



## DISSECTING NEW YORK TIMES AND THE HINDU PERSPECTIVE ON WAR ON TERROR

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### ABSTRACT

This study was based to investigate the comparative viewpoint on the War on Terror in Pakistan of Indian and American press by analyzing the content of these newspapers. The study objective was to determine how The Hindu of India and the New York Times (NY Times) of America depicted and how the War on Terror in Pakistan is significantly covered and portrayed by these selected newspapers. The study also analyzes to what extent the NY Times and The Hindu followed its state's foreign policies while covering the issue. The study pointed out that NY Times gives slight coverage to Pakistan and also other third world countries, however, as for as the War on Terror in Pakistan is concerned it gives a considerable coverage compare to The Hindu with favorable stance and portray Pakistan as front line state in the War on Terror in Pakistan. This research study also finds out that when the NY Times gives coverage to other third world countries that it has no interests, it inclines to cover negative news. The results of this study will benefit the government concerned to know and formulate the policy regarding the War on Terror in Pakistan.

**Disciplinary:** Multidisciplinary (Journalism and Mass Communication Science (Information and Media Sciences), Political Sciences (International Relations), Global Studies).

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 9/11 incident and when Pakistan became a partner of the United States i.e. an ally in this US announced War against Terrorism as a front-line state, the country has experienced several terrorist attacks. The attacks have varied from grenade attacks to gun attacks to suicide attacks. The Pakistani media vastly covered the incidents, the aftermaths, and even at times live as they occurred. The government also launched a security campaign to smoke out the terrorists from the

Country. Several questions have emerged from this background: The role and significance of media an unwitting accomplice with the government and its policies, the media truly intensifying the menace of terrorism among the people by sensational reporting of War on Terror compare to alleviating their terror. The media unbiased and precise while reporting the War on Terror in Pakistan and by their plot and framing the War on Terror in Pakistan (Barrett & Shuang, 2008). Meanwhile, the study aims to investigate, the reporting stance of WoT in Pakistan, having a comparative analysis of these two country print media.

The content analysis method was used to conduct this research study to investigate the qualitative and quantitative analysis of WoT in the context of Pakistan by The Hindu and New York Times (NY Times). The research study analyzed hard news of these newspapersthroughout2012 through a purposive sampling method. This study examined the frame and slant used to describe the coverage given by these three countries media to the War on Terror (WoT) in Pakistan. This research focused on two countries press perspective i.e. Indian and American newspapers, The Hindu is selected by the study from India and NY Times from America, Pakistan and America are directly associated to War on Terror, however, India as a rival of Pakistan by nature and neighbor country have a great impact on War on Terror in Pakistan and on international scenario and policies. As the Indian government always stances Pakistan is a hardliner country and propagated that militants from Pakistan attacked Indian. Thus, the coverage of the Indian newspaper is considered as necessary to investigate the press stance of Indian about WoT in Pakistan (Reese & Lewis, 2009).

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Generally, media contemplates contending that writers socially build impact among the spectators just through determination as well as lapse of segments of publishing exclusive news (Scheufele, 2000). Moreover, the idea of social constructionism has made ready for the build of framing (Anwar et al., 2020). Besides, numerous individual-level components, including a writer's close to the home source, encounters, dispositions, qualities and convictions conceivably outline content of the media outlets which can be reflected as their context (Anderson, 2017). Normally, to cover and frame terrorism-related news or framing the conflict situation always focused on insight into the past judgment, using contextual analyses, and contends unsophisticated framing of the pave the way for the war in Iraq after 9/11 that "agreed with the government of United States strategy and certainly not recognized the propriety of a totally, elective frame" (Monaghan, 1968).

