

## **US Mass Media and Images of Pakistan: Portrayal of Pakistan by News week and Time Magazines (1991-2001)**

Shahzad Ali

**Keywords:** *Shia: the sect Of Muslims; Sunni: the sect of majority of Pakistani Muslims; Madarsaa: Islamic religious school, Pushtoon: the ethnic group of Pakistan; punjab: the largest Province of Pakistan; Abdul Qadir Khan: Nuclear Scientist of Pakistan; Taliban: Islamic militant group of Afghanistan; Urdu: the National language of Pakistan.*

*The study aims to investigate coverage and portrayal of Pakistan in the two American magazines i.e. News week and Time (1991-2001). In the first part of article, the growths of economy and media in Pakistan have been briefly described. Similarly this research article presents an over view on relation between USA and Pakistan during the last decades. The contents analysis of twenty articles of News week and Time magazines pertaining to portrayal of Pakistan depicts that proportion of positive coverage (39.74%) was greater than the proportion of negative coverage (8.58%). Issues of Kashmir, Kargil, and Nuclear test, power struggle between Nawaz Sheriff and Benazir Bhutto and unrest in Karachi were critically analyzed by the both magazines. The last but not least the both magazines acknowledged and applauded the meritorious contribution of General Pervaiz Musharf against Al Qaeda's fugitives and Talibans, whereas Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan was portrayed in unfavorable manner.*

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The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was emerged on the map of the world as an independent country on August 14-1947 as a result of partition of former British India, (Encyclopedia of Britannica, 2002). Historically speaking Islam was the driving force for the establishment of Pakistan as an independent state. Islam is the state religion 97% of its people are the followers, of Islam. (Qurashi, Waheed. 1982, p20) Pakistan is a multi lingual and multi ethnic nations. Five major ethno linguistic groups of Pakistan are *Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Baluchis* and *Muhajirs* (Muslims who migrated from India at that time of partition in 1947) ethno linguistic group is as under ([www.state.gov.pk.html](http://www.state.gov.pk.html)).

- Punjabis constitutes 58% of the total population.
- *Sindhis* are 13% of the population of Pakistan
- *Pashtunes* constitute 12.5% of the total population.
- Baluchis constitute 4% of the population
- The ratio of Mohajir in total population is 8%.
- Urdu is national language and is used as medium of communication/ understanding through out Pakistan. The country is culturally divided into four bilingual provinces Punjabis spoken in Punjab. Sindhi language is used in Sindh. Pushtu is spoken in NWFP while Baluch speak Baluchi in Baluchistan. ( Encyclopedia Encarta 2003) Pakistan has three constitutions promulgated in 1956, 1962 and 1973 respectively since her independence in 1947 (Grover, Veriendar. 1997, p70).

During the last 58 years, three Martial Laws and one military Quasi have been imposed the military junta has ruled the country for more than 30 years. Apart from the military type of rule, parliamentary and presidential form of democracy have been practiced in this country. In this short span of time, four Governor General, Ten Presidents, and 22 prime minister remained in power corridors (Ahmad, Raza. 1999, p470).

In economic sector, Pakistan received economic, assistance from world powers, IMF and World Bank, over the years, Pakistan has accumulated a foreign debt of about 40 billion dollars. Debt repayment, defense spending and general administration expenditures consume 80% of the country annual budgets ([www.state.pk.gov.pk.html](http://www.state.pk.gov.pk.html)).

## **ECONOMY**

Pakistan's economy relies heavily on agriculture which employs half of the workforce and generates, directly or indirectly more than half of the export revenues. The

main agricultural products are cotton, wheat, rice, sugarcane, fruits, vegetable, milk, beef, and eggs. Husbandry provides both domestically consumed and exported goods such as meat and dairy products, wool for carpet industry and hides and skins for the leather industry. Pakistan is one of the major cotton exporters in Asia. Natural resource include land, extensive natural gas reserves, limited crude oil, coal, iron, ore, copper, salt and coal mining is one of the country's oldest industries. Major manufacturing industries include textiles, food processing, cement, sugar, electrical appliances, fertilizers, sports, equipment and tobacco.

