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Female Politicians And Pakistani Media: A Content Analysis Of English And Urdu Newspapers

ABSTRACT

This study explores the framing of female politicians in the print media of Pakistan. Women cover over half of the population of Pakistan and with time they are actively participating in politics and have become increasingly visible in media as well. The study compares news stories in Urdu and English (*Jang/Dawn*) newspapers in terms of visibility, personalization, issue coverage and tone of story through quantitative content analysis over a time period of 6 months (1st June to 30th November 2019). The study concluded that female politicians receive less negative coverage in Pakistan as compared to western countries, where personal coverage is greater than issue based coverage. Comparative analysis of Urdu and English print newspapers showed that visibility and issue type vary in *Jang* and *Dawn* while personalization and tone of the story do not vary with the type of newspaper (*Jang/Dawn*).

KEY WORDS

Framing. Female Politicians. Dawn. Jang. Content Analysis. Visibility. Personal Coverage. Issue Coverage. Tone of the Story.

1. Introduction

Ever since the beginning of the newspaper they have conveyed the latest happenings around the world to their readers, and with innovations in technology, the future of newspapers is very bright.[1] The newspaper is necessary to educate the citizens about what the government is doing, what their current measures and policies are, and what is the latest legislation approved by their representative for their benefits. This would allow voters to consider the political ethics of their leader and their stance on a specific issue[2]. Newspapers in Pakistan, just like all around the world, are an important communication tool. After independence, Pakistan started with very weak print media and very few guidelines and regulation but with time we saw the print media industry bloom and now it is one of the most reliable sources of information. Media and journalists have the power to mold the opinions of public and to show them reality through their eyes. They also have the power to change history through their reporting methods and to a large extent media is responsible for the image of females in society.

1.1 Role of Females in Worldwide Politics

Countries cannot progress if their women do not stand shoulder to shoulder with men, and as in every field the role of female politicians is also very important for successful government. Female voters in the USA received the right to cast their vote after the constitutional amendment in 1920. In the congress election of 2010 the women of America won 92 seats which are 17% of the total seats. They also won 17 seats in the senate which is also 17% of the total seats. If we look at the reason for lower numbers of female representation in US politics we find a number of reasons for that, the reasons are lower numbers of participation of female politicians, insufficient campaign funds for women to run for office and contesting against more powerful personalities like the presidential election between Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump.[3]

Female representation in politics is low but we cannot deny their decisive role in politics around the world. There are so many inspirational and strong female politicians around the world who play active roles in politics. One of the most prominent American female political figures is Hilary Clinton, who, when her husband Bill Clinton ran for the presidential election, served him as one of his advisors and as the first lady between 1993 and 2001 she was a prominent part of her husband's administration. Bill Clinton gave her the position as head of the task force on national health care. She was also the third women in US history to become the US Secretary of State in 2009.[4]

Indira Gandhi was the third prime minister and first female head of the state in India. She was the daughter of ex-prime minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru and after his death she became the head of the party and then was elected as the prime minister. She was the prime minister for the first time from 1966 to 1977 and then again from 1980 to 1984. She was assassinated by her own bodyguards.

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[1]   See: KNIHOVÁ, L.: The Future of Newspapers: A Thrilling Encounter with Augmented Reality. In *Media Literacy and Academic Research*, 2018, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 6-13.

[2]   See more: RAHMAN, B.: Framing of Women in Politics: A Case of Pakistani Election 2013. In *Journal of Political Studies*, 2015, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 335–350. [online]. Available at: <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/21-%20BUSHRA_22_2015.pdf>.

[3]   See more: DEBER, R. B.: 'The Fault, Dear Brutus'. Women as Congressional Candidates in Pennsylvania. In *Journal of Politics*, 1982, Vol. 14, No. 4, p. 463-479. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2130596>.

[4]   See more: DRUCKMAN, J. N.: On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame? In *The Journal of Politics*, 2001, Vol. 63, p. 1041-1066. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/231993142_On_the_Limits_of_Framing_Effects_Who_Can_Frame>.

Sheikh Hasina is the prime minister of Bangladesh. She is the daughter of former national leader of Bangladesh sheikh Mujibur Rehman who was the first president of Bangladesh after Bangladesh broke away from Pakistan. She was elected as prime minister twice, firstly from 1999 to 2001 and then from 2009 to the present. Just like Benazir she was also accused of involved in corruption and murder but she managed to get her prime ministerial seat back.

