

Effect of Operation Neptune Spear on Anti-Americanism in Mainstream Pakistani Press

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Abstract

This study analyses anti-Americanism in the mainstream press of Pakistan before and after the Operation Neptune Spear (ONS) also called Abbottabad Operation conducted by US forces in Abbottabad (Pakistan) in which Osama bin Laden (OBL) was killed. The researcher analysed coverage of drone attacks and Abbottabad Operation in op-ed pages of four leading national newspapers i.e., *Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Express*. Total time of the study was four months, two months before the Operation (01 March 2011 to 30 April 2011) and two months after the Operation (01 May 2011 to 30 June 2011). The ONS was taken as an independent variable for exploring anti-Americanism in the mainstream Pakistani media (print media) while “drone attacks” was taken as a control variable. Anti-Americanism in op-ed pages of the selected newspapers was compared to determine the effect of ONS on anti-Americanism in the mainstream Urdu and English press of Pakistan. The results revealed that US image in the Pakistani press remained negative throughout the study period and the ONS had no significant effect on the image of USA in Pakistani leading press.

Keywords: Anti-Americanism; Mainstream Pakistan Press; War-on-Terror; Operation Neptune Spear (Abbottabad Operation)

Introduction and Background of the Study

Pak-America bilateral relations have been experiencing constant ups and downs since the beginning of mutual ties between the two countries. Pakistani mass media, especially the press, is closely monitoring and examining this fluctuation. The post Afghan War phase of the mutual relationship between the two countries was not a very good one; nevertheless, the War-on-Terror (WoT) waged by America in the wake of the 9/11 incident, once again brought the two countries close together as coalition partners for combating terrorism and extremism in the region. But the element of trust deficit surfaced time and again during this period as well. This trust deficit has been exhibited in the form of “*do more*” demand from Pakistan. Even American forces kept on taking independent actions in Pakistani areas against the so-called terrorists. For quite some time such actions have mainly been limited to remote-controlled drone attacks. Pakistani people, government and the national media all are very critical of these drone attacks. But the Operation Neptune Spear, which was named by America as Operation Geronimo and later on renamed as Operation Neptune Spear against Osama bin

Laden (OBL), was planned and executed by American Marines independently without taking Pakistani government and armed forces into confidence (Kumar, 2011). This has been deemed not only as a sheer mistrust on the credentials of a coalition partner in the WoT but also viewed as an explicit violation of its integrity, independence, sovereignty and national prestige. Pakistani government and armed forces were informed about the operation when the operation was completed. Michael Mullen, the US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave a telephonic call to Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani around 3 am (local time) and informed him about the Operation. This incident harassed the entire nation as it was not expected from a so-called coalition partner (Amir, 2011).

The Pakistani media took the issue very seriously and gave enormous coverage to it. Leaders of major political parties such as Pakistan Tahreek-i-Insaaf, Jamaat-i-Islami, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan Sunni Tahreek, Jammiet Ulema-i-Islam, Jammiet Ulema-i-Pakistan, etc. also viewed this act as violation of sovereignty of Pakistan. Moreover, the Pakistan Army slammed the Operation and bitterly criticised American forces and authorities for not sharing intelligence regarding the plan and its execution in advance. The killing of Osama bin Laden (OBL) by American forces inside the settled area of Pakistan (Abbottabad) which is not very far away from the federal capital, Islamabad was very difficult for Pakistanis to digest. Only 14% Pakistani supported the killing of Al Qaida leader and raid of the US marines on OBL compound (Pew Research Centre, 2011). The ONS seems to have had negative effects on portrayal of America. Moreover, some statements issued by American authorities in the wake of the Operation could be interpreted as lack of confidence in Pakistan. For example, the then CIA chief, Leon Pannetta said that CIA had ruled out involving Pakistan in the operation, because it feared that any effort to work with the Pakistanis could jeopardize the mission (Calabresi, 2011).