GDP at Current Market Prices	93620 million US\$ (2004)
Per Capita GDP	622 US\$ (2004)
Share of Sectors in GDP	23% agriculture, 23.0% industry, 54.0% services , (2003)
Total Exports	12313 million US \$ (2004)
Total Imports	15592 million US\$ (2004)
Major Imports Items	Beverages, manufactured goods, machinery and transportation
Major Trading Partners	United States, UAE, Saudi Arabia, China and Kuwait

(www.oic.org)

## COMMUNICATION MEDIA

	2001	2002	2003
Television Receivers (number in use)	3432369	3603986	3721390
Telephone (‘000 main lines involved)	3252.0	3655.5	3982.8
Mobile Cellular Telephones (‘000 sources)	812	1238.6	2624.8
Personal Computers (‘000 in use)	600	NA	NA
Internet Users (‘000)	500	1500	NA
Daily Newspaper	168	169	204
Average Circulation	5726494	6009135	6245775
Other Newspapers and Periodicals Number	595	551	741
Average Circulation	1862642	1967042	2004860

Radio Receivers (000 in use) 13500 in 1997

Facsimile machines (000 in use) 268 in 1998 (Ibid)

## EDUCATION

	Institutions	Teachers	Students
Primary	149085	413900	17529000
Middle	26790	230100	3821000
Secondary which secondary vocational in situations.	15658	277400	1657000
Teachers training (pre degree level)	103	1686	9587
Arts and science colleges professional universities / degree awarding	939	26494	751000
Institutes	374	9358	161349
	29	5160	117863

(UNESCO Statistical, 2004)

## RELIGION

Islam is the state religion. The majority of the populations are *Sunni* Muslims, while estimates of the *Shia* sect vary 5% & 20% of the population. Only about 0.001% is of the Ahmedi sect. (UN Development Program, Human Development Report, 2002)

## THE PRESS

*The Urdu press comprises almost 800 newspapers, with Daily Jang, Daily Khabrain, Nawa-i-Waqt, and Jasarat among the most influential. The daily newspapers with the largest circulation are Daily Jang. Although, the English language press reaches only to small percentage of population. It is influential in political, academic and professional circles. The three main press groups in Pakistan are Jang publications (the Daily Jang, The News, and The weekly Akbhar-e-Jahan), The Dawn, or Herald group (The Dawn, The Star and the monthly Herald and Spider) and the Nawa-i-waqt group (The Nawa-i-waqt, the Nation, and the Weekly Family). The establishment of an independent press council was under consideration in 2005 (www.state.pk.gov.pk.html).*

## PRINCIPLE DAILIES

### ISLAMABAD

*Al-Akhbar, Daily Khabrain, the Nation, Pakistan Observer,*

## **KARACHI**

*Aghaz, Amn, Business Recorder, Daily Awam, Daily Beopar, Daily Express, Daily Intekhab, Daily Jang, Daily Khabar, Daily Mohasaba, Daily News, Daily Public, Daily Sindh Sujag, Daily Special, Daily Times, Dawn, Deyanet, The Finance, Financial Post, Hilal-e-Pakistan, Jago, Jasarat, The Leader, Mazdur, Millat, Mohasib, The News International, Qaum (Nation), Qaumi Akhbar, Roznama Special, Savera, Sindh Tribune, Star, The Times of Karachi,*

## **LAHORE**

*Daily Pakistan, Daily Times, Daily Wifaq, Mahgribi Pakistan, Nawa-i-Waqt, the Sun International, Tijarat*

