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# Mapping of Pakistani Media, Society and Culture in the Mainstream Print Media of the United Kingdom and the United States

#### Professor Dr. Shahzad Ali,

Institute of Media and Communication Studies, Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan. Email address: <a href="mailto:shahzadmasscomm@bzu.edu.pk">shahzadmasscomm@bzu.edu.pk</a>

## Rabia Sana (Corresponding author)

Lecturer,

University Institute of Physical Therapy, UOL, Lahore. Email: rabia.sana@rsmi.uol.edu.pk

#### Abstract

This paper interrogated the Western media perception regarding Pakistani society, culture, image and media. It was the developing concern of Western electronic and print media to discuss the various issues related to Pakistan and mainly politics, international relations, society and culture were stressed upon. The present study explored the coverage of American and British press (the Telegraph, the Guardian, the New York Times & the Washington Post) regarding Pakistan. For this reason, the data got from the following newspapers the Telegraph, the Guardian, the New York Times& the Washington Post for the three specific months. The findings revealed that overall negative impression was found in American and British newspapers regarding Pakistani society, culture and media. Pakistani culture was attributed with patriarchal, male chauvinistic with blend of conservative's tribal norms; extremism, rigidity, violent behavior and religious fanaticism. Women were shown as living in shabby conditions and they were deprived of their fundamental rights. The issues of crime against women, especially in the countryside about domestic violence, acid burning, and abused rape were highlighted. However, softer tone was depicted for pro-Western, liberals' individuals, NGOs and other elements as compared to the right-wing groups which received more negative frames. Overall the negative issues related to natural disasters, over population, corruption, mismanagement, poor human rights, pervasiveness of conservative's rightwing groups, and insecurity for journalists dominated the coverage.

**Key Words:** Pakistani media, Society, Culture, Print media, the Telegraph, the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Guardian and Framing.

#### Introduction

Pakistan emerged as a sovereign state on the map of the world on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1947. It was Muslim dominated country whose current estimated population is 207,774,520 (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017). This made Pakistan world's fifth most populated country in the world. There were 97% of the population Muslim and remaining population comprised of Christian, Hindus and others. Moreover, majority belonged to Sunni sect and significant minority of Shias (Oxford University Press, 2010).

There was also cultural and ethnic diversity. Its major ethnic groups were Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sindhis, Saraikis, Mahajirs, Baloch and Kashmiries (Stacy, 2003).

Pakistan had developing economy which was semi industrialized but basically it was agrarian (Fact File: Government of Pakistan, 2012). From media sphere, the country had growing industry. Pakistan media provides information through television, radio, newspapers, magazine, and cinema. Currently, with the popularity of social media, it was increasing its impact on the youngsters. After 2000, Pakistan saw tremendous growth in media perspective. Number of new channels and radio stations started to work in the country. There were approximately 85 channels, 155 radio stations, 286 newspapers and 68 weeklies shaping public opinion in Pakistan (Eijaz, Rehman, Ahmad, Butt, 2014).

Pakistan media had played remarkable role regarding creating public awareness, political socialization and uniting the public. After 9/11 Pakistan faced terrorism and combated against it. In which country lost over 49000 civilians and 100 billion dollars of property. In that scenario Pakistani media encouraged the nation to combat against the threat of terrorism and support security agencies that were playing active role in war against terrorism (Hassan, 2014). As far as Pakistani media was growing fast but it also had certain challenges such as security issues, financial constraints, lack of accountability, lack of professional training and commercialization Eijaz, Rehman, Ahmad, Butt, 2014). According to Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2012) Pakistan was ranked the second most dangerous country for the journalists in 2011. As certain reports mentioned the killings of Pakistani media personals.

However, there was challenging scenario for Pakistani media but there were number of private and government media organizations working. The country which had internal and external security concerns, its media had major responsibility. It should ensure transparency, objectivity and fairness in the coverage any political, nonpolitical or national international issues. For guiding the media, there were certain code of ethics established in Pakistan such as Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) and Press Council of Pakistan (PCP). There were few others which formulated in private capacity like Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors (CPNE), All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS). Despite these rules and regulations, the situation of media ethics and standards needed improvement (Media Commission Report, 2013).

Nevertheless, there was enormous research had been conducted which explored Pakistani media, society and culture from various aspects. But there was need to gauge how western media looked at Pakistan. The present article attempted to explore the coverage of American and British press (the Telegraph, the Guardian, the New York Times& the Washington Post) regarding Pakistani society, culture, media, religion and politics. For this purpose, the media framing approach had been taken as theoretical framework which was explained below.

