

**ONE DEATH, THREE REGIONS AND TWO STORIES:  
A STUDY OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE KILLING OF  
OSAMA BIN LADEN IN PAKISTANI, BRITISH AND  
AMERICAN MEDIA**

**Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

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## **PREFACE**

I always wished to pursue PhD research studies on an issue which could keep me active throughout the four years. Perhaps it was the reason that after landing in Sheffield, it took me months to decide a topic. My wish for a catchy topic was materialized in a meeting with Ralph while sipping tea. I still remember the moment and my feelings when it clicked. The topic was so fascinating and engaging, to the extent, that it kept me awake for a couple of nights. Once the topic was decided and a brief sketch was drawn, I never looked back. It never disappointed me, even for a moment, in these four years.

In my opinion, PhD is a multipurpose project, and it helps shaping your personality in many ways. It forces you to be a good writer, good reader, good communicator and a good listener. But, for me, the most important function of the PhD was to open up my mind. If PhD has opened new horizons of your thinking, you've done justice to your research, and also, you have truly been schooled in the world of research. Perhaps, this was also one of my primary aims to pursue a PhD by heart to learn as much as possible. I give credit to Professor Ralph Negrine for stretching my mind.

It is also true that one of the major objectives of research is to identify and elaborate a problem, in such a systematic way, that people from all walks of life can benefit from it – besides other fellow researchers. This reasons compelled me to select most of the media outlets from Pakistan as I felt that the private TV channels have not been studied in as much detail as it should have been – especially its comparison with the official broadcaster (PTV) and the print media. There might have been a debate on the lapses in the coverage of different media outlets of Pakistan, but it must all be taken professionally – rather than personally. I personally have great respect for all the media outlets of Pakistan or any other

country; the purpose of this research is only to show where the strengths and faults lie and how better can they be coped.

Likewise, I have respect for all the institutions of Pakistan – including Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) or Pakistani military. I respect them from the core of my heart for their services and sacrifices to the country and to the people of my country and me. While exploring the geostrategic interests in the region, every effort has been made to balance the narratives as each country wants to achieve its own objectives. Personally, I don't hold any bias for anyone. I still wish that every country in the region may pursue their geostrategic interests peacefully and diplomatically.

I will recommend this thesis to media researchers, media practitioners, owners of media outlets, think tanks, heads of different institutions and even crisis managers for reading. I wish this thesis may serve the purpose for which they have been written.

**Amir Hamza Marwan**

**6<sup>th</sup> of October 2015, Sheffield**

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I am too grateful to my wife Madeeha Marwan for supporting me till the end, and for putting faith in me throughout this process of PhD. Without her support and encouragement, I am sure; I would have not been able to finish this project with such zeal. Though, she faced my mood swinging more than anyone else, but her patience and services will remain quite high in my heart. She was the constant source of inspiration and support, and I never returned empty whenever I looked at her. The way she supported and comfort me, especially in the last year, I wish I could return part of it later in life.

I am also thankful to my mother Zahida Parveen and my brothers – Farjad Asar, Sher Afghan and Nizam Uddin, for their kind support and help. They were always there whenever I needed them, and tried to keep me relaxed every moment despite being thousand miles away. I have great respect for the prayers of my Mom which she wished for my success. My success would have not been so delicious without her wishes!

I am also indebted to the few colleagues in Pakistan who helped me during my filed trip to Pakistan for collection of data. They are the ones who helped me in granting permission from the TV channels or ensuring hard copies of the newspaper. It includes: Moneeza Hashmi of Public Media Alliance, Akhtar Viqar Azeem of Hum TV, Abdullah Jan and Nehal Alvi of Geo News, Rauf Yousafzai of Express newspaper, Safiullah Gul of Duniya News and Mohammad Haroon Khan of The News International.

In the end, my earnest thanks to my best friends and colleagues – Shafi ul Haq and Adam Khan – whose valuable suggestions have helped me a great deal in life!

## **DEDICATION**

To my dearest Parents – Sher Bat Khan and Zahida Parveen!

My Father left us forever, with a wish in his heart to see me a Doctor; my Mother supported me to materialize this dream!



## **ABSTRACT**

This research study explores the death coverage of Osama bin Laden across the seven media outlets of the three countries – US, UK and Pakistan. These three countries are closely tied to each other in the fight against terror, and have also suffered a lot in this regard. This study focuses only on the content of the selected media outlets which includes both print and electronic media. These include: The New York Times from the US, The Daily Telegraph and the Guardian from the UK, the Geo News, the Duniya News, Pakistan Television Corporation and the daily Dawn from Pakistan. The basic research question raised in this study is:

*How the seven identified media outlets across the three different countries covered the death of Osama bin Laden?*

This basic research question is supplemented with some additional research questions to explore the content from different dimensions in order to show a broader comparative picture of the coverage carried out by these identified media outlets in these three countries. This study focuses only on the content of the broadcast and print media outlets. It does not explore the production of the content.

The research study is based on ‘Quantitative Content Analysis’ and has examined 957 news articles.

The findings support that despite being close allies in the ongoing War on Terror, two different set of stories appeared. It includes: the story of dominance and reliance; the story of joy and grief; the story of mistrust and incompetence; the story of success and embarrassment; the story of politics and geostrategic interests; the

story covered through joint reporting and individual reporting; the story reported from the field and studio; and the story of mistrust (among the allies) and the future of the war on terror.

Additionally, this research study also investigates the questions whether most of the coverage, of the selected media outlets, was based on counterterrorism, i.e., highlighting the narratives of Allies vs bin Laden; or show the impact of bin Laden's death on the future of War on Terror, on the volatile region, or even on the Al Qaeda itself. It also points out that how these media outlets approached the Pakistani government, Pakistani military/ Intelligence Agencies, and the US government/ Army – besides looking at the rhetoric used for Osama bin Laden and Abbottabad Operation.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- ABC:** American Broadcasting Company
- AFP:** Agency France-Presse
- ANP:** Awami National Party
- AP:** Associated Press
- CCTV:** Closed-circuit television
- CIA:** Central Intelligence Agency
- CMH:** Combined Military Hospital
- CNN:** Cable News Network
- COAS:** Chief of Army Staff
- DG:** Director General
- DNA:** Deoxyribonucleic Acid
- DVD:** Digital Versatile Disc
- FATA:** Federally Administered Tribal Areas
- FBI:** Federal Bureau of Investigation
- FO:** foreign Office
- GOP:** Government of Pakistan
- ISI:** Inter-Services Intelligence
- ISPR:** Inter-Services Public Relations
- Ji:** Jamaat-i-Islami
- JuD:** Jamaat-ud-Dawa
- JUI:** Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam
- LeT:** Lashkar-e-Taiba
- MaK:** Maktab Al-Khidmat
- NAP:** National Action Plan
- NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization

**NDTV:** New Delhi Television Limited

**NYT:** New York Times

**OBL:** Osama bin Laden

**PEMRA:** Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority

**PML:** Pakistan Muslim League

**PPP:** Pakistan Peoples Party

**PR:** Public Relations

**PTV:** Pakistan Television Corporation

**RAW:** Research and Analysis Wing

**SPSS:** Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

**TTP:** Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan

**UK:** United Kingdom

**UN:** United Nations

**US:** United States

**USA:** United States of America

**VOA:** Voice of America

**WOT:** War on Terror

## **CHAPTER1: INTRODUCTION**

Osama bin Laden was shot dead by the US Navy Seals in an operation ‘Neptune Spear’, which left five dead and two injured. The dead included the bin Laden himself, his son Khalid, wife of one of the trusted couriers and two Al Kuwaiti brothers including the Abu Ahmed al-Kuwaiti, a trusted courier of bin Laden – who assisted him during his stay in Abbottabad and provided a cover to bin Laden (and his family) as a ‘typical extended Pakistani family’ (Gall 2014, p.243). His real name was ‘Ibrahim Saeed Ahmed’ (Bowden 2012). The two injured were the widows of bin Laden, who were later treated in the military-run Combined Military Hospital (CMH) in Rawalpindi and Abbottabad for the wounds (SAMAA 2011a). The US claimed that Osama bin Laden was traced due to a telephone call from one of his trusted couriers (Woodward 2011; The Telegraph 2011).

Although, in his televised speech to the world, the US President Obama did appreciate the services of Pakistan in this regard (Obama 2011), but later on it was revealed by the Pakistani and US officials that the man who played a vital role in locating the bin Laden was Dr. Shakeel Afridi, a Pakistan-based health practitioner, who carried out a ‘fake’ CIA-run Anti Polio campaign in the area to collect DNA samples to verify the presence of bin Laden (Aslam 2011; Panetta 2012). It is important to note that Dr. Shakeel Afridi is now in Peshawar Central Jail in Pakistan and has been awarded 33 years of punishment by the tribal court in Khyber Agency (one of the seven tribal agencies of Pakistan) after he was found guilty of ‘treason’ charges for acting as undercover for CIA and for sharing information with them

(Siddiq 2012). The irony of the situation is that he has been booked for the charges, which, many critics affirm, have taken place outside the jurisdiction of the tribal court (The Express Tribune 2012). The American Congress has long defended his case, and has even asked the Obama Administration to review the US aid \$500 million to Pakistan (Upadhyay 2015). US Secretary of State John Kerry in his recent reply to the reservations raised by the American Congress claimed that he has raised the issue of Dr Shakeel Afridi with the Pakistani Prime Minister and even the previous Pakistani leadership (Kerry 2015).

After the 9/11 attacks that claimed lives of 2996 people, US government increased the bounty on the head of Osama bin Laden to \$25million, and declared him the ‘Most Wanted Man’ in the list of FBI Most Wanted Men (FBI 2010). He was the chief architect of the attacks and he claimed it himself in a video tape released by the Al Jazeera (bin Laden 2004; Newman 2004). Initially, the US government tried to handle the issue diplomatically by asking the Taliban to handover Osama bin Laden and all other Al Qaeda operatives living in Afghanistan. Taliban called a meeting of Shura – which consisted of 1000 religious clerics – to discuss the offer made by the US (McCarthy 2001). The Shura after its meeting (with a majority vote) asked the Al Qaeda head Osama bin Laden and other Al Qaeda operatives in Afghanistan to leave Afghanistan for the sake of peace in the region (ibid 2001). Pakistan also sent many delegations to the Mullah Omar – which comprised of many pro-Taliban Islamist party leaders and other Intelligence officials – to ask bin Laden and his Al Qaeda members to leave Afghanistan. All the efforts were in vain when Taliban leader Mullah Omar rejected the offer and declined to hand over the head of Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, to US.

Many critics believe that Osama bin Laden had become very influential in Afghanistan and even Mullah Omar was under his influence. It is evident from the Pakistani diplomatic cables found in Kabul in 2001, which termed the Arab militants 'too big to handle' (Gall 2014, p.51). During Nawaz Sharif's third term as the country's premier, General (R) Ziauddin Butt, who remained the Director General of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) – a secret Pakistani Intelligence Agency – claimed that he visited Kandahar almost four times to see Mullah Omar after Al Qaeda's bombing of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. He claimed in an interview that Mullah Omar once told him: "bin Laden was like a bone in my throat" (Butt 2012).

The refusal to handover bin Laden and his Arab militants paved way for the US and her allies like UK and other NATO members to come hard on both Taliban – who were sheltering these elements – and Al Qaeda (brainchild of Osama bin Laden) itself. Initially, aerial strikes were carried out in different parts of Afghanistan in October 2001, and soon the Taliban left different parts of Afghanistan including the capital Kabul, till mid of November 2001 (ABC News 2001). Bin Laden and most of his men were last spotted in 'Tora Bora' – a mountainous range bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan – where US forces were about to capture him as he was heard on the radio delivering a farewell speech to his followers (Corera 2011). He even asked his followers that they could surrender having his blessings as they didn't receive help from the 'apostate states' otherwise conditions would have been different (Gall 2014, p.37).

But then suddenly things changed and bin Laden got disappeared. US forces tried their best to capture or kill him by heavily bombing the mountain with heavy bombs weighing 226 kg (Anderson 2001). Weeks later, several Al Qaeda operatives were either killed or arrested from the Pakistani areas bordering Afghanistan, but no one

knew anything about bin Laden. The vacuum of information about the life of bin Laden was soon filled by different myths. Several claims and counterclaims were made about his possible death, or presence in the tribal areas of Pakistan, adjacent to Afghan border; but hardly anyone had any valid evidence to support such claims.

It was later on revealed after the US operation in Abbottabad ‘Neptune Spear’ that bin Laden was living in a villa in Abbottabad – which was just a stone’s throw away from the popular Pakistan military academy ‘Kakool’ – for about six years (Abbottabad Commission Report 2013, p.40-41). The house, which has now been demolished by the Pakistan’s military, was far bigger than its neighboring houses and was equipped with many installations like CCTV cameras outside at the main entrance gate to check anyone entering into the house. The house lacked any internet or landline phone connection, and this was perhaps not to invite the attention of anyone, but it was fully equipped with computers (SAMMA News 2011b).

It is also believed that bin Laden did not live a static life in the compound, but was moving around to stay in touch with all the militant commanders even in the tribal areas of Pakistan (Gall 2014). The handwritten notes, letters, computer files and other information collected from the compound also support the claim that he was in touch with Mullah Omar and Hafiz Saeed – a militant leader and founder of Lashkar-e-Tayyaba – who later changed the name of his organization to Jamat ud Dawah, and is considered the main ‘architect’ of the Mumbai attacks by the Indian authorities (ibid 2014, p.251; The Economic Times 2015; The Express Tribune 2012).

Although, US has not released much information related to the trove of data collected from the bin Laden’s compound – except few videos recorded by bin

Laden and planning of few attacks on US soil on important occasions – but it is more important to mention that this pile of data led US to punish the Pakistani citizen ‘Abid Naseer’ in the US court very recently (Buncombe 2015).

The death of bin Laden was considered the biggest news story of the year by many International and prestigious media outlets including the Associated Press (AP).

They carried out a poll of US editors and news directors to decide it (Crary 2011). It is important to note that the year 2011 witnessed many other big incidents: the Arab Spring, the disastrous earthquake in Japan, the Royal wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton, the earthquake in New Zealand, the riots in England and the killing of Gaddafi. The selection of bin Laden’s killing as the leading ‘story of the year’ indeed marks the importance of his death on the political horizon of the world. The bin Laden’s death cost US and its allies almost ten years in this War on Terror.

The death of bin Laden provided a reason to US to celebrate, and set a platform to claim that ‘Justice has been done’; but the operation was perceived very differently in Pakistan, where the media outlets, politicians and several opinion leaders started questioning the ‘one-sided US operation’ (considering it as violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan); expressing doubts about the role played by the Pakistani military and its intelligence agencies in helping the US to conduct the successful operation; the failure of the Air Force department of Pakistan to trace the US helicopters, which reportedly flew from Jalalabad (Afghanistan); and the inability of the Pakistani forces to counter the US forces, which remained in Pakistan for almost 40 minutes.

Such questions from different quarters visibly changed the tone of the high-ups in the government itself, who initially claimed bin Laden’s death a ‘big victory for

Pakistan' and great achievement in the War on Terror (Gillani 2011; Zardari 2011). It turned to be a bad dream for the Pak army chief General Kiyani and his men, and therefore they distanced themselves from it and took a nationalistic and patriotic stand on the issue by calling it a 'violation of sovereignty' (Gall 2014, p.256). The Pakistani government was left on its own and embarrassed by both US and its own people, while the US continued revealing new information related to the Abbottabad Operation or bin Laden's death or his life in the compound, almost every day. The Pakistani government imposed a ban on the live coverage of TV channels from Abbottabad about the incident, but it did nothing to stop the foreign media outlets like BBC, CNN and Aljazeera, and the US officials from questioning the (in)competence and credibility of the Pakistani military and its Intelligence agencies in locating bin Laden and its role as a trusted frontline state ally.

The debate around such lines also influenced the coverage of bin Laden's death story on Pakistani screens and newspapers. It became the 'story of tragedy' rather than a 'story of victory, joy or success' for many Pakistani media outlets. It gave opportunity to the leaders of many conservative religious political parties to derive more political benefits from the event by chanting anti-US slogans in different rallies on the streets of Pakistan to protest against the Abbottabad Operation – carried out by the US alone on Pakistani soil. Some religious political parties offered the funeral prayer of bin Laden in absentia even in the lawn of Peshawar High Court building, besides many on the streets (NDTV 2011). Even some members of the National Assembly of Pakistan – including Maulvi Asmatullah and Maulana Attaur-Rehman (former Federal minister) – offered 'fatiha' (prayer for the departed soul in Islam) for bin Laden on the floor of National Assembly of Pakistan (Crilly 2011).

It is very important to look at the death coverage of Osama bin Laden – across the media outlets of the US, UK and Pakistan – as he was a common enemy of all these three close allies of the War on Terror. Apparently these three close allies shared and pursued the common goal, for more than a decade, to capture and/ or kill bin Laden and dismantle his brainchild, Al Qaeda.

The death of bin Laden is indeed a historic and critical moment for the allies as all of them have paid price of this war in their own ways: the US and UK mostly financial – in terms of billions of dollars (though they also suffered human loss as well); and Pakistan paid mostly in terms of human and infrastructure loss. It is also true that all these three countries remained victims of bin Laden's terror strategy during different periods: the US suffered the 9/11 attacks; UK suffered for the 7/7 attacks and Pakistan remained on his terror strategy more than any other country due to its status of frontline state ally. It is also important to note that Pakistan's top spy agencies claimed in the Supreme Court of Pakistan that so far, more than 49,000 Pakistani have laid down their lives in this ongoing War on Terror (Raja 2013) – since the event of 9/11 – a figure far more than the losses it bore in its three wars against India.

Besides the alliance of these three countries in the ongoing War on Terror, which makes it worthy to look at the media coverage of these countries; it is also important to keep the location, the garrison city Abbottabad, in mind, where bin Laden was living and where the event unfolded itself. On the one hand, it was a surprise for many in the world including the residents of Abbottabad, but on the other hand, it was also coupled with many narratives like responsibility as a frontline state ally, mistrust among the allies, patriotism across the different regions, respect for the UN and International laws, honoring or breaching the sovereignty of a country, and even

failure in itself to locate or kill bin Laden who was living within a mile from the Pakistan's military academy.

In this research study, I have looked at the coverage of seven media outlets which, on the print media side, includes: The New York Times from US; Guardian and The Daily Telegraph from UK; and Dawn from Pakistan. On the electronic media side, it includes: Geo News, Duniya News and PTV News from Pakistan. The first two are private owned TV channels of Pakistan; while the last one is the official broadcaster of Pakistan. It must be remembered that the data of PTV News has been analyzed in two parts – PTV News (script) and PTV News (DVD) – which has been explained in detail in the methodology chapter of this thesis.

This research study has tried to look at the media coverage carried out by these media outlets for ten consecutive days, starting from the day of bin Laden's death – May 2 in Pakistan and UK and May 1 in US due to the time difference among these countries. It has already been explained in detail in the methodology chapter of this thesis. The ten days coverage will help us to place an opinion on the abundance of data containing different themes related to this study.

On the print media side, this research study has looked at the news articles published in the different pages of the newspapers along with the editorials published on the issue. Please note that opinion pieces appearing in the editorial or op-ed pages have not been selected in this research study. On the electronic media side, it contains the news items on-aired in the two news bulletins – 3o'ck afternoon and 9o'ck primetime news bulletin of the selected period.

It must be noted that a total of 957 news articles have been studied in this research study. It includes 216 news items of Geo News, 191 of Dawn, 184 of Duniya News,

105 of The New York Times, 87 of The Daily Telegraph, 71 of Guardian, 63 of PTV News (Script) and 40 of PTV News (DVD).

The main research question raised in this study is: How the seven identified media outlets across the three different countries covered the death of Osama bin Laden? This study only focuses on the content of the broadcast or print media coverage. It is not related to explore the production of the content.

Much of the detailed explanation will follow in the analysis chapters of the thesis but, apparently, the official statements covered in media show that the allies did not give the impression of ‘natural’ allies fighting the war by taking pride in the killing of a common ‘enemy’.

Perhaps it was the reason that the coverage carried out by the Pakistani media outlets differed from the British and American media outlets. It must be noted that the coverage of British and American media outlets largely coincided with each other. Though there were also certain differences in their coverage, but they were not that much significant (to be called a different story). Though U.S, UK and Pakistani media outlets also shared some common lines, but looking at the differences in the selected media outlets, we can claim that it led to two very different set of stories. The differences in the coverage of the story can be observed in Pakistani, British and American media outlets.

The objective of this research study is to explore the similarities and differences in the coverage. It will show where the media outlets – of the three close allies – shared the same version of the story and where they differed. In order to better understand the comparative coverage, several angles have been identified, termed as different dimensions of the thesis.

One of the prime objectives of this thesis is to show the dominance of the US and Pakistani officials in the coverage and the reliance of the media outlets on them to report the story. The aim is to know how much the media outlets relied on each of them to tell the story to its readers and viewers. Indeed, the dominance of one over the other will show their possible influence over the content of the coverage.

The thesis also includes the discussion surrounding the discovery of bin Laden in Abbottabad and the geostrategic interests of Pakistan – which is also a frontline state ally of the US in the ongoing War on Terror. The aim is to understand whether bin Laden's discovery in the Abbottabad should be taken as a surprise or not, and why?

Equally, it is also important to explore how bin Laden's death story appeared both in the US and Pakistan? Was it perceived as victory or tragedy? It will be explored on the basis of reporting carried out in the daily Dawn. It is also important to explore how the story itself was reported to the readers by the selected newspapers? The aim is to find out whether it was reported through individual reporting or joint reporting?

Besides the print media, it is also important to know how the electronic media outlets of Pakistan covered the death of bin Laden? The purpose is to find out how much did they tell the story of bin Laden's death from the field and how much did they rely on the studio related stuff to guide and inform the viewers.

Another important objective of this research study is to investigate whether most of the coverage of the selected media outlets was based on the counterterrorism perspectives, i.e., highlighting the narratives of Allies vs bin Laden; or showing the impact of bin Laden's death on the future of War on Terror, or on the volatile region, or even on the Al Qaeda itself. The discussion about these different topics

will help us understand the nature of the coverage given to the issue by the Pakistani, British and American media outlets.

This research study also explores another dimension of the story to show how these media outlets approached the Pakistani government and Pakistani military/ Intelligence Agencies in their coverage? The aim is to understand whether they were critical of the Pakistani government and its military establishment – besides understanding the patriotic coverage.

The findings will also show another perspective of the story: how the US government/ Army were addressed in the coverage? It will show us whether the coverage was critical of the US government/ Army, or not? It will also tell us whether their version appeared in the media outlets and which media outlet covered it more? The objective of this research study is also to explore whether the coverage of the selected media outlets was biased against bin Laden or not – besides letting us know about the rhetoric used for the Abbottabad Operation.

The findings of this research study, in these specified dimensions, will help us in building up a broader comparative picture of the coverage given to the issue by both the print and electronic media outlets of the three countries. Much of the findings show that two different set of stories appeared in Pakistani, UK and US media outlets – besides sharing some common lines. It can be best understood from the brief discussion of the major findings.

The findings support that almost all the media outlets – except PTV News (Script and DVD) – showed dependency on the US official sources to tell the story of bin Laden's death. The highest number was utilized by The New York Times compared

to other media outlets. Furthermore, the findings also show the less visibility of Pakistani officials – besides their lack of media strategy to deal with the situation.

It is also true that the story of bin Laden's death was perceived very differently in the US and Pakistan, where it was celebrated as a victory in the former, but mourned as a tragedy in the later – based on the findings of the coverage in the Dawn newspaper.

The findings also show that the Western (US and UK) media outlets covered the death of bin Laden through 'joint reporting' – but the Dawn covered it through 'individual' reporting – besides hardly adding anything significant to the story. The case of TV channels of Pakistan was no more different from the Dawn as they too told the story from the studio – through 'table' stories – rather than from field.

The discussion surrounding the different topics show that much of the coverage of the Dawn, the Guardian and the Telegraph, along with all the TV channels of Pakistan did not discuss the counter-terrorism perspective of bin Laden's death. The New York Times was the only newspaper which tried to keep the balance by discussing almost all the topics in a bit of calculated manner.

The findings of this thesis also show that all the Western media outlets were more critical of the Pakistani military and intelligence agencies; while all the Pakistani media outlets were more critical of the Pakistani government than its military. The Pakistani media outlets also gave coverage to the US version of the story, and it was more prominent in the Geo News than any other media outlet.

Furthermore, it also shows that none of the media outlet, selected in this study, was biased against bin Laden; but the impression of ‘patriotic’ coverage can be seen in the Pakistani media outlets while addressing the ‘Abbottabad Operation’.

### **1.1. Structure of the Thesis**

This research thesis has been divided into the following eleven chapters:

Introduction; literature review; methodology; Pakistan and geostrategic politics; preliminary analysis of newspapers’ data and dependency on sources; Pakistan’s official stand on the issue and nature of the coverage; dependency, statements and tone of the language; preliminary analysis of TV data and dependency on sources; nature of coverage, statements and tone of the language; comparative analysis of Pakistani TV channels and newspaper and conclusion.

**Chapter 1** introduces the topic of research to the readers and also highlights the importance of the topic. It also provides some basic information about the media outlets, which have been researched in this study along with the research sample and some broader research questions. It also provides the structure of the thesis with short introduction of almost every chapter.

**Chapter 2** mainly focuses on the research studies conducted by different media researchers on the ‘Triangle of Terror’ – 9/11 attacks, War on Terror and the death of bin Laden. All these three events are related and interconnected to each other like the three sides of a triangle. It has been called the ‘Triangle of Terror’ as 9/11 attacks (in both Washington and New York) were the events of terror; that led US and her allies to a decade long counterterrorism war to counter the terror elements in

Afghanistan and, later, expanded to War on Iraq (which was referred to by President Bush and other US officials as part of the War on Terror); and finally, we have the death of Osama bin Laden (in US-led operation), which can be called the death of ‘symbol of terror’.

This chapter discusses media studies conducted on the ‘Triangle of terror’ from different perspectives: the patriotism practiced by the US journalists during the 9/11; dominance of US officials in the coverage (related to the events of Triangle of Terror); reliance on US officials for the coverage of 9/11 attacks, War on Terror and its consequences; pressures surrounding the Pakistani journalists while covering different events of War on Terror (from Pakistan) and their perception about the US and Taliban in the context of their media coverage; and different studies conducted on the death coverage of bin Laden. At the end, it also mentions what this study will contribute to the existing literature.

**Chapter 3** mainly focuses on the justification of the ‘Content Analysis’, as the best research methodology for this study, to answer all the questions which have been raised. The chapter also provides details about the research sample, research population (different TV channels and newspapers selected in this research study). It also gives a detail overview about how the copies of selected newspapers and bulletins of the TV channels were collected for this research study, and then how data was extracted from it via coding sheets. It also gives a detailed account about the use of SPSS in the data entry process.

**Chapter 4** – Pakistan and geostrategic politics – focuses on the geography of Pakistan and the conflicts surrounding it. It explores that sharing borders with Muslim countries like Afghanistan and Iran, emerging world powers like China and

Russia, or its archrival India; has added more to the importance of geographical location of Pakistan. But it is also true that being bordered with these countries has also added to both securities and insecurities for Pakistan, which are obvious from its three wars with India, tensions at the western borders, interference in the affairs of other countries, and also allegedly using ‘militancy’ as a ‘tool’ in the region to pursue its interests.

**Chapter 5** shows the preliminary results of the newspapers’ data and the usage of different sources in its news stories to tell the story of bin Laden’s death. It also gives us a view about which newspapers gave more coverage to the issue (both on front page and overall); nature of news items published; and how many byline stories made its place to the pages and who wrote them. It too shows the visibility and dominance of both Pakistani and US officials in the coverage.

**Chapter 6** focuses on Pakistan’s official stand over bin Laden’s death and nature of coverage. It discusses Pakistan’s official stand over the issue by focusing on the coverage of Pakistani officials carried out by Dawn. It also explores the topics discussed in the introductions, as well as, the rest of the story to show the nature of the coverage given by the different newspapers. It also examines the question, was most of the coverage based on the ‘Allies vs Osama bin Laden’ or ‘Pakistan vs US’? Also, was the event of his death treated as a counterterrorism event to show its repercussions on the Al Qaeda, region and War on Terror? It also examines the possible ‘Victory vs Tragedy’ frame prevailing in the coverage – due to different perception of the operation in both Pakistan and the Western world.

**Chapter 7** discusses the dependency of the daily Dawn on Western sources to tell the story of bin Laden’s death to its readers in Pakistan. It also shows the first three

statements made about the Pakistani government, its military or intelligence agencies to show how they were addressed in the coverage. It also records the first three statements made about the US government/ army to show were they appreciated in the coverage or not? It will also look at the rhetoric used for both Osama bin Laden and the Abbottabad Operation in the coverage of all the seven media outlets.

**Chapter 8** focuses on the preliminary analysis of TV data and the reliance of (selected) TV channels of Pakistan on different sources to tell the story of bin Laden's death. It too shows us about which Pakistani TV channel gave more coverage to the issue besides discussing the nature of news items on aired in detail. It also focuses on the visibility of Pakistani and US officials in the coverage.

**Chapter 9** focuses on the nature of coverage given to the issue, by exploring different topics discussed in the introduction and rest of the body of every news item, to show the nature of the coverage given to the issue. It also shows, was most of the coverage based on the 'Allies vs Osama bin laden' or 'Pakistan vs US' – besides showing the discussion surrounding the impact of his death on War on Terror, Al Qaeda or the region. It too records the first three statements made about the Pakistani government and its military or intelligence agencies to know that who was criticized more in the coverage carried out by its own TV channels. It also focuses on the statements made about the US government/ army to see whether US was appreciated or criticized more in the coverage? It also focuses on the rhetoric used for both bin Laden and Abbottabad Operation.

**Chapter 10** focuses on very few selected lines of comparative coverage given to the issue by Pakistani newspaper the daily Dawn and three TV channels of Pakistan.

The discussion revolves around the points that which Pakistani media outlet gave more coverage to the issue; their reliance on US and Pakistani officials to tell the story; to show the nature of coverage given to the issue by analyzing all the topics discussed in the story; to know whether Pakistani government was criticized more in the coverage or its military and intelligence agencies; and also to find out whether US was appreciated or criticized more in the coverage.

**Chapter 11** focuses on a brief summary of the thesis along with the conclusion.

Most of the debate in this chapter is related to the main research question, and findings of this thesis. It equally argues the contribution of this thesis to the existing literature along with the limitations faced in it. It also gives suggestions for further studies on the same or similar topics.

In summary, the study focuses on the media coverage given to the bin Laden's death. The aim of this research study is to show the death of Osama bin Laden in a much broader perspective by exploring the different lines attached to it. The focus of this research study is the detail comparison between the coverage of different news organizations selected in this study.

It must be remembered that besides the media coverage of the issue, the issue itself is important as it shows a deep divide between its own allies – who are still engaged in fighting the War on Terror – who aim at eliminating the terror elements from Afghanistan or in the region as a whole for which every ally has paid its price either in the form of billions of dollars or in the form of thousands of innocent souls (Bangash 2013b). It shows that perhaps the rifts between the allies (Pakistan and US/UK) are much bigger than their joint aggression to wipe out the Al-Qaeda or other similar elements from the region.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter is aimed at survey of the existing studies conducted by different researchers on media coverage surrounding the ‘Triangle of Terror’ – a phrase devised by the researcher to encompass the post 9/11 terror and counterterror operations till the death and media coverage of Al Qaeda’s chief Osama bin Laden. The ‘Triangle of Terror’ include 9/11 attacks on the United States, carried out by Al Qaeda; War on Terror started by US in Afghanistan and later on in Iraq to destroy the Al Qaeda Network and other related Islamist organizations (and their leadership); and finally, the death of Osama bin Laden – the death of a symbol of terror – which was perceived as the ultimate goal of the War on Terror.

These three terror and counterterror events are interconnected to each other like three edges of a triangle, and all of them are either the cause or product of each other. If 9/11 attacks were the biggest terror attacks orchestrated by Osama bin Laden and his terrorist organization Al Qaeda, the War on Terror is also the longest (counterterrorism-based) war launched by the US and her allies in Afghanistan and Iraq to get rid of bin Laden and his brainchild Al Qaeda, along with other connected extremist organizations. It is also true that bin Laden’s killing was the ultimate outcome of this US-led War on Terror.

The approach adopted by this researcher during this study was the comparative analysis of the Triangle of Terror: 9/11 attacks, Afghan and Iraq War, and the death of bin Laden. Comparative case studies do help in understanding the coverage better; and many scholars claim that comparative case studies do not need to be identical, but rather they should share a common context. Pickvance (2001, p. 17) also supports this view and claims: “*comparative analysis requires the things being compared to be commensurable but not necessarily identical*”. The context of almost all the events/ issues of terror/ counterterror operations included in the ‘Triangle of Terror’ share the same characteristics, and therefore, it is important to look at them in some detail.

The research studies conducted on the ‘Triangle of Terror’ will help us understand the similarities and differences in the coverage of the same event by different local and international media outlets. This literature, besides informing us about the nature of the coverage, will also help us to understand the discussion surrounding different themes; use of different sources to tell the story; reliance on official sources (mostly US officials) during the coverage of war, and its repercussions; understand the rhetoric and tone of the coverage; and the representation of different countries in the coverage of different media outlets during the crisis. All this discussion will help the readers understand data analysis chapters – later in this thesis – and the contribution of this researcher to the existing body of knowledge (which will be discussed in the conclusion chapter of this thesis).

This chapter has been broadly divided into four sections. The first section includes debate revolving round the media coverage of 9/11 attacks and some comparative studies as well. The second section deals with the research studies conducted on the media coverage of Iraq War (part of the War on Terror) from different perspectives

along with the perception of Pakistani journalists about the US and Taliban in the context of their media coverage of the War on Terror. The plights and pressure on the journalists working in Pakistan to cover the events related to the War on Terror also needs to be discussed. The aim is also to show how Pakistani journalists behave in portrayal of conflict, particularly related to the Triangle of Terror, as the case of US journalists would already have been discussed in the first section (coverage of 9/11 attacks) of this chapter. The third section deals with the research studies conducted specifically on the media coverage of the death of bin Laden. Those studies which are directly related to the contribution of this research have been discussed in detail, and those studies conducted on bin Laden and not directly linked to the findings of this research study have been presented in a summarized form. The last section sums up the chapter and briefly shares some of the major contributions of this author to this literature.

## **2.2. Media Coverage of 9/11 Attacks**

September 11 attacks on World Trade Centre, Pentagon, and Pennsylvania – carried out by Al-Qaeda through hijacked planes – are still considered attacks full of surprise, but highly organized and horrible terrorist attacks. It claimed lives of 2996 people. It was because of these attacks that the politics of the world turned in new direction and gave a new mandate to US and its allies to hunt down Osama bin Laden and his terrorist organization Al-Qaeda, who allegedly engineered these terror attacks.

Apparently, one can find many differences between the 9/11 attacks and the Abbottabad Operation, but still there are some common lines between them.

Although, much justification has been provided in the introduction of this chapter,

still, some discussion will go on. It is true that 9/11 attacks were highly organized and full of surprise, but the Abbottabad operation also carry the same elements to sustain the interest of many people around the world. If 9/11 attacks shocked the US government and its intelligence agencies, the Abbottabad operation also left question marks on the role of one of the world's largest and powerful Armies: failure of its intelligence to locate or kill bin Laden, and counter or identify a foreign attack. It, thus, served an opportunity for many stakeholders in Pakistan to criticize this powerful institution (this point has been discussed in detail in the analysis chapters), and many demanded resignation of its heads.

Moreover, Pakistan was unable to recover for a long time, from the operation, as it deeply humiliated the image of Pakistan in War on Terror and especially its role as a 'trusted' front-state ally (Dawn 2011f). Like 9/11, Abbottabad Operation also enforced the government of Pakistan to conduct an inquiry through an independent commission to know more in depth about it. The Abbottabad Operation provided a space to question the role of Pakistani institutions in the ongoing War on Terror like the 9/11 attacks did in the US context.

Thussu and Freedman (2003, p.4-5) stress that while reporting the conflict situation, the mainstream media plays a vital role both as a 'publicist' and 'crucial observer'. They claim that still many media professionals and liberal commentators support the view that journalists should report the event impartially and independently, and it requires on the part of them to get rid of their 'ideological and organizational restrictions' as it will enable them to counter the powerful voices of both the government and (military) establishment who play an important role in the time of war and make important decisions.

Many other researchers including Magder (2003) also testifies the claim that ‘state actors’ always play a crucial role, in the matters of foreign policy, to set and frame the ‘news-agenda’ (p.36). He claims that media coverage of foreign events is influenced by the interpretative frames offered by the ‘political elites’: once they (political elites) define the event in the context of ‘national security’ with some level of ‘legitimacy’, the media outlets will also adopt the ‘patriotic’ tone on the issue (ibid 2003, p.36). Herman and Chomsky also claim in their popular “Propaganda Model” that state actors have the ability to ‘manufacture consent’ (Herman and Chomsky 1988).

Reporting the conflict situation is never easy as it always brings challenges to the journalists. On one hand, they show reliance on political and military actors to cover the event, but on the other hand, they (political and military sources) also try “to cover up the truth and manipulate media reporting” (Nord and Strömbäck 2003, p.127). Indeed, the sources influence the tone of the coverage and leave an impression on the content of the coverage itself. Hamilton and Crimsky (cited in Mogensen 2007, p.306) are of the opinion that showing dependency on single source for seeking information would not result in balanced picture of the event. The inclusion of different sources of information in a story for multiple views is indeed a good idea, but sometimes it is really challenging when it comes to practice – especially in a crisis situation. Different scholars studying the 9/11 attacks stated that American journalists often showed patriotism when they were reporting the 9/11 attacks. Magder (2003, p.36) also claims that after 9/11, ‘intense patriotism’ was visible in the coverage of American media.

Such patriotism in the coverage of 9/11 attacks was not only visible in the language of American media, but it was equally visible in the get-up of most of the American

reporters too. It has been confirmed that after the 9/11 attacks, majority of the American journalists were busy in exhibiting patriotism by wearing flag pins. Different media networks even changed the appearance of their logos like the logo of CNN was displayed in American flag. This was not only the case with electronic media, but the print media also followed the same path. Soon after the 9/11 attacks, the issue of Time Magazine carried the name of the magazine covered with American flag. Researchers working in different regions of the world mostly criticize such acts of patriotism practiced by the reporters while covering the traumatic events in different parts of the world. They are of the opinion that the job of the reporter is to explore the issue (impartially) to the masses by asking questions, not to act as a ‘Cheerleader’ (Ward 2010).

It is considered a sign of good journalism that journalists detach themselves from the ‘public pain’ even if reporting a domestic tragedy and follow the true journalistic principles. Most of the times, it has been observed that a patriotic stance is usually taken by different newspapers and TV channels due to the strong official pressure at the time of crisis. It stands true for many countries including the US where the officials on many instances insisted over it. Once, in October 2001 (please note that in the chapter Ted Magder mistakenly wrote the year 1991), Condoleezza Rice, President Bush’s National Security Advisor, told television network executives to exercise caution while broadcasting video tapes of the Osama bin Laden; as, she claimed, it could be a signal to terrorists to attack (Magder 2003, p.37). Ex-British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher also once warned, “democracies must find a way to starve the terrorist and the hijacker of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend” (Cottle 2006, p.144). The same directives have also been issued by the officials of the U.S allies during the War on Terror, like Ex-Information Minister of

Pakistan Sheikh Rashid Ahmed once threatened the journalists with the use of anti-terrorism laws if they continued to portray militants as the 'real heroes of the society' or 'glorify' them (Rashid 2004).

Thussu and Freedman (2003) claim that 'Truth' is an important commodity in the era of 24/7, and reporters should go beyond the handouts and briefings to discover an 'original' story (in the time of crisis), as such investigative reports force government to be more open in their justification of war and even conducting a military operation (p.5). But when reporters start relying on the official sources for information, it does not only undermine the credibility of the journalists (while covering the attacks), but also make these reporters 'stenographers for the official sources' (McChesney 2002, p. 95).

Moreover, many analysts claim that in times of patriotism, 'the dissent is muted' (Carter and Barringer 2001). This view, in the context of the 9/11 attacks coverage, has been supported by Schudson (2002, p.40), by claiming that almost all the TV channels of the US instantly turned from the 'sphere of legitimate controversy' to the 'sphere of consensus'. Another researcher, Ahmad (2008), while conducting research on the 9/11 attacks, also concluded that the US media outlets were dominated by the government agenda (p.39). Such differences usually become clearer when the content of different media outlets is studied for the coverage of the same event. Haes (2003) conducted a research on the comparative coverage of the German and American news sources while covering the 9/11 attacks. The study revealed that American news sources followed the patriotic view; while the German news sources stressed on the international cooperation in addressing terrorism.

The glimpses of such patriotic coverage could also be seen in the British media while reporting the 9/11 attacks; Bromley and Cushion (2002), after conducting their research on the portrayal of 9/11 in the UK press, mentioned that after the 9/11 attacks, Daily Mirror covered it by displaying a quarter size picture of President Bush along with his quote: “Freedom itself was attacked by a faithless coward, freedom will be defended”. The coverage of Daily Express also followed patriotic line as it highlighted the event in the traditional popular press discourse by saying that ‘the marriage of religion and terror created an invisible foe’ (ibid 2002, p.170).

Schudson (2002, p. 43) points out that the media coverage of the 9/11 attacks best fit in the category of ‘Pastoral Journalism’. He is of the opinion that “Pastoral Journalism seeks to offer reassurance, not information; it seeks to speak to and for a unified people rather than a people divided by a conflict and interested in a conflict; it seeks to build community rather than to inform it”. Perhaps, it was the reason that such coverage did not allow the journalists to question, even for a single moment, whether it was a wise decision to go for a war (on terror) (McChesney 2002, p.93).

Nord and Strömbäck (2003) claim that (all) two crises are never identical; still, if the journalists want to inform the public in a better way, it depends upon two things – existence of the previous media routine and the ability of the media to make adequate preparations. They claim that if there is no precedent of the coverage of the similar incident before, and also, if the journalists are not (mentally) prepared (for its coverage), there is little hope that ‘high quality’ reporting is ensured, or the citizen can be better informed (p.129).

While looking at the coverage of the 9/11 attacks and the attacks of the US in Afghanistan (early phase of War on Terror); in seven Swedish media outlets

(including four newspapers and three TV channels), Nord and Strömbäck (2003) made the following conclusions:

- 1) 'American elite sources' dominated the coverage of both the 9/11 attacks and early phase of War on Terror in Afghanistan in the Swedish media by overpowering the 'Swedish elite sources' and even the 'Afghan elite sources' (p.134).
- 2) The 'bias' in media coverage of the Swedish media indeed favored the American side of the conflict; but reporting less Afghan sources (than both American and Swedish sources) should be taken in the line that they were less accessible than the latter (p.134).
- 3) The Swedish journalists, in their reporting, were 'dependent' on the American news media and their reporting. They claimed: "In many cases, it is obvious that what on the surface appeared to be original reporting from the Swedish journalists were actually re-writes of articles or news features from various American media" (p.134).
- 4) Beside the American and Swedish elite sources, the other dominant sources in the coverage were the victims of the terror attacks, including the relatives, friends and colleagues of those who died due to the terror attacks (p.134).
- 5) The Swedish media largely used foreign and international media as sources, without explicitly stating it. They claimed: "[it] raises a question concerning the credibility of the news. The reason is that every time journalists choose or are forced to rely on other media instead of doing their own original reporting, there is a risk that

disinformation and errors will keep circulating throughout the news pages and news shows” (Ibid 2003, p.136).

Nord and Strömbäck (2003) claim that to ask ‘where’ the journalists are based may be trivial, but it is essential element in ensuring objective and balance reporting – besides their ability to move freely in the conflict zone. They stressed: “In war reporting it is relevant to ask *where* journalists are working, *when* journalists are publishing the results of their work and, perhaps most importantly, *how* journalists are working within the media organization” (p.128-129). They claim that if the media outlets, instead of their original reporting, rely on others to cover the event, then there is a risk that ‘incorrect’ information will spread (ibid 2003, p.136). They further concluded that ‘relatively prepared’ war correspondents, covering the initial US attacks in Afghanistan from the Pakistani border, did a better job than most of the ‘confused’ local TV news crews – a few blocks away from the World Trade Centre in the US (ibid 2003, p.139).

Most of the research studies discussed above show that the US sources dominated the coverage mostly. It is also important to find out why mostly the US dominates the coverage or why the media outlets of other countries show dependency on them to report different events.

Thussu (2000, p.167) claims that the US dominates the ‘international flow of information and entertainment’. He further claims that during the time of conflict, even non-Western networks follow the news agendas set by the West; and the reason for the US dominance is its ‘style of presentation’ which aims to sustain the interest of the global audience (ibid 2003, p.127). McChesney (1997, p.1) also claims that a global media system is dominated by very few ‘super-powerful’ – but mostly by U.S.-based transnational media corporations. Other researchers also

support this claim by saying that US has better ‘information channels’ along with its capacity to influence the ‘global media’ in particular ways (Nord and Strömbäck 2003, p.139).

Nye (2004), while highlighting the dominance of the US- based media outlets, stressed that they mostly set the global media agenda through ‘advertising and telecommunication networks’, and in return it also helps the US to use its ‘*soft power*’ to pursue its ‘national, economic and political interests’.

Thussu (2000, p. 26) is of the opinion that media flows are strongly linked to the economic power. He stresses that the images and information are produced by many, but the ‘global entertainment and information flow’, mostly around the world, is still negotiated, to a large extent, by the content produced by the Anglo-American news organizations, who share information, and visuals (ibid 2000, p.163).

There are many other scholars who support this view by claiming that one-way flow of information in the world is due to the “dominant political and economic structures, which tend to maintain and reinforce the dependence of poorer nations on the richer” (MacBride et al 1980, p.148).

Akbar (2009, p.3) claims that the Western dominance over the news flow is due to their remarkable ‘advancement in the field of information technology’. While counting the reasons for poor show by the developing countries, in this regard, he claims that lack of resources, poor telecommunication system, lack of trained and qualified journalists, and low literacy rate are responsible for it.

But besides the global reach of the US media outlets and the content produced by them, Thussu (2000, p.164) too appreciates that the US media – despite having close links with the officials – is independent of the government control, and thus it has earned ‘credibility’ in return; which provides them with the ability to share

constantly 'accurate, fast and authoritative news and information' with the world.

He too claims that another advantage of the US media is that it is available in many forms; as he says: "if not in English then in dubbed or indigenized versions" (Thussu 2007, p.11).

There might be a dominance of the US media over other media outlets (in general or) in the case of the 9/11 attacks or early phase of War on Terror, but researchers also claim that the newspapers working in different societies look differently at the same event, and it is mostly related to the society in which they are based. Singh (2002) claims that there is possibility that the same event may have been covered (and perceived) differently by the journalists sitting in different parts of the world as 'location' is considered one of the decisive factors in determining the 'nature and tone' of the coverage.

Singh (2002, p.2) in his working paper – on the coverage of September 11 attacks and its consequences in American, Pakistani and Indian press – showed that location affected both 'perspective and perception'; like a geography has great effect on the interpretation. The American media portrayed President Bush after 9/11 in a new frame, focused on his 'personality' his 'leadership skills'. Pakistani media, on the other hand, focused on the office of the president and the power attached to it; and also, the likely consequences of it on the regional politics and lives of neighbors (ibid 2002, p.6). Schaefer (2003) also confirms that geography plays a vital role on the angle of looking at the issue and reporting it after studying the comparative coverage given to the US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, and September 11 attacks in New York and Washington.

Besides identifying the different perspectives in local and international media coverage, the other most important factors which can decide the direction of

reporting is the ‘location of event’ and ‘nationality of victim’ (Weimann and Winn cited in Schaefer 2003, p. 96). Pande (2010, p.5) confirms that ‘Geographic proximity’ also defines the ‘nature’ and strength of the coverage given to particular events. While doing their research on the coverage of terrorism by The New York Times and three other US networks, they concluded that both factors were important – especially for TV news. It is also believed that local coverage of any event may be more solid as the local journalists usually have more resources – besides having good access to the sources.

It will be tested later in the research study, but besides ‘location of event’ and ‘nationality of victim’, another most important factor in deciding the nature and tone of the coverage, in the context of South Asian geo-strategic politics; is the “*nationality of the attack*” (this author devised this phrase to show the sensitivity of the Abbottabad Operation). It means that when there is an attack or violation from an ‘unfriendly’ country, it is considered a gross violation of the country’s sovereignty and integrity, and a ‘show of power’ is exercised both on the battlefield and in the press. But when such violation is from a relatively ‘friendly’ country, it is not treated with that much severity, and is usually sorted out diplomatically. It stands very true in the context of Pakistan, where any violation of border from the Indian side is usually played up by both media and the officials, but a similar violation from Afghanistan or Iran is treated in a diplomatic way. The phrase also seems relevant in the context of the Abbottabad Operation, which is considered one-sided US operation, and thus, many considered this as attack on the ‘sovereignty’ and ‘integrity’ of Pakistan.

There are certain other research studies conducted on the comparative coverage of the same event, that support the view that ‘nationality of victims’ play a vital role in

deciding the direction of the coverage. Schaefer (2003) in his research – on the comparative coverage given to the 9/11 attacks and the attacks on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania by African newspapers and American newspapers – claimed that American victims of the incidents were given more coverage by their native US newspapers as compared to the coverage given to African victims who lost their lives in these attacks. He claimed that only two out of seventeen news stories published in The New York Times and three out of ten news stories published in Washington Post were related to the African victims. Schaefer (2003, p.105) also showed that American newspapers gave more coverage to the American President as compared to the African President as the former name was mentioned more often than the latter. The same trend could also be seen in the Kenyan newspapers who gave more coverage to the statements issued by their respective president.

Schaefer (2003) claims that when the attack is local, then normally the coverage given to it is with the perspective of rescue efforts, victims, investigation, and prosecution of the act and public reactions. But when the attack occurs on a foreign soil, more coverage is given to it with the perspective of the causes of the attacks and its implications on politics and international relations, as the author claims that physical distance provides ‘less material and more detached perspective’ (ibid 2003, p. 96).

Another most important element in the content of the news coverage is to look at the rhetoric used for the alleged perpetrators of the terrorist events or those who want to take revenge. By rhetoric, many researchers mean certain ‘stereotypes’ used to describe the ‘reality’. It might be easy for the government to label anyone, but it is equally true that the difference between the ‘terrorist’ and ‘freedom fighter’ is mostly blurred. Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008, p.54) claim that terrorism and

terrorist activities are contextually shaped in a particular society. It means that one may perceive the particular event as an act of terror; others may consider it a legitimate activity.

Nord and Strömbäck (2003, p.138) also found out in their research that ‘anti-Muslim’ rhetoric (like “Muslims are fanatics”) were more common in the coverage of the 9/11 attacks and War on Terror (initial phase) than ‘anti-American’ rhetoric in the coverage. It is obvious from the figures as 170 news items carried anti-Muslim rhetoric; while the anti-US rhetoric was noticed in 128 news items. The researchers concluded from the findings that the coverage, to some extent, was biased against the Muslims and the Islamic world. The study conducted on the coverage of BBC after 9/11 claimed that the issue was treated well by the BBC, by finding a middle point in the issue by following the popular principle that ‘one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter’. Therefore, they stressed in their coverage that ‘an act of terrorism’ has occurred, but they did not call them ‘terrorists’ (Attwell cited in Jurkowitz 2001).

The above studies conducted, by different media researchers, tell us about the treatment of the same event – 9/11 attacks and (early phase of) War on Terror – by different national and international media outlets. These research studies show the importance of sources in the coverage of events; its (different sources’) influence on the content of the coverage; furthermore, the impact of location, physical distance to the event, and nationality of the victim are some of the factors that influence the contents of the coverage. Moreover, focus of different media outlets of various countries while giving coverage to the 9/11 attacks, and patriotism practiced by the US journalists was also identified by the some scholars.

### **2.3. US, Pakistan, Taliban and War on Terror**

US, Pakistan and Taliban are most essential elements of this ongoing War on Terror.

In the past, the same space was also occupied by Iraq (both by their forces and extremist elements fighting against the US and Iraqi forces there) when it was serving a deadly battleground for both the US and Iraqi forces due to attacks on them which claimed thousands of lives in just few years. Pakistan played the same role as an ally of the US, in their War on Terror, as their front-state ally; and, like Iraq, Pakistan also suffered huge losses in this War to counter ‘terror’ elements. Beside these similarities, War in Iraq has been included in the category of ‘War on Terror’ due to the repeated references to it by the White House officials and even President Bush during the war (Rogers 2003). In such situation, it is important to look at the coverage of Iraq war in different international media outlets, to understand the comparative coverage given to it besides understanding the pressures on the Pakistani journalists to cover the stories related to the War on Terror, and, their perception of both US and Taliban in the context of War on Terror. The first part of this section deals with the studies conducted on the coverage of Iraq War, the second part deals with the pressures and perception of Pakistani journalists.

Ahmad (2008) carried out a research on the US war in Iraq (March 1, 2003 to April 15, 2003) as it was covered by the US and Canadian media. He studied the front pages of both The Toronto Star and the New York Times to understand the pattern of the coverage. He stresses that during the ‘foreign policy conflict’ media outlets mostly show dependency on the official sources to report it (ibid 2008, p.33). His findings also affirm that the New York Times was more ‘biased’ in its coverage of the War as US sources mentioned in its coverage were 60.7% as compared to the 37.5% US sources (of its overall sources) cited in the Toronto Times. He also found

out that 'Iraqi' sources mentioned in the New York Times made only 6.8% of the coverage; while it made 20% in the coverage of The Toronto Star (p.48).

He further claims that *The Toronto Star* gave due coverage to the deaths of Iraqi civilian population, while *The New York Times* focused more on the U.S casualties and marginalized the deaths of Iraqis and anti-war protests (Ahmad 2008, p.48). He concluded that it shows that The Toronto Star gave more balanced coverage than the New York Times (p.48). He also stressed that the difference in the coverage of both the newspapers is also because Canada was not directly involved in the conflict; supported a diplomatic solution; and even didn't agree with the U.S. to invade Iraq – and the Canadian media was not driven by the patriotism (p.50).

Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2008) also conducted research on the official time period of Iraq War (March 20 to May 1, 2003) in both the American and Swedish media. They selected *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* from the US and *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* from Sweden. They all are widely accepted as the 'elite' newspapers of their countries (p.208-209). They claim that the US journalists usually show more dependency on the US official sources and even allow them to 'set the media agenda' when there is no dispute over the foreign policy (ibid 2008, p.207).

Their findings support this point. The US newspapers showed more reliance on the US officials (both government and military) as compared to their Swedish counterparts (Dimitrova and Strömbäck 2008, p.208). They also found out that the US media emphasized more on the 'Military conflict' and 'Prognostic frame' in the

coverage; while the Swedish media highlighted the ‘Responsibility frame’ and ‘Anti-war Protest’ more in their coverage (ibid 2008, p.212). They concluded: “The results presented here generally support our expectations rooted in framing theory that national foreign policy would be reflected in the war coverage” (ibid 2008, p.214).

Now we will look at the coverage of War on Terror in Pakistan – which is considered one of the danger zones for reporting in the world – makes it difficult for the reporters to look independently into the issue (International Federation of Journalists 2014). On one hand, the journalists are scared of the wrath of the Intelligence agencies and on the other hand there are the violent Taliban. It is mostly difficult for the journalists to report the volatile issues like militancy and War on Terror in an independent way. In a fragmented society like Pakistan, one can argue that it is one of the most difficult tasks, for the journalists, to keep both ends – violent Taliban and powerful Army – happy.

In past, several journalists have remained on the hit list of Taliban for propagating progressive views and several others lost their lives in for reporting issues related to war on terror, like Musa Khankheil, Saleem Shahzad and Hayat Ullah Wazir etc. Mukarram Khan Aatif – who worked for the VOA (DEEWA Radio) – is the latest addition to the list of slain journalists. Tahrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) – a banned outfit of Pakistani Taliban – claimed responsibility for his murder and also issued warning to the journalists, complaining that they are not highlighting their point of view (BBC News 2012a; Gall 2014). The militants in Swat issued the hit list containing names of few prominent journalists from the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, which forced the International Federation of Journalists and Reporters without Borders to write a letter to the President of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari to take

measures for the safety of the journalists (Government intervention sought for journalists' safety, 2009).

In such circumstances, little space is left for journalists to keep things in black and white. Perhaps, it is the reason that most of the media outlets of Pakistan project the homogeneous picture of any conflicting issue by relying only on the military sources for their information or by sharing the ISPR's (Pakistan Military's Public Relations Wing) version about any such volatile event related to war on terror. It may be updates about the on-going operation in different parts of the tribal areas of Pakistan or in past, the developments about such operation in the settled areas of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.

The situation has become extremely worse, up to the point, that journalists in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have stopped working for foreign media outlets. It should be noted that FATA is a semi-autonomous region in the northwestern Pakistan, and it consists of seven tribal agencies and six frontier regions. Beside Orakzai Agency, all share border with Afghanistan. The tribal areas are worst hit in the recent War on Terror due to the influx of Taliban and Al Qaeda members from Afghanistan to Pakistan and vice versa. Abbas (2009) claims that the extremist groups can easily find out whether someone has worked for a foreign media and it can endanger the safety of journalists' families and even they can be forced to move to new locations. Such developments have led to the increased information vacuum in FATA and many researchers point out that reporting from FATA is limited to the 'descriptive' reporting without any 'investigative journalism' (International Media Support 2009, p.26).

