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The Editorial Treatment of Pakistani Elite Press on Panama Leaks Issue: A Study of Dawn and The Nation

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Abstract
This study aims to investigate the Editorial treatment of elite English press "Dawn and The Nation" on Panama issue. The focus of this study is to find out the framing of PTI and PML (N) with reference to panama leaks issue by Dawn and The Nation. The research follows qualitative research design content analysis strategy. Purposive sampling strategy was adopted. Editorials of both newspapers on panama issue from 1st November 2016 to 20th December 2016 were selected. The researcher designed a coding sheet by selecting two frames for PTI and three for PML (N). The theoretical framework for this research was based on framing theory. The data was analyzed through in-depth study of editorials. Findings of the study showed that Dawn newspaper gave less space to panama issue comparatively The Nation on editorial page, but slant was more favorable towards PTI while The Nation gave it more space on editorial page but no favorable slant to PTI or PML (N). Findings imply that Pakistani elite press has different portrayal of issues. Moreover, press agenda in Pakistan are diverse on political issues. Which is a healthy indicator towards plural and democratic media system in Pakistan.

Keywords: Panama Leaks, Media framing, English press in Pakistan, Political parties framing.

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Introduction

The world was rocked by the Panama Papers, a global investigation into the vast, covert offshore sector that the wealthy and powerful exploit to conceal assets

and evade regulations by establishing front companies in distant jurisdictions. The study, which is based on a massive collection of over 11 million leaked papers, reveals a cast of individuals that utilize offshore businesses to help with financial fraud, bribery, arms transactions, tax evasion, and drug trafficking.

Numerous details regarding Pakistani politicians and notables are exposed by the leak. Three people are reportedly stockholders in Petroline International Inc.: former interior minister Senator Rehman Malik, his nephew Hassan Ali Jaffery, and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Asif Ali Zardari's close friend Javed Pasha is discovered to have connections to five offshore businesses. Pasha co-owns the businesses with a few well-known Indian businesspeople.

Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif's relative Ilyas Mehraj has been mentioned as a major shareholder of a company though he firmly denies it. Samina Durrani, the ex-chief minister of Punjab, has three businesses, the most recent of which opened its doors in 2010.The Saifullah family of Lakki Marwat holds a record 34 offshore businesses in the Seychelles and British Virgin Islands Senator Osman Saifullah and his relatives own the businesses. The businesses also possess properties in the United Kingdom, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Ireland.

Remarkably, Senator Osman Saifullah is a part of the government-appointed Tax Reform Commission, which was established to reduce tax evasion, increase revenue, and enhance tax administration. Mariam, Hasan, and Hussain, the children of the ex-PM, "were owners or had the right to authorize transactions for several companies," according to documents available on the ICIJ website."The owner of British Virgin Islands-based businesses Nielsen Enterprises Limited and Nescoll Limited, incorporated in 1994 and 1993," Mariam is described as. The ICIJ release a document in which Nielsen Enterprises address as Saroor Palace in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

A contract was signed by Hussain and Mariam in June 2007, it was succession of transactions of Deutsche Bank Geneva loaned up to $13.8 million to the company Nescoll, Nielsen, and another business. According to ICIJ, they used their London residences as collateral.

Two enterprises were transferred in July 2014 to a new agency. The sole director of Hangon Property Holdings Limited, which was established in the British Virgin Islands in February 2007 and which purchased Liberia-based Cascon Holdings Establishment Limited for approximately $11.2 million in August 2007," is how Hasan Nawaz Sharif is described (Geo TV, 2014).

Political Context of Pakistan & Panama Leaks:

The PML (N) faced protest after general election 2013. Due to election allegations in four constituencies, many political parties, most notably Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), refused to accept the results of the 2013 general election. They demanded for an investigation into the rigging to verify the validity of the remaining election procedures. In Punjab, where the PMLN, the political party of Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, is in power, PTI planned a number of protests (Geo TV, 2014).

