

## **Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment**

**Muhammad Asif**

*Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan.*

**Ayaz Muhammad**

*Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan.*

### **ABSTRACT**

Image plays an important role while devising a country's foreign policy. Therefore, all the nations whether small or big try to portray their positive images for the achievement of desired goals. USA, a dominant political actor in world politics is facing an image problem throughout the globe. Pakistan's alliance with the USA during and after the Cold War makes it an ideal nation to evaluate the image of USA. This empirical study designed to investigate the factors affecting, molding and promoting the positive or negative images of USA in Pakistan. Five urban centers selected to evaluate the US image including four provincial capitals namely Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Quetta and the federal capital Islamabad. Survey method used to collect and analyze the data. The image of USA evaluated in five selected areas: violation of Pakistan's sovereignty, US policies towards Muslim world, US policies in Afghanistan, mounting Indo-US relations, and US aid to Pakistan. Results of the study show that the factor where the image of USA was extremely negative is violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. US policies towards Muslim world, the issue of Afghanistan and rising strategic ties with India especially after the end of cold war are not welcomed by the Pakistani masses and viewed the American image as negative but with less intensity as compared to the factor of violation of Pakistan's sovereignty. Public supported the US aid program to Pakistan and viewed it as supportive for country's frail and flimsy economy.

**Key Words:** Image, Drone Strikes, Islamic Threat, Foreign Aid, Afghan War

### **Introduction**

Image is one of the most important factors in devising foreign policy. Strengthening of relations between nations depend upon the positive public image. Consequently, for portrayal of their positive image in the world all the nations invest their human and financial resources (Boulding 1959; Jervis, 1970). Since time immemorial, political leaders have recognized that images matter. They have tried to promote favorable characterizations and ameliorate unfavorable stereotypes of themselves and the politics they represent. In today's world, where democratization and the telecommunication revolution have greatly expanded the flow of information, governments everywhere have become especially attentive to their national images. The perspectives of other nations and their images of the

United States, whether the nations are directly involved in the conflict or merely observing the United States in action, are crucial factors in understanding and predicting their reactions to the United States and the potential outcomes of U.S. military action (Beck, 2002).

Pakistan, twice in history became a shield to protect the western world's interests—to contain communism and to defeat terrorism. The cost of cooperation was not only resulted in the killing of thousands of innocent Pakistanis but also led to materialization of radicalization in the country. Cold war alliance brought many political, economic and strategic blessings to Pakistan. The transformation of blessings to curse was the outcome of fulfillment of American interests in the region when Pakistan faced the challenges in shape of Pressler amendment. The policy of carrot and stick caused to damage the image of USA in Pakistan, which is continuously increasing after each passing day. The impression in the Pakistani society is that Drone attacks, suicide bombings, radicalization in the Pakistani society and involvement of USA in other clandestine operations through security contractors like, Black Water created a wave of anti-Americanism in Pakistan (Schwartz, 2010). On the external front killing of thousands of innocent Afghan people, dismantling the Taliban government in Afghanistan, nuclear deal with India and continuous violation of Pakistan's sovereignty added fuel to feelings of distrust against America.

Beside with these regional compulsions, the problematic image of USA in Pakistan is disturbing the socio-political fabric of the country. The country is in the grip of radicalization and terrorism on the political front while economically Pakistan is in severe crisis. The country witnessed a steep rise in Anti-Americanism during Pak-US alliance in Global War on Terror (GWOT). The suspension of NATO supply and subsequent protests in Pakistan endangered the success of GWOT (Saikal, 2014). Pakistan is an important ally of USA in the war on terrorism and without cooperation of Pakistan, achievement of its goals in the regions for USA is very difficult.

Academically, Pakistan is a model state for understanding the image problem of the USA. The country is an important player in the Global War on Terror (GWOT), but many western oriented intelligence reports and some important analysts believe that center of terrorism has been shifted from Afghanistan to the tribal belt of Pakistan (McGill & Gray, 2012). There is no doubt that the international community recognized the efforts and sacrifices made by Pakistan to curb terrorism, but it is also a fact that increased anti-American sentiments in the country are a hurdle for international efforts to eliminate the terrorists' hideouts and their extremist ideologies. Formulation of a comprehensive strategy to eliminate terrorism and radicalization in Pakistani society along with reduction of threats of homegrown terrorism in the USA requires a systematic and objective analysis of US image in Pakistan.

Urban population having more social links, communication abilities and being a primary stakeholder in a nations' foreign policy takes more interest in the

## *Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment*

process. Thus, their image and its identification are more meaningful practice to measure a nations' image about other and its impact over foreign policy. The present study investigates the image of USA in Pakistan on a societal level. For this purpose, four provincial capitals Peshawar, Lahore, Quetta and Karachi along with the federal capital Islamabad were selected. Pakistan is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural country, therefore, the study will help to pointed out those fractions of Pakistani society that are anti-American and by addressing their grievances, Pakistani society can get rid of radicalization and terrorism.

