



RESEARCH PAPER

Comparing Women's Political Participation, Representation, Image and Prominence in the Dictatorial and Democratic Regimes in the Elite English Press of Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

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This study explores the representation, participation, image and prominence in the elite English press of Pakistan i.e. The Nation and DAWN in two different regimes i.e. dictatorship and democracy in the time period of Gen. Pervez Musharf from Jan. to Mar. 2005 and President Asif Zardari during Jan. to Mar. 2010 about Women politicians. The triangulation research technique is carried out in this regard by formulating the categories of representation given to women politicians, image depiction, prominence i.e. placement and space given to issues, coverage of participation i.e. statements, suggestions and other categories in coding format and also covered all types of news about women politician. The agenda setting and framing are grounded theories in order to determine the direction of the content. The findings revealed that The Nation gave significant coverage to the issue of women politicians as compare to DAWN. However, in the dictatorship regime, women politicians reported significantly in news items as compare to the democratic regime. The placement remain moderate in both dailies which indicates that the representation of women politicians and issues related to their politics is not on the priority of media agenda.

Introduction

This is an era of mass communication and media. With the usage of latest and modern technologies, media has also progressed and developed a lot. In this manner, the power of media cannot be denied, so media plays a vital role not only in the progress of society but also in the image building, opinion formation and setting new trends in a society. With the changing socio-political scenario, the reliance and dependence of an ordinary person on the media has been increased. That's why the effects of media are more perceptible and visible in the present era. Considering the wider social impact of mass media on the audience it seems to be as if the statement given by Marshal McLuhan "Medium is the Message" should be turned into that "Medium is the Magic" (Jin, 2015).

With the growing importance of information technology, the importance of newspapers cannot be ignored. They have surely maintained their worth and popularity by providing news items on national and international issues, reflecting newspapers policy through editorials, providing diversified opinions through columns and by speaking people's mind through letters to editors. People's minds are captured by the media. Wessler & Schultz (2007) argue that to know and understand the world, one must depend largely on the printed words.

This study anticipates to analyze the policy and role of media in projecting women politicians. A country like Pakistan, the phenomena of women's participation in politics are relatively new. As in the past, the concept of women is very different, it is expected by the women to be in the four walls of house and not to participate in development and progress related activities. But a major shift came in the Musharraf era; women were encouraged and facilitated to join politics. Due to this constructive encouragement the role of women in the field of politics is also increasing day by day. So, active participation of Pakistani women politicians is seeing frequently in decision making and representation in the affairs of a country. He gave a concept of "Enlightenment" in which women got freedom of expressions, justice in courts, even liberty in the field of politics in the form of maximum seats in a parliament and their representation is considered to be very important in different affairs of a country. Now they participate in a parliament boldly, openly and equally to male politicians. Same is the situation in the Zardari's era. Women are playing their constructive role in the field of politics.

The question arises how Pakistani newspapers have been projecting women politicians, how much prominence and importance has been given to this issue, what stance has been raised by the newspapers and what lexical items have been used for projecting their image. The research intends to reveal that how newspapers have portrayed women politicians in two entirely different forms of Govt. i.e., dictatorship and democracy.

Because the contribution of women in all domains of life is the major requirement of development and progress and media's responsibility is to give appreciation to these women and to build a better image of these females so that people may accept them as an equal and important part of society. The task of image depiction is performed by the media. Pakistan as a developing country needs to realize the significance of women's participation in every field of life. Pakistani women should not be confined to teaching and nursing rather they need to broaden their horizon to explore new fields like politics, business and judiciary etc. And media is the major source of creating awareness in people and making them realize that how much important it is to accept women in these roles and for this media needs to appreciate it and needs to develop a better image of such females.

In the present era a significant change has appeared in the socio-cultural scenario of Pakistan. With the growing literacy rate, women are now more confident, well aware and willing to face the formidable challenges of the 21st century.

"No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you; we are victims of evil customs. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable condition in which our women have to live. You should

take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life." (Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1944)

To examine that how the selected newspapers (*DAWN* and *The Nation*) are being practicing the freedom of expression and responsibility in playing "watchdog" and "mirroring" role regarding the portrayal of Pakistani women politicians in the news items.

Following are the formally stated questions for the study which would explore that how much Pakistani print media give importance to the participation of women in politics.

RQ₁: In which regime (Dictatorship or Democratic) the selected press gave more prominence to the issues A, B, C & D?

RQ₂: Did *DAWN* and *The Nation* maintain their policy throughout the selected time (Jan-Mar 2005, Jan-Mar 2010) or not?

RQ₃: which newspaper gave prominence to the issue of women politicians?

RQ₄: How newspapers are giving treatment to the news related to the participation of women in politics?