All the above personalities are related to power politicians and politicians that have family ties in politics, and they cannot do revolutionary work in their fields because they are somehow bound to carry forward their family name, but now time has changed and there are self-made female politicians emerging around the world. Margaret Thatcher and Teresa May in the UK, Angela Merkel in Germany, Julia Gillard in Australia, Helen Clark from New Zealand, or Sanna Marin, prime minister of Finland - she is the youngest prime minister of the world and she was elected as prime minister at the age of 34. All these female politicians established their careers independently without any family influence in politics. They are educated and have advanced degrees. Merkel has a Ph.D. in quantum chemistry. Some of them were actively participating in politics from a younger age or firstly gained experience and became financially independent and then started their political careers.[5]

All of these female politicians around the world are the symbol of a new era where women are not any less than men in any field of life, and the time has come when females should be represented honestly and equally in media as well.

1.2 Status of Female Politicians in Pakistan

Women's participation and their share of parliamentary and governmental offices vary under different political systems. From 1947 to 1954 women only acquired 3% of the total seats in parliament. During the second legislative assembly of 1955 to 1958 women politicians had zero representation. After the Zia ul Haq era, from 1978 to 1988, the shift in political structure also changed women's representation[6].

By 1988 these three present quotas increased by 10% and women won 22 seats in the national assembly along with 5% of seats in the provincial assembly. In 1990 women's representation was 0.9% and in 1993 women's representation was 1.8% and by 1997 it was 2.8%. In 2000 for the first time under the military dictatorship women's quota for political participation increased by 33% at local government level which increased overall female participation in politics. In the 2002 elections 188 women contested the general election and 39 were elected. In the 2013 elections women won 70 out of 342 seats in the lower house and 17 out of 100 seats in the upper house. In the 2018 general elections 69 women were elected out of 342 seats[6].

The chapter of basic rights of the general public of article 25 highlights the principles of women's equality in the Pakistani constitution. As time has passed women's role and participation have increased, political parties now also have women wings and women actively participate in political activities[6].

In Pakistan we saw a steady increase of female politicians, Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's younger sister Fatima Jinnah was one of the most passionate and renowned female politician in the history of Pakistan and she was given the title of "mother of the nation".

5   SONG, J: *The Challenge for Asia's Female Politicians.* [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www. lowyinstitute.org/publications/challenge-asias-female-politicians>.
6   AWAN, M. A.: *Political Participation of Women in Pakistan Historical and Political Dynamics Shaping the Structure of Politics for Women.* Frankfurt : Frankfurter Forschungzentrum Globaler Islam, 2018. No pagination. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326262517_ Political_Participation_of_Women_in_Pakistan_Historical_and_Political_Dynamics_Shaping_the_Structure_ of_Politics_for_Women>.

In 1948 after independence two prominent female personalities emerged in Pakistani politics, Begum Shaista Ikram Ullah and Begum Jahan Ara Shah Nawaz. Both of them succeeded in achieving great levels of success for the females of Pakistan. They were focused in their work to do something for the women of Pakistan. They succeed in getting the Muslim Personal Law of Shariah passed which gave women the right to inherit property which also included agricultural property.

Pakistan is the first Muslim country to have a female prime minister - the late Benazir Bhutto. Female politicians not only took part in politics but also hold important positions and ministries like Law, Education, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Economics, Development, Science and Technology, and Culture.

The aim of this study is to not focus on any particular issue or personality but rather to analyse framing in newspaper content for female politicians from a Pakistani perspective. The research studied Pakistani English and Urdu daily newspapers (*Jang/Dawn*).

The Daily Jang is Pakistan's most celebrated and most extensively published Urdu newspaper, published in Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Quetta and London. It was started by Mir Khalil Ur Rehman in 1939. This was Pakistan's first newspaper that used computerized calligraphy in Urdu. Given its wide circulation, it has sustained its success and has been financially stable and has paid its workers decent wages. Jang became the first newspaper to launch weekly magazines on Fridays and all the newspapers started their weekly magazines on Friday afterwards. It is Pakistan's oldest and widely read publication, with over 8 million in daily readership from all socio-economic groups.

Dawn is a world-renowned English newspaper with an average circulation of 109,000. It was founded in 1941 by Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This was the official voice of the All India Muslim League under the guidance of Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Pakistani English and Urdu newspapers both represent two distinct groups in Pakistani society, The English newspaper caters to the society's upper class who can read and understand English while Urdu newspapers cater to Pakistani society's lower to middle class people who enjoy reading Urdu newspapers. The audience of both newspapers is different which can lead to difference in the coverage of news. Analyzing newspapers in both languages and seeing how they have represented female politicians in their newspapers is therefore significant.

1.3 Framing Theory

With the emergence of media, researchers have discussed the content of media and its impact in their research studies over the past years. It was important to utilize these research studies to understand the various threads of work related to the subject area under discussion, focusing on framing whereby concentrating on the common frames used in newspaper reporting and print media while researching female politicians.