According to Entman (2004), framing has its importance as it is a fragmented, worldview for correspondence researchers, as it coordinates impacts from different controls. It is a communication process originated among the sender, receiver, content of media and social system of human being viewpoint. In the Mass Communication and International relations disciplines, framing means in what way persons understand, recollect, evaluate, and follow up on an issue (Abdul & Hussain, 2012). The hypothetical point of view created by Akiba, Cohen, and Wolfsfeld proposes that terrorism monger events are regularly comprehended through news "frames" that streamline, organize and structure the story stream of events. Understanding mass correspondence through the idea of framing has turned out to be progressively typical, regardless of whether in the fields of social brain science, available assessment or media ponders (Entman, 2004). For instance, the frame

of WoT turned into the crux of mutual dissemination and accepting country Law and Order situation in the United States.

## **2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Two basic theories are applied and get benefits, for this study to evaluate the frame and slant analyzing the content of the selected three newspapers.

## **2.2 FRAMING THEORY**

Goffman (1995), who developed the notion of framing, described the framing as a practice of communication which proposes that how things are presented to the audiences to influence the thinking of people on how to interpret the message or piece of information. Natural and social distinctions were stated by the Goffman, which both play the role to interpret the piece of information by people. The concept of social constructionism was further elaborated by researchers under the media effects as a characteristic of media framing (Scheufele, 2000).

## **2.3 AGENDA SETTING THEORY**

McCombs and Shaw (1972) described the theory as the capability to affect the significant retained on the topics of audience agenda, while the main relationship of people general perception and world events was developed by Lippmann under the Agenda Setting Theory (Biltreyst, 1995). According to Cohen who stated that the objective fact that the world will look changed to changed people/audiences depended on the news and agenda shown or reported by the newspapers or media outlets.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

The content analysis method is used to investigate and examine the news of the NY Times and The Hindu during 2012. This period was selected because in the year the American presidential election was held while this period also has some importance because U.S president Barak Obama was participating in the election as he was already remaining president of America in the last tenor.

### **3.1 SELECTION OF THE NEWSPAPERS**

Two leading newspapers The Hindu and NY Times were selected to investigate the issue which is leading and widely circulation newspapers of the concerned countries. Policymakers, high officials and opinion leaders are the readers of these newspapers across the globe. WoT in Pakistan is the most important issue which significantly important for two countries so how these leading newspapers covered and frame it was the main reason to select these newspapers.

### **3.2 METHOD OF THE STUDY**

The Content of the Hindu and NY Times were analyzed through content analysis method to find out the portrayal of WoT in Pakistan by the Indian and American press. According to Paisley, the process of communicating information which is coded through a systematic way of categorization rules, into figures that can be concise and related is known as Content Analysis. Researchers also define Content Analysis as a rigorous and deductive approach (Gilboa, 2002). This study investigated hard news using the content analysis method. The slant to be decoded in the terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral while analyzing the news published in these newspapers

while topics will also be coded in seven categories defined as under variable section (Becker, Matthew & McManus, 2016). Cataloging the hard news was constructed on vigilant qualitative analysis instead of documentation of these variables as stated in the listed hypotheses.

### 3.3 VARIABLES FOR THE RESEARCH

Topic, Frame, and Slant are the variables developed for this study to investigate the issue. The below categories topic is selected for the study.

- Terrorism
- War on Terror
- Pakistan's Nuclear Program
- Pak India Relation
- Pak America Relation
- Drone Attacks
- Foreign Relation
- Pakistan's Politics

### 3.4 SLANT

According to Asheim (1952) that while analyzing media content tone and topic are two diverse tactics. Topic and Slant are both inter-reliant in the content analysis approach, as per the previous studies what was reported means topic while how it was narrated direct the tone or slant of the content.

1. **Positive:** the story was coded positive if more paragraphs showed favorable to Pakistan's policy and narrative in WoT.
2. **Negative:** the story was coded negative if more paragraphs showed unfavorable to Pakistan in the war on terror.
3. **Neutral:** if the content of the news story neither positive nor negative or if there is no clear stance or either positive or negative will be noted as neutral.

### 3.5 FRAME

Ally, Foe and Hardliner are the terms to detect the Frame, studies described this frame classification as deionization of the frame. The entire news item is investigated through textual viewpoint, to detect the frames from these notified terms (Monaghan, Richard, Budd & Lewis, 1968).