Keeping in view the agenda-setting role of media, the researcher therefore planned the present study to: (i) explore the extent of coverage given to USA by leading Pakistani press before and after the Operation Neptune Spear, (ii) investigate the nature of coverage in terms of constructing the image of USA during the two periods i.e., before and after Operation Neptune Spear, and (iii) find out whether the Operation Neptune Spear has caused any difference in the nature of coverage given to USA by leading press of the country. In other words, the Operation Neptune Spear has been taken as an independent variable in exploring its effect on anti-Americanism prevailing in Pakistani media. Although some other studies have also been conducted on portrayal of the image of America in Pakistani media such as Ayoub & Ahmed, 2013; Shami, 2011; Saleem, 2010; Khan & Safder, 2010 however such studies were mainly limited to

English language newspapers of the country. To make any objective opinion regarding the stance of national press of Pakistan, newspapers need to be selected in such a way that they represent both the mainstream Urdu and English press of the country properly. These newspapers are supposed to play a very crucial role in setting public opinion and official agenda in the country. The previous studies marginally analysed Urdu press, which is considered as popular press of Pakistan. Furthermore, we intended to take Operation Neptune Spear as an independent variable in the context of portrayal of America in the leading Urdu and English press of Pakistan. More importantly the previous studies conducted on the topic area had methodological problems. They either did not identify the causes of such portrayal (negative portrayal) or avoided to measure the extent of anti-Americanism/ degree of negative portrayal that could be caused by those factors. Researchers in the present study have taken care of this methodological problem.

Statement of the Problem

The present study was designed to investigate that whether and to what extent the Operation Neptune Spear caused anti-Americanism in the leading Urdu and English press of Pakistan. In fact, the mass media are considered powerful enough to frame and slant issues/ events/ people. They are also deemed competent of setting audience agenda by presentation of issues/ events and people in a way.

Literature review on portrayal of America in the Pakistani media reveals that American image in the Pakistani press is contingent with the prevailing relationship between the two countries, which in turn have been dependent on the different issues/events. Previous research works on image of America in Pakistan media to greater extent show anti-Americanism in Pakistani media due to one or another reason. Hence the purpose of this study was to investigate whether the ONS has caused any difference in anti-Americanism or negative portrayal of the image of USA in Pakistani media before and after the ONS. The study focused on exploring answers to questions such as (i) What is the extent of anti-Americanism before and after ONS in the leading Urdu and English press of Pakistan? (ii) Is there any difference in the image of USA as constructed by the leading newspapers of Pakistan before and after the Operation Neptune Spear? And (iii) how do Pakistani leading Urdu and English newspapers frame the attack on the OBL compound by the US forces?

Total time period of the study was four months: two months before the Operation (March 01, 2011 to April 30, 2011) and two months after the Operation (May 01, 2011 to June 30, 2011). The ONS was used as an independent variable for exploring anti-Americanism in the mainstream Pakistani media (print media)

while “drone attacks” in the Pakistani territory was selected control variable for analysis in the present study.

This study has greater significance in practical as well as theoretical terms. Results of the study will be helpful in formulation of effective joint policies / strategies for combating the WoT and to avoid Abbottabad-like operations which may prove to be negative for the bilateral relationship of America and Pakistan. The study has also its theoretical implications for mass communication research and theory in general and that of Pakistan in particular. It will help us explore framing and image building role of Pakistani mass media. The results of the study will also be helpful for future researchers who will be investigating the framing role of Pakistani mass media and for also that studying anti-Americanism in Pakistani mass media.

Anti-Americanism in Different Parts of the World

The anti-American sentiments are being found in many countries of the world, and various scholars around the world have been investigating the existence, extent, causes and effects of anti-Americanism in different parts of the world. Tony Judt (2005) has even termed it (anti-Americanism) “the master narrative of the age.” Nevertheless, every country and each nation have its own reasons for such sentiments. As a matter of fact, such feelings are not shared equally by all groups of the same society and the same nation. For example, in Iran where a huge number of people say, “death to America”, there are sympathisers of America as well. More importantly, in some countries such as Turkey, anti-Americanism has got a very basic position in Opposition politics (Türkmen, 2010). Pakistan is also no exception. Furthermore, democracy is considered as a social value of the American society (McQuail, 1996) and in the name of democracy and social justice America even invaded Iraq and toppled Saddam’s government there. But in other parts the Arab peninsula, America enjoys good terms with aristocratic regimes. Same is the case in countries where military dictators overthrow democratic governments, grab the power and America provides them its support as far as the military rulers serve American interests (for example Pakistan). Hence, pro-democratic people criticise America for such double standards. However, people of the same society whose interests are attached with the incumbent military dictator or king are not against America.

Scholars have distinguished anti-Americanism because of official policies at home and abroad of the American government and anti-Americanism due to the culture, and social values of America. The anti-American feelings due to policies of American governments in countries and peoples who are hit hard directly or even indirectly by such policies are more likely to be anti-America not due to its culture rather they are against the United States of America due to its foreign

policy. Füsün Türkmen (2010) has termed this kind of Anti-Americanism as objective or rational anti-Americanism. However, he views that such feelings also exist due to prejudice instead of some solid reason. He called such type of anti-Americanism as subjective or irrational.