The following policies, operations and factors identified to gage the image of USA in urban centers of Pakistan, which included the violations of Pakistan's sovereignty, the growing Indo-US relations, US economic aid to Pakistan, US involvement in Afghanistan and its policies towards Muslim world. The focus of the study was on two research questions. First, identification of factors where US image is negative or positive and second, finding out the urban center of Pakistan where American image is positive or negative.

### **Research Methodology**

The focus of this study is to evaluate the image of USA in urban Pakistan. As this study is the combination of qualitative and quantitative research so to achieve this objective both primary and secondary sources are used. The available secondary sources were used in the form of books, research journals, newspapers, magazines and official websites. Survey method was used to get the response from different parts of the country. We used two techniques to conduct the survey—face-to-face and postal or mail survey. Most of the interviews were taken through face-to-face method and in some parts of urban center where law and order situation was not ideal; interviews were taken on the author's behalf by the interviewers. Electronic method was also used for the purpose of the survey, however; the response through electronic method was quite low. During the survey, twenty eight hundred respondents were contacted. However, one thousand four hundred and eighty seven respondents answered the questionnaire. The response rate was not more than 53%. The participation of the females was comparatively less in the survey.

The quantitative data utilized for this article extracted from larger data set collected for the PhD project containing number of variables and questions. To conduct the survey the technique of probability sampling used. The sample further stratified into five urban centers of Pakistan i-e Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Islamabad and Quetta. For making the sample more representative, the Probability-Proportional-to-Size technique was used. For getting better response, respondents from every sphere of life contacted face to face. The sample was distributed and conducted during 2014-15.

## Drone strikes and Pakistan's security

**Table No: III City wise response for Drone strikes and Pakistan's security**

			Do you agree that US drone operations in Pakistan helpful for Pakistan's security?			Total
			Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	
Residence	Islamabad	Count	61	147	14	222
		% within Residence	27.50%	66.20%	6.30%	100.00%
	Karachi	Count	71	289	30	390
		% within Residence	18.20%	74.10%	7.70%	100.00%
	Lahore	Count	98	223	7	328
		% within Residence	29.90%	68.00%	2.10%	100.00%
	Peshawar	Count	47	229	15	291
		% within Residence	16.10%	78.70%	5.20%	100.00%
	Quetta	Count	122	134	0	256
		% within Residence	52.30%	47.60%	0.00%	100.00%

**Source: Field survey by the author**

The attacks on the twin towers in September 2001 brought a rapid change in international politics. The notion of "either with us or against us" once again divided the world into two camps of antagonists and supporters of the terrorism. Pakistan extended full support to US and its allies in Afghanistan in GWOT since 2001. The decision of joining the coalition against terrorism was highly criticized within country considering it a disaster. The overthrowing of the Taliban government by USA, taking refuge of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in the federally administered tribal areas (FATA) and the consequent wave of terrorism in the country are the phenomenon linked with the decision to join GWOT. Pakistan paid a very high price in shape of human casualties and economic blowbacks. Over 80,000 Pakistanis included civilians and security forces lost their lives in terrorist incidents committed by the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and other like organizations (Wilkins, 2015).

On the economic front Pakistan suffered an estimated loss of \$107 billion in the last fourteen years (Rana, 2015). While on the political front, one of the most controversial issues is the violation of Pakistan's sovereignty in shape of drone strikes. Pakistan's signing of peace accords with the militant groups and considering the Taliban as strategic asset for the future setup in Afghanistan combined with halfhearted efforts to launch operations against militant outfits in remote areas compelled US government to adopt the policy of drone strikes. The strategy of drone warfare created a wave of hatred among the masses in Pakistan. ISI was blamed for the "double game" with the US (Jones 2009, p.248). The targeting of top leadership of Al-Qaeda and TTP like Baitullah Mehsud, Saad Bin Laden (son of Osama Bin Laden), Abdullah Said Al-laibi in drone strikes did not bring any sympathy for the Americans. Two sets of arguments came forward after

### *Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment*

the US drone strategy in Pakistan. First argument considers the drone strikes as a source of anger among Pakistani citizens and equally deems the consequential terrorist attacks and recruitment for terrorist organizations is the natural outcome. Others argue that drone strikes disrupt and degrade terrorist organizations, reducing their ability to conduct attacks (Johnston 2012).