## **RAWALPINDI**

*Daily Jang, Daily Wifaq, the News,*

## **OTHER TOWNS**

*Aftab, Al-Falah, al-Jamiat-e-sarhad, Balochistanf Times, Basharat Daily Awaz, Daily Business Reporter, Daily Hewad, Daily Ibrat Hyderabad, Daily Khadim-e-Waten, Daily Rehber, Daily Sarwan, Daily Shensaz, Frontier Post, Jihad, Kaleem, Kavish, Mashriq, Nawai Asma'n, Punjab News, Sarhad, Sindh Guardian, Sindh News, Sindh Observer, Watan Zamana (www.europaworld.com).*

## **SELECTED WEEKLIES**

*Akhbar-e-Jahan, Amal, Badban, Chatan, Family Magazine, The Friday Times, Hilal, Insaf, Lahore, Mahwar, Memaar-i-Nao, Muslim World, Nairang Khayal, Nida-i-Millat, Noor Jehan Weekly, Pakistan and Gulf Economist, Pakistan Kashmir, Parsi Sansar and Loke Sevak, Parwaz, Qallander, Quetta Times, Shahab-e-Saqib, The Statesman, Taqbeer Tarjaman-i-Sarhad, Times of Kashmir, Ufaq,*

## **SELECTED PERIODICALS**

1. *Aadab Arz, Aalmi Digest, Akhbar-e-Watan, Albalagh Darul Uloom, Al-Ma'arif, Anchal, Architecture and Interiors, Archi Times, Asia Travel News, Travel News, Auto Times, Bachon Ka Risala, Bagh, Bayyenat, Beauty, Beem Doshezza, Chand, The Cricketer, Dastarkhuan, Defence Journal, Dentist, Duniya-e-Tibb, Economic Review, Engineering Horizons, Engineering Review, Film Asia, Good Food, Good Food, Hamdard Sehat, Hamdard Islamicus, Hamdard Medicines, Hamdard*

*Naunehal, The Herald, Hikayat, Honar-e-Pakistan, Islami Jumhuria, Islamic Studies, Jamal, Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Khel-Ke-Duniya, Khawateen Digest, Leather News, Medical Variety, Muslim World Business, Naey-Ufaq, NGM Communication, Pakistan Journal of Applied Economics, Pakistan Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research, Pakistan Management Review, Pasban, Phool, Progress, Qaumi Digest, Sabrang Digest, Sach-Chee Kahaniyan, Sayyarah, Sayyarah Digest, Science Magazine, Seep, Show Business, Sindh Quarterly, Spider, Sports International, Taj, Talimo Tarbiat, Textile Times, Trade Chronicle, Trade Link International, TV times, Trade Link International, UNEXCO payami, The universal message, Urdu digest, voice of Islam, wings, women's own, Yaqeen international, yarn-e-Watan, Youth World International.*( The Europa A World Year Book vol. II ,2005 PP: 3359-3360)

## **NEWS AGENCIES**

*Associated press of Pakistan, National News Agency (NNA), News Newswork International, Pakistan International Press Agency (PPA), Pakistan Press International (PPI), United Press of Pakistan (Pvt.) Ltd (UPP),*

## **FOREIGN BUREAU**

- 2. Agence France Presse (AFP), Agenzia, Nazionale Stampa Associata (ANSA), Associated Press (AP), Deutsche Presse Agenture (DPA), Inter press service (IPS), Reuters, United Press International, Xinhua (New China) News Agency, (Ibid, PP. 3361-3363)*