People in the Middle East criticise America for its “unfair foreign policy” and they argue that America should revise its Middle East policy of its unjustified support for Israel (Zoubir & Ait-hamadouche, 2006). Even in Muslim countries of North Africa and other parts of the Muslim world, people in general consider American military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan as its (America’s) anti-Islam and anti-Muslim policies. Even those nations who are supposed to be supportive of the American international policy measures in respect of international issues, such as terrorism, feel very uncomfortable with the policy of unilateral actions taken by American government without taking them into confidence regarding the pre-emptive war doctrine of the latter and then making the former to support its actions in different parts of the world (La Palombara, 2010). On the other hand, a greater number of American legislatures consider it as their prerogative to engage American troops in other parts of the world (Biden, 2000).

In some countries these feelings are limited to the masses excluding government level. Here the mass media are also following the official policy due to their own restricted freedom. In some other countries (such as Pakistan) where the mass media are comparatively free and work as a public sphere, they (national mass media) also share the element of anti-Americanism with the masses and even criticise their respective governments for toeing American policies at the cost of their own national interests. Qadir and Alasuutari (2013) found that mass media and politicians (Opposition) were very critical of Pakistan’s involvement in the war on terror as a frontline ally of America and the supposedly negative political, economic and social implications of the war on terror on Pakistani society, drone attacks, and violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. However, high government officials such as the President, Prime Minister, and other government functionaries had a different opinion than that of the general masses, opposition and the media. They were not against America.

There are other countries such as Russia (Bohm, 2014) where anti-Americanism is common in government, national media and general masses. However, in general, after World War-II the nation-based anti-Americanism has been decreased across the globe (Connery, 2001).

Türkmen (2010) views anti-Americanism as a global phenomenon. A recent survey conducted by the WIN/Gallup International poll in 65 countries shows that 24 per cent respondents considered America as the greatest threat to world

peace. However, respondents from Russia (54 per cent) and Pakistan (44 per cent) considered America as the greatest threat among the listed countries as potential threat to the world peace. Pakistani respondents even rated America on the threat index higher than India (15 per cent) and Israel (13 per cent). Although Pakistan has fought four wars against India and has been threatened by India since the first day of its creation on August 14, 1947, and Pakistanis consider Israel as occupier of Al-Quds and the killer of Palestinian Muslims but even then, 44 per cent respondents out of a sample of 2000 viewed America as the greatest threat to world peace (WIN/ Gallup, 2013). The element of anti-Americanism exists among radical, socio-religious, sovereign-nationalist and liberal Pakistanis (Afzal, 2013). Nevertheless, like some other parts of the world where anti-Americanism flourishes, a good majority of people who do not like America in Pakistan are not against the American people; rather they are against the American policies. Imran Khan, who is heading one of the major political parties of the country, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), said in a television interview that he was not anti-US. Rather he was against their policies (News Desk, 2013).

Negative feelings are also surging in European business community, politicians, scholars, and academicians. Lapalmbara (2004) viewed that although millions of Americans share their ethnic identities with Italians, Polish and Irish people but even in Italy, Poland, and Ireland people are strongly criticising America for its policies. Even anti-Americanism exists in Britain, France and Germany, who are considered as traditional allies of America (Hodge, 2009).

The roots of anti-Americanism in Pakistan may be connected to American policy in the Middle East, where the United States invariably supports Israel; its indifferent attitude towards solution of the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan; American military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan; its alleged interference in Pakistani politics and supporting military dictators who took power in the country by ousting elected governments in different time periods; frequent violation of Pakistani air and ground limits by American troops deployed in Afghanistan; leaving Pakistan in lurch and at the mercy of terrorists after the down fall of USSR; and more importantly Pakistani consider America responsible for the present state of terrorism in the country.

