



What's in a name? That who we call a king by any other name would rule as supreme

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Abstract – *The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brought Pakistan to attention in global news due to its strategic geo-political position. The United States' resolve to avenge the attacks contributed to the emergence of Pakistan as the key player in the war against terrorism. The Pakistani dictator, Parvez Musharraf, joined arms with President Bush to serve the cause of counter-terrorism. This alliance brought Musharraf into prominence in the global news arena. This paper analyzes the portrayal of Parvez Musharraf in the UK newspaper The Guardian. It covers news articles about Parvez Musharraf from the time he came to power until six months after September 11, 2001. The purpose of this exercise is to investigate whether Musharraf's portrayal in the news underwent any significant changes after September 11, 2001. The aim of this examination is to analyze the use of appellation as a categorization tool to position Musharraf in a positive or negative light.*

The September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon brought Pakistan to attention in global news due to its strategic geo-political position. The United States' resolve to avenge the attacks contributed to the emergence of Pakistan as the key player in the war against terrorism. The Pakistani leader, Parvez Musharraf, joined arms with President Bush to serve the cause of counter-terrorism and discontinued his support of the Taliban in Afghanistan. This alliance brought Musharraf into prominence in the global news arena.

Parvez Musharraf, the current President and Army Chief of Pakistan, came to power by ousting the elected Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif. He staged a coup on October 12, 1999 and created his title of Chief Executive of Pakistan; on June 10, 2001, he declared himself to be the President of Pakistan. At the time of this writing he holds both the office of Army Chief and President simultaneously. He has been a key ally in the US “war on terror,” an association which has won him international fame and paved the way for his growing political career.

Musharraf’s army background, staged coup, self-created title, proclamation as President, and the sudden turn of events in his favor by virtue of 9/11 open doors for his categorization in a variety of ways. News coverage of Musharraf is an apt subject of research for the study of appellation and how it can be used to redefine the politics and image of a military dictator, an event new to neither Pakistan nor to the international community.

While military dictators are a norm in the political history of Pakistan, they are often criticized in the western world by virtue of their lack of democracy. Hence, these military rulers need to be redefined before alliances are forged with them by the “civilized” nations of the world. The findings of this study illustrate that the dictator of one state is transformed into a legitimate leader, not in order to uphold democracy in the country, but to preserve the democratic nations’ self-image that shun dictators while nevertheless collaborating with them.

This paper analyzes the portrayal of Parvez Musharraf in the UK newspaper *The Guardian*.¹ It covers news articles about Musharraf from the time he came to power until six months after September 11, 2001. The purpose of this exercise is to investigate whether Musharraf’s portrayal in the news underwent any significant changes after 9/11, a day that brought both Musharraf and Pakistan into prominence in global politics. The aim of this examination is to analyze the use of appellation as a categorization tool to position Musharraf in a positive or negative light.

Appellation, simply defined, is the act of naming based on a title or designation. Appellation allows the use of common nouns for proper nouns, i.e., referring to a person on the basis of the office s/he holds or a characteristic s/he possesses instead of a name. For example, one can summon Michael Jackson by addressing him as the “King of Pop” or refer to Mustafa Kemal by calling him Ataturk. While appellations afford opportunities of using alternatives to refer to someone by name, they also open doors to including information in the reference. For instance, the sentence, “The cheerleader, Martha, twisted her ankle,” offers more information than merely stating that Martha injured her ankle, thus enabling the reader to position Martha in a certain manner. Also, it opens the door to projecting Martha in a positive or negative light.

Appellation serves multiple purposes with regards to invoking and challenging existing categories of information available to a newspaper reader. In addition to providing information about the individual being referred to, appellation guides the positive or negative categorization of the referent. Furthermore, it allows for creation of exceptions to existing knowledge schemas. By virtue of these characteristics, appellation can be used as a tool for positioning a news actor/subject on the world’s political scene in a positive or negative light.

¹ The choice of *The Guardian* was based on my familiarity with the paper and the frequency with which the newspaper covered news about Musharraf. Only one newspaper was picked for this study to keep the focus tangible and be able to analyze one newspaper’s coverage of Musharraf in depth.

The next section discusses the methodology used in the paper. A discussion of the use of appellation as a means of positioning actors in news articles by guiding their categorization by readers follows the methodology section. This leads to an application of this model to the data collected about Parvez Musharraf from *The Guardian*. The work concludes with an evaluation of the framework presented earlier in light of the findings from the data under consideration.

Methodology

The timeline chosen for examining changes in the use of appellation for referring to Musharraf was divided into three periods. The first period covers news reports from October 12, 1999, the day Musharraf came to power, to June 10, 2001, the day he declared himself to be the President of Pakistan. The second period examines news articles appearing from Musharraf's announcement of his Presidency until 9/11. The third period looks at news coverage about Musharraf in the six months following 9/11. The second period is outlined as a separate area to account for the fact that prior to June 10, 2001 Musharraf held the office of Chief Executive and it was only after this date that he announced himself as the President of Pakistan. This period offers an opportunity to observe whether his claim to presidency was validated by the press and, if it was, under what circumstances.