#### **Media Framing**

"Frame" is a term which commonly known as "topic" but Reese (2007) considered it as "organizing" and "structuring" work. Frame basically identified the prominent aspects of the issue (de Vreese, 2005). According to Bateson (1972) frames demarcated "a class or set of messages (or meaningful actions)" (p.186), accordingly, people understood and estimated the social reality in framed communication (Clair, 1993). Similarly, Reese (2001) put it: "frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p.11). Frames provided a structure to a news story accordingly people understand these messages. On the other hand, D'Angelo (2002) explained the process of construction of frames and identified the various factors which played pivotal role in shaping and influencing public opinion. Likewise, VanGorp (2007) discussed media frames as a persuasive provocation that help the consumer of media contents to perceive the issue in a peculiar context

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Media frames are significantly employed by the reporters in construction of social reality. The media persons deliberately used various sources and angles while developing and constructing a news story (McCullagh, 2002; Reese, 2001). Furthermore, Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) emphasized that framing brought "attitudinal outcomes" on the target audience and these effects were not due to media content but rather the way an issue was presented.

The above-mentioned discussion concluded that media selectively chose sources, information and shaped them with perspective and angles. By following this framing framework, the present study explored that how Western press presented the image of Pakistani society, media and culture. The following literature discussed how Pakistani and media from other countries looked at Pakistani culture and society.

## Studies on Pakistani Media Culture and Society

There has been enormous research conducted on Pakistan which focused on its culture, ethnicity, cultural diversity, societal issues, journalism and Pakistan image. As Khan (2008) explored American press and concluded that American newspapers framed Pakistan image in negative stance. However, after 9/11 Pakistan was declared as US alley in war on terror but the US media did not look at Pakistan as a friendly country.

Contrary to this, Shabir, Hussain and Iqbal (2014) noticed positive representation of Pakistan in American leading press during 2008 to 2010. The favorable framing of Pakistan was observed by The Washington Post and The New York Times editorials. The newspapers stressed on the issues like Zardari Government, political atmosphere in Pakistan, continuity of American policies, Pak-US relations and Pakistan's struggle against terrorism. However, the stories related to Taliban, Al-Qaida and religious issues received negative framing.

In certain studies Pakistan was projected as instable and unruly country where is political chaos and disturbance. It was argued that there were military governments, drug trafficking, violation of human rights and corruption in the country (Duncan, 1989). Similarly, Lamb (1991) depicted political situation under Benazir government and portrayed transition period of Pakistan from military rule to the civilian government. The book predicted the bleak future for Pakistan. Lamb stressed on women status, economic disparity, political chaos, tribal conflicts, drug trafficking and problematic Pakistan's relations with India and Afghanistan. Amnesty International (2006) reported in its last sixteen years report that Pakistan was among those countries that have poor human right records. It noted many incidents of disappearance of people suspected links with Al Qaida. It also blamed security agencies, misstatement of government officials too.

The former discussion indicated that the international agencies and authors presented the bleak picture of Pakistan and highlighted those incidents which projected Pakistan as a negative, troublesome and chaotic country.

However, Pakistan was also discussed in world media and even by the Pakistani media from different perspective of the society. More prominently, the women plight in Pakistan was the major concerns of Pakistani and foreign media. It was noted that Pakistani media objectified women. The females were depicted as weaker and inferior to men. Such type of projection was noted in news broadcast, drama and advertising media (Rameez ul Huda & Ali, 2015). Mostly Pakistani media communicated the message of inferiority in women. Women were shown as feeble, immature, dependent, irrational and conspiratorial. However, there educational success, career and their strong role for family were hardly discussed (Javed, 2005).

Conversely, Rehman (2012) discussed international media regarding the image of Pakistani females. Pakistani females received negative portrayal in international media. The secular Pakistani females

were presented as successful ladies. However, religion was negatively associated with Pakistani Muslim women. They were shown as backward while the women who follow Islam and live successful lives were hardly mentioned.

The previous literature looked at how Pakistani and international authors projected Pakistan image, society and media. However, the present study explored that how the American and British press portrayed Pakistan image, culture, religion and politics. For this study the following objective and research questions were formulated.

## **Major Objective of the Study**

• To explore the nature and extent of coverage and portrayal of Pakistan in the leading newspapers of UK and the US.