Portrayal of America in Pakistan Press

History of Pak-US relationship shows an invariable rise and fall in the bilateral ties between the two countries. In the same vein, portrayal of America by Pakistani media has also been changing from negative to positive and vice versa. Pakistani media portray America in the context of American policies and actions that the latter takes regarding the Muslim world in general, and Pakistan and Pakistani interests in the region and elsewhere in the world in particular. Saleem

(2010), in her study on “framing of U.S image in *The Pakistan Times & Dawn* with reference to Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan (1979-88)”, found that both the dailies (*The Pakistan Times* and *Dawn*) portrayed positive image of America in their editorials. She found that *The Pakistan Times* in its editorials gave more positive coverage to America than the daily *Dawn* during the study period (December 1979 to May 1988). Here one can easily notice importance and impact of the time of the study. During this period (1979-1988) Pakistan and America were jointly combating a war against USSR in Afghanistan. Here the national press, particularly the two newspapers (Pakistan Times and Dawn), followed the foreign policy of the government. It is pertinent to mention here that then the daily “Pakistan Times” was a state-run newspaper. Ayoub and Ahmed (2013) examined portrayal of Pak-US relationships in editorials of the two English language Pakistani newspapers, daily *Dawn* and daily *The Nation* from January 2-13 to June 2013 in the context of drone attacks in Pakistani tribal area, Waziristan, by the American forces. Main objective of the study was to examine the extent of coverage given to the issue in their editorial by the selected national dailies, and to know the stance of the papers on this important issue. They found that in total *The Nation* and *Dawn* published 22 editorials in the selected study period on the given issue. *The Nation* published 17 editorials while *Dawn* carried five editorials on the topic. Their results indicated that both the newspapers were very critical of the American policy of conducting drone attacks in Waziristan. Either of the papers termed such policy as a violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. Similarly, Paracha, Imran and Khan (2012) also found that daily *The Nation* and daily *Dawn* gave more negative slants to drone attacks in their editorials. Khan and Safder (2010) explored the image of USA in editorials of daily *Dawn* and daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* from September 2001 to September 2004. The researchers wanted to know whether the selected newspapers toeing government policy in joining hands with the USA against the “War-on-Terror” and portray America and American policy positively in this regard. Results of the study showed that both the newspapers gave more negative coverage to USA in their editorials during the study period. The researcher also found that unfavourable coverage in editorials of the selected newspapers to USA increased with the passage of time. As compared to *Dawn*, daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* portrayed USA more negatively. Mahmood and Ahmed (2013) also found that Pakistani English press (*Dawn*, *The News*, and *The Nation*) portrayed US image negative in both hard and soft news. However, as per their findings the selected newspapers gave more unfavourable coverage to America in their soft news as compared to their hard news contents.

Savera Shami (2013) analyzed daily *The News* and the daily *Dawn* for portrayal of America after assassination of Osama bin Laden in their front and back pages and editorials. The time of her study was May to July 2011. She found that both

the papers portrayed America more negatively in their news pages (front and back). However, the researcher found that *The News* gave more negative coverage in its news pages to America than daily *Dawn*. Editorial coverage of the selected papers followed suit. The results revealed that both the selected papers portrayed America more negative than positive in their editorials during the period of study. However, as compared to daily *Dawn* daily *The News* framed America more unfavourable here too. Both the elite national papers considered assassination of Osama bin Laden by American marines in Pakistani territory as violation of the sovereignty of Pakistan. Almost all the above-mentioned studies portray negative image of America in their contents. However, these studies either did not explore the cause (s) of negative image/anti-Americanism in the Pakistani media or suffered from methodological problems. They have their own limitations. Ayoub and Ahmed (2013) and Paracha, Imran, & Khan (2012) took drone strikes as a possible factor of anti-Americanism in the Pakistani media but they did not measure the extent of anti-Americanism or the degree of negative portrayal that had been caused by drone strikes in Waziristan. Savera Shami (2013) also did not measure that how much anti-Americanism had been explained in the Pakistani media by her proposed independent variable i.e., the assassination of Osama bin Laden. These methodological loopholes cause the problems of validity and reliability.

The literature enabled the researchers to hypothesize that anti-Americanism in mainstream Pakistani Urdu and English newspapers will be less before the ONS as compared to the after ONS period.

Research Methodology

As the study was supposed to explore the extent of coverage given to America, and to know the effect of ONS on American negative portrayal hence the researchers tried to answer both descriptive and analytical questions in the present study. Descriptive questions were formulated to quantitatively map up the extent of editorial coverage given to America in two different time periods i.e., before the ONS and after the ONS by the sampled mainstream English and Urdu newspapers (*Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express*); whereas analytical questions were formulated to examine the effect of Abbottabad Operation on the nature of coverage (favourable, neutral, or unfavourable) given to USA by the selected mainstream newspapers of Pakistan. The researchers, therefore, took the ONS as an independent variable, drone attacks as control variable, and portrayal of America in the Pakistani mainstream English and Urdu newspapers as the dependent variable, and analysed editorials of the selected mainstream newspapers for anti-Americanism before and after the ONS. As evident from literature review America has been portrayed negatively by the leading Pakistani newspapers hence, the researchers examined portrayal of America by studying

framing of drone attacks before the ONS as well as after the Operation. In addition to the issue of drone attacks they analyzed the framing of America in the context of ONS to measure the effect of the main independent variable (Operation Neptune Spear) on portrayal of America/ anti-Americanism in mainstream Pakistani Urdu and English press.