Framing theory, first presented by Goffman under the title of frame analysis in 1974 explained that frames are cognitive structures which include elements of organization that help, guide and understand the perception of reality.[7] Goffman's frame analysis provides the basis for the understanding and interpretation of frames through content analysis which has been lately adopted by many communication scholars.[8]

After Goffmann, Entman contributed greatly to the study of frames as he broke down framing theory into a workable system of analysis. Entman and later Lecheler, Schuck and De Vreese describe framing as choosing any element of fact and making it more perceivable, meaningful

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[7] See more: GOFFMAN, E.: *Frame Analysis*. New York : Free Press, 1974.

[8] BLANKENSHIP, A.: *While the Nation Looked On: A Framing Analysis of Print News Media Coverage of Terri Schiavo's Final Days*. [Synopsis of Dissertation Thesis]. Lynchburg : Liberty University, 2011, p. 15-20. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1204&context=masters>.

and unforgettable to the viewer through communicating text.[9] Literature on the framing of media showed that the technique of how an incident or person is framed can affect people's opinions of that incident or person. The effect on public understanding of these frames is called framing effect. People incline towards the facts conveyed to their attention by framing, and the approach with which media frames an incident represents audience understanding of the incident.[10] Framing bring the world's meaning into perspective, helping people make more sense of the world around them. Scholars suggested framing effects on an audience occur because people are not looking for extra information, but looking for answers from trustworthy sources.[11]

It's definitely crucial to see how media view women as political agents because media's depiction of women can affect the opinion of their voters and can damage their reputation. One of the reasons that we do not see women in legislation is their absence and negative portrayal in media.[12] There are several studies that proved that the perception of female and male candidates in the eyes of the voters is highly affected by the way they are shown in media.[13] It has been seen that female candidates were not given importance and coverage in media during election times and the focus of media is always on the male candidates.

1.4 Frames in Newspapers for Female Politicians

There are many stereotypical ways in which the media frames women. We can start by listing some of the most typical frameworks, which will be further analyzed in the following sections.

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[9] See more: ENTMAN, R. M.: Framing: Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. In *Journal of Communication,* 1993, Vol. 43, No. 4, p. 51–58. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/209409849_Framing_Toward_Clarification_of_A_Fractured_Paradigm>; LECHELER, S., SCHUCK, A. R. T., DE VREESE, C. H.: Dealing with Feelings: Positive and Negative Discrete Emotions as Mediators of Framing Effects. In *Communications: The European Journal of Communication Research*, Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 189-209. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262802563_Dealing_with_feelings_Positive_and_negative_discrete_emotions_as_mediators_of_news_framing_effects>.

[10] See more: SCHEUFELE, D. A.: "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication". In WEI, R. (ed.): *Refining Milestone Mass Communications Theories for the 21st Century*. London : Routledge, 2016, p. 71-90.

[11] See: DRUCKMAN, J. N.: On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame? In *The Journal of Politics*, 2001, Vol. 63, p. 1041-1066. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/231993142_On_the_Limits_of_Framing_Effects_Who_Can_Frame>; HUSSAIN, M.: Frames for United Nations Climate Change Conference 2015 Comparison of Elite Dawn and Popular Jang Newspapers Evidence from Pakistan. In *Pakistan Social Sciences Review*, 2019, Vol. 3, p. 292-304. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://pssr.org.pk/issues/v3/1/frames-for-united-nations-climate-change-conference-2015-comparison-of-elite-dawn-and-popular-jang-newspapers-evidence-from-pakistan.pdf>.

[12] GALLAGHER, M.: *Gender Settings: News Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy.* London : Zed Books. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <shorturl.at/lnLRW>.

[13] See: ADAY, S., DEVITT, J.: Style Over Substance: Newspaper Coverage of Elizabeth Dole's Presidential Bid. In *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 2001, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 61-73. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249809023_Style_Over_Substance_Newspaper_Coverage_of_Elizabeth_Dole%27s_Presidential_Bid>; DAN, V., IORGOVEANU, A.: Still on The Beaten Path: How Gender Impacted the Coverage of Male and Female Romanian Candidates for European Office. In *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 2013, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 208-233. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258138860_Still_On_the_Beaten_Path_How_Gender_Impactedthe_Coverage_of_Male_and_Female_Romanian_Candidates_for_European_Office?_sg=rDyKE_mtsoi_Vesxg56>; KAHN, K. F., GOLDENBERG, E.: Women Candidates in the News: An Examination of Gender Differences in U.S. Senate Campaigns. In *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1991, Vol. 55, No. 2, p. 180-199. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31177471_Women_Candidates_in_the_News_An_Examination_of_Gender_Differences_in_US_Senate_Campaign_Coverage>; NICHOLE, M.: Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates. In *Political Psychology*, 2014, Vol. 36, No. 6, p. 691-708. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/pops.12186?casa_token=geO1TU5yKOsAAAAA%3A5vJgSx5uaiBDwKz6ZMOd51TzHc-G84jt4nTJmT-j07Xgmwh33e-ti_YoKQ_t0gKV1mIzxExa1J4IOl3c>.