One of the basic reasons for getting control over the news flow is that all the parties in the conflict are well aware of the repercussions of ‘bad PR’. The militants, like other parties, cannot bear their bad image in the ongoing fight; so like others, they are also very keen in controlling the news flow (International Media Support 2009, p. 27). On the other hand, Pakistani military, in the shadow of growing violence in the geo-political environment of the region, has also tried to use media to “better manage the national discourse around Pakistan’s involvement in the international fight against terror” (ibid 2009, p. 22). Perhaps, it is the reason that journalists could hardly explore the issue with a wide angle by contacting different legitimate sources – connected to the story – who can contribute to the issue by exploring full ground of events related to the War on Terror to the readers/ viewers, or even to have more balanced and legitimate opinion on the issue.

Gall (2014, p. 21) also claims: “ In addition to the ISPR, there is another whole media group of the ISI ‘M’ wing that worked to manipulate the media and control the discourse inside and outside the country. Its aims were grand: to build national morale and maintain leverage in international relations. It also sought to manipulate public opinion away from issues that the military deemed sensitive, and encourage society to vent in a direction that didn’t hurt Pakistan”. It clearly means that the military establishment in Pakistan is not only tactfully controlling the political landscape, but also the power corridors related to the social life of the people living there.

There are many other researchers who claim that “killings, physical attacks and coercion are constant concerns for many Pakistani media men” (International Media Support 2009, p.25). There are many researchers who claim that both the civilian

and military governments (of Pakistan) have “long influenced the media content by bribing media houses and individual journalists through what is known as *lifafa* (envelope full of cash) culture” (Yusuf and Shoemaker 2013, p. 19), and even the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting claimed that payments worth £1.2 million were made to the journalists from its ‘secret unaudited fund’, in the form of cash payments, hotel bills or plane tickets between August 2011 and March 2013 (Boone 2013).

Perhaps, it is the reason that 57% of the (Pakistani) journalists interviewed by Moahmmad Azam (2008) claimed that media was concealing facts about the radicalization (p.11), and furthermore, 69% are of the opinion that ‘radicalization’ is hindering the ‘freedom of expression’ (p.12). But despite such hurdles and pressures, many Pakistani journalists think that they are doing great job than both of their US and European counterparts. They think that they are fairer and independent in their reporting than both the US and European media organizations, however, they still think that the latter are more professional than them (Pintak and Nazir 2013, p.654-655).

The US also does not enjoy a good image among the Pakistani journalists. About 87% think that US should not be allowed to operate in Pakistan; 85% are of the opinion that Americans play a negative role in the region; 84% say that US is unjustly meddling in Pakistan’s politics; while only 23% somewhat favor the US foreign policy (Pintak and Nazir 2013, p. 656-657). 80% of the journalists are of the opinion that no benefits can justify the US Afghan occupation (ibid 2013, p.658).

According to the Pew Poll survey 2010, only 17% of Pakistanis view US favorably; while six in ten described her as ‘enemy’ (Pew Research Center 2010). Many

researchers believe that one of the main factors responsible for the ‘soaring anti-Americanism’ (among Pakistanis) is the nationalist and conservative religious programming on TV channels (Yousaf 2011, p.96). Even American media accepts this narrative that US stands as a ‘top villain’ in Pakistani talk shows (Tavernise 2010).

Due to the (weak) emerging Afghan media, Pakistani media outlets are still very crucial for all the three stakeholders or parties in war – US, Pakistan, Taliban or Al Qaeda – to control the desired public opinion in the region to their own advantage. Many researchers also claim that due to the language and cultural barrier, US government still shows dependency on Pakistani media journalists as a ‘key mediator’ of its message. The framing in the region is important for both the US and Taliban. For US, the most important thing is to promote ‘war against terror and democracy’ frame; while the aim of Al Qaeda and Taliban is to frame their enemies as ‘foreign occupiers’, who do not share the common values with the local people (Arif, Golan and Moritz 2014, p. 202).

Despite the importance of Pakistani media in the region, many researchers claim that US has failed to convey its story to the people of Pakistan (Arif, Golan and Moritz 2014, p.202). Apparently, one can count many reasons for it (as few have already been discussed). Pintak and Nazir (2013) after surveying 395 Pakistani journalists – in five of the country’s largest media centers – found that ‘Religion’ and ‘Nationalism’ are the primary, and sometimes competing influence shaping the worldview of Pakistani journalists (p. 645). It is also true that more than half of them identified themselves as “Liberal/ Moderate and Democrat”; while only 28% identified themselves as ‘Islamist’ (ibid, p.647). Most of the journalists – surveyed

in the study – stressed that their primary mission is defending the national sovereignty (of Pakistan), preserving national unity and encouraging the social development (ibid 2013, p.648).

Rauf, Golan and Moritz (2014) studied wartime media relations between Pakistani journalists and their perception of both US and Taliban (during the War on Terror). Some of the most important findings, which can help us understand the (possible) failure of US in telling their story (of War on Terror) to the people of Pakistan, are following:

- a) Most of the Pakistani journalists judged that Taliban are more aware of the Pakistani media news routines and they developed good relations with the Pakistani media professionals, but on the other hand, according to the journalists, US was unable to cultivate such good relations (p.208).
- b) Many journalists in Pakistan are of the opinion that it is quite easy to approach Taliban spokesperson for views on their story, but it is almost impossible to reach the US officials for comments on their news story (p.208).
- c) Many journalists in Pakistan claim that they don't trust the State Department's information subsidies as the 'primary source of information' because of its 'biased point of view' and many even call it 'tool of propaganda' (p.207).
- d) Most of the journalists also view that the relations between Pakistani journalists and US as 'elite-oriented' besides having little or no knowledge about the Pakistani news routines (p.211).

- e) Majority of the journalists stress that, unlike the Western societies, Pakistani journalistic culture is based on personal contacts, and the US should develop personal contacts with the journalist community (to achieve positive image) (p.212).

From the above discussion, it is clear that besides using violence as a tool, ‘shared language’ and ‘shared social and political culture’ are also factors responsible for the success of Taliban in cultivating media relations with Pakistani journalists (Rauf, Golan and Moritz 2014, p.212). They concluded: “[...] our interviews indicated that the distrust may be a function of the behavior of the American officials, who at times restrict access to information and often limit their interpersonal communication to a select number of Pakistani journalists” (ibid 2014, p.212).

Abbottabad Operation also brought the relations between Pakistan and US to a new low, but it indeed stayed a ‘local’ event for the Pakistani media professionals. One can expect far better coverage from them as more than 96% of Pakistani journalists claim that their mission is to analyze the complex issues (Pintak and Nazir 2013, p.648); but, Malik Arshad Aziz, working as a News Editor in the Daily Aaj newspaper Peshawar, is of the opinion that there were none of the Pakistani reporters at the scene, when Osama was killed in operation (Aziz 2011). Sarah Kate Kramer, a reporter for WNYC’s Politics website, also testifies the claim that after the Bin Laden’s death, all the information was coming from the US government official sources as no reporters were at the scene (Kramer 2011).

The above discussion about the Pakistani media outlets in the context of War on Terror shows that Pakistani journalists are still struggling to cover the events related to War on Terror; and there are different reasons for it like: pressure on the journalists from Pakistani establishment and Taliban (or other extremist groups)

while reporting the events related to War on Terror; tools used by the Pakistani government like bribing the journalists to ensure better coverage; and even their own biases towards the US (for occupying Afghanistan etc.) – besides the incapability of the US, due to language and cultural barrier, to incorporate good relations among the Pakistani media men to tell her version of the story to the people of Pakistan.

#### **2.4. Specific literature on bin Laden's death coverage**

Media coverage of bin Laden's death is still an emerging topic among the media researchers, but, so far, few research studies have been conducted on the subject. None of these research studies have cited each other in its literature review. This literature review will present a brief introduction of all the research studies conducted on bin Laden's death for the first time, and after this brief summary of the research studies, findings will be discussed in the next section. The detail focus will be made only on those studies which are relevant to this research study.

##### **2.4.1. Summary of the Studies**

There are overall six research studies conducted by different researchers on bin Laden's death which are following:

Lawson (2011) tried to test the 'journalistic detachment' by the Global TV news in the coverage of the death of bin Laden. He analyzed the bulletins for consecutive three days (three bulletins a day except four bulletins on May 2) of three TV Channels – Al Jazeera English, CNN and BBC – by using the content analysis method. He tested his hypotheses of 'journalistic detachment' by looking at the material produced by each TV channel on its own – like two ways communication between the news reader and reporter or between the news reader and expert or

reporter packages – but it did not include unmediated agency material like live press conference. He answered his queries by looking at the ‘plurality of datelines’ – the different locations from where the broadcast took place – in all these three world leading TV channels. He suggested that the more the locations touched by the TV channels, the greater will be the chances of ‘journalistic detachment’. He stressed that if there is a strong focus on some countries and less on others, then it would indicate an attachment to certain aspects of the story, at the expense of the wider, fuller truth. He also used the ‘framing’ devices to measure the appearance of key themes that are likely to guide the viewers’ understanding of the story in a certain direction.

Storie, Madden and Liu (2014) also focus on bin Laden’s death to know how Russian and US media framed counterterrorism. The researchers used qualitative content analysis to collect data, and then based the study on the ‘framing theory’. They selected sixty news articles each from fourteen newspapers of both US and Russia. It only focused on the headline and lead (opening paragraph) of the stories.

Gollwitzer et al (2014) used survey approach to test three hypotheses of satisfaction revolving around the ‘Vicarious revenge and the death of the Osama bin laden’. The survey was conducted among the people of three countries – Pakistan, US and Germany between June and December 2011.

Ungerer et al (2013), in their research paper, focused on the general discussion surrounding bin Laden’s death. The basic theme of the article is to know about the general view about the death of Osama bin Laden from Australia, Pakistan and

Malaysia, and then at the end they discussed the best candidate – linked to Al Qaeda – who can lead Al Qaeda after bin Laden. They concluded that ‘Saif al Adel’ will be the best choice.

Teson (2011) tested the morality of targeted killing of Osama bin Laden by exploring the targeted killings in both ‘peacetime’ and ‘wartime’ settings. However, he concluded that bin Laden should have been given a chance for ‘due trial’.

#### **2.4.2. Findings**

Bin Laden’s death stayed a prominent news story for almost all the news organizations around the world. Almost all the media organizations took great interest in the story as he was chased by the US and her allies in the ongoing War on Terror for more than a decade, and finally killed in a villa in Abbottabad. It is true that the US stayed successful in getting and sustaining the attention of billions of people around the world, in the story of his killing. There is a possibility that his killing may have been covered differently by journalists sitting in different parts of the world as ‘location’ is considered one of the decisive factors that determines the ‘nature and tone’ of the coverage (Singh 2002). (This point has already been explained in the first section).

It is true, as the research study conducted by the Gollwitzer et al (2014) found, that the Americans were more satisfied with the current status of his (bin Laden’s) killing than both Pakistanis and German. Americans also expressed that they would have been equally satisfied even if he was killed by Pakistanis or British or even in air strike; but both German and Pakistanis showed different attitude. Americans, on

the other hand, showed relatively little satisfaction (over the killing of bin Laden) to the idea that if he would have been killed in an accident. But, Germans showed more satisfaction than Americans to the proposition of taking him to a court. Pakistanis too, like Germans, showed more satisfaction to the idea that if he would have been taken to the court rather than killed in any other way (p. 611- 612).

From this discussion, we can conclude that as we move around the world, the perception of people changes about the same event. Now, we will explore in the findings below that how the world leading TV channels, operating in different parts of the world, along with the media outlets of the two 'arch-rivals' during 'Cold War' covered his death.

Lawson (2011) found that when the story of bin Laden's death broke, the first hour coverage of CNN was mostly US based, which is evident from 66% of its coverage from both Washington and New York, besides 27% studio-based production, and 5% from Europe. Al Jazeera English, on the other hand, focused more on the coverage from Middle East which made 49% of its coverage, followed by 20% from Washington, 12% from Islamabad and 6% from Afghanistan. It went to the US only when Obama started speaking about bin Laden's death. The coverage of BBC also focused more on America as 51% of its coverage was US based, 13% came from Europe besides 13% from Afghanistan. From above findings of the first hour of the broadcast, it is clear that Al Jazeera English touched more locations than both CNN and BBC and was the only international TV channel to produce the coverage from Pakistan where the event occurred.

Researcher claims that the dominant reason for the US-centric coverage of CNN is that it is US-based TV channel, so it is getting more breaking news from inside the

American government than anyone else. Similarly, the BBC's State Department correspondent Kim Ghattas was also supplying the BBC World News with information on the raid from the US government. Although both these Western TV channels were stick to the US side of the story, Al Jazeera English took a different approach and reached its Islamabad-based reporter 'Kamal Hyder', who was reporting from Pakistan in the first hour of the operation that had taken place in Abbottabad; while CNN starts reporting Abbottabad just two minutes before the end of the first hour bulletin and BBC didn't mention Abbottabad anywhere in the first hour bulletin. It clearly means that Al Jazeera English focused on the regional picture of the Middle East and South Asia after bin Laden's killing and CNN was stuck to the American expertise along with BBC, though BBC too showed presence in the South Asia (Lawson 2011, p.35-36).

If we broadly look at the coverage given by these three international TV channels, from different locations, in their ten bulletins during the first three consecutive days, it shows that BBC World News in-house packages made 15%, Abbottabad 11%, Islamabad 7%, Pakistan other 4%, Afghanistan and New York 5%, Washington 20%, US Other 3%, Europe 12%, Asia 1%, and Studio-based made 17% of its entire coverage (Lawson 2011, p.43). It shows that much of the production of BBC came from the US, followed by its production from Pakistan and then it was followed by studio-based production.

The coverage of Al Jazeera English stayed a bit different from the BBC by studio-based production making 19%, Middle East 16%, Abbottabad 13%, Europe 10%, Washington and Islamabad 9%, Afghanistan 7%, Pakistan other and New York 5%, in-house packages 3%, Africa 2%, and both Asia and US other made 1% each, of its whole coverage (Lawson 2011, p.43). It means that most of the coverage of Al

Jazeera English came from Pakistan, followed by its studio-based production and then Middle East. Despite the fact that several researchers call the bin Laden's killing a 'US Story', but it was indeed told very differently by the Al Jazeera English as the US stood at fourth. It should also be noted that it is the first TV channel that explored the African angle of the story (connecting the death of bin Laden to the US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania) (ibid 2011, p.44-45).

The coverage of CNN was more US based as studio-based coverage made 30%, Washington 27%, New York 15%, Abbottabad 7%, US other and Europe 6%, Middle East 4%, Afghanistan 4%, and Islamabad made 1%, of its entire coverage. It clearly shows that almost half of the coverage of the CNN was US based. Ironically, the CNN did not focus much on Pakistan in its first three days coverage, but they did touch the Middle East and Afghanistan (Lawson 2011, p.44). Apparently, it shows that CNN was more interested in the US angle of the story.

Lawson (2011, p.44) found out that the highest number of (non-studio) places were covered by the Al Jazeera English which is eleven, followed by nine covered by the BBC and then eight by CNN. He also concluded that journalistic detachment was lacking in all the three TV channels – especially in CNN and Al Jazeera English as they would have covered the event far better by keeping a 'global perspective on global story' as CNN ignored Pakistan, and Al Jazeera ignored US (ibid 2011, p.53). He claimed that all the three TV channels relied on their own strength and told the story of bin Laden's death to their audience: Al Jazeera is more committed to give voice to the 'Global South' and tried to give the Middle-Eastern and South Asian picture of the issue; CNN gave more coverage from to the US as they believe that their audience is more interested in the US or US version of the world events; while the BBC – which has no strong regional connection – tried to find a middle ground

with broader global balance in its coverage. What this study shows is that all the three world leading TV channels did not cover (much of) the event from the studio, but they indeed covered it from the field via its reporters in different countries or even production.

Despite many strengths of this study, such as, comparative analysis of the bulletins of BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera and giving a brief picture of detachment in the coverage; it still comes short of giving more detailed account of the content of the coverage by these international broadcasters. It tells us which geographical part made most of the coverage, but it does not give us any further detail about what was the content of the coverage broadcasted from these different locations like major themes (or topics) discussed in it; tone of language, whom they were citing for the information, and was most of the coverage anti-US or anti-Pakistan etc.? Addressing these questions would have added more to the overall picture of the coverage of this issue by these world leading networks.

The research study conducted by Storie, Madden & Liu (2013) also confirm that both the Russian and the US media failed to cover bin Laden's death as an 'international' issue and their coverage differed drastically. They claim that US sample was telling the simple US-centered story of "good prevailing evil" or "heroes against villains". It promoted US as "good guys" and (justified) that the demise of "villain" at the hands of the US was a legitimate and necessary action (p.435). They also claimed that the US media, in the sample, focused on the US story and the US media did not view the international audience as their target public. They neglected the story of terrorism more generally by guiding its own people about how different terrorist groups function and how they can be identified? They further claimed that

results suggested that the US media perpetuated fear and anger among the US public as the newspapers talked about the terrorism as war (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.436). Many researchers claim that it is highly problematic to cover terrorism in the line of war as wars start and then end, but terrorism does not (Goodal et al 2008).

Russian media also covered the event differently. They approached the event with distrust towards the US government and accounts of bin Laden's death. They also tried to frame bin Laden as a human being. The Russian media covered it from the 'cold war' mentality by casting a doubt on the death of bin Laden besides undermining the US success (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.435).

In order to know about the content of the coverage in Russian media, Storie, Madden & Liu (2013) claim that the three major themes that emerged are: weak counterterrorism, advancing US policy goals, and retaliation and resilience. By themes, they basically mean the topics that newspapers focused on, whereas frames suggested how these topics were perceived and interpreted (p.433). All the three major themes have been briefly discussed below.

- a) **Weak counterterrorism:** The most prominent theme in the Russian newspapers was the lack of trust towards the US government and the US media regarding the information about bin Laden's death. Newspapers either questioned the influence of bin Laden's death on counterterrorism or argued that his death will not weaken the terrorists by highlighting the resilience of the organization. Seven newspapers questioned whether it was the US forces that killed bin Laden. It was then followed by debate surrounding the death of bin Laden. The third frame was 'humanizing the

terrorists' as Russian media highlighted the human side of the terrorist (bin Laden) and his cruel killing. They addressed him as the "sleeping sick old man" or "a neighbor" (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.433).

- b) **Advancing US Policy:** The second major theme reflected in the coverage of Russian media was that the killing of bin Laden has strengthened Obama's position in the upcoming elections. Although, they too debated that the killing will leave bad impacts on the US relations with Pakistan (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.433).
- c) **Retaliation and Resilience:** The third major theme revolves around the desire and success of the US government to punish all those who are responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.433).

In order to know about the content of the coverage in the US media, (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013) stressed that the three major themes that emerged in the US sample includes: national security threat, victory/progress, and event catharsis (p.434). All these three themes have been briefly discussed below.

- a) **National security threat:** It means that most of the debate in the US media revolved around the national security implications for the United States as a result of bin Laden's killing. It means that they informed the public about the fear that Al Qaeda may bounce back against the US. The issue of secrecy around showing bin Laden's photo was also dominated in the US coverage (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.434).
- b) **Victory/ progress:** The second major theme in the US media focused on the victory of the US counterintelligence after killing bin Laden. They also linked his death to

the progress made in the War on Terror by removing the figurehead of Al Qaeda. US Navy SEAL Team 6 was framed as 'heroes' in the coverage; while President Obama's leadership was also focused and data supported that President Obama received political boost (after the killing) (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p.434).

- c) **Event Catharsis:** The last dominant theme, in the US sample, revolved around the public reaction and response to the death of bin Laden. Much of the focus of the headlines and leads was on the human sufferings after the 9/11 attacks (Storie, Madden & Liu 2013, p. 434).

The researchers concluded: "Despite the fact that terrorism is a global threat, newspaper articles in this study reflected a nationalistic view of the topic. Specifically, U.S. newspapers reflected an ethnocentric approach to counterterrorism, whereas the Russian newspapers reflected a Cold War mentality, mocking the United States and distrusting the U.S. reports and media. The dichotomous reporting of counterterrorism events may serve as an alarm for the governments to re-evaluate their relationships with other states and international media"(Storie, Madden & Liu 2013).

This research study carried out by Storie, Madden & Liu (2013) tells about the nature of the coverage given to bin Laden's death in both Russian and the US media. It indeed tells us about the dominant themes discussed in the coverage and the possible repercussions of it along with the causes of such coverage. But it is also true that the opinion has been based on a very small sample of data with focus only on the headlines and intro as they did not go into the rest of the body of the story (after lead).

## **2.5. What this study will contribute?**

This research study – “One death, three regions and two stories: A study of the media coverage of the killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistani, British and American media” – will not only explore the death of Osama bin Laden from a much broader perspective, it will also contribute to the existing literature of the ‘Triangle of Terror’ in different ways, like the different sources cited in the coverage; patriotism practiced by the Pakistani journalists while reporting it; reliance on the Western media and especially the US sources while covering it; (possible) impact of location, nationality of victim and nationality of attack on the nature of the coverage; different pressures on Pakistani journalists in covering the events related to War on Terror and any (possible) impact in the death coverage of bin Laden; and the topics discussed in the coverage to understand the nature of the story reported to the readers and to the viewers – besides linking such coverage to the discussion surrounding counterterrorism.

In summary, this chapter tells us about different research studies and the findings of the media researchers on the coverage surrounding the ‘Triangle of Terror’. It tells us about the patriotism practiced in the coverage of the 9/11 attacks and the dependency of different media outlets upon the US official sources to cover it. It also tells us about the media studies conducted on the coverage of War on Terror – recent Afghan and Iraq War – besides informing us about different pressures on Pakistani journalists while covering different events related to the War on Terror. It also discusses the research studies conducted on the death coverage of bin Laden besides the contribution of this study to the existing literature.

## **CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research study aims to explore how the identified media outlets (details in Research Sample section of this chapter) operating in three different countries of the world covered the death of Osama bin Laden. The focus is on the comparative coverage given to the death of Osama bin Laden, for ten consecutive days commencing from the day of his death announced in the broadcast media (May2, 2011) and one day later in the print media (May2, 2011 in the US; May3, 2011 in Pakistan/ UK). This study will highlight different aspects of bin Laden's death and the way media explored it.

Among the research methodologies, the methodology which can best address all the outstanding research questions raised in this study is the 'Quantitative Content Analysis'. It can help us to have more reliable data in order to place our opinion on the broader comparative picture of the coverage. Before going into a detailed justification of this methodology, it is important, initially, to know a little about the research questions answered in this study. These questions will give us better idea about the nature of the questions and the data needed to answer it, besides showing its relevancy to this methodology. Following are the questions:

1: The length and nature of each news item: to know which newspaper gave more coverage to the issue, and how much importance was given to the issue in their respective editorials?

2: Does the news item have a byline? If yes, then who has compiled it? The purpose of it is to know how much the staff contributed in reporting and how much they showed reliance on other sources to tell a story.

3: Who is the actual source mentioned in the introduction of the news item, and also, three additional sources mentioned in the rest of the body? The aim is to know that on whom they were showing dependency – Pakistani or the US official sources.

4: To know about the topic discussed in the introduction (lead) of the news story, and also, to explore three additional topics discussed in the rest of the body of the story? It will show us what aspect of the death coverage of bin Laden was dominant and in which newspaper or TV channel?

5: To find out that was Pakistani government criticized more in the coverage than its military or intelligence agencies? It will be answered by comparing the first three statements made about the Pakistani government and as well as its military/intelligence agencies in the coverage.

6: To know that was the US appreciated or criticized more in the coverage? It will be answered by looking at the first three statements made about them in the coverage.

7: To know about the tone of the language used for bin Laden in the coverage. It is important to look at the first three prefixes or suffixes used for him in every news item. It will help us to understand the rhetoric used for him in the coverage.

8: To know that how Abbottabad Operation was addressed in the coverage? It is important to look at the first three words or phrases used for it in every news story. Again, it will help us to understand the rhetoric.

9: To know in detail about the Pakistan's official stand on the issue – killing of bin Laden. It is important to look at the statements of Pakistani officials in the daily

Dawn newspaper. It will help us know what they said and how much were they visible in the ten days period.

10: Did the daily Dawn show reliance on the Western sources to cover the death of bin Laden? If yes then how much were they dependent?

These questions give us a better sketch of the core of this thesis. It also gives us a better idea that what has been explored in the content of the newspaper and TV channels and what will it show at the macro level. Many researchers claim that “quantitative (content) analysis is (the) most efficient (method) when explicit hypotheses or research questions are posed” (Riffe, Lacy and Fico 1998, p.37).

Charles R. Wright (cited in Berger 2000, p.273) defines content analysis as “the systematic classification and description of communication content according to certain usually predetermined categories. It may include the quantitative and as well as the qualitative analysis, or both”.

Hansen (1998, p.95) also claims: “Content Analysis by definition is a Quantitative Method and it basically stresses on identifying and counting the occurrences of the specified characteristics or dimensions of the text and on the basis of which one is able to say something about the messages, images, and representations of such texts and their wider social significance”. The same procedure has been followed in this research study in which the ‘specified characteristics or dimensions’ (mentioned in the form of questions above) were identified in every news item and were coded accordingly.

Holsti (1969, p.14) also argues that such ‘specified characteristics of messages’ should be identified ‘objectively and systematically’. An effort was also made in this

research study that instead of placing an opinion on the overall news item (whether it was anti-government or anti-establishment etc.), the original statements made were collected and were put in the exact value of the identified variable.

Many researchers also claim that content analysis only looks at the ‘manifest’ meaning of the text rather than the ‘latent’ meaning of the text (Berger 2000, p.117; Holsti 1969). Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998, p.30) claim that it only deals with manifest content and ‘makes no claims beyond that’. It is obvious from the research questions answered in the study that none of it has any inclination towards the latent meaning of the text and all of them look at the explicit meaning of the text, and that is why this researcher believes it the best methodology to answer these questions.

Despite limitations of looking at the latent meaning, Hansen (1998, p.98) still pleads that content analysis is the best methodology to address the qualitative questions effectively by identifying the ‘specified dimensions (in the text) *and* they analyze the *relationships* between these dimensions’. While explaining the process, he says: “content analysis first divides the text into the constituent part, which can be counted; it reassembles these constituent parts at the analysis and interpretation stage to examine which one co occurs in which context, for what purpose and with what implications” (ibid 1998, p.98). He strongly agrees that in contrast to many other interpretive and qualitative approaches, content analysis is more open to scrutiny – the means by which textual meaning is dissected and examined (ibid 1998, p.98). Again, it stands true in this research study as the data (in the form of news items) of both the newspapers and TV channels were coded in different ways to place a broader opinion on the comparative coverage of it.

Berger (2000, p.116) strongly recommends the use of Content Analysis to ‘quantify the silent and obvious features of large amount of texts’. He is of the opinion that it also helps us understand the comparative coverage of the different mediums of communication to the issue. As it is evident that this research study will not only provide the comparative coverage of different newspapers, but it will also show the comparative coverage given to the issue by different media outlets like the newspapers and TV channels selected in this study. It is also one of the reasons to rely on the content analysis in this research study.

The basic aim of the content analysis is not to carry out the counting for the sake of counting. The content which is going to be categorized (or coded) must be relevant to the questions of your study (Hansen 1998). Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998, p.37) also claim that the most important part in the content analysis is the “codebook that explains how the variables in the study are to be measured and recorded on the coding sheet or another medium”. The same was practiced in this research study to make a valid coding sheet which can accommodate all the values of the different variables.

It is true that interviews help researchers to know more in-depth about the journalistic practices and the content produced by the journalists as it can give closer look to the researchers about the content studied by them (Berger 2009, p.137). But it is also true that interviews are usually considered best if the aim of the research is to understand the ‘how’ and ‘why’ aspect of any journalistic phenomenon. It is evident from the research questions raised in this research study (mentioned above) that it only explores the ‘what’ aspect of the media coverage. Therefore, this is one of the prime reasons of not opting for it.

The other dominant reason for not conducting interviews in this research study is that interviews are usually conducted by the researchers after they know the preliminary trends of their data and they need to ask the concerned journalists (or any other group) about it as Gill (et al 2008, p.292) claim that interviews are “most appropriate where little is already known about the study phenomenon”. During my field trip to Pakistan, I spent most of my time taking permissions from the owners of the TV Channels for data collection, and also coding the part of the data via coding sheets, so it was hard to presume the initial trends in the data.

### **3.1. Research Sample**

An effort has been made in this research study to look at the death coverage of bin Laden in ‘serious’ press of the close allies of the War on Terror – the UK, US and Pakistan. Initially, it was planned to conduct this study on their popular TV channels that include: BBC from the UK; CNN from the US; and the Geo News and PTV News from Pakistan. After the selection of the TV channels, formal emails were sent to them for granting permission to study their content. Only the Geo News responded positively (to the request), while the Western TV channels – the BBC and CNN – declined the request. It must be noted that the PTV News remained silent over my request – and gave me the impression that they too were not ready to share the content (In Pakistani culture, silence over any request usually means ‘No’).

During my field trip to Pakistan, I tried to contact the owners of the other private TV channels as well – besides contacting the officials of public broadcaster PTV (through different sources). I was lucky to get permission from another popular private TV channel – Duniya News – besides getting the scripts of PTV News

bulletins. It was later that I got the DVDs of their bulletins via a friend in Pakistan, as I got call from the management to collect it when I was in England.

In order to fill a space left by the CNN and BBC, it was decided to select two broadsheet newspapers from each of these countries: UK, US and Pakistan. It was decided that only broadsheet newspapers will be studied. The newspapers initially selected were the following: the daily Dawn and The Express Tribune from Pakistan; the Guardian and The Daily Telegraph from the UK; and The New York Times and The Washington Post from the US.

After selection of the newspapers, the next step was to ensure the data of these newspapers, of the desired dates. The data of The New York Times, the Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, and the Dawn was ensured. Despite sustained efforts, only four copies of The Express Tribune could be collected. I tried hard to collect the missing copies of the newspaper, of the desired dates, from the archives of the newspaper or online – but in vain, so it was dropped. Similarly, The Washington Post was also dropped from the study as I could not find the news data of the desired dates. I even wrote to my friends in the US (working in VOA) but could not stay successful. Please note that the University of Sheffield does not offer online access to The Washington Post or its archives.

The selection of higher number of media outlets from Pakistan might be a coincidence, on one hand, as I was lucky to get permission from many – but it is also true that Pakistan was the host of the event. There are different researchers who raise the importance of the local media outlets by claiming that they have far greater responsibilities on their shoulder than the foreign media channels. The local media outlets are believed to be more accountable to the people for whatever they decide to

on air in their reports which concerns the conflict. Researchers believe that they usually take more care of their words due to the possible reaction both in short term and long term (Cooke 2003, p. 75).

This research study in total will explore the content of seven identified media outlets operating in three different countries of the world. These seven media outlets include two popular private TV channels of Pakistan i.e. Geo News and Duniya News along with the official broadcaster – Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) (please note that the content of PTV News Script/ DVD have been studied separately). It also includes four influential newspapers from the three countries: daily Dawn in Pakistan, the Guardian and The Daily Telegraph in the UK, and The New York Times in the USA.

The official broadcaster of Pakistan – Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) – despite of being criticized for staying as a ‘mouthpiece’ of ruling government (Dawn 2014a), has more viewership in Pakistan than any other private TV channels of Pakistan due to its terrestrial services (Yusuf and Shoemaker 2013). In 2008, 56% of the population watched TV channels broadcast by the government controlled PTV network; while 36% watched the Geo News (Murthy 2010).

In Pakistan, the Geo News is considered one of the most popular private TV channels of Pakistan (Yusuf 2011). The BBC also supports the view that it is ‘most-watched Television of Pakistan’ and has the ‘largest newsgathering network’ (BBC 2014b). It is also true that internet, cable, satellite and smartphones have made access easier to it. The viewership of the Geo News in Pakistan is more than any other Private TV channels.

Like the Geo News, the Duniya News also comes in the list of popular news networks of Pakistan. It is important to take the two private TV channels of Pakistan for this study, in order to understand the differences and commonness in their coverage better, as they have not been studied in such detail by any researcher before. It will give us enough data, on the basis of which, we can generalize our findings about the coverage of private TV channels of Pakistan.

In order to have broader comparative picture of the coverage, an official broadcaster of Pakistan – Pakistan Television Corporation – has been selected. It will give us a more valid official opinion of Pakistan on the issue, besides providing a room to compare its content with the private TV channels of Pakistan. The data has been collected from PTV in two ways – Script and DVD. It will be discussed later in the ‘Time Frame’ section of this chapter. It is also a fact that private TV channels of Pakistan have not been studied in such a detail as it will be studied in this research study.

The selection of different Television channels in the study is important as it will give us the opportunity to look into the sudden/immediate response to the coverage of bin Laden’s death, and to the issues which emerged with the passage of time. On the other hand, newspapers have also been selected to know about more organized and delayed response to the issue.

Beside the three TV channels, the other media outlet which will contribute to the study from Pakistan is the country’s historic leading paper the daily Dawn. Singh (2002, p.1) while conducting a research on the September 11 attacks and its consequences selected only the Dawn newspaper from Pakistan, and claimed: “[it] represents the best of Pakistani Journalism”. Yousafzai and Rawan (2009) while

conducting their research on the perception of Pakistani press about Saddam's execution also selected the Dawn newspaper, and they termed it widely circulated English daily. The Dawn newspaper is one of the oldest English dailies of Pakistan, which was founded by the founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah. It is considered the newspaper of professionals and teachers. It is considered as an 'authoritative paper' (Singh 2002), and also highly regarded for its best reporting and objective approach to the issues (Akhtar 2000). It is termed as one of the liberal and professional newspapers of Pakistan.

To have a more comparative view of the coverage, this research study will also focus on the content of two newspapers from the United Kingdom, which include The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph. Negrine (2008, p.631) claims: "The Guardian can be accepted as the leading paper of the British left while the Daily Telegraph represents the right wing".

The selection of UK based newspapers is important as the UK is also one of the most important and powerful allies of the US in War on Terror. The strength of British forces in Afghanistan is the evident example of it. The UK has stood shoulder to shoulder with the US in search of bin Laden and fighting against Al Qaeda. It is also true that like the US, they also have remained the victim of Al Qaeda implicated terrorism like London train bombing in 2005. Therefore, it makes it important to look at the death coverage of bin Laden across the British Press to know how they portrayed it.

The only newspaper selected in the study from the US is the New York Times (NYT). It is considered the voice of the liberals. It is equally important to select a newspaper from the US as initiative of starting the War on Terror in Afghanistan

was taken by the US to take revenge from Osama bin Laden and his team working under the flag of Al Qaeda. It was also the US who directly became the victim of bin Laden's terror strategy in the form of the 9/11 attacks, which claimed the lives of 2996 persons (BBC 2007).

The NYT is also included in the list of 'Premier newspapers in the US'. It is also read by the nation's elite. Dimitrova and Lee (2009), while conducting their study on framing Saddam's execution in the US Press, selected The New York Times and claimed that it has more influence on the decision makers.

It must be noted that the print media, selected in this study, has been analyzed separately from the electronic media; while the last chapter of the analysis focuses on the comparison of print and electronic media of Pakistan.

### **3.2. Time Frame**

In order to have a better outcome and to place a valid opinion on the content of the coverage, it is important to select such a time period which is representative sample of the study (Berger 2000, p.182). As we are aware that killing of Osama bin Laden is a specific counterterrorism event so the research study has been based on the specified sample of the newspapers and TV channels – which run for the ten consecutive days, commencing from the day of bin Laden's death. This time period (ten days) will ensure the decline in the graph of media coverage given to the death of bin Laden, and it will also ensure the abundance of data available for the coverage.

The other dominant reason for selecting ten consecutive days is the presence of large number of news stories and also the diversity within these news items. It has been observed – in this research study – that with the passage of time, not only the frequency of news articles published regarding bin Laden drops but, the angle of the coverage also becomes narrower rather than getting wider as the media outlets have got stuck to particular themes. In initial phase, it has been observed that the different media outlets have addressed this issue differently by highlighting the different perspectives on the issue. It is evident from the table 3.2.1 which shows the strength of the media coverage – of the selected media outlets – of the first three days and the last three days. Please note that increase in the strength of the coverage of PTV News (DVD) is due to the missing bulletins.

**Table 3.2.1 Decline in the strength of news coverage**

<b>Name of Newspaper/ TV Channel</b>	<b>Strength of Coverage in first three days</b>	<b>Strength of Coverage in the last three days</b>
Dawn	75	35
Guardian	42	13
The Daily Telegraph	58	6
The New York Times	51	12
Geo News	95	47
Duniya News	74	46
PTV News (Script)	30	19
PTV News (DVD)	11	13

This research study has looked into the content of the Guardian and The Daily Telegraph from May 3 till May 12, 2011. The same dates have been selected for the Dawn newspaper of Pakistan. The New York Times has been studied from May 2

till May 11, 2011. The reason behind selection of different dates of newspapers is the time difference between the US, UK and Pakistan. When Obama confirmed the death of bin Laden in his televised speech, it was May 1, 2011 (23:35) in the US; May 2, 2011 (6:35am) in the UK; and May 2, 2011 (10:35am) in Pakistan (Please note that the unofficial confirmation of the death of bin Laden started appearing on the TV channels of Pakistan hours before it was formally confirmed by Obama). It was the reason that the newspapers in Pakistan and the UK were already published, and they covered the incident in their May 3 issue. The data of the TV channels of Pakistan have been collected from May 2, 2011 to May 11, 2011 as the selected TV channels started instant coverage to the event as it developed. For details please see table 3.2.2.

Like the print newspapers, this research study has also looked at the content of electronic media from May 2, 2011 till May 11, 2011. The news bulletins selected in the study are 3 o'clock afternoon news bulletins and 9 o'clock primetime news bulletins.

**Table 3.2.2      Period of data collection**

<b>Name of a Newspaper/ TV Channel</b>	<b>Period of Data Collection</b>
Dawn	3 May 2011 till 12 May 2011
Guardian	3 May 2011 till 12 May 2011
The Daily Telegraph	3 May 2011 till 12 May 2011
The New York Times	2 May 2011 till 11 May 2011
Geo News	2 May 2011 till 11 May 2011
Duniya News	2 May 2011 till 11 May 2011
PTV	2 May 2011 till 11 May 2011

The selection of the afternoon news bulletin is important as it is in the middle of different news bulletins on aired between 9am to 9pm. It has normally been observed that news bulletin on aired early in the morning contains more repeated night stories or even less number of local news. The ratio of local news usually grows with the passage of time. So at 3 o'clock afternoon, there is more possibility that there would be more updated news – having more local version on the issue. Similarly, 9 o'clock news bulletins will be the flagship bulletins of all the TV channels, and they will try to include as many relevant stories, opinions or updates regarding the issue as possible.

This research study included 19 news bulletins of the Geo News with only one missing 3 o'clock bulletin of May 5, 2011. On the other hand, no bulletin was missing in the ten days of the Duniya News coverage. The missing bulletins in PTV News (Script/DVD) are following:

**PTV News (Script)**

1: May 6, 2011 – 9 o'clock bulletin

2: May 7, 2011 – 3 o'clock bulletin

**PTV News (DVD)**

1: May 2, 2011 – both 3 o'clock and 9 o'clock bulletin

2: May 3 till May 11, 2011 – all nine 3 o'clock bulletins

3: May 10, 2011 – 9 o'clock bulletin

It must be noted that the researcher initially got permission – from the official broadcaster PTV – to study the script of news bulletins on aired in the desired timing

and dates. The photocopies of the script were received and coded accordingly. But few of these stories could not be coded due to the reference in the story to the sound bite, live conversation with the reporter or even package made by the reporter. It can be seen from the image of one of the scripts provided in the Appendix of this thesis.

Later on, the Managing Director of PTV agreed to give me the DVDs of the bulletins. The DVDs were received via a friend in Pakistan, and were coded in the UK. It also lacked bulletins, which have been mentioned above.

The original hard copies of Dawn newspaper were collected from the archives of the Dawn newspaper (via friend in Pakistan). So there was no chance of missing any story in it.

The hard copies of the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian were collected from the Department of Journalism Studies, University of Sheffield, UK, but it was of the following dates – May 3-5, 2011 and May 9-12, 2011. The news stories of the missing dates were collected from the ‘Nexis UK’ by entering the phrase ‘Osama bin laden’ in the search engine. It must be noted that once the news stories of the desired dates were collected, they were scrutinized to include only those stories, which were published in the printed newspapers.

The data of the New York Times was also selected by LexisNexis method by searching the phrase ‘Osama bin laden’ on its website search engine along with the mention of relevant dates. As different news stories came up in the result, they were collected and then scrutinized. Only those stories were selected which were published in the printed version (please note that such information was usually given at the end of the news story along with the page number where it was published).

While coding the data, the date selected for the online news stories is the one, when

such story published in the newspaper (rather than mentioning the date when it appeared online on the newspaper website).

### **3.3. Unit of Analysis**

The measurable unit of analysis for this research study is the news story published in the news pages of the newspaper. It also includes the 'leader'. This study is not looking at the coverage of opinion pieces published in the editorial or op-ed pages. For TV analysis, the unit of analysis is the news story on aired.

All those news stories were selected in the study which had appeared in the desired period and contained the phrase 'Osama bin laden'. No discrimination was made to select the content in this study on the basis of a particular angle or inclination of the story or even length of a story. So, even if a story which contained a phrase 'Osama bin laden' and having a passing reference to him was also selected and studied.

### **3.4. Distribution of Research Sample**

A total number of 957 news articles were analyzed in this research study using the content analysis method. It include 191 news stories of the Dawn, 71 of the Guardian, 87 of the Telegraph and 105 of The New York Times; of the Pakistani electronic media outlets, it include 216 news stories of the Geo News, 184 of the Duniya News, 63 of the PTV News (script) and 40 of the PTV News (DVD). It can be seen in the table 3.4.1 below.

**Table 3.4.1 News Items coded**

<b>Name of Newspaper/ TV Channel</b>	<b>Number of news stories coded</b>
Dawn	191
Guardian	71
The Daily Telegraph	87
The New York Times	105
Geo News	216
Duniya News	184
PTV News (Script)	63
PTV News (DVD)	40
<b>Total</b>	<b>957</b>

### **3.5. Application of Content Analysis**

The data collected in this research study was through coding sheet. Coding Sheet is an essential part of research to transform a text-based content into numbers because “[c]oding is the transcribing, recording, categorizing, or interpreting of given units of analysis into the terms of data language so that they can be compared and analyzed” (Krippendorff 2004, p.220). Coding sheet is a process by which we classify the data which we have collected from the material and then we give separate numbers and symbols to it (Berger 2000, p.179).

The aim of this research study was to look at news item in more meticulous and detailed way by exploring it from different angles. The main variables, which I wanted to study in every news item are: nature of content (of news item); byline/ not byline; name of a reporter(s); topic discussed in the introduction of the story;

additional three topics discussed in the body of the story; first three statements made about the Government of Pakistan, Pakistan's Army, the US Government/ Army; first three terminologies/ phrases used in every news bulletin for describing bin Laden along with the first three words, phrases used for describing the Abbottabad Operation.

For this purpose, initially, the coding sheet was designed on the basis of three news bulletins of the Geo News, which were downloaded from the YouTube. The news bulletins provided different values for the different questions (variables) which were focused in this study.

The coding sheet of the TV channels contained almost the same values as that of the newspapers, but with few differences. Please note that TV channel and newspaper are two different mediums of communication as one relies on the written text and still images to convey the news, while the other relies on the sound and moving images to convey the news. But despite these differences, it should be noted that the focus of this research study is the news items published or broadcasted in the desired period, and within the news items the focus is on the content of every news item – with no focus on still or moving images.

The differences which are prevailing in the nature of content of newspaper and TV channel have been accommodated in the coding sheets. These differences are name of a TV channel; time of news bulletin; and nature of news item. The rest of the codes and values are the same for both newspaper and TV coding sheet. Please note that the coding sheet used for the newspapers and TV channels in this study has been provided in the Appendix Section of this thesis.

Initially, data was collected from the Geo News through the coding sheet. Although, the coding sheet accommodated most of the value options in different codes, but still, if some new theme or topic emerged while coding different options, such value was added to the particular variable of the coding sheet. The updated coding sheet was applied to the next news item and this process continued till the end. When the data was collected from the TV channels, the same coding sheet with some changes in the initial coders was applied to the TV channels as well.

The basic reason for adopting such format of coding sheet was to keep my personal bias away from the data while collecting it. It can be best understood by the example that instead of deciding on the broader version of the story whether it is in favor or against Pakistan, the US or bin Laden, this format of coding sheet indeed helped me to code exactly what was stated there about them. It helped me to avoid my own interpretation of the data in the coding stage, and gave me enough space to place my opinion on the collected data in the later stage of analysis. Almost all the variables were treated in the same way while collecting data from newspapers and TV channels.

### **3.6. Using SPSS and presenting data**

Once the data was collected from all the newspapers and TV channels on the particular dates, the next step was to put all the data into the SPSS. It must be noted that the data of the newspapers entered into the SPSS was saved separately from the data entered of the TV channels. When all the data was entered, the next challenging job was to collapse the different values of the codes. The SPSS was helpful in making the data more organized and easy to analyze. Collapsing different values of

the codes also helped me to understand the outcomes of the research better. The results obtained from the SPSS will be presented in the form of tables along with the inferences which are based on the results found in the data.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter initially defines the content analysis, and then discusses the application and limitation of this methodology. It also justifies this research methodology as the best to answer the questions raised in this research study. After mentioning the detail of the research sample, time frame and the unit of analysis, it also identifies the missing bulletins – besides discussing the data entry into the SPSS system and collapsing of the different values of the variables.

## **CHAPTER 4: PAKISTAN AND GEOSTRATEGIC**

### **POLITICS**

“Who rules Eastern Europe commands the Heartland;  
Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island’  
*Who rules the World-Island commands the World”.*  
(Halford Mackinder 1919, p.194)

#### **4.1. Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to better understand the presence of world’s most wanted man – Osama bin Laden – in Abbottabad, Pakistan. It will give us a better concept of whether his discovery in Abbottabad was just a coincidence or a (possible) planned strategy of the Pakistani establishment to keep him safe and alive for years in order to pursue their strategic interests in the region. If keeping him alive was for seeking some strategic interests, then what can they be?

For this purpose, it is really important to go a bit deeper into the geostrategic politics of Pakistan by exploring the relations between the Pakistani establishment and different militant groups (working in Pakistan or abroad) at different times.

Furthermore, the geography of Pakistan; debating the emergence and strengthening of Taliban in Afghanistan (which even provided a base to Al Qaeda for operation); and even looking at the alleged discrimination made by the Pakistani establishment in approaching the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ Taliban, also needs to be explored in detail.

It will question why Pakistan wanted (or still wants) Taliban in power – who sheltered bin Laden for years – in Afghanistan. This chapter will give us a better idea about why bin Laden’s death story was perceived and covered differently both

in the West (US and UK) and in Pakistan, by the selected media outlets; where it was called ‘victory’ in one but ‘tragedy’ in another region.

## **4.2 Geography of Pakistan**

Geography plays a vital role in the politics of any country. It greatly influences the country’s internal and external policy. It has deeper effects on the strategic planning of any country towards its neighbors. Reiterating the importance of neighbors, Ex-Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee upon his maiden visit to Lahore (Pakistan) in 1999 said: “We can change history but not geography. We can change our friends but not our neighbors” (Vajpayee cited in Hensel 2011, p.1). Spykman (1938, p.213) greatly values the location of a country (in the context of geostrategic politics) and terms it a driving force for any country’s policy as he mentions:

*“Like world location, regional location is a question of facts plus the significance of those facts at any given historical period. Just as it was found necessary to consider world location in relation to two systems of reference, the geographic and the historical, so the full meaning of regional location becomes apparent only after considering both the geography and the historical and political significance of a state's immediate surroundings”.*

Pakistan surely lies at a very strategic place on the world map where it shares border with the emerging world power China on the northern side, and again, it shares an international route, Wakhan Corridor, with Afghanistan which ultimately leads to the Central Asian States. Moreover, it shares border with the world’s largest democracy, India – on its eastern side – which has remained the archrival of Pakistan since its independence, and has resulted in four large scale wars in the region – 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1999.

It also shares a border with Iran – on its western side – which has also added to the miseries of Pakistan as it (Pakistan) has hosted many proxy wars between the Saudi Arabia and Iran. Many critics believe that most of the struggle of these two countries is based on the propagation of the Wahhabi and Shia Islam in the region, which has become more rigorous since the inception of the Iranian Revolution of 1979 (Ahmed 2012, p. 11; Reuters 2012). It must be noted that majority of the Pakistanis blame these two countries – Saudi Arabia and Iran – for planting the seeds of sectarianism in their country as they have been funding and training the followers of this sectarian war which has resulted in the death of thousands of Pakistani people belonging to different sects (ibid 2012, p.11). On the other hand, Iran too blames Pakistan for border violations and for promoting militancy within Iran via militant group Jandullah (Sial 2015, p.3; Tait and Train 2009; Reuters 2014b).

Pakistan also shares border with Afghanistan – on the north-western side – which has remained the center of focus of the world powers and Pakistani establishment for a long time. It hosted the last episode of the ‘Cold War’, and changed the dynamics of world politics by transforming it into ‘unipolar’ from ‘bipolar’ world. It also shares border with Arabian Sea – which serves as the best sea route for Pakistan’s trade with the rest of the world.

Geography of Pakistan has added to both securities and insecurities of Pakistan. On one hand, it is surrounded by most Muslim countries, but on the other hand, it has also received more menaces from these Muslim countries as well: Afghanistan voted against Pakistan in the United Nations in 1947, soon after its independence (this was the only vote that was cast against Pakistan’s entry), and declined to accept the Durand Line: 2640 km long border between Pakistan and Afghanistan which was established in 1893 after the agreement between the Sir Mortimer Durand – the

foreign secretary of the British colonial government of India and Abdur Rehman, the Amir (king) of Afghanistan. The basic aim of the demarcation of this line was to separate the British India from Afghanistan, and the Durand Line has remained controversial throughout the history as it has divided the ethnic group Pashtun on both sides of this line. Pashtuns form a major ethnic group in Afghanistan (52% of the total population) and second largest in Pakistan (The American Institute of Afghanistan Studies and the Hollings Centre 2007, p.2-3). It must be remembered that even the Taliban government which was backed by the Pakistani establishment did not accept the Durand Line. It must be noted that there are four major ethnic groups in Pakistan: Punjabi (living in the Punjab province); Pashtun (or Pathan, living mostly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, port city Karachi and in Balochistan province); Sindhi (living in Sindh province); and Balochi (living in Balochistan).

The tension between Pakistan and its neighbors is not only limited to the 'brother' Muslim countries, but its close friend China has also blamed Pakistan for promoting militancy in its western province 'Xinjiang' bordering Pakistan (AFP 2011a).

Recently, the Chinese President in his recent trip to Pakistan appreciated the role of Pakistani government in combating terrorism there. India has always blamed Pakistan for the attacks in Kashmir and in its different cities and they have blamed the Pakistan's army and its Intelligence Agencies (including ISI) for orchestrating it (Gall 2014). In return, Pakistan also blames the Indian Intelligence Agency RAW (Research and Analysis Wing) for its instability (Sharif 2015).

The Pakistan's ex-military dictator Gen (R) Pervez Musharraf also confesses that they trained militants to wage proxy with India (Musharraf 2015). Afghanistan has always blamed the Pakistani establishment for its instability and has always blamed

its Intelligence Agencies for prompting *Talibanization* in its country since long to get hold of it (Haque 2011, p.9; Gall 2014).

Many scholars believe that ‘Militancy’ indeed remained one of the most powerful tools of Pakistan’s foreign policy. They are of the opinion that they promoted it in the region to secure its own country (Haque 2011, p.7). There are many others who think that Pakistan hardly relies on the ‘diplomacy and engagement’ to settle the issues, but will like to pursue its agenda through ‘chaos’ (Gall 2014, p.162).

But on the other hand, Pakistan has also remained the victim of the foreign interference in its country and has paid a heavy price in the form of partition of Pakistan in 1971 when Indian Army started ‘Operation Jackpot’ and aligned with the Bengali militia fighting the Pakistan’s Army. It should be noted that Pakistan Army launched a military ‘Operation Searchlight’ in East Pakistan – now Bangladesh – in 1971 to curb the ‘anti-Pakistan feelings’ among the people there. Many critics condemned the operation, and even serving Pakistani military dictator Gen (r) Pervez Musharraf shared regret with the people of Bangladesh upon his visit to Dhaka on 29 July 2002:

*“[...] Your brothers and sisters in Pakistan share the pain of the events of 1971. The excesses [committed] during that unfortunate period are regrettable. Let us bury the past in a spirit of magnanimity. Let not the light of the future be dimmed. Let us move forward together”.*

*(General Pervez Musharraf 2002)*

The atrocities committed by the Pakistani establishment in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) are indeed condemnable, but the Indian authorities have also confessed their role in the creation of Bangladesh – in other words, the partition of Pakistan in 1971. Narendra Modi, the Indian Prime Minister upon his maiden visit to the

Bangladesh, recently, said: “Every Indian wanted that the dream of creation of independent Bangladesh may come true” (Modi 2015). Addressing the ceremony, hosted in the honor of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, ex-Prime Minister of India, to confer the award ‘Bangladesh Liberation War Honor Award’ on him for playing an ‘active role’ in the creation of Bangladesh (The Indian Express 2015), he said:

*“When Bangladeshis were shedding their blood for the liberation of Bangladesh, then the Indians were also struggling with them shoulder by shoulder, and then they materialized the dream of creation of Bangladesh”*  
(Modi 2015).

His statement created a fury in Pakistan and it was widely condemned by the officials and politicians in Pakistan as it was considered attack on the ‘integrity of Pakistan’ (Malik 2015). Sartaj Aziz, advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on security and foreign affairs, later claimed that the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif will take the international community in confidence over the confession of Modi (Aziz 2015).

However, still many analysts believe that the Pakistani establishment use ‘militancy’ as a tool in the region in an effort to bring the most powerful neighbors or other countries to its own terms and conditions. It might be an effort of balance of power in the volatile nuclear region, but it has also motivated the other countries to respond in the same manner as well, like: Pakistan also blames India for its interference in its Balochistan province and its financial hub Karachi of promoting unrest and for fighting a proxy war in Afghanistan by supporting different militant groups which promote unrest in Pakistan (Sharif 2015; Sharif 2015a; Chaudery 2015). They also blame India for cornering with Afghanistan to hit the strategic interests of Pakistan.

Manohar Parrikar, the Defense Minister of India, said: “You have to neutralize terrorist through terrorist only” (Parrikar 2015). He continued: “Many terrorists are drawn into terrorism because of financial allurements ... they are paid money for it. If such people are there, why not use them? What is the harm in using terrorists against terrorists? Why should our soldiers be in the front?” (ibid 2015).

His statement was again widely condemned by Pakistani officials including his counterpart in Pakistan – Khwaja Asif – who said: “This is the worst kind of declaration by a state functionary of cabinet level which confirms that India is sponsoring terrorism against the neighbors in the name of preventing terrorist activities” (Asif 2015). Now even Pakistan has decided to raise the issue of involvement of RAW in the different ‘subversive’ activities in Pakistan at international platforms including the United Nations (Aziz 2015). Sartaj Aziz, Adviser to the Prime Minister on National Security and Foreign Affairs, confirmed to the media that Pakistan’s permanent representative to the UN, Dr. Maliha Lodhi shared ‘three dossiers’ about the Indian interference in Pakistan with UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Mon (Aziz 2015). Pakistan’s Foreign Office also claims that they have provided proofs of alleged Indian involvement to the Indian authorities on many occasions (Qazi 2015).

The same voices of concerns and alleged involvement in different terror activities can be also heard across the border in India, as they too blame Pakistan for ‘orchestrating’ different terrorist attacks on its land like Mumbai Attacks 2009 or recent attack in the Gurdaspur (Singh 2015). It is possible that the two archrivals might have been led by different conditions to the present scenario, but the fact is that the situation has apparently provided Pakistan more opportunity to stay closer to

different militant groups – fighting in Kashmir or in Afghanistan – to pursue its own strategic interests due to many reasons discussed below.

#### **4.3 Soviet War in Afghanistan and role played by Pakistan**

Soviet War in Afghanistan – a part of the Cold War – is one of the most defining periods of Pakistan’s history. It not only provided an opportunity to Pakistan to form a strong base in Afghanistan – for playing a crucial role in the future of this region – but also provided an opportunity to Pakistan to invest donations of US and Saudi Arabia etc. in the militancy by providing training and weapons to the militants in Pakistan (Gregory 2008, p.4). These militants – who were then called Mujahedeen – used to go to Afghanistan after the completion of training to fight against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan. It is generally believed that Pakistan did not create Taliban, but it ‘acted swiftly to co-opt the movement’ (Gall 2014, p.43). One of the major figures who trained many Taliban fighters was Colonel Imam. Many critics claim that this War was actually fought between the US and USSR, but the show-face of the conflict was Mujahedeen and Afghan forces. Coll (2005, p.63-64) claims that Pakistan provided strategic support to the US in its fight against the USSR. They had an agreement with the US which says:

- a) The US forces will not directly land on Afghanistan’s soil from Pakistan.
- b) Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) will have full control over contacts with Mujahedeen, and it will be the duty of ISI to handle exclusively the distribution of weapons.

- c) The Mujahedeen which will fight the War on behalf of the US will be trained exclusive by the Pakistani Intelligence Agency – ISI.

This process indeed helped the Intelligence Agencies of Pakistan to harbor Taliban on both sides of the Durand Line (Gregory 2008, p.5). They made separate cells for running different organizations of these Taliban. It is also important to note that the US provided billions of Dollars, but did not do any audit of these funds during or after the war. The US also left the region on its own without taking any further interest in it (ibid 2008, p.4). Many ex-Intelligence officials of Pakistan including the ex-DG ISI Hamid Gul (who recently died) defends the role played by Pakistan in its fight against the Russian forces during the ‘Cold War’ by claiming that it was important to stop the progression of Russian forces from Afghanistan to the ‘Warm Water’ of Pakistan (Gul 2009).