By mainstream newspapers of Pakistan, the researchers meant flagship newspaper (Urdu /English) of the four major newspaper groups of Pakistan. The four newspaper groups of Pakistan are (i) Dawn Group of Newspapers, (ii) Jang Group of Newspapers, (iii) Nawa-i-Waqt Group of Newspapers, and (iv) Express Group of newspapers. Daily *Dawn* is the flagship newspaper of Dawn Group of Newspapers hence the researchers selected it for the study. The other major English language newspaper of the country is daily *The News*; the researchers, therefore, selected it from the Jang Group of Newspapers. Although Jang is the leading Urdu language newspaper of Pakistan but as the researchers had already selected daily *The News* of the same Group of Newspapers, hence they did not select it for the present study. In fact, the researchers wanted to give equal representation to the four Groups. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and daily *Express* are major newspapers of Nawa-i-Waqt Group of Newspapers and Express Group of Newspapers respectively, so they were selected amongst the mainstream Urdu language newspapers of Pakistan. The unit of analysis in the present study was editorial of the selected newspapers. Time period of the study was 1st March 2011 to 30th June 2011. The researchers used census technique instead of sampling and analysed all the editorials published during the period of the study. The Abbottabad Operation was conducted on May 3, 2011 hence the researchers gathered data two months before the operation (01 March 2011 to 30 April 2011) and two months after the Operation (01 May 2011 to 30 June 2011).

The researchers found that in total 130 editorials were published on the two topics (drone attacks and attack on OBL compound by American forces).

Table 1: Coverage Given to Drone Attacks and Attack on OBL Compound during the Two Periods

				Total
		Pre- Operation Neptune Spear	Post- Operation Neptune Spear	
	Drone Attacks	36	31	67
	Attack on OBL compound	0	63	63
Total		36	94	130

Analysis of the data in Table 1.1 showed that the selected leading Urdu and English press collectively published 67 on the issue of “drone attacks” during the specified period of the study (March-June,2011). Out of these 67 editorials 36 were brought out in the pre-ONS time period vis-a-vis 01 March 2011 to 30 April, 2011, while 31 were published during the post-ONS time period vis-a-vis 01 May, 2011 to 30 June, 2011. Although the number of editorials published on drone attacks was decreased during the “after ONS” period (May 1, 2011 to June 30, 2011) but the fact is that frequency of drone attacks got down after the operation as almost all segments of the Pakistani society, including army, government and Opposition took a very serious note of the Operation and strongly reacted to it. These newspapers also covered the issue of “attack on OBL compound” in 63 editorials. As per design of the study all these editorials were published during the post-ONS period of the study.

Table-2: Frequency Distribution of Total Coverage Given to Drone Attacks and Operation Neptune Spear by the Selected Newspapers during the Period of the Study

<i>Topics</i>		
Total	Drone Attacks	Attack on OBL
<i>Newspapers</i>		
<i>Dawn</i>	07 (10.4%)	14 (22.2%)
21 (16.2%)		
<i>The News</i>	10(14.9%)	12 (19.0%)
22 (16.9%)		
<i>Nawa-i-Waqt</i>	31 (46.3%)	19 (30.2%)
50 (38.5%)		
<i>Daily Express</i>	19(28.45%)	18 (28.6%)
37 (28.5%)		
Total	67 (100%)	63 (100%)
130 (100%)		

Table-2 shows frequency distribution of coverage given drone attacks and ONS by the selected newspapers. It shows that daily *Dawn* discussed drone attacks only in its seven editorials while *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and daily *Express* covered the same topic in 10, 31 and 19 editorials respectively. The ONS was discussed in 14, 12, 19 and 18 editorials by *Dawn*, *The News*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Express* in that order. Urdu press gave more coverage to both the issues (drone attacks and attack on OBL compound) than the English press. *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *daily Express* published 87 editorials in total in the specified time (drone attacks = 50, and attack on OBL compound = 37), whereas *Dawn*, and *The News*

published 43 editorials (drone attacks = 17, and attack on OBL compound = 26) during the same period.