Firstly, the media gives overwhelming attention to women candidates' appearance, family status, personal life, and emotional attitudes. Ladley and Dabbous examined frames such as the issue of objectification in the news about the first female speaker in America Nancy Pelosi, and found that newspapers, instead of focusing on serious issues and problems, focus on superficial and personal issues like family, personal life, attire she wore or events that she organized.[14] If consumers of newspapers are more cultured about the discrimination that is present in media than they might be able to become more informed consumers and vote more responsibly for female political candidates.[15]

Secondly, while reporting on female politicians, instead of focusing on hard issues they focus on soft issues. Major and Coleman in their research found that journalists focus on soft issues like education and health care while reporting on female politicians and on hard issues like the military while reporting on male politicians.[16]

Another common frame which is analyzed in research is the visibility frame which is the placement and position of news stories in newspapers. Musarat[17] in her study on gender portrayal in Pakistani English print media conducted content analysis to analyze frames like visibility, location and space and found that the high frequency of news related to males showed their dominance in newspaper coverage. The study also showed that women had higher coverage in soft subjects such as entertainment and beauty while men were more visible in hard issues with their presence in entertainment articles being quite low, another interesting trend was observed in the study, which found that women were more visible in pictures than in articles, while men were more visible in articles. Rahman[18] researched framing of women in the 2013 election in Pakistan through content analysis and found that the coverage given to females in newspapers is minimal and English dailies coverage is greater in number and positive than Urdu dailies. Print media reporting on female politicians is low and most of their stories are published inside pages, their names were seldom mentioned nor are they in headlines, which makes them invisible.

Another way of framing in media is the tone of reporting, there can be positive or negative frames in news reporting which can affect the subject. Raza[19] in his research on the depiction of women in Pakistani print media did a comparative study of Daily *Dawn* and *Jang* and analyze six months' coverage of news stories, inspecting the amount of coverage and slanting of women's portrayal in the newspapers. The treatment of women was coded into positive, negative and neutral categories. The findings of the study showed that positive representation of female politicians about their traditional character was more evident in the *Dawn* newspaper and news stories about women's representation in different fields of life was positive in both newspapers.

14 See: LADLEY, A, DABBOUS, Y.: A Spine of Steel and a Heart of Gold: Newspaper Coverage of the First Female Speaker of the House. In *Journal of Gender Studies*, 2010, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 181-194. ISSN 1465-3869. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249001925_A_spine_of_steel_and_a_heart_of_gold_Newspaper_coverage_of_the_first_female_Speaker_of_the_House>.

15 MARTIN, M. K.: *Pantsuits and Public Opinion: An Analysis of Media Coverage of U.S. Female Political Candidates.* [Synopsis of Dissertation Thesis]. Glenside : Arcadia University, 2016, p. 45-50. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <http://scholarworks.arcadia.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=senior_theses>.

16 See: MAJOR, L. H., COLEMAN, R.: The Intersection of Race and Gender in Election Coverage: What Happens When the Candidates Don't Fit the Stereotypes? In *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 2008, Vol. 19, No. 4, p. 315-333. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/233214915_The_Intersection_of_Race_and_Gender_in_Election_Coverage_What_Happens_When_the_Candidates_Don%27t_Fit_the_Stereotypes>.

17 See: MUSARAT, Y.: Thespians in Print: Gender Portrayal in Pakistani English Print Media. In *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 2019, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 1-13. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epub/10.1080/23311983.2019.1661647?needAccess=true>.

18 See: RAHMAN, B.: Framing of Women in Politics: A Case of Pakistani Election 2013. In *Journal of Political Studies*, 2015, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 335-350. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/21-%20BUSHRA_22_2015.pdf>.

19 See: RAZA, H.: The Depiction of Women in Pakistani Print Media: A Comparative Study of Daily Dawn and Jang. In *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2016, Vol. 37, p. 73-87. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316464903_The_Depiction_of_Women_in_Pakistani_Print_Media_A_Comparative_Study_of_Daily_Dawn_and_Daily_Jang>.