Literature Review

Sheel (2003) noted that Japanese women also actively participating in politics even there are so many NGOs at grass root organizations which are providing their services in giving information, awareness and training to the women towards politics. As Japanese women have long history of social activism, which encourage them to participate in politics, the manner to cast a vote and to be an active element of political parties. Particularly there are umbrella of Ngo's which are supportive for women in taking leadership positions in politics, particularly at the governmental level. In 1947, Japanese women got a right to cast a vote, to run for the parliament and to enter national universities. After getting the right to cast a vote, woman were more enthusiastic and passionate to use this right. The voter turnout of women at local and national assembly has been high. On 23rd June 1999, the basic law about gender equality came on screen in Japan, and after that men and woman started to participate everywhere jointly particularly in the field of politics. In June 1997, July 1998 and April 1999, a report is submitted by the Prime Minister office in which it is strongly realized that "women's participation and decision-making is not only a demand for democracy but is also a necessary condition for women's interests to be taken into account and thus reflected in policies". Particular the concept of women representation in politics has brought by the grass root organizations and Ngo's in Japan. They realize them their importance and need for their existence in politics is how much necessary because there are so many issues of women which can only be resolved with the cooperation of females. These grass root organizations and NGO's also eliminate the stereotype image of women that to stay at home, look after the house hold items and to bear the domestic violence passively (Sheel, 2003).

Neidell (1998) in an article "Women empowerment as a public problem: A case study of the 1994 International Conference on population and development" highlighted that how women empowerment has gained appreciation and popularity in public concerns. Governments also showed positive and productive concerns

towards the women empowerment all over the world. However, women empowerment is not only confined to choices about education, choice where and when get married, choices about career and job opportunities, selection of life partners and about using contraceptives. But it's also about the women's political power. So, the issue of women empowerment has become a catchy topic for the media. However, women not only becoming an integrated part of the politics but also playing a role of decision makers, political representatives and opening speakers of women rights.

Jaquette (1997) stated that contribution of women in politics is considered to be a remarkable development of late 20th century. It is the first time when women's participation and representation is active in politics and gaining drastic number of seats in offices and workplaces from all over the world. This article particularly answers these questions: Why was political power was out of limit so long and suddenly becoming reachable to women? And what are the implications of this trend of active women political participation for domestic and foreign policy? New Zealand is the first country who authorized the women to caste vote in 1893. In 1920 United States allowed women to caste vote particularly amended in constitution, 10 countries had already granted women this right to caste vote. But at that time there were many European countries, which never allowed women to avail this opportunity to participate until II world war named Greece, France, Switzerland and Italy. In 1929 Ecuador was considered to be the first to enhance political rights in 1929; but women were not able to caste vote in Mexico until 1953. Mongolia is the first Asian country where women started to vote in 1923, and then women started to vote in Japan and Korea after 1945. After the independence in Africa and Asia enfranchised women from the late 1940s into 1970s. Before women could vote there is a need to organize a status for women in legislation, marriage, property rights, working place so Western Europe and United States introduced labor and maternal laws for women. Most of the countries gave women the right to caste vote but never allowed them for running office. Political parties excluded the women from representation. Participation and decision making also gave no support to females in supportive campaigns. Cultural factors also affect the representation of women which fluctuates from area to area and state to state. Great Britain and United States classified the status of women in measuring gender equality, reported for less than (7%) in all parliamentarians. It is observed that former prime ministers of two countries Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan and Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh have exercised major power in Muslim nations.

Prindeville (2003) stated the role of gender and race in the politics of 50 American, Indian and Hispanic women public officials and grassroots activists play a vital role in New Mexico. Amalgamation of both formal/electoral and informal/grassroots leaders help to provide opportunities for contrast and comparison among women politicians working in various circumstances leading towards similar objectives of empowering others as well to participate in public life and addressing the interests of marginalized groups. This study focuses the influence of gender and race identity based on political ideologies and motives for activism in both govern-mental institutions and grassroots organizations of Native women and Latinas. The presence of women politicians in state and tribal politics has flourished now a days. It is observed that the prominence of American Indian women and Latinas in public policy making has increased. This research work is used purposive sampling to collect the sample of 50 women to participate in this research. Each woman interviewed by asking the names of actively involved women in politics in

the state. The reliability and validity is assessed when the all women identified the same names.

Razavi (2001) argued that on the subject of democratization from a gender perspective, there are many problems which are faced while new democracy constructs regarding the exclusive character of political parties, failure in provision guaranteed protection to the civilians and gender inequality in politics. Many questions are risen related to the women's persistent exclusion from formal politics as a limited participation, and how to bring reform in democratic institutions, however, these institutions are not inevitably gender-equitable. The main requirement of democracy in the modern times is that there should be equal protection, opportunities and civic rights for all individuals of the society. It is a serious issue that women's persistent exclusion from political office (particularly evident in the neo-democracies of Eastern Europe and Latin America). It is a challenge for women to work in an impressive and aspiring way in political office in the presence of men political dominance. In this reference, many countries have decided to make a standardized mechanism for political participation by introducing quotas for women in national and local elections. But still many important questions about representation and accountability are unanswered.