Framing of Drone Attacks before Operation Neptune Spear

Table 3, given below, shows that Pakistani press framed the issue of drone attacks by America in the tribal areas of Pakistan as violation of sovereignty of Pakistan; an ineffective measure for uprooting terrorism as it was causing more collateral damage; a source of flaming negative feelings against America in the region; causing negative impact on the WoT; no consent of government of Pakistan in these attacks; these attacks should immediately be ceased; Pakistan Army and politicians condemn drone attacks, and Pakistan should down the US drones. The analysis also indicated that the above-mentioned frames were dominant in the pre-ONS as well as the post-ONS.

Table 3: Framing of Drone Attacks by Leading Press of Pakistan during pre-ONS and post-ONS Periods

Frames	Pre-AO	Post AO	Total
Drones cause collateral damage.	24/38 (63.16%)	14/38 (36.84%)	38 100%
Drone attacks are against the sovereignty of Pakistan.	23/42 (54.76%)	19/42 45.24%	42 100%
Drone attacks promote terrorism in the region.	20/30 (66.67%)	10/30 33.33%	30 100%
Drone attacks should be stopped	18/31 (58.06%)	13/31 (41.94%)	31 100%
drone attacks inculcate negative feelings in the region towards USA	11/17 (64.71%)	6/17 35.29%	17 (100%)
army/ politicians condemn drone attacks	26/36 (72.22%)	10/36 27.78%	36 100%
Drone attacks are undertaken with covert consent of Government of Pakistan.	3/6 50%	3/6 (50%)	
Drone attacks are undertaken without the consent of Government of Pakistan.	6/13 (46.15%)	7/13 (53.85%)	13 (100%)
Pakistan should down drones.	10/19 (52.63%)	9/19 47.37%	19 (100%)

Framing of Operation Neptune Spear

Table 4 shows the editorial coverage of ONS that the selected Urdu and English newspapers published 63 editorials on the issue of ONS during May 1, 2011 to June 30, 2011. Urdu press (*Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Express*) published 37 editorials on the topic while and English newspapers (*Dawn* and *The News*) brought out 26 editorials on this issue respectively. Framing analysis of the published editorials revealed that the selected papers framed ONS (attack of OBL compound) as

against the sovereignty of Pakistan; bad for Pak-US relations; cause of promoting terrorism; kicking off negative feelings against America; inflicting damage to Pak-US counter terrorism initiatives; lack of confidence in Pakistan by USA; that Pakistan should withdraw its support from USA against the WoT, that is intensifying problems for Pakistan.

Table 4: Frequency Distribution of Frames of ONS by the Selected Pakistani Press

Frame	Frequency	Percentage
AO was against the sovereignty of Pakistan.	29	100%
AO was not against the sovereignty of Pakistan.	00	00%
AO will have negative impact on Pak-US relations.	28	96.55%
AO will have negative impact on Pak-US relations.	01	03.45%
AO will stir up terrorism.	07	63.64%
AO will stir down terrorism.	04	36.36%
AO will increase negative feelings against USA.	08	100%
AO will increase positive feelings against USA.	00	00%
AO will damage Pak-US counter terrorism alliance.	10	90.90%
AO will not damage Pak-US counter terrorism alliance.	01	09.09%
AO shows lack of America's confidence in Pakistan.	32	100%
AO does not show lack of America's confidence in Pakistan.	00	00%
Pakistan should no more co-operate with USA in the WoT.	17	100%
Pakistan should continue its co-operation with USA in the WoT	00	00%
AO will bring cause more problems for Pakistan.	17	94.44%
AO will ease problems of Pakistan.	01	05.56%

The analysis revealed that the ONS further intensified anti-Americanism in the Pakistani press. After the ONS, Pakistani press, both English and Urdu, urged the Pakistani government to take stringent actions against drone attacks. Nineteen editorials asked the Pakistani government to just down drones which enter its air space. In the same way 17 editorials advised the government to withdraw all its cooperation from USA in the war against terror.

Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, the researchers conclude that the Operation Neptune Spear against Osama bin Laden (OBL) intensified anti-Americanism in the Pakistani leading Urdu and English press. Irrespective of the language of the selected newspapers (Urdu and English), drone attacks and the attack on OBL compound were framed very negatively by the selected newspapers and interpreted them as bad for Pak-US relationships and disserving the cause of uprooting terrorism from the region.

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