Previous studies lead to findings that newspapers, instead of focusing on serious issues, give more importance to the personal lives of female politicians.[20] The bias of media towards female politicians framing also affects their image in front of people because people believe what they see in the media.

On the basis of prior studies, it was established that reporting on female politicians is gender biased all around the world. Newspapers use certain frames in their reporting and cover female politician's personal information more than their stance on issues; they receive different treatment in the news because of their gender. The current study analyzed framing of female politicians to see if they are framed differently in Pakistani newspapers or not.

2. Research Question/ Hypotheses

RQ1. Whether Jang & Dawn differ in the use of visibility, personal coverage, issue coverage (hard/soft) and tone of the story (positive vs. negative)?

H1a. Visibility differs in Jang and Dawn while reporting on female politicians.

H1b. Personal coverage differs in Dawn and Jang while reporting on female politicians.

H1c. Issue coverage differs in Dawn and Jang while reporting on female politicians.

H1d. Tone of the story differs in Jang and Dawn while reporting on female politicians.

3. Methodology

3.1 Procedure

For this study, quantitative content analysis has been adopted to investigate newspaper framing of female politicians in the leading newspapers (Jang, Dawn) of Pakistan. According to Hsieh and Shannon[21], content analysis is the most recognized technique to demonstrate the content of media for the better understanding of content and to conclude effective and reliable results.

The sample comprised all news stories about female politicians by two leading newspapers of Pakistan; Jang/Dawn, starting from June 1st, 2018, until November 30th, 2019. The unit of analysis of the study includes all news stories in which female politicians have been highlighted whether in the title, paragraph or in the whole news story. To select the sample probability systematic sampling was followed according to the purpose and requirements of the study. Systematic sampling consists of selection of nth number (n=2) in the population to be in the sample.

The frames about female politicians by the leading newspapers of Pakistan have been categorized into the following four categories: (a) visibility (b) personalization (c) issue type (d) tone of the story. In order to verify the reliability of the coding sheet, an inter coder reliability test was carried out with a second person code of 10% (20) of the selected articles. Holsti's formula was used to calculate the reliability. The reliability of the coding sheet was 90% according to Holist's calculation.

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20 See more: LADLEY, A, DABBOUS, Y.: A Spine of Steel and a Heart of Gold: Newspaper Coverage of the First Female Speaker of the House. In *Journal of Gender Studies*, 2010, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 181-194. ISSN 1465-3869. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249001925_A_spine_of_steel_and_a_heart_of_gold_Newspaper_coverage_of_the_first_female_Speaker_of_the_House>.

21 See: HSIEH, H. F., SHANNON, S. E.: Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. In *Qualitative Health Research*, 2005, Vol. 15, No. 9, p. 1277-1288. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/7561647_Three_Approaches_to_Qualitative_Content_Analysis>.

3.2 Measures

3.2.1 Independent Variable

Type of Newspapers: For this study English and Urdu newspapers were selected. English newspapers cater for readers from the upper class who can read English so because there is a change in readership it is possible that the framing in both newspapers is also changed.

The selected Urdu newspaper was Jang (coded as 1) and the reason for selecting Jang is that it is the oldest and most extensively read newspaper in Pakistan with a daily readership of over 8 million across all socio- economic classes. The selected English newspaper Dawn (coded as 2) is an internationally known English newspaper with a daily circulation of 109,000.

3.2.2 Dependent Variables

*Visibility***:** In the present study, the first area to be examined was visibility. By following Mercy's[22] definition closely, visibility defines the presence of female politicians in newspapers; in this study visibility is measured by the position and placement of female politicians' news in newspaper. Conceptually similar definitions of visibility were adopted by previous researchers[23] in their studies. In position, the researcher looked at on which page the story was published, position was coded as front page =4, city page =2, national page=3 and back pages=1. In placement the researcher looked in to prominent and secondary placement, prominent placement is if the story was placed on the top half of the page (coded as 2) and called it secondary placement if the story was on the second half of the page (coded as 1). Later visibility (position+ placement) was computed to test the hypothesis.

Personalization: In this study personalization is covering/ focusing on the personal matters/ lives of female politicians in news stories. According to Devitt[24], newspaper readers are more likely to read about a female candidate's personality than their stance on policy issues. Borrowed from Devitt conceptualization, personalization included news mentioning female politician's appearance, marital status, children, age, gender and experience (coded as 1= mentioned, 0= not mentioned). Personalization was later computed to test the hypothesis.

Issue Type: Issue type in this study is the mentioning of female politicians in issue based news. Scholars like, Ladley and Dabbous[25] examined that when female candidates receive issue coverage the media tends to focus on soft issues more than hard issues. Adopted from Ladely, issue type in this study included two types of issues, firstly soft issues (issues related to health, education, environment, social issues, children and family) secondly hard issues (issues related to economy, defense, policy making, crime, democracy and government, international issues and sit ins\strikes). Soft issues were coded as 1, hard issues =2 and 0= no issue mentioned.