The data for this study were gathered through the use of the Lexis-Nexis database by limiting searches to *Guardian* articles containing the word "Musharraf." The search returned 249 relevant articles: 100 from the first time period, 11 from the second time period and 138 from the third time period. The number of articles covering news about Musharraf in these three time periods is itself reflective of Musharraf's prominence in global politics during specific time frames. The average number of articles per month about Musharraf in time period one, two and three are 5, 3.67 and 23 respectively. The averages indicate that Musharraf was foregrounded in news in time period three in relation to being in the background in time periods one and two. The news articles retrieved through a search on Musharraf were read in detail to identify how Musharraf was framed by the news writers. Editorials were included alongside news articles, while letters to the editor were ignored. Reading these articles led to the recognition of visible framing patterns within which Musharraf was positioned in news.

The theoretical framework employed for this study is content analysis. The repeated frames invoked by news writers in articles about Musharraf were broken down in to categories on the basis of positive, neutral or negative positioning. The use of appellation as a tool of accepting or refuting a dictator's claim to power was identified as the focus for further study. A quantitative analysis of appellations used to refer to Musharraf led to the identification of nine categories of appellations. These categories, accepting or rejecting Musharraf's legitimacy in varying degrees, were outlined to compare his various portrayals in *The Guardian*. The appellation categories chosen were used as a basis of comparison for Musharraf's projection in news before and after the events of 9/11.²

Literature Review

Subject definition in news ought to be understood as both creation and re-creation. Political discourse can be looked upon as institutionalized use of language. Knowledge of one or another

² A detailed explanation of appellation categorization and justification follows later on in the paper.

version of reality becomes dependent on accepting or refuting available discourse on the issue. Multiple discourses compete with each other to shape a prevalent notion of reality. In this respect political discourse seeks a progression of meaning that is dynamic in nature.³ Issues, individuals or events can be projected in a manner intended to shape or invoke certain themes.⁴ These themes can appeal to existing schemas and lay guidelines for possible further readings. The positioning of actors within political discourse sets in motion a sequence of intended and unintended consequences, providing the impetus for certain interpretations.⁵

Written discourse calls for two-way communication. Interaction is an inherent characteristic of newspaper articles; they are meant to be read by a target audience. The reader is expected to respond to the information disseminated and the opinions expressed in news reports. While reader response can be based on the content of news itself, the reader's reaction to an article may be influenced by the presentation methods. Readers participate in what they read not only by virtue of what information is provided to them but also how it is provided. The labels that accompany actors and events discussed or described in news affect reader response. Readers can choose to position themselves in association with the author, a subject, an actor or the position of an outside observer.⁶

Reading a newspaper article or interpreting new information adds to the reader's knowledge base and provides her with an opportunity to store this information; the process is not devoid of influence from what the reader already knows. The reader approaches and interprets new information in the light of existing knowledge and past experience. Events and objects in the world are understood in relation to each other and other events and objects experienced in the past. In fact, existing knowledge forms the basis of expectations from new information.⁷ Thus, the reader is subjective in her reading by virtue of what she already knows and her interpretation of what she reads is influenced by what she already knows.

In the light of the above, how information is presented and the references it makes to a reader's existing knowledge affect how a reader interprets the news. If the references are positive, the reader is more likely to view the news subject positively and vice versa. Framing is a means that can be employed to invoke references that allow readers to interpret new information on the lines desired by the writer. Entman explains:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.⁸

Reese argues that "frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to structure the social world."⁹ This definition helps understand the four-

³ Harre & Langenhove. *Positioning Theory*. 1999. p 41

⁴ Heller, Nemedi & Renyl. *Populist Discursive Strategies under State Socialism: The Demographic Debates*.

⁵ Harre & Langenhove. *Positioning Theory*. 1999. p 40

⁶ Harre & Langenhove. *Positioning Theory*. 1999. p 39

⁷ Tannen. *Framing in Discourse*. 1993. p 21

⁸ Entman. *Journal of Communication* 43(4). 1993. p. 52

⁹ Reese. *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World*. 2001. p-11

pronged approach to framing outlined by Entman. He identifies four stages of framing: (1) problem definition, (2) diagnosis of causes, (3) evaluation of actions and (4) remedial suggestions. Thus, a frame serves as a means of representing information in a way that appeals to existing organizing principles of the reader for interpreting the world. This interpretation prompts the reader to understand an event from the perspective of the news writer as s/he diagnoses its causes, evaluates it morally and provides suggestions for remedying it.

While the purpose of a frame is to elicit a certain response or interpretation, it is incorrect to believe that frames operate one at a time or that a certain interpretation can be achieved through a single frame. It is possible to package news in multiple frames, some of them in conflict with each other, and yet achieve the desired interpretation. Gamson and Modigliani assert that the packaging of discourse in the media carries multiple frames within it. These frames carry differing opinions, yet the overall packaging of news allows for one interpretation. Thus, one clear interpretation can be constructed by multiple frames that may contradict and/or provide different perspectives.¹⁰

By virtue of the reader's participation in political discourse expressed in newspaper articles, the reader is a receiver of illocutionary and perlocutionary forces. The reader reacts and develops opinions based on what s/he reads. This reaction can be influenced by a host of factors. One factor of interest is how the author's use of labels influences readers' reactions; in other words, how a subject, actor or character is positioned in a news article influences the reader's response to that article. The labels associated with the primary subject under discussion in news stories guide readers' reactions. Appellation serves a similar purpose.