1. **Ally:** if Pakistan is shown as a friend in War on Terror in Pakistan
2. **Foe:** if Pakistan being foe in the War on Terror in Pakistan
3. **Hardliner:** Pakistan being a hardliner in War on Terror in Pakistan

### 3.6 CODING UNIT

The coding unit defined as the definite piece of information/data/message that is categorized by enlisting it in a specified group (Holsti, 1969). A single word or a sign is usually considered as the lowest unit of analysis, so we have studied the placement of the story, slant, topic, and frame as variables and entire story as a unit of analysis. Hard news stories published were the contextual unit and topics, frame, slant; published by The Hindu and NY Times was the unit of analysis (Kent &

Schmi, 2004).

#### 4. DATA INTERPRETATION

The following data dig out after examining the coverage of these country's newspapers NY Times and The Hindu by content analysis method. The total number of Hard News relation to War on Terror in Pakistan Coverage for the specific period of the year 2012 covered by these Newspapers was (N 79) in which 37 (46%) was published in The Hindu and 42 (53%) was published in NY Times. Which pointed out that the NY Times covered the WoT more than The Hindu, however, the slant and perspective of the NY Times observed differently than The Hindu.

**Table 1: Overall Coverage in 2012.**

New York Times	The Hindu	Total
42 (53%)	37 (46%)	79 (100%)

Table 1 elaborate NY Times give enough coverage to the WoT in Pakistan, one of the reasons of such good coverage of NY Times is that it was the year of US presidential election and Mr. Barak H. Obama also completed its first period as a president of US, he was propagating its policy regarding WoT especially War on Terror in Pakistan as it's opponent republican candidate deadly opposing his policy in the shape of war against Pakistan, while on the other hand the Hindu was not given such an adequate coverage to the war on terror in Pakistan. As described in Table 2, the American newspaper NY Times give 25 (59%) favorable coverage to War on Terror in Pakistan as it covered 42 (53%) number of stories about the issue in which 25 (59%) were favorable to the War on Terror in Pakistan and covered 5 (11%) unfavorable while 12 (28%) were neutral coverage.

**Table 2: Slant of the New York Times Coverage**

Total	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
42 (53%)	25 (59%)	5 (11%)	12 (28%)

As described in the above Table 2, the slant of NY Times is favorable than unfavorable which showed that the newspapers supported the role of Pakistan and its efforts contributing in the War on Terror in Pakistan, the slant also showed that Pakistan is facing deadly opposition as also respected the struggle of the Pakistani state in War on Terror. Generally, the newspapers also gave satisfactory coverage in favorable slant to economical and livelihood loss occurred while fighting the War on Terror. The newspapers did not ignore the part as a front line ally state with US in this deadly fighting.

**Table 3: The Hindu Coverage**

Total	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
37 (46%)	4 (10%)	25 (67%)	8 (21%)

Table 3 shows that the Hindu gave 25 (67%) unfavorable coverage to the WoT in Pakistan, as it covered total 37(46%) stories regarding the WoT in Pakistan in which it covered 4 (10%) was favorable to the War On Terror in Pakistan and 25 (67%) unfavorable coverage while it gave 8 (21%) neutral coverage to the issue.

#### 4.1 FRAME OF COVERAGE

Table 4 illustrate the overall framing of the selected newspaper for the War on Terror.

**Table 4:** Overall Frame of the Coverage

Frame	Ally	Foe	Hardliner
NYT	35 (92%)	1 (12%)	6 (18%)
Hindu	03 (8%)	7 (88%)	27 (82%)
N= 79	38	8	33

Table 4 shows how these three selected newspapers frame the War On Terror in Pakistan. Findings of the NY Times frame 35 (92%) Pakistan as an ally in the War on Terror and only 1 (12%) as for while 6 (18%) portrayed Pakistan as a hardliner country. Meanwhile the Indian Newspaper, The Hindu framed 3 (8%), Pakistan in the war on terror as ally and 7 (88%) as Foe while 27 (82%) as hardliner country. While Pakistani newspapers which if we generally were framed Pakistan as a friend in the WoT in Pakistan and showed as frontline fighters having faced a lot of loss in the form of economy and human lives.