[22] See: MERCY, E.: Where Are the Women? Evaluating Visibility of Nigerian Female Politicians in News Media Space. In G*ender, Place & Culture*, 2017, Vol. 24, No. 1, p. 1-18. ISSN 0966-369X. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320420851_Where_are_the_women_Evaluating_visibility_of_Nigerian_female_politicians_in_news_media_space>.

[23] See: MERCY, E.: Where Are the Women? Evaluating Visibility of Nigerian Female Politicians in News Media Space. In G*ender, Place & Culture*, 2017, Vol. 24, No. 1, p. 1-18. ISSN 0966-369X. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320420851_Where_are_the_women_Evaluating_visibility_of_Nigerian_female_politicians_in_news_media_space**;** MUSARAT, Y.: Thespians in Print: Gender Portrayal in Pakistani English Print Media. In *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 2019, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 1-13. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epub/10.1080/23311983.2019.1661647?needAccess=true>.

[24] See: DEVITT, J.: Framing Gender on the Campaign Trail: Female Gubernatorial Candidates and the Press. In *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 2002, Vol. 79, No. 2, p. 445-463. ISSN 2161-430X. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241655612_Framing_Gender_on_the_Campaign_Trail_Female_Gubernatorial_Candidates_and_the_Press>.

[25] See: LADLEY, A, DABBOUS, Y.: A Spine of Steel and a Heart of Gold: Newspaper Coverage of the First Female Speaker of the House. In *Journal of Gender Studies*, 2010, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 181-194. ISSN 1465-3869. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249001925_A_spine_of_steel_and_a_heart_of_gold_Newspaper_coverage_of_the_first_female_Speaker_of_the_House>.

Tone of Story: Borrowed from Payne[26], the last variable to be examined in this study is the tone of the story, which included positive (statement that gives a positive impression of the female politician's ability to handle the issue being discussed) negative (statement that gives a negative impression of the female politician's ability to handle the issue being discussed) and neutral tones. Researchers like Payne and Raza[27] concluded in their studies that media cover female politicians more negatively in handling any issue. Tone of story was coded as negative= 1, neutral=2, positive=3.

3.3 Analysis

Data gathered by content analysis was analyzed by applying descriptive and inferential statistics from the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21. To test the hypotheses Independent t-test was applied and to further explain and support the tests cross tabs were used.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Descriptive

Data is based on six months (from June to November 2019) of news stories from *Jang/Dawn*. In the month of June, 39 news stories were collected (*Jang* 28, *Dawn* 11) in July 38 (19, 19) in August 34 (15, 19) in September 31(19, 12) in October 29 (17, 12) and in November 31 (19, 12). Out of the total of 202, the higher number of news stories (57.9%) were from the *Jang* newspaper while *Dawn* had 42.1% news stories as shown in table 1. Results of descriptive data show that the Urdu newspaper has a higher number of news stories as compared to the English newspaper. From the findings of descriptive data, it appears that Jang's policy is to publish more news stories related to female politicians.

	N	%
Jang	117	57.9
Dawn	85	42.1
Total	202	100.0

TABLE 1: *Amount of Stories*
Source: own processing, 2021

Hypothesis 1a postulated that "Visibility differs in Jang and Dawn while reporting on female politicians". To measure visibility, it was divided in to two parts, first is placement of the story and second is position of the story. The total numbers of stories presented in the upper/second half are presented in table 2, while stories positioned on back/city/national/front pages are presented in table 3. Variable was computed and independent sample t-test was applied to obtain the results.

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[26] See: PAYNE, L.: *A Study of Newspaper Treatment of Male and Female Political Candidates*. [Synopsis of Dissertation Thesis]. Columbia : University of Missouri, 2009. 6 p. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/304939255?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true>.

[27] See: RAZA, H.: The Depiction of Women in Pakistani Print Media: A Comparative Study of Daily Dawn and Jang. In *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2016, Vol. 37, p. 73-87. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316464903_The_Depiction_of_Women_in_Pakistani_Print_Media_A_Comparative_Study_of_Daily_Dawn_and_Daily_Jang>.