Gender equality in politics is being practice in Nordic countries practice since long It is pertinent to mention here the Nordic countries are the pioneer to introduce quota system for women. Two situations were considered to be a key to success: first, to put the quotas on the agenda and kept there by strong women's sections within social democratic parties; and second, to legitimize the social democratic tradition efforts for agents, such as labor unions, to alter the connection between the public and the private domains by prevailing in the market on behalf of the women. It is observed that women's political are actively participating in influencing the women in their communities. The involvement of women in decision making process is significant at both public and private sector due their active political participation like female voter turnout, female political participation, and public service responsiveness (Burns et al., 2021).

The increasing ratio of village women leaders is removing the gender gap between men and women in educational avenue in India. Women are spending less time in performing their household activities but increasing the women leadership in the village community (Beaman, 2012).

The quota system is applied to reserve the women seats by the states. One third seats are being reserved for women as legislators in India. One million women have been elected on government positions by Panchayati Raj Institutions in India (Azem et al., 2013). The majority of women participation has been seen in parliament and local government, after introducing gender quotas in countries like Afghanistan, Nepal, Cambodia, India, Timor-Leste, Vanuatu Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Kyrgyz Republic. It is pertinent to mention that even the country like Uzbekistan having lowest ratio of women in parliament according to legislated candidate quota still has a higher ratio of women representation comparatively more than the countries have no quota with 80 percent (True, et al., 2012).

Htun&Piscopo (2010) demonstrated the political participation of women in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). The trends of politics regarding women participation were observed in the region as a whole, as well as trends in Sout

America, Central America, and the Anglophone Caribbean. LAC countries are very much positive to elect women as heads of state as compare to others. Three women Maria Eugenia Charles of Dominica (1980-1995), Portia Simpson-Miller of Jamaica (2006-2007), and Kamla Persad-Bissessar of Trinidad and Tobago (2010-present) have served as prime minister in the Anglophone Caribbean. Moreover, Janet Jagan served as president of Guyana (1997-1999). The region's first female presidents both are widows of prominent political figures--emerged in Central America: Violeta Chamorro in Nicaragua (1990-1994) and Mireya Moscoso in Panama (1999-2004) in Latin America. Bolivia, Haiti, and Ecuador had served less than one year tenure as women presidents. The president of Chile Michele Bachelet had served more recently, has been followed by Cristina Fernández de Kirchner of Argentina (2007-2011), Laura Chinchilla of Costa Rica (2010-2014), and Dilma Rousseff of Brazil (2011-2015). Out of 33 countries in the LAC region, nine have elected as female presidents or prime ministers to serve their full tenure. Hence, following hypotheses are developed.

H₁: *DAWN* gave more prominence to the issues of Category A, B, C & D as compare to *The Nation*.

H₂: *The Nation* and *DAWN* gave more coverage to the activities of the women politicians in democratic era as compare to the dictatorship era.

Theoretical Framework

Agenda setting theory and framing theory are applied in this research work. Both theories talk about how media sets its agenda and manipulate the things and phenomenon, and how framing makes the transformation. Same things and words can create different impact on readers and audience depending upon its framing. So both the theories will help this research to understand the contents of media and to explain the phenomenon that how media create its impact and build an image.

Agenda Setting Theory

"The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about". (B. Cohen 1963; p. 13). The concept of agenda setting is found in early 20th century.

The agenda setting theory is useful in explaining how the Pakistani elite press sets its agenda and which issues are being highlighted in which direction with what context. That and how the women are being projected in the news items of *The Nation*, *DAWN*. Kurt & Gladys Engel Lang (1959) also wrote "The mass media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of public figures. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, and have feelings about." (1959, p.232). Kenney (2003) argues that female politicians are highlighting women issues in press and it became mainstream political agenda which created political space for women politicians. So, it can be concluded that mass media has an impact on the society and that impact could be significant one. There is also evidence that the mass media has a power to shape up people's views on different social issues and may be the issues highlighted in the media not be the ones that are dominant in reality.

Framing

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. The way in which the news is brought, the frame in which the news is presented, is also a choice made by journalists. Thus, a frame refers to the way media and media gatekeepers organize and present the events and issues they cover, and the way audiences interpret what they are provided. Frames are abstract notions that serve to organize or structure social meanings. Frames influence the perception of the news of the audience, this form of agenda-setting not only tells what to think about, but also how to think about it. According to Fairhurst&Sarr (1996) framing consists of three elements: language, thought and forethought. Language helps us to remember information and acts to transform the way in which we view situations. To use language, people must have *thought* and reflected on their own interpretive frameworks and those of others. (Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000).

By applying the main postulates of both the theories will help the researcher to analyze the data and to determine the direction of the contents.