The PM addressed the nation and presented himself and his family for accountability. The government and opposition parties could not agree on term of references (TORS) for investigation. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) demanded resignation from PM Nawaz shrif. Imran khan chairman of PTI announced protest PM Nawaz sharif and locked down the Capital Islamabad on 2 November. The government responded that no one will be allowed to lock down the capital.PTI government in a province of Pakistan Kabar Pakhton Kowa (KPK) call for its workers for protest at Islamabad on 2nd November. Before on 2nd November the federal and Punjab government started a crackdown against PTI and arrested a number of its workers. From capital, BharaKahu police had

120 PTI workers in their custody. The number of people arrested since Sunday is anywhere between 152 and 300. The police said the arrests were made for violation of the ban on rallies and gatherings under Section 144(The Nation)

On 1st November the supreme court of Pakistan took a notice on panama papers and call for investigation to both parties. Imran Khan on Tuesday said that the PTI celebrates, rather than complains. Imran khan congratulated the country over the Supreme Court decision on the Panama Leaks hearing so far, accepting full credit for the decision that was in the pipeline for well over a week. (The Nation) After JIT report submitted o supreme court. The Supreme Court of Pakistan disqualified Nawaz Shraif. This focus on how English press, Dawn, and The Nation frame panama issue in editorial pages.

Literature Review& Theoretical Framework:

Protest is legal right of public civilized society .in democracy this is a running practice over the globe. An acknowledged definition of democracy is form of government by the people for the public. Public protest right is acknowledged also where democracy is not strongly practiced.

The concept of media framing forms the basis of this investigation. This goes beyond agenda-setting in terms of the influence of the media. Second-level agenda setting is linked to framing (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997; Scheufele, 1999). Setting the agenda is centered on how important a topic is, whereas framing is more focused with how prioritized subjects are presented from various angles. (De Vreese, 2005). There are two different kinds of framing: audience frames and media frames (Sheufele, 1999). According to Gamson and Modigliani, as referenced in Sheufele (1999), media frames are typically understood as information bundles with "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events." The mental

framework that aids in interpretation is known as an audience frame. (Entman, 1993).

The idea of framing is Contrary from the approach of single reality establishment that is knows as positivism. Many academics contend that several, distinct realities exist through speech (Ross, 2003; Linkon & Guba, 1985; Holzner, 1968; Berger & Luckmann 1966). Bennett (1983), Parenti (1993), Stillar (1998), p. 1, as referenced in Ross (2003), and others claim that the mass media, like other literary works, actively promotes and calls attention to the social structure in which people live as well as aids in the creation of the reality that each individual creates for themselves.

The construction of reality is a dynamic and multidimensional process, but the information found in newspapers conveys implicit as well as explicit judgments that come together to create a logical sense and assign scrupulous meanings to seemingly unrelated information through the definition of news, the choice of facts and sources by using different tools of linguistics. (Goffman, 1978; Gamson, 1989; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Parenti, 1993; Van Dijk, 1991; Giltin, 1980; Domke, 1997; Pan & Kosiki, 1993). Media framing establishes the context for comprehension and the information's relevance (Gamson, 1989; Tuchman, 1978; Giltin, 1980; Tichenor, Donohue &Olien, 1980; Gamson et al, 1992).

Objectives:

Followings are the major objectives of study.

1. To investigate that how two English dallies major portrayed the protest on Panama Leaks issue.
2. To study that which newspaper gave more space to which party.
3. To find out the slant of both dallies towards PTI and PML (N) on Panama Leaks issues.

Research Questions:

Followings are the major research questions of the study.

1. Which newspaper gave more space to which party with reference of Panama Leaks issue?
2. What are the slants of both newspapers towards PTI and PML (N) regarding Panama Leaks issue?

Methods:

The study is a content analysis methodologically. It will examine qualitatively. The editorials specified for the categories of analysis from major English Newspapers of Pakistan. Dawn and The Nation. The time-period selected for the study was from 1st November 2016 to 20th December 2016. According to Berger (2011), the methodical categorization and description of communication content according to specific, frequently preset categories. He found that qualitative and quantitative research could be conducted using the same methodology (Ibid).

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006), the two primary actions a researcher should take are to guarantee that measureable scoring units are in place and to adopt a systematic coding system (p. 209-211). According to Bertrand & Huges (2005), it's a methodology designed to study mass media material within a social science framework, using a linear perspective on communication content. According to Paisley (1964), In a traditional scenario, communication messages are recorded using a rigorous and objective set of categorization rules during the content analysis process, producing data that can subsequently be compared and summarized.

Content analysis was described as a descriptive and inferential process by Danielson & Jackson in 1963.it is exploratory in nature when it is described as content analysis form and the results will be generalized over the entire population. It can claim that it is the relationship between circumstances and

environment. To analyze content is a method used in research to explain the communications apparent content in a methodical, objective, and quantitative way (Berelson ,1952).