Type of Newspaper		*Jang*	*Dawn*
Visibility Placement	Second half	50.4%	35%
	Upper half	49.5	65
N		117	85

TABLE 2: *Visibility Placement by Type of Newspaper*

Source: own processing, 2021

Type of Newspaper		*Jang*	*Dawn*
Visibility Position	Back	37%	16.4%
	City	6	26
	National	7.6	27
	Front	49	36
N		117	85

Jang (M=4.27, SD=1.601) *Dawn* (M= 4.84, SD= 1.353); *p*= .008

TABLE 3: *Visibility Position by Type of Newspaper*

Source: own processing, 2021

The findings indicated that Urdu Newspapers gave more coverage and prominence to women as compared to English newspapers in terms of position of the stories, as more stories were on front pages and female politicians were given the required space in Urdu newspapers. But in terms of placement the English newspaper published more stories on the upper half. Consistent with previous research[28] and the first hypothesis of this research, the results show that there is significant difference in the mean of *Jang* and *Dawn* and results are also significant at a chosen significant level which means that the visibility of female politicians varies with the type of newspaper, so the hypothesis 1a is accepted.

Hypothesis 1b postulated that "Personal coverage differs in Dawn and Jang while reporting on female politicians". But the results indicated that there was less personalization in both newspapers regarding female politicians. As shown in Table 4, 84% of news stories had no personalization in Jang and 82% in Dawn. Most of the personalization in news stories was related to children and family.

Type of Newspaper			
Personalization	*Categories*	*Jang*	*Dawn*
Appearance	No	0%	0%
	Yes	0	1
Marital status	No	0	0
	Yes	0	1
Children and family	No	0	0
	Yes	7	8.2

28 See: MERCY, E.: Where Are the Women? Evaluating Visibility of Nigerian Female Politicians in News Media Space. In G*ender, Place & Culture*, 2017, Vol. 24, No. 1, p. 1-18. ISSN 0966-369X. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320420851_Where_are_the_women_Evaluating_visibility_of_Nigerian_female_politicians_in_news_media_space>; TAHSEEN, N.: Print Media's Projection of Female Electoral Candidates in General Elections of Pakistan: The Case of Punjab. In *Journal of Media Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 2, p. 17-39. ISSN 2309-9577. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <http://journals.pu.edu.pk/journals/index.php/jms/article/viewFile/1960/729>.

Age	No	0	0
	Yes	0.8	0
Gender	No	0	0
	yes	0.8	2.3
Experience	No	0	0
	yes	1.7	2.3
Other personalization	No	0	0
	yes	6	2.3
No personalization	No	16	17.6
	Yes	84	82
	N	117	85

Jang (M=.84, SD=.370) *Dawn* (M= .82, SD= .383); *p*= .793.

TABLE 4: *Personalization by Type of Newspaper*

Source: own processing, 2021

The findings for hypothesis 1b were inconsistent with previous research[29] as there was very little personalization regarding females in both newspapers. To test the hypothesis an independent sample t-test was applied and the outcomes show that female politicians were not personalized in Pakistani newspapers as they were in the western world. Females were not given special treatment nor were they set aside to be treated less seriously as females. However, personalization did not vary with the type of newspapers as there was no significant difference between the personalization of Jang and Dawn, and results are also not significant at a chosen significant level as p= .793. Hence hypothesis 1b is rejected.

Type of Newspaper				
Issue type	*Categories*	*Jang*	*Dawn*	*Total*
		N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Soft	Education	0(0)	2(2.3)	2(1)
	Health	5(4.2)	13(15)	18(9)
	Environment	1(0.8)	3(3.5)	4(2)
	Social issues	4(3.4)	5(6)	9(4.4)
	Women and family	1(0.8)	0	1(0.4)
	Other soft issues	5(4.2)	6(7)	11(5)
	Total	**16(13.6)**	**29(34)**	**45(22)**
Hard	Economy	4(3.4)	6(7)	10(5)
	Defense	4(3.4)	1(1)	5(2.4)
	Policy making	12(10.2)	10(12)	22(11)
	Crime	5(4.2)	0(0)	5(2.4)
	Democracy and Government	39(33.3)	20(23.5)	59(29)
	International	22(19)	8(9.4)	30(15)

29 See: INSENGA, M.: An Analysis of the Representation of Female Members of the United Kingdom Parliament in the British Press. In *European Scientific Journal*, 2014, Vol. 2, p. 182-191. E-ISSN 1857-7431. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://eujournal.org/index.php/esj/article/viewFile/4143/4079>; PAYNE, L.: A Study of Newspaper Treatment of Male and Female Political Candidates. [Synopsis of Dissertation Thesis]. Columbia : University of Missouri, 2009. p. 6. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/304939255?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true>.

	Strikes\sit-ins	8(6.8)	7(8.2)	15(7.4)
	Other hard issues	4(3)	4(4.7)	8(4)
	Total	**98(83.7)**	**56(65)**	**154(76)**
	None	3(2.5)	0(0)	3(1.4)
Total		**117(58)**	**85(42)**	**202(100)**

Jang (M=1.81, S=.454) *Dawn* (M=1.66, SD=.477); p = .023.