#### **Research Questions**

- 1. Did selected newspapers of America and Britain portray Pakistani society, art, culture and sports in a negative frame?
- 2. Did the issues relate to Pakistani media, religion and politics frame in an unfavorable stance by the British and American newspapers?
- 3. How Pakistani society, religion, media and politics are framed in the American and British newspapers?

## **Hypothesis**

- Pakistani society, art, culture and sports would likely to receive more negative slants than positive coverage in British and American newspapers
- The overall ratio of unfavorable portrayal of Pakistan related to the issues of media, religion and politics would be greater as compared to favorable stance.

#### Methods

The study would be primarily based on method of content analysis. It would analyze the coverage and image of Pakistan in the four leading newspapers, two each from UK (the Telegraph & the Guardian) & the US (the New York Times & the Washington Post) in both the qualitatively and quantitatively manner. The all types of news items related to the issue as well as the articles and the editorials would be analyzed during the specified period.

#### **Population of the Study**

The population for the study was comprised of news stories, articles, features, editorials and letters to the editor related to Pakistani society, media, religion, politics and arts published in the four selected newspapers i.e. the Telegraph, the Guardian, the New York Times& the Washington Post for three month (April –June, 2011). The required news, editorial and other contents of the four newspapers were retrieved from by utilizing the two data bases-Factiva and the Lexis-Nexis electronic database by using the key words like Pakistan, media, Pakistan culture, sports, arts, religion, politics etc. Furthermore, the entire population was taken as a sample, in other words the census study was applied in order to analyze the entire population- the all relevant contents appeared in the four leading newspapers of UK and the US about Pakistan.

#### **Categories**

The following categories were applied for the analysis of data.

- i. Society, Culture and Sports
- ii. Pakistani Media and Journalists
- iii. Islam and Religious political parties

#### **Operationalization of the Categories**

#### Society, Culture and Sports

The category comprised of all sort of news items, articles and features depicting the activities of different social group, rituals, glimpses of social life, cultural activities and above all sports reporting especially of popular game cricket. The contents which communicate about crimes against women, acid throwing cases, rape victims, corruption, riots, sectarianism, ethnic clashes, protests, demonstrations and other social problems. It also comprised of such stories which highlight and brief the readers about the philanthropic social services of unsung heroes and contributions of NGOs etc.

#### Pakistani Media and Journalists

It comprised of all sort of appreciative and critical news stories and articles about the role of Pakistani print and electronic media in creating awareness regarding political, social, cultural and world affairs; the stories reflect the situation of freedom of press, growth of electronic media, propaganda campaign of the media, role of TV anchors in manipulation of information and opinion building, killings of the journalists by terrorist organizations, right wing or pro-Western inclined media etc.

#### **Islam and Religious Political Parties**

This category comprised of all sort of news items and articles which cover various aspects of Islamic teachings, Jihadi forces, rights of women in Islam, radical and moderate Muslims, history and civilization of Islam; the stories which communicate about political and militant activities of religious political parties, their future and pervasiveness as well as issues like democracy and religious parties, finally penetration of extremism and role religious political parties.

#### The Unit of Analysis

The four units of the published contents were selected in order to analyze the portrayal of Pakistan in the selected newspapers of UK and the United States. The units of analysis of the study were, News stories, Articles/ Features, Editorials, Letters to the Editor.

## **Coding Instructions**

Each paragraph of the selected publication was coded as one of three main slant categories-positive, negative and neutral-by considering the likelihood of their cultivation of positive, negative or neutral impression regarding the portrayal of Pakistan in the four leading newspapers of UK & the United States.

#### **Positive Slant**

If Pakistan as a peace-loving country and Pakistanis as tolerant, progressive and as rational human beings were presented in the published paragraph, it would be described as positive depiction of Pakistan and Pakistanis. If the contribution of media in restoration of Chief Justice of Pakistan is hailed, the journalists are rendering their services without any fear, media is responsible, TV anchors never build stories on the pretext of conspiracies theories or speculation, and such published paragraph would be coded as positive. If the paragraph about Islam, Muslims and fundamental teachings as well as values communicates that Islam does not support terrorism and Muslims are not extremists; appreciation of Islamic code of life, praise of the Holy Persons and Places, the religion considered males and females equal with regard to the fundamental rights, such paragraph, without any reluctance would be termed as positive.