While reference based on a proper noun is usually neutral, references drawing on titles or appellations have positive or negative connotations. Appellations such as "Sir" or "Doctor" lend authority or respect to the name following the title. Likewise, the title "President" holds positive stature in itself. Of course, the use of titles can also facilitate construction of negative imagery and provoke negative reactions. The appellation "Dictator" comes equipped with negative baggage; it calls to the reader's existing knowledge about who a dictator is and what he does.

It is worth noting here that appellation can also be used as a tool for categorization. An appellation used to refer to actors in a news story can help the reader categorize that actor. This categorization follows the principles of dual categorization identified by Freud. By virtue of such categorization the world is divided into those who belong to the category and those who do not.¹¹ For example, Ali the nerd is a member of the category "nerds." Likewise, Sheila, the life of the party, is associated with the category of those who are the "life of a party." Categories are constructed by humans to organize and comprehend information in a simple manner. Any exception to this existing knowledge of categories calls for reordering known sets. Thus, Ahmad, the nerd who is the life of the party, challenges existing categorization of the world as the inclusion of Ahmad in both categories questions the definition of a nerd and someone who is the life of the party. I will discuss the creation of such exceptions through the use of appellation in greater detail later on in this paper.

This model of categorization can be applied to the earlier discussion about the use of appellation to trigger a positive or negative response from a reader. A positive appellation such as

¹⁰ Gamson & Modigliani. *Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach*. 1989.

¹¹ Billig. *Social Psychology and Intergroup Relations*. 1976. p 324.

“Sir” calls for association of the referent to a positive category. Likewise, a negative appellation invokes a link with a negative category. By virtue of dual categorization, appellations affording the possibility of both positive and negative categorization appear as exceptions. These can either be classified as just positive or negative on the basis of which characteristic is weighed more or leads to the modification of knowledge schemas organizing information in existing mental sets. An example of this could be a “militant hero.” This appellation can be categorized as militant or hero, or it can be categorized as an exception that allows for a militant to be heroic or a hero to be militant, or both at the same time.

Positioning patterns of news articles about Musharraf

This section deals with a comparative analysis of Musharraf’s positioning in articles appearing in *The Guardian* over the three designated time periods. The collected data focuses on the frames of reference used to refer to Musharraf in the news reports under analysis. Nine categories of references, all appellations except one, have been identified to compare changes in how Musharraf is positioned in news over the three time periods under discussion. Due to the variation in the number of articles in each time period, the unit of comparison is percentages rather than actual numbers. These percentages have been calculated on the basis of the number of times an appellation appears out of the total number of times Musharraf is mentioned in *The Guardian* in a given time period. It is worth noting here that one article can refer to Musharraf more than once, thus percentages are calculated from the total number of times he is mentioned in a time period and not the total number of articles in which he is mentioned in that time period.¹²

The nine categories of appellation identified over the three periods range from positive to negative categorizations. Only one category is not based on the use of appellations; it is an exception and deals with references based on making comparisons between Musharraf and other dictators (i.e. past Pakistani dictators and, in one case, Putin). The first five appellation categories are labeled as negative and the last three are positive. The sixth category is based on referral using a proper noun, i.e. the name Musharraf; this category is treated as neutral as a name alone does not carry any additional positive or negative information in itself.¹³ A brief description of the appellations grouped together in the nine categories is as follows:

1. “Dictator,” “military dictator” or “coup leader”

These appellations belong to the most negative set of titles used to refer to Musharraf. These titles hold within them information that guides the reader to categorize Musharraf as a dictator or a coup maker and provoke a negative reaction. They appeal to the reader’s existing

¹² For instance, when I quote that Musharraf was referred to as ‘Musharraf’ 4.64% of the times in period one, this percentage is calculated by dividing 16 (the number of times the name Musharraf appeared) by 345 (the total number of times Musharraf was mentioned in the ~~111~~100 articles about him in time period one).

¹³ The categorization of appellations was based on whether an appellation framed Musharraf as a legitimate or illegitimate ruler. The boundaries between appellation categories are arbitrary to some extent but the need for categorization in order to carry out quantitative analysis demanded the lines to be drawn some where.

knowledge about a dictator or a coup leader and facilitate the construction of a link between Musharraf and what the reader already knows about a dictator or coup leader. Thus, these appellations deny Musharraf the position of a legitimate leader and instead position him as a dictator who comes in to power by staging a coup.