Material and Methods

In the present study, two major techniques quantitative and qualitative as method of triangulation for analyzing the news contents are employed in this study. The purpose of using this particular method is to identify and count the occurrences of specified characteristics or dimensions of text, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, representations of such texts and their wider social significance. Quantitative analysis is generally concerned with how often a variable is presented and the amount can be communicated in numbers which allows great precision in reporting the results. Here in this portion the researcher will explain quantitative research design, its elements and steps. Following (A, B, C & D) are the four main categories of the study along with their sub categories providing the base for research questions and hypotheses. Category A reflect the representation, category B indicates Image, category C reflects prominence. However, C 1 indicate placement, C 2 represent length of the news, category D reflects participation and D 1 indicates statements and D 2 reflects suggestions and D3 Others.

This research has focused onto two major titles to analyze the news items of the selected newspapers:

- A. Coverage of women politicians at political level
- B. Coverage of women politicians at gender level

In studying and analyzing the News Items of *DAWN* and *The Nation* regarding Portrayal of Pakistani women politicians during Musharaf and Zardari regimes (Jan-Mar 2005, Jan- March 2010), the researchers have followed the above-mentioned sequence of steps as:

- a. Four "research questions" and two "hypotheses" are made to explore the issue of A & B by *DAWN* and *The Nation*.
- b. The English Press of Pakistan (*DAWN*& *The Nation*) is defined as "population" for the treatise.

- c. Six months are selected as “sample of the study” three months from Mushraf regime (Jan-Mar 2005) and three from Zardari regime (Jan-Mar 2010).
- d. News items published during the selected period in the Elite English Press is taken as the “unit of analysis”.
- e. Categories are designed and operationalized for the each issue (A. Political issues B. Gender issues) understudy.
- f. “Directions of the contents” are defined as for:
 - a. Category A, C & D “High, Low and Moderate”
 - b. Category B “Positive, Negative and Neutral”
- g. Pilot study and the “Coding of the contents” are done on a purposefully designed coding sheet.
- h. The collected data is presented (in logically arranged tables) and analyzed.
- i. In the end, the “conclusion” is derived from the findings of the study.

Results and Discussion

Table 1

Comparative Analysis of news items published in Jan., 2005 in Dictatorship Era					
Newspapers	N	Representation	Image	Prominence	Participation
<i>The Nation</i>	6	6	6	6	6
<i>DAWN</i>	7	7	7	7	7

Table 1 show that in the month of Jan. 2005 *The Nation* published 6 news items on the representation of women in politics of Pakistan. Whereas, in the same month *DAWN* reported 7 news items on Women political leaders. These news items reflect representation, image, prominence and participation of women politicians.

Table 2

Comparative Analysis of news items of published in Feb, 2005 in Dictatorship Era					
Newspapers	N	Representation	Image	Prominence	Participation
<i>The Nation</i>	17	17	17	17	17
<i>DAWN</i>	7	7	7	7	7

Table 2 indicates that in the month of Feb. 2005 *The Nation* published 17 news items on the issue of women politicians. Comparatively, *DAWN* published 7 news items. However, Table 2 reflects more news items were published by *The Nation* on the selected issues in the month of Feb, 2005.

Table 3

Comparative Analysis of news items of published in Mar,2005 in Dictatorship Era					
Newspapers	N	Representation	Image	Prominence	Participation
<i>The Nation</i>	15	15	15	15	15
<i>DAWN</i>	5	5	5	5	5

Table 3 reveals that in the month of Mar. 2005 *The Nation* published 15 news items on the representation, image, prominence and participation, whereas; in the same month *DAWN* published 5 news. A significant difference observed in the month of March, 2005 between *The Nation* and *DAWN*.

Table 4
Comparative Analysis of news items of published in Jan., 2010 in Democratic Era

Newspapers	N	Representation	Image	Prominence	Participation
<i>The Nation</i>	11	11	11	11	11
<i>DAWN</i>	2	2	2	2	2

Table 4 shows that in the month of Jan. 2010. *The Nation* published 11 news items and in the same month *DAWN* published 2 news items on women politicians.

Table 5
**Comparative Analysis of news items of published on the Issue A, B, C & D in
Feb, 2010 in Democratic Era**

Newspapers	N	A ¹	B ²	C ³	D ⁴
<i>The Nation</i>	2	2	2	2	2
<i>DAWN</i>	9	9	9	9	9

Note: A¹ = Representation, B² =Image, C³ = Prominence, C 1 =Placement, C 2 =Length of the News, D⁴ =Participation, D 1 =Statements, D 2 =Suggestions, D3 =Others

Table 5 shows that in the month of Feb. 2010 *The Nation* published 2 news items on representation, image, prominence and participation. However, *DAWN* gave more significance to women politician with 9 news items.

Table 6
Comparative Analysis of news items published in Mar, 2010 in Democratic Era

Newspapers	N	A ¹	B ²	C ³	D ⁴
<i>The Nation</i>	3	3	3	3	3
<i>DAWN</i>	3	3	3	3	3

Note: A¹ = Representation, B² =Image, C³ = Prominence, C 1 =Placement, C 2 =Length of the News, D⁴ =Participation, D 1 =Statements, D 2 =Suggestions, D3 =Others

Table 6 indicates that in the month of Mar, 2010. *The Nation* and *DAWN* gave equal coverage to women politicians in the areas of representation, image, prominence and participation.