Since a decade, USA is using drone as their national security strategy in Somalia, Yemen and Pakistan. Pakistan's opposition to the drone strikes in shape of parliament's resolution, court's decision and public protests followed by the worldwide opposition of the drone strikes. A survey conducted by Pew Research Center in 44 countries revealed that more than half of the respondents opposed the drone strikes in majority of the countries except Israel, Kenya and USA. American close allies including the European countries showed strong opposition to US policy of drones (PEW, 2014). Table shows the public opinion of the five major urban centers of Pakistan on the question of whether drone strikes supported the country's security or not? Quetta is the only urban center in Pakistan where US image is relatively more positive than other major four cities. Out of total respondents 52.30% respondents responded as agree to the statement while 47.60% respondents answered as disagree. Nearly half of the respondents in Quetta believed that US drone policy is helpful to Pakistan for the eradication of terrorist in FATA. Peshawar and Karachi emerged as the most anti-American cities on the issue when only 16.10% and 18.20% respondents agreed to the policy of drones respectively. 78.70% and 74.10% respondents in Peshawar and Karachi rated the US image highly negative by responding as disagree. American policy of drones in the tribal belt welcomed by nearly one-third respondents in Islamabad and Lahore while opposed by nearly two-third respondents in federal capital and provincial capital of Punjab.

### **USA and Threat of Islam**

Table: IV City wise response on USA and Islamic Threat

			Do you agree that USA consider Islam as threat?			Total
			Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	
Residence	Islamabad	Count	152	67	3	222
		% within Residence	68.50%	30.20%	1.40%	100.00%
	Karachi	Count	268	95	27	390
		% within Residence	68.70%	24.30%	6.90%	100.00%
	Lahore	Count	233	76	19	328
		% within Residence	71.10%	23.10%	5.80%	100.00%
	Peshawar	Count	208	62	21	291
		% within Residence	71.50%	21.30%	7.20%	100.00%
	Quetta	Count	107	138	11	256
		% within Residence	41.80%	53.90%	4.30%	100.00%

Source: Field survey by the author

The issue of “Islamic threat” is a hot debated issue in international relations from the last few decades. Many scholars of the discipline within western and Muslim societies since 1970s highlighted the issue of “Islamic threat”. Arguments presented from both sides in favour or against the question whether Islamic threat is a reality or myth. Christian and Muslim civilizations had a long history of conflict since the beginning of Islam. Started from invasion of Roman Empire in the seventh century, war of crusades witnessed in eleventh century and clashes with Ottoman Empire, conflict has been well-established (Halliday, 1996, p. 108). Nineteenth and twentieth century’s witnessed the decline of Muslim empires in South Asia and Middle East, when Mughal and Ottoman empires replaced by the western civilizations (Huntington, 1993). The conflict between both the civilizations entered in a new phase after the end of Second World War, when westerners and their Islamic mandates engaged in confrontation during the period of decolonization. The cold war period is full of episodes of clashes between the two civilizations started from creation of Israel, invasion of Egypt by the British and France, Lebanon crisis, Arab Israel wars, and US bombing of Libya have led to the perception of clash between west and Islam (Eposito, 1992, p. 171). The impression of clash between the both further exacerbated with the US ousting of Saddam from Kuwait in 1990, bombing of the world trade center, and the bloody civil war between Muslims and Christians in Sudan (Haddar, 1993). Tensions between the two blocks further mounted with emergence of Islamic states in central Asia, struggle between radical groups and Algerian government, revivalism of the Palestinian cause and oppression of Bosnian and Chechnyan Muslims (Halliday, 1996, p. 113). Attack on the twin towers in USA shocked the whole world including the Islamic world. The incidents of 9/11 brought a new phase of confrontation in shape of invasion of Afghanistan. Iraqi invasion on false assumption of presence of weapons of mass destruction added fuel to the already present anti-American sentiments in the Islamic world. History of blood and conflict stretched over fourteen hundred years continued between both the civilizations. In particular during the last few decades, Muslim and western scholars have overwhelmingly emphasized these historical roots to justify their perceptions of Islamic threat and western threat.

Table represents the public opinion on the question of Islam as a threat to USA. Quetta emerged as the only city where US image is positive on the question her animosity towards Islam. 53.90% respondents responded as disagree while 41.80% respondents answered as agree. Peshawar responded heavily in favour of the statement that US considered Islam as threat to her security along with Lahore where 71.50% and 71.10% respondents answered as agree respectively. Only 21.30% and 23.10% respondents replied as disagree showing the presence of high degree of anti-American sentiments in these two urban centers of Pakistan. Islamabad and Karachi also represents the negative image of US but with less intensity.