2. *References to past or other dictators*

This category includes instances of Musharraf's comparison with past dictators from the political history of Pakistan as well as one widely known dictator from contemporary global politics, i.e. Putin.¹⁴ These comparisons serve to let readers construct links between what they already know about the referenced dictators and Musharraf. This practice encourages the reader to map existing knowledge sets onto new information provided in an article. Thus, a reader not familiar with Musharraf but possessing some knowledge about previous Pakistani dictators or Putin can group Musharraf in the same category where the familiar dictators belong. The dual nature of categorization into black or white – and no grey – leaves little room for Musharraf being considered a new or different type of a dictator.

3. *“Self-styled/self-appointed Chief Executive” or “self appointed President”*

The two categories discussed above refuted Musharraf's legitimacy by referring to him with titles that stand in opposition to the position of a leader whose rule has been sanctioned. This category calls attention to the use of appellation that directly disputes Musharraf's claims to rule by negating the titles he awards himself with adjectives that defy the authority of the titles following them. Musharraf arbitrarily pronounced himself the “Chief Executive of Pakistan” after coming in to power and later proceeded to announce himself as the President. Both these titles hold within them respect and authority. The use of “self-styled” or “self-appointed” negates the respect and authority of these titles. Thus, the use of “self-styled” or “self-appointed” in conjunction with Chief Executive or President openly disputes and challenges Musharraf's claim to rule.

4. *“Military leader/ruler”*

This category addresses the use of the label “military” with the title “leader” or “ruler,” as well as the use of the appellation “ruler” alone. The appellation “ruler” boosts authority. It is treated as a negative title by virtue of “rule” symbolizing a distorted balance of power between the ruler and the ruled. Kings can be categorized as rulers but not democratically elected heads of States. Thus, ruler is identified as a negative title. The addition of the title “military” enhances the negative image of a ruler. A military ruler is on no account envisioned as a legitimate leader.

While the title “leader” in itself is positive, its positive quality is overshadowed once it is coupled with a military appellation. This negative component weighs down the legitimacy of a

¹⁴ The reference to Putin is based on how the newspaper article under study mentioned him. This categorization is not representative of my views and is not relevant to this paper.

leader referred to as a military leader. In short, the label military deviates from the category of a leader and cannot be incorporated into it without making exceptions. It brings to notice the fact that a military leader is not a democratic leader or an elected representative. Also, it draws the reader's attention to the possible use of force by virtue of the presence of the word military. A military leader is characterized by being the leader on the basis of his/her military association.

5. *“General” or “Army Chief”*

General and Army Chief are military titles. The bearer of these titles possesses a military character. They call attention to the background of the referent in terms of his association with the military and not his status as a head of a State. While General and Army Chief are appellations reflective of positive stature in the light of holding prestigious positions in a military hierarchy, these terms take on a different character when used for someone claiming to be a Chief Executive or President of a country. The use of these military labels for Musharraf accepts him as a military officeholder but fails to address his position as the leader of a nation. Both these appellations bring out the military character of Musharraf's rule and position him as a military officer – not a head of state. An association with the military is not a pre-requisite or essential attribute of a head of a State, implying that Musharraf is a military officeholder but not recognized as a legitimate head of state.

6. *“Musharraf”*

As discussed earlier, references based on usage of proper nouns are devoid of extra information. A name is read as a name and not an appellation that supplies the reader with a background to link the referent with members of existing knowledge categories. Musharraf is a name and thus a neutral means of reference. Use of Musharraf's name to refer to him calls to the readers to view him in light of what they already know about him. For a reader not familiar with Musharraf, the statement, “Musharraf announced his Presidency on national television today” can be read without debating the legitimacy of this claim or the right to make this announcement. On the other hand, the same reader will be led to condemn the above announcement if the information was packaged in a different manner, e.g., “Pakistan's military ruler, Musharraf, announced his Presidency on national television today.” The second statement positions Musharraf as a military ruler. Such use of appellation lets the reader construct linkages between Musharraf and what they already know about military rulers. In short, references based on proper nouns position referents in a neutral manner and do not interfere with the reader's categorization of the referent.

7. *“Charming/urbane dictator”*

This category can easily be taken to be the opposite of the category grouping the appellations: self-styled/self-appointed Chief Executive or President. The appellations in this category counter the negative aspects of Musharraf's position by juxtaposing positive and negative attributes. Such positioning encourages the reader to see Musharraf through a lens other than

the one tainted by the reader's existing knowledge about dictators. Juxtaposition of a negative appellation, "dictator," against positive adjectives such as charming and urbane, positions Musharraf outside the knowledge category of a dictator. It attempts to bypass the stereotype of a dictator and leads readers to view him as an exception, guiding them to position him without the biases that stem from his position as a dictator. The use of positive adjectives, coupled with a negative appellation, projects him as an exception to existing knowledge categories.

