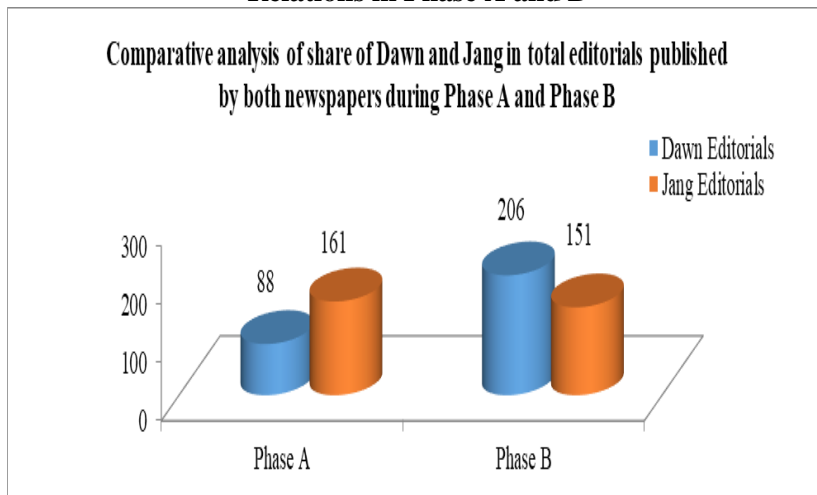
### b. Comparative analysis of share of editorials and opinions

The comparative analysis of the editorials and opinions published by *Dawn* and *Jang* during Phase A and Phase B indicated that *Jang* had highest share of 65% and 61% in total editorials and opinions published by both newspapers during Phase A. Similarly, *Jang* has also had the highest share of 59% as compared to *Dawn* in total opinions. However, *Dawn* had the highest share of 58% in total editorials published by both newspapers during Phase B, as compared to *Jang*. (Table-3, Graph-3).

**Table-3: Share of Editorials and Opinions on US-Pakistan Relations in Phase A and B**

Phases	Total Editorials		Total Opinions	
	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>Jang</i>	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>Jang</i>
Phase A	35%	65%	39%	61%
Phase B	58%	42%	41%	59%

**Graph-3: Share of Editorials and Opinions on US-Pakistan Relations in Phase A and B**



### c. Analysis of salience assigned to the editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations

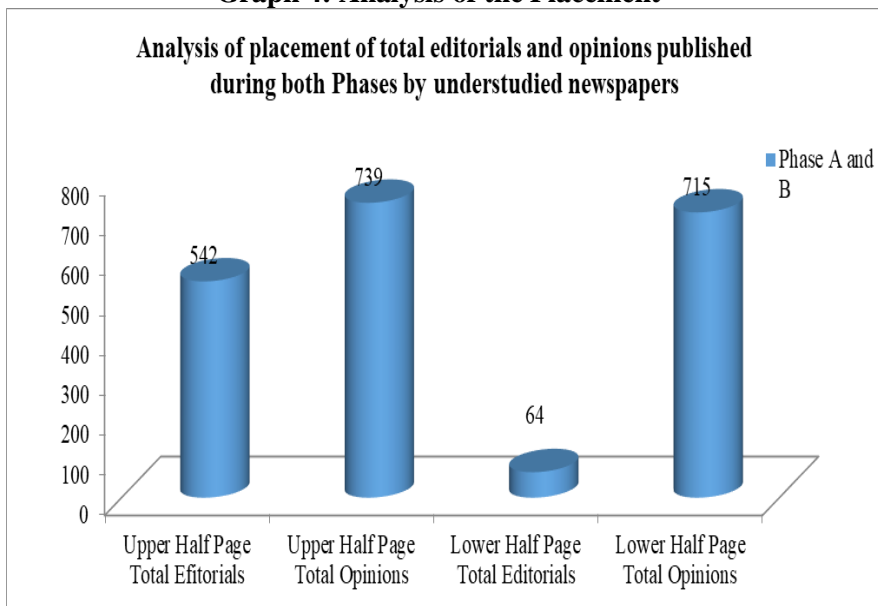
After an extensive analysis of the data of the editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations to measure the salience assigned by *Dawn* and *Jang* during Phase A and Phase B, the researcher has identified the placement of editorials and opinions, positioning of

editorials, length of opinion pieces and frequency of editorials and opinions as compared to *Jang* According to Conway et al. (2008) the first and foremost step of agenda setting is selection of an issue and the salience clues such as the placement, length, bold headlines convey the significance of an issue to the readers. Hence the analysis of data is further classified with respect to salience/prominence and frequency analysis of the editorials and opinions.