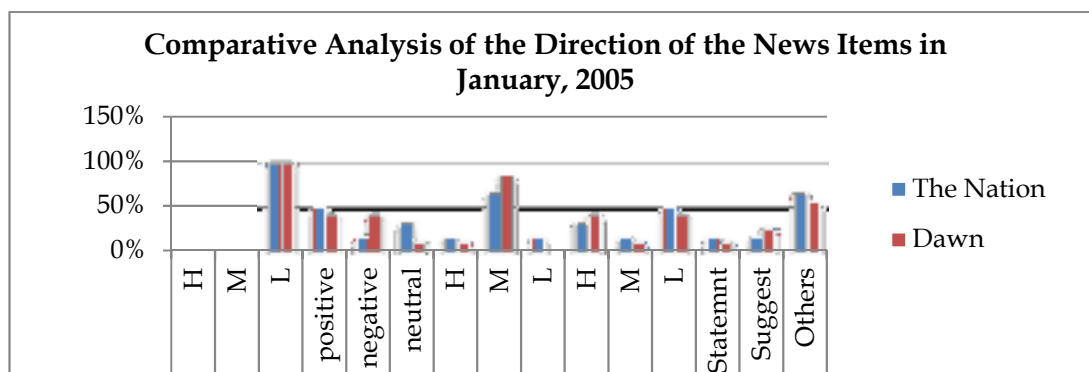


Fig.1: Comparative Analysis of the Direction of the News Items in January 2005 in Dictatorship Era

Fig. 1 reveals that in the month of Jan, 2005. *The Nation* framed the image of women in a positive way however the representation and space given to this issue is comparatively low, news items published in *The Nation* regarding the representation is (100%) low. However, (67%) coverage is given to the participation of women politicians. The policy adopted by *DAWN* on the issue of representation is similar to *The Nation* as *DAWN* also gave (100%) low representation to this issue, a visible difference is found regarding placement as *DAWN* published (86%) news stories by giving moderate level of space which is higher than *The Nation* which published (67%) news items in a moderate space. The fig.1 also indicates that as compare to *The Nation* and *DAWN* published less news stories (57%) on the issue of participation.

Fig. 2 shows that in the month of Feb, 2005. *DAWN* framed the image of women in a positive manner however the representation given to this issue is comparatively low and space given to this issue is higher (71%), news items published in *The Nation* regarding the representation is (100%) high. However (59%) coverage is given to the participation of women politicians.

The policy adopted by *The Nation* on the issue of representation is higher to *DAWN* as *The Nation* gave (100%) high representation to this issue. However, a visible difference is found regarding placement as *DAWN* published (71%) news stories by giving moderate level of space which is higher than *The Nation* which published (65%) news items in a moderate space. The fig.2 also indicates that as compare to *The Nation*, *DAWN* published more news stories (86%) on the issue of participation (see Fig.2).

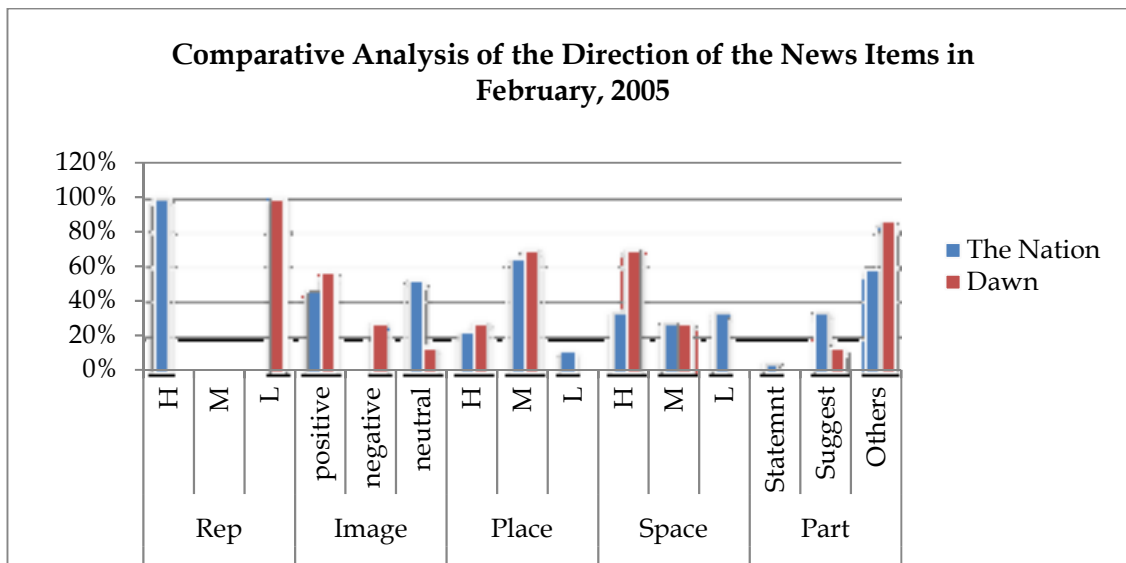


Fig. 2: Comparative Analysis of the Direction of the News Items in February 2005 in Dictatorship Era