8. *"President General"*

This category is unique in its character as it deals with the creation of a unique appellation to accommodate both Musharraf's military association and his Presidency. It is a creative means of bypassing two existing knowledge categories, i.e., President and General, and carving out a new one that is a fusion of the characteristics of the two original categories. The use of this appellation appeared first and only as a reference for Musharraf. Military presidents are not a novelty, but an appellation preserving their military heritage while simultaneously granting them legitimacy is a new occurrence. The appellation "President General" positions Musharraf outside the categories of President and General. It affords him a custom-made title derived from two appellations that belong to legitimate categories of authority. Such accommodation not only reveals the news writers' openness to the possibility of a legitimate military Presidency but also indicates their desire to lend acceptance to Musharraf's position without openly approving of his dual office holding.¹⁵

9. *"President," "Chief Executive," "Leader" or "Head of State"*

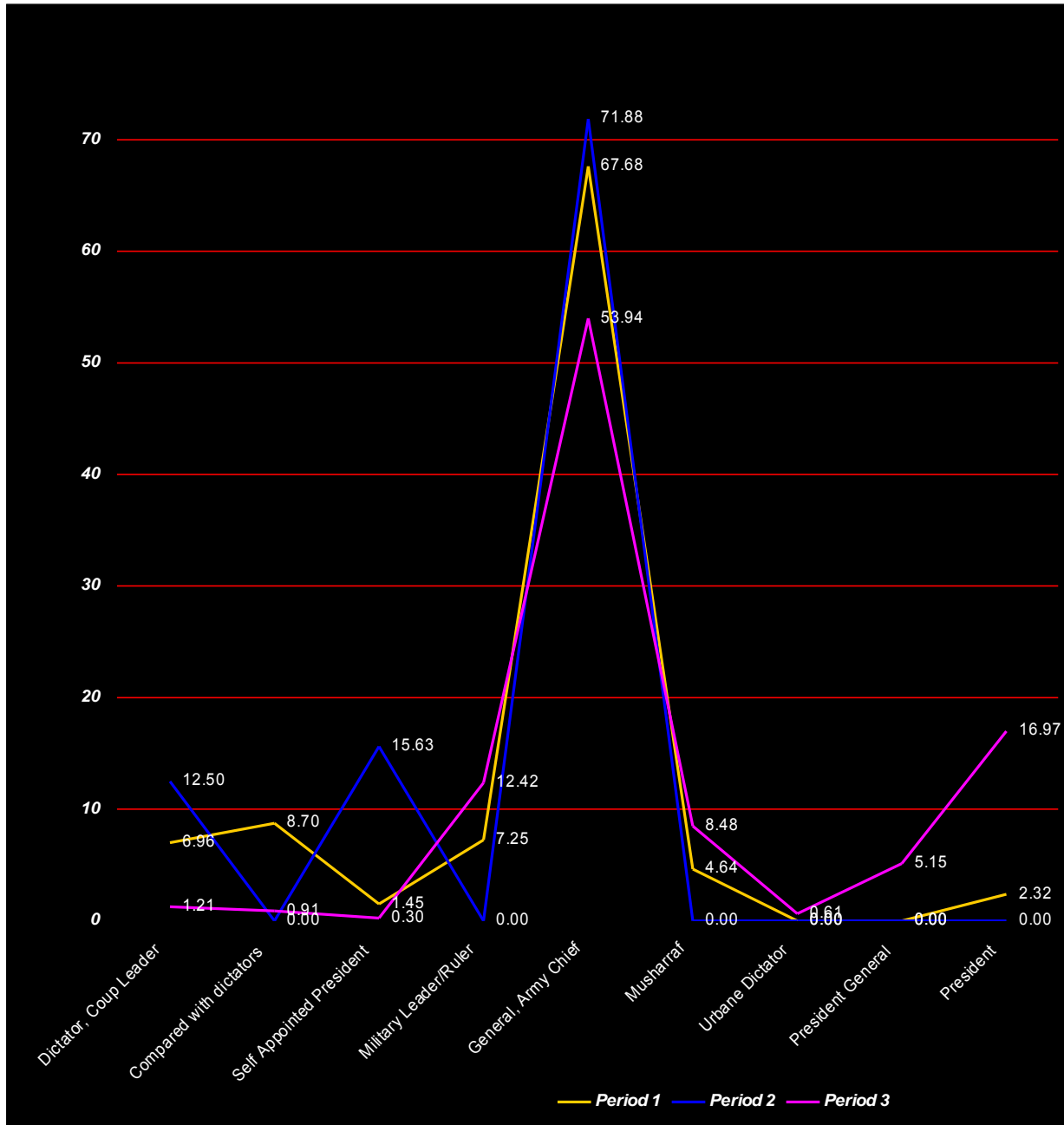
This category contains appellations that support categorization of Musharraf as he positions himself. These appellations reinforce his claim to power and the right to be the head of state. Reference to Musharraf based on the appellations he reserves for himself translates in to legitimizing his rule. The appellations President and Chief Executive comprise the titles Musharraf accords himself. These are positive titles that guide the reader towards positive positioning of Musharraf. This positioning is based on linkages to existing knowledge categories provided by the titles President and Chief Executive and are devoid of doubt or dispute. The additional information packaged in them favors Musharraf and grants acceptance to his right to govern. They accept Musharraf as a legitimate leader of a country and position him in a favorable manner.