- i. ***Salience/prominence:*** To identify the salience or prominence assigned to US-Pakistan relations by understudied newspapers during the understudied period of ten years before and after 9/11, the researchers had examined placement of editorials and opinions, positioning of editorials and length of opinions as the salience cues.
- ii. ***Placement:*** Comparative analysis of the placement of total editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations by understudied newspapers during both phases (A+B) indicated that both newspapers had placed 542 editorials and 739 opinions at upper half of the page and total 64 editorials and 715 opinions at lower half of the page (Table 4, Graph 4). Moreover, further investigation into this showed that both newspapers had placed 231 editorials and 184 opinions at upper half of the page during Phase A. Similarly, both newspapers had placed 311 editorials and 555 opinions at the upper half of the page during Phase B. Furthermore the findings also indicated that both newspapers had placed 18 editorials and 199 opinions at lower half of the page during Phase A, 46 editorials and 516 opinions placed at lower half of the page during Phase B (Table 4.1, Table 4.2)

**Table-4: Analysis of Placement of Total Editorials and Opinions in Phase A and Phase B**

Phases	Upper Half Page		Lower Half Page	
	Total Editorials	Total Opinions	Total Editorials	Total Opinions
Phases A and B	542	739	64	715

**Graph 4: Analysis of the Placement****Table 4.1: Placement of Total Editorials and Opinions at Upper and Lower Half of the Page in Phase A and Phase B**

Items	Upper Half Page		Lower Half Page	
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase A	Phase B
Total Editorials	231	311	18	46
Total Opinions	184	555	199	516

### **Comparative analysis of share of placement of editorials and opinions by *Dawn* and *Jang* during Phase A and Phase B**

Comparative analysis of the data to find out the proportionate share of *Dawn* and *Jang* indicated that *Jang* had placed 70% of editorials at the upper half of the page as compared to *Dawn*'s 30% during Phase A, however, *Dawn* had placed highest share of editorials placed at upper half of the page as compared to *Jang*'s 49% in total editorials published and placed at upper half of the page by both newspapers during Phase B. Similarly the analysis also showed that *Dawn* had the highest share of opinions 65% and 64% of total opinions placed at upper half of the page during Phase A and B as compared to *Jang*'s 35% and 36%.

The comparative analysis of the data to find out the proportionate share of *Dawn* and *Jang* in total editorials and opinions placed at lower half of the page shows, *Dawn* had 100% share in total editorials published and placed at lower half of the page, however, *Jang* had the highest shares of 84% and 81% in total opinions published and placed at lower half of the page during Phase A and Phase B as compared to *Dawn*’s 16% and 19%.

**Table 5: Comparative Analysis of Share of Placement of Editorials and Opinions Phase A and Phase B**

Phases	Upper Half Page Editorials		Upper Half Page Opinions		Lower Half Page Editorials		Lower Half Page Opinions	
	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>Jang</i>	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>Jang</i>	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>Jang</i>	<i>Dawn</i>	<i>Jang</i>
Phase A	30%	70%	65%	35%	100%	0%	16%	84%
Phase B	51%	49%	64%	36%	100%	0%	19%	81%

iii. **Positioning:** Positioning analysis of total editorials published by understudied newspapers published during Phase A and Phase B combined indicated that both newspapers had positioned highest number of 418 editorials published on US-Pakistan relations published on US-Pakistan relations at the 1<sup>st</sup> place, 107 editorials at 2<sup>nd</sup> place, 60 editorials at 3<sup>rd</sup> place and 21 at 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box (Table 6).