#### **4.4. Emergence of Taliban – Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan**

Soon after the withdrawal of the US forces from Pakistan, Afghanistan became the base of civil war among its own different factions. It resulted in the deaths of thousands of people, besides leaving the country open to break-up. The civil war continued in Afghanistan for several years, and it damaged the infrastructure, economy and social life of Afghanistan, besides providing a way to millions of Afghanis to live as refugees – especially in the neighboring Pakistan. Pakistan has now the biggest refugee population in the world due to these and previous Afghan wars.

Mujahedeen who fought against the Soviet and Afghan forces were now united again under the banner Taliban (the word means ‘students of Islamic faith’) to impose Islamic Sharia in Afghanistan. Taliban Movement consisted of Mujahedeen, who remained students in different religious seminaries of Pakistan. This movement started from Southern Afghanistan – Kandahar – and later on spread to many other cities of Afghanistan. They started gaining momentum with the time and took over the capital Kabul in 1996, but failed to capture most parts of Northern Afghanistan – Panjsher Valley etc. – which were held by the Afghan warlord Ahmed Shah Mehsud (well-known as Tiger of Panjsher).

Taliban government was only recognized by the Governments of Pakistan, UAE and Saudi Arabia. It is important to note that after the collapse of the Taliban government after the US war in Afghanistan (2001), Saudi officials claimed that they accepted the Taliban government due to the influence of Pakistani officials.

Gregory (2008, p.7) strongly criticizes the Pakistani establishment for acting as ‘fathers and supportive parents of Taliban’. He further alleges the Pakistani establishment for establishing a lot of Madaris (seminaries) and training camps in different cities of Pakistan like Peshawar, Quetta and Karachi, which provided ‘tens of thousands of students’ for (jihad) in Afghanistan (ibid 2008, p.7).

Ex-Military Chief of Pakistan and former head of the state Gen (R) Pervez Musharraf confesses this fact in his book “In the line of fire: A Memoir” (please note that the book was published in 2006 when he was serving as the tenth president of Islamic Republic of Pakistan) in the following words:

*“We helped create the mujahideen, fired them with religious zeal in seminaries, armed them, paid them, fed them, and sent them to a jihad against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. We did not stop to think how we would divert them to productive life after the jihad was won. This mistake cost Afghanistan and Pakistan more dearly than any other country. Neither did the United States realize what a rich, educated person like Osama bin Laden might later do with the organization that we all had enabled him to establish” (Musharraf 2006, p.208)*

Many critics believe that Pakistani Intelligence Agencies maintained strong and cordial relations with the Taliban government when they came in power. It was the time when different Arab fighters from all over the world started moving to Afghanistan. It included Al-Qaeda head Osama bin Laden as well, who took part in several operations of Taliban to capture northern Afghanistan held by the Northern Alliance led by the Ahmed Shah Mehsud. It was the time when Al Qaeda – led by Osama bin Laden – started hitting the US interests in different parts of the world like attacks on the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Taliban rule is considered the worst for the gross violations of human rights. Taliban remained in rule till 2001, when US-led NATO forces kicked them out of Kabul.

#### **4.5. Jihad in Kashmir**

When Taliban were enjoying power in Afghanistan, Mujahedeen Movement also started in Kashmir. Many scholars blame the Pakistani Intelligence agencies for backing and orchestrating it (Gregory 2008, p.6; Gall 2014, p.65-66), but the Pakistani government has denied institutional involvement in it. They used to call it the movement started by the ‘freedom fighters’ of Kashmir in order to liberate Kashmir from the atrocities of the Indian government. Several militant groups surfaced on the horizon including the Lashkare Tayaba (formed in 1990), Jaish-e-

Mohammad (formed in 1994), Harkat-ul-Mujaheedeen, Hizbul Mujaheendedn, Al Badr Mujahedeen etc. These militant groups indeed perturbed the relations between Pakistan and India for a decade, and even resulted in the Kargil War of 1999, which claimed the lives of hundreds on both sides.

Mujahedeen movement might have been started by the Kashmiri liberators, but they (different militant organizations based in Pakistan) were openly recruiting militants in different parts of Pakistan via its established offices. They also used to keep the ‘charity jars’ in different shops to raise funds for Jihad in the Indian administered Kashmir, besides openly advertising their services via wall chalking etc. Gregory (2008, p.7) claims:

*“[... ] [The aim of establishing militant groups in Kashmir was] to sharply escalate the violence in Indian Administered Kashmir throughout the 1990’s, a spiral of violence reinforced by the repressive tactics of India’s counter-insurgency, which in total cost more than 50,000 lives”.*

The hard times for Kashmir’s Jihad came when the Indian Parliament and Jammu & Kashmir Legislative Assembly were attacked by militants in 2001. It resulted in more international pressure on Pakistan from the US and other World powers to sever relations with militants and to put a ban on them. Musharraf government succumbed to the international pressure and sealed the offices of different militant groups and put them in the list of ‘banned’ organizations of the country. The militant groups winded up those activities which were carried out openly, but they maintained to operate their underground missions. Few also changed their names and tried to operate with the account of different welfare organizations. The best example is ‘Jama’at-ud-Dawah’ – a big charity organization in Pakistan – who initially used to operate with the name ‘Lashkar-e-Tayyaba’ (The Express Tribune 2012).

Indian government still allege these militant groups (especially Jama'at-ud-Dawah) for carrying out terror activities in different parts of India especially Mumbai Attacks 2008, which left 164 people dead and 308 injured. They blame the Lashkar-e-Tayyaba for orchestrating it and demanded the Pakistani government to handover Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi and Hafiz Muhammad Saeed – top commanders of the banned outfits. Pakistani government claims that it is a registered welfare organization, which helps the people of Pakistan by carrying out different welfare activities in different parts of Pakistan. Despite \$10million bounty from the US – on his alleged involvement in the Mumbai terrorist attacks – he is still considered innocent in the judicial arena of Pakistan as the courts in Pakistan ordered their release despite of the hue and cry of different International governments over their release due to the nature of charges leveled against them (Khan 2009; BBC 2015). It should be noted that US increased the bounty to \$10 million on the information and evidence leading to the arrest of Hafiz Saeed (Bagchi 2012).

General (R) Pervez Musharraf, in a recent interview to the Guardian, claimed that Pakistan founded the different militant groups in Kashmir to stop India from playing a proxy war in Afghanistan (Musharraf 2015). On the other hand, the Interior Minister of Pakistan, Chaudery Nisar, recently reiterated that no banned organization will be allowed to operate with a different name in Pakistan, but he too said: “I feel shame to share that several banned organizations are active in Pakistan due to the absence of clear policy regarding them” (Khan 2015). He said this in the context of implementing National Action Plan (NAP) after ‘Peshawar School Attack’ which claimed the lives of 144 school children. Interior Minister, although, has so far not made the list public, but has claimed that ban has been imposed on all

the militant groups that have already been banned by the United Nations – without directly pointing towards the Jama'at-ud-Dawah.

#### **4.6. Pakistan's attitude towards 'good and bad' Taliban**

Pakistan is often criticized by many countries – including the US, UK and its neighboring countries – for discriminating between the 'good' and the 'bad' Taliban. Many critics criticize the counter-terrorism policy of the Government of Pakistan for blowing both hot and cold by keeping soft corner for the 'good' Taliban. 'Good Taliban' (for Pakistan) are the ones, who fight against the US in Afghanistan; while the 'Bad Taliban' are the ones who fight against Pakistan. Many critics believe that Pakistani government did not come hard on Quetta Shura or Haqqani Network operating from Pakistan against the US and other foreign forces in Afghanistan (International Crisis Group Report 2015, p.9; Gall 2014).

Going after the one and sparing another never helps, and perhaps it is the reason that it has given an opportunity to the militant organizations – especially Al Qaeda – to introduce the culture of 'suicide' bombing in the region. Many scholars claim that it has been recently introduced in Afghanistan and Pakistan by the Al Qaeda as there was no sign of suicide bombing in Afghanistan from 1979 to 2001 – the more violent and unstable period in the history of Afghanistan and the region. Schweitzer and Ferber (2005, p. 26) claim: "The (Al Qaeda) organization adopted suicide as the supreme embodiment of global jihad and raised Islamic martyrdom (al-shehada) to the status of a principle of faith".

It must be noted that the Arab militants (living in Afghanistan during the reign of ‘good’ Taliban’) were the first to carry out suicide bombing in Afghanistan to kill Ahmed Shah Mehsud, anti-Taliban leader and head of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, on 9<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 (Suicide bombings in Afghanistan 2007, p.3). Many believe that the region was unknown to this phenomenon before as “The Pashtunwali code (Pashtuns code of living) and Taliban-Deobandi school of Islam considered suicide to be cowardly and those who engaged in it to be cursed” (ibid 2007, p.3). This phenomenon might have been introduced by the Al Qaeda in the region, but Jalaluddin Haqqani – the head of the (infamous) Haqqani network and blue-eyed of the Pakistani establishment – is also believed to be one of the founders of it (Reuters 2012). The Afghan and US governments have long blamed the Haqqani network – based and operated from the North Waziristan, Pakistan – for different suicide bombings that took place in different parts of Afghanistan in this ongoing fourteen years of war on terror. As Ryan Clark Crocker (2012), US Ambassador to Afghanistan, once said:

*"We know where their (suicide bombers targeting Afghanistan) leadership lives and we know where these plans are made. They're not made in Afghanistan. They're made in Miram Shah which is in North Waziristan, which is in Pakistan."*

The Intelligence agencies of Pakistan are often alleged for extending good relations with these militant organizations due to their previous ‘Afghan Jihad’ connection and also reserving them as ‘strategic assets’ in the region (Gall 2014; Shahid 2015). Recently, the advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on foreign affairs, Sartaj Aziz, stated in an interview to the BBC that why Pakistan should take action against those Taliban which are/ were not a problem to Pakistan. In an interview to the BBC Urdu, he said:

*“When US invaded Afghanistan (after 9/11), then all the people (militants) whom we jointly equipped with weapons and trained them were pushed towards us. Some of them are threat to us and few are not, so why should we make all our enemies?” (Aziz 2014).*

His statement was widely criticized for differentiating between the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ Taliban. Although the Pakistani military and government have openly refuted the claims that they are differentiating between the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Taliban in the ongoing operation ‘Zarb-e-Azb’ against militants in the North Waziristan Agency bordering Afghanistan. But such claims lose value when news reports prove the contrary. Reports about the recent death of Mullah Omar, the head of Taliban government in Afghanistan before the US invasion, confirm that he died in a hospital in Karachi Pakistan – two years ago – but the news did not create hype like bin Laden’s death in Abbottabad. However, the Pakistani government and Taliban officials both deny this (Rasmussen 2015).

Recently, the National Action Plan – policy made by the ruling government of Pakistan to curb terrorism in Pakistan – is thought to have no space for the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Taliban. The policy has been formed after the consensus of all the political forces of Pakistan. It even motivated the ruling government to pass the 21<sup>st</sup> Amendment in the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan to establish the ‘military courts’ to persecute all the alleged terrorists whose cases are pending from the last few years. It even enforced the Pakistani government to lift ban on the capital punishment as well. Such actions have tremendously decreased the events of violence, but still many analysts including Asma Jahangir – the well-known human rights activist and former president of the Supreme Court Bar Association – criticized the government’s counter-terrorism policy and claimed: “[...] the action

under National Action Plan does not give us the impression that it is against terrorism” (Jahangir 2015).

A recent report issued by the International Crisis Group in July 2015 about the counter-terrorism strategies in Pakistan, has also criticized the Pakistani government and its military over the National Action Plan (NAP) as it claims: “the NAP looks far more like a hastily-conceived wish-list devised for public consumption during a moment of crisis than a coherent strategy” (International Crisis Group Report 2015, p.1).

The hazy policies carried out by the Pakistani government and its military establishment encouraged various Western governments including the US and Afghan government to ask Pakistan to ‘do more’ in the ongoing War on Terror. Pakistan, in return, has replied on most occasions, that she has already sacrificed too much in this war on terror by laying down the lives of thousands of its civilian and armed forces in different militant attacks in the country. Parliamentary Secretary for Interior Affairs – Maryam Aurangzeb – informed the National Assembly that Pakistan has beard a loss of US\$80bn during the last ten years in the War on Terror (Aurangzeb 2014).

Many critics believe that Pakistan is not taking off its hands from the head of the ‘Good Taliban’ as they still want to utilize it in their ‘strategic depth’ policy (both in Afghanistan and Kashmir) (Gall 2014, p.189). But the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, in his recent visit to Kabul, guaranteed the Afghan President Ashraf Ghani: “I assure you, Mr President, that the enemies of Afghanistan cannot be friends of Pakistan” (Sharif 2015).

But as the leading Pakistani English language newspaper – the daily Dawn – criticized the government’s confusion over ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Taliban and claimed in one of its editorials that wars cannot be won without ‘clarity of minds’ (Dawn 2015a). It further states:

*“Clarity means being able to, at the very least, name all known religiously-motivated militant organisations operating in the country, telling the public why many of them have been banned, and what action is being taken to shut down their operations and apprehend their activists and leaders” (ibid 2015).*

The newspaper – in the said editorial – claimed that without the clarity of mind no operation in the country can stay fruitful:

*“If we have resolved to uproot terrorism in the country, surely the first step in this direction is to be clear on who is a terrorist and who isn’t. How can we claim to be fighting an enemy that we are afraid to even name?” (Dawn 2015a).*

#### **4.7. Establishment of Al Qaeda and bin Laden’s influence in Pakistan**

The history of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan can be traced back to the “Soviet war in Afghanistan” when the US and Pakistan were busy in recruiting ‘Mujahedeen’ to fight against the ‘Red Army’ in Afghanistan. Bin Laden arrived in Peshawar in 1980s to participate and contribute in the war against Soviets (The Washington Post 2011). Upon arrival in Peshawar, he met Dr. Abdullah Azzam, who later founded the “Maktab Al-Khidmat (MaK)” (the services group) in Peshawar in 1984 (Taabarani 2011, p.136). The basic aim of establishing the group was to raise funds for jihad and to deal with the Muslims coming from different parts of the world to participate in the fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan (Al-Jazeera 2011). All the new arrivals were initially accommodated in different guesthouses of Peshawar, and

then they were sent for fighting, after formal paperwork and initial training with the different groups.

It is believed that initially both bin Laden and Abdullah Azzam were getting along very well, but differences emerged in the concluding stage of the war over 'MaK resources and strategic direction'. Due to these differences, bin Laden broke away with Azzam and established the "Al Qaeda Organization" in Peshawar Pakistan on August 11, 1988 (Gunaratna & Oreg 2010, p.1048). In November 1989, Azzam was assassinated in a car bomb in Peshawar and bin Laden was able to take complete control of the MaK and merged it into Al Qaeda.

Osama bin Laden was stationed in Peshawar along with other Arab fighters even when Afghan war was over, but when the 'secular' Benazir Bhutto came to power in Pakistan in 1988, she was not feeling comfortable of having the 'radical' elements in the country, left by a military dictator. The first and the most important reason was the funding of Nawaz Sharif – a political opponent of Benazir Bhutto – by Osama bin Laden during the 1988 election with the aim to deny Bhutto from gaining majority in the parliament (Tomsen 2011, p. 382). Benazir Bhutto also accused bin Laden of funding the members of parliament to overthrow her in a no-confidence vote in 1989 (Bhutto 1999; Malik 2011; Mir 2011). But after the no-confidence vote failed, bin Laden left Pakistan for Saudi Arabia (Tomsen 2011, p. 382).

In 2001, while giving interview to the Herald magazine, Benazir Bhutto – who remained the prime minister of Pakistan twice – shared details of her allegations: "Osama paid \$10 million to overthrow my government during my first term. A serving Corps Commander held several meetings with PML-N chief Nawaz Sharif and Bin Laden to chalk out the plan to topple my government. Osama bin Laden was

told that a woman in the prime minister's position in an Islamic country was against Islam and so he should give them money to overthrow her. Nawaz Sharif told bin Laden he would bring Islam to Pakistan" (Bhutto 2001). Although, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) – a party led by Nawaz Sharif – rejects these allegations, but Qazi Hussain Ahmed, the ex-ameer of the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JI), has endorsed these allegations in 2006. He claimed in one of his interviews that upon his (bin Laden) visit to Mansoorah – headquarters of the JI – he showed willingness to buy the loyalties of parliamentarians to ensure Nawaz as a prime minister (Ahmed 2006). He claimed:

*"Osama bin Laden said that if there was a way to buy votes [to topple Benazir Bhutto's government and to bring Nawaz Sharif into power], he was willing to pay for them. Osama was a big supporter of the Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and Nawaz Sharif, who was the IJI president at that time," (Ahmed 2006).*

Khalid Khwaja – the ex-intelligence official of Pakistan, former aide of bin Laden and veteran of 'Afghan Jihad' – also testifies the claim made by Qazi Hussain Ahmed by claiming that Nawaz Sharif met Osama bin Laden three times and was "desperately seeking financial assistance to topple the Bhutto government" (Khwaja 2006). He claimed that he arranged the meeting of both in Saudi Arabia, and bin Laden was backing Nawaz Sharif as he wanted that Pakistan should continue supporting the 'Afghan Jihad' (ibid 2006).

Ali Moher, former translator to Nawaz Sharif, also supports the view shared by Khalid Khawaja and confirms him a 'common friend' between both ends – Nawaz Sharif and bin Laden. He claims that even Khalid Khwaja himself advised bin Laden to topple the government of Benazir Bhutto (Moher 2011). The relations between Osama bin Laden and Nawaz Sharif continued even after this incident as in 1998,

bin Laden reportedly sent a letter to Nawaz Sharif carrying the message of ‘congratulations’ over testing the atomic bombs (Bahri 2011).

Benazir Bhutto – the leader of secular political party – did not only accuse bin Laden and his brainchild Al Qaeda of attempting to topple her government, but she also accused them of hatching a plot to murder her. In an interview to the London-based al-Hayat newspaper, she claimed:

*“Ramzi Yusef (implicated in the 1993 New York World Trade Centre bombing) tried to assassinate me on two occasions in 1993 to facilitate Nawaz Sharif’s rise to power. Yusef admitted to Pakistani investigators before his extradition to the United States that it was his duty to assassinate me, only because I was a woman in charge of the government,” (Bhutto 1999).*

It shows that bin Laden did not only establish good connection with the intelligence officials of Pakistan due to the past “Afghan Jihad connection”, but he too was successful in getting supporters and sympathizers in the political arena of Pakistan. At present, Nawaz Sharif is serving Pakistan as a prime minister for the third term. Benazir Bhutto was assassinated on 27<sup>th</sup> of December 2007 in Rawalpindi, Pakistan after attending a public rally just few weeks before the election. Though, her party won the election and formed a coalition government in the center and three provinces, under her husband Asif Ali Zardari as President, but was unable to punish anyone for the murder of his wife. President Asif Ali Zardari had also requested the United Nations to investigate her murder. The UN established a commission and Heraldo Munoz were appointed a head of it, who later in his book – Getting away with the murder – wrote:

“In the end, Bhutto’s murder reminds me of the Spanish play *Fuente Ovejuna*, in which the hated ruler of a village, called Fuente Ovejuna, is killed, and the

magistrate who investigates the crime cannot find the culprit. During the investigation, every villager interrogated declares that Fuente Ovejuna did it. In Bhutto's case, it would seem that the village assassinated her: al Qaeda gave the order; the Pakistani Taliban executed the attack, possibly backed or at least encouraged by elements of the establishment; the Musharraf government facilitated the crime through its negligence; local senior policemen attempted a cover-up; Bhutto's lead security team failed to properly safeguard her; and most Pakistani political actors would rather turn the page than continue investigating who was behind her assassination" (Munoz 2013).

It might be again a coincident that the head of Al Qaeda – Osama bin Laden – was also killed in the US raid in Abbottabad, Pakistan when the 'secular' Pakistan Peoples Party was in government and the 'rightwing' Pakistan Muslim League (N) was in opposition. But the killing of bin Laden was indeed a difficult episode for both of them as no one of them could swallow it or throw it out. It will be discussed later in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

#### **4.8. Osama bin Laden hiding in Pakistan – Claims and Counterclaims**

Long before the killing of Osama bin Laden in Abbottabad – the ninth highly literate city of Pakistan – there were many claims and counterclaims about his death and life. Many believed that he has died in the ongoing War on Terror; while on the other hand, many thought that he was still hiding in the tribal areas of Pakistan. Many others speculated that he has died of kidney disease. It was later discovered that he was living in a villa just a stone's throw away from the popular Kakool Military Academy – which is equal to the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst of UK

or West Point of the US – and has given Pakistan many military dictators like Field Marshal Ayub Khan and Gen (R) Pervez Musharraf.

The event brought an embarrassment for Pakistan worldwide (Dawn 2011f), but the people too started questioning the role of Pakistan's army and its intelligence agencies that how easily could he (bin Laden) live in a garrison city for almost six years, in a villa, along with his family without being spotted by them or anyone else (Haider 2011).

The killing of bin Laden in Pakistan indeed provided an opportunity to the opposition political parties of Pakistan to criticize the government for its failure, and they even forced the government to establish an 'Independent Judicial Commission' to probe the issue. The Abbottabad Commission in its report – leaked by the Aljazeera network – confirmed the presence of bin Laden in Pakistan. They also claimed that he was living there for more than six years. One of bin Laden's widows, in its recorded interview to the commission, admitted that they were living in Abbottabad in the same villa for more than six years, and she even confessed that they lived in Haripur (neighboring city of Abbottabad) for some time before moving to Abbottabad (Abbottabad Commission Report 2013, p.40-41). After all these confirmations, there is hardly any space left for anyone to cast a doubt upon a claim that he was not living there (as many in Pakistan may still believe).

The Opposition Leader in the National Assembly of Pakistan (at the time of Abbottabad Operation) Chaudery Nisar Ali Khan – who is now the Interior Minister of Pakistan – in one of his initial reactions to the event criticized the role of Pakistan's Army and its Intelligence Agencies that even the neighbors woke up after the operation, but they (Pakistan Army) were sleeping (Khan 2011). Many other

critics believe that it is hard to believe that Pakistan was not aware of bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad. Carlotta Gall (2014, p.248) claims that the ISI – along with its top head – was fully aware of bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad, and there was even a 'separate desk' in ISI which was operating to handle bin Laden, and the officer who ran the desk was answerable to no one. She even claims that bin Laden was not barred from field visits to different cities, but was having complete access to the militants in tribal areas and many other places in Pakistan.

Gall (2014, p.250) further claims that ex-ISI chief Ahmad Shuja Pasha was fully aware of bin Laden's presence in Pakistan and the US had 'direct evidence' of it. However, the US officials later rejected the claim by saying that there was 'no smoking gun' (ibid 2014, p.251). Cameron Munter, the US Ambassador to Pakistan during the time of Abbottabad Operation, also ruled out any link that suggested that Pakistan was aware of bin Laden's presence in Pakistan. Recording his views about the year 2011, he said: "A terrible year if you happen to be the ambassador to Pakistan" (Munter 2015). However, many analysts feel that the US is saying all these for damage control as they cannot afford it.

Recently, Ex-ISI chief – Lt Gen (R) Asad Durrani – in his interview to the Aljazeera English – claimed that there are strong possibilities that the ISI sheltered bin Laden in Abbottabad. He further stressed that he doubted the official statement of the ISI that they were not aware of bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad. He also claimed that perhaps Pakistan wanted to bargain over him (bin Laden) as one cannot give a person of bin Laden's stature for granted to the US. He claimed that perhaps the ISI (officials) were waiting for the right time to declare his location to the US. He predicted: "to reveal the information about bin Laden can be under such agreement that how to solve the Afghan issue?" (Durrani 2015).

It is also important to mention that there are media reports that the helicopters were not flown from Jalalabad, but they flew from the nearest town 'Ghazi' near Abbottabad. Although, the Pakistani officials have completely denied such information and stressed that helicopters could not be traced as they were having the stealth technology and were flying in the mountainous region, but still, such stand was unable to keep the military establishment in peace and in return it even motivated many critics to question the capability of Pakistan Air Force, that what if the same style operation is carried out by their 'archrival' India?

The Pakistan's Army, later on, claimed in its official statement, that it was their intelligence failure for not spotting bin Laden, but Pakistani Prime Minister, after receiving heavy criticism from the world powers, claimed that it was an 'intelligence failure of the whole world' for not locating bin Laden (Gillani 2011). The civilian government indeed took the side of the powerful military, but they were equally fearful of its consequences.

Later on, it was revealed that Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari asked the Pakistani Ambassador in the US – Hussain Haqqani – to write a 'memo' to the Admiral Mike Mullen to inform the Obama Administration that the Army Chief Ashfaq Pervez Kiyani was planning to coup the civilian government. The 'Memogate Scandal' was revealed by 'Mansoor Ijaz' in his article to the London-based newspaper 'Financial Times' by confessing that he wrote and sent memo on behalf of Hussain Haqqani (Ijaz 2011). It led to further tension between the civilian government and military top heads. It even enforced the Supreme Court of Pakistan to establish the 'Memo Commission' to investigate the issue. The commission, in its report submitted to the Supreme Court of Pakistan, admitted that such memo was written. Hussain Haqqani was asked to resign from the post, and was called back

home to face the ‘treason’ charges. He was indicted for treason, but the case later collapsed as Haqqani went back to the US (Gall 2014, p. 261).

#### **4.9. End of War in Afghanistan and strategy of Pakistan**

If we consider what Ex-ISI Chief shared in his interview is right, and Pakistan was really interested in using ‘bin Laden’s location’ as a trump card at the right time, then it also verifies the claim made earlier by many scholars, heads of the state and even neighbors that the Pakistani establishment has tried to use ‘militancy as a weapon’ for its strategic interests against the neighbors or against world powers (Karzai 2015). Many critics are of the opinion that US presence in Afghanistan always worries Pakistan. They predict that Pakistani establishment sees their presence as a threat to its security and long-term strategic planning in the region coupled with the regional instability.

The presence of Osama bin Laden in the garrison city of Abbottabad seems to many as the continuation of the policies carried out by the Pakistani establishment, since long, and it cannot be treated as an exclusive event of negligence. Gregory (2008, p.8) claims:

*“The closeness of relations between the ISI and the Taliban, and the closeness of the relations between the Taliban and Al-Qaeda necessarily raises the issue of the nature of relations between the ISI and Al-Qaeda. The link between the ISI and Osama bin Laden goes back more than 25 years. The wealthy Saudi Bin Laden with strong links to the Saudi royal family and Saudi Intelligence almost inevitably had good contacts with ISI”.*

Bin Laden’s issue is more related to the broader game played at the regional level by different regional and international players rather than a mere incident of attachment, negligence or coincidence. It is more related to the regional stability and

peace in either way. It might have posed Pakistan as a failed state to the world, but just imagine if the ‘trump card’ would have earned its place, then how much would they have gained from it.

#### **4.10. Press between Military and Taliban**

Press in Pakistan needs to cross many barriers to independently report on the issues related to the policy of ‘strategic depth’ of Pakistani establishment. Media outlets in Pakistan hardly debate such volatile issues – like militancy and military – in a comfortable way to question the role of the Pakistani establishment in this regard. Many critics are of the opinion that press in Pakistan has long been pressurized by both civilian leaders and military dictators – since the creation of Pakistan – in order to pursue their own interests (Niazi 2010).

Journalists in Pakistan are mostly caught between the devil and the deep sea while reporting the issues related to the War on Terror or geostrategic politics. It has resulted in the deaths of many journalists who have tried to challenge the status quo. But, on the other hand, it is also hard for the journalists to keep both sides – the mighty establishment and the violent Taliban – happy. That is why Pakistan is considered one of the most dangerous zones for reporting, as so far 67 media men have lost their lives since 2002 (Reporters Without Borders 2015).

Many have lost their lives in the line of reporting and many escaped attempts on their lives. Hamid Mir, a Geo News anchorperson, is one of them who survived despite receiving six bullets, and who blamed the Pakistani Intelligence Agency ISI for ‘orchestrating the attack’ (Mir 2014). Amir Mir, a brother of Hamid Mir, told the

media persons, outside the hospital in Karachi where Hamid Mir was treated for the wounds, that Intelligence officials of Pakistan were not happy over his program conducted on the topic of ‘Mama Qadeer’s long march over missing Baloch persons’ (Mir 2014).

Geo News gave live coverage to the press conference of Amir Mir and also broadcasted the image of the serving DG ISI Zaheerul Islam along with the accusations of Mir’s family. The situation got much worse when the Army Chief Gen Raheel Sharif visited the ISI headquarters in Islamabad to show solidarity with the Intelligence chief and the Prime Minister of Pakistan paid visit to the injured journalist Hamid Mir in Karachi. Many analysts claimed that such visits were ‘symbolic, but very meaningful’ as it further increased the gap between the ruling government and the military establishment (Bangash 2014).

This rift was officially confirmed later by the serving Defense Minister, Khwaja Asif, in an interview to a TV channel in Pakistan, who claimed that the serving ISI chief (at the time of Hamid Mir’s shooting incident) Lieutenant General (r) Zaheer-ul-Islam had ‘personal grievances’ (with the government) due to the ‘Geo News incident’ as he was of the perception that the Nawaz Sharif-led federal government took the side of Geo News (Asif 2015). He further claimed that the two ex-ISI chiefs – Lieutenant General (r) Zaheer-ul-Islam and Lieutenant General (r) Ahmed Shuja Pasha – pushed forward the ‘London Plan’ – a plan to oust Nawaz Sharif from power via sit-ins organized by two political parties – Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf led by Imran Khan and Pakistan Awami Tahreek led by Tahir-ul-Qadri, in front of the Parliament house which lasted for more than four and two months respectively (ibid 2015). Khwaja Asif also claimed that in order to settle personal scores, the two ex-ISI chiefs used these two political parties and they even directed the media to give

coverage to these sit-ins. It must be noted that the sit-ins of Tahreek-e-Insaf and Pakistan Awami Tahreek took place at the same place in front of the parliament house and lasted for 126 days and 67 days, respectively (The News International 2014; SAMAA 2014).

The Geo-ISI row was resolved after suspension of the license of Geo News for fifteen days (from June 6 to June 20, 2014) by the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) along with imposition of fine of Rs10 million (about £65,500) on Geo News (Geo News 2014). The PEMRA officials said that the punishment was awarded after the complaint filed by the Defense Ministry of Pakistan. It should be noted that the Geo News apologized on the issue, besides claiming that they were not even heard by the PEMRA (ibid 2014). The Pakistani media community was divided on the claims made by Mir's brother as some also criticized the Geo News for defaming the ISI – an integral part of Pakistan's army – on behalf of Indian intelligence agency RAW (Hamid 2014; Luqman 2014).

It must be noted that the Geo News was awarded the punishment – of both fine and suspension – after they went to the court and sued the Defense Ministry, PEMRA and ISI for defaming the Geo News and Jang Group (the owner of Geo News) over accusations of being 'anti-state' (Dawn 2014b). In the legal notice, they demanded a 'public apology' from the ISI within 14 days and they also claimed that their more than 8000 employees and their families across Pakistan are not only being harassed, but also 'attacked and tortured' (Dawn 2014b).

Boone (2014) claims that for decades, no one dared to criticize or even name the Pakistani intelligence agency – ISI – directly, as they used to refer them with other names like "agencies", "establishment" or "angels", but the taboo was broken by the

Jang Media Group – the owner of the two popular national newspapers and many TV channels including the Geo News. The GEO-ISI row faded away after the TV channel accepted the punishment of both fine and suspension, and decided not to challenge it in court.

The silence over the punishment might have worked for the TV channel, but it did not work for the injured journalist – Hamid Mir. The government established a commission comprising of three Supreme Court judges to investigate the attack on him and was given three weeks to compile the report. However, after a year, no progress was made in this regard, although, Hamid Mir claims that he appeared in front of the said commission three times and handed over all the evidences regarding his claims (Mir 2015). He claims that that the ‘intelligence agencies’ are more powerful than the ‘elected government’ (ibid 2015). In his interview to the ‘Committee to Protect Journalists’ he claimed: “Powerful security agencies wanted to shut it down. They used banned outfits like LeT [militant group Lashkar-e-Taiba] and JuD [Jamaat-ud-Dawa, LeT's political arm] to terrorize us” (ibid 2015).

Another similar incident took place when Express News anchor Raza Rumi was attacked by militants in Lahore, which resulted in the death of his driver and injury to his guard. The security officials later revealed that the attack was planned by the banned ‘Lashkar-e-jhangvi’ (a Sunni militant organization based in Lahore) after the arrest of six suspects involved in the attack (Shafiq 2014). The incident forced Raza Rumi to leave Pakistan and to start living a life in self-exile in the US. He writes for many Pakistani papers, but does not host any program on TV channel. He claims that he was attacked after criticizing the ‘violent ideologies of extremist groups’ (Rumi 2015).

It might be hard for the media persons to find a middle point in many volatile issues that Pakistan is facing now, or independently report on it; but it is equally true that the electronic media in Pakistan has developed more in the era of former Military Dictator, Gen (R) Pervez Musharraf than in any civilian government. It was Gen (R) Pervez Musharraf who provided a base for the mushroom growth of private TV channels in Pakistan after issuing the PEMRA Ordinance 2002 (Bangash2013a).

It might be hard for the media persons in Pakistan to talk, between the lines, on the issues of national security; but to study how they approached the death coverage of Osama bin Laden is indeed worth examining. It will be revealed in the analysis chapters of this thesis that how much they stayed in the mid and informed their readers and viewers about the situation. But it is clear – from the initial coverage of the issue – that even the elected civilian government accepted the dominant narrative established by the powerful establishment as they soon changed their tone and stance after initially calling the bin Laden’s death as a ‘great achievement’ (Gillani 2011; Zardari 2011).

In summary, this chapter provides background to the analysis sections of this thesis. It tells us about the geostrategic politics of Pakistan, and explores the strategic interests of its neighbors in the region which has mainly been pursued through the radical elements either in one way or another. It explores the Soviet war in Afghanistan which provided a base for the establishment of Taliban and Al Qaeda in the region. It also explores the relations between the Pakistani establishment and different militant groups based in Pakistan, and fighting in Afghanistan and Kashmir. It also tells us about the claims and counterclaims made by many in past

about the presence of bin Laden in Pakistan besides exploring the possible strategy of Pakistan to use bin Laden as a trump card in the ongoing geostrategic politics. It also tells us that due to this complex nature of relations among the different players in the region, it has become really hard for the journalists working in Pakistan to report independently on the different threads attached to this geostrategic politics in the region, mainly due to the threats to their lives.

## **CHAPTER 5: PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF**

### **NEWSPAPERS' DATA AND RELIANCE ON SOURCES**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter is based on the analysis of the 454 news items collected from four newspapers across the three countries of the world. It includes The New York Times from the US; the Guardian and The Daily Telegraph from the UK; and the daily Dawn from Pakistan. All of these four newspapers selected in this study are broadsheet newspapers. (Please note that the data of the TV channels, selected in this research study, will be analyzed in separate chapters.)

This chapter will analyze the preliminary trends in the newspapers' data in detail, through tables which have been studied in every news item, and will be presented in a logical way to the readers.

All the analysis in this chapter is basically linked to the major research question:

**“How the four media outlets across the three different regions of the world covered the death of Osama bin Laden?”**

This question has been supplemented with some additional research questions to present a comparative picture of the coverage. The additional research questions, like small pieces, help in drawing the broader picture of the comparative coverage. The additional research questions, which have been studied in this chapter, are following:

RQ1: What is the length and nature of each news item?

RQ 2: Is the news item byline? If yes, then who has compiled it?

RQ 3: Who is the actual source mentioned in the introduction of the news item?

RQ 4: Who are the first three additional sources mentioned in the body of the story?

RQ5: What are the overall sources cited in the whole body (combining both the introduction and the body) of the story?

All these research questions will help us understand the preliminary trends of the newspapers' data: like which newspaper gave more coverage? Who contributed in the reporting? And which sources were utilized to tell the story to the readers?

**5.2. Strength of Newspapers' Coverage**

The death of Osama bin Laden stood big news for all these four newspapers in the first ten days of their coverage. The distribution can be seen in Table 5.2.1.

**Table 5.2.1 Strength of newspapers' coverage**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>No of Stories Published</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	191	42%
<b>The Guardian</b>	71	15%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	87	19%
<b>The New York Times</b>	105	23%
<b>Total</b>	454	100%

The highest number of news stories was published in the Dawn, a Pakistani national newspaper; followed by The New York Times, the Telegraph and the Guardian. It is possible that the largest number of stories, published in the Dawn, reflect that since it was a local event for them so they were in a better position to give more coverage to it.

### **5.3. Length of newspapers' coverage**

When we look at the length of the news items published in these newspapers, we discover that in terms of length of coverage, The New York Times tops the list in which the strength of almost 84 percent of its news items were above 600 words. It is important to mention that most of these items were between 1000-1500 words. The Dawn stands second, followed by The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph. It can be seen in table 5.3.1.

**Table 5.3.1 Length of newspapers' coverage**

Newspaper	Length of News Item			Total News Items
	100-300 words	301-600	601- and Over	
<b>Dawn</b>	82 (62%)	77 (55%)	32 (17%)	191
<b>The Guardian</b>	10 (7%)	21 (15%)	40 (21%)	71
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	36 (27%)	28 (20%)	23 (12%)	87
<b>The New York Times</b>	3 (2%)	14 (10%)	88 (48%)	105
<b>Total</b>	131 (100%)	140 (100%)	183 (100%)	454

If we break up the percentage horizontally by looking at the coverage of every newspaper exclusively, the following results emerge, as can be seen in table 5.3.2

**Table 5.3.2 Length of News items**

Newspaper	Length of News Item			Total News Items
	100-300 words	301-600	601- and Over	
<b>Dawn</b>	82 (43%)	77 (40%)	32 (17%)	191 (100%)
<b>The Guardian</b>	10 (14%)	21 (30%)	40 (56%)	71 (100%)
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	36 (41%)	28 (32%)	23 (26%)	87 (100%)
<b>The New York Times</b>	3 (3%)	14 (13%)	88 (84%)	105 (100%)

If we calculate the approximate number of words in the coverage of all these four newspapers, the results can be seen in table 5.3.3

**Table 5.3.3 Calculation of number of words**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Calculation of number of words</b>	<b>Total Approximate words</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	82 x 300 77 x 600 32 x 601	<b>90,032</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	10 x 300 21 x 600 40 x 601	<b>39,640</b>
<b>Telegraph</b>	36 x 300 28 x 600 23 x 601	<b>41,423</b>
<b>The New York Times</b>	3 x 300 14 x 600 88 x 1000	<b>97,300</b>

It has been observed during data collection that what the Dawn tried to tell in numerous stories was told by the western newspapers – especially The New York Times and the Guardian – in a single news item. Most of the news stories of the New York Times and the Guardian were written (contributed) by more than one name, and even they used to be sitting in different places like Abbottabad, Kabul, London, New York, Washington and Delhi. However, the Dawn did not rely much on more than one reporter for covering the event.

It can be best understood by looking at the following example:

A news item appearing in the New York Times on May 3, 2011, with the headline **“Amid Skepticism, Pakistan Calculates Its Response”** is almost 1400 words news

story, and it is mainly reported by Carlotta Gall and Eric Schmitt (as their names appeared just below the headline), but at the end of the news story, it carries a paragraph “*Carlotta Gall reported from Islamabad, and Eric Schmitt from Brussels. Reporting was contributed by Ismail Khan from Peshawar, Pakistan; Waqar Gillani from Islamabad; Salman Masood from Abbottabad, Pakistan; and David Rohde and Pir Zubair Shah from New York*”.

The results of the stories written by more than one reporter can be seen in Table 5.3.4 below

**Table 5.3.4 Stories written by more than one reporter**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Stories Written by more than one reporter</b>	<b>Total number of stories</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	3 (1.5%)	191
<b>The Guardian</b>	25 (35%)	71
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	17 (19.5%)	87
<b>The New York Times</b>	36 (34%)	105

More than one-third of the news items reported in the Guardian and the New York Times were written by more than one person. Almost one-fifth of the news items of the Telegraph were written by more than one person. However, the Dawn did not rely much on such practice of reporting: two (or more than two) reporters working on the same news story with two different perspectives and sitting in two different locations.

The statement about the length of the news items can be best understood from a brief review of few stories selected randomly from both The New York Times and the Dawn.

a) A news item, approximately of 3,100 words, appearing on the front page of **The New York Times** on **May 3, 2011** carrying the headline ‘**Behind the hunt for Bin Laden**’ focused on the overall strategy of the US to reach and kill Bin Laden. It gives us a complete detail about how and where the trusted courier of Bin Laden was traced? How the Al Qaeda operatives were interrogated by the secret CIA officials in different undisclosed locations. It also shares the details of the series of meetings of President Obama with different officials held at the White House before the operation. The situation in the ‘situation room’ is also shown to the readers along with some detail about the code of operation ‘Geronimo’. The news article also provides details of the bin Laden’s compound and the way people lived a life there. It gives a complete account of the operation along with the number of casualties, taking the hard drive and other computer stuff from the compound, and also, the confirmation of Bin Laden’s body. It, moreover, tells us about the children and wives of Bin Laden left after the operation, and now in the custody of Pakistani security officials along with the statements of the neighbors. At the end, they sum up the news article with the burial of Bin Laden in the sea. (Please note that the online version of this article appeared on the **New York Times website** on **May 2, 2011**).

b) If we look at the coverage of the **Dawn Newspaper** on **May 3, 2011**, we see that how the same story was told in pieces (in the form of different news stories).

The news item appearing on the front page of the Dawn carrying the headline ‘**Was Osama killed by US troops or his own guard?**’ focuses on Bin Laden’s killing,

detail about the operation, casualties in the operation, members of his family under the custody of Pakistani security officials, along with the version of the local people about the courier and the compound.

The second news item, appearing on the back page of the Dawn, carrying the headline **‘Multiple methods used to identify body’** quotes the US officials and gives a complete account of the issue.

The third news item, appearing on the back page of the paper carrying the headline **‘Osama buried at sea’** quotes the US officials and gives an account of his burial at the sea.

The fourth news item, appearing in the International page of the Dawn carrying the headline **‘The raid as described by US officials’** gives detail about the operation, planning of the operation, detail about the raid, and detail about the compound. All the information was shared by the US officials.

The fifth news item, appearing on Page 3 of the Dawn carrying the headline **‘Neighbors didn’t see any suspicious activity’** quotes different eyewitnesses and local people (neighbors of Bin Laden) in Abbottabad to know about their opinion on Bin Laden’s presence and also the US-led operation.

c) If we look at the coverage of the Guardian and the Telegraph, again we come to know that they tried to tell most of the things in a single news item like the New York Times. It can be understood better by looking at the example of the news stories published on the same day, May 3, 2011.

The news item appearing on the front page in the **The Daily Telegraph** on **May 3, 2011** with the headline **“He died cowering behind his wife”** written by Steven

**Swinford, Gordon Rayner and Duncan Gardham**, initially confirms the death of bin Laden in the US-led Operation. Later on, in the story, they also discuss the geography of the bin Laden's compound and its closeness to the Pakistan's Military Academy Kakool. It further tells about the situation in the 'Situation Room' of the Whitehouse when the US forces were busy in Operation to kill bin Laden. The news story also tells us about the identification of bin Laden's body via DNA and facial recognition technology. The news item throws a light on the growing concern among the international community whether Pakistan was aware of it or not? It also discusses the security situation in the US and UK after his killing to avoid any terrorist attack. The news, furthermore, underlines the growing pressure on the US from different quarters to release the picture of bin Laden to avoid conspiracy theories. It equally informs us about the 'angry scenes' in the Muslim world after bin Laden was buried at the sea. The news item adds that the call for operation was given by President Obama, which resulted in the collection of hard desks and flash drives from bin Laden's compound.

d) The news item appearing on the front page of the **Guardian** on **May 3, 2011** with the headline "**40 minutes of battle, and two shots to the head**" written by **Declan Walsh from Abbottabad, Ewen MacAskill from Washington and Esther Addley**, initially focuses on the detail of the Abbottabad Operation, then tells about the version of a local person in Abbottabad, who lived near bin Laden's compound. It then informs the readers about the situation in the 'Situation Room' where President Obama and his team was receiving live feed of the Operation. The news story also tells about bin Laden's courier and his background, who actually led the US to bin Laden's compound. It then tells us about the secret planning of the

Operation in the US along with the complete detail of the casualties. At the end, it tells about the burial of bin Laden at the sea.

The above examples show that the US and UK based newspapers have tried to show the full ground to its readers in one news story rather than relying on smaller bits in the form of small scattered news stories, appearing on different pages, and discussing different perspectives of the same event. It, too, shows the approach of the Western newspapers towards different issues, that how they touch different geographical locations while exploring the issue from different available perspectives to their readers. Indeed – up to some extent – it also shows the difference in the culture of reporting practiced in the Pakistani and the Western newspapers where the former relies mostly on ‘Individual Reporting’ of an event from different perspectives; while the later mostly practices ‘Joint Reporting’ to cover the same event from different possible or available angles to its readers. There is also a strong possibility that if a single news item carrying different perspectives (possibly from different locations) on the same event will make more sense to the readers (to have a more valid opinion on the issue) than to provide everything in small pieces (and in scattered form) to make sense of it.

#### **5.4. Coverage on the Front Page of the Newspapers**

In terms of giving importance to the event on the front page, the Dawn took the lead where half of the front page news stories appeared there, followed by the New York Times, The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian (Table 5.4.1).

**Table 5.4.1 Stories appearing on the front page**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Number of News Items published on Front Page</b>	<b>Total number of News Items</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	32 (17%)	191 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	5 (7%)	71 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	9 (10%)	87 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	18 (17%)	105 100%
<b>Total</b>	64 14%	454 100%

If we look at the data from another angle – the number of news items published on front page as a percentage of the total number of news items of that newspaper – then both the New York Times and the Dawn stand on top with almost 17% of its coverage; followed by the Telegraph and the Guardian.

It is worth mentioning that more than a quarter of the Dawn’s newspaper coverage, 52 out of 191 news items, was carried out on its International Page. These news items were taken mostly from foreign news agencies. Furthermore, of these 52 news items, 20 were taken from the AFP; 10 from AP; 5 from Reuters; 6 were contributed by foreign writers; 10 were referred to their own correspondent (but only two news items were byline and the eight news stories did not carry any name of a reporter; it only carried a phrase “By Our Correspondent” below the headline), and for one news story, no source was mentioned (the detail of these and some other stories will come in chapter 7).

So, on the whole, 41 out of 52 news items, appeared on the International Pages of the Dawn came from foreign sources, 10 were referred to their own correspondents (but only two were byline), and only one news story was published without any source.

Although, this is a regular feature of the Dawn to fill its International Pages with the stories related to different countries of the world and very often these stories are contributed by their (few) correspondents sitting in other countries like India and the USA.

### **5.5. Nature of the News Items**

In terms of the nature of the coverage, most of the items appeared in the pages, of all the four newspapers, were news stories (Table 5.5.1).

**Table 5.5.1 Nature of news items**

Newspaper	Nature of news items			Total
	News Story	Leader	Reportage (Opinion piece appearing in the News pages)	
<b>Dawn</b>	173 (91%)	8 (4%)	10 (5%)	191 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	56 (79%)	2 (3%)	13 (18%)	71 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	73 (84%)	2 (2%)	12 (14%)	87 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	95 (90%)	3 (3%)	7 (7%)	105 100%
<b>Total</b>	397 87%	15 3%	42 9%	454 100%

### **5.6. Byline News Stories published in the Newspapers**

In terms of byline coverage, The New York Times tops the list; followed by the Dawn, the Telegraph and the Guardian, respectively. In terms of not publishing ‘byline’ news stories, the Dawn leads the table; followed by the Telegraph, the New York Times and the Guardian. It can be seen in Table 5.6.1. It is important to mention that a news story will be considered byline if the name of the reporter(s)

appear below the headline of that story. The news items carrying the names of different news agencies at the end of the story were not considered as ‘byline’.

**Table 5.6.1 Byline News Stories in the Newspapers**

Newspaper	Byline		Total
	Yes	No	
<b>Dawn</b>	75 (39%)	116 (61%)	191 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	69 (97%)	2 (3%)	71 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	71 (82%)	16 (18%)	87 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	95 (90%)	10 (10%)	105 100%
<b>Total</b>	310 100%	144 100%	454 100%

It must be noted that Dawn newspaper mostly gives credit to the reporter for the story if he/she has explored something new or exclusive in that report. Further, it is important to note that 19 out of the 75 byline news stories, almost 25 per cent of the overall byline stories, published in the Dawn newspaper, have been contributed by foreign journalists like Owen Bennett Jones, Declan Walsh, Alastair Macdonald, Adam Goldman etc. It is also important to note that only six of these ‘foreign byline’ news stories appeared on the International Pages of the Dawn and the rest of the 13

on the National Pages. Overall, these 19 news stories were contributed by fifteen different foreign names. In some cases, these articles are credited to news agencies such as AP, Reuters and AFP etc.

Out of these 15 names mentioned in the Dawn’s coverage, most are working for foreign media outlets. It tells us about the reliance of Pakistani newspapers on foreign news sources to tell the story of bin Laden’s death/ Abbottabad Operation to its readers. The association of these different names can be seen in table 5.6.2.

(Please note that the association of these journalists is based on the year 2011 when they covered the incident. It might be possible that they may have switched to the other newspapers, later).

**Table 5.6.2 Association of foreign journalists contributing in Dawn**

S. No	Name of Journalist	Association of Journalist
1	Shiv Malik	Freelancer (UK Based)
2	Dia Hadid	AP Reporter
3	Mark Lawson	Guardian
4	Owen Bennett Jones	Freelancer (UK based)
5	Dan De Luce	AP Reporter (US based)
6	Ewen MacAskill	Guardian
7	Michael Georgy	Reuters Correspondent
8	Matt Apuzzo	AP (US based)
9	Declan Walsh	Guardian
10	Alastair Macdonald	Reuters (London based)
11	William Maclean	Reuters
12	Jon Boone	Guardian
13	Giles Hewitt	AFP
14	Joby Warrick Karin Brulliard	Washington Post
15	Adam Goldman	AP

It is now important to look at the ‘sources’ mentioned in the introduction of the stories. It will give us hints about who actually dominated telling the story of bin Laden’s death to people.

### 5.7. Source mentioned in the introduction of the News Stories

Source mentioned in the introduction of the news story actually gives us a clue about who the newspapers were referring to or attributing the information mentioned in the introduction/ lead/ start of the story. It will help us reach the original source from where the information originated. Although, it might not be mandatory to mention the source in the introduction, but still, if it is mentioned then it will give us a clue about the reliance of that media outlet on the sources for its coverage. The aim of this exercise is to know that how much the media outlets were looking at the US for information, and to compare the ratio of Pakistani officials and the US officials in the introduction of the stories of these four media outlets.

The following different introductions (selected randomly from the data) can help us understand the source of the news items.

- a) “After the gun fight that killed Osama bin Laden, the US used “multiple methods” to positively identify his remains, according to **senior Pentagon official** who saw a photograph of corpse”. (Dawn, May3, 2011.) **Coded as ‘US Sources’**.
  
- b) “**The White House** said on Wednesday that President Barack Obama reserved the right to act again against top terror suspects in Pakistan. Mr. Obama’s spokesperson Jay Carney was asked whether the President would be prepared to target fugitives again if they were on Pakistani soil”. (Dawn, May5, 2011). **Coded as ‘US Sources’**.

- c) “US President Barack Obama has decided not to release a photograph showing the body of Osama bin Laden after he was killed by US commandos, **US television networks** said on Wednesday”. (Dawn, May5, 2011). **Coded as ‘US Sources’**.
- d) “Army Chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani ordered on Thursday an investigation into the intelligence failure in detecting the presence of Al Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden in his Abbottabad hideout under the army’s nose; and for determining how the US carried out the operation ‘Geronimo’ without the Pakistan military getting wind of it”. (Dawn, May 6, 2011). **Coded as ‘No Source Mentioned’**.

From the table 5.7.1 below, it is clear that the Dawn showed almost equal reliance on both the US and Pakistani sources for its coverage in the introduction of the stories. It means that most of the times, they were looking at both (US and Pakistani sources) for the information related to bin Laden’s death or after.

The following conclusions can be derived from it:

- a) The Dawn overall referred to the Western sources (by combining both the US and European) more in the introduction of their stories than the Pakistani sources, as it is 15.5% as compared to 13%. It is also important to note that 14 out of 24 US sources (mentioned in the Dawn) consist of the US Media outlets; 4 consist of Ex-defense/ government officials of the USA; 2 consist of the US Defense Ministry/ Pentagon; 1 each consist of the US President, the US armed services official, the US Congress member and the White House Spokesperson. Out of 9 European Sources, 5 consist of Any Other Western media outlets.

b) Pakistani sources made 13% of the coverage; and 12 out of the 25 Pakistani sources also consist of Press Releases/ Handouts and Press Notes issued to the Newspapers; 4 consist of local people; 3 consist of Armed/ Intelligence forces of Pakistan; while Pakistani President, ISPR (Armed Forces Information Wing), Pakistani Expert, Civil Society, Foreign Office of Pakistan and Opposition Political Party of Pakistan were quoted only once.

The reliance on the US or Western sources in the coverage was not only limited to the Dawn newspaper, but such trend can also be seen in the British media outlets.

The Guardian's 44 per cent sources mentioned in the introduction were Western (the US and European), followed by its own reporter. It is important to note that all the 7 US sources mentioned in the introduction/ lead of the Guardian are US media outlets.

**Table 5.7.1 Sources mentioned in the intro**

Newspaper	Source								Total
	US Sources	Pakistani Sources	European Sources	Rest of the World sources	Al-Qaeda/ Taliban Sources	Newspaper Sources	Any Other	No Source Mentioned	
<b>Dawn</b>	24 (12.5%)	25 (13%)	5 (3%)	7 (4%)	2 (1%)	16 (8%)	1 (0.5%)	111 (58%)	191 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	7 (10%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	7 (10%)	0 (0%)	53 (75%)	71 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	6 (7%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	6 (7%)	1 (1%)	70 (80%)	87 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	6 (6%)	0 (0%)	94 (89%)	105 100%
<b>Total</b>	40	28	8	10	3	35	2	328	454

In The Daily Telegraph, Western (US plus European) sources dominate again, followed by its own reporter. Out of the Telegraph’s six US sources, 4 consist of the US media outlets; and 1 each consist of the US defense ministry/ Pentagon and the US Senator. In The New York Times, its own reporters top the list, followed by the Western (US plus European) sources. The New York Times 3 US sources consist of 2 US media outlets and 1 US official.

It is also important to mention that 89% of The New York Times, 80% of the Daily Telegraph, 74% of the Guardian and 58% of the Dawn Newspaper news items did not carry any source (attribution to the information) in the introduction of their stories.

If we compare the US officials mentioned in the intro of these media outlets with the Pakistani Officials, then the following results emerge, as shown in Table 5.7.2 below. It must be kept in mind that by the US officials we mean the US President, different Secretaries, Military Officials and other government officials etc. By Pakistani officials, we mean the Pakistani President, the Prime Minister, Different Provincial and Federal Ministers, Lawmakers and Law enforcement agencies personnel etc.

**Table 5.7.2 US and Pakistani Officials**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>US Officials</b>	<b>Pakistani Officials</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	10	6
<b>Guardian</b>	0	0
<b>Telegraph</b>	2	1
<b>The New York Times</b>	1	0

### **5.8. Additional Sources mentioned in the body of the Story**

It is also important to know about the additional sources mentioned in the body of the news story (without introduction). In this research study, data was collected of the ‘first three sources’ mentioned in the body of the story. It will give us an idea about whether the particular media outlet utilized local or international sources in their coverage. The American and Pakistani Sources will be further categorized, in these four media outlets, to know whether Pakistani officials or the US officials’ voices were dominant in the coverage.

The following paragraphs, taken randomly from the body of different news items, of the Dawn will help us understand the phenomenon of ‘Additional Sources’. It will also show that how they were coded.

- a) The terror network responsible for the September 11 terror attacks on the United States has vowed to avenge the US killing of bin Laden. “They as an organization will have to work themselves through some sort of succession,” **Donilon** said. (Dawn, May9, 2011.) **Coded as ‘US Sources’**.
  
- b) **Army chief Gen Ashfaq Parvez Kiyani** has warned that Pakistan would respond “very strongly” if India launched an operation similar to the US raid that killed Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden on May 2. (Dawn, May7, 2011.) **Coded as ‘Pakistani Sources’**.
  
- c) “Today, from all the information I have seen, we can’t conclusively say that somebody senior knew and promoted safe heaven” said **Congressman Mike**

**Rogers**, who chairs the US House Intelligence Committee. (Dawn, May 12, 2011.)

**Coded as ‘US Sources’.**

The results can be seen in Table 5.8.1. The Dawn cited 22% of Western sources (US plus European Sources) to tell the story of Bin Laden’s death to the readers. Pakistani sources mentioned in the news items were 29 per cent; while rest of the world sources (Indian, Chinese and Afghanis etc.) cited were only 4 per cent.

The Guardian also cited the Western sources more in the coverage to tell the story of bin Laden’s death to its readers, as it made 38%, but it includes 31 per cent US sources alone. Pakistani Sources cited in their stories stood second with 25%, while Al Qaeda/ Taliban sources mentioned in their stories stood third, and were bit greater than Pakistan’s the Dawn newspaper coverage.

The Daily Telegraph also showed reliance on the ‘US Sources’ to tell the story to their readers as it made 28% alone (without the European sources). It was then followed by the Pakistani Sources and Al Qaeda sources.