Findings

The next step is application of the above categories as a basis of comparison for Musharraf's positioning over the three chosen time periods. The following graph shows changes in the use of appellations in these categories over the three time periods. Appellation categories are ordered from negative to positive. The left side of the graph represents most negative and the right side reflects most

¹⁵ In the time period covered by this study, Musharraf held both the office of a military General and the President of Pakistan.

positive (or least negative) categories. It is followed by a discussion of the findings depicted in the graph.



According to the data represented in the graph, Musharraf was positioned as a dictator 6.96%, 12.5% and 1.21% of the time in periods one, two, and three, respectively. This reveals that Musharraf

was positioned most frequently in this category in period two and least frequently in period three. The percentage for period one is almost the mean of periods two and three. It is worth noting here that the most favorable period for Musharraf being positioned outside the negative appellation categories was period three. This period is preceded by period two, which is the least favorable period with regards to Musharraf being positioned as a dictator, indicating a sharp decrease in Musharraf's categorization as a dictator through reference based on negative appellation.

Category two (references to past/other dictators) again shows period three to be a favorable period for Musharraf being positioned less negatively. Period two does not have any occurrence of Musharraf being compared to past Pakistani or foreign dictators but this may be accounted for by the small number of articles about him in news in this time period. In period two, Musharraf was in the background in news and, as mentioned earlier, only an average of 3.67 articles about him appeared in *The Guardian* per month. An analysis between the percent of comparisons between Musharraf and other dictators over period one and three reveals that Musharraf was positioned much more favorably in period three. This is based on the observation that he was compared with past and foreign dictators 8.7% and 0.91% of the time in period one and three, respectively. This clearly reveals a decrease in comparisons with other dictators thus lesser guidelines for readers in news articles to categorize Musharraf with other dictators.

Category three ("self-styled/self-appointed Chief Executive," "self-appointed President") emphasizes significance of using period two as a separate time period. It shows the contrast between the percent occurrence of appellations challenging Musharraf's self-proclaimed Presidency. A comparison of the frequency of appellation appearances in category three, over periods two and three, reveals favorable positioning for Musharraf in period three. Musharraf is positioned in category three 1.43%, 15.63% and 0.3% of the times in period one, two and three, respectively. This is indicative of a 99% decrease in referring to Musharraf using the negative appellations in category three. It is worth mentioning here that Musharraf declared himself President of Pakistan at the beginning of period two; the appellation of self appointed president first appears in period two and not before that. However, there are occurrences of self-appointed and self-styled Chief Executive before this time which account for the 1.45% of times when Musharraf is positioned in this category in period one.

Category four ("Military leader/ruler") comes out an exception to the trend observed thus far. Whereas the findings up until this point suggest a shift away from greater negative categorization through use of appellation from period one to period three, this trend is contradicted by the changes in the use of appellations appearing in category four across the three time periods. The negative appellations expressing the military character of Musharraf's rule increase in frequency from period one to period three with the highest frequency residing in period three. The percent appearance of appellations in this category over time periods one, two and three are 7.25%, 0% and 12.42%, respectively. Even if the zero percent occurrence in period two is discarded due to the small number of relevant articles in this time period, there is still an increase in the use of appellations in this category from period one to period ~~three~~two. Thus, Musharraf is positioned as a military ruler or leader more frequently in period three than either period one or two. This reflects a motivation to pronounce his military association and lead the reader to categorize him as a military leader or ruler in opposition to a legitimate leader.

The comparison for category five (“General” or “Army Chief”) across periods one, two and three displays the trend identified earlier in categories one through three: the use of military appellations for Musharraf undergoes a decline from period one to period three. The frequency of military titles used for Musharraf drop from 67.68% in period one and 71.88% in period two to 53.94% in period three. This indicates a decrease in referring to Musharraf on the basis of his military title. This finding is consistent with the findings from an analysis of trends observed in the first three categories over the given time period, it contradicts the findings for category four which showed an increase in the use of military appellations. This discrepancy points toward ambivalence among news authors in terms of positioning Musharraf on the grounds of his military association. Nonetheless, the decrease in the usage of the appellation of General and Army Chief implies lesser emphasis in news packaging towards guiding the reader to acknowledge the military character of Musharraf’s rule.

The analysis of findings from changes in the frequency of appellations from category six (“Musharraf”), take a shift from looking at changing frequency of negative appellations to a neutral one. Category six refers to addressing Musharraf by his name rather than a title. Changes in this category point towards greater or lesser acknowledgement of Musharraf as a person in himself rather than a legitimate or illegitimate leader. At the same time, however, an increase in reference based on proper noun use points towards greater acceptance of Musharraf and the opposite also holds. Category six shows an increase in the frequency of references to Musharraf based on his name. The percentage changes from 4.64% in period one, 0% in period two to 8.48% in period three. This demonstrates an almost one hundred percent increase in references based on Musharraf’s name from period one to period two. In the light of the findings from categories one, two, three and five, this is interpreted as a shift toward a neutral positioning of Musharraf without packaging negative information about his military or dictatorial character.