TABLE 5: *Type of Newspaper* Issue Type*

Source: own processing, 2021

Hypothesis 1c assumed that "Issue coverage differs in Dawn and Jang while reporting on female politicians". The Jang newspaper has 13.6% of stories related to soft issues while Dawn has 34% soft news stories and the percent of hard news stories in both newspapers are (Jang=83.7, Dawn=65). Results show that in Dawn, crime (0), defense (1) and international (9.4) issues were not given less coverage than in Jang. Dawn has 2.3% of stories related to education while Jang does not have any stories on education, health issues were also discussed more in Dawn than Jang.

An independent sample t-test was conducted to test the hypothesis and to examine the variance in issues type with type of newspaper. These results indicate that issue type varies with the type of newspapers so the hypothesis was accepted. However, results of H1c were inconsistence with previous studies[30] as more stories were related to hard issues in both newspapers. This means that in Pakistani newspapers, female politicians are given coverage to talk about issues related to economy, defense or international politics, which is rarely seen in western newspapers.

Hypothesis 1d postulated that the "Tone of the story differs in Jang and Dawn while reporting on female politicians". To test the hypothesis an independent t-test was applied and the results show that there is not much difference in the mean of Jang and Dawn which means that the tone of the story remains the same in Jang and Dawn and it does not vary with the type of newspaper, so hypothesis 1d is rejected.

Type of Newspaper			
		Jang	*Dawn*
	Positive	60%	62%
Tone of the Story	Neutral	23	27
	Negative	17	11
N		117	85

Jang (M=2.4, SD=.769) *Dawn* (M= 2.5, SD= .683); *p*= .389.

TABLE 6: *Tone of the Story by Type of Newspaper*

Source: own processing, 2021

However, from the findings it appears that in Pakistan the tone for the coverage of female politicians is more towards positive than negative but in comparison of Urdu and English newspapers, results are inconsistent with previous research by Raza[31] which suggested that the tone for female politicians is more positive in English than in Urdu newspapers.

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[30] See: LADLEY, A., DABBOUS, Y.: A Spine of Steel and a Heart of Gold: Newspaper Coverage of the First Female Speaker of the House. In *Journal of Gender Studies*, 2010, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 181-194. ISSN 1465-3869. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249001925_A_spine_of_steel_and_a_heart_of_gold_Newspaper_coverage_of_the_first_female_Speaker_of_the_House>.

[31] See: RAZA, H.: The Depiction of Women in Pakistani Print Media: A Comparative Study of Daily Dawn and Jang. In *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 2016, Vol. 37, p. 73-87. [online]. [2021-09-04]. Available at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316464903_The_Depiction_of_Women_in_Pakistani_Print_Media_A_Comparative_Study_of_Daily_Dawn_and_Daily_Jang>.

5. Conclusion

Briefly, the results of the study revealed that, while women politicians in Pakistan are not framed as they are framed in the western world, where personalization was greater than issue coverage and negative frames were prominent,[32] but in Pakistani newspapers they were also not taken as seriously in the media because their news stories were less in number. Findings suggest that Pakistani woman politicians are not been framed as western women politicians are framed in their media. They had not experienced negative reporting where their clothes and personal life were addressed rather than their political skills[33]. In Pakistani newspapers hard issues were higher in number than soft issues and positive tone stories were higher in number than negative, it shows that they were taken more seriously as policy makers in the political sphere and their reference was not there only for their name or picture.[34] In the news stories, media did not give them the stereotypical treatment and are therefore not biased in their reporting. However, the number of stories related to female politicians was limited in number as only 202 news stories were found from the sample of six months, to convey their stance on every issue, it is important to give them more coverage and more stories on female politicians need to be published.

English newspapers need to give them more serious coverage as their hard issues were less in number than Urdu newspapers and the number of stories were also less than Urdu newspapers. Although there was more positive tone in both newspapers but the percentage falls in negative and neutral tone as well, which need to be considered because tone can make an impression in voter's minds. Even considering that, the point persists that the rise in the number of women in politics and the expanded representation of women in the political arena does not automatically mean that they are competent political women[35]. The numerous systemic and practical limitations of a patriarchal culture need to be modified at both human and social levels in order to recognize them as empowered women who are creative, articulate and capable of achieving goals. Political parties, along with other government bodies, need to give them with the space to better incorporate them into the democratic process. The media, either as the one accountable for making statements on women in politics or as a representation of the position of women in society, is required to look more seriously at this objective.

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