The New York Times also showed much dependency on its US sources as it made 44% (without the European sources) followed by the Pakistani sources and Rest of the World sources.

It shows that the Western media outlet mostly looked at the Western sources than Pakistani sources to tell the story of bin Laden’s death, and the Pakistani newspaper have looked a bit more at the Pakistani sources than the Western sources.

**Table 5.8.1 Additional three sources mentioned in the body of the story**

Newspaper									Total
	US Sources	Pakistani Sources	European Sources	Rest of the World sources	Al-Qaeda/Taliban Sources	TV Channel/ Newspaper Sources	Any Other	No Source Mentioned	
<b>Dawn</b>	113 20%	167 29%	10 2%	25 4%	11 2%	6 1%	4 1%	237 41%	573 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	66 31%	54 25%	15 7%	10 5%	14 6.5%	1 0.5%	2 1%	51 24%	213 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	73 28%	44 17%	29 11%	3 1%	12 5%	7 3%	3 1%	90 34%	261 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	140 44%	68 22%	9 3%	25 8%	11 3%	1 0.3%	4 1%	57 18%	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	392	333	63	63	48	15	13	435	1362

It will now be more important to look deeper into these Pakistani and US sources, and find out the officials mentioned on both sides in all these four newspapers.

These comparative data will help us understand who were most often mentioned in the stories for the information. It will also tell us how many Pakistani officials turned up on the issue. If we regroup the sources into three broad categories of the officials on both sides, the following results emerge, shown in table 5.8.2.

From the results, it is now clear that the US officials dominated the coverage, in all four newspapers, as they were more often cited in the body of the stories. If we combine all the three categories of the US and Pakistani sources in the Dawn, then it means that overall Pakistan officials cited in its ten days coverage are 93 and the US officials cited are 98. Besides these numeric differences and the dominance of the US officials in the coverage of the Dawn, there are a lot of other meaningful differences which need to be explored here, in order to understand the nature of the coverage.

- a) The Pakistani President, Asif Ali Zardari (who is also the co-chairman of the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP), was mentioned only 2 times; while the US President Obama was mentioned 11 times. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Yousaf Raza Gillani, was mentioned only 7 times. It means that if we combine the Pakistani President and Prime Minister, then again, they are mentioned less than the US President. It shows the Pakistani officials' interest in the issue, which were reluctant to become a part of bin Laden's killing in either way.

- b) Pakistan Army's Information Wing, ISPR (Inter Services Public Relations Office), was mentioned only 3 times while Pakistan's Air Force Spokesperson was cited only twice; while on the other hand, Pentagon (US Defense Ministry) was cited 8 times.
- c) Pakistani Foreign Office was mentioned 12 times, while the Whitehouse Spokesperson was mentioned 10 times. It means that the officials in Pakistan did not turn up on the issue openly. The Dawn newspaper was looking at the US (Officials) for the coverage to fill the gap left by the Pakistani officials and contradiction in Pakistan's stand (which has been discussed in detail in the chapter 6).

It was greatly expected from the top officials of Pakistan that they would turn up openly on the issue, will take a stand on the it and will control the Public Opinion on the issue, but they preferred to stay away from it as they would not have been able to answer the questions connected to the issue so expressively – like the presence of bin Laden in Abbottabad and failure of Pakistan's Security/ Intelligence officials of Pakistan. It was the reason that every media outlet (studied in this research study) showed reliance on local people/ eyewitnesses from Pakistan to fill the gaps left by the Pakistani officials. It can easily be seen in 32 local people/ eye witnesses cited in 167 Pakistani sources.

**Tab 5.8.2 Regrouping of Pakistani/ US First Three Additional Sources**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Pakistani Government Officials</b>	<b>Police/ Army/ Security Officials of Pakistan</b>	<b>Pakistani Parliamentarians</b>	<b>US Government Officials</b>	<b>Armed/ Security Officials of the US</b>	<b>US Parliamentarians</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	33	24	36	76	6	16
<b>Guardian</b>	11	8	1	40	3	5
<b>Telegraph</b>	5	6	3	46	8	8
<b>New York Times</b>	8	15	0	89	18	13

If we look at the coverage of the Guardian, it shows the same trend of dominance of the US officials. It can better be understood from the 20 Pakistani Official sources to the 48 US Official sources. Out of 20 Pakistani officials, President was mentioned 3 times, and Prime Minister was mentioned 4 times; while the US President was mentioned 11 times. It means that the US top officials were more visible than the Pakistani top officials. One of the dominant reasons behind it is the control of the US officials over the information regarding the Abbottabad Operation and Post-Operation scenario. They exploited the information in best possible way to achieve their political ends, while the Pakistani officials (possibly) did not know how to turn up on the issue to fit into the situation. They could not go against the anti-US sentiments prevailing among the people of Pakistan; neither could they challenge the narratives established by the US after the Abbottabad Operation, nor even could they celebrate it to invite the wrath of Al Qaeda/ Taliban in Pakistan. The (confused) official mindset left most of the people undecided on the issue. Perhaps, it was the

reason that even the Guardian tried to fill the gap created by the Pakistani officials by giving more coverage to the local people/ eyewitnesses from Pakistan to tell the story as 25 out of 54 Pakistani Sources (cited in the Guardian) consist of the local people/ eyewitnesses.

The Daily Telegraph's coverage of the Pakistani and US officials was even more US oriented – 14 Pakistani Officials mentioned as compared to 62 US Officials in its ten days coverage. Pakistani President was mentioned twice, while the US President was mentioned 10 times. It is important to note that in its ten days coverage, Pakistan's Prime Minister and Foreign Office was not mentioned at all. It shows that to whom the newspaper was inclined for the information and coverage – regarding the Operation and Post-Operation scenario. It equally shows that the newspaper did not provide space for the bits of information provided by the Pakistani Premier or its Foreign Office. The Daily Telegraph also showed reliance on the local people/ eyewitnesses from Pakistan to fill the gap left by the Pakistani officials – 25 out of 44 mentioned Pakistani sources consist of local people/ eyewitnesses in the overall coverage of the Telegraph.

The New York Times also showed reliance on the US Officials to tell the story of bin Laden's death and post death scenario. The overall Pakistani officials mentioned in its entire ten days coverage are just 23 as compared to 120 US officials. Pakistani Prime Minister and Foreign Office of Pakistan were mentioned three times; while the Pakistani President was mentioned only once. On the other hand, the US President was cited 10 times. Like all other newspapers, they also relied on local people/ eyewitnesses to tell the story of bin Laden's death from Pakistan – 25 out of overall 44 Pakistani sources consist of local people/ eyewitnesses of Pakistan.

## **5.9. Overall Sources mentioned in the Story**

Sources mentioned in the introduction of the news items the first three additional sources mentioned in the body of the story have been discussed separately, in detail, in sections 5.7 and 5.8 of this chapter. But now, an attempt has been made to squeeze both these categories of sources into one table to see the broad picture of the sources mentioned and the possible changes in the data (if any). The results can be seen in Table 5.9.1.

If we look at the table below, it is obvious that all the three Western newspapers showed reliance on the US sources to tell the story of the death of bin Laden and the Abbottabad Operation, but the Pakistani sources were slightly more dominant in the Dawn than the US ones. The following results can be derived from it:

The US sources mentioned in the ten days of coverage of the Dawn newspaper was 18%; while the Pakistani Sources mentioned in the coverage were quarter of its entire coverage (25%).

The Guardian, in its coverage, showed more reliance on the US sources to tell the story as it stood more than a quarter (26%) of its entire sources; while Pakistani sources mentioned in the coverage made 19% – which is less than the one-fifth of the overall sources. The Telegraph also followed the trend set by the Guardian, and utilized more US sources, 23%, which is little less than the quarter of its entire sources. Pakistani sources mentioned in the coverage are 13%. The New York Times, in its coverage, showed comparatively more reliance on the US sources as compared to the other three newspapers, as it marked 34% of the overall sources –

which is slightly more than one-third of the overall mentioned sources. On the other hand, Pakistani Sources mentioned in their coverage were 16%.

**Table 5.9.1 Overall sources mentioned in the Story**

Newspaper									Total
	US Sources	Pakistani Sources	European Sources	Rest of the World sources	Al-Qaeda/Taliban Sources	TV Channel/ Newspaper Sources	Any Other	No Source Mentioned	
<b>Dawn</b>	137 18%	192 25%	15 2%	32 4%	13 2%	22 3%	5 0.5%	<b>348</b> <b>45.5%</b>	764 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	73 26%	55 19%	16 5.5%	12 4%	14 5%	8 3%	2 1%	<b>104</b> <b>36.5%</b>	284 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	79 23%	46 13%	30 9%	4 1%	12 3%	13 4%	4 1%	<b>160</b> <b>46%</b>	348 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	143 34%	68 16%	10 2%	25 6%	12 3%	7 2%	4 1%	<b>151</b> <b>36%</b>	420 100%
<b>Total</b>	432	361	71	73	51	50	15	<b>763</b>	1816

It is now important to further classify the data by categorizing the US and Pakistani Sources into US and Pakistani officials. It will give us a better idea that who were more visible in the coverage in the entire ten days. The results can be seen in Table 5.9.2

From the Table below, we can conclude the following results:

- a) The Dawn was overall more dependent on the US government officials than the Pakistani government officials to tell the story of bin Laden's death. Although, they mentioned more Pakistani Parliamentarians than US politicians; and even they mentioned more Pakistani Security officials than the US ones.
  
- b) The Guardian also mentioned more US government officials than Pakistani ones; and it even mentioned more US Politicians than Pakistani Parliamentarians. However, it mentioned more Pakistani Security officials than the US ones.
  
- c) The Telegraph also followed the same pattern and mentioned more US government officials than Pakistani ones; even it mentioned more Armed/ Security officials of the US along with US Politicians than their Pakistani counterparts.
  
- d) The New York Times mentioned more US government officials, Armed/ Security officials of the US and even more US Politicians than Pakistani ones.

**Table 5.9.2      Regrouping of Pakistani/ US Official Sources**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Pakistani Government Officials</b>	<b>Police/ Army/ Security Officials of Pakistan</b>	<b>Pakistani Parliamentarians</b>	<b>US Government Officials</b>	<b>Armed/ Security Officials of US</b>	<b>US Politicians</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	35	28	36	82	9	17
<b>Guardian</b>	11	8	1	40	3	5
<b>Telegraph</b>	6	6	3	46	9	9
<b>New York Times</b>	8	15	0	90	18	13

The results above clearly show that the US officials were dominant in the coverage of all the selected four newspapers as they were mentioned more than their Pakistani counterparts. Apparently, it also shows the control of the US officials over the information related to the coverage of bin Laden’s death/ Abbottabad Operation, and also, a possible control over the newspapers regarding the coverage of the event – by setting their agenda of the coverage. The visibility of more US officials in the coverage, on one hand, gives also an impression that the US officials (or the US crisis managers) were highly organized in their media strategy to control public opinion via the information they dispatched to the world media outlets with the passage of time. But, on the other hand, less visibility of the Pakistani government officials over the issue, in the four newspapers including the Dawn, apparently gives an impression that they had no control over the flow of information after the death of bin Laden/ Abbottabad operation.

In summary, this chapter discusses the preliminary trends of the newspapers' data. It shows that which newspaper gave more coverage to the event in terms of more published stories and which newspaper gave more coverage to it in terms of number of words. It also shows which newspaper gave more coverage to it on its front page and who were the contributors in the coverage. Besides, showing the nature of the data, it too tells us about foreign journalists who contributed in the coverage of the Dawn. It also discusses the source mentioned in the introduction of the news stories and first three additional sources cited in the body of the story, to show that who were dominant in the coverage – the US or Pakistani officials

## **CHAPTER 6: PAKISTAN’S OFFICIAL STAND AND THE NATURE OF THE COVERAGE**

### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter will focus on the newspapers’ data a bit more in detail to show the nature of the coverage, and Pakistan’s official stand (or possible silence) over the issue. It will also guide us about the nature of the coverage of different media outlets. All the questions answered in this chapter are supplemented with tables to present it in more logical way to the readers. All the analysis in this chapter is linked to the major question:

**“How the four media outlets across the three different countries of the world covered the death of Osama bin Laden?”**

This main research question has been supplemented with some additional research questions to show more in-depth nature of the coverage carried out by these media outlets. The following are the additional research questions answered in this chapter:

RQ1: What was the official stand of Pakistan on the issue of bin Laden’s death or Abbottabad Operation, and carried out in its Dawn newspaper?

RQ2: What is the topic of the introduction of the news items?

RQ3: What are the first three additional topics discussed in the body of the story (excluding introduction)?

RQ4: If allies were not on the same page, did it give rise to the ‘Victory vs Tragedy frame’? If yes then how much was it visible in the coverage?

## **6.2. Dawn and Pakistan's official stand on the issue**

The world's most wanted man – Osama bin Laden – was killed in a US attack in Abbottabad, Pakistan. It was welcome by many in the world and was considered one of the biggest achievements in the ongoing War on Terror as it cost the US and her allies almost a decade. The US officials were very clear of its stand as they were claiming that 'justice has been done', but in Pakistan, things were a bit different. It can be easily assessed from the initial reaction to bin Laden's killing by the Pakistani officials, who called it a 'great achievement' initially, but later on, possibly succumbed to the public pressure and started criticizing the US for the 'unilateral' attack.

Besides observing a change in the tone of initial response to the issue, it is also important to look at Pakistan's official stand which has remained the front-state ally of the US in this ongoing War on Terror. In order to place an opinion on the official stand of Pakistan, all the news stories carrying the statements of Pakistani officials on the issue and covered in the Dawn newspaper have been selected. The reason for selecting the Dawn newspaper is that it is a national newspaper of Pakistan and one can expect that they would have covered it in more detail as compared to other international newspapers that have been selected in this study. This argument is also obvious from the analysis in the previous chapter, where Pakistan's Prime Minister, President and the Foreign Office were cited more in the Dawn than in any other international newspaper.

An effort has been made to show the Pakistan's stand in ascending order – as it unfolded. Each official statement carries two dates – one stands for 'when it was said' and the other stands for 'when it was published' in the newspaper. The date of

‘when it was said’ is important as it shows the delay in government response, in some cases; and it is also important to have the date of publication, for reference. Instead of writing the detailed story – carrying the official stand – this study only includes a short summary highlighting the most important points mentioned in the statements (which are already highlighted in the headline, lead or in the following paragraphs). It must be noted that all the news stories carrying official statements of Pakistani officials have been selected and studied in this section and no discrimination has been made in this regard. The detail of Pakistan’s official stand on the issue can be seen in Table 6.2.1.

From the discussion of Pakistan’s official stand below, it is evident that Pakistani officials have not turned up on the issue much openly, as many would have expected from a front state ally of War on Terror – especially when your own people have long sacrificed their lives to win it. The less visibility of Pakistani political high-ups on the issue also gives the impression that, most possibly, they did not know how to deal with the news of the operation, or were unaware of the situation that arose, or its consequences on the country’s political arena. One can guess many reasons for it, but if we suppose that it was a planned official strategy to keep its people blank and confused, and to think that everything will settle with the time; it seems that it was not successful in the case of bin Laden’s death as there was a growing criticism over the US operation, government and military with each passing day. The less appearance of Pakistani officials among the public (via media outlets) and not owning the operation further encourages the speculation that the government possibly wanted to avoid both – a possible reaction from Al Qaeda/ Taliban, or joining the US camp.

Apparently, it also shows that there was not much left with Pakistan to share about bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad – like bringing bin Laden's family to media (to divert public attention or show oneself innocent), or even contradict any single information issued by the US as anything in return might have further embarrassed them. All they wanted was that Pakistani media outlets should stop debating the issue, which is clear from the statements to media personnel by the Interior Minister, Rahman Malik, advising them to stop highlighting such sensitive issues as it will demoralize Pakistan's Army – who are busy in fighting the War on Terror on the western border (Malik 2011 cited in Geo News). It is also clear from the ban imposed on the live coverage from Abbottabad or even not allowing journalists to view bin Laden's compound from inside, despite of early assurance.

Most of the (new) information about the raid or the operation came from the US (via its media outlets or its officials), and Pakistani officials, mostly, reacted to it (Please note that this point has been discussed in detail in Chapter 7). The US cashed the Abbottabad Operation and bin Laden's killing like a Soccer World Cup – which is hosted in another city, but at the end the guest team stays winner (or hero).

Interestingly, this finale was 'Made in USA' in all the ways. The players in the game, referee, substitutes, and even the rules were laid down by the American forces and officials; the only thing outlandish was their enemy, Osama bin Laden, and the battlefield Abbottabad, Pakistan. The issue was handled so meticulously by the US government from the start till the end that they did not provide any space to any other country or organization to cast a doubt on their victory or achievement. The US enjoyed its victory and came back to work – but Pakistani government continued to feel its tremors for a very long time as it gave rise to 'Memo gate Scandal' and 'Judicial Commission on Abbottabad Operation'. The former resulted in forced

resignation of Hussain Haqqani, a Pakistani Ambassador to the US. It further expanded the gap between Pakistan's civilian and military top heads. The tension enforced Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Gillani, to question it on the floor of the National Assembly, that on what type of visa bin Laden was living in Pakistan for six years? (Gillani 2011). He said this with reference to his investigation in the Abbottabad Commission, when the commission members asked him that on what type of visa the US forces entered into Pakistan?

These are the reasons that the Western media outlets – after Pakistani officials staying out from the media and public frame – relied on accounts of the local people/ eye witnesses to tell the story of bin Laden's death from Pakistan. From Pakistani officials coverage below, it is also clear that the civilian rulers of Pakistan initially tried to show happiness over bin Laden's killing, but as soon as the public opinion started turning against them in the form of protests (discussed in chapter 7) or criticism from different segments of the society, even the powerful Army found itself in the hot water, and the government also had to modify their stand by complaining about the 'unilateral' US attack. This contradiction has been witnessed till the end by saying something to the local audience and then saying something else to the International audience.

The same impression of Pakistan's official stand can also be found in the other three newspapers: Guardian, New York Times and Telegraph.

**Table 6.2.1 Dawn and Pakistan’s official stand on the issue**

<p>Soon after the Abbottabad Operation, when President Obama confirmed the death of bin Laden (on May 2, 2011), the Pakistani Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Gillani, initially reacted to his killing by terming it ‘a victory of anti-terror alliance’ (Dawn, May3, 2011, p.3). It was then followed by all-day silence in the Pakistan’s official camp as the media outlets waited all the day for further official detail on the issue.</p>	<p>The next day (May 3, 2011), a statement was issued from the Foreign Office of Pakistan, which showed resentment over the attack, and was different from the statement of satisfaction issued earlier by the Pakistani Premier by saying: “This event of unauthorized unilateral action cannot be taken as a rule” (Dawn, May 4, 2011, p.1). It shows that the Pakistani Foreign Office differed the earlier stand taken by its Premier over bin Laden’s killing in Pakistan.</p>
<p>Interestingly, on the same day (May 4, 2011), Dawn carried out a news story on its back page and quoted the Pakistani President, Asif Ali Zardari, whose article was published in the Washington Post, and the excerpts were taken from his article: “We in Pakistan take some satisfaction that our early assistance in identifying an Al Qaeda courier ultimately led to this day” (Dawn May4, 2011, p.14). (Please note that President Obama in his speech also applauded Pakistan’s help, but he did not mention any detail of the help). It can also be observed that the Pakistani President preferred to address the US (international) audience rather than its own Pakistani (local) audience. Besides applauding the death of bin Laden, it also shows that there was some level of possible understanding between the US and Pakistan over the Operation which was not shared with the public.</p>	<p>Just a day after the Abbottabad Operation, when the country was receiving criticism from the international community for the presence of a high value target in the garrison city Abbottabad, the Prime Minister of Pakistan preferred to leave for France for a ‘preplanned’ three days official visit on May 3, 2011, instead of addressing the on-going session of the Senate to take the people of Pakistan in confidence. Apparently, it seems that no one of the high-ups in Pakistan was ready to take the blame or credit for the operation or killing of bin Laden. On May 4, 2011 in Paris, while responding to one of the questions of a reporter about the failure of Pakistan’s Intelligence Agencies in locating bin Laden, the Pakistani Prime Minister said: “There is intelligence failure of the whole world, not Pakistan alone” (Dawn, May 5, 2011, p.1). It means that the Pakistani Prime Minister was trying to share the possible burden of his lose with the rest of the allies or was trying to make a diplomatic statement about the general failure.</p>
<p>As the civilian leaders apparently avoided addressing its own audience, the next day, on May5, 2011, Pakistan’s Army Chief, Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, chaired corps commander conference at General</p>	<p>On the same day, May5, 2011, the Government asked the Foreign Secretary, Salman Bashir, to address a press conference. It must be noted that usually such briefings are given by the Foreign Office Spokesperson in Urdu, but he</p>

<p>Headquarters (GHQ) – Pakistan’s Military Headquarters – to assess the situation developed after the Abbottabad Operation. The statement, issued to media after the conference, said: “The Chief of Army Staff (COAS) made it very clear that any similar action, violating the sovereignty of Pakistan, will warrant a review on the level of military/ intelligence cooperation with the US” (Dawn, May6, 2011, p.1). Although, he also counted the cooperation of Pakistani Intelligence Agencies to the US in tracing the phone call of Bin Laden’s courier. This (possibly) shows that the Pakistani civilian and military leaders were not standing on the same page (regarding the operation and his killing) as the statement of the Army chief is also different from the one issued earlier by the Prime Minister or the President of Pakistan. It also shows that the Pakistani Military came forward and protested against the (one-sided) US operation when the civilian leaders were not visible. (It should be noted that the absence of officials from the ground encouraged many to criticize even the Army, which has been discussed in Chapter 7).</p>	<p>(Salman Bashir) addressed it in English. This was very important press briefing and was given live coverage by almost all the TV channels of Pakistan along with the international media. The main theme of his briefing was that USA and Pakistan both enjoy the ‘strategic convergence’ despite killing of bin Laden in Pakistan (Dawn, May6, 2011, p.1). Again, it shows the soft tone adopted by the Pakistani camp over the operation. Many analysts criticized the press briefing delivered in English as they claimed that their audiences were foreigners rather than locals. This again, up to some extent, shows that the Pakistani government was trying to balance their criticism leveled against the US after the operation (as the military head issued warning on the same day).</p>
<p>On May 6, 2011 (p.3) a news story carrying the statement of Hussain Haqqani, a Pakistani Ambassador to the US, appeared in the Dawn newspaper, who promised to carry out a thorough probe into the allegations that Pakistani officials helped bin Laden during his stay in Abbottabad. The statement was issued after many US officials criticized bin Laden’s presence in Pakistan. This was again showing a softer and defensive tone of the government unlike the one taken by its military.</p> <p>As one would have expected that</p>	<p>The next day, soon after the return of the Prime Minister of Pakistan from Paris, May7, 2011, a meeting was held at the President House in which the Pakistani PM, President and Army Chief participated. The Dawn writes: “The meeting decided that the Prime Minister would take the nation into confidence through Parliament and give a policy statement on Monday (9<sup>th</sup> of May 2011)” (Dawn, May8, 2011. p.1). It means that it took six days of the civilian and military leadership to feel it necessary to take the people of Pakistan into confidence and to issue a policy statement to its people (and the rest of the world) about the incident.</p> <p>As the statement will be issued on May 9</p>

<p>with the passage of time, the dirt would settled down, but it did not happen in the case of bin Laden's death coverage as on May6, 2011, the opposition political parties of Pakistan and the civil society were constantly putting pressure on the Government and Military to explain how it all happened. Many of them even demanded resignations of the Army Chief, President and Prime Minister. They all termed the Abbottabad Operation as attack on the 'sovereignty' and 'integrity' of Pakistan.</p>	<p>so it will mark one week that the Pakistani leadership issues a policy statement about it.</p>
<p>Amid the growing concerns about the future of bin Laden's family, the Dawn in its May 9, 2011 issue quoted the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson of Pakistan, in its three paragraph news item, that no country had asked (Pakistan) for the return of bin Laden's relatives (Dawn, May9, 2011, p3). There was a fear that bin Laden's family might be transferred to the US for further investigation.</p> <p>The same day, another news item appeared in the Dawn, carrying statement of Pakistani diplomat in the US, Hussain Haqqani, who claimed that Pakistan was not aware of Bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad. He further claimed that Pakistan was investigating bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad (May 9, 2011, p.3).</p>	<p>After a week, on May 9, 2011, Pakistani Prime Minister, in his much-awaited policy statement speech in the National Assembly, stated that all the state institutions of Pakistan 'are on the same page' as there was an impression in the Pakistani media that they are not. He appreciated the efforts of Pakistan's Army, and especially the ISI in the War on Terror and their strength to defend the country. He said that an 'in camera briefing' will be given by the military heads (DG ISI) in the joint session of the Parliament (Senate and National Assembly) on May 13, 2011 (Please note that such in camera briefing is confidential and is not for the general public). He also condemned bin Laden and his Al Qaeda for killing the 'innocent Pakistanis' in different attacks and termed his death as 'justice done'. He called the allegations of complicity and incompetence as 'absurd'. He also ordered an inquiry under the serving military general to investigate bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad. Besides issuing caution to the US over the 'unilateral' attack and violating Pakistan's sovereignty, he also mentioned the 'strategic partnership' of Pakistan with the US, which, according to him, was based on 'mutual respect' and 'mutual trust'(Dawn, May10, 2011, p.1).</p> <p>Indeed, the Prime Minister tried to control the damage (diplomatically) as much as possible. He condemned the US for</p>

	<p>carrying out the ‘unilateral’ attack, but at the same time, also appreciated her as a ‘strategic partner’. He agreed with many critics to investigate the Abbottabad Operation and bin Laden’s presence in Pakistan, but he also ordered it under the ‘serving’ military general. Again, it shows that he was trying to protect the establishment (as they didn’t want the independent judicial inquiry). The other most important thing was that he delivered his speech in English in the parliament. He switched to Urdu at the end once he finished reading the written speech.</p> <p>It was also the day, when a ‘Memo’ was written to the Admiral Mike Mullen by Mansoor Ijaz, a Pakistani Businessman in the US. He claimed it in an article published in the London-based Financial Times. He claimed that he wrote the memo on behalf of his ‘friend’ Hussain Haqqani – a Pakistani diplomat to the US – who was advised by the Pakistani President, Asif Ali Zardari, to save his government from a possible military coup. This scandal worsened the relations between the civilian and military leadership.</p>
<p>Dawn, in its May 11, 2011 issue, carried out two news stories on its front page. In one, they quoted the Foreign Office Spokesperson by saying: “The US has not made any formal request to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for access to Bin Laden’s widows and children”. It means that new debate now started in Pakistan was about the future of bin Laden’s family.</p>	<p>In another news item, Interior Minister was quoted who, while speaking to the CNN, said that the US would be given access to Osama bin Laden’s widows (Dawn, May 11, 2011, p.1). It shows that the government was still willing to cooperate with the US even after the Abbottabad Operation.</p>
<p>On May 11, 2011, after strong reaction from Nawaz Sharif, a right-wing politician, who is now serving as the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a third term, rejected the US raid probe under Pakistani military as it was earlier promised by the Prime</p>	<p>The Prime Minister was well aware of the intention of Mian Nawaz Sharif and the consequences of his act. Perhaps, it was the reason that the Prime Minister rushed to the Senate, on the same day, and in his first speech to the Senate, said: “We are at the crossroads today and the situation</p>

<p>Minister, in his speech to the National Assembly. Nawaz Sharif called for a judicial inquiry to fix the responsibility (Dawn, May12, 2011, p1). It shows that the opposition political parties of Pakistan were not ready to give any relaxation to the government and military over the issue. It also means that on the one hand, government could not turn up openly to the US to sever relations, and on the other hand, they could not afford to leave the army to own the failure of Abbottabad Operation for not locating bin Laden. The government was in the middle of nowhere, but the main opposition political party indeed played its card very well by taking the issue to the Supreme Court of Pakistan, where the government, army and even the judiciary stood in front of each other and it created a political instability in the country – which lasted for weeks.</p>	<p>demands resolve and commitment of the nation to stand by the state institutions and defend our geographical and ideological frontiers” (Dawn, May12, 2011, p1). It means that the government was mulling all the options which they did not utilize before, to control the damage; but perhaps, it was too late now.</p>
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From the above discussion – based on Pakistan’s official stand on the issue – it is clear that the Pakistani officials were less in sight on the issue of Abbottabad Operation and bin Laden’s killing. It shows that there was no coordination between the Pakistani military and civilian leadership over the issue. It also shows that they had no media strategy to control the opinion of its people, and perhaps, that further escalated the confusion among the public. Nacos (2002, p.174) claims that the ‘crisis managers’ and ‘response professionals’ should understand that media is the most effective tool to ‘reassure’ and ‘calm’ the public in any crisis. She also stresses the need that the crisis managers should also provide information to the media outlets during and after the crisis, and this is really crucial (ibid 2002, p.171).

But when we look at the coverage of Pakistani high-ups after the incident, it is obvious that they did not utilize the media outlets in the right way to resolve the

crisis as Nacos (2002, p. 180) claims, that ‘most’ journalists and news organizations usually cooperate with the government who are in ‘truly’ crisis situation. The stand of Pakistani officials on the issue also shows that although the US was criticized by the Pakistani military and civilian leadership, it was much harmless criticism. From the detailed account of Pakistan’s official stand – mentioned above – one comes to the conclusion that (perhaps) the Pakistani officials were not that much critical of the US operation, but they could not show their real feelings of satisfaction over bin Laden’s death to its own public.

### **6.3. Topic discussed in the ‘Intro’ of the News Items.**

Topic discussed in the introduction of the news items will give us an idea about the nature of the coverage given by a particular media outlet to the event. It will give us a closer look to the coverage by identifying what aspect of the coverage was dominant, and was considered important and highlighted by which media outlet in these ten days. So, all the themes are important, but the most important thing is to know what was frequently discussed and what was least discussed.

We can understand the pattern of topics from the following examples of introductions of different stories, selected randomly from the Dawn. At the end of every example, it can also be seen that how it was coded into a particular category.

- a) “Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden was killed along with his son and three bodyguards in a helicopter assault on a mansion in the northern city of Abbottabad late Sunday night to bring to an end the biggest-ever manhunt by the United States”.

**Topic coded as “Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation”.** (Dawn, May3, 2011, p.1).

- b) “Army Chief General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani ordered on Thursday an investigation into the intelligence failure in detecting the presence of Al Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden in his Abbottabad hideout under the army’s nose; and for determining how the US carried out the operation ‘Geronimo’ without the Pakistan military getting wind of it”. **Topic coded as “Pakistani government/ people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation”**. (Dawn, May6, 2011, p.1).
- c) “CIA Director Leon Panetta has told the US Congress that either Pakistan was an accomplice in Osama bin Laden’s presence in Abbottabad or was incompetent”. **Topic coded as “Bin Laden’s death and the failure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan”**. (Dawn, May5, 2011, p.1).

The results of initial topics discussed in the intro can be seen in the Table 6.3.1

The findings show that Dawn was more reliant on ‘Pakistan’s Reaction’ as it was represented in the statements made by the Pakistani government/ military/ people/ politicians/ media to the Abbottabad Operation/ Bin Laden’s death, which was almost one-third of its whole coverage. The detail shared about the operation was almost equal to quarter of its whole coverage. The Dawn, in the introduction of their stories, highlighted, relatively little, the failure of Pakistani Security Agencies to trace or kill bin Laden, as probably it was difficult to criticize the military establishment in the opening paragraph of the stories.

It means that most of the introductions of the news stories published in the Dawn were based on the reaction phenomenon – either it was from Pakistan or from the international community. To open the story by highlighting the failure of security agencies of Pakistan might be a risky business in Pakistan as many journalists and even the organizations working for the protection of journalists in Pakistan have blamed the Pakistani establishment for orchestrating attacks on them (Mir 2014; Committee to Protect Journalists 2015).

On the other hand, the newspaper linked the death of bin Laden to the future of Al Qaeda, or the War on Terror, or the region as a whole; very little in the coverage. It shows that the counterterrorism frame was discussed very little in the introductions of the stories. Discussion surrounding these lines in detail would have given opportunity to the people of Pakistan or the overall region to know more about the consequences of his death – but it was hardly considered important by the Dawn. It also shows that at least, up to the introduction of the stories in the Dawn, the story revolved around the US and Pakistan; and Al Qaeda/ Taliban stayed out of the frame. Their interest was on three dimensions: to share detail of the operation, to express the reaction of Pakistan(is) to it, and to share the response of the international community to it.

The Guardian's coverage, in terms of initial theme, focused more on the detail of the Abbottabad Operation. They also gave equal importance to the response of the Pakistani government and institutions to the operation. The Guardian was equally concerned about the American government/ people's response to it and also the reaction of the world to the issue. The discussion of topics discussed in the introductions of the stories in the Guardian shows the same trend of coverage, as the

Dawn carried out. It is important to note that most of the news items did not start with the impact of bin Laden's death on Al Qaeda or the War on Terror. It means that the newspapers were least interested to show that his death will make a difference in the ongoing War on Terror or the Al Qaeda itself. Again, it shows that the counterterrorism frame was not much highlighted in the coverage by the Guardian. It also shows that even the Guardian (possibly) did not consider it important that it will make any difference in the ongoing War on Terror or its impact on the survival of Al Qaeda. Further, it shows that Al Qaeda/ Taliban, mostly, stayed out of the frame, and the space was occupied by Pakistan and the US.

The Daily Telegraph also gave more importance to the detail of the Abbottabad Operation; followed by Pakistan and the US reaction to it, respectively. Like Guardian, they also highlighted the reaction of the world to bin Laden's death. Though, they did not highlight the impact of bin Laden's death on the ongoing War on Terror, Al Qaeda or the region (as one would have expected), but still, they gave relatively more coverage to it as compared to the Dawn and the Guardian.

**Table 6.3.1**

**Topics discussed in the Intro**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation.</b>	<b>Pakistani government/ people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation.</b>	<b>American government/ people/ officials response to the operation/ bin Laden's death</b>	<b>Security Situation in different parts of the Pakistan after the operation.</b>	<b>Complete detail about bin Laden's life.</b>	<b>Reaction of World to bin Laden's death.</b>	<b>Impact of bin Laden's death on the region.</b>	<b>Bin Laden's death and the future of the war on terror.</b>	<b>Bin Laden's death and the future of Al-Qaeda.</b>	<b>Bin Laden's death and the failure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan</b>	<b>Bin Laden's death and the tense Pak-US relations.</b>	<b>Impact of the Bin Laden's death on the coming US elections</b>	<b>Any other</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	47 25%	62 32%	6 3%	5 3%	6 3%	22 11.5%	8 4%	4 2%	6 3%	11 6%	12 6%	1 0.5%	1 0.5%	191 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	21 29%	12 17%	9 13%	2 3%	3 4%	7 10%	2 3%	4 6%	2 3%	3 4%	3 4%	1 1%	2 3%	71 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	35 40%	7 8%	8 9%	4 5%	5 6%	7 8%	2 2%	6 7%	4 5%	6 7%	0 0%	1 1%	2 2%	87 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	27 26%	16 15%	9 8.5%	0 0%	1 1%	6 6%	10 9.5%	4 4%	5 5%	12 11%	0 0%	4 4%	11 10%	105 100%
<b>Total</b>	130	97	32	11	15	42	22	18	17	32	15	7	16	454

The New York Times' one-fourth coverage focused on the detail of the Abbottabad Operation, followed by the reaction of the Pakistani institutions/ public. They also highlighted Pakistani Security agencies' failure relatively more, to trace or kill bin Laden, than the rest of the newspapers. The newspaper also gave coverage to the response of the US government/ public to it and they highlighted the impact of bin Laden's death in the counterterrorism perspective relatively more than the rest of the newspapers. The debate around the counterterrorism perspective means discussing the impact of bin Laden's death on the War on Terror, the region, or on the Al Qaeda as a whole in the introduction of their stories.

Topics discussed in the 'Intro' of different stories of the four newspapers tell us that the dominant themes discussed were either 'Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation', 'Reaction of Pakistani institutions/public', 'Reaction of American government/ public' or even 'Reaction of the world to it'. Together, it made 66% of the overall coverage of the topics of the introductions. But if we individually calculate it for each newspaper – based on these four topics – it makes 72% of the Dawn; 69% of the Guardian; 65.5% of the Telegraph and 55% of the New York Times as compared to their coverage of the overall topics.

We are aware that the newspapers usually start their stories with some important subject, and we too understand that bin Laden's killing was an international story, which possibly had repercussions for most of the countries in the context of terrorism and counterterrorism – especially for those who remained victims of their terror strategy like Pakistan, UK, and US. So, if the media outlets of these countries

did not highlight the ‘counterterrorism’ perspective related to his death, it means that either they covered the issue from a ‘local’ perspective’ (by showing the local reaction to the event) or they underplayed the threat of Al Qaeda, or the importance of death in the international arena. The findings show that the New York Times covered the issue relatively more from the ‘counterterrorism’ perspective and was followed by the Telegraph. The Dawn and the Guardian did not debate it much as compared to their coverage of other topics.

#### **6.4. Additional topics discussed in the body of the Story**

The first three additional topics discussed in the body of the story (excluding the introduction) will help us look deeper into the body of the news story, by exploring different aspects of the coverage carried out in it. An attempt has been made to collect only the first three topics discussed in every news item. It will give us an idea about the narratives of the coverage of different media outlets for the consecutive ten days. It should be noted that almost all the topics are important, but the most important thing is to find out what topics were discussed most and what topics were least highlighted in the coverage. The results can be seen in Table 6.4.1.

The additional topics in the body of the news stories of the Dawn focused more on the reaction of Pakistani government/institutions/public to the operation as one-third of its topics focused on it. Detail about the Abbottabad Operation stayed equally important in the body of their news items. Although, the newspaper avoided questioning the failure of Intelligence Agencies of Pakistan or its Army in tracing

bin Laden in the introduction of the stories (as previously discussed), they highlighted this theme in the body of its news items – by giving an extensive coverage – as they highlighted it more than any other newspaper.

Despite this, what was missing in the coverage of the Dawn was that they did not highlight the impact of bin Laden's death on the future of war on terror much. The newspaper, though, reported the conflicting statements coming from both the US and Pakistan's sides, but it was least interested to debate the impact of bin Laden's death on the stressed Pak-US relations. If this topic would have been discussed, in detail, in the body of the story, they would have guided the readers more about the situation, which was developing after the Abbottabad Operation – especially in the context of the US and Pakistan. Also, less debate surrounding the lines of counterterrorism – exploring the impact of his death on the War on Terror or Al Qaeda – clearly indicates that the newspaper was not looking at the event in the 'counterterrorism' perspective (as it was observed earlier in the topic discussed in the introductions of the stories). Pakistan remained a target of Al Qaeda attacks during different times of War on Terror and one would have expected that debate surrounding these lines would have helped Pakistanis to better understand whether his death carries some (positive) impacts in their lives or not. It now clearly shows that most of the story of bin Laden's death, told to the readers in Pakistan, was about the US and Pakistan, while Al Qaeda/ Taliban were not that much focused.

Although, the newspaper reported few exclusive stories in this regard too, but just on the next day, they published a clarification. For instance, the 'US President postponed its visit to Pakistan'; 'ISI chief leaving for US to ease the situation' etc.

The newspaper, too, did not portray the Abbottabad Operation as a symbol of victory in Pakistan. If there were some protests against the Operation, or any sympathetic feelings about the death of bin Laden, they were fully highlighted; but the 'happy' factor in Pakistan was missing in the coverage. Perhaps, the newspaper could not turn up so openly on the issue due to fear of reaction from militants. Such selective reporting indeed left a vacuum in reporting or presenting the broader picture of the event to the readers in Pakistan. It can be seen here that none of the story published in the Dawn ever explored that some sectors (people) in Pakistan are happy over the incident. This point can be best justified by citing the interviews of Mian Itikhar Hussain – the Information Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan and Bashir Ahmed Bilour – the Senior Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, in certain TV channels, who showed complete satisfaction over the death of bin Laden, but such coverage was completely missing in the Dawn. The one-sided reporting – which termed the Abbottabad Operation as a tragedy – remained dominant in the coverage.

Although, the military officials were less criticized for not carrying out their job perfectly to trace bin Laden in the introductions of their stories, such discussion was relatively more prominent in the topics in the body of the stories. The questions raised below would have further helped the readers to have a more understanding of the complex situation or issue if the Dawn would have debated these lines in its coverage:

1: How bin Laden managed to come to Abbottabad from Tora Bora (Pak-Afghan Border)?

2: Was bin Laden living in a static way in the compound, or was he functional?

3: (Suppose) if bin Laden was supported/ protected by the Pakistani establishment, then what were the motives?

4: (Suppose) if it was institutional decision to protect bin Laden, then why are we the front state ally of the US in War on Terror?

5: If well-known terrorists can live in our neighborhood, then most professional and skillful army can attack us – without we getting any wind (or clue) of it. What is the status of the security of our sensitive installations in our country?

6: If Abbottabad Operation was pre-planned, then why civilians were not taken in confidence? If it was not planned then how the military was unable to react to it (promptly)?

7: Now when bin Laden has been killed, what can be the long-term and short-term impact of his death on the country's social, political and economic life?

8: What will be the long-term impact of the bin Laden's killing on the country's image in the international arena?

The newspaper (Dawn) seemed only stuck to the apparent lines, which were developing day by day (by different foreign media outlets). Since it was a local event for the newspaper, one would have expected them to highlight these lines as

well by utilizing their local contacts. The narrow coverage left the newspaper open for criticism and suggestions – both at the same time.

The Guardian newspaper, in the additional topics, also focused more on the detail about the Abbottabad Operation. The newspaper equally questioned the failure of the Intelligence Agencies of Pakistan. The Guardian also highlighted the reaction of the US government/public to the operation and detail about the bin Laden's life; but at the same time, the newspaper highlighted the impact of bin Laden's death on the Al Qaeda/ War on Terror relatively more than the Dawn. It is also important to note that the newspaper was also relatively less interested in the ongoing tension between the Pakistan and US officials after the bin Laden's death.

**Table 6.4.1**

**Additional Topics discussed in the body of the Story**

Newspaper	Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation	Complete detail about bin Laden's life.	Pakistani government/ people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation/ bin Laden's killing.	Reaction of World leaders/ Public to bin Laden's death.	American government / people/ military response to the operation/ bin Laden's death.	Bin Laden's death and the future of the war on terror.	Bin Laden's death and the future/ response of Al-Qaeda.	Security Situation in different parts of the country after the operation .	Bin Laden's death and the failure of the Security / Intelligence agencies of Pakistan .	Impact of bin Laden's death on the coming US elections.	Bin Laden's death is Important.	Impact of Bin Laden's death on the tense Pak-US relations .	Any Other	No topic discussed	Total Topics
<b>Dawn</b>	73 13%	13 2%	105 18%	14 2%	29 5%	7 1%	19 3%	5 1%	56 10%	2 0.3%	4 1%	9 1.5%	5 1%	<b>230</b> <b>40%</b>	573 100%
<b>Guardian</b>	43 20%	15 7%	10 5%	9 4%	15 7%	7 3%	12 6%	3 1%	19 9%	3 1%	1 0.5%	4 2%	1 0.5%	<b>70</b> <b>33%</b>	213 100%
<b>Telegraph</b>	56 21%	15 6%	12 4.5%	9 3%	13 5%	4 1.5%	18 7%	1 0.3%	15 6%	0 0%	7 3%	1 0.3%	2 1%	<b>106</b> <b>41%</b>	261 100%
<b>New York Times</b>	49 16%	12 4%	18 6%	14 4%	29 9%	13 4%	18 6%	3 1%	19 6%	3 1%	8 3%	4 1%	0 0%	<b>120</b> <b>38%</b>	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	221	55	145	46	86	31	67	12	109	8	20	18	8	<b>526</b>	1362

The Daily Telegraph gave more coverage to the detail of the Abbottabad Operation as well, which is even more than one-third of the overall mentioned topics; followed by the response/ future of Al-Qaida after Bin Laden's death, details about bin Laden's life, and failure of Pakistani security agencies; but the newspaper debated bin Laden's death in the context of the future of War on Terror/ Al Qaeda comparatively more than the Dawn, though less than the Guardian.

The coverage of the New York Times was more calculated as compared to the three newspapers, as they tried to highlight bits of all the topics in its ten days coverage. The only line in which the newspaper seemed least interested was the tense Pakistan-US relations after the operation. It shows that the newspaper was least bothered about it. One-fourth of the coverage of the New York Times focused on the detail of the Abbottabad Operation; followed by the reaction of the US to bin Laden's killing, and then followed by the failure of Pakistani security agencies to capture or kill bin Laden. The newspaper was more interested in the US reaction to the issue rather than Pakistan's one. They showed more interest in questioning Pakistan's Security Agencies for their failure to know how world-known fugitive was living there so peacefully. The New York Times, as compared to other newspapers, highlighted the impact of bin Laden's death on War on Terror or Al Qaeda more – but still it cannot be called extensive coverage in the counterterrorism perspective.

If we look at the coverage broadly, by focusing only on the mentioned topics, we can say that the three dominant topics discussed in these four newspapers are:

- a) **Detail about the Abbottabad Operation:** It covered one-fourth (26%) of the overall coverage of Additional Topics of all the four newspapers.
- b) **Pakistan/US/ World reaction to bin Laden's killing or Abbottabad Operation:** It got 33% of the coverage of the overall mentioned topics of these four newspapers, which is one-third of the overall mentioned topics.
- c) **Failure of Pakistani Security agencies to capture or kill bin Laden:** It got 13% of the overall coverage of the topics in all the four newspapers.

We can sum up that most of the discussion in the body of different news stories, of all the four newspapers, revolved around these three major topics that make 73% of the overall topics coverage, and it is almost three-fourth of all the additional topics' coverage. It also shows that the newspapers were not much concerned about its impact on the uneasy Pak-US relations, impact of the killing on the ongoing War on Terror, or even future of the Al Qaeda after his death (though that they discussed it). As discussed earlier, in the discussion of topics in the introductions of the stories, the international perspectives on the story of bin Laden's death were mostly missing in the coverage; the same also stands true if we broadly look at the discussion of three additional topics in the body of the story. It is evident from the data that the story of bin Laden's death was mostly told in a local perspective – by showing the detail and then reaction to it – rather than an international perspective, by showing impact of bin Laden's death on the region or Al Qaeda itself – besides debating the tension between the two important allies of the War on Terror.

## **6.5. Victory vs Tragedy**

It has been observed in this research study that both Pakistan and the US were not on the same page regarding bin Laden's killing in the Abbottabad Operation. Their stand on the issue was mostly different. Instead of standing as allies (of War on Terror) in front of bin Laden's Al Qaeda (or Taliban), or in front of the world, they were busy criticizing each other and were not happy with each other. On one hand, Pakistan was protesting against the 'one-sided' US operation and was calling it attack on its sovereignty, but on the other hand, the US was also questioning the role or the failure of security and intelligence forces of Pakistan in locating him (or possibly protecting him). Much of this was carried out through the 'megaphone diplomacy' by both sides. There were certain voices, who tried to calm down or control the situation by calling for a more understanding between the two allies as they were of the opinion that neither the US nor Pakistan could win this war all alone against these radical forces and both will pay for the rift, if it continued.

But (perhaps) such voices, on both sides, were very few in number and not that much dominant in the coverage to control the flow of news, so the damage continued. The two different set of stories started appearing both in the US and Pakistan, where one was seen celebrating the death of 'world's most wanted man', but the other was seen protesting against the 'one-sided' US operation.

In order to show the 'Victory' and 'Tragedy' frames prevailing both in the US and Pakistan, an effort has been made to focus only on the content of the Dawn newspaper as it was not only a local media outlet of Pakistan (who would have covered the Pakistani grievances in detail), but have also 'International Pages', which are dedicated for the international version of different or even same issue. The

other dominant reason for selecting the Dawn is the availability of all the issues of the newspaper in printed form so there is no chance of any missing story. This section will focus only on the stories based on protests in Pakistan (please note that different organizations or renowned individuals – based in Pakistan – criticizing the US operation have not been included) and celebration in the US. The detail can be seen in Table 6.5.1.

**Table 6.5.1 Victory vs Tragedy**

<b>Tragedy in Pakistan</b>	<b>Victory in US</b>
<p>After bin Laden’s killing when (most of) the world was welcoming the death of Osama bin Laden, the Dawn reported a story with the headline “Hundreds join rally to honour Osama”. It focused on a protest in Quetta (provincial capital of Balochistan province of Pakistan) to pay homage to the slain Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. This protest rally was organized by a religious-political party Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (Ideological faction). One of its leaders Maulivi Asmatullah addressing the protesters said: “Bin Laden was the hero of the Muslim world and after his martyrdom he has won the title of a great mujahid (term used for Islamic fighter)” (Dawn, May 3, 2011, p.3). This shows the glimpses of sore feelings among the religious circles in Pakistan after his killing.</p>	<p>On the other hand, situation was completely different in the US where people took to the roads and other places to celebrate. The news item appearing with the headline “Jubilant Americans gather outside White House” focuses on the celebration of Americans outside the White House. The reporter mentions: “The assembly had all the elements of a victory party”. The writer quoted many charged individuals who welcomed the news of bin Laden’s death with emotional slogans like “U.S.A, U.S.A!” (Dawn, May 3, 2011, p.12). It clearly means that (most of the) Americans were satisfied with his killing. The news was like a pleasant surprise for them after a long time.</p>
<p>Paying homage to bin Laden was not limited to the streets of Pakistan, it was equally visible among the elected members of the provincial assembly. It is clear from the news item carrying the headline “JUI-F lawmaker terms Osama hero of Muslims”, which focuses on the tribute paid by the member of the</p>	<p>On one hand, the religious-political parties of Pakistan were busy condemning the incident, but on the other hand, the American people were deriving maximum satisfaction from it. Another news item appearing with the headline ““Obama got Osama’,</p>

<p>provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (province of Pakistan) Mufti Kifayetullah – who belongs to the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (Fazl-ur-Rehman faction). On the floor of the assembly, he said: “It is a matter of shame for army and government that foreign forces invaded the country and killed our hero”. Besides terming it the ‘darkest day in the history of Pakistan’ he further stressed: “This is a fact that Americans killed bin Laden but they could not eliminate his ideology” (Dawn, May3, 2011, p.5). The religious political parties of Pakistan are considered apologists of Taliban (or other extremists) by many in Pakistan.</p>	<p>Ground Zero echoed with slogans” focuses on the jubilant crowd gathered at Ground Zero to celebrate the killing of bin Laden. The reporter mentions that many were chanting slogans like “Obama got Osama”. The reporter talked to many American officials there including the New York city’s Police Chief, Raymond Kelly, who termed bin Laden’s death “welcome milestone”. Michael Bloomberg, a New York City Mayor, also welcomed the news by saying: “New Yorkers have waited nearly 10 years for this news”. Captain Patrice Mclead (from the fire brigade department) said: “After all the losses and such a tragedy, we can be finally happy again. I hope this bring a sense of closure, for all of us, including Muslims” (Dawn, May3, 2011, p.12).</p>
<p>The situation of grief continued in Pakistan in many forms. Pakistani officials started condemning the incident of the US attack, and ruled out any involvement in it. In such a situation, gap was left to the right-wing political parties of Pakistan or even to different (extremist) organizations to fill it. The news item appearing with the headline “Prayers in Karachi” is one of them, which focuses on the funeral prayer of bin Laden offered in absentia by the Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD) – a Pakistan based charity organization, but banned by US for its alleged links to Lashkar-e-Taiba (the outlawed Kashmiri militant group that India blames for the 2008 Mumbai attacks). They quoted police official who claimed that organizers declared Al Qaeda chief ‘a martyr’ (Dawn, May4, 2011, p.3).</p>	<p>The jubilation continued in the US in different forms. People were celebrating the news of bin Laden’s death in their own way and were taking pleasure out of it. It is evident from the headline of the following news item: “US teacher shaves for first time after 9/11”. It focuses on the human interest story of a US school teacher – Gary Weddle – who vowed to keep his beard till bin Laden was caught. The paper reports that he shaved his beard after ten years when Obama confirmed the death of Osama bin Laden (Dawn, May4, 2011, p.12).</p>
<p>The religious political parties of Pakistan continued their protest in numerous cities to condemn the killing of bin Laden. The news item appearing with the headline “Osama’s killing condemned” is the continuation of it,</p>	<p>The only grim feelings appeared in the US (Press) after the Abbottabad Operation, when the ‘Native Americans’ were offended by the code name ‘Geronimo’ used in the operation. Jefferson Keel, President of</p>

<p>which focuses on the speech of Maulana Noor Mohammad, a leader of the Islamic Shariat Party and former provincial minister, who delivered it to the students of a seminary in Quetta, and protested to condemn the killing of bin Laden. He stressed that the US killed bin Laden to dominate the Muslim world (Dawn, May5, 2011, p.3).</p>	<p>the National Congress of American Indians, in this regard, wrote a letter to President Obama and demanded his apology. He mentioned – in his letter – that 77 US troops of Native American origin have died in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2001. The US officials clarified that the mission was not called after him (Geronimo), but when bin Laden was killed in raid the Navy SEAL uttered this word: “Geronimo-E KIA” – Enemy killed in action”.</p> <p>It might be sore news from theUS, but again it shows that no one in the US was ready to own bin Laden or could bear any connection with him (unlike in Pakistan) (Dawn, May5, 2011, p.13).</p>
<p>When no one was ready to own the US-led Abbottabad Operation and it was condemned by both the political and military circles of Pakistan, Gen Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, Pakistan’s Army chief, ordered an investigation into the ‘intelligence failure’ of Pakistan in locating bin Laden in Abbottabad, and also to find out how the US carried out operation (Neptune Spear) without Pakistan’s army getting wind of it (Dawn, May6, 2011, p.1).</p>	<p>On the other hand, President Obama made a maiden visit to the 9/11 memorial (former World Trade Centre site) and talked to the emergency workers and to the families of those killed in the attack. He said: “What happened on Sunday, because of the courage of our military and outstanding work of our intelligence, sent a message around the world, but also sent a message here back home – that when we say we will never forget, we mean what we say” (Dawn, May 6, 2011, p.14). It shows that on one hand, it was considered the story of failure in Pakistan, but on the other hand, it was welcomed as the story of great success and achievement in the US.</p>
<p>Much of the early protests in Pakistan were organized by the different factions of JUI, but now, another religious political party Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) touched the ground. The news item appearing with the headline “Protesters vow to continue jihad” focuses on four protest demonstrations held in Abbottabad (city where bin Laden was</p>	<p>On one hand, the Pakistani armed forces and its intelligence agencies were being criticized for their failure to locate bin Laden or to counter the US operation, but on the other hand, in the US, the armed forces and its Intelligence Agencies like CIA were appreciated. The news item appearing with the headline “CIA takes a victory</p>

<p>killed), Quetta (provincial capital of Balochistan), Lahore (provincial capital of Punjab), Multan, Hyderabad and Peshawar (provincial capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Most of these rallies were organized by the Jamaat-i-Islami – a religious political party of Pakistan. The newspaper claims that protesters were chanting slogans like: “Down, down USA!”, “Long Live Osama”. Addressing the Quetta rally, Maulana Abdul Qadir Luni, a senior leader of JUI (Ideological faction) said: “Osama’s services for Muslims will be remembered forever”. Another leader reiterated that US killing of bin Laden would create thousand others like him (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.3). These protests - organized by different religious political parties of Pakistan – indeed show the deep divide between the leftwing and rightwing political parties of Pakistan. It too shows that if Pakistani nation has not stood on the same page against (these) extremist forces in the country, then what can be the possible reasons. In the presence of such leadership – who are Taliban apologists – it will be really hard (if not impossible) to make a policy at national level to counter such extremist forces.</p>	<p>lap after Osama raid” focuses on the public image of CIA after the successful Abbottabad Operation. Analysts quoted in the story said that although CIA was criticized a lot for their failure to “connect the dots”, but in this case “it is a big win” (Dawn, May 9, 2011, p.9).</p>
<p>The sore feelings among the religious circle of Pakistan continued. This time the protest rally was organized in Karachi to ‘pay homage to Osama bin Laden and to show solidarity with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia’. One of the organizers of the rally was ‘Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal Jamaat’. Engineer Qamar, one of the protesters, said that the enemies of Islam were celebrating the day of ‘martyrdom’ of Osama bin Laden (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.4).</p>	

<p>The last story of protest on the streets of Pakistan came in the form of news item appearing with the headline “Lukewarm response to JI’s anti-US rallies”, which focuses on the protest demonstration held by Jamaat-i-Islami in different cities of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa including Peshawar, Abbottabad, Swabi, Lower Dir, Kohat and Hangu. The newspaper claims that it failed to attract people in large number; but however, they managed to raise their voice against the US operation in Abbottabad and condemning the killing of bin Laden. It should be noted that most of the religious political parties of Pakistan give call for protest on Friday (after Friday prayers) to attract more people (who visit the mosque to offer prayers) (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.5).</p>	
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The stand of Pakistani officials has been discussed in detail in section 6.2 of this chapter. It shows that Pakistani officials who initially welcomed the killing of bin Laden, later, retreated from their stand and condemned the US-led ‘one sided’ operation and even cautioned the US. The event was hardly welcomed in the political circles of Pakistan, and was condemned even by the civil society of Pakistan. One dominant reason is that the government did not build up an environment for it. The missing of the strategy on the part of the government officials in Pakistan to control the situation, and (possible) embarrassment prevailing in the official and political corridors of Pakistan, encouraged the religious forces – having political covering – to come forward and take political advantage of it, and own the ‘death of bin Laden’ by organizing protest rallies in different parts of Pakistan to pay homage to bin Laden and condemn the US operation. This trend

continued till the end and both the government and military were criticized by these forces.