#### **Negative Slant**

If the published paragraph about Pakistan as a state which nurture terrorism, sponsor of terrorist groups, as a fundamentalist, extremist and conservative country and portrayed Pakistanis as rigid, volatile, religious zealots, cynical, pessimistic, barbaric, uncivilized and enemy of peace, it would surely be coded as negative slant. If the published paragraph about society, culture, art, sports, status of women and media freedom describes that society is on the way of deterioration, social fabrics of in the context of interaction among various ethnic, political and religious groups are moving towards disintegrations, hatred and intolerance are the order of the day, Pakistan as the most dangerous country for the journalists, media is not free, TV anchors cultivate wave of Anti-Americanism and speculate, create hype and propagate in the light of conspiracy theories, women are deprived from their fundamental rights, discrimination on the basis of caste, color or creed, in these context of impression, such paragraph without any reluctance would be coded as negative.

#### **Neutral Slant**

The sentences of each published paragraph which don't clearly mention emphasis on either positive or negative aspects of image of Pakistan about her coverage in the context of society, culture, art, sports, political, economic and social life, terrorism and Islam would be coded as neutral slant

#### **Findings**

The findings of the research are discussed below:

#### **Quantitative Findings**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative Percent
Society, Culture and Sports etc.	28	9.7	9.7	85.1
Pakistani Media and Journalists	6	2.1	2.1	93.8
Islam and Religious Political Parties	5	1.7	1.7	95.5
Total	289	100.0	100.0	

**Table 1:** Distribution of the Coverage of Pakistan in the mirror of Subjects/Topics in the four selected Newspapers of UK and the US

The result depicts that the categories of Society, Culture and Sports and Pakistani government got coverage with the ratio of 34(11.8), 28(9.7) and 22(7.6) respectively in the both UK and US newspapers during the specific time period i.e. April-June 2011.

Similarly, the three categories Islam, religious and political parties share the equal status due to equal number of the coverage which was 5(1.7), each category received in the newspapers.

It is described that the total score in terms of coverage-news and articles about Pakistani media& journalists was 6(2.1) out of cumulative score of 289 comprised of news items, articles, leading articles, features and letters to the editor etc.

	ID of the newspapers				
	The Telegraph	The Guardian	The New York Times	The Washington Post	Total
Pakistani Media and Journalists	0 .0%	3 50.0%	3 50.0%	0.0%	6 100.0%
Society, Culture and Sports etc.	5 17.9%	13 46.4%	5 17.9%	5 17.9%	28 100.0%

**Table 2:** Cumulative Cross tabulation Distribution of Topics in the Selected Newspapers

In the category of Society, culture and sports, the Guardian stood first with the ratio of 13 (46.4) out of 28 cumulative coverage in the four newspapers. It is interesting to mention here that not a single item about Islam and religious political parties was published in the Guardian. Similarly, daily Telegraph and the Washington Post did not give any coverage to the category Pak-India relations and nuclear program respectively. Both UK papers did not pay any heed in all types of the contents to the category of Pak-China relations in the given time period of three month.

	Positive N (%)	Negative N (%)	Neutral N (%)	Total
Society, Culture and Sports	92 (40.2)	69 (30.1)	68 (29.7)	229
Pakistani Media and Journalists	6 (11.8)	34 (66.6)	11 (21.6)	51

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Islam and Religious Political Parties	6 (11.8)	34 (66.6)	11 (21.6)	51
Total	476 (26.7)	794 (44.5)	515 (28.8)	1785

**Table 3:** Cumulative Distribution of Subjects of the Contents by Slant in the Four selected Newspapers (April-June 2011)

The table above explained that categories related to Pakistan government and Society, culture and sports received greater unfavorable slant which calculated in percentile were 44.5%. Total positive stores were 26.7% and neutral 28.8%.

#### **Hypotheses Testing**

The first hypothesis predicted that Pakistani society, art, culture and sports would likely to receive more negative slants than positive coverage in both the news items and articles appeared in the newspapers. The hypothesis was not supported because the contents related to the category of Pakistani society, art, culture and sports received more positive slants (92, 40.2%) than negative slants (69, 30.1%) out of total 229 paragraphs appeared in the four newspapers.

The second hypothesis predicted that the Pakistani media would likely to receive more unfavorable than favorable coverage in the four newspapers. The findings of the study describe that the total ratio of unfavorable coverage was calculated 146 out of 289 news items. It was explored that the overall impression of all six articles about Pakistan media was unfavorable on the larger landscape. While the distribution of negative and positive slants reflect that the Pakistani media and journalists received 34, 66.6% paragraphs with blend of negative coverage and the ratio of positive slant was found 6, 11.8% out of total 51 paragraphs in the newspapers. Hence the prediction came true and the hypothesis was strongly supported.