**Table-6: Positioning Analysis of Total Editorials in Phase A and Phase B**

Phases	Positioning of Editorials			
	1 <sup>st</sup> Place	2 <sup>nd</sup> Place	3 <sup>rd</sup> Place	4 <sup>th</sup> Place
Phase A and B	418	107	60	21

**Comparative analysis of positioning of total editorials published during Phase A and Phase B**

The comparative analysis of the data to identify the positioning of editorials indicated that both newspapers had positioned 137 editorials at 1<sup>st</sup> place, 49 at 2<sup>nd</sup> place, 43 at 3<sup>rd</sup> place, 20 at 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box

during Phase A, similarly, 281 editorials at 1<sup>st</sup> place, 58 at 2<sup>nd</sup> place, 17 at 3<sup>rd</sup> place and 1 at 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box during Phase B (Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1: Comparative analysis of positioning of total editorials Phase A and Phase B**

Phases	Positioning of Editorials			
	1 <sup>st</sup> Place	2 <sup>nd</sup> Place	3 <sup>rd</sup> Place	4 <sup>th</sup> Place
Phase A	137	49	43	20
Phase B	281	58	17	1

- iv. **Length of total opinions:** Length analysis of total opinions published on US-Pakistan relations in understudied newspapers during Phase A and Phase B indicated that maximum numbers of opinions (582) and (474) were of 4 and 3 columns length, 273 opinions were of 2 columns length, the minimum numbers of opinions (37) were of 5 columns length, and a good number 89 opinions were of 6 columns length (Table 7).

**Table 7: Length Analysis of Total Opinions**

Phases	Length of Opinions on US-Pakistan Relations				
	2 Columns	3 Columns	4 Columns	5 Columns	6 Columns
Phase A and B	273	474	582	37	89

### **Comparative analysis of length of opinion pieces A and Phase B**

The comparative analysis of length of opinion pieces published by *Dawn* and *Jang* during Phase A and B indicated that both newspapers had published maximum numbers of 159 opinions published with 4 columns space, 120 opinions were of 3 columns length, 79 with 2 columns length and 24 opinions with 5 columns space, both newspapers had published a minimum number of 2 columns with 6 columns length. The length analysis of opinions published during Phase B showed the similar pattern where both newspapers had published the maximum numbers of 423 opinions with 4 columns space, 354 opinions were of 3 columns space and 194 opinions were of 2 columns length. However, there comparison showed that during Phase B both newspapers had published the minimum numbers of 13 opinion pieces with 5 columns space and 87

opinion pieces of 6 columns length as compared to 24 and 2 of Phase A. Moreover the length analysis also showed that the number of opinions with 4 columns, 3 columns, 2 columns and 6 columns published by both newspapers was also increased during Phase B.

**Table 7.1: Comparative analysis of Length of Opinion in Phase A and Phase B**

Phases	Comparative Analysis of Length of Opinions				
	2 Columns	3 Columns	4 Columns	5 Columns	6 Columns
Phase A	79	120	159	24	2
Phase B	194	354	423	13	87

**d. Comparative analysis of proportionate share of length of opinion pieces in total length of opinions published in Phase A and B**

Comparative analysis of the proportionate share of length of opinion pieces published by *Dawn* and *Jang* in total length of opinions published during Phase A indicated that *Dawn* had the highest shares of 72% and 63% in total length of opinions with 2 columns and 3 columns as compared to *Jang*’s 28% and 37%, however, *Jang* had the highest shares of 92% and 79% in total opinions with 4 columns and 5 columns length. Moreover both newspapers had 50% shares in opinions with 6 columns length. Similarly, the proportionate analysis of length of opinions published by *Dawn* and *Jang* in total length of opinions during phase B indicated that *Dawn* also had the highest shares of 71% and 63% in total opinions with 2 Columns and 3 Columns length space, moreover, *Jang* had the highest shares of 79%, 100% and 100% in total opinions with 4 columns, 5 columns and 6 columns length as compared to *Dawn*’s 21%, 0% and 0% (Table 7.2).

**e. Comparative analysis of the proportionate share of frequency of editorials and opinions published by *Dawn* and *Jang* in total frequency of editorials and opinions published by both newspapers during Phase A and B**

The comparative analysis of data to investigate the proportionate share of frequency of editorials and opinions published by *Dawn* and *Jang* in total frequency of editorials and opinions published by both newspapers during Phase A and B indicated that *Jang* had the highest shares of 65% and 61% in total frequency of editorials and opinions as compared to *Dawn*’s 35% and 31%. However, *Dawn* had the highest share of 58% in

frequency of total editorials published by both newspapers during Phase B, as compared to *Jang*'s 42%, whereas *Jang* had the highest share of 58% in total frequency of total opinions published by both newspapers during Phase B as compared to *Dawn*'s 42% (Table 8.2).