In summary, this chapter tells us about Pakistan's official stand on the issue and guides us about differences in the coverage of its different institutions. It shows that the Pakistani officials were not much explicit in the coverage as one would have expected them. It also tells us about the topics discussed in the introductions or the body of the story by the four newspapers selected in this study. From the data, it is evident that most of the coverage of these four newspapers did not much highlight the counterterrorism perspective of the issue (though the New York Times covered it more than the rest), and were mostly reliant on the local perspective of event. This chapter also discusses the 'victory and tragedy' frame prevalent both in Pakistan and the US after the killing of bin Laden in Abbottabad. It shows that although both strategic partners remained the victim of bin Laden's terror strategy, his killing originated mourning in one and celebration in the other country.

# **CHAPTER 7: RELIANCE, STATEMENTS AND TONE OF LANGUAGE**

## **7.1. Introduction**

This chapter will focus on the newspapers' data, further in-depth, to show the reliance of the Dawn on the Western sources to report the event of bin Laden's death. It will also guide us about how Pakistani government and its Army were mentioned in the coverage along with the US government. It will also present the tone of language, by looking at the rhetoric used in the coverage by all four newspapers. All the questions answered in this chapter are supplemented with tables to present it in a more logical way to the readers. All the analysis in this chapter is linked to the basic research question:

**“How the four media outlets across the three different countries of the world covered the death of Osama bin Laden?”**

This main research question has been supplemented with some additional research questions to show the nature of the coverage carried out by the four newspapers, in greater detail. The following are the additional research questions answered in this chapter:

RQ1: Was the Dawn reliant on the US or western sources to report the death of bin Laden? If yes, then how much was it reliant on them and what it (Dawn) contributed to the story itself?

RQ2: What are the first three statements made about the Government of Pakistani in the coverage?

RQ3: What are the first three statements made about Pakistan's Army in the coverage?

RQ4: What are the first three statements made about the US Government/Army in the coverage?

RQ5: What are the first three phrases/ terminologies used for 'Abbottabad Operation' in the coverage?

RQ6: What are the first three phrases/ terminologies used for Osama bin Laden in the coverage?

## **7.2. Dawn and its reliance on Western Sources**

Over Pakistan's official stand on the issue, (which changed from welcoming the death to condemning the 'unilateral' US operation, and which also shows less visibility of the government officials of Pakistan, beside their 'missing' media strategy to cope with the situation and to control the opinion of its public. It has been discussed in detail in chapter 6) the Dawn showed reliance on the Western sources to cover the event. By the term 'reliance', I mean looking at other media for information and citing them in the stories. The data below shows that the Dawn was mostly looking at the 'Western' sources for new information related to the operation. It also means that most of the new threads about the issue of bin Laden's death, Abbottabad Operation or Post-Operation scenario came from the US via different sources. Pakistani officials were mostly confined to the reaction to bin Laden's death or reaction to the threads developed, mostly by the US and international media. Although, they too developed a few threads and we will see the importance of them.

In order to support this claim, a content analysis of the Dawn's coverage was done in which all the stories published were studied (again) and were re-coded in a particular way to give us results about the desired angle of the coverage. Initially, all the news items were divided into two categories – news items having its base in the Western Sources, and news items having its base in Pakistani (or rest of the world) sources. All the news items were further categorized in the following five broad themes (or topics).

- a) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (developed by the US)**
- b) US reaction to bin Laden's killing**
- c) Pakistan's response to the US version of story**
- d) Pakistan's response to bin Laden's killing**
- e) New detail about the Operation etc. (developed by Pakistan)**

Please note that the news stories finding its place in the US sources have been categorized in two sections as the US has not shown any dependency on Pakistan for the information related to the raid or post-raid situation. On the other hand, the news items finding its place in Pakistani sources have been further categorized into three sections to show the reliance of the Dawn on Western sources to report the incident and even to know about any new angle of the issue explored by the Dawn in its ten days coverage.

Please note that the sources studied in the introduction or additional sources studied in the body of any news item are different from the ones studied in this section, as here, the opinion has been placed on the overall news item. The examples below,

will show how the different news items were coded; but it has been discovered that 84 out of 191 news items, 44% of the total, had its base in the western sources – either they were reported by their own reporters citing the western sources, or they were reported by the western reporters quoting the western sources. It means that they were reliant on the ‘Western’ sources in many ways. The detail can be seen in table 7.2.1.

Following are the examples of news items – selected randomly from the Dawn – that will help us understand how different stories were coded into different categories.

- a) A news item, carrying the headline “**Jubilant Americans gather outside White House**”, focuses on the celebration of Americans, in front of the White House, in the wake of the killing of bin Laden in Abbottabad. The news item includes comments of different Americans, who were part of the celebration (Dawn, May 3, 2011, p12.): categorized as ‘**News Item showing reliance on western sources**’ and also as “**Reaction to killing**”.
  
- b) Another news item, appearing with the headline “**Multiple methods used to identify body: US**”, focuses on the confirmation of bin Laden’s body through scientific means, DNA. It has quoted the US officials to support the claim (Dawn, May 3, 2011, p14.): categorized as ‘**News Item showing reliance on western sources**’ and also as “**New detail about the raid/ bin Laden’s killing**”.

- c) A news item appearing with the headline **“Gilani hails ‘a victory of anti-terror alliance’”** discusses the initial statement issued by the Pakistani Premier to support the killing of bin Laden in the US-led operation in Abbottabad (Dawn, May 3, 2011, p.3): categorized as **‘News Item showing reliance on Pakistani/ Rest of the world sources (but not US and western)’** and also as **“Response to bin Laden’s killing”**.
- d) Another news item appearing with the headline **“Afghans ‘led US’ to Osama house, says agent”**, discusses the claim of the Afghan intelligence officials that they helped the Americans in identifying Bin Laden’s compound, where he was killed (Dawn, May 4, 2011, p12): categorized as **‘News Item showing reliance on Pakistani/ Rest of the world sources (but not US and western)’** and also as **“New detail about the operation etc.”**
- e) A news item, appearing on the front page, with the headline **“At sea – Americans do the British way”**, focuses on the burial of bin Laden in the sea by the American forces to avoid a shrine; a similar treatment as the ‘Colonial British’ did in 1943, when they hanged a local saint ‘Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi’ for treason under martial law, and later on buried him at ‘Astola Island’ (Dawn, May 4, 2011, p.1): categorized as **‘News Item showing reliance on Pakistani/ Rest of the world sources (but not US and western)’** and also as **“New detail about the operation etc.”**
- f) Another news item appearing with the headline **“‘there was no need to bypass Pakistan’”**, focuses on the statement issued by the Pakistani Prime Minister, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, who said that Pakistan should have been taken in confidence by

the US regarding the operation. He gave this statement in the wake of CIA Chief, Leon Panetta’s statement, who earlier said that the information about the raid was not shared with Pakistan as the US thought that she would leak the information (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.3): categorized as ‘**News Item showing reliance on Pakistani/ Rest of the world sources (but not US and western)**’ and also as “**Pakistani response to the US version of story**”.

**Table 7.2.1 Dawn and its dependency on Western sources**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Number of news items showing reliance on Western sources</b>	<b>Broad themes of these stories</b>	<b>Number of news items showing reliance on Pakistani/ rest of the world sources</b>	<b>Broad themes of these stories</b>
<b>May3</b>	<b>8</b>	Reaction to killing (5) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden’s killing (3)	<b>14</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden’s killing (12) New detail about the Operation etc. (1)
<b>May 4</b>	<b>14</b>	Reaction to killing (8) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden’s killing (6)	<b>11</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden’s killing (7) New detail about the Operation etc. (3)
<b>May 5</b>	<b>15</b>	Reaction to killing (11) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden’s killing (4)	<b>13</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(2) Response to bin Laden’s killing (10) New detail about the Operation etc. (1)
<b>May 6</b>	<b>16</b>	Reaction to killing (8) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden’s killing (8)	<b>10</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden’s killing (6) New detail about the Operation etc. (3)
<b>May 7</b>	<b>10</b>	Reaction to killing (7) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden’s killing (3)	<b>13</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden’s killing (9) New detail about the Operation etc. (3)

<b>May 8</b>	<b>1</b>	Reaction to killing (0) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (1)	<b>14</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden's killing (10) New detail about the Operation etc. (3)
<b>May 9</b>	<b>7</b>	Reaction to killing (6) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (1)	<b>10</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden's killing (7) New detail about the Operation etc. (2)
<b>May 10</b>	<b>5</b>	Reaction to killing (3) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (2)	<b>10</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden's killing (9) New detail about the Operation etc. (0)
<b>May 11</b>	<b>4</b>	Reaction to killing (2) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (2)	<b>8</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(1) Response to bin Laden's killing (7) New detail about the Operation etc. (0)
<b>May 12</b>	<b>4</b>	Reaction to killing (3) New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (1)	<b>4</b>	Pakistani response to the US version of story(0) Response to bin Laden's killing (4) New detail about the Operation etc. (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>84 (44%)</b>	<b>Reaction to killing (53) (28%)</b> <b>New detail about the raid/ bin Laden's killing (31) (16%)</b>	<b>107 (56%)</b>	<b>Pakistani response to the US version of story (11) (6%)</b> <b>Response to bin Laden's killing (81) (42%)</b> <b>New detail about the Operation etc. (15) (8%)</b>

From the Table 7.2.1 above, it is clear that 107 news items – which make 56% of the overall coverage of the Dawn – had its base in non-US; while 84 news items – which make 44% of the coverage of the Dawn – had its base in the US or Western sources. It shows that there was some level of reliance on the western sources to report the incident; despite that most of the news items have its base in non-US. It also shows that most of the new threads about bin Laden's death, Abbottabad

Operation or the post-operation scenario were shared by the US, which is evident from the 31 news items – which make 16% of the overall coverage; while the new information shared by the Dawn about bin Laden’s death etc. made only 8% of the overall coverage (15 out of 191 news stories and we will study them in detail below). Although, the data shows that much of the coverage was based on the reaction to the incident from both the US and Pakistan’s side as it made 28% and 42%, respectively; but it also shows the response of Pakistan to the US version of the story as it made 6%.

From the findings above, it is clear that though the story was initiated by the US – which is evident from 31 out 46 news items containing new information about the incident – but still, most of the news items are non-US based. It is now important to look at the new threads developed by the non US sources in the Dawn’s coverage, which are 15 in number. It will help us know about how much of them were developed exclusively by Dawn by utilizing the Pakistani sources and what were discussed there.

Now, we will carefully examine the threads developed by the Dawn by utilizing the Pakistani sources in the study, they are 11 out of 15. It is important to look at the threads developed by the Dawn as it will help us understand what Dawn contributed to the overall coverage – besides sharing the reaction of Pakistani officials to the threads developed by the US or their general reaction to the killing of bin Laden, or anything related to the Abbottabad Operation. Following are the themes, topics or threads developed by the Dawn in its ten days coverage.

**1:** The news item with the headline “**Neighbors did not see any suspicious activity**”, focuses on the comments of the eye witnesses and local people, who observed the Abbottabad operation and courier of bin Laden – living in their neighborhood (Dawn, May 3, 2011, p.3).

**2:** The news item, appearing on the front page, with the headline “**At sea – Americans do the British way**” focuses on the burial of bin Laden in the sea by the American forces to avoid his shrine: a similar treatment occurred when the ‘Colonial British’ hanged a local saint ‘Pir Sibghatullah Shah Rashdi’ for treason, in 1943, under martial law, and later on, buried him at ‘Astola Island’ (Dawn, May 4, 2011, p.1).

**3:** The news item carrying the headline “**Builder of Osama’s compound missing**”, focuses on the contractor – who built bin Laden’s compound – was out of scene. In the story, the reporter also tries to know, from the local people, about the alleged owner of bin Laden’s compound (Dawn, May 5, 2011, p.3).

**4:** The news item with the headline “**3 foreigners arrested**”, initially tells about the arrest of three foreigners, and then tells about the version of the local people about bin Laden’s courier. It should be noted that none of the detail about the identity of the persons arrested were provided and even no follow-up story was found in the coverage later (Dawn, May 6, 2011, p.14).

**5:** The news item with the headline “**Uneasy questions await government on OBL issue**”, focuses on the upcoming debate in the National Assembly of Pakistan on May 9, 2011, in which the government camp will answer hard questions linked to the Abbottabad Operation and Bin Laden’s killing (Dawn, May 6, 2011, p.15).

**6:** Another news item with the headline **“Osama lived in Haripur before moving to Abbottabad: wife”**, tells us about the version of bin Laden’s wife, who shared with the Intelligence officials that before moving to the compound in Abbottabad, they were living in Chak Shah Mohammad Khan, a village near Haripur. We did not see any follow up of this story later, in the Dawn’s coverage (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.1).

**7:** The news item with the headline **“20 held near Osama compound”**, tells us about the search operation carried out by the law enforcement agencies near the compound of bin Laden, in which twenty people were arrested. The story also tells us about the security of the compound. Again, no further information has been provided about these arrested persons and no follow up story was witnessed in the coverage (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.3).

**8:** The news item with the headline **“Preserve Osama compound for sake of history”**, focuses on the versions of different experts and historians, who asked the government not to demolish the compound of Osama bin Laden, as they stressed that it should be preserved for the sake of history (Dawn, May 7, 2011, p.5).

**9:** The news item with the headline **“Foreign channels’ live coverage from Abbottabad barred”**, tells about the ban placed by the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) on foreign TV channels, to do live coverage from Abbottabad (Dawn, May 8, 2011, p.1).

**10:** Another news item with the headline **“Bin Laden farm’ and a life of rural charm”**, described the whole scenery of bin Laden’s compound, including life there (Dawn, May 9, 2011, p.3).

**11:** The last news item appearing with the headline “**A confusing Scenario**” is basically an investigative story, which focuses on the visits of the Station House Officer (SHO) of the Police department to Bilal town where bin Laden lived. The main purpose of the visits was to collect data about the new settlers in the town. The reporter – Syed Irfan Raza – mentions that the basic reason for the police visit, was the arrest of Abu Faraj al Libi, al Qaeda No 3, and Umar Patek, a top Indonesian terror suspect from the peaceful Abbottabad in the past. The reporter has quoted the mosque’s Imam (religious cleric who leads the gathering in mosque) that the SHO used to pay visit every Friday night to update his list of the inhabitants of the area by talking to the new inhabitants. The reporter has cited many local people who have shown dissatisfaction with both police and Intelligence officials, who were not aware of bin Laden’s stay at Abbottabad. He further doubts that how they did not crosscheck the two ‘Al Kuwaiti brothers’ who were showing ‘odd behavior’ in the area and were not mixing with the people. They have further questioned how they did not know, as usually when the Army Chief pays visit to the Kakool Training Academy, the screening of the area is done by the military personnel, and the Army Chief visited the academy just few days before the Abbottabad Operation.

If we look at new threads developed by the Dawn, it give us the impression that the contribution of the Dawn, by utilizing the Pakistani sources in the coverage, was not that much significant. It lacks sense of investigation. It, too, carried out few stories: the arrest of the builder of Osama’s compound; arrest of foreigners and other persons from the area; claim of bin Laden’s wife about living in Haripur; and off course, the last news item in which the reporter tried to build on the story or issue. Most of these stories looked hazy (as the complete detail was missing) and even no follow-ups were witnessed later in the coverage. It is also true that only one news

story – based on these exclusive threads developed by the Dawn – was placed on the front page (which, up to some extent, also shows the treatment and importance of these contributions to the newspaper itself).

The last news item, which was more investigative than any other news item in the whole coverage, was placed on the ‘Islamabad Metropolitan’ page (which apparently means that it would have not been published in Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar editions of the newspaper as they all have their own metropolitan pages), and it appeared on the lower half of the page. It is hard to assess the decision of the editors as why they looked down upon its own news item which deserved more prominence. It is also true that none of the threads developed by them were followed-up later in the coverage. It shows that the US mostly pulled the strings of the coverage about the Abbottabad operation and post-operation scenario, in an extremely organized way, to derive maximum interest from it; and the Dawn was reliant on them for all the significant details related to the death of bin Laden/ Abbottabad Operation.

### **7.3. First three statements made about the Pakistani Government**

In this research study, the first three statements made about the Pakistani government in the news items of all these four newspapers, were collected. The statements made about the Pakistani government have been differentiated from the Pakistan’s Army as they both were not standing on the same page after the Abbottabad Operation. (It has been discussed in detail in chapter 6 – Dawn and the Pakistan’s official stand on the issue).

The statements recorded in this section are different from the topics discussed in the introduction or the body of the story (as we have discussed in Chapter 6 of this thesis). Please note that the criteria for selection of the topic(s) (in the introduction or the body of the story), was to find out that what was discussed there, which ultimately help us understand the nature of the coverage. On the other hand, the first three statements made about the Pakistani government were coded on the basis of randomly selected 61 statements (about the Pakistani government) which were part of the coding sheet to collect the newspapers' data (the coding sheet has been provided in the appendix section). Once the data was collected, all the 61 statements were then squeezed into 7 statements. It should also be noted that when a newspaper discusses a particular topic, it may last from one paragraph to several paragraphs; but on the other hand, you may find all the three statements (about Pakistani government) in one paragraph or you may find none of the statement in the whole news item.

The basic purpose of collecting this data was to know that if Pakistani government, in particular, was discussed in the news items, then what was said about them more often. These statements might have been made by anyone among the Pakistani, US, European or other sources. This data will indeed help us know about the general impression about the Pakistani government in the coverage. The results can be seen in Table 7.3.1.

In the Dawn, almost one-third of its overall statements termed Abbottabad Operation as the violation of Pakistan's territory, and called it a 'bone of contention' between the US and Pakistan. The other dominant point was: bin Laden's death and presence both not in favor of Pakistan, and the intelligence support of Pakistan to the US in killing bin Laden.

From the frequency of these popular scattered statements, mentioned in the Dawn and shared by different sources, tell us that the patriotic line was visible in the words of different sources who spoke about the operation. It includes the reaction of different sources to the issue. There were also voices who stated that Abbottabad Operation will not bring anything good to Pakistan in general and particularly in its relations with the US. There are also statements which count Pakistan's sacrifices in the on-going War on Terror. This statement served the government's interest more, who repeatedly said it to take refuge from the Western criticism – who were continuously pointing fingers at the failure of Pakistan in tracing bin Laden.

Although, these general statements about Pakistan did not appear much in the Guardian, but those which appeared there, focused more on calling Abbottabad Operation as the violation of Pakistan's territory. It means that the newspaper was fully aware of Pakistan's stand – who constantly perceived the event as attack on its soil instead of (realistically) accepting her failure to trace or kill bin Laden. They equally pointed out that bin Laden's presence and death both are against the interests of Pakistan.

Like the Guardian, The Daily Telegraph also failed to touch much of these popular lines in its coverage, but those general sentences which appeared there, called bin Laden's presence and death in Pakistan a bad news for the government. It also discussed the establishment of an independent commission to look deep into the issue along with the sacrifices laid down by Pakistan in the ongoing War on Terror.

**Table 7.3.1 First three statements made about the Pakistani Government**

Newspaper	Statements							Total Number of stories
	Bin Laden's death good for Pakistan as he also waged war against Pakistan.	Bin Laden's death and presence both not in favor of Pakistani government.	Abbottabad Operation is the violation of Pakistan's territory and the attack has disturbed the Pak-US relations.	The Federal government should tell about their stand clearly regarding the bin Laden's death and US operation.	The GOP through independent commission must bring all responsible for the Operation/ Bin Laden's support to justice.	Bin Laden's death is the result of hard struggle by the US and cooperation of GOP in terms of intelligence sharing.	No statement made.	
<b>Dawn</b>	7 1%	34 6%	54 9%	23 4%	23 4%	29 5%	<b>403</b> <b>70%</b>	573 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	1 0.5%	13 6%	19 9%	0 0%	5 2%	5 2%	<b>170</b> <b>80%</b>	213 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	0 0%	14 5%	5 2%	1 0.4%	7 3%	6 2%	<b>228</b> <b>87%</b>	261 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	1 0.3%	8 2.5%	11 3%	0 0%	10 3%	9 3%	<b>276</b> <b>88%</b>	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	9	69	89	24	45	49	<b>1077</b>	454

The highest number of statements in the New York Times, termed the Abbottabad Operation as violation of Pakistan's territory too, and called it one of the causes of sore Pak-US relations. They also focused on the establishment of Independent commission to look deep into the issue. It shows that the Western newspapers also gave coverage to Pakistan's stand on the issue – besides sensing that the death of bin Laden is not good for Pakistan.

If we broadly look at the coverage of these statements across the four newspapers, we come to know that the three most popular statements made are the following:

- 1) Abbottabad Operation is the violation of Pakistan's territory and the attack has disturbed the Pak-US relations**
- 2) Bin Laden's death and presence both not in favor of Pakistani government.**
- 3) The GOP through independent commission must bring all responsible for the Operation/ Bin Laden's support to justice.**

It means that there was a constant pressure on the government of Pakistan, after the attack, and most of the sources were constantly calling it violation of Pakistan's territory in their reaction to the operation. The bin Laden's presence in Pakistan was equally frustrating, and majority of the sources were of the opinion that it will not bring good fortune for Pakistan. Perhaps, it was the result that others started raising their voice for establishment of the 'Independent Commission' to know how the US carried out raid on Pakistani soil and even how bin Laden could live so lavishly in

the garrison city. It shows that much of the statements made about the Pakistani government are critical rather than friendly or supportive.

#### **7.4. First three statements made about the Pakistan's Army**

Pakistan's Army, like Pakistani Government, also remained an important part of this Abbottabad Operation - in one way or another. Most of the voices in Pakistan already termed the Abbottabad Operation as 'military failure', and Pakistan's Army also showed deep reservations over the one-sided US Operation. Now, it is important to look at the first three statements made about Pakistan's Army in all the four newspapers by different sources during ten days. It might give us better idea about the friendly or harsh tone adopted in the coverage about Pakistan's Army.

Please note that the criteria placed for the selection of statements about Pakistan's Army or its intelligence agency is the same which was placed earlier for recording the statements about Pakistan's government (and which has been discussed in detail above). The only difference is that the first three statements made about Pakistani military were coded on the basis of randomly selected 23 statements about Pakistani Army or its intelligence agencies. Once the data was collected, the 23 statements were, later on, squeezed into 5 statements. Again, these statements have been made by the Pakistani, US, European or any other sources. The results can be seen in Table 7.4.1

All the four newspapers, in their statements, focused more on the criticism of Pakistan's army for their failure to trace bin Laden/ defend the country from US aggression and even raising voice for an inquiry into the issue.

**Table 7.4.1**

**First three statements made about the Pakistan government Army**

Newspaper						Total Number of News Items
	Pak Army/ Intelligence Agencies failed to locate bin Laden/ defend Pak from the US attack, it must be investigated.	Relations between the Intelligence Agencies of both the countries will remain tense after the operation.	Pakistan's Intelligence Agencies are in regular contact with the US Intelligence agencies and sharing information.	Bin Laden's Compound/ Kakol road has been cordoned off by the Pakistan Security agencies.	No statement made.	
<b>Dawn</b>	77 13%	1 0.1%	13 2%	2 0.3%	<b>478</b> <b>83%</b>	573 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	29 14%	3 1%	0 0%	0 0%	<b>180</b> <b>84.5%</b>	213 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	20 8%	1 0.3%	3 1%	1 0.3%	<b>236</b> <b>90%</b>	261 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	33 10%	3 1%	3 1%	2 1%	<b>272</b> <b>86%</b>	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	159	8	19	5	<b>1166</b>	454

If we re-categorize the statement “Pak Army/ Intelligence Agencies failed to locate bin Laden/ defend Pakistan from the US attack, it must be investigated” further into some major components, the following results come in front of us, shown in table 7.4.2 below.

**Table 7.4.2 Re-categorization of the statement about the army**

<b>Name of a Newspaper</b>	<b>The Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in locating bin Laden.</b>	<b>The Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in defending the country from US Aggression .</b>	<b>Bin Laden’s compound was very near to Kakool Training Academy so how our Intelligence Agencies were not aware of it?</b>	<b>How Intelligence Agencies didn’t know who was living with them in the surrounding near Kakool?</b>	<b>Investigations will be carried out in Pakistan that why Intelligence agencies were unable to capture him?</b>	<b>Pakistan’s Air force has established a special committee to investigate the violation of Pakistan’s territory.</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	14	13	3	26	11	2
<b>Guardian</b>	5	3	6	15	0	0
<b>Telegraph</b>	1	1	1	16	0	0
<b>New York Times</b>	6	2	1	23	1	0

From above segregation, it is now clear that the Dawn was more critical of Pakistan’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies followed by the New York Times, the Guardian and the Telegraph. It is also clear from the data of the statements made about Pakistan’s Government and its Army/ Intelligence agencies – in the three Western newspapers – that they criticized Pakistan’s army more than Pakistani

government (if we compare it with the data placed in Table 7.3). It is true that the Dawn has avoided starting a story by criticizing Pakistan's army (as it can be seen in Topic discussed in the introduction of the stories), but they did criticize them in the body of the news stories. This criticism was leveled by different sources – mentioned in the stories – when they were sharing their reaction about the 'one-sided US operation' or 'the presence of bin Laden near Kakool or garrison city'.

### **7.5. First three statements made about the US government/ Army**

The US Government and Army remained an important part of bin Laden's killing and the situation that was created after the Abbottabad Operation. As, we have also seen in the previous section that most of the information about the Abbottabad Operation was coming from the US as well, it is now important to look at the first three statements made about them in the news items of the four newspapers. Again, these statements have been made by different sources (as we discussed earlier). No distinction has been made between the US government and Army as they both were on the same page after the operation and no contradiction was witnessed during the ten days of coverage.

Again, the criteria devised and explained earlier for the recording of statements about Pakistan's government or its Army and intelligence agency has been repeated here. The only difference is that the first three statements made about the US government/ Army has been coded on the basis of randomly selected 42 statements. After the data was collected, these 42 statements were squeezed into 9 statements. Again, these statements have been made by anyone among the Pakistani, US, European or other sources.

The results of the first three statements can be seen in Table 7.5.1.

If we look at the data, it is obvious that not much of the statements were made about the US (Government and Army) in an already selected frame of statements, but those which were made in the Dawn, appreciated the US and its Forces to kill bin Laden. There are also dominant voices who termed the US raid according to the declared US policy and the UN rules. From these statements, it is clear that the Dawn has highlighted the US plea (justification) of Abbottabad Operation, that they have the right to kill bin Laden (even in Pakistan), and they gave space to the investigations started by the US to find out that was Pakistan aware of bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad – and those who supported him during the stay. From the above coverage, it is clear that the Dawn was friendly to the US, and did not give hard time to them in its coverage. It also gives the impression that the Dawn has provided the American point of view over the issue (of bin Laden's killing) to the Pakistani readers. Again, it should be noted that these statements were made by different persons (as discussed earlier).

Most of the statements of the Guardian, the Telegraph and the New York Times termed the death of bin Laden as a big achievement of the US and relief for the families of the victims of 9/11. It means that the Western newspapers were more inclined towards the celebration and revenge of 9/11 attacks. They derived satisfaction from the killing of bin Laden – both as a nation and a victim of 9/11 attacks.

**Table 7.5.1 First Three Statements about the US Government/ Army**

Newspaper	First Three Statements about the US Government/ Army									Total
	Bin Laden's death great achievement of US and big relief for the relatives of the victims of 9/11.	Bin Laden's death is the result of hard struggle made by the US, its intelligence agencies and navy SEALS.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the future of war on terror.	Abbottabad Operation is according to the declared US policy and UN resolution.	USA is a tyrant power and its war is against Islam and Pakistan.	US is investigating that was Pak's government aware of bin Laden's presence and those who supported him in Abbottabad .	Abbottabad Operation is threat to the world's peace.	US government should provide proof of bin Laden's death.	No statement made	
<b>Dawn</b>	4 0.7%	15 3%	4 0.7%	9 1.5%	4 0.7%	8 1%	4 0.7%	3 0.5%	<b>522</b> <b>91%</b>	573 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	8 4%	6 3%	4 2%	1 0.5%	0 0%	4 2%	0 0%	2 1%	<b>188</b> <b>88%</b>	213 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	10 4%	4 1.5%	4 1.5%	2 0.7%	2 0.7%	1 0.3%	0 0%	6 2%	<b>232</b> <b>89%</b>	261 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	13 4%	7 2%	9 3%	1 0.3%	8 2.5%	7 2%	0 0%	3 1%	<b>267</b> <b>85%</b>	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	35	32	21	13	14	20	4	14	<b>1209</b>	454

From the three statements made in the coverage, it is now clear that the US was appreciated more in the four newspapers and they were also calling it an event of satisfaction for the ones who lost their relatives in the 9/11 incident. It also shows that the US version of the event was mentioned in the coverage of these newspapers and was even relatively dominant in the Dawn.

### **7.6. Rhetoric used for bin Laden**

The outcome of the Abbottabad Operation was the death of Osama bin Laden, who remained a controversial character for more than a decade. On one hand, he was considered responsible for the killing of thousands of innocent people around the world; but, on the other hand, he was loved by many for his anti-US stand and waging a jihad against ‘infidels’. In this research study, the prefix or suffixes used for bin Laden were also coded to understand the rhetoric in the coverage. It will tell us how bin Laden was addressed in the news items by the selected newspapers.

The data of the first three adjectives/ phrases used for bin Laden in every news item was collected to know about the tone and language of the coverage. It will also help us understand that was the coverage biased against bin Laden or not. The results can be seen in Table 7.6.1.

The table below shows that almost all the four media outlets mentioned bin Laden mostly by his name; followed by addressing him as the head of the Al Qaeda.

**Table 7.6.1 First three Word/ Phrases used for bin Laden**

Newspaper													Total
	Terrorist	Head of Al-Qaeda	Mastermind of 9/11	Most-Wanted man to US in 9/11	Killer of innocent People	Jihadist against Soviet	Head of terrorist organization	Promoter of Terrorism in Pakistan	Most-Wanted man in the World	Mentioned just by Name	Any Other	No One	
<b>Dawn</b>	3 0.5%	80 14%	7 1%	1 0.1%	4 0.7%	1 0.1%	1 0.1%	0 0%	10 2%	378 66%	4 0.7%	84 15%	573 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	0 0%	21 10%	4 2%	0 0%	3 1%	2 1%	0 0%	0 0%	2 1%	159 75%	4 2%	18 8%	213 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	7 3%	33 13%	1 0.3%	1 0.3%	4 1.5%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.3%	7 3%	172 66%	3 1%	32 12%	261 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	6 2%	21 7%	2 1%	5 1.5%	4 1%	0 0%	1 0.3%	0 0%	2 1%	228 72%	1 0.3%	45 14%	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	16	155	14	7	15	3	2	1	21	937	12	179	454

This data show that the newspapers reacted very tactfully by avoiding the use of loaded words like ‘terrorist’ for bin Laden. Although, it was observed earlier (in the first three statements made about the US government/ Army) that almost all the four newspapers were critical of him by calling his death a ‘great achievement’ or even ‘relief’ for the relatives of the victims of 9/11, but they came short of calling him a ‘terrorist’ every time. It is important to note that the word ‘terrorist’ was used only 16 times – which includes 7 times in the Daily Telegraph, 6 times in The New York Times and 3 times in Dawn. It is more important to note that the Guardian, in its entire ten days coverage, did not use it. It shows that the newspapers avoided their catharsis in ‘emotional rhetoric’ by coming hard on bin Laden. It also shows that the coverage of all four newspapers was not ‘biased’ against bin Laden (as many would have expected).

### **7.7. Rhetoric used for the Abbottabad Operation**

Abbottabad Operation itself remained controversial. Although, it was welcomed in the US and many European countries, and gave them an opportunity to cheer up, but for (many in) Pakistan it was an attack on their sovereignty and integrity. It divided and embarrassed the Pakistani institutions (Dawn 2011). The Pakistani government was less visible on the issue, but the Pakistan’s military called it ‘unilateral US action’. In this confused situation, the conservative lawmakers, politico-religious parties and even different radical organizations came on front and took on the political stage. They tried to cash his death by staging protests on roads in Pakistan against his killing and US attack. They were offering funeral prayer (of bin Laden)

in his absentia not only on the streets, but also in the highly reputed government departments like Peshawar High Court building (NDTV 2011). It was further embarrassing to see that even the lawmakers in Pakistan's National and Provincial Assemblies offered 'Fatiha' (Prayer for one's departed soul in Islam) for Bin Laden.

In this mixed situation, it is important to look at the Abbottabad Operation that how it was addressed in the coverage. Again, the word(s) or a phrase used for the operation has been shared by many sources. The results can be seen in Table 7.7.1.

From the following results, it is clear that not much has been said about it in the coverage, but still, most of it has been shared by the Dawn – who called it a 'Violation of Pakistan's sovereignty' or 'Attack on Pakistan's Integrity'. It shows that the Dawn used more rhetoric about the operation than any western newspapers. It also shows that the coverage of the Dawn, up to some level, can be called 'patriotic'. Among the Western newspapers, the Guardian showed more inclination to Pakistan by highlighting her stance in the coverage than any other newspapers. Perhaps, the reason is that the Guardian also gave more coverage to the 'Response of Pakistani officials to bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad operation' than the rest of the Western newspapers.

**Table 7.7.1 Rhetoric used for the Abbottabad Operation**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Attack on Pakistani soil</b>	<b>Attack on Pakistan's integrity</b>	<b>Abbottabad Operation according to the declared US policy</b>	<b>Violation of Pakistan's Sovereignty</b>	<b>Secret US Operation</b>	<b>Shame for Pakistan</b>	<b>Attack on self-respect</b>	<b>Tragedy</b>	<b>Osama Operation</b>	<b>Threat to World Peace</b>	<b>No Adjective Added</b>	<b>Total number of News Stories</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	4 0.7%	19 3%	5 1%	34 6%	5 1%	3 0.5%	1 0.1%	0 0%	6 1%	3 0.5%	493 86%	573 100%
<b>The Guardian</b>	0 0%	4 2%	0 0%	10 5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.5%	0 0%	197 92%	213 100%
<b>The Daily Telegraph</b>	0 0%	0 0%	2 1%	1 0.3%	0 0%	1 0.3%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.3%	0 0%	256 98%	261 100%
<b>The New York Times</b>	1 0.3%	3 1%	2 0.6%	7 2%	0 0%	3 1%	0 0%	1 0.3%	0 0%	0 0%	298 95%	315 100%
<b>Total</b>	5	26	9	52	5	8	1	1	8	3	1244	454

In summary, this chapter initially tells us about the reliance of the Dawn (up to some extent) on the Western sources to report the story of bin Laden's death – besides showing what the Dawn contributed to the story of bin Laden's death. It also shows that all the four newspapers were critical of Pakistan's military/ intelligences and the Pakistani government (in terms of first statements made about them). It also shows that the US version of the story was more dominant in the Dawn than other Western newspapers studied in the thesis. It also shows that although all the newspapers reported (in the statements recorded) that bin Laden's death was a great achievement of the US and a big relief for the relatives of the victims of 9/11, but still, they did not call him a 'terrorist'. It shows that the coverage was not biased against bin Laden. It also shows that though the Dawn highlighted the US version of the story to the Pakistani readers, but they too showed 'patriotic' tendencies in the coverage by calling 'Abbottabad Operation' as the violation of Pakistan's territory/ integrity. The Western newspapers did not say much about it, but still the glimpses can be seen in the Guardian.

# **CHAPTER 8: PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF TV DATA AND RELIANCE ON SOURCES**

## **8.1. Introduction**

This chapter is based on the analysis of 503 news stories collected from three TV Channels of Pakistan. These TV channels include two private TV channels and one official broadcaster of Pakistan. The private TV channels included in this study are the Geo News and the Duniya News; while the official broadcaster included in this study is the state owned Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV). All these TV Channels are 24/7 news and current affairs channels. The data of PTV has been divided into two forms – PTV script and PTV DVD. Initially, when the channel was requested for the data, the researcher was given only script of the news stories on aired on the required dates. Later on, when I came back to UK, I received a call from PTV for collection of DVDs of the bulletins of the said period – May 2 – May 11, 2011. Please note that the analysis of newspapers' data have already been done in the chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this thesis.

This chapter will show the preliminary analysis of Television data along with the utilization of sources in the news items through tables, and will be presented in a logical way to the readers.

All the analysis in this chapter is basically linked to the major research question:

**“How the three TV channels of Pakistan covered the death of Osama bin Laden?”**

This is indeed the major research question, but it has been supplemented with some additional research questions to present a better comparative picture of the coverage. The additional research questions, like small pieces, will help in drawing the broader comparative picture of the coverage. The additional research questions, which have been answered in this chapter, are the following:

RQ 1: Which TV Channel gave more coverage to the death of bin Laden?

RQ2: What is the nature of the content of each news item on-aired on these TV Channels?

RQ 3: Who is the actual source mentioned in the introduction of the news item?

RQ 4: Who are the first three additional sources mentioned in the body of the story?

RQ 5: What are the overall sources mentioned in full body of the news items?

All these different research questions will help us understand the strength and nature of the coverage.

## 8.2. Strength of TV Coverage

This research study – looking at the coverage of three TV channels of Pakistan – has basically studied two bulletins a day: the 3 o’clock afternoon news bulletin and 9 o’clock primetime news bulletin (which is called Khabarnama in Pakistan). Before collecting data, the officials of the three TV channels were asked about their two main bulletins of the day. They all agreed that the 3 o’clock afternoon and 9 o’clock primetime news bulletins are the main bulletins of these TV channels that last for one hour each. These two bulletins have been studied for ten consecutive days – 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 2011 to 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2011.

From the table 8.2.1, it is clear that the death of Osama bin Laden stood a big news story for the private TV channels of Pakistan as compared to the official broadcaster PTV.

**Table 8.2.1      Number of news items on-aired**

<b>Television</b>	<b>No of Stories Published</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	216	43%
<b>Duniya News</b>	184	36%
<b>PTV Script</b>	63	12%
<b>PTV DVD</b>	40	8%
<b>Total</b>	503	100%

The table above shows that the highest number of news stories was on-aired by the Geo News, followed by the Duniya News and then PTV. It means that private TV Channels of Pakistan covered the issue more than the official broadcaster PTV.

Private TV channels in Pakistan are usually known for more independent coverage on any political issue than the PTV – which is controlled by the ruling government and serves as their mouthpiece (Dawn 2014a).

It is also important to mention that despite the strength of the news items of these TV channels, there were certain shortcomings (in the form of missing bulletins) in the data. The missing bulletins of these TV channels can be seen in Table 8.2.2 below:

**Table 8.2.2 Missing News Bulletins**

<b>Name of a TV Channel</b>	<b>Missing 3o'ck Bulletin</b>	<b>Missing 9o'ck Bulletin</b>	<b>Total Missing Bulletins</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Duniya News</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>PTV Script</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>PTV DVD</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>

From Table 8.2.2, it is evident that the highest number of missing bulletins is from the PTV DVD – which makes 60% of its overall data. So, up to the level of PTV DVD, we may not get a complete picture of the coverage, but still, it can help us to have the impressionistic view of the coverage. It will now be shown in the analysis

of the data below that how these three TV Channels covered the death of Osama bin Laden, which was a local event for them.

### **8.3. Nature of content of news item**

The format of every news item was explored to know the nature of the exact coverage in the three TV Channels. The basic aim of looking at the nature of the coverage was to understand that how much of the coverage consists of production, interaction with experts and table stories (monologues). One on hand, it will show the efforts of that TV channel, in this regard, to cover the issue dynamically, and on the other hand, it will give us the impression about the quality of that coverage, as many researchers, cited in the literature review, claim that in order to explore the ‘original’ story – which is based on the investigative reporting to reach the ‘truth’ – one needs to go beyond the press releases, handouts etc. (Thussu and Freedman 2003, p.5).

In order to code the news items to understand the nature of the content, 12 different categories were devised in the coding sheet that can be even seen in the table below. It must be noted that in each news item, three options were available to code different categories in every news item. It can be best understood in the way that suppose a newscaster introduces the news, it is then followed by a package made by the reporter, and is then followed by interaction of the newscaster with an expert on the subject. So, it has been coded as “Package made by the Reporter” and “Live telephonic conversation with expert by a newscaster”. So if any particular news item is based only on the table story – containing only the monologue of the newscaster

in the news item – with no other inputs like interviewing its own reporter about the news or conducting interview with an experts about it, then it has been coded as ‘Table story’ and the other two available options have been coded with ‘No’.

In order to further understand how the news items have been classified into different categories, the following news items have been selected randomly from the coverage. Please note that all these news items have been translated from Urdu to English, and it is based on verbatim translation. The findings about the nature of the coverage can be seen in Table 8.3.1 below.

- a) **Newscaster:** “CIA Chief Leon Panetta has claimed that Pakistan was not taken in confidence about the Abbottabad Operation. In an interview with the US magazine, the CIA chief Leon Panetta said that if Pakistan was taken in confidence, they would have informed bin Laden about it, and there was further risk of leaking the information and endangering the mission”. The newscaster turns into another story (May 3, 2011, GEO News, 9 o’clock News Bulletin Story no 2) (**Coded as “Monologue of newscaster”**)
- b) **Newscaster:** “New information has been revealed about the death of Osama bin Laden. The most wanted man was traced due to one phone call, which was made by bin Laden’s friend. Bin Laden’s trusted courier was a Kuwaiti citizen and his name was Sheikh Abu Ahmed”. Then a report starts with background voice of a narrator and showing different (file) footages on screen. **Narrator:** “When bin Laden’s trusted courier attended one phone call, he didn’t know that the US will chase his Boss and will come to Abbottabad. On Monday, the US officials concluded the investigation about the phone call, and they succeeded in chasing the most wanted

man in the history. US is saying that US reached Abbottabad due to Sheikh Abu Ahmed and he was a Kuwaiti citizen. He was first identified after 9/11. Abu Ahmed and his brother were killed yesterday in the US operation”. (May 3, 2011, GEO News, 9 o’clock News Bulletin Story no 4) (**coded as “Monologue of Narrator in report”**)

- c) **Newscaster:** “A child who lives near the compound of Osama bin Laden says that he used to visit the house of bin Laden. He had two wives and three children. On the other hand, the most wanted man in the world lived in Abbottabad and no one can believe it”.

**Report starts with background voice of the reporter in field with moving image of Zarar:** “A 12 year old Zarar claims that he used to visit the compound of bin Laden and used to play with his kids. Cameras were also installed in his house”.

**Sound bite of Zarar:** “I used to go to his house and he had two wives. One used to speak Arabic and the other Urdu and he had three kids. One was female and the other two were male. They gave us two rabbits. They installed cameras outside (their house) as well”.

**Reporter:** “Why they installed cameras outside?”

**Sound bite of Zarar:** “They used to see people inside their house who wanted to come in”.

**Background voice of Reporter:** “The neighbors of bin Laden say that they didn’t develop social relations with anyone and neither anyone used to go to their house”.

**Sound bite of neighbor:** “They used to be on their own and we didn’t know anything about them. Even we didn’t understand their Pashto (language spoken by Pashtuns)”.

**Background voice of Reporter:** “Another resident of this area, Sabir, says that the kids of this house used to come with a person to the shop. They avoided playing with the kids of the neighbors”.

**Sound bite of Sabir:** “There were about seven kids and he used to take them to the shop”.

**Reporter:** “Who used to take them to the shop?”

**Sabir:** “There were two persons, who used to say that they are brothers. The younger one used to take them”.

**Reporter:** “Which language they used to speak?”

**Sabir:** “They used to speak Pashto”.

**Reporter:** “All of them used to speak Pashto?”

**Sabir:** “Yes, both”.

**Reporter:** “Have you ever listened to their conversation in Arabic?”

**Sabir:** “No”

**Reporter:** “The kids who used to live there, did they used to play outside?”

**Sabir:** “Hmm, they used to come outside and after strolling for a while, and then he used to take all of them back”.

**Reporter:** “Did they keep relations with outside world by visiting their house or meeting them?”

**Sabir:** “No, we never saw them meeting others. If they used to come outside, they used to greet the elders on the way and then used to pass them”.

**Background voice of a Reporter:** “The most wanted man in the world was living in the tourist spot Abbottabad and it was shocking news for many local people here”.

**Sound bite of a local person:** “It seems impossible. Even if you tell me ten times that he was here, I will think ten times again that what you are saying. The reason is that Abbottabad is very peaceful city and we have never witnessed such incident. We can’t think that bin Laden can come here. We had understanding that people like

bin Laden or any other (such) good or bad people don't know anything about Abbottabad".

**Background voice of a reporter:** "The local people can't believe that bin Laden was living in Abbottabad".

**Sound bite of another local person:** "It was not possible that bin Laden was living here in such a peaceful city like Abbottabad".

**Background voice of a reporter:** "The same story has been under discussion among the people for the second day". (May 3, 2011, GEO News, 9 o'clock News Bulletin, Story no 12) (Coded as "Package made by a Reporter")

- d) **Newscaster:** "After bin Laden's death, as the follow up stories come, we will try to update you about it. But now we will talk about Abbottabad where the US Special Forces carried out an Operation and killed bin Laden. The Geo News Reporter, Asim Ali Rana, is now in Abbottabad and will try to know more from him about the situation there".

**Newscaster asking reporter:** "Asim, what was the situation the whole day there and what was retrieved from the compound of bin Laden and what the US (forces) took with themselves?"

**Reporter:** “Gharida (addressing the newscaster), the situation was this all day that despite long wait (since morning), the media persons were not allowed to enter into the area, but in the afternoon when the security forces cleared the whole area and gave charge of the outside compound (of bin Laden) to the police officials, then media persons were able to reach the main gate of the compound. Media persons were then able to take footage of the inner side of the compound from another nearby house. There were signs of burning and it seemed that something really big caught fire here, and that was the helicopter. As far as things which have been retrieved from the compound are computers, but they all have been broken as they don’t have hard desks. They have also found some ammunition which contains three AK47, two pistols and some bullets”.

**Newscaster:** “Thank you very much Asim Ali Rana. We will try to take more updates from you”. (May 3, 2011, GEO News, 9 o’clock News Bulletin, Story no 11) (Coded as “Live Telephonic interaction with reporter by Newscaster”)

- e) **Newscaster:** “After bin Laden’s death, the fresh statement issued by the statement of Foreign Office of Pakistan claims that they were not aware of the operation and even the military and civilian leaders knew nothing about it. Is it possible and how dangerous this is? Therefore, we would like to know about the analysis of Shahzad Chaudery (Defense Analyst) about it. He is on telephone line with us”.

**Newscaster asking the expert (Shahzad Chaudery):** “Mr. Shahzad, you would have listened the statement issued by the Foreign Office of Pakistan. Do you think it

is possible that highest civilian and military leadership were not aware of the operation?”

**Shahzad Chaudery:** “A lot of questions arise after this statement, which has been released after highest level meetings. Its repercussions can be dangerous for Pakistan. The first thing is that is it really possible to launch an operation like this without informing Pakistan about it? What I am dreading now are the Pak-US relations. The relations were already strained and now if questions are raised about the sovereignty of Pakistan or the violation of its territory, then where these relations are leading? Then, are our security/ intelligence officials really not aware of the presence of such elements. I am dreading more about the long-term US strategy, which seems unfolded that the US interests in War on Terror in bin Laden and Afghanistan context, is this last play of it, that Pakistan’s sovereignty should be breached? And gap between the state and its people will further be deepened by such acts. And after such Operation, it will be said that Pakistan is a dysfunctional state, and therefore, it can’t remain a nuclear capable country. I think that we should trust this statement that it is true, and if it is true, then I am saying with grief that it is a matter of concern”.

**Newscaster interrupting him:** “Mr. Shahzad, we will talk about its repercussions later, will you trust that there are blind spots on the radars – especially the one operating on the Western border. So if anyone who comes from there whether it’s India or any other enemy country and it can’t capture it? Will you trust these blind spots (as stated in the statement issued by the Foreign Office of Pakistan)?”

**Shahzad Chaudery:** “Listen, it’s such a question, whose answer can’t be given on TV screen or any open forum and neither should it be given”.

Discussion continues.....

**Newscaster:** “Mr. Shahzad, we are coming back to the repercussions – as you said that the death of bin Laden is not good for Pak-US relations. What do you think, is this death (of bin Laden) a success of Pakistan or its failure?”

**Shahzad Chaudery:** “This was the target of US. US achieved its target. They would cash a lot of political benefits from it in domestic politics. It’s a great trophy for President Obama. The situation has not changed for Pakistan. Al Qaeda is still an existing threat to Pakistan”.

**Newscaster:** “Thank you very much”. (May 3, 2011, GEO News, 9 o’clock News Bulletin, Story no 04) (**Coded as “Live Telephonic interaction with expert by Newscaster”**)

**f) Newscaster:** “You saw the inner view of the compound where Osama bin Laden was killed. After sometime, when media persons will go inside, we will take you there. When the US forces started operation in Abbottabad compound, what was the reaction of the local residents there? One of the eyewitnesses has shared the detail of the operation. Let’s go to Geo News reporter Sabooh Saeed”.

**Geo News Reporter (Saboo Saeed) asking eyewitness:** “Last night, when the incident took place, where were you as your house is very close? What happened on that night?”

**Eyewitness:** “First, the Cobra helicopter came, and it crossed the top of the houses with noise. We woke up and left the house in fear. We thought that the helicopter is broken so it may hit the house. Then it came near the field, but it was very dusty so we couldn’t understand anything. Then firing started inside and one explosion took place, but its sound was not that much severe. When the helicopters flew there, then the residents of all the street gathered and went towards the compound. Then they (forces) switched on two laser lights from both directions. When the local residents moved bit more forward, they said that unconcerned persons don’t need to come here. Go back to your houses again. So then all went inside their houses. After 10 minutes, two more helicopters came, and people came out of their houses again in fear. Before the helicopter could cross it, I heard the children crying inside the compound. But when the second blast took place, then there was no sign of crying of children like before. When the helicopter was flying there, something struck and it went down. So the second helicopter was standing there, and armed personnel sit there and it flew. We could see only flames”.

**Geo News Reporter:** “Tell me, when the people there told you to stay away, in which language they said it?”

**Eyewitness:** “They said it in Urdu”.

**Reporter:** “So are you confident that they were Urdu speakers, or speaker of any other language who speaks Urdu like British people speaking Urdu or Pashto speaker speaking Urdu as it looks bit strange?”

**Eyewitness:** “No, it was the voice of native Urdu speaker”.

Discussion continues.....

**Reporter:** “So when the first helicopter was destroyed, then second one came?”

**Eyewitness:** “When the first helicopter left, then two others came. One was destroyed, so the second one took the soldiers on board and then flew”.

**Reporter:** “Did you see the soldiers sitting in the helicopter?”

**Eyewitness:** *(The voice of eyewitness in reply to the reporter’s question seems censored as it is followed by silence and his reply starts in middle).* “Then there was no laser light or even electricity in all the houses. Actually, when the first helicopter came, then there was complete blackout in the city”.

**Reporter:** “When they left in the helicopter so did you enter into the compound then?”

**Eyewitness:** “No, when the local people wanted to go there, they didn’t know what blasted inside the compound so they all returned. Then after 10-12 minutes, Pakistan army came and they didn’t allow anyone to go there. So after that no one went there”. (May 3, 2011, GEO News, 3 o’clock News Bulletin, Story no 03) **(Coded as “Live interaction with eyewitness/ local people by TV reporter”)**

**Table 8.3.1 Nature or Format of Content of News Story**

<b>Name of TV Channel</b>	<b>Package made by Reporter</b>	<b>Monologue of Newscaster/s/ Flat News</b>	<b>Live telephonic interaction with reporter by Newscaster/s (Beeper).</b>	<b>Live telephonic interaction with reporter plus expert by newscaster/s</b>	<b>Live Interaction with Expert/s by Newscaster/s</b>	<b>Live interaction with Expert/s by Reporter</b>	<b>Live Interaction with eye witnesses/ Local People by Reporter</b>	<b>Monologue of Narrator in report (Background Voice).</b>	<b>Monologue of other TV Anchor (Flat News).</b>	<b>Interaction with Expert by TV Anchor</b>	<b>Any other</b>	<b>Total options coded</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	16 7%	90 41%	8 4%	0 0%	11 5%	1 0.5%	4 2%	65 30%	5 2%	4 2%	14 6%	218 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	18 9%	46 24%	20 10%	1 0.5%	12 6%	0 0%	1 0.5%	80 42%	0 0%	0 0%	14 7%	192 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	3 4.5%	54 82%	1 1.5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3 4.5%	0 0%	0 0%	5 7.5%	66 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	5 11%	31 70%	0 0%	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	3 7%	0 0%	0 0%	4 9%	44 100%
<b>Total</b>	42	221	29	1	24	1	5	151	5	4	37	517

From the above data, it is clear that all three TV Channels hardly relied on the ground production to tell the story of bin Laden's death and its aftermath. All the three TV channels were heavily reliant on 'table stories' to fill the air space. The term 'Table Stories' are used for those particular stories in which the reporter doesn't go to the field for production of his/ her story, but relies on internet and other sources (like browsing the online news sites, monitoring different news services or even treating the press releases or handouts issued by the organizations) to collect information and data about any event and then file a story over it. Therefore, such news items are mostly broadcasted in plain form in the background voice of its reporter/ newscaster/ or of its anchor. It does not have any sound bite of the expert/ eyewitness or local people. The footage to support such reports is taken from the archives (old footage). In this research study, the term "Table Story" has been used collectively for all the monologues of the newscaster, narrator and even any other TV anchor.

The Geo News, in its coverage, showed much reliance on 'table stories', which made 73% – almost three-fourth of its whole coverage. Out of these 73 percent, 41 percent consists of monologue of the Newscaster; 30 percent consists of monologue of the Narrator in a report; while the rest 2 percent consists of monologue of other TV anchor. The packages made by the reporters of Geo news consists of only 7 percent of its overall coverage; while the experts contacted (by reporter, newscaster or even TV anchor) made only 7.5 percent. The overall interaction with the reporter itself stands for only 4 percent.

The findings above – about the nature of coverage of the Geo News – shows that Geo News has mostly relied to tell the story of bin Laden's death to its viewers from

studio-based production. Apparently, it also shows the possibility that the Geo News was having no proper ‘field strategy’ to cover the event from the ground, due to less number of production of packages, or even less interaction with its reporter on the ground (as at least one would have expected more from the popular local media outlet) to tell the story of bin Laden’s death.

It is also important to note that only two news stories in the whole coverage of the Geo News were the combination of both monologue of newscaster and live telephonic interaction with expert by the newscaster. It means that only two out of 216 news items on-air were the combination of different categories. It means that the most appropriate structure of TV news (which is mostly followed by Western media especially BBC) was almost missing in the Geo News. The most appropriate structure of TV news can best be understood from the following standard parameter:

When a newscaster starts reading the news and tells the viewers about an incident, then he/she turns to its reporter in the field for fresh available updates or contacts the expert for more in-depth analysis on the issue, or even on-airs a package made by its reporter. The point is that in order to tell a story about an incident to the viewers, the Western TV channels (especially the BBC) will try to accommodate all the relevant information together which exists in the form of different bits, and will link the different segments together.

This style of telling the story to the viewers was missing in the Geo news – which is considered one of the most popular private TV channels of Pakistan. The dominant structure prevailing in their coverage was relying on a single category – especially monologues – out of the ten categories (about the nature of news item) discussed above. So, they did not mix any of these two or even three.

The same impression – about the reliance on the studio-based production – can also be seen in the coverage of the Duniya News as almost two third of its coverage – 66%, consisted of ‘table stories’ (based on monologues). Out of these 66 percent coverage, 24 percent (almost one-fourth) of the coverage consists of monologue of newscaster; while 42 percent consists of monologue of the narrator in a report. The production of different packages in the coverage consists of only 9 percent; the live telephonic interaction with reporter consists of 10 percent; while the expert contacted for the comments (by both reporter and newscaster) only 7 percent.

Although, the findings above support the view that like the Geo News, the Duniya News also showed reliance on ‘Table Stories’ to tell the story of bin Laden’s death, but it too shows that they have performed slightly better than Geo News in terms of statistics on the board. The Duniya News produced more packages than the Geo News; they contacted their reporters on the ground more than the Geo News; and even they showed less reliance on ‘Table Stories’ as compared to the Geo News. But the only category in which both stayed almost similar was their interaction with the expert which was almost 7% in both. However, these figures still show some level of concerns about the ‘field strategy’ of the Duniya News to tell the story of bin Laden’s death to its viewers. One can observe the ‘boots on the ground’, but, being the host of the local event, one would have expected more from the Duniya News as well to explore the story of bin Laden’s death to its own viewers.

It is also important to note that 7 out of 184 news items were the combination of one or another category. Out of these 184, two news items consist of both monologue of narrator in report and live telephonic interaction with reporter by newscaster. Two other news items consist of monologue of narrator in report coupled with live interaction with expert by newscaster. The last two news items consist of monologue

of newscaster coupled with live telephonic interaction with expert; and only one news item consisted of monologue of newscaster plus telephonic interaction with reporter. So, we can observe that the most appropriate structure of telling the news (which we have even discussed above) was also missing in the Duniya News coverage. It is really hard to say that the culture of reporting the TV news (up to the structure in which it is delivered to the viewers) in Pakistan is different from the Western media outlets (especially BBC).

The nature of the coverage of the script of Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV Script) even lay behind the Geo News and the Duniya News as 86.5 percent of the overall coverage consists of 'table stories' (based on the monologues of the newscasters/ narrators). It consists of 82 percent monologue of newscaster in news items; followed by 4.5 percent monologue of narrator in report. The packages made by the reporter consists of only 4.5 percent (3 packages); while live telephonic interaction with reporter was made only once. It is important to note that no contact was made with the expert in their coverage.