According to Krippendorff (1980), content analysis is a research approach that enables and empowers a researcher to form reliable conclusions about the facts in relation to their context.

A coding sheet was created to look at the newspaper's position. Because a term only fully explains itself within an inclusive phrase or paragraph, coding in content analysis that ignores entire paragraphs and sentences within the passage (text) may be deceptive (Khan & Farish, 2005). The editorial is seen as a media organization's policy. Therefore, the perception of both newspapers is analyzed and examined for this study using the content analysis research approach.

Both quantitative and qualitative notes are made about the problems. From a qualitative perspective, the researcher examined the editorial content. Each editorial was reviewed in order to evaluate the policy and assign it to the appropriate category. This approach has previously been examined by numerous researchers, who found it to be dependable (Yousafzai & Rawan, 2009). Researchers claim that this method was used to support the classification of judgments into three categories: favorable, unfavorable, and neutral. As a result, these categories require an analysis of the complete body content in order to avoid misleading the research (ibid).

Frame explanation:

The researcher done a pilot study to explore the different issues highlighted with different political parties. The researcher found that from opposition PTI is dominant political party and from government side PLM (N) is dominant. So researcher explored different frames for both political parties.

The main frames discussed in Dawn and The Nation; the researcher selected as under:

PTI as a political party:

After reading editorials frames for opposition leading party PTI discussed as under Protest against government and Terms of References (TORs).

PML (N) as a political party:

Different frames used for PML (N) as under

Corruption, Accountability, Government Action against protesters under these categories the researcher study that how Dawn and the Nation framed those issues Favorable/unfavorable/neutral.

Favorable

Favorable mean that support or encourage the stance.

Unfavorable

Unfavorable mean that condemns or discourage the stance.

Neutral

Neutral mean that neither support nor condemn a viewpoint.

Results:

Table 1: Coverage given to Panama Leaks Issue by Dawn & The Nation.

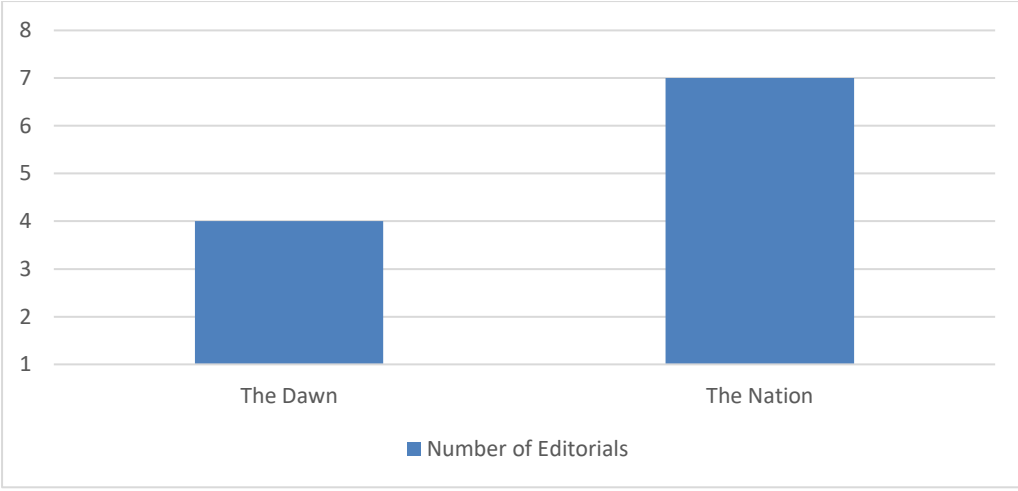

Table 1 shows the coverage given to panama issue by Dawn and The Nation in mentioned time frame. Dawn gave less coverage to panama issue comparatively while The Nation gave more coverage to panama issue. Less coverage shows that dawn did not continue that issue in editorial coverage while The Nation gave continues coverage to panama issue.

Table 2: Slant of Editorials towards Political Parties in Dawn.