## **RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND UNITED STATES**

- 3. Pakistan established her diplomatic relations with United States in 1947. It is an admitted fact that Pakistan geographic position made it valuable partner in Western alliance system, to block the expansion of communism in this part of the world (Ibid). Since the visit of Liaqat Ali Khan, in May 1950, every elected or non elected premier or president of the country have paid state visit to Washington, first of the premiere in 1950, had sent a clear message to Moscow, that Pakistan had inclination towards West and United States. History witnessed, that it is an open secret. Subsequently, Pakistan signed a mutual defense agreement with United States, then became a member of South Asian Treaty organization SEATO and CENATO in 1954 (Saqib, Ehsanullah. 2002, p411).*
- 4. Pakistan was also used as a base for American flights over Soviet territory. Due to this agreement, Pakistan relations with Indian and USSR became strained; even Soviet Union threatened Pakistan and used undiplomatic harsh language about integrity of the country. Literally speaking, Pakistanis were disappointed by the limitation of the alliance with the United States. Islamabad expressed her reservations and concern over the large scale United States economic assistance to India similarly, United States provided military assistance to India's after the war*

with China in 1962. After wards, American suspended military assistance during the war of 1965 with India (Jentelson, Bruce. 1997 P-347).

American adopted the same policy in the war of 1971 of Pakistan with India. Due to the cold behavior of United States, Pakistan developed friendly ties with China, in order to properly safe guard her borders, against the Indian aggression. Thus, these wars serves as an eye opener for Pakistan and since launched her quest for acquisition of conventional weapon form china and other sources (Ibid).

5. In 70's relations with United States improved gradually and arms sales were renewed in 1975, but in April 1979 American cut off economic assistance to Pakistan as required under the Symington amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, reasons of the sanction at that time was nuclear program of Pakistan (Saqib, Ehsanuallah. 2002, P.413)

Relations between Pakistan and United States improved again after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in December 1979. As a reward, American provided military and economic assistance package of 3.2billion dollars in 1981. Moreover, congress waived of Symington Amendment in 1986 as well as US Vowed to provide military and economic assistance of 4 billion dollar, during the years 1988-93 (Alan, Kronstadf.2003).

After withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, services of Pakistan were no more required, subsequently, the United States suspended all military assistance economic aid and to Pakistan under the Pressler's amendment, which required that president certify annually that Pakistan doesn't posses a nuclear explosive device ([www.reference.allrefer.com/cuntryguide.study](http://www.reference.allrefer.com/cuntryguide.study)). Dennis Kux in his book has described the Pakistani perspective pertains to her relations with the United States. The legacy of past dealings with American has been negative. A sense of resentment and distrust of United States, Islamabad, and many Pakistani sincerely believe that their country has been unfairly and unjustly treated. Three main complaints, were pointed out; first, Washington's refusal to help Pakistan during the 1965 war. Second the United States discarding of Pakistan no longer needed after the Afghan war and third, the discriminating nature like a used Kleenex when it was of United States nuclear sanctions, which until the May 1998 nuclear tests, hit only Pakistan and did not affect India.

In May 1998, Pakistan tested its nuclear device, consequently, United States imposed sanction on Pakistan as well as a presidential visit scheduled for the first quarter of 1998 was postponed and under the Glenn amendment sanction restricted the provision of credits, military sales, economic assistance and loans to the Government (Kux, Dennis.2002, p365). The military coup of 1999 triggered an additional layer of sanction under section 508 of the Foreign Appropriation Act. At that phase, US Government help to Pakistan was limited to refugee and counter narcotic assistance.

6. After 9/11 the relationship between the both countries changed significantly because Pakistan provided every sort of logistic support to White House against Taliban as well as become close ally of The United States in its global war on terror, since

2001, the relations between Pakistan and United States had become friendly. Junior Bush has paid homage to General Pervaiz Musharaf for his meritorious services against *Al-Qaeda*. Similarly, the United States announced the economic and military aid of 3 billion over the next five years, on the eve of General Pervaiz Musharaf visit to United States in 2003 (Ibid). The history of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and United States is comprised of episodes of United States aid, sanctions, rewards and punishment, in form of Presslar and Glenn Amendment (Mehmood, Safder. 2006), P- 644)

That is why; Pakistan has been placed in the category of neutral countries.