## **Qualitative Findings**

By conducting the qualitative analysis of American and British newspapers regarding Pakistani society, media, religion and art, the following themes were emerged.

#### Pakistani Journalists and Media

The newspapers presented mix opinion about the role and contribution of media in Pakistan. On one side the role of media persons in restoration and consolidation of democracy was acknowledged, while on other side some section of press was too criticized. For Instance, the Guardian in its publication of June 13, 2011 identified that some TV channel for the sake of rating used the tactics of sensationalism with blend of conspiracy theories. The newspapers also tried to paint this picture about some segment of the media that political parties, civil and military establishments systematically used them as a tool in order to manipulate public opinion. The powerful elite pressurized the media organization by using every fair and unfair means in the garb of bribe in order to win favor or otherwise the media persons those unwilling to work on the agenda of the establishment, they were forced, intimidated, harassed, torture or even killed. Idiomatically speaking the stick and carrot policy has been used by the successive regimes by and large in order to control and regulate the media and journalists. Moreover, the Guardian in its publication of June 13, 2011 acknowledged the policy of General Pervez Musharraf, then President of Pakistan, which permitted

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the private sector to launch TV news channels. The boom of new channels has not only created lot of new jobs but also politically socialized the audiences with the help of numerous political talk shows which promoted the culture of hot debate which culminated in the resignation of General Musharraf. The newspaper also acknowledged that media person on TV screen became more courageous, outspoken and critical against the military establishment.

The Guardian in its publication of June 20, 2011 described Pakistan as the most insecure and dangerous country for the journalists. See the following excerpt of published news items in the Guardian:

"With 16 journalists killed in the past 18 months, Pakistan is the world's most dangerous country for journalists. Reporters die in suicide bombs, political violence and assassination, targeted by both Islamist militants and government agents..." (The Guardian, 2011)

The New York Times in its publication of June 12, 2011 also leveled the similar charges against the establishment about the killings of journalists. See the following extract of the news item published in the New York Times which portrayed the people at the helm of affairs as killer of media practitioners, but no substantive evidence was provided:

"Journalists are shot like stray dogs in Pakistan -- easily killed because their assassins sit at the pinnacle of power" ... (The New York Times, 2011)

It is interesting to highlight here that the Guardian in its publication of May 12, 2011 described some TV anchors of political Talk shows as secular mullahs as well as critically commented on the inclination towards rightwing school of thought. See the following extract of the Guardian:

"Chat show hosts are the secular mullahs of modern Pakistan: fist-banging populists who preach to the nation over supper, often through a rightwing lens" (The Guardian, 2011)

It is convenient to conclude that the newspapers of both the countries presented the mix picture in the mind of readers about the image of Pakistani media and Journalists. The role of some segment of press was highly appreciated while the pro rightwing media was criticized. The bottom line is Pakistan was depicted as the world most dangerous country for the media practitioners and above all, the US and British media malign the military and ISI for using bullying tactics in order to mute the dissent voices within media.

#### Pakistani Society, Art and Culture

The newspapers by and large manipulated to paint the negative picture of Pakistani society while describing her culture with attributes of patriarchal, male chauvinistic with blend of conservative's tribal norms; extremism, rigidity, violent behavior and religious fanaticism were tagged as an identity clues for Pakistani people and society. The media further tarnished the image of the society by propagating that adoption of fashion industry and performing art by the females was denounced in this conservative's male chauvinistic society. The newspapers tried to strike last nail in the coffin by declaring that in this society there has been no respect for human rights, civil liberties and above all women were deprived of their fundamental rights.

Nevertheless, couple of positive stories were also published which to some extent tried to erase scars and strains of extremism from the face of the people of this land of pure. As the Guardian in its publication of June 25, 2011 published a feature story about the volunteer meritorious services of unsung hero for sheltering, tracking runaways, lost and stray children to tracing and handing over the lost children to their parents. It was the praiseworthy story about Mr. Khokhar of Larkana, province

of Sindh who was poor and uneducated barber. The newspaper appreciated and projected his services by highlighting his message and address of his NGO. See the following extract of the Guardian:

"After retirement, people usually grow a beard and sit in a corner of the mosque to please God, he says. But I believe that to serve humanity is the biggest way to please God. I cannot retire. The Khidmat-e-Masoom Centre is at Moenjodaro Airport Rd, Larkana, Pakistan, 00-92-74-4056599" (The Guardian, 2011)