Fig. 3 reflects that in the month of Mar, 2005. *The Nation* framed the image of women in a positive way however the space given to this issue is comparatively low whereas news items published in *The Nation* regarding the representation is (100%) elevated. However, (60%) coverage is given to the participation of women politicians. The policy adopted by *DAWN* on the issue of representation is opposite to *The Nation* as *DAWN* gave (100%) low representation to this issue. Hence, a visible difference is found regarding placement as *DAWN* published (80%) news stories by giving moderate level of space which is lower than *The Nation* which published (87%) news

items in a moderate space. The table also indicates that *DAWN* and *The Nation* published same percentage of news items (60%) on the issue of participation.

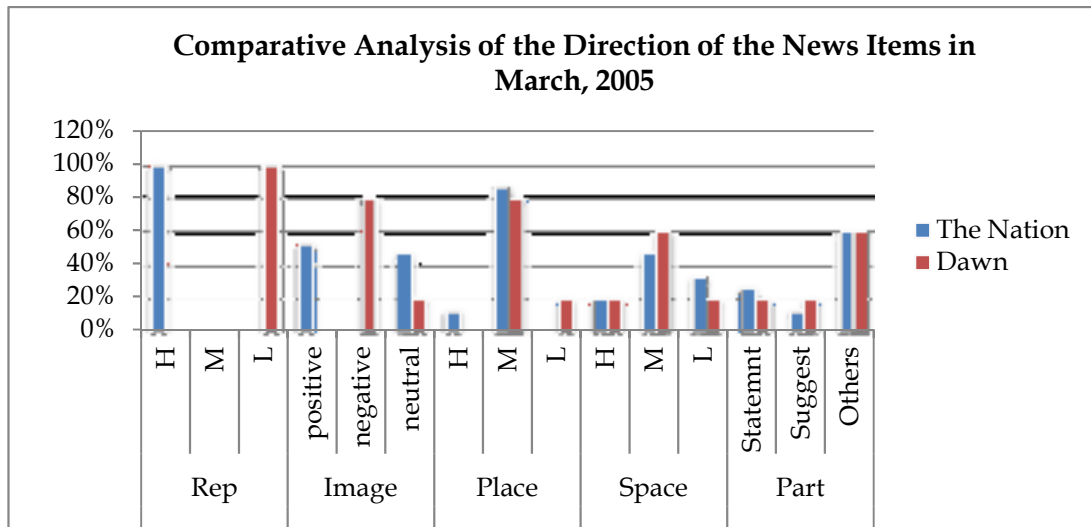


Fig. 3: Comparative Analysis of the Direction of the News Items in March 2005 in Dictatorship Era

Fig. 4 portrays that in the month of Jan, 2010. *The Nation* framed the image of women in a positive, news items published in *The Nation* regarding the representation is (100%) significant. However, (45%) coverage is given to the participation of women politicians. The policy adopted by *DAWN* on the issue of representation is opposite to *The Nation* as *DAWN* gave (100%) low representation to this issue, a visible difference is found regarding space *The Nation* published (72%) news stories by giving moderate level of space which is higher than *DAWN* which published (50%) news items in a moderate space. The figure reflects that as compare to *The Nation*, *DAWN* published more news stories (50%) on the issue of participation.

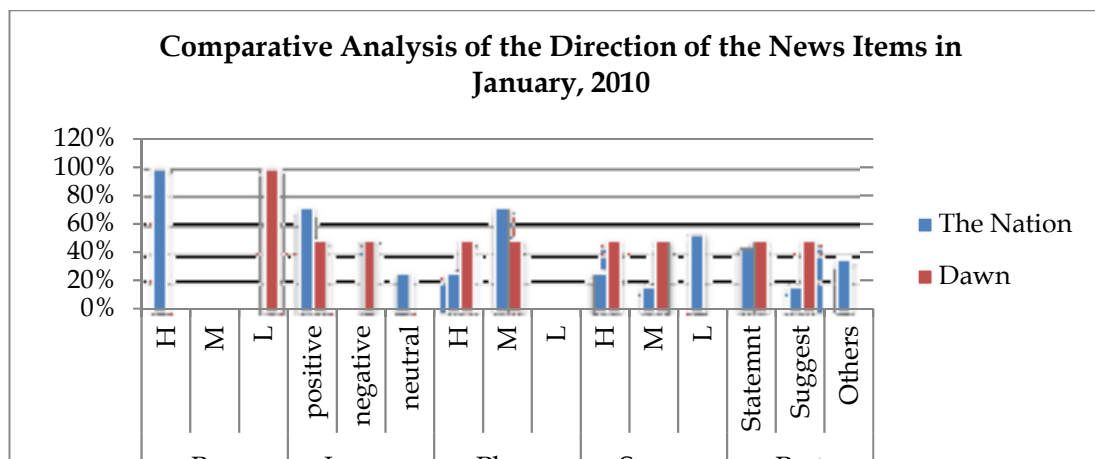


Fig. 4: Comparative analysis of the direction of the News items in Jan., 2010 in Democratic era