**Table 8.2: Proportionate Share of Frequency of Editorials and Opinions in Total Frequency of Editorials and Opinions in both Newspapers in Phase A and B**

Phases	Comparative Analysis of Frequency of Editorials and Opinions	
	Frequency of Total Editorials	Frequency of Total Opinions
<i>Dawn</i> Phase A	35%	39%
<i>Jang</i> Phase A	65%	61%
<i>Dawn</i> Phase B	58%	42%
<i>Jang</i> Phase B	42%	58%

### Discussion on findings of Phase A and Phase B

The researcher did a comprehensive comparative examination of the data available on US-Pakistan relations to investigate which newspaper among *Dawn* and *Jang* has given maximum prominence to US-Pakistan relations on their editorial pages. The detailed analysis of the data analyzed for Phase A: ten years before 9/11(post-Cold War era) and Phase B: ten years after 9/11 (Post 9/11 era) is presented below:

- I. Both newspapers had published 606 editorials and 1454 opinion pieces on US-Pakistan relations during Phase A and Phase B (Table 1, Graph 1).
- II. Placement analysis of total editorials and opinions suggested that out of 606 editorials and 1454 opinions, both newspapers had placed 542 editorials and 739 opinions on the upper half of the page, whereas 64 editorials and 715 opinions were placed on the lower half of the page (Table 4, Graph 4).
- III. Positioning analysis of total 606 editorials published on US-Pakistan relations in the understudied newspapers during both Phases A and B indicated that maximum number of 418 editorials were positioned at first place in the editorial column, a significant number of 107 editorials were positioned at the second place, 60 were on the third and 21 were positioned at the fourth place (Table 6).



- IV. Length analysis of total opinions published on US-Pakistan relations shows that both newspapers had published maximum number of 582 opinions with 4 columns space, 474 opinions were of 3 columns space, a significant number of 273 opinions were of 2 columns space, 89 opinions were of 5 columns length and the minimum number of 37 opinions were of 5 columns length (Table 7).
- V. Frequency analysis showed that the frequency of total editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations was 606 editorials and 1454 opinions (Table 8).

### **Phase A: Comparative analysis of *Dawn* and *Jang* ten years before 9/11**

Major findings of the data of editorials and opinions published by *Dawn* and *Jang* during Phase A are as follows:

1. Both newspapers published total 249 editorials and 383 opinions; *Jang* had the highest share of 65% in total editorials as compared to *Dawn*'s 35%. Similarly *Jang* also had the highest share of 61% in total opinions as compared to *Dawn*'s 39% (Table 2, Graph 2; Table 3, Graph 3).
2. The placement analysis of the total editorials indicated that both newspapers had placed the maximum numbers of 231 editorials on the upper half of the page and 18 on the lower half of the page out of which *Jang* had the highest share of 70% in total editorials placed at upper half of the page as compared to *Dawn*'s 30%, however *Dawn* had 100% share in total editorials placed at lower half of the page. The placement analysis of the total opinions indicated that both newspapers had placed maximum number of 199 opinions at the lower half of the page out of which *Jang* had the highest share of 84% and a total of 184 opinions were placed at upper half of the page, *Dawn* had the highest share of 65% as compared to *Jang*'s 35% (Table 4.1, Table 5).
3. Findings indicated that both newspapers had positioned 137 editorials at the top of the editorial box, 49 editorials at second, 43 editorials at third, and 20 editorials at fourth place of the editorial box. *Dawn* and *Jang* had the equal share of 50%, in total editorials positioned at first place. Findings also indicated that *Jang* had the highest share of 80%, 79%, 100% in total editorials placed at second, third and fourth place as compared to *Dawn*'s 20%, 21% and 0% (Table 6.1, Table 6.2).
4. Result of length analysis shows that both newspapers had published maximum number of 159 opinions with 4 columns length, 120

opinions of 3 columns length, 79 opinions with 2 columns length, 24 opinions with 5 columns length and 2 with 6 columns length. *Dawn* had the highest share of 72% and 63% in total opinions with 2 and 3 columns space as compared to *Jang*'s 28% and 37%, whereas *Jang* had the highest share of 92%, 79% share in total opinions with 4 and 5 columns length, both newspapers had an equal share of 50% in total opinions with 6 columns length (Table 7.1, Table 7.2).

5. The frequency of the editorials and opinions published by both newspapers on US-Pakistan relations was 249 and 383. *Jang* had the highest shares of 65% and 61% in total frequency of editorials and opinions as compared to *Dawn*'s 35% and 31% (Table 8, Table 8.1, Table 8.2).