#### 4.2 COVERAGE OF TOPICS

Table 5, shows deliberately the quantity of coverage given to each of the topics selected for the study, as discussed in the methodology chapter the topics were selected which will be helpful during the analyses about the slant of the story covered. The Table showed that The Hindu and NY Times gave more coverage to the topic Drone attacks in Pakistan against the militants and terrorism topic but Pak-American relations and Pak-Indian relation topics were also given more coverage. While the war on terror and Pakistan's internal politics were also got significant coverage by these three newspapers in the selected period.

Table 5 Overall Topics Coverage

Topics	NYT	Hindu	Total
Terrorism	55 (80%)	13 (20%)	68
War on terror	22 (62%)	11 (36%)	33
Pakistan Nuclear	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)	8
Pak Indian relation	20 (44)	30 (56%)	50
Pak-US relation	34 (61.8%)	21 (38.1%)	55
Drone attacks	17 (35.4%)	31 (64.5%)	48
Foreign relation	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.7%)	9
Pakistan politics	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.5%)	9

#### 4.3 STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

After conducting the ANOVA test for the overall coverage and variable Slant and frame. As shown in the below table.

Table 6: ANOVA Test Result

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Overall Coverage	1108.67	2	554.33	0.82	0.50	6.94
Slant	1684.67	2	842.33	1.24	0.38	6.94
Error	2714.67	4	678.67			
Total	5508	8				

Table 6 shows that here the P-value is 0.50 which is higher than the 0.05, therefore for the overall reporting of the War on Terror in Pakistan given by e selected countries press and P-Value for Slant variable by the newspapers is 0.3 which also higher than the alpha value (0.05) which

showed that we cannot reject the null hypothesis and that the difference between the mean is not statistically significant. The null hypothesis is true can be concluded here. The statistical analysis also proves that the amount of coverage given by these three newspapers has the same average.

#### 4.4 TESTS OF HYPOTHESES & RESEARCH QUESTION

**RQ1:** To explore the quantitative coverage of Indian and American and Indian press given the WoT in Pakistan during the study period?

**H<sub>1</sub>:** It is more likely that the Hindu gave negative coverage to the War on Terror in Pakistan.

The result shows 42 (53%) was printed in NY Times and 37 (46%) was published in The Hindu. If we observed the coverage given by Indian and American press, it showed that NY Times gives more than The Hindu, as Pakistan is focused by the NY Times, however, we can't ignore the coverage given by The Hindu which is also significant as quantitative. However, by testing hypothesis H<sub>1</sub> the analysis showed that The Hindu gave negative coverage to War on Terror in Pakistan as its perspective was that Pakistan is a hardliner country and supported the militants' group within its country and using it against the neighbor's country. This proves the hypothesis H<sub>1</sub> as true.

**RQ2:** What was the slant of Indian and American press on the WoT in Pakistan?

According to results the slant of the NY Times was favorable to the War on Terror in Pakistan while The Hindu gave mostly unfavorable and neutral coverage. The study shows that the hypothesis H<sub>2</sub> is true.

**RQ3:** To discover The Hindu portrayal of reporting War on Terror in Pakistan?

NY Times frames Pakistan as a friend but the Hindu frames Pakistan as Hardliner country. While the results show that The Hindu covered Pakistan as a terrorist country and almost published stories that Pakistan supports the terrorist groups in Pakistan and Pakistan is a country that is a haven for the terrorist groups. The Hindu also focused that Pakistan trained terrorists to attack the Indians. While the Hindu also stance that Pakistan is playing a proxy war in the region.

**H<sub>2</sub>:** It is more likely that the NY Times negatively cover the War on Terror in Pakistan.

The outcomes showed that the NY Times give favorable attention to the War on Terror in Pakistan and focused that Pakistan plays a vital and important role. The NY Times also stance that Pakistan faces a great loss in the term of the economy and human lives and a great victim of terrorism. So the hypothesis H<sub>2</sub> not accepted.