Similarly, the New York Times in its publication of June 26, 2011 published a positive feature story about the artistic skill of uneducated Pakistan painters who paints the exterior bodies of the truck. The writer was impressed with cordial and frank behavior of the painters while answering the questions. See the following extract of the New York Times:

"What I found at the Pakistani workshops was a pride of design and a willingness to answer questions -- and to show off their creations to a former long-haul trucker" (The New York Times, 2011)

Lastly, the Guardian in its publication of April 8, 2011 published a favorable story about Pakistani Sesame Street project under the US aid program. The story framed the positive picture as it highlighted its objectives that Pakistani's Sesame Street for the period of four years would be funded by US \$20m grant. The Sesame street would comprise of radio show, mobile TV vans for the remote rural areas and a travelling Muppet show comprise of 78 episodes in Urdu and 56 episodes in regional languages. The program aims to reach 3 million kids. The public service messages on the issues of health, sanitary and education will also be fronted by the Muppet show. It aims to reach 95 million people.

In the nutshell, it can be concluded that the newspapers cultivated and highlighted dominantly the dark and negative aspects of Pakistani society. However, the credit goes to the newspapers for publishing a couple of positive stories about the social services and artistic skills of unsung heroes of Pakistan. On the contrary, it is an established fact that the ratio of news, articles and features about sports, art and culture in favorable tone was explored nominal in comparison of the unfavorable stories of Pakistani people and society.

#### Judicial System of Pakistan and Mukhtar Mai

The published contents about conditions of women with special reference to Mukhtar Mai case in the selected newspapers dominantly cultivate this picture in the minds of the readers that women were living in shabby conditions and they were deprived of their fundamental rights. It was projected that the cases of crime against women especially in the countryside about domestic violence, acid burning, abused rape and molestation were increasing day by day in Pakistan. The Guardian in its publication of June 24, 2011 highlighted that in Pakistan the condition of women is deteriorating, and the women are failing to have the rights that Islam has bestowed on them. In the cases of adultery or illegitimate relationships women are treated badly and sentenced to be death stone. It was also propagated that Pakistan has high ratio of infamous cases of dowry murders, honor killing, *vani* acid attacks and early marriages.

The New York Times in its publication of April 22, 2011 narrated the precise profile of Mukhtar Mai by acknowledging her services, a woman from Pakistan, internationally famous as the human right activist, raised her voice for oppressed and suppressed women in Pakistan. Supreme Court announced that it would uphold the acquittals of 5 or 6 men accused in the gang rape of Mukhtar Mai. While covering the verdict of Supreme Court against Mukhtar Mai, the decision was described in unfavorable manner. She was projected as a great advocate of women rights and her contributions for

the justice of rape victim were highly praised and appreciated by the newspapers. The judicial system of the country was described in negative manner. See the following self-explanatory extract of the story published in the Washington Post on April 22, 2011:

"Rights advocates in Pakistan called Thursday's verdict a travesty of justice and said it showed the country's judicial system to be patriarchal and prejudiced against women." (Washington post, 2011)

The bottom line of the analysis of the content on the issue precisely communicates that Mukhtar Mai 's stance was played up in positive and favorable manners while Pakistani society, social system, cultural norms and judicial system were discussed in critical and negative manners.

#### Conclusion

The wholesome negative picture about Pakistan was cultivated in the minds of readers by projecting her as untrustworthy, unreliable and double-faced state which could not produce the desired results in the fight against terrorism and extremists' organizations.

It was also explored that the four selected newspapers adopted comparatively softer tone and depicted the pro-Western, liberals' individuals, political parties, NGOs and other elements in more positive and favorable manners as compared to the right-wing groups which received more negative frames.

The newspapers tried to cultivate this horrible picture that females were forced to live a miserable life due to patriarchal social system in the country and more importantly Pakistan was negatively projected as a conservative, worthless, rogue and the most dangerous country of the world.

Overall these negative attributes- natural disasters, over population, corruption, mismanagement, poverty, poor human rights, pervasiveness of conservatives right wing groups, male chauvinism, insecure country for journalists, Pakistanis as cynical and believers of conspiracy theories, proliferators of nuclear technology, double gamer, unreliable, weak civil administration and absolute dictatorial military establishment were presented as trade and marks of identity of Pakistan in the selected newspapers.

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