Again, the findings give us impression that proper 'field strategy' to cover the event from the ground was missing in the coverage of official broadcaster of Pakistan. It is evident from the data as the TV channel interacted with reporter on the field just once. The reluctance of the TV channel to invite the expert on the issue apparently shows that TV channel was least interested in the interpretation of the developments connected to the issue. When your reporters do not make enough contact with the ground and when you do not interact with experts, then it raises questions about how you guide your viewers about the situation that has developed or is developing. PTV is the only terrestrial channel of Pakistan, and it covers more geography of Pakistan than any other TV channels; so keeping this in view, one would have expected much

more from them (in terms of production, interaction with reporter or even expert). It is also important to note that there was no news item, which was the combination of either of these identified different categories. So the trend started by the Geo News and the Duniya News – to tell the story in ‘solo’ category form – continued very well here.

Although, much of the data of PTV (DVD) was missing, but if we look at its coverage, it seems that its coverage was no more different than the PTV (script) as 77 percent of the overall coverage consists of ‘table stories’ (based on the monologues of narrator or newscasters). It is important to mention that 11 percent of the coverage consists of packages made by the reporter (Please note that the packages were five in number). The contact with expert in the entire coverage was made only once. In the data (I coded), no contact was made with the reporter in field. It would have been really good to have all the bulletins of PTV (DVD) in hand to have more authentic opinion on the coverage. As 12 out of 20 bulletins were missing (and even there was no way to find it out), but still, the data of eight bulletins studied here gives an impressionistic view that like the other TV channels of Pakistan, they too showed reliance on ‘table stories’ to tell the story of bin Laden’s death. It too shows that contacts with its reporter on field, and even the interaction with the expert was lacking in the coverage. Further, note that no news story appeared in the coverage which had the combination of either of the identified categories as mentioned in the table; so they too showed reliance on the ‘solo’ category to tell the news.

If we look at the overall coverage of bin Laden’s death across the three TV channels, we come to know that almost three-fourth (72.5%) of the coverage consists of monologues (of narrator/ newscasters etc.). The total production of packages at field

was only 8 %; interaction with reporter by the newscaster was only 5.5%; while the interaction with expert was only 5%. It can be seen in table 8.3.2. The table below (8.3.2) and findings above also show that there is a strong possibility that the ‘original’ story – which comes through investigative reporting (as stated by Thusu and Freedman 2003) was (perhaps) missing in the coverage of all the three TV channels due to their heavy reliance on the ‘table’ stories rather than on ground production (in different forms).

**Table 8.3.2 Overall coverage to bin Laden’s death in broad categories**

<b>Name of a TV Channel</b>	<b>Table Stories (Monologues)</b>	<b>Production (of Packages)</b>	<b>Interaction with Reporter by Newscaster</b>	<b>Interaction with Expert by Newscaster</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	160 (73%)	16 (7%)	8 (4%)	11 (5%)
<b>Duniya News</b>	126 (66%)	18 (9%)	20 (10%)	12 (6%)
<b>PTV (Script)</b>	57 (86%)	3 (4.5%)	1 (1.5%)	0 (0%)
<b>PTV (DVD)</b>	34 (77%)	5 (11%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)
<b>Total</b>	377 (75%)	42 (8%)	29 (6%)	24 (5%)

#### **8.4. Main Source of the intro of the news story**

Source mentioned in the introduction of the TV News will give us a hint that to whom the TV channels in Pakistan were referring about the information they mentioned in the lead of the story. Although, it is also not a mandatory practice that TV Channels should mention the source of information in their introduction or lead of the story, but if it is mentioned then it will give us a data on the basis of which we

can claim that who became the basis of the report on aired by the TV channels. The basic reason for looking at the source in the introduction of the story is to know that how much the TV channels were looking at the US and Pakistan for the information, and then to compare the ratio of Pakistani officials and US officials, later.

The following are examples of the introductions which will help us understand the coding of sources in the introduction of different stories. It should be noted that all the intros mentioned below have been translated from Urdu in verbatim. Please note that these intros have been selected randomly from the news bulletins.

- a) Newscaster: “After bin Laden’s death, the statements from the US officials are still coming. The CIA chief Leon Panetta has said that Pakistan was not taken into confidence about the operation. In an interview to the **US Magazine**, Leon Panetta said that if Pakistan was informed about it, then it would have endangered the whole operation by informing even bin Laden”. (Geo News, May 3, 2011, 9pm bulletin)  
**(Coded as “US Source”)**
  
- b) Newscaster: “Even 48 hours have not passed since the killing of Osama bin Laden and the conflict in the US statements have emerged. The conflicting statement of the US officials about the operation is evident example. **The Daily Telegraph newspaper** has revealed the truth about it”. (Geo News, May 3, 2011, 9pm bulletin)  
**(Coded as “Western Source”)**
  
- c) Newscaster: “Pakistani Ambassador in the US, Hussain Haqqani, has said that Osama bin Laden was threat to the whole world and encountering this threat is a

positive development. He said this in an interview to the **Indian TV Channel**".

(Geo News, May 4, 2011, 3pm bulletin) (**Coded as "Rest of the World Source"**)

- d) Newscaster: "Bin Laden's death is considered a great achievement in the War on Terror. Let's watch a report prepared by **our reporter**. It is then followed by the Monologue of narrator in a report". (Geo News, May 2, 2011, 9pm bulletin) (**Coded as "TV channel Source"**)

The table 8.4.1 below shows that all the three TV Channels of Pakistan have mentioned US sources more than the Pakistani sources to tell the story of the death of bin Laden/ Abbottabad Operation. It also shows that they have also referred to their own reporter in the coverage for the information, but the highest number of reference to their own "TV channel sources" is based on the reference to large number of 'monologues' which was seen earlier in the data (please see Table 8.3.1).

If we look at the data below, in Table 8.4.1, it shows that:

- a) Geo News referred to most US sources for the information they presented in its coverage than Pakistani sources as it stood 18%. It is also important to note that out of the 40 US sources, 27 consist of US media; 4 consist of Whitehouse Spokesperson; 3 consist of US officials; 2 consist of US President; and 1 each consist of US Defense Secretary, US State Department, FBI website and Pentagon.

b) Pakistani sources mentioned in the introduction of the stories made only 9% which is half of the US sources. Out of the 19 Pakistani mentioned sources in the intro, 3 each consist of the Prime Minister House Spokesperson and Pakistan Foreign Office Spokesperson; 2 each consist of Armed Intelligence Forces and Pakistani experts; while 1 each consist of ISPR, eyewitnesses / local people, Pakistan Air Force officials, opposition political parties of Pakistan and Provincial Chief Minister.

**Main Source of the intro of News Story**

**Table  
8.4.1**

<b>Name of TV Channel</b>	<b>US Sources</b>	<b>Pakistani Sources</b>	<b>European Sources</b>	<b>Rest of the World sources</b>	<b>Al-Qaeda/Taliban Sources</b>	<b>TV channel sources</b>	<b>No Source Mentioned</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	40 18%	19 9%	4 2%	12 5%	2 1%	64 30%	75 35%	216 100%
<b>Dunya News</b>	22 12%	8 4%	3 1.5%	2 1%	1 0.5%	60 33%	88 48%	184 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	11 17%	4 6%	2 3%	2 3%	0 0%	7 11%	37 59%	63 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	4 10%	1 2.5%	1 2.5%	2 5%	0 0%	9 22.5%	23 57.5%	40 100%
<b>Total</b>	77	32	10	18	3	140	223	503

From the above findings, we get the impression that Geo News was slightly more reliant on the US sources – especially the US media – as compared to the Pakistani sources to tell the story of bin Laden’s death. As we know that introduction of any news item is based on the most important information, and if the base of any such information finds base in more US sources than Pakistani ones, then it also shows, up to some extent, that the US was holding most important information and dominated the coverage. The same trend can also be seen in the coverage of the rest of the TV channels.

- c) The Duniya News, in its coverage, also referred to more US sources as compared to Pakistani sources for the information they mentioned in the introduction of the stories, as it made 12% and 4% respectively. If we re-categorize the US sources, then we come to know that out of these 22 US sources, 21 consist of the US Media and only one consists of US Defense Secretary. On the other hand, out of eight Pakistani sources, 3 consist of eyewitnesses/ local people, 2 each consist of Pakistani experts and Pakistan Foreign Office Spokesperson, while the ISPR was mentioned only once. These figures show that the Duniya News was relatively more reliant on the US sources (even the US media) than the Pakistani sources (up to the coverage of its intro of the stories).
- d) If we look at the coverage of PTV News Script, it sounds somewhat strange that the state owned TV referred to the US sources more than Pakistani sources for getting information they shared in the introduction of the stories, as it stood 17% as compared to 6% Pakistani sources. If we further re-categorize the US sources, then it shows that out of the 11 US sources, 6 consist of the US media; while 2 each

consist of the Whitehouse Spokesperson and US officials. On the other hand, out of 4 Pakistani sources, 3 consist of Pakistan Foreign Office Spokesperson and only one consists of Interior Ministry of Pakistan. Again, it shows that even the official broadcaster of Pakistan – PTV News Script – was looking at the US for information than Pakistani sources.

- e) Similar is the case of the coverage of PTV News DVD, where 10% of its mentioned sources consist of the US; and the rest 2.5% consist of Pakistan. Out of the four US sources, 2 consist of the US Media; and 1 each consist of Whitehouse Spokesperson and US official; while the only Pakistani source mentioned consists of Pakistan Foreign Office Spokesperson.

If we look broadly at references to the US sources for the information in the introductions of all the stories, they stand 15%; while the references made to Pakistani sources stand only 6%. It must be noted that out of these 77 US Sources (mentioned in the introduction of the news stories of all the TV Channels), 56 consist of the US media which shows that Pakistani TV channels referred more to the US media than the US officials. The Pakistani sources made only 5% of the entire coverage. Half of the sources mentioned in the coverage consist of the TV channels referring to themselves. It should be noted that 44 percent of the stories did not carry any reference to the source at all. The data above shows that there was some level of dominance of the US sources in general and US media in particular over Pakistani networks in the coverage.

If we focus only on the US and Pakistani officials in the coverage, then the data shows that the US officials were referred slightly more in the coverage than Pakistani officials, except in the Duniya News. The results can be seen in table 8.4.2.

**Table 8.4.2 US and Pakistani officials in the coverage**

<b>Name of a TV Channel</b>	<b>Pakistani Officials</b>	<b>US Officials</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	11	13
<b>Duniya News</b>	3	1
<b>PTV News (script)</b>	4	5
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	1	2
<b>Total</b>	19	20

### **8.5. Additional Sources mentioned in the body of the story**

After studying the sources in the introduction of the stories, now we will look at the additional sources mentioned in the body of every news story (excluding introductions of the news story). In this research study, the data of first three additional sources was collected. It will give us idea whether the particular media outlet utilized Pakistani sources or US sources to tell the story of bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation to its audience. At the end, the American and Pakistani sources will further be re-categorized to know whether Pakistani or US officials were dominant in the coverage.

The following paragraphs, taken randomly from the bulletin of the TV channels, will help us understand the coding of “Additional Sources” in this research study. Please note that all these paragraphs have been translated from Urdu in verbatim.

- a) “Addressing Press Conference along with his Italian counterpart **US State Secretary Hilary Clinton** said that War on terror has not finished yet, but it will become more vigorous (now). She said that Pakistan is an important ally in War on terror” (Geo News, May 5, 2011, 9pm bulletin). (**Coded as “US Source”**)
  
- b) “**Secretary Foreign Affairs Salman Bashir** while addressing the crowded press conference said that Pakistani Armed forces and concerned authorities started action when one news channel reported the crash of helicopter. He said that if US forces would have stayed longer, the situation would have been more frightening and different”. (Geo News, May 5, 2011, 9pm bulletin) (**Coded as “Pakistani Source”**)
  
- c) “One of the **CIA officials in the US** has said that Pakistan has demanded complete set of computer files retrieved from bin Laden’s compound. However, it is expected that the US will reject this demand” (Geo News, May 5, 2011, 9pm bulletin) (**US Source**)

The results of the first three additional sources mentioned in the body of the stories can be seen in Table 8.5.1. The data below shows that “Pakistani Sources” were mentioned more in the coverage than the “US sources”. This trend can be seen in all

the three TV channels. It must be noted that earlier, it was noticed in the sources mentioned in the introduction of the stories that the US sources were cited more in the coverage than Pakistani sources. It shows that the TV channels started the news by referring to the US sources for the information they mentioned, but later on, they have tried to make it their own report by citing the local sources.

If we look at the coverage of the Geo News, it shows that Pakistani sources mentioned were 14%; while the US sources mentioned in the coverage were 10%. The coverage of the Duniya News also shows the same trend as Pakistani sources dominated the coverage as it made 22%; while the US sources mentioned in the coverage were 15%.

The official broadcaster – PTV News Script – also cited more Pakistani sources than the US sources which are evident from the figures of 16% as compared to 9%. PTV News DVD also mentioned more Pakistani sources than the US sources in the body of the story, which is obvious from 29% of Pakistani sources as compared to 13% US sources.

**Table 8.5.1 Additional three Sources mentioned in the body of the story**

Name of TV Channel									Total
	US Sources	Pakistani Sources	European Sources	Rest of the World sources	Al-Qaeda/Taliban Sources	TV Channel/ Newspaper Sources	Any Other	No Source Mentioned	
<b>Geo News</b>	63 10%	91 14%	3 0.5%	9 1%	3 0.5%	4 0.5%	5 1%	470 72.5%	648 100%
<b>Dunya News</b>	81 15%	120 22%	6 1%	8 1%	4 0.5%	3 0.5%	4 0.5%	326 59%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	18 9%	30 16%	0 0%	12 6%	0 0%	0 0%	5 3%	124 66%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	14 13%	32 29%	1 1%	2 2%	1 1%	0 0%	6 5%	54 49%	110 100%
<b>Total</b>	176	273	10	31	8	7	20	974	1499

Besides showing the reliance of Pakistani TV channels on both Pakistani and the US sources in the coverage, it also shows the dominance of these both on the coverage. Beside this, table 8.5.1 also shows less citation of Al Qaeda/ Taliban sources in the coverage which clearly indicates that after the death of bin Laden/ Abbottabad Operation, the real story was between the US and Pakistan as both the Al Qaeda and Taliban were out of the scene after the incident. The topic(s) discussed in the in news items, of these TV channels, will also help us understand the content of the coverage (this has been discussed in detail in chapter 9 of this thesis).

It is now important to look deeper into the data of Pakistani and US sources in order to explore who were actually mentioned in these sources across the three TV Channels. This comparative data will help us understand that to whom the TV channels were mostly looking while giving information to its audience. It will also help us know that how much the Pakistani officials were visible in the coverage along with the US officials. If these two categories are re-categorized, the holistic picture about the citation of the US and Pakistani officials can be seen in Table 8.5.2 below.

If we look at the results in Table 8.5.2, it shows that the US officials were dominant in the coverage of both the Geo News and the Duniya News, but Pakistani sources dominated in PTV News (Script and DVD). If we combine all the three categories of the US and Pakistani officials in all the TV Channels, then the following results come in front of us.

- a) In Geo News, the overall Pakistani official sources mentioned in the entire ten days of the coverage (19 news bulletins) is 39; while the US officials mentioned in the ten days coverage are 52.
  
- b) In the Duniya News, Pakistani officials mentioned during ten days of the coverage are 62; while the US officials mentioned in the ten days coverage are 68. It shows that the Duniya News utilized both Pakistani and US sources more than the Geo News to tell the story of bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation. It also shows that the Duniya News was less dependent on the US sources as compared to the Geo News.
  
- c) In PTV News (Script), the Pakistani officials, cited altogether were 27; while the US officials were 18. In PTV (DVD), the overall Pakistani officials mentioned were 26; while the US officials mentioned were 13.
  
- d) These results apparently show that, mostly, the US officials were controlling the information related to the death of Osama bin Laden or the Abbottabad Operation – especially in the coverage of private TV channels – than Pakistani officials (whom one would have expected to dominate being the host of the event).

It is now important to go a bit deeper into these numerical values as there are certain other differences that need to be explored in order to understand the coverage, of these private and public broadcasters, in a better way:

- a) In the Geo News, the Pakistani President was not mentioned at all during the entire coverage; while the US President was mentioned 8 times. The Pakistani Prime

Minister was mentioned only 6 times. It means that the US President was mentioned more than both the Prime Minister and President of Pakistan. On the other hand, Duniya News cited the Pakistani Prime Minister and President more than the Geo News. The Pakistani Prime Minister was mentioned 14 times; the Pakistani President was mentioned 3 times; while the US President was mentioned only 4 times. It shows that the Geo News looked more at the top US officials for the coverage than Pakistani officials. Indeed, the Pakistani officials were not that much visible in the coverage, but still, they were not completely out of the scene (as we have seen it in the coverage of the Dawn).

The results of PTV News tilted more towards the Duniya News – where the US President was mentioned 8 times; Pakistani President was cited 2 times; while the Pakistani Prime Minister was cited 13 times. It means that both Duniya News and PTV News tried to use more local ‘top’ official sources than the Geo News to tell the story of bin Laden’s death/ Abbottabad Operation.

If we look at the results of PTV News (DVD), it shows that the US President was cited only 2 times; Pakistani Prime Minister was mentioned 8 times; while the Pakistani President was cited 2 times.

- b) The Geo News, on the other hand, showed less dependency on the White House Spokesperson for the news as he was cited only once; while the Foreign Office of Pakistan was mentioned 7 times. The Duniya News showed slight more reliance on both the White house Spokesperson and Pakistan’s Foreign Office as they were mentioned 7 times and 9 times respectively. PTV News (Script) did not mention the Whitehouse Spokesperson in its entire coverage; but they cited Pakistani Foreign

Office 2 times. PTV News (DVD) also continued the same trend, where White House Spokesperson was mentioned just once; while the Pakistan Foreign Office was mentioned 3 times.

From the data and discussion above, in Tables 8.5.1 and 8.5.2, it is clear that both Pakistan's private TV channels and public broadcaster (PTV News) utilized more Pakistani sources than the US sources in the body of the story; but it also shows that the US officials dominated the coverage of the Geo News and the Duniya News. Geo News showed more reliance on the US sources as compared to the Duniya News which have tried to show almost equal reliance on both. The Duniya News utilized more sources than the Geo News to tell the story of bin Laden's death as well. Indeed, the visibility of Pakistani officials was an issue (and which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 7), but one would have expected the Geo News that they should have followed the Pakistani officials more as the Duniya News did in Pakistan. On the other hand, PTV News (Script and DVD), as one would expected from the officially controlled media, was more inclined to Pakistani officials than the US officials.

**Table 8.5.2 Regrouping of Pakistani/ US officials First Three Additional Sources**

<b>TV Channel</b>	<b>Pakistani Government Officials</b>	<b>Police/ Army/ Security Officials of Pakistan</b>	<b>Pakistani Parliamentarians</b>	<b>US Government Officials</b>	<b>Armed/ Security Officials of US</b>	<b>US Politicians</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	27	9	3	33	11	8
<b>Duniya News</b>	46	11	5	63	4	1
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	27	0	0	17	1	0
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	22	4	0	11	2	0

### **8.6. Overall Sources mentioned in the story**

Sources mentioned in the introduction of the news items and in the body of the story have been discussed in detail in sections 8.4 and 8.5 of this chapter, but now, an attempt has been made to combine both these categories of sources in one table to see a more holistic picture of the sources mentioned and the possible changes in the data (if any). The results can be seen in Table 8.6.1.

If we look at the table below, all the three TV channels of Pakistan showed slightly more reliance on the Pakistani sources than the US sources to tell the story of the death of bin Laden and Abbottabad Operation. If we look at the table 8.6.1 below, the following results can be derived from it:

- a) The US sources mentioned in the entire coverage of the Geo News was 12%; while the Pakistani Sources mentioned in the coverage was 13% of its entire mentioned sources.
- b) Duniya News, in its coverage, also followed the same pattern by citing Pakistani sources more than the US sources. It is visible from 14% of US sources as compared to 17% from Pakistan.
- c) PTV News (Script) followed the same design, set by the Geo News and Duniya News, and utilized Pakistani sources slightly more than the US sources. The Pakistani sources cited in the coverage made 13%; while the US sources mentioned in the coverage made 11.5%.
- d) PTV News (DVD), among the available TV channels, showed comparatively less reliance on the US sources as compared to Pakistani sources cited in the Geo, the Duniya and PTV News (script). The US sources cited in the coverage were 12%; while the Pakistani sources cited in the coverage were 22%.

**Table 8.6.1 Overall sources mentioned in the story**

Name of TV Channel									Total
	US Sources	Pakistani Sources	European Sources	Rest of the World sources	Al-Qaeda/Taliban Sources	TV Channel/ Newspaper Sources	Any Other	No Source Mentioned	
<b>Geo News</b>	103 12%	110 13%	7 1%	21 2%	5 0.5%	68 8%	5 0.5%	545 63%	864 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	103 14%	128 17%	9 1%	10 1%	5 1%	63 9%	4 1%	414 56%	736 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	29 11.5%	34 13%	2 1%	14 5.5%	0 0%	7 3%	5 2%	161 64%	252 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	18 12%	33 22%	2 1%	4 3%	1 1%	9 6%	6 4%	77 51%	150 100%
<b>Total</b>	253	305	20	49	11	147	20	1197	2002

It is now important to re-categorize the data by looking into the US and Pakistani officials cited in the US and Pakistani sources. These findings will show us that who were more visible in the coverage – besides giving us a clue about the control over the information. The results can be seen in the Table 8.6.2.

From the Table below, 8.6.2, now we can conclude the following results:

- a) Geo News was more reliant on the US government officials than Pakistani government officials in its whole coverage to tell the story of bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation. They even mentioned more US Politicians than Pakistani Parliamentarians; and even they mentioned more US Security Officials than Pakistani ones.
  
- b) Duniya News also mentioned slightly more (than Geo News) US government officials than their Pakistani counterparts; but it mentioned more Pakistani Parliamentarians and Security officials than the US ones. It clearly shows that the Duniya News tried to utilize local sources more – to report the story of bin Laden's death – than the Geo News.
  
- c) PTV News (script) mentioned more Pakistani government officials than the US ones. Although, it mentioned the Armed/ Security officials of the US twice, but it did not mention the US Politicians, Pakistani Parliamentarians and Security officials of Pakistan. (It would have been much better to have the complete data of PTV Script. This has already been explained in the Methodology chapter of this thesis).

d) PTV News (DVD) also gave more coverage to the Pakistani government officials than the US ones; and it even mentioned more Security officials of Pakistan than the US ones. It is also worth noting that Pakistani Parliamentarians and US Politicians were not mentioned at all. (Most of the bulletins of PTV DVD were missing and this point has been discussed in the start of this chapter).

**Table 8.6.2      Regrouping of Pakistani/ US Official Sources**

<b>TV Channel</b>	<b>Pakistani Government Officials</b>	<b>Police/ Army/ Security Officials of Pakistan</b>	<b>Pakistani Parliamentarians</b>	<b>US Government Officials</b>	<b>Armed/ Security Officials of US</b>	<b>US Politicians</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	33	13	4	40	15	10
<b>Duniya News</b>	48	12	5	63	5	1
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	31	0	0	21	2	0
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	23	4	0	13	2	0

In summary, this chapter shows the preliminary trends in the coverage of private and official TV channels of Pakistan. Initially, it shows that the Geo News gave more coverage to the issue than both the Duniya News and the official broadcaster of Pakistan – PTV. It also shows that Geo news was more reliant on the ‘Table stories’ (monologues in different forms) as compared to the Duniya News – which has shown more production in the coverage and even more contact with its reporters on

the ground than the Geo News. Covering the issue more from the studio was witnessed in PTV (Script and DVD). It also shows the dominance of both the US sources and the US officials in the coverage of the introduction of the news items in the coverage of all the three TV channels, but the Pakistani sources showed dominance in the body of the story, in the coverage of all the three TV channels. Later on, when the data (of US and Pakistani sources) was further re-categorized, it was observed that US officials were more dominant in the coverage than Pakistani officials, in private TV channels of Pakistan. On the other hand, the PTV (Script and DVD) was more reliant on Pakistani officials than the US officials, in the body of the story. The dominance of the US and Pakistani sources in the coverage gives impression that most of the story of the coverage was revolving between Pakistan and the US: Al Qaeda/ Taliban were almost out of the frame (and this point will be further confirmed from the topics discussed in the story).

# **CHAPTER 9: NATURE OF COVERAGE, STATEMENTS AND THE TONE OF THE LANGUAGE**

## **9.1. Introduction**

This chapter is based on a more in-depth analysis of the TV data – which has been collected from the three TV channels of Pakistan to assess the nature of the coverage and rhetoric used in the coverage for both bin Laden and Abbottabad Operation. As it has been discussed in the previous chapters, this chapter is also linked to the basic research question of the thesis (which is mentioned below), but it is also supplemented with some additional research questions to understand the nature of coverage in a better way. Please note that all the research questions have been answered thoroughly, in the different sections below, and are supported with tables to present it in a more logical way to the readers.

**“How the three TV channels of Pakistan covered the death of Osama bin Laden?”**

The above main research question is supplemented with the following additional research questions.

RQ 1: What is the topic of the introduction of the news items?

RQ2: What are the first three additional topics discussed in the rest of the body of the story (without introduction)?

RQ 3: What are the first three statements made about the Government of Pakistan?

RQ 4: What are the first three statements made about Pakistan's Army/ Intelligence agencies?

RQ 5: What are the first three statements made about the US government and its military in the news item?

RQ 6: What are the first three prefixes or suffixes used for bin Laden in the story?

RQ 7: What are the first three adjectives or phrases used in the news item to describe the 'Abbottabad Operation'?

## **9.2. Topic discussed in the 'Intro' of the News Items**

The topics (or themes) discussed in the introduction of the news item will show the different aspects of the coverage highlighted by the three TV Channels of Pakistan – Geo News, Duniya News and PTV News (script and DVD). It will also show which particular topics were discussed in the opening of their stories by the TV channels in Pakistan after bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation. Almost all the topics (or themes) related to the issue are important, but the most important thing is to understand which topics were more discussed and which were less discussed.

This data will show us the importance given by the private TV channels as well as the official broadcasters (of Pakistan) to the different aspects of the death of bin Laden or Abbottabad Operation in their ten-day coverage. Lead or introduction of any story (in both the newspaper and TV channels) carries a huge importance in journalism as it gives the readers the sense of the story besides informing them about "the essence of the event", and even persuading "the reader or listener into staying awhile" (Mencher 2010).

Keeping in view the importance of the lead (or introduction of the story) in the overall news items, it has been studied in isolation from the rest of the body of the story (which follows after the lead). It is important to note that while coding the data of the lead of the TV news, a total of 102 different options of topics were devised. Later on, when the data was coded and was transferred into the SPSS, then these 102 options (of topics or values) were later squeezed into only 13 topics (which can be seen in the Table 9.2.1) to have a better idea about the coverage. Please note that the 102 different options of topics can be seen in the coding sheet used for the collection of data from TV channels, and which has been provided in the Appendix section of this thesis.

In order to understand how the different ‘leads’ have been coded into the different topics in this section, few randomly selected introduction of the different news items have been provided below. Please note that these have been translated from Urdu in verbatim. The results can be seen in the Table 9.2.1.

- a) Newscaster: “Al Qaeda’s head Osama bin Laden has been shot dead. The US forces conducted the operation in Abbottabad and killed bin Laden with bullet in his head. Bin Laden’s son and his three other companions have also been killed; while bin Laden’s body was also verified through DNA”. **Coded as “Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation”**. (Geo News, May2, 2011, 9pm Bulletin.)
  
- b) Newscaster: “After bin Laden’s death, a fresh statement has been issued by the Government of Pakistan. The Foreign Office Spokesperson has said in a statement that Pakistan and all its institutions have tried their best to bring bin Laden to justice. The civilian and military leadership were not aware of US operation”. **Coded as**

**“Pakistani government/ people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation”.** (Geo News, May3, 2011, 9pm Bulletin.)

c) Newscaster: “After bin Laden’s death by the US forces in Abbottabad, a lot of questions have been raised at national and international level. USA has asked reply from Pakistan about some crucial questions. But the million dollar questions stand that how Pakistan didn’t know about bin Laden and who built the compound where Osama stayed”. **Coded as Bin Laden’s death and the failure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan.** (Geo News, May4, 2011, 9pm Bulletin.)

**Table 9.2.1 Topic discussed in the Introduction of the News Item**

Name of TV Channel														Total
	Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation.	Pakistani government/ people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation.	American government/ people/ officials response to the operation/ bin Laden's death.	Security Situation in different parts of the Pakistan after the operation .	Complete detail about bin Laden's life.	Reaction of World to bin Laden's death.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the region.	Bin Laden's death and the future of the war on terror.	Bin Laden's death and the future of Al-Qaeda.	Bin Laden's death and the failure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan.	Bin Laden's death and the tense Pak-US relations .	Impact of bin Laden's death on the coming US elections .	Any other	
<b>Geo News</b>	71 33%	73 34%	9 4%	3 1%	7 3%	15 7%	0 0%	4 2%	0 0%	14 6%	13 6%	2 1%	5 2%	216 100%
<b>Dunya News</b>	41 22%	75 41%	7 4%	9 5%	4 2%	4 2%	0 0%	8 4%	4 2%	9 5%	15 8%	0 0%	8 4%	184 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	7 11%	22 35%	4 6%	1 1.5%	2 3%	10 16%	0 0%	3 5%	1 1.5%	7 11%	4 6%	0 0%	2 3%	63 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	2 5%	17 42.5%	1 2.5%	0 0%	0 0%	2 5%	1 2.5%	2 5%	1 2.5%	6 15%	5 12.5%	0 0%	3 7.5%	40 100%
<b>Total</b>	121	187	21	13	13	31	1	17	6	36	37	2	18	503 100%

The above findings show that Geo News mostly focused on addressing the reaction of Pakistani government/ public/ media/ politicians to the operation as it is more than one-third (34%) of its whole coverage of topics (in the introduction). It is also important to note that Geo News also highlighted the detail about the Abbottabad Operation as it is also equal to the one-third (33%) of its whole coverage. The findings also support that Geo News also showed the reaction of the world to his death as it made 7% of the whole coverage; but the TV channel didn't highlight that much the failure of the Armed/ Intelligence forces of Pakistan to trace/ kill bin Laden as it made only 6%.

From the above data, it is clear that Geo News in its coverage focused more on the detail about the Abbottabad Operation or the response of the Pakistani public/government to it as together it made two-third (67%) of the whole coverage – which means that two-third of the coverage revolved around these two topics (in the introduction of the news). It is also important to note that Geo News did not link bin Laden's death to its impact on the region or the future of Al-Qaeda after his death, as none of the stories started with these two topics. It shows that the story displayed on the TV screen of Geo News was between the US and Pakistan as Al Qaeda was out of the frame (at least up to the discussion in the introduction of the news). The Geo News apparently also seemed reluctant to discuss the impact of bin Laden's death on the future of the War on Terror as it made only 2%; it shows that counterterrorism frame was mostly missing in the coverage of Geo News, at least up to the introduction of the stories. It is also worrying to see that Geo News – which is considered by many as one of the popular TV channels of Pakistan – have shown little interest to open the story with the counterterrorism theme that bin Laden's

death will bring any change in the Al Qaeda, the volatile region as a whole or even the War on Terror.

Duniya News also followed the trend set by the Geo News, and focused mainly on the reaction of Pakistani government/ Public to the Operation as it made more than one-third (41%) of the whole coverage. The TV channel was also seemingly more interested in sharing the detail about the Abbottabad Operation as it made more than one-fifth (22%) of its whole coverage. It also highlighted the tense Pak-US relations after bin Laden's death as it made 8%; while the TV channel was (apparently) less interested to start the news item, stating the failure of the Armed/ Intelligence forces of Pakistan as it made only 5% of its whole coverage. It should be also noted that Duniya News also showed little interest to link the death of bin Laden to the future of the region, War on Terror or even the Al Qaeda itself as it made 0%, 4% and 2% respectively.

Like Geo News, Duniya News also focused primarily on the reaction of Pakistan to the issue and details surrounding the operation as it made nearly two-third (63%) of the whole coverage; but it also shows that they were less interested in linking the story of his death to the counterterrorism narratives. Pakistan is a front state ally of US and has suffered a lot due to the activities of the terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda, and one would have expected that these popular TV channels should have debated his death in the line that what difference his death would bring to the region or would affect the ongoing War on Terror or even its repercussions for the organization (Al Qaeda). The absence of discussion on these topics in the introduction of the coverage indicates that the TV channel either possibly underestimated his death or took the patriotic stand on the issue (which will be seen later in statements section) which distracted its coverage.

Now if we look at the coverage of PTV (Script), it again shows the same trend (as we saw in the case of Geo News and Duniya News) by showing much reliance on the response of the Pakistani public/ government to the issue as it stood more than one-third (35%) of the whole coverage. The TV channel also highlighted the reaction of the world to the issue in the introduction of its stories, as it made 16%. The TV channel also highlighted the detail about the Abbottabad Operation and the failure of the Armed/ Intelligence forces of Pakistan as it stood 11% each. Like the other private TV channels, the PTV (script) also didn't link the death of bin Laden to its impact on the region. It also shows that the TV channel was reluctant to highlight his death in the context of the 'future of War on Terror' and also the 'future of Al Qaeda'. It also shows the same trends, which have been discussed earlier, that even the official broadcaster of Pakistan was (possibly) not ready to accept the importance of his death in the context of War on Terror or (peace or conflict in) the region as a whole. Of course, when such topics (or themes) are not discussed in the introduction of the stories, then it leaves the content of the TV channels open to (possible) discussion and criticism that how helpful such coverage was to guide the viewers about the issue in much broader counterterrorism perspective.

PTV News (DVD) also highlighted the reaction of Pakistani government/ public to the issue as it made 42% of the overall coverage of topics (discussed in the introduction of the stories). It also highlighted the failure of the Armed/ Intelligence forces of Pakistan to trace bin Laden as it stood 15%. The TV channel also showed interest to highlight the tense Pak-US relations as it made 12%. It gave less coverage to the detail about the Abbottabad Operation, impact of bin Laden's death on the region, War on Terror or Al- Qaeda itself. As we know that most of the bulletins of PTV (DVD) were missing, it doesn't show the holistic picture of its coverage, but it

still shows that reaction from Pakistan was dominant in the coverage besides some level of criticism on the armed/ intelligence forces of Pakistan (which is indeed something unexpected in the context of PTV, but again the whole data would have ensured the complete picture of its coverage).

If we broadly look at the coverage of all these three networks, then the following conclusion can be derived from it:

- a) **Response of the Pakistani government/ public/ military** made 37% of the entire coverage of the topics in the different news items of all these three TV channels (including both PTV Script and PTV DVD).
- b) **Detail shared about the Abbottabad Operation** was almost one-fourth (24%) of the entire coverage, across these three TV channels.
- c) Discussion surrounding the **failure of Armed/ Intelligence forces of Pakistan to trace bin Laden** made only 7%.
- d) Highlighting the **impact of bin Laden's death on the War on Terror, on the region as a whole or even Al Qaeda** made 5% of the entire coverage of all the three TV channels of Pakistan (including both PTV Script and DVD).

It shows that almost all these three TV channels of Pakistan showed interest to start the story (of bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation) with the reaction of Pakistan to the issue or sharing detail about the operation. But comparatively they didn't highlight that much the failure of the armed forces of Pakistan in tracing bin Laden or even linking his death to the global counterterrorism narratives. It shows that

most of the discussion in the coverage revolved around Pakistan and U.S. (about their stand or the detail they shared), and (the future of) Al Qaeda or the counterterrorism efforts in the region or War on Terror remained out of frame. One of the possible reasons may be the ‘patriotic’ coverage – considering the Abbottabad Operation as the attack on the integrity/ sovereignty of Pakistan.

### **9.3. Additional topics discussed in the body of the Story**

After studying the topic discussed in the introduction of the news items, it is now important to look at the first three additional topics discussed in the rest of the body of the story (without introduction). Such findings will help us to understand as to which topics were more highlighted in the coverage and which topics less highlighted. It should be noted that all the topics are important as they all are connected to the issue of the death coverage of bin Laden.

It must be noted that initially the data was collected via coding sheet having the option of 166 different topics. The data was then entered into the SPSS and was later squeezed into the 14 different topics. The results can be seen in the table 9.3.1.

If we look at the coverage of Geo News, it is evident from the findings that the TV channel mostly focused on the reaction of Pakistani government/ public/ military to the issue as it made 24%, which is almost a quarter of the overall coverage. It also highlighted the detail about the Abbottabad Operation which made 14.5% of the coverage. The other highly discussed topic in the coverage was the reaction of US government/ public to the issue, which was 6% of the coverage. The topics which were least discussed in the coverage include the debate surrounding the failure of Pakistan’s military and intelligence agencies in tracing bin Laden, and the impact of

the death of bin Laden on the future of War on Terror which made 3% each. The Geo News also didn't give much coverage to the future/ response of Al Qaeda after bin Laden's killing. Almost the same trend was observed earlier as well in the topic discussed in the introduction of the stories. It shows that much of the coverage of Geo News revolved around sharing the detail about the Abbottabad Operation, and then sharing the Pakistani and American response to it as it made 44.5% of the overall coverage.

The least debated narratives in the coverage of Geo News include: debating the failure of armed/ intelligence agencies of Pakistan to trace bin Laden; and the impact of bin Laden's death on the War on Terror and even AL Qaeda itself. It shows that on the screen of Geo News (mostly) the story told was between US and Pakistan rather than the US and Pakistan vs bin Laden. The content of the coverage shows that Geo News indeed informed the Pakistani audience about the event itself and the reaction of both the government and public to it, but it didn't tell the viewers about the possible impact of such big event on the ongoing War on Terror or on the AL Qaeda itself. As the Prime Minister of Pakistan (at that time) Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani said on the floor of Assembly that Al Qaeda was responsible for the killing of thousands of innocent Pakistanis (Gillani 2011); so it would have been much better if the TV channel would have debated the issue on these lines as it would have further helped the audience to understand the issue (of bin Laden's death and its aftermath) in better way by having the knowledge of more threads attached to it.

The coverage of Duniya News was not that much different from Geo News as they too gave more coverage to the response of Pakistani government/ public/ military to the issue as it made 21.5% of the overall coverage. The detail about the Abbottabad Operation was also dominant in the coverage as it made 10%. Duniya News also

highlighted the American response to the operation as it made 4% of the entire coverage (of additional themes). On the other hand, the least debated topics in the coverage include the failure of the Pakistani armed/ intelligence forces to trace bin Laden, and the impact of bin Laden's death on both Al Qaeda and War on Terror.

It shows that the coverage of Duniya News also focused more on the detail about the event (Abbottabad Operation) and the responses to it from both sides – US and Pakistan. But the TV channel did not debate much the impact of this event on the ongoing War in which both the US and Pakistan are allies or even the impact of his death on the 'terrorist' organization – Al Qaeda itself. It is indeed important that one should inform the viewers about the event and the responses to it, but it is also the responsibility of the TV channels to guide them properly by interpreting the event from many dimensions. It also shows that even on the screen of Duniya News, the main story surrounded both Pakistan and US by either sharing the detail about the operation or sharing their responses; so again the Al Qaeda/ Taliban stayed out of the frame.

PTV News (script) also followed the same trend as developed by Geo News and Duniya as it also highlighted the response of Pakistani government/ public/ military to the issue more than any other topic as it made 17% of the overall coverage. The detail about the Abbottabad Operation stood only 7%; while the failure of the Armed forces / intelligence agency of Pakistan was 4%. It should be noted that the future of War on Terror after the death of bin Laden was also debated for 4%, and the future of Al Qaeda after the death of bin Laden was discussed for only 1.5%. It shows that most of the coverage of PTV News (Script) – like Geo News and Duniya News – also revolved around the information about the event and the local reaction to the event. It also shows that the TV channel didn't debate sufficiently the issue in

the line of counterterrorism – i.e. its impact on the ongoing War on Terror or on Al Qaeda itself. It also shows that even on the screen of PTV News (Script), the story revolved around Pakistan and US, and Al Qaeda mostly stayed out of the frame.

PTV News (DVD), in its coverage, also highlighted the topics covered by the private TV channels of Pakistan and PTV News (Script). The reaction of Pakistani government/ public/ military to the incident was 27% of its overall coverage; while the detail about the Abbottabad operation and the response of US government/ public to the issue was highlighted 7% each. On the other hand, the least debated topics in the coverage included the discussion about the failure of Armed/ Intelligence agencies of Pakistan which made only 4%; and also the future of Al Qaeda and the War on Terror after the incident as it made 2% each. The coverage of PTV News (DVD) also shows that much of the coverage revolved around the incident and the reaction to it from both US and Pakistan's side. It also shows that the story of bin Laden's death mostly revolved around Pakistan and the US; and the counterterrorism frame and even Al Qaeda itself mostly stayed out the coverage. As we have discussed earlier (in the methodology chapter) that PTV News is the only terrestrial TV channel of Pakistan and covers a wider area of Pakistan than any other TV channel, so highlighting the least debated topics would have guided the masses to understand the importance of the death of bin Laden in the context of ongoing War on Terror or even its impact on the Al Qaeda.

**Table 9.3.1 First three additional topics discussed in the body of the story**

Name of TV Channel															Total
	Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation.	Complete detail about bin Laden's life.	Pakistani government / people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation/ bin Laden's killing.	Reaction of World leaders/ Public to bin Laden's death.	American government/ people/ military response to the operation/ bin Laden's death.	Bin Laden's death and the future of the war on terror.	Bin Laden's death and the future/ response of Al-Qaeda.	Security Situation in different parts of the country after the operation.	Bin Laden's death and the failure of the Security/ Intelligence agencies of Pakistan.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the coming US elections.	Bin Laden's death is Important.	Impact of Bin Laden's death on the tense Pak-US relationship.	Any Other	No Topic Discussed	
<b>Geo News</b>	94 14.5%	14 2%	157 24%	3 0.5%	40 6%	21 3%	4 0.5%	6 1%	18 3%	2 0.3%	5 1%	5 1%	5 1%	274 42%	648 100%
<b>Dunya TV</b>	54 10%	9 1.5%	119 21.5%	6 1%	23 4%	16 3%	4 1%	11 2%	19 3%	0 0%	5 1%	4 1%	8 1%	274 50%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	14 7%	5 3%	33 17%	0 0%	4 2%	7 4%	3 1.5%	0 0%	8 4%	0 0%	3 1.5%	0 0%	2 1%	110 58%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	9 7%	2 2%	33 27%	2 2%	8 7%	2 2%	2 2%	0 0%	5 4%	0 0%	1 1%	1 1%	3 2%	52 43%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	171	30	342	11	75	46	13	17	50	2	14	10	18	710	1509

If we look broadly at the coverage, then the dominant themes discussed in the coverage of these (three) TV channels are the following.

- a) **Reaction of Pakistani government/ public/ military to the issue:** It was the highly debated topic in all the three TV channels and it made 23% of the entire coverage (of these three TV channels).
  
- b) **Detail about the Abbottabad Operation:** It was the second highest debated topic with 11% of the coverage of all the mentioned topics of the three TV channels.
  
- c) **Bin Laden's death and failure of Pakistan Army/ Intelligence Agencies:** This was also one of the most important themes, but it made only 3% of the entire mentioned topics in the coverage.
  
- d) **Bin Laden's death and the future of War on Terror & Bin Laden's death and response and the future of Al Qaeda:** The discussion surrounding these both topics jointly made 4% of the whole coverage.

The above findings show that overall most of the coverage of the Pakistani TV channels revolved around sharing the information about the Abbottabad Operation or the reaction of Pakistani government/military/ public to it as it made one-third (34%) of the whole coverage. On the other hand, they debated too little the failure of the armed/ intelligence forces of Pakistan as it made only 3%. It shows that these three TV channels of Pakistan did not bother about the discovery of bin Laden in

Abbottabad or the other questions attached to it (some of which have been discussed below). The little coverage to link the death of bin Laden to the War on Terror or the future of Al Qaeda also shows that the ‘counterterrorism frame’ was less visible in the coverage. It shows that apparently most of the story of bin Laden’s death displayed on the screens in Pakistan was between US and Pakistan and bin Laden, Al Qaeda or even the counterterrorism efforts of the ‘strategic partners’ were sidelined.

It is really difficult to dictate the media outlets to cover the event/ issue from any particular perspectives, but still if bin Laden’s death coverage would have included the following (investigative) lines, then it would have better helped the viewer to have a more holistic picture of the event. (Please note that this research study only focused on the news bulletins of these TV channels, so there is still possibility that they might have explored these lines in their Current Affairs programs).

- a) As it was reported earlier that before moving to Abbottabad, bin Laden also lived in Haripur so how the intelligence agencies/ army of the two ‘strategic partners’ were not aware of it?
- b) Suppose it was the official policy of Pakistan to give shelter to bin Laden, then why Pakistan is posing itself as the frontline state in the War on Terror and why the civilians and armed forces are laying down their lives in this war?
- c) What are the short-term and long-term impacts of bin Laden’s death on Pakistan and on the region as a whole?

- d) How Pakistan will recover from the blow of Abbottabad Operation or stigma of bin Laden's stay in Pakistan? What are the possible repercussions of it on Pakistan's social, cultural and political life?
- e) Is the Abbottabad Operation a result of the (possible) deal between Pakistan and US? If yes, then why Pakistan was deceived in mid?

#### **9.4. First three statements made about the Government of Pakistan**

In this research study, the first three statements made about the Pakistani government were collected in every news item of all the three TV channels of Pakistan. The basic purpose of collecting these statements was to understand that if Pakistani government was mentioned in the different news stories, then what was said? These statements have been issued by anyone like US officials, Pakistani officials, Europeans officials or even local people etc. It must also be noted that the statements made about the Pakistani government has been kept separate from the statements made about the Pakistan Army; the basic reason for distinguishing between these two was that there was apparently a contradiction in the stand of these two institutions which gave the general impression that the two were not on the same page.

It should also be noted that the statements made about the Pakistani government are different from the topics coded in the data (which has been discussed above). The basic aim of coding the topic(s) was to understand the nature of the coverage, but the aim of coding the statements is to better understand the coverage about Pakistani

government (when it was discussed in the news items). It must be also noted that discussion around any topic (or theme) by the TV channels varies; they may discuss it for short-time or they may discuss it for long-time. Perhaps, this is the reason that the discussion on any particular topic may last for only one (translated) paragraph but, on the other hand, one may find many relevant identified statements in it. So, if there is greater number of statements as compared to similar topic(s) discussed in the content of any TV coverage, then it should not be confused. It should be also noted that the statements made about the Pakistani government have been collected on the basis of randomly selected 61 statements (which can be seen in the coding sheet of the TV channel, and which has been provided in the appendix section of this thesis); which were later squeezed into the 7 statements, once the data was transferred into the SPSS.

These findings will help us understand the nature of the coverage up to some extent as well; the results can be seen in the Table 9.4.1

**Table 9.4.1 First three statements made about the Pakistan government**

Name of TV Channel								Total
	Bin Laden's death good for Pakistan as he also waged war against it.	Bin Laden's death and presence both not in favor of Pakistan.	Abbottabad Operation is violation of Pak's territory and it disturbed Pak-US relations.	The GOP should share their stand with people about bin Laden's death and US operation.	The GOP via Independent Commission should punish all those, who are responsible for the Operation/ Bin Laden's support.	Bin Laden's death is the result of the struggle made by the US/ Cooperation of Pakistan for intelligence sharing.	No Other Statement Made	
<b>Geo News</b>	7 1%	49 7.5%	50 8%	20 3%	23 3.5%	33 5%	466 72%	648 100%
<b>Duniya TV</b>	9 2%	35 6%	50 9%	19 3%	13 2%	35 6%	391 71%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	2 1%	10 5%	14 7%	4 2%	3 2%	23 12%	133 70%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	0 0%	5 4%	17 14%	4 3%	5 4%	16 13%	73 61%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	18	99	131	47	44	107	1063	1509

If we look at the coverage of Geo News, it shows that although not much was said in the line of 61 statements; but still if something was said then it was not operation friendly. It is evident from the 8% of the statements (in the whole coverage) calling the Abbottabad Operation as violation of the Pakistan's territory. It shows that patriotic lines were dominant in the coverage of Geo News. On the other hand, the 7.5% coverage of calling the bin Laden's death and presence both unfavorable for Pakistan means that the TV channel was aware that the event will not bring a good fortune for Pakistan. The other dominant narrative present in the coverage was the help of the Pakistani officials to the US (forces) in killing bin Laden which made 5% of the coverage, but it also shows that besides debating the issue in the 'patriotic' line, they were also claiming that it was not possible without them (Pakistan's help). We can also see the pressure building on the Pakistani government (from the different sources) to share their stand openly on the issue as we have discussed earlier (in the newspaper chapter) that there was a problem of visibility of Pakistani officials on the issue.

The above coverage of Geo News shows that bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation was not perceived as a blessing for the Pakistani government as they were more questioned over it rather than appreciated. The 22% of the coverage of statements apparently seems unfriendly to the Pakistani government rather than 6% of the friendly statements; so we can infer that although Geo News highlighted the Abbottabad Operation in a patriotic way (by mostly calling it the violation of Pakistan's territory), yet they were critical of the Pakistani government as well.

The coverage of Duniya News was not that much different from that of the Geo News as they too highlighted the patriotic line in their coverage, which is evident from the 9% of the statements calling the Abbottabad Operation “the violation of Pakistan’s territory”. The findings also show that there were voices in the coverage who criticized the bin Laden’s death and presence in Pakistan which is evident from the 6% of the statements. On the other hand, calling bin Laden’s death as good for Pakistan and even exploring the help of Pakistani government in tracing him jointly makes 8% of the whole coverage of statements. It should be also noted that the glimpses of the coverage showing the pressure mounting on Pakistani government for sharing their stand on the issue, or even to punish all those responsible for sheltering bin Laden or compromising the security of Pakistan can be also seen in the coverage as it makes 5% of the (joint) statements.

Again, it shows that the coverage of Duniya News was not much different from that of the Geo News as there was again more pressure on the Pakistani government or the voices against the Abbottabad Operation itself than appreciating the government for his death.

Most of the coverage of statements of PTV News (Script) about the Pakistani government revolves around the help of Pakistani government to the US in killing bin Laden as it made 12% of the entire coverage. The TV channel also highlighted that Abbottabad Operation was the violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty as it made 7% of the coverage. Pressure on the government for sharing their stand and to punish those responsible for the attack or sheltering bin Laden jointly made 4% of the coverage, but the statement calling bin Laden’s death good for Pakistan as well

made only 1%. It shows that most of the statements made in the coverage of PTV News (Script) are relatively government friendly as compared to the coverage of Geo News and Duniya News.

The coverage of statements carried out by the PTV News (DVD) about the Pakistani government was the mixture of two blends – calling the Abbottabad Operation as the violation of Pakistan’s territory (14%) and counting the Pakistan’s help to US in killing the bin Laden (12%). Besides 2% of the coverage of statements calling bin Laden’s death as good for Pakistan, 10% of the coverage of statements also showed pressure on the Pakistani government to punish all those who are responsible for it or even calling bin Laden’s death and presence that it is not in favor of Pakistan. It shows that there were patriotic lines in the coverage, but it also shows that most of the statements of PTV News (DVD) were also not relatively government friendly.

The coverage of the TV channels of Pakistan shows that except the PTV News (Script) all the remaining TV channels (including the PTV News (DVD) were relatively more critical of the Pakistani government.

#### **9.5. First three statements made about the Pakistan’s Army**

Pakistan’s Army was also one of the important stakeholders in the issue. They were directly connected to the issue due to US raid as well as due to the reaction from the people of Pakistan. On one hand, the US government and most of the international community were criticizing the (Pakistan’s Army and its Intelligence Agencies) for their negligence of the bin Laden’s stay for almost five years near the Kakool Training Academy – which is a stone’s throw away from the bin Laden’s compound.

On the other hand, their capabilities were challenged by the different sources in Pakistan for not countering the US raid inside the heart of the garrison city of Pakistan, which lasted for almost 40 minutes.

The statements made about the Pakistani military have been distinguished from the ones made about the Pakistani government (and this has already been explained earlier). So the data of first three statements made about the Pakistani military/ intelligence agency have been recorded in every news item. Again, it should be noted that this data of statements is basically based on the randomly selected 23 statements. Once the data was collected and was entered into the SPSS, then it was squeezed into the 5 major statements. Please note that the data collected via the statements from the news items are different from the theme(s) discussed and this has been elaborated in detail earlier (in the first three statements made about the Pakistani government).

The basic aim of collecting this data is to know that if the statements were particularly made about the Pakistan's army/ intelligence agencies, then what was more often said about them. Please note that these statements have been made by anyone like Pakistani sources, US sources, rest of the world sources etc. The results can be seen in the table 9.5.1

**Table 9.5.1 First three statements made about the Pakistan’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies**

Name of TV Channel	Pak’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies failed to locate bin Laden/ defend the Pak from US attack, it must be investigated.	Relations between the Intelligence Agencies of both the countries will remain tense after the operation.	Pakistan’s Intelligence Agencies are in regular contact with the US Intelligence agencies and sharing information.	Bin Laden’s Compound/ Kakool road has been cordoned off by the Pakistan Security agencies.	No statement made.	Total
<b>Geo News</b>	62 9.5%	6 1%	4 1%	15 2%	561 86.5%	648 100%
<b>Duniya TV</b>	37 6%	2 0.3%	6 1%	5 1%	502 91%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	10 5%	2 1%	9 5%	0 0%	168 89%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	10 8%	1 1%	6 5%	0 0%	103 86%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	119	11	25	20	1334	503

As we saw earlier in the topic(s) discussed in the introduction and rest of the body of the story that although much of the coverage didn’t revolve around the failure of Pakistan’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies, and this can be also confirmed from the data of “No Statements” category. But here the data also shows that despite little coverage to them, they were relatively criticized more (than one would have expected) once they came under the discussion in the coverage. The data shows that Geo News was more critical of the Pakistan’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies; followed by the PTV News (DVD), Duniya News and PTV News (Script).

If we further re-categorize the statement “Pak’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies failed to locate bin Laden/ defend Pakistan from US attack, it must be investigated” into some major components, then the following results come in front of us, which can be seen in the table 9.5.2, below.

**Table 9.5.2 Re-categorization of the statement about Pakistan’s Army**

<b>Name of a TV Channel</b>	<b>The Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in locating bin Laden.</b>	<b>The Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in defending the country from US Aggression.</b>	<b>Bin Laden’s compound was very near to Kakool Training Academy so how our Intelligence Agencies were not aware of it?</b>	<b>How Intelligence Agencies didn’t know who was living with them in the surrounding near Kakool?</b>	<b>Investigations will be carried out in Pakistan that why Intelligence agencies were unable to capture him?</b>	<b>Pakistan’s Air force has established a special committee to investigate the violation of Pakistan’s territory.</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	12	12	4	10	3	8
<b>Duniya News</b>	2	2	4	6	3	14
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	0	0	0	3	1	4
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	1	0	0	1	0	4

The Table 9.5.2 shows that Geo News was critical of the Pakistan’s Army/ Intelligence agencies, followed by Duniya News, PTV News (Script) and PTV News (DVD).

If we compare the data of the Tables 9.4.1 and 9.5.1 (statements about the Pakistani government and its Army), then it shows that apparently there were more statements

criticizing the Pakistani government in the coverage than Pakistan's Army or its Intelligence agencies. The data of the statements of all the three TV channels support this.

#### **9.6. First three statements made about the US government/ Army**

US government and Army were directly related to the issue of bin Laden's killing/ Abbottabad Operation or the post-operation scenario. It was the US government, who decided to go for the operation in Pakistan, and killed the most wanted man in the world (whom they chased for almost a decade). It was also the US who was having more control over the information related to the bin Laden's death and even the operation. It must be also noted that it was also US who suffered more due to the terror strategy of bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Therefore, it is important to look at the first three statements made about the US government/ military to know as to what was said about them in the coverage when they were addressed.

It should be noted that no difference has been made between the statements made about the US government and its Army as they were standing on the same page and complete harmony was observed between them throughout the coverage. Again the statements made about the US government/ military should not be mixed with the topic(s) discussed in the introduction and the body of the story (and this has been explained in the section 9.4 of this chapter).

It should be noted that the first three statements made about the US government/ army were collected on the basis of 42 randomly selected statements about the US government/ military which were later squeezed into 9 statements. Please note that

these statements have been made by anyone in the coverage including US sources, Pakistani sources etc. The results can be seen in the table 9.6.1

**Table 9.6.1 First three statements made about the US Government/ Army**

Name of TV Channel	Bin Laden's death great achievement of US and big relief for the relatives of the victims of 9/11.	Bin Laden's death is the result of hard struggle made by the US, its intelligence agencies and navy SEALS.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the future of war on terror.	Abbottabad Operation is according to the declared US policy and UN resolution.	USA is a tyrant power and its war is against Islam and Pakistan.	USA is investigating that was Pak government aware of bin Laden's presence and those who supported him in Abbottabad.	Abbottabad Operation is threat to the world's peace.	US government should provide proof of bin Laden's death.	No statement made	Total
										Total
<b>Geo News</b>	18 3%	36 5.5%	7 1%	8 1%	10 1.5%	7 1%	2 0.3%	5 0.7%	555 86%	648 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	7 1%	6 1%	7 1%	3 0.5%	0 0%	5 1%	1 0.1%	0 0%	523 95%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	4 2%	3 1.5%	1 0.5%	3 1.5%	0 0%	1 0.5%	1 0.5%	0 0%	176 93%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	1 1%	5 4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	2 1%	0 0%	111 92%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	30	50	15	14	10	14	6	5	1365	1509

The above findings show that Geo News was relatively more friendly to the US than the other TV channels of Pakistan in their statements (it is also true that the other TV channels also didn't discuss much the US government/ military in their coverage).

As we saw earlier that Geo News, in its coverage, criticized the Abbottabad Operation more than any other TV channels by calling it the “violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty”, but here they too shared the US version of the story – besides venting some level of criticism on them.