### **Phase-B: Comparative analysis of *Dawn* and *Jang* Ten Years after 9/11**

Major findings of the comparative analysis of *Dawn* and *Jang* on Pakistan-America relations ten years after 9/11 show:

1. Total editorials and opinions published on US-Pakistan relations were 357 and 1071. *Dawn* had the highest share of 58% share in total editorials published in both newspapers on US-Pakistan relations as compared to *Jang*'s 42%, whereas *Jang* had the highest share of 59% in total opinions published by both newspapers on understudied issues as compared to *Dawn*'s 41% (Table 2, Table 3; Graph 2, Graph 3).
2. Placement analysis of total editorials and opinions published by both newspapers on US-Pakistan relations indicated that both newspapers had placed 311 editorials at the upper half of the page and 46 at the lower half of the page. *Jang* had 51% share in total editorials placed at upper half of the page as compared to *Dawn*'s 49%, however *Dawn* had 100% share in total editorials placed at lower half of the page. Moreover, both newspapers had placed 555 opinions at the upper half of the page and 516 at the lower half of the page. *Dawn* had the highest share of 64% in total opinion published by both newspapers on US-Pakistan relations, placed at upper half of the page as compared to *Jang*'s 36%, whereas *Jang* had the highest share of 81% of the total opinions published on US-Pakistan relations and placed at lower half of the page as compared to *Dawn*'s 29% (Table 4.1, Table 5).
3. Findings of positioning analysis show that both newspapers had positioned 281 editorials at the top of the editorial box, 58 editorials at the 2<sup>nd</sup> place, 17 at the 3<sup>rd</sup> place and 1 at the 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box. *Dawn* had positioned 56% and 71% of the editorials at the top

- and 2<sup>nd</sup> place of the editorial box as compared to *Jang*'s 44% and 29%, whereas *Jang* had the highest share of 59% and 100% in total editorials positioned at 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box as compared to *Dawns* 41% and 0% (Table 6.1, Table 6.2).
4. Comparative analysis of the length of opinions pieces published by both newspapers on US-Pakistan relations indicated that both newspapers had published 194 opinions with 2 columns length, 354 opinions with 3 columns length, 423 opinions with 4 columns length, 13 opinions with 5 columns length and 87 with 6 columns length. *Dawn* had the highest share of 71% and 63% in total opinions with 2 and 3 columns length as compare to 29% and 37% of *Jang*, whereas *Jang* had the highest shares of 79%, 100% and 100% in total opinions with 4, 5 and 6 columns length (Table 7.1, Table 7.2).
  5. Total frequency of editorials and opinions published by both newspapers (*Dawn* and *Jang*) on US-Pakistan relations was 357 and 1071. *Dawn* had the highest share of 58% in total editorials as compare to *Jang*'s 42%, whereas *Jang* had the highest share of 58% in total opinions as compare to *Dawn*'s 42% (Table 8.1, Table 8.2).

**Findings of Comparative analysis of both newspapers to identify the salience assigned and frequency of the editorials and opinions during Phase A and B: Ten years after 9/11**

1. Findings showed that out of total 606 editorials and 1454 opinions published by both newspapers (Table 1, Graph 1), *Jang* has the highest share in total editorials placed at upper half of the page during Phase A, whereas *Dawn* had the highest share in total editorials placed at upper half of the page during Phase B. However, *Dawn* had the highest share of 65% and 64% in total opinions placed at upper half of the page during Phase A and Phase B. Based on the findings I.5.4, it can also be concluded that *Dawn* had 100% share in total editorials positioned at the lower half of the page whereas *Jang* had the highest shares of 84% and 81% in total opinions placed at lower half of the page.
2. The prominence clues of the editorials and opinions also include the positioning of editorials in editorial box and the length of the opinions. The findings 2.7 and 3 of the data analyzed to investigate the positioning of the editorials indicated that both newspapers had placed the highest number of 281 editorials on at the top of the editorial box. Findings show that both newspapers had equal share in total editorials positioned at the top of the editorial box during Phase A, whereas *Dawn* had the highest share of 56% in total editorials positioned at the top of the editorial box. Moreover, *Jang* had highest