### OVERALL COVERAGE OF ISLAMIC COUNTRIES IN NEWS WEEK

1099 articles about 35 Muslims countries, Middle East and Islam were published in News week (1991-2001). In this connection, 551 issues of News week were analyzed.

### COVERAGE OF SOUTH ASIA AND SOUTH EAST

Year	Total weeks	Total articles	Pakistan Kashmir	Bangladesh	Iran	Indonesia	Malaysia	Afghanistan	Brunei
1991	50	137	3	4	4	2	2	8	-
1992	49	44	-	2	-	1	-	5	-
1993	50	97	8	-	4	5	3	1	-
1994	48	83	2	2	-	3	3	-	-
1995	49	96	5	-	4	4	1	2	-
1996	52	92	2	4	1	9	3	7	-
1997	50	80	4	-	7	7	4	5	-
1998	51	114	2	1	6	24	8	2	1
1999	52	120	4	-	3	17	7	1	-
2000	49	91	11	1	2	10	3	-	1
2001	51	145	6	-	3	13	-	18	-
Total	551	1099	47	14	34	95	34	49	2

The data of table no. 1 indicates that 47 articles about Pakistan were published in News week during 1991-2001. While total coverage of Bangladesh, Iran, Indonesia and Afghanistan was 14, 34, 95 and 49 articles respectively.



**TABLE 7: COVERAGE OF SOUTH ASIA AND SOUTH EAST ASIA MUSLIM COUNTRIES IN TIME MAGAZINE (1991-2001).**

Year	Total weeks	Total articles	Pakistan Kashmir	Bangladesh	Iran	Indonesia	Malaysia	Afghanistan	Brunei
1991	50	160	10	4	2	4	1	3	-
1992	47	46	1	1	-	-	-	4	1
1993	49	56	6	-	2	2	1	2	-
1994	48	67	4	2	1	3	1	-	-
1995	51	80	7	1	2	3	2	1	-
1996	51	74	9	5	-	6	5	5	-
1997	50	48	15	2	-	9	3	3	-
1998	50	80	15	-	4	26	15	3	-
1999	52	74	13	1	-	22	7	1	-
2000	50	58	7	-	3	17	6	3	-
2001	49	101	14	-	1	14	6	25	--
Total	547	844	101	16	15	106	47	50	1

The data of table no. 7 highlights that total coverage of seven Muslim countries in this category were presented. 844 articles about 30 Muslims countries, Middle East, and Islamic civilization in Spain were published in Time magazine (1991-2001). In this connection, 547 issues of Time magazine were studied.

**TABLE 15: TOTAL COVERAGE OF NEUTRAL COUNTRIES IN NEWS WEEK AND TIME MAGAZINE 1991-2001**

Name of the country	Total articles in News week	Total articles in Time magazine	Total articles
Bangladesh	14	16	30
Indonesia	95	106	201
Malaysia	34	47	81
Pakistan	47	101	148
Grand total	190	270	460

In table No. 15 indicates that 460 articles were published about neutral countries in the both magazine during the specific time period of eleven years (1991-2001).

In this category, maximum numbers of articles were published about Pakistan (148 articles).

**TABLE 16: TOTAL COVERAGE OF MUSLIM COUNTRIES AND ISLAM IN NEWS WEEK AND TIME MAGAZINE (1991-2001)**

Name of magazine	News week	Time Magazine	Total
Total week	551	547	1098
Total articles	1099	844	1943

The data of table No 16 shows that 1943 articles about Muslim countries and Islam were published in 1098 issues of the both magazine during the given time period of eleven years (1991-2001)

**TABLE NO. 14**

Overall coverage of Pakistan in News week and Time Magazine

Name of magazine	Total articles	Positive sentences	Negative sentences	Neutral sentences	Total sentences
News week	10	193 45.95%	39 9.28%	188 44.76%	420
Time magazine	10	117 32.5%	28 7.77%	215 59.72%	360
Grand total	20	310 39.74%	67 8.58%	403 51.66%	780

The table no. 14 shows that the both magazines carried 780 sentences about Pakistan of which 39.74% (310) sentences were positive, while 8.58% (67) sentences were negative, and 51.66% (403) sentences were neutral. The data also indicates that proportion of positive coverage (39.74%) of Pakistan was greater than the proportion of negative coverage (8.58%) in the both magazines.