Fig. 5 indicates that in the month of Feb, 2010. News items published in *The Nation* regarding the representation of women politician is (100%) low. However, (50%) coverage is given to the participation of women politicians. The policy adopted by *DAWN* on the issue of representation is similar to *The Nation* as *DAWN* also gave

(100%) low representation to this issue. Whereas a visible difference is found regarding placement as *The Nation* published (100%) news stories by giving moderate level of space which is higher than *DAWN* which published (78%) news items in a moderate space. The figure also indicates that as compare to *The Nation* *DAWN* published less news stories (44%) on the issue participation.

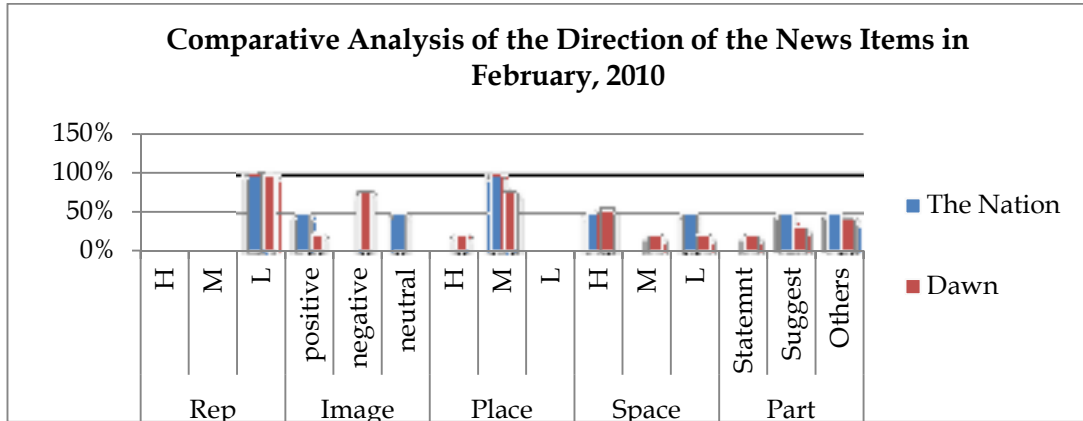


Fig. 5: Comparative Analysis of the Direction of the News Items in February 2010 in Democratic Era

Fig. 6 indicates that in the month of Mar, 2010. *The Nation* and *DAWN* framed the image of women in a same positive way whereas *DAWN* gave more negative image (67) to this issue, however the representation of both newspapers are (100%) low and space given to this issue is same in both newspapers in a moderate level (33%), whereas *DAWN* gave high space which is (67%). However, (67%) coverage is given to the participation of women politicians in *The Nation*. The women politicians' political participation is the significant focus of news coverage by both newspapers.

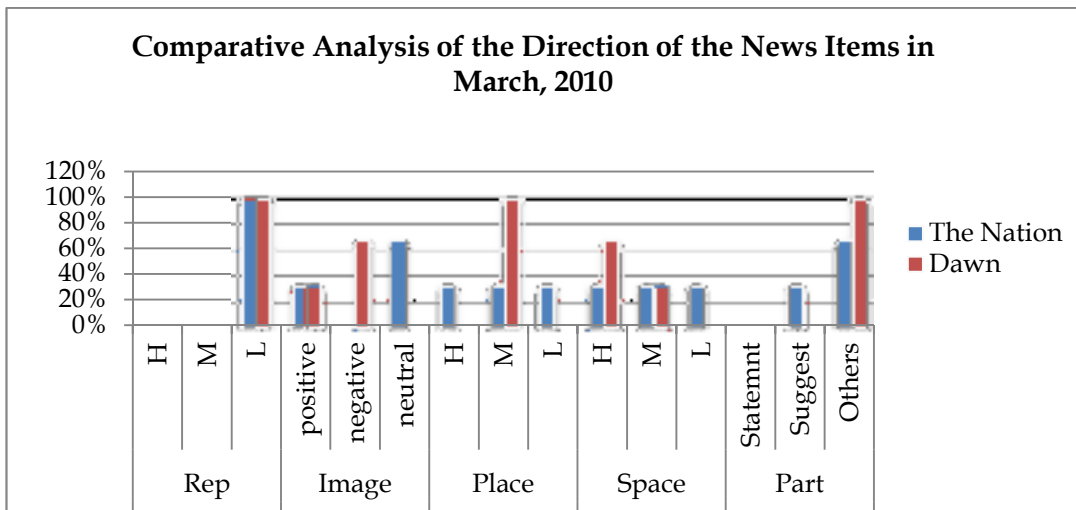


Fig. 6: Comparative Analysis of the Direction of the News Items in March 2010 in Democratic Era