- share of 80% in editorials positioned at 2<sup>nd</sup> place in editorial box, whereas *Dawn* had the 71% share in editorials positioned during Phase B. Furthermore, *Jang* also had the highest shares of 79%, 100%, 59% and 100% in total editorials positioned 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> place in editorial box during Phase A and Phase B. (Table 4, Table 4.1, Table 5, Table 6, Table 6.1, Table 6.2; Graph 4).
3. Similarly the findings of the data analyzed to investigate the length of the opinion indicated that both newspapers had published highest number (423) of opinions of 4 columns length, out of which length *Jang* had the highest share of 92% and 71% during Phase A and Phase B. *Jang* also had the highest share in opinions with 5 and 6 columns length. However, in opinions with 2 Columns and 3 Columns, *Dawn* had the highest shares of 71%, 63%, 71% and 63% during Phase A and B (Table 7, Table 7.1, Table 7.2). Based on the abovementioned findings of placement, positioning and length analysis it can be concluded that though both newspapers had assigned maximum salience to US-Pakistan relations in both phases, *Dawn* had assigned maximum salience to this issue by placing maximum numbers of editorials and opinions at the upper half of the page in both phases, moreover positioned maximum numbers of editorials at the top of the editorial box, and published maximum numbers of opinions with 3 columns length, placed at upper half of the page and of 2 columns space at full length of the page during Phase A and B.
  4. The findings of the comparative analysis of *Dawn* and *Jang* to identify which newspaper has published more (Frequency) editorials and opinion pieces on US-Pakistan relations, show that total 606 editorials published by both newspapers (Table 1, Table 3, Table 8; Graph 1 Graph 3), *Jang* had the highest share of 65% in total frequency (249) of editorials published during Phase A whereas *Dawn* had the highest share of 58% in total frequency (357) of editorials published during Phase B. Moreover, *Jang* had the highest share of 61% and 59% in total opinions (383 Phase A) (1071 Phase B) published by both newspapers during Phase A and B (Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, Table 8.1, Table 8.2; Graph 1, Graph 2, Graph 3). Hence on the basis of the proportionate shares it can be concluded that *Jang* had published more editorials and opinions on US-Pakistan relations during Phase A, and Phase B as compared to *Dawn*.

## Conclusion

Based on the abovementioned findings it can be concluded that both newspapers have assigned maximum salience to US-Pakistan relations

by publishing maximum numbers of 606 editorials and 1455 opinions during the understudied period of ten years before and after 9/11. This shows the importance they assigned to an issue which has been quite significant in Pakistan's history. However, there has been a difference in the amount of importance given by both newspapers to this issue in Phase A and Phase B. The findings of this research indicate that both publications gave more prominence and importance to US-Pakistan relations in the post 9/11 era i.e. which is indicated by Phase B of this research. As compared to 249 editorials and 383 opinions published by *Jang* and *Dawn* in the post-Cold War era on the topic of US-Pakistan relations, 357 editorials and 1071 opinions were published by them in Phase B that is the post 9/11 period. This clearly indicates that the issue received more importance in the second phase. In addition to the importance given by the publications evident from the total number of editorials, both newspapers, by way of placement of editorials and columns, made it clear that the US-Pakistan relations were of prime consideration for the media. The researcher observed a slight difference in the treatment of the US-Pakistan ties in the two phases studied for this research but overall, the significance has been consistent. In Phase A of the understudied period, *Jang* and *Dawn* collectively placed a maximum number of 231 editorials at the upper half of the page, while the same publications published a total of 311 editorials in the same position in Phase B. Therefore, they deemed the issue more important in the second phase of the study. This trend is consistent in the placement of columns by both newspapers during Phase A and B. as compared to 184 columns placed by both publications at the upper half of the page in Phase A, the figure rose significantly to 555 columns published in the same position in Phase B. Therefore, it can be deduced that the two news organizations gave more importance of the Pak-US relations in the post 9/11 era.

Similarly both newspapers placed 199 opinions at the lower half of the page during Phase A and 555 opinions at upper half of the page during Phase B, and published maximum numbers of 192 opinions with 3 columns length during Phase A and 336 opinions with 4 columns length during Phase B. Moreover, both newspapers published the editorials and opinions in both phases with a frequency of 606 editorials and 1455 opinions.

The comparative analysis of *Dawn* and *Jang* also indicated that both newspapers had published maximum numbers of editorials and opinions during Phase B (Post 9/11 era) as compared to Phase A (post-cold war era). Based on the abovementioned findings and analysis it can also be assumed that comparatively *Jang* had assigned more importance

to US-Pakistan relations in both Phases by publishing more editorials and opinions in both phase A and B.