The reason behind this greater proportion of positive coverage is unconditional support of General Pervaiz Musharaf to American policies after 9/11 (White House call it war on terror). Similarly, the both magazines have given favourable response to liberal and Pro western, United States stance of Benazir regime. News week and Time Magazine have focused Kashmir issue, elections, nuclear program, and Islamic groups. Similarly few articles were published about Imran Khan a legend of cricket (founder of Cancer Hospital project), interim rule of Moeen Qureshi as well as, General Pervaiz Musharaf policies were focused and analyzed by the both magazines.

## PORTRAYAL OF PAKISTAN

The both magazines portrayed Pakistan in comparatively positive manner. Pro western policies of Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sheriff, Moin Qurashi and General Peraiz Musharrif were appreciated by the both magazines. The following extract and headlines would show regarding acknowledging favorable response of the both magazines economic reforms policies of care taker Prime Minister Moin Quashi the magazines appreciated the reforms initiated by the care taker. Govt. similarly political will power of Benazir Bhutto was praised by the magazine (Time October 18-1993). Moreover, General Pervez Musharf was portrayed as genteel general political ambition social services, of the cricketing legend Imran Khan were described in favorable manner.

Issues of Kashmir, Kargil, and Nuclear test, power struggle between Nawaz Sheriff and Benazir Bhutto and unrest in Karachi were critically analyzed by the both magazines. Overall, 20 articles of the magazines about Pakistan were selected for the purpose of content analysis, carried 780 sentences. The study reveals that proportion of positive coverage (39.74) percent, 310 sentences was greater than the proportion of negative coverage (8.58 percent, 67 sentences).

Economic reforms of General Pervaiz Musharf were analyzed in favorable manner. After 9/11, General Perviaiz Musharf supported United States agendas of war on terror. Consequently, the both magazine acknowledged and applauded the meritorious contribution of General Pervaiz Musharf against Al Qaeda's fugitives and *Talibans*. Soft image of General Pervieiz Musharf was created and magnified; he was described as great friend of USA.

Issue of Karachi was unnecessarily portrayal in unfavorable manner. It was declared the most dangerous city in Asia. The following head line would depict the way impression was created about Karachi. "City of fear awash in guns Karachi struggles to remains governable" (Time October 3-1994) "Pakistan on the brink of anarchy", Bhutto seek, US aid and investment for a country that has become nearly ungovernable (Time April 17, 1995).

Tussle of Nawaz Sharif and General Pervaiz Musharaf with Judiciary were also critical focused by the both magazines. Islamization, ethnic strife, and sectarian conflict were portrayed in unfavorable manner and these issues were over projected /magnified. See the following extracts of the articles. "Islamic fundamentalists were trying to jeopardize the democratic setup in Pakistan" (Time July 16, 1996).

The word and phrases like front line state, terrorisms document of death, Islamic fundamentalism, welcome to Karachi one of the most dangerous city in

Asia. Lavish promises, lion of Lahore, Muslim fundamentalist, pawn of Muslim fundamentalism, Islamic militant, Islamic leader, Islamic extremist secular agenda, Liberal leader, dirty country conservative Muslim, poor conservative, Mullah roar, were used to describe various factor in Pakistan.

Similarly the both magazine portrayed Dr. Abul Qadir khan in unfavorable manner. Succinctly, it can be said that both magazines followed the line of action of White House's foreign polices priorities regarding the portrayal of Pakistan in the decade of 90s. Due to prow westerns policies of ruling party's leader, the both magazine portrayed Pakistan relatively in favorable and positive manner.

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