Although Duniya News did not say much about the US government/ Army, yet whatever was said was US friendly. It shows that US version of the story (or their justification) for carrying out the attack or killing bin Laden was not completely missing in the coverage of Pakistani TV channels. It was earlier observed that all the Pakistani TV channels utilized the US sources in their coverage and one can expect that besides sharing the detail about the Abbottabad Operation or bin Laden’s killing they should have also shared their justification of their action and which is visible (up to some extent) here.

Although, not much has been said about the US government/ Army in the coverage of PTV News (script and DVD), but still the impression is there that it was US friendly rather than much critical (though that the data is too small to claim this).

## **9.7. Rhetoric used for bin Laden**

Osama bin Laden was the most wanted man in the history of the world, whose chase lasted for more than a decade. There is no doubt that he was criticized by many for his anti-modernist views and terror activities, but he was also respected and loved by many for his anti-US stand and radical ideology across the world. It will be now important to look that after his killing in Pakistan, how the Pakistani TV channels addressed him in their coverage. In this research study, data has been collected of first three prefix/ suffix used for bin Laden in every news item. This will help us understand, up to some extent, the tone of the language used for bin Laden. It should be noted that no data has been collapsed in this section; all the data was collected on the basis of nine categories already mentioned in the table 9.7.1.

The findings of the first three adjectives/ phrases used for bin Laden can be seen in the table 9.7.1

If we look at the data, then it shows that bin Laden was mostly mentioned by his name by almost all the three TV channels of Pakistan. The other dominant phrase used to address him was the 'Head of Al Qaeda'; followed by the 'most wanted man in the world'. It should be noted that the adjective 'terrorist' was used only 12 times in the whole coverage. It shows that the TV channels of Pakistan reacted responsibly to his death, and avoided the catharsis and also the possible bias by avoiding the use of 'loaded' adjectives for bin Laden.

**Table 9.7.1 First three adjectives/ phrases used for bin Laden**

Name of TV Channel										Total
	Terrorist	Head of Al-Qaeda	Mastermind of 9/11	Most-Wanted man to US in 9/11	Head of terrorist organization	Most-Wanted man in the World	Mentioned just by Name	Any Other	No One	
<b>Geo News</b>	4 1%	23 3.5%	4 1%	1 0.1%	0 0%	16 2%	435 67%	1 0.1%	162 25%	648 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	4 1%	14 2%	0 0%	5 1%	0 0%	6 1%	353 64%	10 2%	158 29%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	2 1%	10 5%	1 0.5%	0 0%	2 1%	0 0%	101 53%	6 3%	66 35%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	2 2%	4 3%	1 1%	0 0%	1 1%	0 0%	69 57.5%	2 2%	39 32.5%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	12	51	6	6	3	22	958	19	425	1509

## **9.8. Rhetoric used for the Abbottabad Operation**

Abbottabad Operation remained controversial in the history of Pakistan as instead of bringing together the strategic partners it divided them. On one hand, the Pakistan government condemned the operation (after initially appreciating it) but, on the other hand, it provided an opportunity to the US government to claim a great success in the ongoing War on Terror. It generated a debate in Pakistan that this operation shouldn't be taken as a precedent, but the US insisted that they would go for the target again if there was enough supporting evidence. Instead of diminishing the gaps, it created more misunderstandings between the two strategic partners. Perhaps this was the reason that we saw two different stories of the coverage in the media outlets of these two countries. Pakistani TV channels were busy in showing the protests and strong reaction to the Abbottabad Operation, who were calling it attack on Pakistan's sovereignty and integrity but, on the other hand, Western media (especially US) was celebrating it in the way as 'evil' is no more.

In such contrast coverage, it is now important to see how the 'Abbottabad Operation' was addressed in the coverage – by the three TV channels of Pakistan – by looking at the usage of different selected words or phrases for it. The results can be seen in the Table 9.8.1

If we look at the coverage, we know that although not much was said about it, but still if something was there in the coverage it was patriotic. It can be seen from the coverage of Pakistani TV channels who called the Abbottabad Operation the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, attack on Pakistan's integrity and attack on

Pakistani soil. It too shows that Abbottabad Operation was not taken 'friendly' by the Pakistani media outlets.

**Table 9.8.1 Words/ phrases used for Abbottabad Operation**

Name of TV Channel												Total
	Attack on Pakistani soil	Attack on Pakistan's integrity	More serious issue than drone	According to US policy	Violation of Sovereignty	Threat to world peace Secret US Operation	Secret US Operation	Shame for Pakistan	Tragedy	Osama Operation	No Adjective added	
<b>Geo News</b>	1 0.1%	6 1%	1 0.1%	1 0.1%	12 2%	1 0.1%	5 1%	1 0.1%	2 0.3%	6 1%	612 94%	648 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	10 2%	16 3%	0 0%	1 0.1%	16 3%	0 0%	1 0.1%	1 0.1%	3 0.5%	2 0.3%	502 91%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	0 0%	4 2%	0 0%	1 0.5%	2 1%	1 0.5%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	181 96%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	0 0%	6 5%	0 0%	0 0%	5 4%	1 1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	108 90%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	11	32	1	3	35	3	6	2	5	8	1403	1509

In summary, this chapter initially tells us about the topic discussed in the introduction of the stories and concludes that much of the coverage revolved around the detail about the Abbottabad Operation and the reaction of Pakistani and US governments to it. The same trend of the coverage was also witnessed in the first three additional topics discussed in the rest of the body of the story (without introduction). It shows that all the three TV channels of Pakistan did not sufficiently debate the killing of bin Laden and its impact on the region, War on Terror or on the Al Qaeda itself. It gave the impression that most of the coverage of the event revolved around the Pakistan and US; and Al Qaeda stayed out of the frame. It shows that the event was not covered from the counterterrorism perspective but in a patriotic line. After looking at the first three statements made about the Pakistani government and military, it showed that Pakistani government and Pakistani military/ intelligence agencies were criticized in the coverage. It was also discovered that Geo News criticized the Pakistani military more than any other TV channel of Pakistan. The findings of the first three statements made about the US government and military also showed that 'US version' of the story was not completely missing in the coverage of Pakistani TV channels as it was highlighted. After looking at the rhetoric used for bin Laden, it was found out that the TV channels of Pakistan acted tactfully by addressing bin Laden only by his name or by calling him 'head of Al Qaeda'. The first three prefix/ suffix used for Abbottabad Operation were also studied, and it was noticed that the TV channels of Pakistan addressed it in the patriotic line.

# **CHAPTER 10: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAKISTANI TV CHANNELS AND NEWSPAPER**

## **10.1. Introduction**

The data collected from the newspapers and TV Channels have been analyzed in detail in chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 of this thesis. This chapter will focus on the comparative analysis of the data collected from the Pakistani media outlets selected in the study – the Dawn and three TV channels of Pakistan. The basic purpose of doing this is to understand the similarities and differences in the coverage of print and electronic media in Pakistan. The only media outlet selected from the list of print media of Pakistan is the Dawn; and the electronic media outlets selected are: the Geo News, the Duniya News and PTV News. Please note that the data collected from these TV channels and the selected newspaper (Dawn) have already been explored separately in the respective newspaper and TV data analysis chapters of this thesis. This chapter is for comparison of the already collected and examined data, of the print and electronic media of Pakistan to better understand their coverage. Instead of producing a lot of tables, only few selected lines will be focused in this chapter. The aim is to understand and explore the similarities and differences of coverage to the same event.

The few selected lines which have been studied in this chapter include: the strength of coverage given by the Pakistani media outlets to the issue; utilization of sources to tell the story of bin Laden's death; exploring the nature of coverage given to the issue; determining the criticism of the Pakistani government and Pakistani army; and

also to assess the appreciation of the US in the coverage. All the research questions raised and answered in this chapter are linked to the key research question:

**“How the Dawn and the three TV Channels of Pakistan covered the death of Osama bin Laden?”**

It should be noted that this main research question is supplemented with some additional research questions in order to have better understanding of the comparative coverage. The additional research questions are:

RQ 1: What is the strength of the coverage given to the issue by Pakistani media outlets?

RQ 2: Who are the overall sources mentioned in the every news item?

RQ 3: What are the topics discussed in the introductions or the body of the story?

RQ 4: Whether Pakistani government was criticized more in the coverage or its army (based on the first three statements made about them).

RQ 5: Was US appreciated or criticized in the coverage?

**10.2. Strength of coverage of Pakistani media outlets**

The death of Osama bin Laden stood a big news story for the Pakistani media outlets. The results can be seen in the table 10.2.1

**Table 10.2.1 Number of stories published/ on-aired**

<b>Newspaper/ TV channel</b>	<b>No of Stories Published/ on-aired</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	191	27.5%
<b>Geo News</b>	216	31%
<b>Duniya News</b>	184	26.5%
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	63	9%
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	40	6%
<b>Total</b>	694	100%

The Table 10.2.1 shows that the Geo News gave more coverage to the event; followed by the Dawn, the Duniya News, PTV News (script) and PTV News (DVD) respectively. Despite of much coverage to the event by some of the Pakistani media outlets, it should be also noted that there were some ‘shortcomings’ in the data as well – especially in PTV News (DVD) and PTV News (Script) – which has been discussed in detail in the methodology chapter and even the TV chapter of this thesis.

### **10.3. Overall Sources mentioned in the story**

Source mentioned in the introduction of the news item or in the body of the story will show the reliance of Pakistani media outlets on the different sources for their coverage. In this section, the overall sources mentioned in the introduction and rest of the body of the story will be combined together in one table to have a broader view of the results. In order to avoid repetition, the way the introduction or the body

of the story coded here has not been explained (as it has been explained in detail in the previous chapters).

The results can be seen in Table 10.3.1 below.

If we look at the findings in the Table 10.3.1, it shows that both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan utilized the Pakistani sources relatively more than the US sources. The following inferences can be made from the findings:

- a) The Dawn – print media of Pakistan – utilized both the US and Pakistani sources more than the electronic media of Pakistan – including both the official broadcaster and private TV channels. It also shows that the Dawn, in its coverage, utilized the local and international sources more than the electronic media outlets of Pakistan.
- b) It also shows that ‘Western’ sources were also cited more in the coverage of the Dawn.
- c) It also shows that Al Qaeda/ Taliban were mentioned more in the coverage of the Dawn than any other electronic media outlets of Pakistan. The less number of citations of these sources, in both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan, also indicates that most of the story of bin Laden’s death revolved around the Pakistan and US; and Al Qaeda/ Taliban remained out of the frame.

**Table 10.3.1 Overall sources mentioned in the body of the story**

Name of TV Channel									Total
	US Sources	Pakistani Sources	Western Sources	Rest of the World sources	Al-Qaeda/Taliban Sources	TV Channel/ Newspaper Sources	Any other	No Source Mentioned	
<b>Dawn</b>	137 18%	192 25%	15 2%	32 4%	13 2%	22 3%	5 0.5%	348 45.5%	764 100%
<b>Geo News</b>	103 12%	110 13%	7 1%	21 2%	5 0.5%	68 8%	5 0.5%	545 63%	864 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	103 14%	128 17%	9 1%	10 1%	5 1%	63 9%	4 1%	414 56%	736 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	29 11.50%	34 13%	2 1%	14 5.5%	0 0%	7 3%	5 2%	161 64%	252 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	18 12%	33 22%	2 1%	4 3%	1 1%	9 6%	6 4%	77 51%	150 100%
<b>Total</b>	390	497	35	81	24	169	25	1545	1545

Now it is important to extract the US officials and Pakistani officials from the concerned US and Pakistani sources in order to understand who were dominant in the coverage. The results can be seen below in the table 10.3.2.

- a) The findings below show that the Dawn utilized both the Pakistani and US officials more than the electronic media outlets of Pakistan. It shows that the Dawn utilized more local sources, but they were also reliant on the US sources to tell the story. It should also be noted that all the three Pakistani media outlets showed more reliance on the US officials than Pakistani officials.
- b) The US government officials were mentioned more than the Pakistani government officials in the Dawn, Duniya News, Geo News and PTV News (Script). But the PTV News (DVD) cited more Pakistani government officials than the US officials. It shows that dominance of the US government officials were on both the print and electronic media of Pakistan. It also shows their control over the information regarding bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation – besides showing the less appearance of Pakistani government officials on the issue.
- c) Dawn, Duniya News and PTV News (DVD) cited more Armed/ Security officials of Pakistan than the Armed/ Security officials of the US; while on other hand, Geo News and PTV News (Script) utilized more Armed/ Security officials of the US than Pakistan.

d) Dawn and Duniya News gave more coverage to the Pakistani parliamentarians than the US politicians in their coverage; While Geo News, on the other hand, mentioned more US politicians than Pakistani parliamentarians. PTV News (Script and DVD) did not cite either the US politicians or Pakistani parliamentarians. Overall, the Pakistani parliamentarians were covered more in the Dawn than any other media outlet.

**Table 10.3.2      Regrouping of Pakistani/ US Official Sources**

<b>TV Channel/ Newspaper</b>	<b>Pakistani Government Officials</b>	<b>Police/ Army/ Security Officials of Pakistan</b>	<b>Pakistani Parliamentarians</b>	<b>US Government Officials</b>	<b>Armed/ Security Officials of US</b>	<b>US Politicians</b>
<b>Geo News</b>	33	13	4	40	15	10
<b>Duniya News</b>	48	12	5	63	5	1
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	31	0	0	21	2	0
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	23	4	0	13	2	0
<b>Dawn</b>	35	28	36	82	9	17

From the above findings and discussion, we have come to the conclusion that the US government officials dominated the coverage both in print media and private TV channels of Pakistan; while the official broadcaster – PTV News (Script and DVD) – relied more on the Pakistani officials. It also shows that the Dawn mentioned more security officials of Pakistan than the combined figure of both the private TV channels of Pakistan. The findings also show that the Dawn cited Pakistani

parliamentarians more than all the TV channels citations combined. It shows that though the Dawn showed reliance on the US sources for its coverage, but they also utilized more local government sources than the electronic media outlets of Pakistan.

#### **10.4. Topic discussed in the ‘Intro’ of the news Item**

The topics or themes discussed in the introduction of news items will help us understand the nature of the coverage. It will show us which particular aspects of the coverage were more highlighted in the coverage and which were less highlighted in the coverage. As this data has already been discussed in detail in the newspaper and TV channel data analysis chapters, this section will show the broad comparative picture of the coverage carried out by both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan. It should be noted that the way the introduction of the news items have been coded in different lines has already been discussed in the relevant sections of the newspaper and TV channels data analysis chapters. Again, it must be noted that all the topics are important. The results can be seen in Table 10.4.1

**Table 10.4.1 Topic discussed in the introduction of the news item**

Name of TV Channel/ Newspaper	Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation.	Pakistani government / people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation.	American government / people/ officials response to the operation/ bin Laden's death.	Security Situation in different parts of the Pakistan after the operation .	Complete detail about bin Laden's life.	Reaction of World to bin Laden's death.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the region.	Bin Laden's death and the future of the war on terror.	Bin Laden's death and the future of Al-Qaeda.	Bin Laden's death and the failure of the Armed Forces of Pakistan.	Bin Laden's death and the tense Pak-US relations.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the coming US elections.	Any other	Total
<b>Dawn</b>	47 25%	62 32%	6 3%	5 3%	6 3%	22 11.5%	8 4%	4 2%	6 3%	11 6%	12 6%	1 0.5%	1 0.5%	191 100%
<b>Geo News</b>	71 33%	73 34%	9 4%	3 1%	7 3%	15 7%	0 0%	4 2%	0 0%	14 6%	13 6%	2 1%	5 2%	216 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	41 22%	75 41%	7 4%	9 5%	4 2%	4 2%	0 0%	8 4%	4 2%	9 5%	15 8%	0 0%	8 4%	184 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	7 11%	22 35%	4 6%	1 1.5%	2 3%	10 16%	0 0%	3 5%	1 1.5%	7 11%	4 6%	0 0%	2 3%	63 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	2 5%	17 42.5%	1 2.5%	0 0%	0 0%	2 5%	1 2.5%	2 5%	1 2.5%	6 15%	5 12.5%	0 0%	3 7.5%	40 100%
<b>Total</b>	168	249	27	18	19	53	9	21	12	47	49	3	19	694

The data above shows that almost all the TV channels of Pakistan and the Dawn (print media of Pakistan) highlighted the detail about the Abbottabad Operation and Pakistan's reaction to the event more than any other topic or theme in the introduction of their news items. The following inferences can be derived from it.

- a) Geo News, in the introduction of its news items, shared details about the Abbottabad Operation more than any other media outlet of Pakistan.
- b) Pakistani government/ military/ people reaction to the event was recorded more in the PTV News (DVD), percentage wise; but if we look at it quantitatively – based on the number of statements – then it was highlighted more in the Duniya News than any other media outlet of Pakistan.
- c) The findings show that there was some level of concern about the Pak-US relations after the operation in almost all the media outlets of Pakistan.
- d) The findings show that both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan mostly avoided to start the story with the counterterrorism perspective (or frame) by highlighting the impact of bin Laden's death on the region, Al Qaeda or the ongoing War on Terror. It shows that almost all the media outlets of Pakistan mostly covered the event from the 'reactionary' perspective. It means that initially they shared information about the Abbottabad Operation, but then they focused the reaction of Pakistan, US and the rest of the world to it. The data shows that although the event

(killing of bin Laden) was counterterrorism based, it was not discussed in that line (at least in the introduction of the news items).

### **10.5. Additional topics discussed in the body of the Story**

The data of the first three additional topics discussed in the body of the story (excluding introduction) has already been discussed in the respective newspaper and TV channel chapters. Here, the data has been combined to understand the nature of the coverage given by the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan better by comparison. The way the data has been coded is already explained in the previous chapters. Again almost all the topics are important, but we will observe what was discussed more and what was discussed less.

The results can be seen in the table 10.5.1.

If we look at the data, the following conclusions can be made from it:

- a) Much of the coverage of both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan revolved around sharing the detail about the operation and the reaction of Pakistan, US and the rest of the world to it. As it has already been observed in the introduction of the stories that these topics were highlighted more than discussing the repercussions of bin Laden's death on the Al Qaeda, region and the War on Terror; so, it shows that the same pattern continued in the body of the story as well. It also shows that neither the print nor the electronic media outlets of Pakistan dominantly covered the event from the perspective of 'counterterrorism'. The findings also show

that even the death of bin Laden itself was not considered important at all as it was least discussed in the coverage. It should be noted that Pakistan plays a vital role in the geostrategic politics of the region (this has been discussed in detail in the chapter “Pakistan and geostrategic politics”) besides its role in the ongoing War on Terror as a front state ally; so one would have expected more connection of his death in this regard.

- b) The data also shows that the Geo News highlighted the reaction of Pakistani government/ public and military more than any other media outlet of Pakistan, if we look at the number of statements rather than to the percentage. The reason for this is the missing bulletins of PTV News (script and DVD).
- c) Geo News also shared more US response to the event than any other media outlets of Pakistan.
- d) The Dawn was more critical of the intelligence/ security forces of Pakistan in the coverage than the electronic media outlets of Pakistan.
- e) The tense Pak-US relations emerging after Abbottabad Operation were also highlighted slightly more in the Dawn than the rest of the media outlets of Pakistan.

**Table 10.5.1 First three additional topics discussed in the body of the story**

Name of TV Channel															Total
	Complete detail about the Abbottabad Operation.	Complete detail about bin Laden's life.	Pakistani government/ people/ politicians/ military/ media response to the operation/ bin Laden's killing.	Reaction of World leaders/ Public to bin Laden's death.	American government/ people/ military response to the operation/ bin Laden's death.	Bin Laden's death and the future of the war on terror.	Bin Laden's death and the future/ response of Al-Qaeda.	Security Situation in different parts of the country after the operation.	Bin Laden's death and the failure of the Security/ Intelligence agencies of Pakistan.	Impact of bin Laden's death on the coming US elections.	Bin Laden's death is Important.	Impact of Bin Laden's death on the tense Pak-US relations.	Any Other	No One	
<b>Dawn</b>	73 13%	13 2%	105 18%	14 2%	29 5%	7 1%	19 3%	5 1%	56 10%	2 0.3%	4 1%	9 1.5%	5 1%	230 40%	573 100%
<b>Geo News</b>	94 14.5%	14 2%	157 24%	3 0.5%	40 6%	21 3%	4 0.5%	6 1%	18 3%	2 0.3%	5 1%	5 1%	5 1%	274 42%	648 100%
<b>Duniya TV</b>	54 10%	9 1.5%	119 21.5%	6 1%	23 4%	16 3%	4 1%	11 2%	19 3%	0 0%	5 1%	4 1%	8 1%	274 50%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	14 7%	5 3%	33 17%	0 0%	4 2%	7 4%	3 1.5%	0 0%	8 4%	0 0%	3 1.5%	0 0%	2 1%	110 58%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	9 7%	2 2%	33 27%	2 2%	8 7%	2 2%	2 2%	0 0%	5 4%	0 0%	1 1%	1 1%	3 2%	52 43%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	244	43	447	25	104	53	32	22	106	4	18	19	23	940	2082

The above findings show that much of the coverage of the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan revolved around sharing the detail about the killing of bin Laden/ Abbottabad Operation and the reaction of the US, Pakistan and rest of the world to it. It also shows that the event was not covered from the counterterrorism perspective as much as it was needed, as one would have expected from the front state ally who also suffered a lot in the War on Terror. It also shows that both the US and Pakistani reaction to the event was covered more in the Geo News.

#### **10.6. First three statements made about the Pakistani Government**

The first three statements made about the Pakistani government have already been discussed in detail in the respective newspaper and TV channels' chapters along with the criteria of coding, and differentiating them from the topic(s) discussed in the introduction or the body of the story. In order to avoid repetition, these details will not be shared.

The purpose of this section is to compare the statements made about the Pakistani government by both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan. It will show us that if the Pakistani government was discussed in the coverage, what was more often said about it. It is important to mention that the data of both the newspaper and TV channels have been collected on the basis of randomly selected 61 statements. The results can be seen in Table 10.6.1 below.

**Table  
10.6.1**

Name of TV Channel/ Newspaper	First three statements made about the Pakistani government							Total
	Bin Laden's death good for Pakistan as he also waged war against it.	Bin Laden's death and presence both not in favor of Pakistan.	Abbottabad Operation is violation of Pak's territory and it disturbed Pak-US relations.	The GOP should share their stand with people about bin Laden's death and US operation.	The GOP via Independent Commission should punish all those, who are responsible for the Operation/ Bin Laden's support.	Bin Laden's death is the result of the struggle made by the US/ Cooperation of Pakistan for intelligence sharing.	No Other Statement Made	
<b>Dawn</b>	7 1%	34 6%	54 9%	23 4%	23 4%	29 5%	403 70%	573 100%
<b>Geo News</b>	7 1%	49 7.5%	50 8%	20 3%	23 3.5%	33 5%	466 72%	648 100%
<b>Duniya TV</b>	9 2%	35 6%	50 9%	19 3%	13 2%	35 6%	391 71%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	2 1%	10 5%	14 7%	4 2%	3 2%	23 12%	133 70%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	0 0%	5 4%	17 14%	4 3%	5 4%	16 13%	73 61%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	25	133	185	70	67	136	1466	2082

The findings above, Table 10.6.1, show that almost all the media outlets of Pakistan mentioned Pakistani government relatively in the same way, but still, the following inferences can be derived from it:

- a) The patriotic line – calling the Abbottabad Operation as a violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty – was dominant in both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan.
- b) Geo News was more critical of the Pakistani government than the other media outlets of Pakistan. The decision has been based on combining three statements about the Pakistani government in all the data of all the media outlets, which includes the following: Bin Laden’s death and presence not in favor of Pakistan; the government should share their stand clearly with the people about bin Laden’s death and the US operation; and the Pakistani government via Independent Commission should punish all those, who are responsible for the Operation/ Bin Laden's support.
- c) Both the print and electronic media of Pakistan termed bin Laden’s presence and killing in Abbottabad not good for Pakistan rather than calling it good (or blessing for Pakistan).

### **10.7. First three statements made about the Pakistan’s Army**

The first three statements made about the Pakistani military or its intelligence agencies have already been discussed in the respective newspaper and TV chapters

along with the criteria of selecting them or differentiating between the statements made about Pakistan’s government and military. Here, in this section, a broad comparative analysis of both the print and electronic media of Pakistan will be presented. Please note that the data from both the print and electronic media has been collected on the basis of randomly selected 23 statements. The results can be seen in Table 10.7.1.

**Table 10.7.1 First three Statements about Pakistan Army**

TV Channel/ Newspaper						Total
	Pak’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies failed to locate bin Laden/ defend the Pak from US attack, it must be investigated.	Relations between the Intelligence Agencies of both the countries will remain tense after the operation.	Pakistan’s Intelligence Agencies are in regular contact with the US Intelligence agencies and sharing information.	Bin Laden’s Compound/ Kakool road has been cordoned off by the Pakistan Security agencies.	No statement made.	
<b>Dawn</b>	77 13%	1 0.1%	13 2%	2 0.3%	478 83%	573 100%
<b>Geo News</b>	62 9.5%	6 1%	4 1%	15 2%	561 86.5%	648 100%
<b>Duniya TV</b>	37 6%	2 0.3%	6 1%	5 1%	502 91%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	10 5%	2 1%	9 5%	0 0%	168 89%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	10 8%	1 1%	6 5%	0 0%	103 86%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	196	12	38	22	1812	2082

The data above shows that the Dawn was more critical of the Security/ Intelligence officials of Pakistan than the electronic media outlets of Pakistan (the same was observed earlier in the topics coded).

If we further re-categorize the statement “Pak’s Army/ Intelligence Agencies failed to locate bin Laden/ defend Pakistan from the US attack, it must be investigated” into some major components, the following results can be seen in the table 10.7.2, below.

**Table 10.7.2 Re-categorization of the critical statement about the Pakistan’s Intelligence Agencies**

<b>Name of a TV Channel/ Newspaper</b>	<b>The Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in locating bin Laden.</b>	<b>The Intelligence Agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in defending the country from US Aggression .</b>	<b>Bin Laden’s compound was very near to Kakool Training Academy so how our Intelligence Agencies were not aware of it?</b>	<b>How Intelligence Agencies didn’t know who was living with them in the surrounding near Kakool?</b>	<b>Investigations will be carried out in Pakistan that why Intelligence agencies were unable to capture him?</b>	<b>Pakistan’s Air force has established a special committee to investigate the violation of Pakistan’s territory.</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	14	13	3	26	11	2
<b>Geo News</b>	12	12	4	10	3	8
<b>Duniya News</b>	2	2	4	6	3	14
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	0	0	0	3	1	4
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	1	0	0	1	0	4

Again, the findings displayed in Table 10.7.1 and 10.7.2 show that the Dawn was more critical of the Intelligence agencies of Pakistan than the electronic media outlets of Pakistan which have been studied in this chapter. Among the electronic media outlets, the Geo News was more critical (which has already been discussed in the TV chapter).

If we compare the two tables, 10.6.1 and 10.7.1, to know whether the Pakistani government has been criticized more in the coverage or Pakistan's army, then it is evident from the findings that both the print and electronic media of Pakistan criticized Pakistan's government more than the Pakistani military/ intelligence agencies. The findings also show that the Dawn tried to keep balance between criticizing the Pakistani government and Pakistani Army. The results can be seen in the Table 10.7.3, below.

**Table 10.7.3 Criticism on Pakistani government and Pakistani Army**

<b>Newspaper/ TV channel</b>	<b>Number of Statements criticizing Pakistani government</b>	<b>Number of statements criticizing Pakistani Army</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	80	77
<b>Geo News</b>	92	62
<b>Duniya News</b>	67	37
<b>PTV News (Script)</b>	17	10
<b>PTV News (DVD)</b>	14	10

### **10.8. First three statements made about the US government/ Army**

The data of the first three statements made about the US government/ military has already been discussed in detail in the newspaper and TV chapters of this thesis. In order to avoid repetition, the criteria for selecting these statements and not differentiating between the US government and military will not be discussed here. In this section, a very broad comparative analysis of the coverage carried out by both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan will be discussed. Please note that the data about the first three statements made about the US government/ Army, in both the print and electronic media of Pakistan, has been collected on the basis of randomly selected 42 statements. The results can be seen in Table 10.8.1.

**Table 10.8.1 First three statements made about the US Government/ Army**

<b>Name of TV Channel/ Newspaper</b>	<b>Bin Laden's death great achievement of US and big relief for the relatives of the victims of 9/11.</b>	<b>Bin Laden's death is the result of hard struggle made by the US, its intelligence agencies and navy SEALS.</b>	<b>Impact of bin Laden's death on the future of war on terror.</b>	<b>Abbottabad Operation is according to the declared US policy and UN resolution.</b>	<b>USA is a tyrant power and its war is against Islam and Pakistan.</b>	<b>USA is investigating that was the Pak government aware of Bin Laden's presence and those who supported him in Abbottabad.</b>	<b>Abbottabad Operation is threat to the world's peace.</b>	<b>US government should provide proof of bin Laden's death.</b>	<b>No statement made</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Dawn</b>	4 0.7%	15 3%	4 0.7%	9 1.5%	4 0.7%	8 1%	4 0.7%	3 0.5%	522 91%	573 100%
<b>Geo News</b>	18 3%	36 5.5%	7 1%	8 1%	10 1.5%	7 1%	2 0.3%	5 0.7%	555 86%	648 100%
<b>Duniya News</b>	7 1%	6 1%	7 1%	3 0.5%	0 0%	5 1%	1 0.1%	0 0%	523 95%	552 100%
<b>PTV News Script</b>	4 2%	3 1.5%	1 0.5%	3 1.5%	0 0%	1 0.5%	1 0.5%	0 0%	176 93%	189 100%
<b>PTV News DVD</b>	1 1%	5 4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	2 1%	0 0%	111 92%	120 100%
<b>Total</b>	34	65	19	23	14	22	10	8	1887	2082

Although, many statements have not been made about the US government/ Army, but still, the findings show that Geo News was relatively friendly to the US than the other media outlets of Pakistan. It shows that although the US version of the story (or their justification to carry out the event) was visible in all, but was more dominant in the Geo News and the Dawn. On the other hand, the harsh criticism of the US by calling her a ‘tyrant power’ or by calling the War on Terror a ‘War against Islam’ was also more visible in the coverage of the Geo News.

In summary, this chapter tells us about the few selected lines which have been studied here to show the comparative coverage given to the issue by both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan. The findings show that Geo News gave more coverage to the issue (in terms of more broadcasted stories) than other media outlet of Pakistan. The data also shows that US officials were more dominant in the coverage than the Pakistani officials in the Dawn, Geo News and Duniya News, but the Pakistani officials showed dominance in the coverage of state owned PTV News (Script and DVD). It must also be noted that the highest number of the US and Pakistani officials (by combining all the categories), as well as, the US government and Pakistani government officials (exclusively) were mentioned more in the Dawn. The data also shows that the coverage of both the print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan mostly revolved around the event and reaction to it; so the counterterrorism frame was not that much highlighted in the coverage. It is also important to note that Pakistani government was criticized relatively more in the coverage than the Pakistani military/ intelligence agencies. It should also be noted

that the coverage of the Geo News was relatively friendlier to the US than the other media outlets studied here.

# **CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION**

## **11.1. Introduction**

This chapter will present the key findings of the thesis which contributes to the main research question – How the seven identified media outlets, across the three different countries, covered the death of Osama bin Laden. In order to have a broader comparative picture of the coverage of the event, this research question was supplemented with some additional research questions which were answered in different chapters. Here, this researcher will try to utilize only those findings which can help us to answer the main research question as mentioned above by looking at the coverage given to the issue by the American, British and Pakistani media outlets, briefly in separate sections. In the beginning, the coverage given to the issue by the American media will be focused upon. It will be followed by the coverage given to the event by the British and Pakistani media. After that the contribution of this research study to the ‘Triangle of Terror’ will be put before the reader. Finally the limitations faced in this research study will be presented and suggestions for future research will be given.

## **11.2. Coverage given by the American media**

The only media outlet selected, in this research study, from the US was the New York Times. The coverage of the newspaper shows that it gave more coverage to the issue, both length wise and on the basis of number of words, than the rest of the newspapers. It was also discovered that what the Dawn tried to tell its readers in a

number of stories, was told by the New York Times in a single news item. Such type of reporting was also witnessed in the other Western newspapers, but was more dominant in the New York Times. The culture of ‘joint reporting’ – which gives an opportunity to different reporters stationed in different locations to work on the same story – was also witnessed in the coverage of this newspaper. Indeed, these findings show the strength of reporting of the New York Times.

But the findings also show that the New York Times heavily relied on the US officials in particular and US sources in general than other sources to tell the story of bin Laden’s death. It shows the dominance of the US officials in the coverage of the newspaper – besides the control of the US officials over the information related to the coverage of Abbottabad Operation/ bin Laden’s death or its aftermath and even their (possible) influence on the agenda of the coverage.

The New York Times explored the story from the ‘counterterrorism’ perspective more than the rest of the media outlets. It means that glimpses of the ‘international perspective’ on the story were there. When the coverage of the New York Times is compared with the rest of the newspapers, we find that it was more calculated than the rest as it was not limited to only two or three topics related to the event.

The findings also show that although the US version of the story was highlighted, yet the New York Times showed no bias to bin Laden in its coverage. However, some glimpses of feelings of revenge/ celebration can be witnessed in the coverage, as it called the death of bin Laden a ‘big relief for the relatives of the victims of 9/11’. The findings also show that the New York Times was more critical of the Pakistani Army/ intelligence agencies than the rest of the Western newspapers.

While addressing the Pakistani government in the coverage, the newspaper tried to keep balance.

### **11.3. Coverage given by the British media**

The two newspapers selected from the UK to study the death of bin Laden includes: The Telegraph and the Guardian. As was noticed in the case of the New York Times, the Guardian and Telegraph, unlike the Dawn, also told the story in a single (big) news item. Again, this trend was dominant more in the coverage of the Guardian than the Telegraph.

Like the New York Times, the culture of ‘Joint Reporting’ – where reporters jointly work on the same assignment to explore the story from different angles and from different locations – was also witnessed in these British newspapers. It should be noted again that this culture was witnessed more in the coverage of the Guardian than that of the Telegraph. The Guardian also published more byline stories and the same story written by more than one reporter than the rest of the Western newspapers.

The findings also support that both the Guardian and the Telegraph were highly reliant on the US sources in general and US officials in particular in their coverage to tell the story of bin Laden’s death. It shows the dominance of the US officials over the coverage of British newspapers – besides their apparent control over the information related to the Abbottabad Operation or post-operation scenario. It can be arguably claimed that the dominance of the US officials over the information related to bin Laden’s death might have influenced the content of these newspapers up to some extent by promoting their own agenda of the coverage.

Both the Guardian and the Telegraph avoided to start the news stories with the ‘counterterrorism perspective’ clearly shows that the threat of Al Qaeda was either played down or they did not consider it important. Although, they later highlighted this perspective in the body of the stories, but the figures were not that much significant. It shows that Al Qaeda stayed out of the frame and much of the coverage revolved around Pakistan and the United States.

Although, not much was said about the Pakistani government, yet whatever was said showed that the Guardian was more supportive of the Pakistani government than the Telegraph. The Guardian, however, was more critical of the Pakistani Army/ Intelligence Agencies than the Telegraph. The findings also show that both Guardian and the Telegraph showed no bias against bin Laden, and that the Guardian was relatively more inclined towards Pakistan than the Telegraph.

#### **11.4. Coverage given by the Pakistani media**

The Pakistani media outlets selected in this research study included three TV channels – Geo News, Duniya News and Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV News). It also included one newspaper – the daily The Dawn. The findings show that the Dawn published more number of stories than the Western newspapers. However, it was also observed that what the Dawn tried to tell in many stories, the same was told by the Western newspapers in a single news item. The culture of ‘Joint Reporting’ (as it has been explained above) was found missing in the coverage of the Dawn. It was also found that Dawn showed reliance on foreign journalists while covering the story of bin Laden’s death as it is evident from the

one-fourth of the byline stories published in the newspaper contributed by foreign journalists.

The findings also show that the private TV channels of Pakistan gave more coverage to the issue than its official broadcaster – PTV News, but most of the coverage of all the TV channels of Pakistan (including both private and public broadcasters) was based on the ‘Table’ stories – covering the issue from the studio. It was also observed that the culture of reporting (as one can easily observe in the BBC) where the newscaster mixes the different categories (based on the nature of news item like: package, interaction with reporter on field, interaction with expert etc.) was almost missing in the coverage of Pakistani TV channels. The ‘original’ story about bin Laden’s death coverage was missing in all the three TV channels of Pakistan as they hardly relied on the production or telling the story from the field.

The findings also show that Dawn utilized more ‘US’ and ‘Pakistani’ sources in general than the rest of the TV channels of Pakistan. It also shows that most of the media outlets of Pakistan showed more reliance on the ‘US’ sources in general and ‘US officials’ in particular than their Pakistani counterparts to tell the story of bin Laden’s death (except PTV News). It further supports that the Dawn was overall more reliant on both US and Pakistani officials than the rest of the TV channels of Pakistan. The findings also show that Geo News cited more US politicians and US security officials than their Pakistani counterparts.

When Pakistan’s official stand on the issue was studied in the Dawn newspaper, it was found that overall Pakistani government officials were less visible in the coverage. It also revealed a lack of coordination between the civilian and military leadership over the issue. Moreover, they had no media strategy to control the

opinion of its own public or the damage. It was also observed that the Pakistani government officials were not that much critical of the US, but (possibly) they could not turn up openly to show their feelings of satisfaction over bin Laden's death.

The absence of clear strategy with the then government provided an opportunity to the religious political parties of Pakistan to exploit this event in their favor by organizing protests in different parts of the country. Thus the death of bin Laden and the Abbottabad Operation were condemned by many in the streets of Pakistan, but cheered by many in the US. The irony of the situation was that both the U.S and Pakistan remained the victims of the terror strategy of Al Qaeda, but both of them were lying apart in this case and thus his death was perceived 'victory' in US, but 'tragedy' in Pakistan.

The findings also show that all the media outlets of Pakistan did not cover the event from the 'counterterrorism' perspective, and their coverage mostly revolved around sharing the details about the Abbottabad Operation, focusing on the reaction of Pakistan and US to this event. It shows that most of the coverage, displayed on the TV screens of Pakistan or served by the Dawn to its readers, revolved around the US and Pakistan, and Al Qaeda/ Taliban stayed out of the frame. It shows that the event was not interpreted to the viewers and readers in the context of 'counterterrorism', despite the fact that Pakistan remained the worst victim of the terrorism inflicted by Al Qaeda for so many years. It must also be noted that Dawn was more critical of the Pakistani security/ intelligence agencies than the rest of the TV channels.

It was also discovered that the Dawn showed reliance on the 'Western' sources to cover the event of bin Laden's death, and did not attach much significance to the story. It all shows that Dawn tried to build up the story on the basis of the new

information shared by the US about bin Laden's death/ Abbottabad Operation and showing the reaction of Pakistan to it. The newspaper tried to contribute something from Pakistan, but it was not that much significant as either it lacked detail or no follow-up stories were observed later. Only one news story was found a major contribution, but that too appeared in the lower half of the Metropolitan Page of Islamabad edition.

The findings also show that almost all the media outlets of Pakistan were more critical of the Pakistani government than the Pakistani military. It may also be noted that among all, Geo News was more critical of the Pakistani government, and Dawn tried to keep balance in criticizing both the military and the government. It also shows that Geo News was more friendly to the US than the rest of the Pakistani media outlets, as it gave more time to present their response to the issue, and to highlight their version of the story as compared with the others.

The data also shows that all the four media outlets of Pakistan showed no bias for bin Laden in the coverage and, like the Western newspapers, they acted very responsibly. The findings also suggest that glimpses of 'patriotism' can be seen in the coverage of almost all the media outlets of Pakistan.

The major findings – based on the coverage of Pakistani, British and American media – mentioned above show that the death of bin Laden clearly divided the two strategic allies of War on Terror – instead of bringing them closer. The event created a gulf between them to the extent that the story was perceived 'victory' in one country and 'tragedy' in another. The event embarrassed the Pakistani officials and they did not turn up on the issue that much, as one would have expected from the front-state ally or host of the event. On the other hand, the event gave an opportunity

to the US officials to stay more organized and be more visible among the public to cash the victory worldwide. Perhaps, it was the reason that the US officials showed dominance in the coverage not only in the US media outlet, but in most of the media outlets of all the three countries as they showed more reliance on them than the Pakistani or even European officials (except PTV News).

It indeed shows that it is partly the result of the US dominance, over the information related to the Abbottabad Operation, and somehow also due to the incompetence of the Pakistani media outlets that they covered much of it from the studio or even could not add anything really significant to the story.

### **11.5. Contributions of this research study to the ‘Triangle of Terror’**

As it has been mentioned in the literature review chapter, the findings of this research study, presented in two separate sections below, will contribute to the Triangle of Terror – events of 9/11 terror attacks, War on Terror and even bin Laden’s killing. The first section focuses on this study’s major contributions specifically to the death coverage of bin Laden and the second on the contributions to the studies conducted on the 9/11 attacks and War on Terror.

#### **11.5.1. Contributions to the coverage of the death of bin Laden**

This study, conducted on the death coverage of bin Laden, encompassed many variables which were never studied before. The study also focused on more sample (newspapers and TV channels), and all the relevant news stories which appeared in the desired period in the newspapers, were studied, coded and analyzed.

This research study focused on the death coverage of bin laden from different angles which were never explored before. This research study is the first of its kind, as the previous studies focused only on the media outlets of Russia, US or Qatar, whereas it focuses on the media outlets of the three main allies of the War on Terror – US, UK and Pakistan.

Moreover, the state-sponsored TV channel, private TV channels and even the print media of Pakistan has also been jointly studied for the first time for their coverage of a single event.

### **11.5.2. Contributions to the studies conducted on 9/11 attacks and War on Terror**

The contributions of this research study to the studies conducted on the media coverage of 9/11 attacks and War on Terror will be discussed in detail below. For a better understanding, all the contributions made will be presented in the following points.

- 1) Nord and Strömbäck (2003) earlier claimed that reporting conflict is always challenging and one shows dependency on political and military actors to report it, but they also try to ‘manipulate media reporting’. The findings of this research study also confirms that almost all the media outlets of Pakistan, US and UK relied on the government officials of both US and Pakistan to report it. As far as ‘manipulating’ the media reporting is concerned, it can’t be directly verified from the findings but since the American, Pakistani and British media outlets (without PTV) were more

dependent on the US officials, so one can guess that they should have left their impression on both the agenda of the coverage and content.

2) Magder (2003) claimed that ‘intense’ patriotism was witnessed in the American journalism after 9/11 attacks. But the coverage of Pakistani media outlets after the Abbottabad Operation shows that almost all the media outlets, though gave a patriotic touch to the event by calling it attack on the ‘sovereignty of Pakistan’, were very critical of the Pakistani government and establishment. Although they did not welcome the attack, yet they did not rally behind the government as well.

3) Earlier it was observed in the literature review that ‘patriotic’ line is usually taken by the journalists during the time of crisis under the pressure of the government. Nothing was observed in the findings of this research study to support this claim in Pakistani, British and American media.

4) Thussu and Freedman (2003) claimed that in order to discover the ‘original story’ one must go beyond the official handouts and briefings as the only way to ensure it is through investigative reporting. But this study found that ‘original story’ was missing in the coverage of Pakistani media outlets due to their heavy dependence on the US officials for the coverage and their covering it from their studios. The coverage of the Dawn also showed that no significant contribution was made to the story of bin Laden’s death from Pakistan. The findings of the other media outlets of US and British also support that they showed reliance on the US officials; but their content was not studied in such a detail to know that what they contributed to the story. It is hard to place opinion on them.

5) Nord and Strömbäck (2003) claimed that ‘quality’ reporting can be ensured and the people can be better informed if the journalists are mentally prepared for it,

and also if such type of event has been covered before. But the ‘Abbottabad Operation’ had no precedent and the journalists were also not mentally ready for it. It all came as a surprise to all. So the missing of the ‘counterterrorism’ perspective or their dependence on the US officials and the lack of investigative reporting, can partially be due to the above-mentioned reasons.

6) Nord and Strömbäck (2003) while conducting their study on the 9/11 attacks and early phase of War on Terror, in the seven Swedish media outlets, found that ‘US elite sources’ dominated the ‘Swedish elite sources’ and it favored the American side of the conflict. They further claimed that Afghan sources were less mentioned as they were less accessible. The findings of the death coverage of bin Laden also shows that US officials dominated the coverage of almost all the media outlets, except PTV News. Indeed, the dominance of the officials of a country in the coverage do favor that country, as we observed in this research study that despite the fact that Pakistani media outlets did not favor the ‘Abbottabad Operation’, but still, the US version of the story was not missing in the coverage and they were appreciated as well. As far as the point of accessibility – if it means the physical distance – is concerned, then it must be noted that US officials were less accessible than their Pakistani counterparts; but they dominated.

7) Nord and Strömbäck (2003) also claimed that Swedish journalists were also reliant on the American journalists for their coverage and showed dependency on the US media and even certain news items appeared in the Swedish media were the “re-writes of articles or news features from various American media”. The same also stands true for the Dawn newspaper where a quarter (25%) of its byline stories were written by foreign journalists. Moreover, 41 out of 52 news stories, published in the International Pages of the Dawn, came from the foreign sources.

8) Nord and Strömbäck (2003) claimed that when journalists show dependency on other media outlets instead of carrying out their own original reporting, then ‘disinformation’ and ‘errors’ would be in the circulation in the news pages. The same is also true about the Dawn as it also broke few stories, but then it also retreated from it as they were false.

9) Nord and Strömbäck (2003) also stressed earlier, that in war reporting, it is important to find out where the journalists are working, when journalists are publishing, and how journalists work within media organization. Indeed, it is important to focus on these lines as it will help one to understand that from where the journalists are reporting, how the journalists are reporting and what the journalists are reporting about any conflict. It can apply to all, but it best fits in the context of Pakistani media outlets who mostly relied on the ‘US’ sources to report it and even they also relied on the ‘table’ stories to report the conflict to the Pakistani viewers.

10) Singh (2002) claimed that ‘location’ determines the ‘nature and tone’ of the coverage. It is true in the context of the killing of bin Laden, as the event was perceived differently by both the Western and Pakistani media outlets, and they generated two stories of the same event.

11) It was mentioned in the literature review that the ‘location of the event’ and the ‘nationality of the victim’ decide the direction of reporting. The impact of the nationality of the victim cannot be verified from this research study, as bin Laden was a ‘stateless’ individual, and no country was willing to own him. But the ‘location’ (of the event and the geographic location of the media outlets) indeed

decides the interpretation of the event as bin Laden's death was perceived 'victory' in one and 'tragedy' in another.

12) Pande (2010) while conducting their research on the US media outlets stressed that 'local' coverage of any event may be more 'solid' as they have more resources besides good access to the sources. Abbottabad Operation stayed a local event for the Pakistani media outlets, but their coverage cannot be called 'solid' as they were more dependent on the US officials than Pakistani ones. It is also a fact that they mostly covered the event from the 'studio' via 'table' stories rather than from field.

13) Earlier this researcher devised the phrase 'Nationality of the Attack' and it was stated that sometimes when the attack is from an 'unfriendly' country, it is played up by the media and establishment, and is even considered attack on the sovereignty and integrity. It stands true in the case of Abbottabad Operation in which the 'unilateral' US attack was treated in the same line and even it also generated protests in the streets of Pakistan. Perhaps, it might be one of the reasons that such mindset distracted the coverage and it resulted in less debate over the 'counterterrorism' perspective in the coverage of Pakistani media outlets.

14) Schaefer (2003) claimed that "physical distance provides less material and more detached perspective". But the coverage of Abbottabad Operation, across the three different regions, shows that the information was coming mostly from US and the US officials showed dominance over almost all the media outlets (except PTV News). Moreover, the coverage of New York Times was relatively good than the rest.

15) Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2008) while conducting their research on the comparative coverage given to the ‘War on Terror’ by the Swedish and American media claimed that when there is no dispute over the foreign policy, then US journalists show reliance on the US officials and even allow them to ‘set the media agenda’. This research study also found that New York Times showed dependency on US officials as they were having most of the information related to the Abbottabad operation and perhaps that’s why they were more visible in the coverage, so in return it might have given them the advantage in the coverage to influence the content in the New York Times and possibly the agenda of the coverage as well.

16) It was earlier debated that journalists in Pakistan are afraid of the ‘Taliban’ and ‘Establishment’ while reporting the issues/ events related to the ‘geostrategic depth’. The findings of this study show that Pakistani security/ intelligence agencies were criticized by almost all the media outlets of Pakistan for their failure to locate/ kill bin Laden and protect the country from the US aggression. It means that the pressure of security/ intelligence agencies on the journalists cannot be seen as none of the media outlets reported it and even none of the journalist received any threat in the ten days period, which I studied. The version of the Taliban was also not that much highlighted (as it is usually said that they usually threaten journalists to highlight their point of view); so we cannot see any apparent threats from both – establishment and Taliban – that might have hindered ‘free speech’ or ‘quality’ reporting by not allowing the journalists to contact the ‘legitimate’ sources for their stories. The coverage, of the Pakistani media outlets, also gives impression that both the Establishment and Taliban had very little control over the news flow, as media outlets were more reliant on the US officials for their coverage rather than them.

17) It was earlier observed in the literature review that Pakistani media outlets mostly rely on the 'ISPR' version of the story (related to the developments of different events of War on Terror) and which ultimately results in the 'homogenous' picture of the event. The findings of this study show that Pakistani media outlets mostly covered the event in the same style, which showed the homogenous picture of the event, as the 'counterterrorism' perspective was mostly missing in the coverage. Glimpses of patriotic coverage were also there. The Pakistani media outlets (except PTV News) also showed dependency on the US officials rather than the Pakistani ones to cover the event. But it is also a fact that version of ISPR was not dominant. It is also important to note that till the American media broke the story of bin Laden's killing in Abbottabad, the Geo News was showing the ISPR version that one of the choppers of Pakistan Army had crashed near the Kakool Training Academy due to some 'technical' reasons. But once the American media and officials took on the story then everything changed.

18) Azam (2008) surveyed Pakistani journalists and found out that Pakistani journalists think that they are doing great job than their Western counterparts as they are more independent. The findings of this research study shows that Pakistani journalists might be independent in their work routine (as this researcher has not looked at this matter), but they have shown more dependency on the US officials to cover this event.

19) As it was observed in the literature review that US does not enjoy good image in Pakistan, especially among its public and its journalists, even then the US was appreciated in the coverage – especially in the Geo News (the popular private TV channel of Pakistan).

20) Arif, Golan and Moritz (2014) observed that due to ‘language and cultural barrier’, more awareness of Pakistani ‘media routines’ by Taliban, and even being more accessible to the Pakistani journalists, US has not succeeded to tell its story (about the War on Terror) to the people of Pakistan and is even dependent on the Pakistani journalists to do this job. But the findings of this study show that the ‘US’ version of the story appeared in the Pakistani media outlets, and it was expected due to the reliance of Pakistani media outlets on the US officials. It should also be noted that the Taliban/ Al Qaeda mostly remained out of frame, despite being more easily accessible than the US officials.

21) Thussu (2003) claimed that during the conflict situation, even non-Western networks follow the news agendas set by the West. He claimed that the reason for the US dominance is its ‘style of presentation’ which aims to sustain the interest of the global audience. The findings of the study support the claim that the dominance of the US officials in the Pakistani and even British media outlets influenced the content of the coverage and even the (possible) agenda of the coverage itself. The main reason for the US dominance, in the case of bin Laden’s death, is their control over the information related to the bin Laden’s death/ Abbottabad Operation and Post-Operation scenario.

## **11.6. Limitations**

The following limitations were faced while conducting this research study.

- 1) Initially, this researcher intended to conduct this research study on the BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera English and Pakistani TV channels, but permission could not be obtained from the three world leading TV channels.
- 2) An effort was also made to collect the copies of the Washington Post (published from US), Khaleej Times and the Gulf News (published from UAE), The Express Tribune (published from Pakistan) and also the Saudi Gazette (published from Saudi Arabia), but again the efforts proved unfruitful. (Please note that a PhD colleague of the researcher who is from Saudi Arabia did bring the copies of Saudi Gazette from Saudi Arabia; it was of the desired dates, but not of the desired year as it were of 2012 rather than 2011).
- 3) The researcher tried his best to take permission from majority of the TV channels of Pakistan to study their content, but only three could be ensured.
- 4) Interviews of Pakistani journalists could not be conducted during the field visit to Pakistan as the researcher did not have full picture of the coverage of Pakistani media outlets. Later on, it was difficult to conduct it over phone or Skype as I have personally observed that ‘personal contacts’ really matter while approaching the Pakistani journalists and that is why it is really useful when you are physically there.
- 5) Despite several attempts, the missing bulletins of PTV News could not be obtained.

### **11.7. Suggestions/ Advice**

The following are the suggestions and advice for future studies.

- 1) The same model of study which I applied can also be applied in other studies, especially those concerning the death coverage of other ‘terror celebrities’ like recent news of the death of Mullah Omar, two years back in Karachi Pakistan. It can be also applied in to study the death of other ‘controversial’ personalities like Saddam Hussein, Muammar Gaddafi etc.
- 2) If the focus is on the death coverage of bin Laden, then interviews can be conducted to gain more detail about the coverage, or even more newspaper/ TV channels can be studied.

### **11.8. Concluding remarks**

It is hard to think that the event like killing of bin Laden will occur again in Pakistan, and will create the same sort of complex and awkward situation among the allies of War on Terror, but in order to ensure better coverage (in general) the following recommendations can be useful.

It has been observed earlier that Pakistani government/ establishment had no media strategy to control the damage or public opinion as no one was willing to own the operation or killing. So in future, if anything of this sort occurs again, it is important that both the Pakistani civilian and military leadership sit together and devise a joint and clear strategy. As ‘confused’ mindset in which one tries to blow both hot and cold never helps anyone (especially in a crisis situation).

The best way can be that they introduce ‘crisis managers’ in the right time and in the right way during the crisis. The ‘crisis managers’ should also sense that the most effective way to control the public opinion is the better utilization of media outlets. In either situation, the Pakistani civilian leadership and even military high-ups must ensure their visibility among the public.

The print and electronic media outlets of Pakistan, US and UK should try their best to cover such events from the ‘counterterrorism’ perspective as much as possible. They must try to derive more investigative lines from any such story and must try to debate these as well (instead of sticking to very few). Such coverage in which the event is explored from many angles to the readers and viewers also helps the readers to have more broad and balanced opinion on the issue.

The Pakistani TV channels (both private and official) must try to focus more on the production of packages etc., rather than covering the event from the studio. They should try to cover the event from the ‘field’ by utilizing different options like more interaction with reporter/ expert etc. The Pakistani TV channels should also try to start a new culture of presentation of News (which I have identified in the thesis as BBC Model) in which two or three different nature of news items (like package made by reporter, interaction with expert by reporter etc.) are linked together and then presented to the viewers. Such presentation of news indeed helps to give information to the viewers in one complete package rather than pieces.

The print media of Pakistan can also start the culture of ‘Joint Reporting’ in which two or more reporters sit together in different locations and work on the same project. Such style of reporting also helps the readers to get more information and broader perspective in a single news item rather than in pieces.