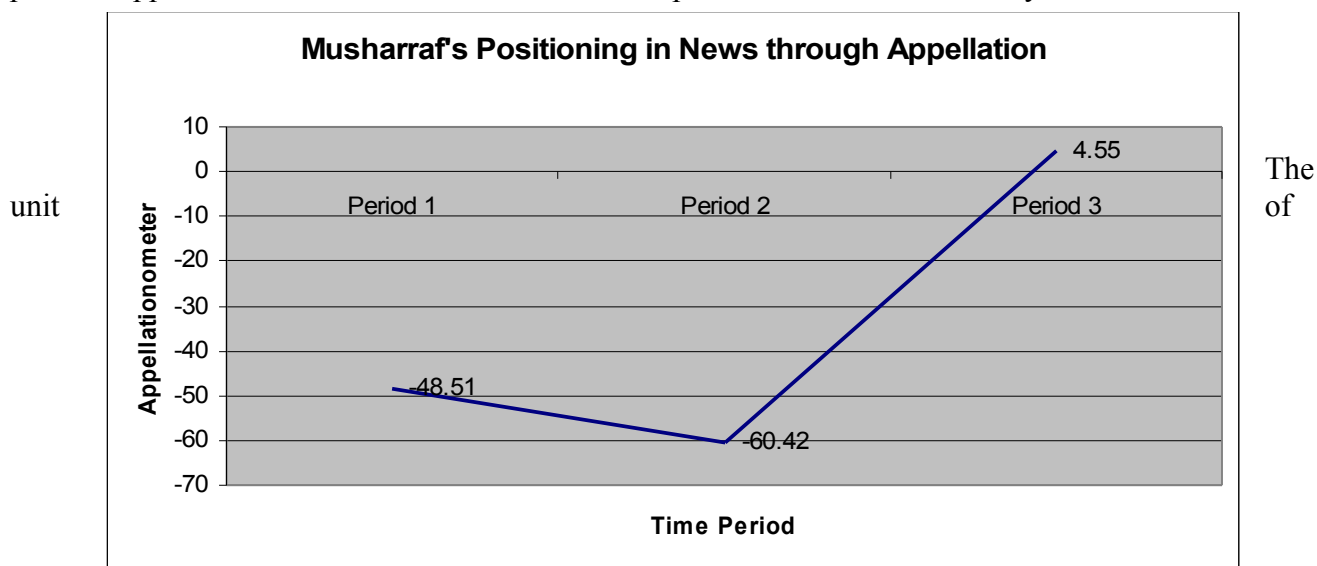
Appellation categories seven (“Charming/urbane dictator”) and eight (“President General”) make an appearance only in period three. Both of these are categories of positive appellations. This implies a shift from negative positioning in news towards a positive positioning categorization on the basis of appellations not observed before time period three. Category eight constitutes appellations constructed from juxtaposing positive attributes with the title dictator. They serve to position Musharraf in a positive light. On the other hand, category eight is a coupling of two titles, i.e., President and General. The appearance of this appellation in news articles only in period three is interesting since Musharraf declared himself President at the beginning of period two. Yet, the appellation President General does not appear even once in period two. This shows lack of reason for referring to Musharraf on the basis of this appellation before period three. This appellation is used for referring to Musharraf by news authors 5.15% of the times he is mentioned in news after September 11th. The sudden appearance of this appellation is linked with the Musharraf’s increased prominence post 9/11; it lends legitimacy to his rule and acceptance to his holding both a military and political office at the same time.

The results from comparing percentage frequency of appellations in category nine (“President,” “Chief Executive,” “Leader,” “Head of State”) over the three time periods shows trends consistent with seven of the eight other categories. The appellations in this category appear 3.48%, 0% and 17.58% of the times in time periods one, two and three. The five hundred percent increase in the use of

appellations in this category reveals a sudden surge in titles guiding positive positioning and characterization of Musharraf. This sharp increase neatly falls in line with the earlier findings and clearly shows a shift from negative positioning in news before 9/11 to a significantly positive portrayal after 9/11.

Summary

The findings from the comparative analysis of Musharraf’s positioning in news articles through appellation as a means of positive and negative categorization reveal that the use of appellations for Musharraf underwent a significant change post September 11th. This change was geared towards greater acceptance of Musharraf as the head of the State of Pakistan and lesser references to titles capable of disputing or challenging his rule. There was a decrease in the frequency of the use of appellations provoking negative categorization and an increase in the appearance of titles invoking positive positioning. The only exception to this is the case of category four. This is the only category that shows greater negative positioning of Musharraf in time period three. Nonetheless, the aggregate percentages of positive and negative positioning of Musharraf in news through use of appellations are consistent with the earlier verdict. The following graph shows a sharp change from use of negative to positive appellation for Musharraf in the three time periods chosen for this study.