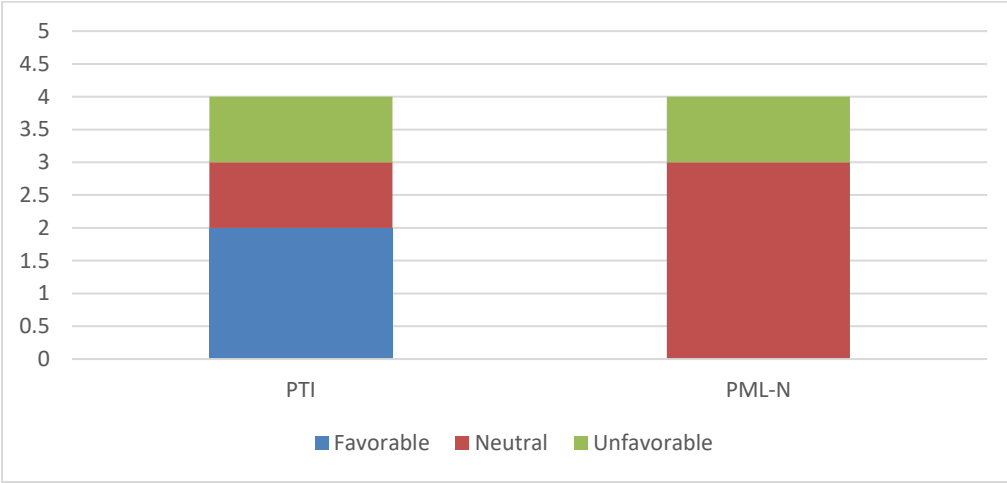

Table 2 shows the coverage of Dawn given to PTI and PML (N). Dawn stance is more favorable towards PTI as compared to PML (N). Dawn gave less coverage to PTI, but its slant is favorable towards PTI while Dawn gave more coverage to PM (N) but is stance is neutral. Unfavorable stance is equally given to both political parties.

Table 3: Slant of Editorials towards Political Parties in, The Nation.

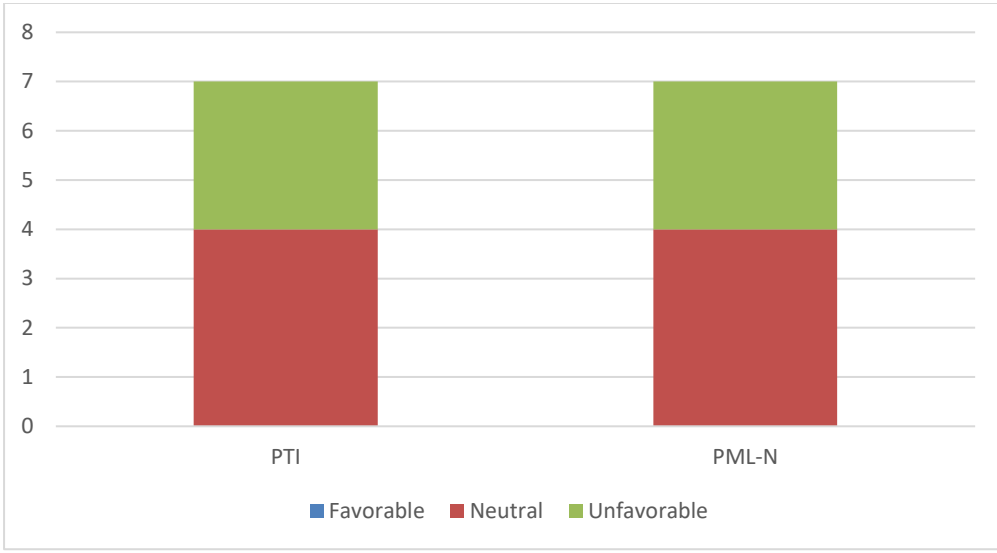

Table 3 shows that The Nation portrayed the panama issue with a neutral stance, The Nation gave equal coverage to PTI and PM (N). Findings show that The Nation did not give favorable coverage to any political party. The Nation's neutral and unfavorable to both political parties.

Conclusion:

From above findings Dawn newspaper gave equal space to PTI and PML (N). From 1st November 2016 to 20th November 2016 that was selected time for study. Dawn coverage for PTI was less as compared to PML N but slant was favorable. For PML N Dawn coverage was more on editorial page but it was neutral. Two frames for PTI Protest against government and Terms of References (TORs) got favorable coverage. It means Dawn is supporting stance of PTI.

The Nation gave equal coverage to both political parties, The Nation discuss the frames of both political parties like Protest against government and Terms of References (TORs) for PTI and Corruption, Accountability, Government Action

against protesters for PML N but did not put his comments on both political parties. However, in some editorial The Nation condemn on stance and actions of both political parties. So, it can be said that The Nation stance is neutral.

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