Along with the quantitative analysis, the study also focused on the qualitative description of the selected news items from January to March, 2005 and 2010. The Purpose is to analyses the direction of the content. While doing the qualitative analysis the researchers explored that *The Nation* gave maximum coverage to the issue of women politicians by publishing (34%) news items as compare to *DAWN* in both

the eras (Dictatorship and Democracy). The study also revealed that *The Nation* adopted a more positive stance by publishing (51%) news items on the issue of women politician, whereas *DAWN* gave a negative coverage to this issue of by publishing (46%) news items adopting an offensive tone. It is also investigated that during the both Dictatorship as well as Democratic era, *The Nation* gave more positive stance to the selected issue (50% & 52%) as compare to *DAWN*, whereas *DAWN* adopted lower tone to present this issue by publishing (26% & 65%) news items. Ross (2004) asserts that when media is presenting women issues, highlighting women politicians, it means it is setting the agenda of business in which it intends to cater a significant proportion of readership for business purpose.

The study also explored that on issue "A" that reflects representation, *The Nation* gave more representation to women politicians by publishing maximum news items (67%) on this issue in the era of dictatorship as compare to the democratic era (33%). Moghadam (1992) argues that patriarchic structure prevails in Pakistan and government structures in Pakistan support patriarchic culture. However, the framing of women politician's representation in news is significant in both newspapers. Jaquette (1997) asserts that the countries which gave right to vote to women and their democracies promoting women as legislators, there is probability of more stable democracies in their countries and women are significantly contributing in the economic prosperity.

It also revealed the level of prominence given to this issue in the selected newspapers. For this, the researchers focused on two things, the placement of the news and the space given to the news related to this issue. It is discovered that the overall level of placement by both the newspapers are mainly "moderate" in both the regimes. Whereas the space given to the news items in both eras is also mainly "moderate". Hence, it is inferred that the women political leadership and their issues are not the significant priority of the media agenda. Montiel (2014) asserts that gender based issues including all forms of violence against women e.g. gender based violence, harassment, economic violence, marginalizing of women in society are the public issues and media is not representing these issues from the political agenda setting perspective. In this way, media is not the part of solution rather part of the problem.

It is explored that *DAWN* gave the highest placement to the issue in the era of democracy by giving (24%) placement in the newspaper to this particular issue as compare to *The Nation* which gave (20%) placement to this issue. This is in line with Razavi (2001) which noted that on the issue of democratization from a gender perspective, there are many problems which are observed in new democracies; it reflects elitist character of political parties, failure in provision guaranteed protection to the civilians and gender inequality in politics. Women's persistent exclusion from formal politics, in particular, raises a number of specific questions about how to reform democratic institutions since these institutions are not automatically gender-equitable.

The level of space is also analyzed by the researchers and it is indicated that *DAWN* assigned more space (51%) to the news items as compare to *The Nation* in both the regimes. And *The Nation* assigned less space to the news items related to this issue by giving (34%) space to this issue.

So, it is explored that when it comes to the placement and space *DAWN* gave high level of prominence in both the regimes (dictatorship and democracy) as compare to *The Nation*.

Considering the importance of participation of women in politics the researchers formulated sub categories to measure the level of coverage given to the participation. These sub categories were about statements given by these women politician, suggestion and "Other" category is also made to cover all sorts of activities which come under participation. Women empowerment is not confined to choices about education, where and when gets married, about career and job opportunities, selection of life partners and about using contraceptives. But it's also about the women's political power. So, the issue of women empowerment has become a catchy topic for the media (Neidell, 1998). Hence, it is argued that political power of women is concerned with the agenda setting of media and it becomes part of their framing policy to report women politicians.

As there is sub- category of statements given by these women, so the study explored that *DAWN* published more news stories about the statements which is (18%) as compare to *The Nation* which published (16%) news items. Hence, it is argued that *DAWN* gave significant framing to the statements of women political leadership as compare to *The Nation*.

Conclusion

Political representation, participation, image and prominence of women in the two distinct regimes of Pakistan during the Gen. Pervez Mushraf and President Asif Zardari remained the political discourse in elite English press of Pakistan. In dictatorial regime, democracy did not function with true representation of people's electives but in this regime media gave certain portion of representation to the women politicians that largely spoke on varied issues and got significant coverage in the news items of *The Nation* and *DAWN* as compare to the democratic regime. However, the placement of both newspapers reflects moderate which indicate that the representation of women politicians and issues related to their politics is not on the priority of media agenda. The news placement on the portrayal of women politicians depict marginally significant which is an indication that political parties and governance structure of the state resides on elitist character which fails in gender based equality in politics. On the overall news coverage of *The Nation* and *DAWN* on the women political leaderships' representation, participation, image and prominence, *The Nation* gave the significant to the women's political power.

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