The Pakistani media outlets should also design their own local strategy and agenda to cover the event instead of relying too much on the US sources (or US officials). Devising and adopting their own strategy would indeed help them to cover the event from the ground, in their own way, and explore more investigative lines attached to it. Indeed, such coverage would help them develop their own 'Original story' (as claimed by Thussu and Freedman 2003). The same stands true for the British media outlets and even American media outlets that they should reconsider their much reliance on the US officials while covering the event related to the War on Terror.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Coding Sheet for the Newspapers' Data Collection

**1: Story No:**

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**2: Date of Issue**

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**3: Name of a Newspaper**

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1: Dawn

2: The New York Times

3: Telegraph

4: Guardian

**4: Page Number**

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**5: Length of item?**

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1: 100-300 words

2: 301-600 words

3: 601 & over words

**6: Nature/ Type of Newspaper Article?**

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1: News Story

2: Leader

3: Reportage (Opinion piece appearing in the News pages)

**7: Is the news story byline?**

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1: Yes

2: No

**8: Name of a Journalist/s?**

1:

2:

3:

**9: Who is the Actual First Source (Contributor) of the News Item?**

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**10: Secondary/ Additional Source/s Quoted with in a news item: (First Three Only)**

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1: Newspaper own Reporter

2: US Media (Newspaper and TV)

3: Whitehouse Spokesperson

4: Any other Western Media

5: Pakistani President

6: PM House Spokesperson

- 7: ISPR (Pakistan Army Information Wing)
- 8: Foreign Office Spokesperson (Pakistan)
- 9: US President
- 10: US Secretary of State
- 11: US Defense Secretary
- 12: CIA Chief
- 13: Arab Media
- 14: US Armed Services Officials
- 15: Ex- Defense/ Government officials of USA
- 16: Television quoting itself
- 17: Al-Qaeda
- 18: International News Agency (Foreign one)
- 19: Local/National News Agency (Country's own)
- 20: Unnamed US official
- 21: US embassy/ ambassador in Pakistan
- 22: Eye Witnesses
- 23: Local People
- 24: American Expert (Name)
- 25: Pakistani Expert (Name)
- 26: Religious Scholars
- 27: Police Officials of Pakistan
- 28: Civil Society (NGOs and Lawyers etc.)
- 29: Opposition political parties of Pakistan
- 30: Pakistani PM
- 31: President House Spokesperson (Pakistan)
- 32: Provincial Chief Minister
- 33: Federal/ Provincial Ministers

- 34: Religious political parties of Pakistan
- 35: Armed/ Intelligence Forces of Pakistan.
- 36: Taliban commander/ Spokesperson
- 37: NATO
- 38: Foreign heads of state
- 39: US embassy/ ambassador in Pakistan
- 40: British Official/ Politician
- 41: Marc Grossman (US Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan)
- 42: US government Official
- 43: FBI website
- 44: Secretary Foreign Affairs Pakistan
- 45: Afghan Foreign Ministry Officials
- 46: John Brennan
- 47: Allies of ruling government of Pakistan
- 48: MQM Office
- 49: Cantonment Board Abbottabad
- 50: Indian Media
- 51: US senators
- 52: UN Representative/ Official
- 53: EU representative/ Official
- 54: Pakistani Parliamentarians
- 55: US Congress Members
- 56: Bin Laden's relative
- 57: PAF Spokesperson/ Official
- 58: PEMRA Spokesperson/ Official
- 59: US Defense Ministry/ Pentagon
- 60: Michelle Obama

- 61: Census Committee Pakistan
- 62: Pervez Musharraf
- 63: US standing committee for Foreign affairs
- 64: Chinese ambassador/ government official
- 65: Pakistani Ambassador/ Embassy
- 66: Pakistani senators
- 67: Provincial Governor of Pakistan
- 68: Provincial assembly member of Pakistan
- 69: Bin Laden's Ex-bodyguard
- 70: Interpol Official
- 71: Interior Ministry Pakistan
- 72: Press Release
- 73: Handouts
- 74: Press Note
- 75: Commander of British Forces in Afghanistan
- 76: British Minister
- 77: Source not mentioned
- 78: Any other

**12: Main topic of the Intro of the report/story:**

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- 1: Confirmation of Bin Laden's death.
- 2: Details about the Abbottabad Operation.
- 3: Details about the casualties in Operation.
- 4: Provincial Government's stand on the issue

- 5: Federal Government's stand on the issue
- 6: Meeting in President House about the operation
- 7: Reaction of world Leaders to the bin Laden's death
- 8: Americans celebrating the death of bin laden.
- 9: Security situation in Abbottabad after operation.
- 10: Security situation in some other parts of the country after the operation.
- 11: Details about life of bin Laden (Biography).
- 12: Impact of bin Laden's death on the region.
- 13: Impact of bin Laden's death on the War on Terror.
- 14: Impact of bin Laden's death on the Al Qaeda.
- 15: Impact of bin Laden's death on the armed forces of Pakistan.
- 16: Impact of bin Laden's death on the tense Pak-US Relations.
- 17: Bin Laden's death and failure of Pakistani Security forces/ Intelligence agencies.
- 18: National ID card/ other Stuff found in bin Laden's compound.
- 19: Osama bin Laden's unfulfilled dream of bombing train stations/ airports in US.
- 20: Details about the secret planning of the operation.
- 21: Abbottabad Operation and violation of Pakistan's territory.
- 22: Bin Laden's death and issue of head money.
- 23: Opposition Political Parties criticizing government/Army.
- 24: Details about the destroyed Chopper in operation.
- 25: Information about the owner of Bin Laden's house directly/indirectly.
- 26: Civil Society demanding resignation of Pakistani government/ military officials.
- 27: Response of Opposition Political Parties to the Operation.
- 28: Government to take nation in confidence.
- 29: Information shared by neighbor/ local resident in Abbottabad.
- 30: Protest against Abbottabad Operation in Pakistan.
- 31: Efforts to promote good image of Pakistan

- 32: Conspiracy theories about bin Laden's death.
- 33: Abbottabad Operation and role of Intelligence agencies of Pakistan.
- 34: Bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad and Security Agencies of Pakistan.
- 35: Abbottabad Operation and Reaction of local residents in Abbottabad.
- 36: Details of Osama's videos released by US government.
- 37: Existence of Pro-bin Laden's network in Pakistan.
- 38: Pak-US officials meeting after bin Laden's death in operation.
- 39: Bin Laden's death and its impact on Pakistan's Stock Exchange.
- 40: Details about the rest of the family members of bin Laden.
- 41: Bin Laden's compound and its nearness to Kakol Training Academy/ Islamabad.
- 42: Issue of Burial of bin Laden's body.
- 43: How US followed bin Laden's compound?
- 44: Pakistan's intelligence help to US in reaching bin Laden.
- 45: Reaction of celebrities to bin Laden's death.
- 46: Denial of Current and Ex-Pakistani officials about the presence of bin Laden in Pakistan.
- 47: Information about the arrest/ release of the constructor of the compound
- 48: US Embassy/ Consulates in Pakistan closed down/ opened.
- 49: Investigative Committee launched to probe the violation of Pakistani Aerial territory.
- 50: Pakistani government to take nation in confidence.
- 51: Demand for the establishment of Independent Commission to investigate the operation.
- 52: Reaction of world leaders to the bin Laden's death.
- 53: Reaction of bin Laden's relatives to his death.
- 54: John Kerry to visit Pakistan soon.
- 55: US government advises its citizens to stay cautious after bin Laden's killing.
- 56: Impact of bin Laden's death on upcoming US elections.

- 57: Detail about bin Laden's compound.
- 58: Detail about the word/ terminology used for bin Laden or Abbottabad operation.
- 59: Response of general Public to his death/ Abbottabad Operation.
- 60: Bin Laden's will go public.
- 61: Abbottabad Operation and Pakistan having no clue of it.
- 62: Abbottabad Operation monitored by Obama/ his team.
- 63: Controversies surrounding bin Laden's death.
- 64: Conflict in statements of US officials.
- 65: Bin Laden's prayer offered in absentia/Prayer offered in Assembly.
- 66: Meeting of Pakistan's Parliamentary committee for National Affairs.
- 67: Pakistan requested US to handover things collected form Bin Laden's compound.
- 68: Obama/ First Lady meeting/ praising Navy Seals.
- 69: Detail about the possibility of bin Laden's stay in Chak Shah Ahmed Khan (Haripur).
- 70: Reaction of Pakistan Air Force (PAF) to Abbottabad Operation.
- 71: PEMRA issues notices to Foreign Media to leave Abbottabad.
- 72: Detail about the visit of Population Census team to bin Laden's compound.
- 73: Detail history about the search of bin Laden.
- 74: TV channel grilling PM over Abbottabad Operation.
- 75: Detail about the Abbottabad/ Bin Laden's neighbor town.
- 76: Was killing of bin Laden legal?
- 77: Deal between Pakistan and US over bin Laden's killing.
- 78: US stand on bin Laden's one sided killing.
- 79: CIA station chief in Pakistan named.
- 80: Pakistan's Armed forces/ Civilian government both stand on the same page after Abbottabad Operation.
- 81: Debate in Senate over Abbottabad Operation.

- 82: Issue of releasing bin Laden's picture.
- 83: Response of general public to the PML (N)'s suggestion of establishing Independent Inquiry Commission.
- 84: Obama speaking to the victims of 9/11.
- 85: People in US celebrating his death.
- 86: History of bin Laden's tapes released to media.
- 87: Tri-Nations meeting in Islamabad after bin Laden's death.
- 88: Who will lead Al-Qaeda after his death?
- 89: Response/ reaction of Pakistan's Army to his death.
- 90: Civil Society in Pakistan protesting against the Abbottabad Operation.
- 91: US aid and loss of Pakistan in War on Terror.
- 92: Myths about bin Laden.
- 93: Condition of Zardari/ Kiyani after Obama's call.
- 94: Comments from experts about the debate in the National Assembly of Pakistan over Abbottabad Operation.
- 95: Response of different political parties to the PML (N)'s demand of establishing Independent Inquiry Commission.
- 96: Interpol on bin Laden's death.
- 97: Social Media and bin Laden's death.
- 98: Popularity of Obama after bin Laden's killing.
- 99: US Intelligence Officials over bin Laden's role in Al Qaeda.
- 100: Federal Cabinet briefed over Operation.
- 101: In camera session of Parliament summoned.
- 102: Any other

**13: Additional topics discussed within the story (First three only)**

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- 1: Confirmation of Operation.
- 2: Confirmation of bin Laden's death.
- 3: Information about bin Laden gathered since long.
- 4: Pakistani government supported Abbottabad Operation.
- 5: Bin Laden was shot dead and his body was taken.
- 6: Bin Laden was responsible for the killing of innocent people.
- 7: Bin Laden was an enemy of Islam.
- 8: Details about the casualties in operation.
- 9: One female was used as a shield.
- 10: Details about the operation.
- 11: Details about the compound in morning after operation.
- 12: Bin Laden's death is important.
- 13: People must wait for the detail briefing of ISPR.
- 14: Provincial government's response to the operation.
- 15: Security Agencies of Pakistan and Post-Operation Scenario.
- 16: Meeting attended by PM, President and Intelligence heads about the Operation.
- 17: Discussion in meeting about the Operation.
- 18: Formal Official reply of government will be submitted soon.
- 19: Reaction of the different heads of state.
- 20: American celebrating the death of bin Laden.
- 21: Security tightened at Kakool Road/Abbottabad.
- 22: Bin Laden's compound and different ways leading to it have been closed/ opened.
- 23: Situation according to eyewitnesses.

- 24: Local people's version about the presence of bin Laden.
- 25: Bin Laden's life (a short profile/ biography).
- 26: After 9/11 search for bin Laden started.
- 27: NATO accused him of hiding in Pakistan.
- 28: Bin Laden's Al Qaeda movement against innocent people.
- 29: Washington tried to get bin Laden at any cost.
- 30: Bush government also focused on his search to weaken Al Qaeda.
- 31: Impact of Bin Laden's death on the War on Terror.
- 32: Bin Laden's death a great achievement of US.
- 33: Joint operation based on Pak-US Intelligence sharing.
- 34: Pakistan and USA must further negotiate it that how much they can support each other.
- 35: Abbottabad Operation is according to declared US Policy.
- 36: Bin Laden's death good for Pakistan as well.
- 37: Bin Laden's death good for destroying the other terrorist organizations.
- 38: Detail about the road leading to US consulate in Pakistan.
- 39: Security tightened in different areas of Peshawar/ other parts of country.
- 40: Security forces patrolling in different parts of city/ies.
- 41: Detail about the National Identity Card (found in compound) holder.
- 42: Detail about the area to which he belonged.
- 43: Al-Qaeda vowing to take revenge.
- 44: Bin Laden recorded audio message before his death.
- 45: Al-Qaeda's unfulfilled planning of bombing in US during big events.
- 46: Homeland Security Department in US issues security warning.
- 47: Al-Qaeda still planning to hit the major cities in USA.
- 48: Bin Laden's compound was monitored by CIA team.
- 49: US officials knew about the compound since last August.

- 50: CIA, Congress and money spent on the search of bin Laden.
- 51: CIA and help from the secret spot during operation.
- 52: US State Department and the issue of receiver of head money on bin Laden.
- 53: Details about the previous award of money.
- 54: Details about the destroyed chopper.
- 55: Helicopters used in operation and technical changes.
- 56: Details about the electric bills in the compound of bin Laden.
- 57: Military personnel visit to the compound.
- 58: Compound completely sealed.
- 59: Different other ways in Abbottabad opened/ closed.
- 60: Government must ban the Black Water and other Terrorist Organizations in Pakistan.
- 61: Abbottabad operation is blow to the country's independence.
- 62: Army and ISI Chiefs must be court marshaled.
- 63: President, PM and Interior Minister must be trialed in courts.
- 64: Difference in information presented by the Pakistan Army and Government.
- 65: Pakistani President must tell where he stands.
- 66: Abbottabad Operation big sad news after the fall of Dhaka.
- 67: Government must break silence and must come forward.
- 68: Any personnel involved will be identified.
- 69: Government of Pakistan will really confirm that whether bin Laden was really there.
- 70: To investigated that how he came there.
- 71: Details about children living in bin Laden's compound.
- 72: Details about the bin Laden's compound (General).
- 73: Details about family living there.
- 74: Detail about other Al Qaeda leaders.

- 75: Complete detail about Abbottabad's geography (with reference to bin Laden's compound).
- 76: Things collected from the compound of bin Laden.
- 77: USA is a super dacoit power.
- 78: USA is planning to grab the resources of the rest of the world.
- 79: USA can't win this war.
- 80: If government/ military can't protect its people then they should resign.
- 81: Protest Rallies against the Abbottabad Operation.
- 82: Political and Military Leadership must resign.
- 83: Lobbying Forum trying to present good image of Pakistan after operation.
- 84: Details about the deal between Pakistan's government officials and lobbying forum officials.
- 85: Bin Laden was very religious person since long before.
- 86: Taliban may resume power in Afghanistan after US exit in 2014.
- 87: Government must take/ consider the suggestion forwarded by the opposition political parties seriously.
- 88: Operation was possible due to Intelligence sharing between Pakistan and US since long.
- 89: Impact of Bin Laden's killing on Pakistan in terms of Pak-US relations.
- 90: Impact of Bin Laden's death on upcoming US elections.
- 91: Pakistan has played a great role in War on Terror by laying down lots of sacrifices.
- 92: Operation was one-sided as Pakistan was not on board.
- 93: US forces were searching house after Operation.
- 94: Whole world must stay unite to fight terror.
- 95: Abbottabad style unilateral operation is threat to the world's peace.
- 96: Pressure on Pakistan from US/ World after bin Laden's killing in Pakistan.
- 97: Independent Inquiry Commission must be established to look into the issue freely and fairly.

- 98: Constructor of the Bin Laden's compound has been questioned/ held by the Intelligence officials of Pakistan.
- 99: People of Pakistan must accept the statement issued by the government.
- 100: Pakistan must stay ally of US in the War on Terror.
- 101: Al Qaeda in crisis after Bin Laden's death.
- 102: Bin Laden had links with military/ Intelligence officials in Pakistan.
- 103: Pakistan may fall to Taliban after bin Laden's death.
- 104: Bin Laden's death is extra judicial murder.
- 105: Bin Laden's death and its presence in Abbottabad is failure of the Intelligence officials of Pakistan.
- 106: Criticism on the briefing of Secretary Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.
- 107: Present civilian set up of Pakistan is incompetent as it is the creation of NRO.
- 108: Media Reports about the stay of Bin Laden in Haripur (Chak Shah Mohammad Khan).
- 109: Bin Laden was traced due to one phone call by US.
- 110: Foreign media doing coverage from Abbottabad has been banned/ asked to leave the Abbottabad.
- 111: Detail about the Mastermind of the operation – Macroven.
- 112: Psychological impact of operation on children in Abbottabad.
- 113: US may set the Abbottabad Operation as a precedent for the future attacks.
- 114: 9/11 and bin Laden's presence both result of Intelligence failure.
- 115: PM/ Government Officials must come open to the US to protest against it.
- 116: Detail about the movement of helicopters in air on the Abbottabad Operation night.
- 117: Role of Pakistan in War on Terror after bin Laden's killing.
- 118: Government must take the nation in confidence after the Operation.
- 119: US will interrogate the wives of bin Laden.
- 120: Pakistan's protest on Bin Laden's death is just show off.
- 121: US respect/ acknowledge Pakistan's sacrifices in the War on Terror.

- 122: Security forces of Pakistan did not harbor him.
- 123: ISI will soon take action against Mullah Omar in Quetta.
- 124: Harmony among all the institutions of the country necessary.
- 125: Pakistan's Army has failed to give the satisfactory reply.
- 126: Detail history about the usefulness of different Commissions established in past.
- 127: Fear was that bin Laden's grave could turn into a shrine.
- 128: Impact of Bin Laden's death on Al Qaeda.
- 129: Abbottabad Operation was impossible without Pakistan's help.
- 130: Bin Laden was in favor of attacking US.
- 131: Bin Laden was a threat to a civilized world.
- 132: Bin Laden's death is not a failure of Pakistan in the War on Terror.
- 133: Pakistan was not taken on board as it was considered a 'Security Risk'.
- 134: Impact of Bin Laden's death on the local people of Abbottabad.
- 135: Detail about the burial of bin Laden's body.
- 136: Pakistan is fighting war on terror all alone.
- 137: Bin Laden's death is a drama launched by US to leave Afghanistan.
- 138: How Pakistan was unaware of bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad?
- 139: Pakistan/ US/ EU must continue supporting each other.
- 140: No one is ready to accept the plea of Pakistan.
- 141: ISI arrested more than hundreds of Al Qaeda members/ leaders.
- 142: Stand of the Pakistan's government clear on its Independence/ Sovereignty.
- 143: Problems/ Gap still exist among the different institutions of Pakistan.
- 144: All high-ups of Civil/ Military department must resign.
- 145: US must apologize to Pakistan after the Operation.
- 146: Pakistan must stay alert for any possible attack from Al Qaeda.
- 147: Bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad is still a drama to destabilize Pakistan.

- 148: Bin Laden was agent of CIA.
- 149: Bin Laden attacked/ was against US due to its liberal values.
- 150: Political Leadership of Pakistan must behave responsibly.
- 151: Military leadership good in Pakistan than civilian leadership as at least they gave briefing after operation.
- 152: In past Afghanistan/ US/ NATO did not provide any proof about bin Laden's stay in Pakistan.
- 153: Conspiracy theories issued surrounding the videos of bin Laden released by the US government.
- 154: Air Chief established the inquiry committee to investigate the violation of Pakistan's territory.
- 155: In-Camera briefing to the Parliament will be hosted by Army/ ISI.
- 156: Abbottabad Operation is the failure of the government of Pakistan.
- 157: Detail about the Investigative committee launched by the ruling Pakistani government.
- 158: Detail about the issues which Investigative committee must try to answer.
- 159: War on terror is financially very costly.
- 160: US helicopters could not be traced due to mountainous region.
- 161: Pakistan/ World have to focus on the winning of the hearts of people hit by terror.
- 162: Bin Laden now episode of past.
- 163: Pakistan won't allow anyone to use its land for the purpose of promoting terror.
- 164: Pakistan's help is still necessary to US/ Allies in War on Terror.
- 165: The best platform to address the Abbottabad issue is parliament.
- 166: No other theme discussed/ single theme story
- 167: Any Other

**14: Are there any statement/s made in the news item about Pakistan's government? (First three statements)**

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S.NO	Statement Made
1	Pakistan has been taken on board about the operation.
2	Pakistan helped in conducting operation against bin Laden.
3	Bin Laden's death great achievement for Pakistan.
4	Bin Laden also waged war against Pakistan.
5	Bin Laden also ordered to carry out attacks in Pakistan.
6	Bin Laden's death is also great day for Pakistan.
7	Pakistan must continue to stay ally of US in war on terror.
8	Provincial government of KP was not in loop about the operation.
9	Bin Laden's presence in Pakistan will create problems for Pakistan.
10	Bin Laden's death can be used by US to extend their war to Pakistan.
11	Pakistan will never bear any American aggression on its land.
12	Bar Association in Pakistan has condemned the Abbottabad Operation.
13	President, PM and Army Chief all must resign.
14	The government must ban the Black Water and all other American spy organizations in Pakistan.
15	American operation is major attack on the independence, solidarity of Pakistan.
16	President, PM, Home Minister and all other responsible must be trialed.
17	There is wide difference in the statement issued by the government and Army.
18	President must tell to which side he is, People of Pakistan or USA.

19	The government must issue the policy statement.
20	Abbottabad Operation is the worst/ biggest incident after the fall of Dhaka
21	The rulers must break the silence and must tell the people about it.
22	There are now doubts about the loyalty of rulers to the country.
23	Some high up must have resigned after the Abbottabad Operation.
24	PM will take the nation in confidence in National Assembly.
25	All the people responsible for the Abbottabad Operation must be identified.
26	The government will first investigate that was bin Laden there or was a drama launched by US to win the upcoming election.
27	The Pakistani people know better how to defend the country.
28	Pakistan must investigate the bin Laden's friendly network in Pakistan.
29	Bin Laden's episode is full of drama to pressurize Pakistan for doing more.
30	If relations with Pakistan important then why she was not taken on board.
31	Although Pakistan handed over many Al Qaeda terrorists to US, but she did not get due credit for bin Laden's death.
32	Bin Laden hit the credibility of Pakistan even after his death.
33	Pakistan provided information about the messenger of bin Laden, and due to which they reached.
34	Bin Laden has been killed after 10 years of cooperation between Pakistan and US.
35	Abbottabad operation was not jointly conducted, but Pakistan played its part.
36	Pakistan has played a great role in the War on Terror by giving sacrifices of thousands of its soldiers.
37	War on Terror is now Pakistan's own war.

38	After bin Laden's death now Pakistan is on the top of hit list.
39	Relations between Pakistan and US have entered into the most difficult episode.
40	There is no proof that Pakistan was aware of bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad.
41	US officials made it clear to Pakistani officials that they would kill bin Laden, wherever they found him.
42	In past all the Pakistani rulers ruled out bin Laden's presence in Pakistan.
43	There will be a debate in National Assembly over the Abbottabad Operation.
44	Pakistan's Civil and Military leadership will never resign.
45	Independent Commission must be established to know about the Abbottabad operation completely.
46	Lobbying Forum has been asked to present the good image of Pakistan.
47	There is no proof that Pakistan's government sponsored the network that helped bin Laden.
48	Pakistan was not aware of the presence of bin Laden in Abbottabad.
49	Bin Laden's death is good news for Pakistan.
50	If our government/ security agencies were not on board then this attack is against the integrity and freedom of Pakistan.
51	If military establishment and rulers can't protect the country, then they must resign.
52	Bin Laden was living and operating only 35 miles away from Islamabad.
53	If bin Laden was in Abbottabad, then why we did not know about it?
54	If we knew about it, then how he was alive?
55	Pakistan must protest against the operation at diplomatic level.
56	Nothing can be shared as a final word that whether Pakistan incompetent/ involved in bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad.

57	David Patrios, the expected next chief of CIA, is very unfriendly to Pakistan.
58	Pak-US relations can be decided after the answers of questions arising after the bin Laden's death in Pakistan.
59	Prime Minister must take the nation in confidence.
60	The local people are still in fear after operation.
61	No Statement made.

**15: Are there any statement/s made in the news item about the Pakistan's Army/ Intelligence Agencies after the Abbottabad Operation? (First three statements only)**

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S.NO	Statement Made
1	Pakistani Intelligence Agencies have strong contacts with the world's best Intelligence networks.
2	The intelligence agencies working in Pakistan have faced failure in locating bin Laden.
3	The intelligence agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in defending the country from US aggression.
4	Pakistan's Army chief and DG ISI must resign.
5	Pakistan's Army Chief and DG ISI must be court marshaled.
6	Pakistan's army which was once invincible, but now seems paralyzed.
7	Bin Laden's compound was very near to the Kakool training academy so how our army was not aware of it?
8	How Intelligence agencies in Pakistan did not know that who is

	living with them in their surrounding near Kakol?
9	Investigations will be carried out in Pakistan that why Intelligence Agencies were unable to capture him?
10	U.S. wants to take control of the Pakistan's Atomic weapons.
11	If US further insist on attacks in Pakistan, then it will create conflict.
12	American helicopters could not be traced on radar due to the mountainous region.
13	Pakistan's Air force has established a special committee to investigate the violations of Pakistan's territory.
14	Pakistan's Air Force is investigating that why US helicopters could not be traced.
15	Bin Laden was not given shelter by any Pakistani Intelligence agency.
16	Bin Laden's presence and 9/11 attacks both are the results of the Intelligence failure.
17	Abbottabad Operation was the result of joint intelligence Information sharing between both countries – US and Pakistan.
18	The relations between both countries' intelligence forces will remain tense after the operation.
19	All the decisions are taken in GHQ and the government is totally unaware.
20	Pakistan must now decide about the nature of operation against Mullah Omar and Al Zahwari.
21	Pakistan's Air Force department has established special committee to investigate the violation of territory.
22	Security forces in Pakistan have cordoned off the area and sealed the compound/ Kakool road.
23	No statement made

**16: Are there any statement/s made in the news item about the American government/ Forces? (First Three Statements)**

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S.NO	Statement Made
1	Today is the historic day for US.
2	Bin Laden's death resulted after hard struggle made by the US Intelligence agencies after gathering lots of information.
3	US have no war against Islam or Muslims.
4	US won't tolerate any security threat.
5	Bin Laden's death is a great victory for US and its Allies.
6	Bin Laden's death will pave way for US to negotiate with Taliban.
7	US will show off the death of bin Laden as a big achievement.
8	Insurgency in Afghanistan is related to the policies of US.
9	Abbottabad Operation was according to the Policy of US as they said that they will go after him.
10	After 9/11, US pressurized majority of its Allies to join hands against Al Qaeda.
11	Small unit of CIA was in operation near the compound of bin Laden.
12	CIA was monitoring the house of bin Laden after the operation.
13	The American action has shown that she is super dacoit power.
14	American war is not against terrorism, but Islam and Pakistan.
15	The American government wants to control the whole world by force.
16	The American government is an illiterate government.
17	US will gain the financial benefits from the bin Laden's death.

18	American Navy SEALs are considered among the best forces in the world.
19	Abbottabad Operation was conducted after proper US planning.
20	Bin Laden was not killed by US navy SEALs, but by his own guard.
21	Bin Laden's case was even supported by the UN resolution that all the countries were bound to hand it over him to US.
22	USA is investigating that was there any bin Laden's friendly network.
23	What Americans achieved is far above than politics.
24	The relatives of innocent people who lost their lives during 9/11 have got justice.
25	In bin Laden's case, it is hard to say that Pakistan is involved or incompetent.
26	U.S is fighting war against Al Qaeda in Pakistan.
27	Bin Laden's death is the start of US exit from Afghanistan.
28	US rejected Pakistan's plea that Abbottabad Operation was unilateral/ violation of Pakistan's territory and independence.
29	American intelligence Agencies are trying to divert the attention of masses from their failure by blaming Pakistan.
30	Credibility of American Intelligence Agency is very low.
31	Unilateral Operation is threat to the world's peace.
32	CIA used highly skilled technology about the information provided by Pakistan.
33	America is committed to fight against terror.
34	Americans have given great sacrifices in War on Terror.
35	If anyone found responsible for providing shelter to bin Laden, then he must be brought to justice.
36	Bin Laden died due to his illness and now Americans are showing drama.

37	Main theme of highlighting the bin Laden's death is simply to divert attentions from internal problems of US.
38	Operation against bin Laden was carried out by Group Six of Navy Seals.
39	Adrian William H Macraven was the mastermind of the operation.
40	Bin Laden's compound/ Area closely monitored before operation.
41	USA must provide proof of bin Laden's death.
42	No statement made

**17: What phrase/ word were used to describe bin Laden in the news item?  
(First three options only)**

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- 1: Terrorist
- 2: Head of Al Qaeda
- 3: Mastermind of 9/11
- 4: Most-Wanted man to US after 9/11
- 5: Killer of innocent people
- 6: Jihadist against Soviet
- 7: Head of terrorist organization
- 8: Promoter of Terrorism in Pakistan
- 9: Most-Wanted man in the World
- 10: Mentioned just by Name
- 11: Any Other

12: No One

**18: What phrase/ word were used to describe the ‘Abbottabad Operation’?  
(First three options only)**

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- 1: Attack on Pakistani soil
- 2: Attack on Pakistan’s integrity
- 3: More serious issue than drone
- 4: According to the US policy
- 5: Violation of Sovereignty
- 6: Threat to the world’s peace
- 7: Secret US Operation
- 8: Shame for Pakistan
- 9: Attack on self-respect
- 10: Tragedy
- 11: Osama Operation
- 12: No adjective used

## APPENDIX 11: Coding Sheet for the TV Channels' Data Collection

**1: Story No:**

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**2: Date:**

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**3: Name of TV Channel**

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1: Geo News

2: Duniya News

3: PTV News (Script)

4: PTV News (DVD)

**4: Time of News Bulletin**

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1: 3pm

2: 9pm

**5: Does the news story include?**

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1: Package made by Reporter

2: Monologue of Newscaster/s (Table News Story)

3: Live telephonic interaction with reporter by Newscaster/s (Beeper).

4: Live telephonic interaction with reporter plus expert by newscaster/s.

5: Live Interaction with Expert/s by Newscaster/s.

6: Live interaction with Expert/s by Reporter.

7: Live Interaction with eye witnesses/ Local People by Reporter.

- 8: Monologue of Narrator in a report (with a background voice) (Table News Story)
- 9: Monologue of other TV Anchor (Table News Story).
- 10: Interaction with Expert by TV Anchor
- 11: Any other
- 12: No

**6: Who is the Actual First Source (Contributor) of the News Item?**

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- 1: Television own Reporter
- 2: US Media (Newspaper and TV)
- 3: Whitehouse Spokesperson
- 4: Any other Western Media
- 5: Pakistani President
- 6: PM House Spokesperson
- 7: ISPR (Pakistan Army Information Wing)
- 8: Foreign Office Spokesperson (Pakistan)
- 9: US President
- 10: US Secretary of State
- 11: US Defense Secretary
- 12: CIA Chief
- 13: Arab Media
- 14: US Armed Services Officials
- 15: Ex- Defense/ Government officials of USA
- 16: Television quoting itself
- 17: Al-Qaeda
- 18: International News Agency (Foreign one)

- 19: Local/National News Agency (Country's own)
- 20: Unnamed US official
- 21: US embassy/ ambassador in Pakistan
- 22: Eye Witnesses
- 23: Local People
- 24: American Expert (Name)
- 25: Pakistani Expert (Name)
- 26: Religious Scholars
- 27: Police Officials of Pakistan
- 28: Civil Society (NGOs and Lawyers etc.)
- 29: Opposition political parties of Pakistan
- 30: Pakistani PM
- 31: President House Spokesperson (Pakistan)
- 32: Provincial Chief Minister
- 33: Federal/ Provincial Ministers
- 34: Religious political parties of Pakistan
- 35: Armed/ Intelligence Forces of Pakistan.
- 36: Taliban commander/ Spokesperson
- 37: NATO
- 38: Foreign heads of state
- 39: US embassy/ ambassador in Pakistan
- 40: British Official/ Politician
- 41: Marc Grossman (US Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan)
- 42: US government Official
- 43: FBI website
- 44: Secretary Foreign Affairs Pakistan
- 45: Afghan Foreign Ministry Officials

46: John Brennan  
47: Allies of ruling government of Pakistan  
48: MQM Office  
49: Cantonment Board Abbottabad  
50: Indian Media  
51: US senators  
52: UN Representative/ Official  
53: EU representative/ Official  
54: Pakistani Parliamentarians  
55: US Congress Members  
56: Bin Laden's relative  
57: PAF Spokesperson/ Official  
58: PEMRA Spokesperson/ Official  
59: US Defense Ministry/ Pentagon  
60: Michel Obama  
61: Census Committee Pakistan  
62: Pervez Musharraf  
63: US standing committee for Foreign affairs  
64: Chinese ambassador/ government official  
65: Pakistani Ambassador/ Embassy  
66: Pakistani senators  
67: Provincial Governor of Pakistan  
68: Provincial assembly member of Pakistan  
69: Bin Laden's Ex-bodyguard  
70: Interpol Official  
71: Interior Ministry Pakistan  
72: Press Release

- 73: Handouts
- 74: Press Note
- 75: Commander of British Forces in Afghanistan
- 76: British Minister
- 77: Source not mentioned
- 78: Any other

**7: Secondary/ Additional Source/s Quoted with in a news item:**

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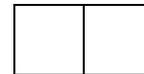
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- 44: Secretary Foreign Affairs Pakistan
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- 46: John Brennan
- 47: Allies of ruling government of Pakistan
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- 49: Cantonment Board Abbottabad
- 50: Indian Media
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- 71: Interior Ministry Pakistan
- 72: Press Release
- 73: Handouts
- 74: Press Note
- 75: Commander of British Forces in Afghanistan
- 76: British Minister
- 77: Source not mentioned
- 78: Any other

**8: Main topic of the Intro of the report/story:**



- 1: Confirmation of Bin Laden's death.
- 2: Details about the Abbottabad Operation.
- 3: Details about the casualties in Operation.
- 4: Provincial Government's stand on the issue
- 5: Federal Government's stand on the issue
- 6: Meeting in President House about the operation
- 7: Reaction of world Leaders to the bin Laden's death
- 8: Americans celebrating the death of bin laden.
- 9: Security situation in Abbottabad after operation.
- 10: Security situation in some other parts of the country after the operation.
- 11: Details about life of bin Laden (Biography).
- 12: Impact of bin Laden's death on the region.

- 13: Impact of bin Laden's death on the War on Terror.
- 14: Impact of bin Laden's death on the Al Qaeda.
- 15: Impact of bin Laden's death on the armed forces of Pakistan.
- 16: Impact of bin Laden's death on the tense Pak-US Relations.
- 17: Bin Laden's death and failure of Pakistani Security forces/ Intelligence agencies.
- 18: National ID card/ other Stuff found in bin Laden's compound.
- 19: Osama bin Laden's unfulfilled dream of bombing train stations/ airports in US.
- 20: Details about the secret planning of the operation.
- 21: Abbottabad Operation and violation of Pakistan's territory.
- 22: Bin Laden's death and issue of head money.
- 23: Opposition Political Parties criticizing government/Army.
- 24: Details about the destroyed Chopper in operation.
- 25: Information about the owner of Bin Laden's house directly/indirectly.
- 26: Civil Society demanding resignation of Pakistani government/ military officials.
- 27: Response of Opposition Political Parties to the Operation.
- 28: Government to take nation in confidence.
- 29: Information shared by neighbor/ local resident in Abbottabad.
- 30: Protest against Abbottabad Operation in Pakistan.
- 31: Efforts to promote good image of Pakistan
- 32: Conspiracy theories about bin Laden's death.
- 33: Abbottabad Operation and role of Intelligence agencies of Pakistan.
- 34: Bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad and Security Agencies of Pakistan.
- 35: Abbottabad Operation and Reaction of local residents in Abbottabad.
- 36: Details of Osama's videos released by US government.
- 37: Existence of Pro-bin Laden's network in Pakistan.
- 38: Pak-US officials meeting after bin Laden's death in operation.
- 39: Bin Laden's death and its impact on Pakistan's Stock Exchange.

- 40: Details about the rest of the family members of bin Laden.
- 41: Bin Laden's compound and its nearness to Kakol Training Academy/ Islamabad.
- 42: Issue of Burial of bin Laden's body.
- 43: How US followed bin Laden's compound?
- 44: Pakistan's intelligence help to US in reaching bin Laden.
- 45: Reaction of celebrities to bin Laden's death.
- 46: Denial of Current and Ex-Pakistani officials about the presence of bin Laden in Pakistan.
- 47: Information about the arrest/ release of the constructor of the compound
- 48: US Embassy/ Consulates in Pakistan closed down/ opened.
- 49: Investigative Committee launched to probe the violation of Pakistani Aerial territory.
- 50: Pakistani government to take nation in confidence.
- 51: Demand for the establishment of Independent Commission to investigate the operation.
- 52: Reaction of world leaders to the bin Laden's death.
- 53: Reaction of bin Laden's relatives to his death.
- 54: John Kerry to visit Pakistan soon.
- 55: US government advises its citizens to stay cautious after bin Laden's killing.
- 56: Impact of bin Laden's death on upcoming US elections.
- 57: Detail about bin Laden's compound.
- 58: Detail about the word/ terminology used for bin Laden or Abbottabad operation.
- 59: Response of general Public to his death/ Abbottabad Operation.
- 60: Bin Laden's will go public.
- 61: Abbottabad Operation and Pakistan having no clue of it.
- 62: Abbottabad Operation monitored by Obama/ his team.
- 63: Controversies surrounding bin Laden's death.
- 64: Conflict in statements of US officials.

- 65: Bin Laden's prayer offered in absentia/Prayer offered in Assembly.
- 66: Meeting of Pakistan's Parliamentary committee for National Affairs.
- 67: Pakistan requested US to handover things collected from Bin Laden's compound.
- 68: Obama/ First Lady meeting/ praising Navy Seals.
- 69: Detail about the possibility of bin Laden's stay in Chak Shah Ahmed Khan (Haripur).
- 70: Reaction of Pakistan Air Force (PAF) to Abbottabad Operation.
- 71: PEMRA issues notices to Foreign Media to leave Abbottabad.
- 72: Detail about the visit of Population Census team to bin Laden's compound.
- 73: Detail history about the search of bin Laden.
- 74: TV channel grilling PM over Abbottabad Operation.
- 75: Detail about the Abbottabad/ Bin Laden's neighbor town.
- 76: Was killing of bin Laden legal?
- 77: Deal between Pakistan and US over bin Laden's killing.
- 78: US stand on bin Laden's one sided killing.
- 79: CIA station chief in Pakistan named.
- 80: Pakistan's Armed forces/ Civilian government both stand on the same page after Abbottabad Operation.
- 81: Debate in Senate over Abbottabad Operation.
- 82: Issue of releasing bin Laden's picture.
- 83: Response of general public to the PML (N)'s suggestion of establishing Independent Inquiry Commission.
- 84: Obama speaking to the victims of 9/11.
- 85: People in US celebrating his death.
- 86: History of bin Laden's tapes released to media.
- 87: Tri-Nations meeting in Islamabad after bin Laden's death.
- 88: Who will lead Al-Qaeda after his death?

- 89: Response/ reaction of Pakistan’s Army to his death.
- 90: Civil Society in Pakistan protesting against the Abbottabad Operation.
- 91: US aid and loss of Pakistan in War on Terror.
- 92: Myths about bin Laden.
- 93: Condition of Zardari/ Kiyani after Obama’s call.
- 94: Comments from experts about the debate in the National Assembly of Pakistan over Abbottabad Operation.
- 95: Response of different political parties to the PML (N)’s demand of establishing Independent Inquiry Commission.
- 96: Interpol on bin Laden’s death.
- 97: Social Media and bin Laden’s death.
- 98: Popularity of Obama after bin Laden’s killing.
- 99: US Intelligence Officials over bin Laden’s role in Al Qaeda.
- 100: Federal Cabinet briefed over Operation.
- 101: In camera session of Parliament summoned.
- 102: Any other.

**9: Additional topics discussed within the Story (First three only)**

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- 1: Confirmation of Operation.
- 2: Confirmation of bin Laden’s death.
- 3: Information about bin Laden gathered since long.
- 4: Pakistani government supported Abbottabad Operation.
- 5: Bin Laden was shot dead and his body was taken.
- 6: Bin Laden was responsible for the killing of innocent people.
- 7: Bin Laden was an enemy of Islam.

- 8: Details about the casualties in operation.
- 9: One female was used as a shield.
- 10: Details about the operation.
- 11: Details about the compound in morning after operation.
- 12: Bin Laden's death is important.
- 13: People must wait for the detail briefing of ISPR.
- 14: Provincial government's response to the operation.
- 15: Security Agencies of Pakistan and Post-Operation Scenario.
- 16: Meeting attended by PM, President and Intelligence heads about the Operation.
- 17: Discussion in meeting about the Operation.
- 18: Formal Official reply of government will be submitted soon.
- 19: Reaction of the different heads of state.
- 20: American celebrating the death of bin Laden.
- 21: Security tightened at Kakool Road/Abbottabad.
- 22: Bin Laden's compound and different ways leading to it have been closed/ opened.
- 23: Situation according to eyewitnesses.
- 24: Local people's version about the presence of bin Laden.
- 25: Bin Laden's life (a short profile/ biography).
- 26: After 9/11 search for bin Laden started.
- 27: NATO accused him of hiding in Pakistan.
- 28: Bin Laden's Al Qaeda movement against innocent people.
- 29: Washington tried to get bin Laden at any cost.
- 30: Bush government also focused on his search to weaken Al Qaeda.
- 31: Impact of Bin Laden's death on the War on Terror.
- 32: Bin Laden's death a great achievement of US.
- 33: Joint operation based on Pak-US Intelligence sharing.

- 34: Pakistan and USA must further negotiate it that how much they can support each other.
- 35: Abbottabad Operation is according to declared US Policy.
- 36: Bin Laden's death good for Pakistan as well.
- 37: Bin Laden's death good for destroying the other terrorist organizations.
- 38: Detail about the road leading to US consulate in Pakistan.
- 39: Security tightened in different areas of Peshawar/ other parts of country.
- 40: Security forces patrolling in different parts of city/ies.
- 41: Detail about the National Identity Card (found in compound) holder.
- 42: Detail about the area to which he belonged.
- 43: Al-Qaeda vowing to take revenge.
- 44: Bin Laden recorded audio message before his death.
- 45: Al-Qaeda's unfulfilled planning of bombing in US during big events.
- 46: Homeland Security Department in US issues security warning.
- 47: Al-Qaeda still planning to hit the major cities in USA.
- 48: Bin Laden's compound was monitored by CIA team.
- 49: US officials knew about the compound since last August.
- 50: CIA, Congress and money spent on the search of bin Laden.
- 51: CIA and help from the secret spot during operation.
- 52: US State Department and the issue of receiver of head money on bin Laden.
- 53: Details about the previous award of money.
- 54: Details about the destroyed chopper.
- 55: Helicopters used in operation and technical changes.
- 56: Details about the electric bills in the compound of bin Laden.
- 57: Military personnel visit to the compound.
- 58: Compound completely sealed.
- 59: Different other ways in Abbottabad opened/ closed.

- 60: Government must ban the Black Water and other Terrorist Organizations in Pakistan.
- 61: Abbottabad operation is blow to the country's independence.
- 62: Army and ISI Chiefs must be court marshaled.
- 63: President, PM and Interior Minister must be trialed in courts.
- 64: Difference in information presented by the Pakistan Army and Government.
- 65: Pakistani President must tell where he stands.
- 66: Abbottabad Operation big sad news after the fall of Dhaka.
- 67: Government must break silence and must come forward.
- 68: Any personnel involved will be identified.
- 69: Government of Pakistan will really confirm that whether bin Laden was really there.
- 70: To investigated that how he came there.
- 71: Details about children living in bin Laden's compound.
- 72: Details about the bin Laden's compound (General).
- 73: Details about family living there.
- 74: Detail about other Al Qaeda leaders.
- 75: Complete detail about Abbottabad's geography (with reference to bin Laden's compound).
- 76: Things collected from the compound of bin Laden.
- 77: USA is a super dacoit power.
- 78: USA is planning to grab the resources of the rest of the world.
- 79: USA can't win this war.
- 80: If government/ military can't protect its people then they should resign.
- 81: Protest Rallies against the Abbottabad Operation.
- 82: Political and Military Leadership must resign.
- 83: Lobbying Forum trying to present good image of Pakistan after operation.

- 84: Details about the deal between Pakistan's government officials and lobbying forum officials.
- 85: Bin Laden was very religious person since long before.
- 86: Taliban may resume power in Afghanistan after US exit in 2014.
- 87: Government must take/ consider the suggestion forwarded by the opposition political parties seriously.
- 88: Operation was possible due to Intelligence sharing between Pakistan and US since long.
- 89: Impact of Bin Laden's killing on Pakistan in terms of Pak-US relations.
- 90: Impact of Bin Laden's death on upcoming US elections.
- 91: Pakistan has played a great role in War on Terror by laying down lots of sacrifices.
- 92: Operation was one-sided as Pakistan was not on board.
- 93: US forces were searching house after Operation.
- 94: Whole world must stay unite to fight terror.
- 95: Abbottabad style unilateral operation is threat to the world's peace.
- 96: Pressure on Pakistan from US/ World after bin Laden's killing in Pakistan.
- 97: Independent Inquiry Commission must be established to look into the issue freely and fairly.
- 98: Constructor of the Bin Laden's compound has been questioned/ held by the Intelligence officials of Pakistan.
- 99: People of Pakistan must accept the statement issued by the government.
- 100: Pakistan must stay ally of US in the War on Terror.
- 101: Al Qaeda in crisis after Bin Laden's death.
- 102: Bin Laden had links with military/ Intelligence officials in Pakistan.
- 103: Pakistan may fall to Taliban after bin Laden's death.
- 104: Bin Laden's death is extra judicial murder.
- 105: Bin Laden's death and its presence in Abbottabad is failure of the Intelligence officials of Pakistan.
- 106: Criticism on the briefing of Secretary Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

- 107: Present civilian set up of Pakistan is incompetent as it is the creation of NRO.
- 108: Media Reports about the stay of Bin Laden in Haripur (Chak Shah Mohammad Khan).
- 109: Bin Laden was traced due to one phone call by US.
- 110: Foreign media doing coverage from Abbottabad has been banned/ asked to leave the Abbottabad.
- 111: Detail about the Mastermind of the operation – Macroven.
- 112: Psychological impact of operation on children in Abbottabad.
- 113: US may set the Abbottabad Operation as a precedent for the future attacks.
- 114: 9/11 and bin Laden's presence both result of Intelligence failure.
- 115: PM/ Government Officials must come open to the US to protest against it.
- 116: Detail about the movement of helicopters in air on the Abbottabad Operation night.
- 117: Role of Pakistan in War on Terror after bin Laden's killing.
- 118: Government must take the nation in confidence after the Operation.
- 119: US will interrogate the wives of bin Laden.
- 120: Pakistan's protest on Bin Laden's death is just show off.
- 121: US respect/ acknowledge Pakistan's sacrifices in the War on Terror.
- 122: Security forces of Pakistan did not harbor him.
- 123: ISI will soon take action against Mullah Omar in Quetta.
- 124: Harmony among all the institutions of the country necessary.
- 125: Pakistan's Army has failed to give the satisfactory reply.
- 126: Detail history about the usefulness of different Commissions established in past.
- 127: Fear was that bin Laden's grave could turn into a shrine.
- 128: Impact of Bin Laden's death on Al Qaeda.
- 129: Abbottabad Operation was impossible without Pakistan's help.
- 130: Bin Laden was in favor of attacking US.

- 131: Bin Laden was a threat to a civilized world.
- 132: Bin Laden's death is not a failure of Pakistan in the War on Terror.
- 133: Pakistan was not taken on board as it was considered a 'Security Risk'.
- 134: Impact of Bin Laden's death on the local people of Abbottabad.
- 135: Detail about the burial of bin Laden's body.
- 136: Pakistan is fighting war on terror all alone.
- 137: Bin Laden's death is a drama launched by US to leave Afghanistan.
- 138: How Pakistan was unaware of bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad?
- 139: Pakistan/ US/ EU must continue supporting each other.
- 140: No one is ready to accept the plea of Pakistan.
- 141: ISI arrested more than hundreds of Al Qaeda members/ leaders.
- 142: Stand of the Pakistan's government clear on its Independence/ Sovereignty.
- 143: Problems/ Gap still exist among the different institutions of Pakistan.
- 144: All high-ups of Civil/ Military department must resign.
- 145: US must apologize to Pakistan after the Operation.
- 146: Pakistan must stay alert for any possible attack from Al Qaeda.
- 147: Bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad is still a drama to destabilize Pakistan.
- 148: Bin Laden was agent of CIA.
- 149: Bin Laden attacked/ was against US due to its liberal values.
- 150: Political Leadership of Pakistan must behave responsibly.
- 151: Military leadership good in Pakistan than civilian leadership as at least they gave briefing after operation.
- 152: In past Afghanistan/ US/ NATO did not provide any proof about bin Laden's stay in Pakistan.
- 153: Conspiracy theories issued surrounding the videos of bin Laden released by the US government.
- 154: Air Chief established the inquiry committee to investigate the violation of Pakistan's territory.

- 155: In-Camera briefing to the Parliament will be hosted by Army/ ISI.
- 156: Abbottabad Operation is the failure of the government of Pakistan.
- 157: Detail about the Investigative committee launched by the ruling Pakistani government.
- 158: Detail about the issues which Investigative committee must try to answer.
- 159: War on terror is financially very costly.
- 160: US helicopters could not be traced due to mountainous region.
- 161: Pakistan/ World have to focus on the winning of the hearts of people hit by terror.
- 162: Bin Laden now episode of past.
- 163: Pakistan won't allow anyone to use its land for the purpose of promoting terror.
- 164: Pakistan's help is still necessary to US/ Allies in War on Terror.
- 165: The best platform to address the Abbottabad issue is parliament.
- 166: No other theme discussed/ single theme story
- 167: Any Other

**10: Are there any statement/s made in the news item about Pakistan's government? (First three statements only)**

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S.NO	Statement Made
1	Pakistan has been taken on board about the operation.
2	Pakistan helped in conducting operation against bin Laden.
3	Bin Laden's death great achievement for Pakistan.
4	Bin Laden also waged war against Pakistan.
5	Bin Laden also ordered to carry out attacks in Pakistan.
6	Bin Laden's death is also great day for Pakistan.
7	Pakistan must continue to stay ally of US in war on terror.
8	Provincial government of KP was not in loop about the operation.
9	Bin Laden's presence in Pakistan will create problems for Pakistan.
10	Bin Laden's death can be used by US to extend their war to

	Pakistan.
11	Pakistan will never bear any American aggression on its land.
12	Bar Association in Pakistan has condemned the Abbottabad Operation.
13	President, PM and Army Chief all must resign.
14	The government must ban the Black Water and all other American spy organizations in Pakistan.
15	American operation is major attack on the independence, solidarity of Pakistan.
16	President, PM, Home Minister and all other responsible must be trialed.
17	There is wide difference in the statement issued by the government and Army.
18	President must tell to which side he is, People of Pakistan or USA.
19	The government must issue the policy statement.
20	Abbottabad Operation is the worst/ biggest incident after the fall of Dhaka
21	The rulers must break the silence and must tell the people about it.
22	There are now doubts about the loyalty of rulers to the country.
23	Some high up must have resigned after the Abbottabad Operation.
24	PM will take the nation in confidence in National Assembly.
25	All the people responsible for the Abbottabad Operation must be identified.
26	The government will first investigate that was bin Laden there or was a drama launched by US to win the upcoming election.
27	The Pakistani people know better how to defend the country.
28	Pakistan must investigate the bin Laden's friendly network in Pakistan.
29	Bin Laden's episode is full of drama to pressurize Pakistan for doing more.
30	If relations with Pakistan important then why she was not taken on board.
31	Although Pakistan handed over many Al Qaeda terrorists to US, but she did not get due credit for bin Laden's death.
32	Bin Laden hit the credibility of Pakistan even after his death.
33	Pakistan provided information about the messenger of bin Laden, and due to which they reached.
34	Bin Laden has been killed after 10 years of cooperation between Pakistan and US.
35	Abbottabad operation was not jointly conducted, but Pakistan played its part.
36	Pakistan has played a great role in the War on Terror by giving sacrifices of thousands of its soldiers.
37	War on Terror is now Pakistan's own war.
38	After bin Laden's death now Pakistan is on the top of hit list.
39	Relations between Pakistan and US have entered into the most

	difficult episode.
40	There is no proof that Pakistan was aware of bin Laden's presence in Abbottabad.
41	US officials made it clear to Pakistani officials that they would kill bin Laden, wherever they found him.
42	In past all the Pakistani rulers ruled out bin Laden's presence in Pakistan.
43	There will be a debate in National Assembly over the Abbottabad Operation.
44	Pakistan's Civil and Military leadership will never resign.
45	Independent Commission must be established to know about the Abbottabad operation completely.
46	Lobbying Forum has been asked to present the good image of Pakistan.
47	There is no proof that Pakistan's government sponsored the network that helped bin Laden.
48	Pakistan was not aware of the presence of bin Laden in Abbottabad.
49	Bin Laden's death is good news for Pakistan.
50	If our government/ security agencies were not on board then this attack is against the integrity and freedom of Pakistan.
51	If military establishment and rulers can't protect the country, then they must resign.
52	Bin Laden was living and operating only 35 miles away from Islamabad.
53	If bin Laden was in Abbottabad, then why we did not know about it?
54	If we knew about it, then how he was alive?
55	Pakistan must protest against the operation at diplomatic level.
56	Nothing can be shared as a final word that whether Pakistan incompetent/ involved in bin Laden's stay in Abbottabad.
57	David Patrios, the expected next chief of CIA, is very unfriendly to Pakistan.
58	Pak-US relations can be decided after the answers of questions arising after the bin Laden's death in Pakistan.
59	Prime Minister must take the nation in confidence.
60	The local people are still in fear after operation.
61	No Statement made.

**11: Are there any statement/s made in the news item about the Pakistan's Army/ Intelligence Agencies after the Abbottabad Operation? (First three statements only)**

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S.NO	Statement Made
1	Pakistani Intelligence Agencies have strong contacts with the world's best Intelligence networks.
2	The intelligence agencies working in Pakistan have faced failure in locating bin Laden.
3	The intelligence agencies in Pakistan have faced failure in defending the country from US aggression.
4	Pakistan's Army chief and DG ISI must resign.
5	Pakistan's Army Chief and DG ISI must be court marshaled.
6	Pakistan's army which was once invincible, but now seems paralyzed.
7	Bin Laden's compound was very near to the Kakool training academy so how our army was not aware of it?
8	How Intelligence agencies in Pakistan did not know that who is living with them in their surrounding near Kakol?
9	Investigations will be carried out in Pakistan that why Intelligence Agencies were unable to capture him?
10	U.S. wants to take control of the Pakistan's Atomic weapons.
11	If US further insist on attacks in Pakistan, then it will create conflict.
12	American helicopters could not be traced on radar due to the mountainous region.
13	Pakistan's Air force has established a special committee to investigate the violations of Pakistan's territory.
14	Pakistan's Air Force is investigating that why US helicopters could not be traced.
15	Bin Laden was not given shelter by any Pakistani Intelligence agency.
16	Bin Laden's presence and 9/11 attacks both are the results of the Intelligence failure.
17	Abbottabad Operation was the result of joint intelligence Information sharing between both countries – US and Pakistan.
18	The relations between both countries' intelligence forces will remain tense after the operation.
19	All the decisions are taken in GHQ and the government is totally unaware.

20	Pakistan must now decide about the nature of operation against Mullah Omar and Al Zahwari.
21	Pakistan's Air Force department has established special committee to investigate the violation of territory.
22	Security forces in Pakistan have cordoned off the area and sealed the compound/ Kakool road.
23	No statement made

**12: Are there any statement/s made in the news item about the American government/ Forces? (First three statements only)**

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S.NO	Statement Made
1	Today is the historic day for US.
2	Bin Laden's death resulted after hard struggle made by the US Intelligence agencies after gathering lots of information.
3	US have no war against Islam or Muslims.
4	US won't tolerate any security threat.
5	Bin Laden's death is a great victory for US and its Allies.
6	Bin Laden's death will pave way for US to negotiate with Taliban.
7	US will show off the death of bin Laden as a big achievement.
8	Insurgency in Afghanistan is related to the policies of US.
9	Abbottabad Operation was according to the Policy of US as they said that they will go after him.
10	After 9/11, US pressurized majority of its Allies to join hands against Al Qaeda.
11	Small unit of CIA was in operation near the compound of bin Laden.
12	CIA was monitoring the house of bin Laden after the operation.
13	The American action has shown that she is super dacoit power.
14	American war is not against terrorism, but Islam and Pakistan.
15	The American government wants to control the whole world by force.
16	The American government is an illiterate government.
17	US will gain the financial benefits from the bin Laden's death.
18	American Navy SEALs are considered among the best forces in the world.
19	Abbottabad Operation was conducted after proper US planning.

20	Bin Laden was not killed by US navy SEALs, but by his own guard.
21	Bin Laden's case was even supported by the UN resolution that all the countries were bound to hand it over him to US.
22	USA is investigating that was there any bin Laden's friendly network.
23	What Americans achieved is far above than politics.
24	The relatives of innocent people who lost their lives during 9/11 have got justice.
25	In bin Laden's case, it is hard to say that Pakistan is involved or incompetent.
26	U.S is fighting war against Al Qaeda in Pakistan.
27	Bin Laden's death is the start of US exit from Afghanistan.
28	US rejected Pakistan's plea that Abbottabad Operation was unilateral/ violation of Pakistan's territory and independence.
29	American intelligence Agencies are trying to divert the attention of masses from their failure by blaming Pakistan.
30	Credibility of American Intelligence Agency is very low.
31	Unilateral Operation is threat to the world's peace.
32	CIA used highly skilled technology about the information provided by Pakistan.
33	America is committed to fight against terror.
34	Americans have given great sacrifices in War on Terror.
35	If anyone found responsible for providing shelter to bin Laden, then he must be brought to justice.
36	Bin Laden died due to his illness and now Americans are showing drama.
37	Main theme of highlighting the bin Laden's death is simply to divert attentions from internal problems of US.
38	Operation against bin Laden was carried out by Group Six of Navy Seals.
39	Adrian William H Macraven was the mastermind of the operation.
40	Bin Laden's compound/ Area closely monitored before operation.
41	USA must provide proof of bin Laden's death.
42	No statement made

**13: What phrase/ word were used to describe bin Laden in the news item? (First three options only)**

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- 1: Terrorist
- 2: Head of Al Qaeda
- 3: Mastermind of 9/11
- 4: Most-Wanted man to US after 9/11
- 5: Killer of innocent people
- 6: Jihadist against Soviet
- 7: Head of terrorist organization
- 8: Promoter of Terrorism in Pakistan
- 9: Most-Wanted man in the World
- 10: Mentioned just by Name
- 11: Any Other
- 12: No One

**14: What phrase/ word were used to describe the ‘Abbottabad Operation’? (First three options only)**

- 1: Attack on Pakistani soil
- 2: Attack on Pakistan’s integrity
- 3: More serious issue than drone
- 4: According to the US policy
- 5: Violation of Sovereignty
- 6: Threat to the world’s peace
- 7: Secret US Operation
- 8: Shame for Pakistan

9: Attack on self-respect

10: Tragedy

11: Osama Operation

12: No adjective used

OSAMA AND TERRORISM  
SECURITY FOR  
BURKI PKG

اسامہ بن لادن کی ہلاکت ریاستوں کیخلاف  
غیر ریاستی عناصر اور شدت پسند تنظیموں کیخلاف  
بڑی کامیابی قرار دی جا رہی ہے اس ہلاکت کے  
دہشتگردی کیخلاف جاری مہم پر کیا اثرات ہونگے  
بتا رہے ہیں ریاض برکی!  
آواز خاموش

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