## 5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The Study noted that truly, United States media or press gives less coverage to Pakistan and other third world countries if there is no United States interest is attached which also noted by several studies however if the United States media gives coverage it covered negatively. As per statistics US mass media for the mostly depict weak nations in negative stories taking into account violations, fiascos, clashes, and disappointment of regimes while ranges comprising science,

expressions, and society were fundamentally underestimated. Pakistan was more frequently covered negative than positive and further regularly covered as an enemy than an ally, in general. Pakistan likewise encircled extra frequently as a fundamentalist than a progressive government. Additionally, a large portion of the news about Pakistan had US-bylines, lagged by the Pakistani and Indian bylines. When Pakistan turned into a partner of the US, the daily papers reliably underscored the part of Pakistan and Parvez Musharraf (President of Pakistan) as United States' companion in the War on Terror. These newspapers specified Musharraf's push to favor the United States besides the inner political weight as a rule and the Islamic bunches specifically (Aasima & Budiman, 2014).

While covering different subjects/topics (War on Terrorism, Indo-Pak relationship, Drone assaults, Internal Politics, and Foreign Relations with other countries), every one of the daily papers gave the majority of the scope to Indo-Pak relationships, trailed by WoT and Drone assaults. The Indo-Pak relations presumed the greater part of scope on the Kashmir issue and Indian judgment of terrorist's penetration across the border. Amid the selected period, both Pakistan and India were extremely war-oriented. Though later the conclusion of unfriendly warfare, United States keeps up a great association with India; however, this did not influence inclination and casing in the scope of Pakistan in the US-media (Entman, 2004). The scope on the topic of the India and Pakistan relations was generally headed for harmony concerning India and Pakistan. By then, the US government never needed war in the middle of India and Pakistan relatively needed Pakistan to completely focus on the War on Terror and to prepare its powers on the fringe with Afghanistan to battle extremism, and so on. The daily papers tended to depict the Pakistan government as a genius Western pioneer and noticed his expectation to contradict radicalism. The 1998 armed upset that he was in charge of existed named as a violent takeover after 9/11 and was examined regarding its constructive outcomes.

The Pakistani government was introduced as attractive, for a nation helpless to Islamic radicalism (Khan, 2008). The daily papers talked about his arrangement for fighting defilement, enhancing expectations for everyday comforts, and guaranteeing an honest to goodness majority rule government by organizing top-down controls in administration. The daily papers more than once underscored Pakistan government as a liberal, standard, progressive and valiant which endeavored to move nation far from radical strengths. These study results are following prior exploration of United States media scope of inviting dictatorial governments. While studying the news story and content of newspaper The Hindu that focused and covered that the U.S. is in the furnished clash; with al-Qaeda, Taliban, and related strengths, Furthermore, drone strikes meet the prerequisite of need because the objectives are of clear military esteem, that such strikes target just military destinations, and that the assaults are proportionate. It even guaranteed that the utilization of drones is insightful because it diminishes the threat to the U.S. workforce, and that it moral and just because regular people are not deliberately focused on. The Hindu documented that the U.S. is the main nation to utilize rambles consistently in strife and that different nations won't take after its self-broadcasted models for drone assaults.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The study concludes that the relationship in the United States and Pakistan seems huge change following the incident of 9/11, where the United States announced War on Terror officially and



Pakistan became its ally in this war. The study also confirms that foreign policy influences media content and coverage also frame and slant regarding the issue and also relating to international events which Shoemaker and Rees had noted in the war on terror issues. The results of this study also endorsed the findings of several other studies related to War on Terror that media and especially the NY Times have the attitude to portrayal the countries as positive and favorable where the United States has close interests even if these countries have no democratic governments or dictatorship. This study finds that press framing of War on Terror and its portrayal depends on the United States interest in the country concerned and interest related to the issue as well as depends on the United States foreign policy while The Hindu perspective was observed as completely following the Indian government foreign policy while reporting WoT in Pakistan.

## 7. AVAILABILITY OF DATA AND MATERIAL

Data can be made available by contacting the corresponding authors

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