comparison for this graph is the Appellationometer. The unit is calculated on the basis of numerical values assigned to the nine categories studied in this paper. The assignment of numerical values for appellation categories is based on the negative, neutral and positive nature of titles in each category. Categories one to five are assigned negative values by virtue of the negative categorization following the use of the titles in these categories. Category six is assigned a zero value to indicate that the use of a proper noun, i.e., a name is a neutral means of reference. The last three categories are assigned positive values as a representation of the positive titles grouped under these categories. The absolute value of category one and category nine is the same. The difference between two contiguous negative

categories is three, while the increment between positive categories is five. The end values are kept equally more or less than the neutral (zero) value at the center. This is done to ensure a consistent distribution. The values are assigned as follows:

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Value	-15	-12	-9	-6	-3	0	5	10	15

These values are multiplied with the percentages of appearance of each category in each time period. The product of this multiplication is added across categories for all three time periods separately. The net result is the unit of comparison in the above graph, i.e., the Appellationometer. As it is visible in the graph above, Musharraf’s positioning on the basis of appellations was -48.51 in period one, -60.42 in period two and 4.55 in period three. This is indicative of a stark shift in his positioning through the use of titles. This positioning is tied to his categorization by the news readers. Thus, Musharraf is positioned in a much more positive manner in period three and this is materialized through the use of positive, negative and neutral appellations.

Conclusion

The use of appellation, as a tool for positive or negative categorization of a referent in news, has multiple consequences. It is targeted toward shaping public opinion in the light of how the news is packaged. The findings of this study examine how Musharraf’s portrayal in news underwent considerable changes after 9/11 due, in part, to his increased significance in global politics. Musharraf’s representation in *The Guardian*, through all three time periods identified for this study, is reflective of what a newspaper wants its readers to believe or, in turn, what the newspaper believes its readers want to believe.

It is worth noting here that while news reporters have a responsibility toward the public to report news objectively, this is not always the case. Mass media content is influenced by the attitudes and inclinations of news writers and reporters. The outlet’s routine, organization, outside influences and ideological position play into its content. News sources and content are filtered out on the basis of the ideals media owners value and uphold. Thus, ideological hegemony in news can be looked upon as perpetuation of “common sense” in society in terms of treating news outside the social and political context within which it is constructed.¹⁶

The acceptance of democracy as the ideal model of governance calls for shunning all those who violate or stand against this standard. Musharraf’s claim to rule failed to meet this criterion and he was criticized and denied legitimacy by the international community. *The Guardian*’s news items about Musharraf, from the time he took office until September 11, 2001, criticize him for his undemocratic seizure of power and condemn him as a dictator. This falls in line with shaping public opinion to support the sanctions placed on him by the leaders of the western world and United Kingdom. In other words, Musharraf’s negative projection serves to justify the reaction of the aforementioned and stirs opposition to his rule from the readers. Also, this upholds the position of the newspaper as an advocate of democratic rule and a voice against the dictatorships of illegitimate rulers.

¹⁶ Shoemaker & Reese. 1991. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content*. 150.

The tragedy of 9/11 made Pakistan's illegitimate and unwanted dictator desirable, creating the need for a new image for Musharraf. The dictator became an ally to the western world in the call for the "war on terror." The international community now needed the dictator to fight those who threatened these democracies and began to present Musharraf in a different light. Working with Musharraf required that the west, especially the United Kingdom, redefine the status of the dictator. The new ally needed to be lent legitimacy. As an advocate of democracy, *The Guardian* needed to present a leader, not a dictator, to increase support for the new partnership. "Coup leader" became the "charming, urbane dictator" and "the self-appointed chief executive" became the "President."

The newspaper used the shift in its projection of Musharraf to serve three primary purposes: 1) it lent support to its leaders and justified their collaboration with Musharraf; 2) it protected its image as an advocate of democracy; and 3) it saved its readers from being exposed to the contradiction of being a democratic nation with a dictator as an ally in the war against terror. It is important to note here that, although public opinion is shaped by the content and packaging of news, news packaging is customized to be in harmony with public opinion itself. Musharraf's projection need not be remodeled for a society unconcerned with democracy. The cause for the makeover of a dictator is rooted in public opinion and fulfilled by those who believe in it enough and find it useful to tailor it to meet a national agenda.

Limitations and Guidelines for Future Research

The findings of the study are constrained by focusing on one newspaper alone. It will be useful to find out if similar trends occur in other British newspapers or newspapers from other countries actively taking part in the "war on terror." Another limitation of the research is the focus on quantitative analysis. It will be useful to carry out a qualitative analysis of the news articles used for this study and do complementary comparative analysis. Lastly, the time period of this study is not long enough to capture *The Guardian's* news coverage of Musharraf in the years following 9/11. It will be informative to analyze the newspaper's portrayal of Musharraf in times when he has been criticized by western leaders for not doing enough in his counter terrorism efforts.

The study opens dimensions for future research in the area that could focus on a number of questions. Are the patterns identified in this study applicable to other dictators situated in similar scenarios too? For instance, how far can the findings of this study be applied to Zia-ul-Haq, a Pakistani dictator supported by the west during the Afghan-Soviet war? How far are the patterns observed during this study applicable to relevant statement and addresses delivered by British government officials with regards to Musharraf, Pakistan and the War on Terrorism? Are there any cases where the patterns found in this study reversed, i.e., for dictators that are not valuable to western interests?

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