The comparative analysis is also indicative of the fact that US-Pakistan relations was among the top agendas of *Dawn* and *Jang* and the examination of the salience or prominence assigned to this issue was evident from the frequency, placement, positioning and length of the editorials and opinions. However, based on the findings and analysis it can also be concluded that the frequency of editorials and opinions during Phase A was comparatively less than the frequency observed by the researcher during Phase B that is ten years after 9/11. This also can be concluded that both newspapers had published less during post-cold war (ten years before 9/11) though the placement, positioning and length of the editorials and opinions showed the significance of issues related to US-Pakistan relations. Hence during disengagement newspaper policies were same as in the engagement period, but there is a significant difference in total number of editorials and opinions published during Phase B, their placement, positioning and length.

The comparative analysis to identify the proportionate share of *Dawn* and *Jang* in total numbers of editorials and opinions, placement of editorials and opinions, positioning of editorials in editorial box, length of opinions and frequency of editorials and opinions during ten years before and after 9/11 indicated that during Phase A: Ten years before 9/11 showed that both newspapers had placed the maximum numbers of editorials on the upper half of the page, out of which *Jang* had the highest share of 70% in total editorials placed prominently at upper half of the page as compared to *Dawn*'s 30%. However, all of *Dawn*'s editorials studied for this research were placed at lower half of the page, hence making *Dawn*'s share in this category 100% in total editorials. The placement analysis of the total opinions published at the lower half of the page indicated that *Jang* had the highest share of 84% in opinions placed at upper half of the page, while *Dawn* had the highest share of 65% as compared to *Jang*'s 35% (Table 4.1, Table 5).

According to placement of editorials in the editorial box, most editorials by both newspapers were published on the most prominent place, that is, in the first position as is indicated in findings I.5.6 positioned 137 editorials at the top of the editorial box, 49 editorials at second, 43 editorials at third, and 20 editorials at fourth place of the editorial box. *Dawn* and *Jang* had the equal share of 50%, in total editorials positioned at first place, therefore they gave equal importance to the issue while placing the editorials in the first position of the editorial box. Findings also indicated that *Jang* had the highest share of 80%, 79%, 100% in total editorials placed at second, third and fourth

place as compared to *Dawn*'s 20%, 21% and 0% (Table 6.1, Table 6.2). The trend of both newspapers giving more significance to the US-Pakistan relationship is reinforced by their positioning of editorials covering the topic in Phase A and B. On all four positions, *Dawn* and *Jang* printed more editorials in Phase B than in Phase A (Table 6.1).

Newspaper columns are not only an important medium of spreading opinion by renowned scholars and policy experts on a particular domain; they play the hugely significant role of shaping public opinion too. Therefore, the space given to a column in terms of the number of columns determines the importance a newspaper gives to the issue or the topic of the article. In this respect too, it becomes rather obvious that the time period after the occurrence of 9/11 was considered relatively more important by newspapers as compared to the post-Cold War period. While only 2 articles of 6 columns (the maximum space studied for this research) appeared in Phase A on the issue in both newspapers, the figure rose exponentially to 87 in Phase B. From 159 4-column articles in Phase A, the number increased to 423 in Phase B. As compared to 120 3-column articles on US-Pakistan ties in Phase A, both publications printed 354 articles on the same space in Phase B. In 2-column articles in Phase A and B, the number increased from 79 to 194 (Table 7.1).

The findings of the research also adequately answer the research question that how much importance was given to the issue of US-Pakistan relationship by two prominent newspapers of Pakistan, *Jang* and *Dawn*, in the time period before and after 9/11. The results suggest that the newspapers gave more significance to the issue in the post 9/11 era when the US had suffered a tremendous setback in the form of terrorism incidents on its causing loss of hundreds of lives and property. The period following the 9/11 attack had been quite tumultuous for both the US and Pakistan which was faced with the question of supporting the former in its War against Terrorism. Pakistan, being the front-line ally, had to deal with this new phase in its relationship with the US cautiously. The issue was indeed of significance and the mass media, playing its role of highlighting the timeliest and important topics, gave the issue the coverage it deserved. And although this subject was covered in both understudied phases, statistics show that it garnered more attraction the second phase. Moreover, on the basis of the abovementioned findings it can also be concluded that both newspapers had assigned maximum salience to US-Pakistan relations, however the comparative analysis of both phases indicated that *Jang* had assigned maximum salience to US-Pakistan relations, in terms of placement, positioning, length and frequency.