**US Agenda in Afghanistan**

**Table: V City wise response on US agenda in Afghanistan**

			Do you agree that USA had no other agenda in Afghanistan except hunting terrorism?			Total
			Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	
Residence	Islamabad	Count	84	129	9	222
		% within Residence	37.80%	58.10%	4.10%	100.00%
	Karachi	Count	78	290	22	390
		% within Residence	20.00%	74.40%	5.60%	100.00%
	Lahore	Count	94	224	10	328
		% within Residence	28.70%	68.30%	3.00%	100.00%
	Peshawar	Count	54	218	19	291
		% within Residence	18.60%	74.90%	6.50%	100.00%
	Quetta	Count	102	132	22	256
		% within Residence	51.50%	39.80%	8.60%	100.00%

**Source: Field survey by the author**

The incident of 9/11 shook the whole world including the Islamic world. The burden of responsibility placed on the Al-Qaeda and Osama within few hours of the attack. Afghanistan, the host of Osama, refused to hand over Osama to the US on the grounds of hospitality and absence of any concrete evidence. The refusal from Taliban government resulted in the shape of US attack on Afghanistan in October 2001, to punish the culprits of 9/11—Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaeda. Scholars and academicians from the discipline raised many questions regarding the truth behind the incidents of 9/11 and the attack on Afghanistan. To kill or arrest Osama and elimination of Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations from Afghanistan became the top priority of US administration. Many conspiracy theories forwarded to unleash the real agenda of USA in Afghanistan. The most important among these is the theory of natural resources of Central Asia and Afghanistan in shape of Oil and Gas. To trace the history of this theory we should go back to period of Taliban in Afghanistan. Taliban emerged in Afghanistan in 1994 and within two years, they succeeded to capture Kabul. It is believed that Taliban emergence in Afghanistan became possible with the help of Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and Pakistan Army (Johnson, 2007, p. 97). The Taliban government in Afghanistan recognized by only three countries in the world Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates. It is interesting to note that the Taliban government supported not only by Pakistan but also by the USA until 1997 (Alikuzai, 2013, p. 609). In large parts, this was because the American Oil Company UNOCAL signed a deal with Taliban to build a \$2 billion gas line and \$2.5 billion oil pipeline from Turkmenistan to Arabian Sea via Afghanistan to

export it to western countries (Hertz, 2001, p. 70). Soon Americans had to withdraw their support of Taliban on the immense pressure of feminist movements and because of Taliban support of Osama bin Laden. The believer in the conspiracy theory considered the natural resources of oil and gas of central Asia responsible for the attack on Afghanistan. They viewed the incidents of 9/11 as pre-planned and a strategy to attack for the removal of Taliban government and of course, the oil and gas pipelines as well (Hagger, 2011).

After the demise of Soviet Union in 90s China is the only country in the world, which can pose a threat to the US supremacy in international arena. A debate whether to contain China (realist view) or to engage China (Liberal view) has started in the United States after the fall of Soviet Union (Shambaugh, 1996). Realism is the dominant paradigm in US foreign policy making process and the realists view China as threat to US interests in Asia. According to them China's containment is mandatory through offshore balancing and at the same time wanted to slow down the economic growth of the China (Mearsheimer, 2001). After holding the office in 2001, American president George W. Bush left it to his advisor Condoleezza Rice to outline the foreign policy of the USA (Shearman, 2014, p. 10). Rice observed that China is not a 'Status-quo' power but one that would like to alter Asia's balance of power in its favour" (Rice, 2000). The oil pipeline theory and containment of China theory appealed many Pakistanis to doubt the GWOT and US presence in Afghanistan. Pakistani public believing in the conspiracy theories involving the US may be the result of historical experience of Pakistan-USA relationship. Realism remains the dominant policy of USA for pursuit of its interests and this realism is not acceptable to Pakistani public when it comes to maintain relationship. Along with the historical experience of relationship of Pakistan-US relationship, the invasion of Iraq on the false accusations of presence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) also doubted the common person in relation to the stated agenda of USA in Afghanistan—to eliminate the terrorist hideouts in Afghanistan.

Table shows the response of the five urban centers in Pakistan regarding the real agenda of Americans in Afghanistan. Peshawar and Karachi represents more negative image of US on the issue of American real agenda in Afghanistan where nearly three-fourth of the respondents responded as disagree. Quetta and Islamabad are the cities where nearly one out of two respondents responded against the statement. The American policy towards Afghanistan also got more positive image in these cities of Quetta and Islamabad when 51.50% and 37.80% respondents responded as agree. Lahore lies between two extremes where nearly one-third respondents responded in favor of the US stated policy for Afghanistan while roughly two-third respondents answered as disagree.



**Indo-US relations and Pakistan’s concern**

**Table No: VI City wise response on Indo-US relations and Pakistan’s concern**

			Do you agree that USA gave more importance to Pakistan over India in the Post-Cold War era?			Total
			Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	
Residence	Islamabad	Count	72	142	8	222
		% within Residence	32.40%	63.90%	3.60%	100.00%
	Karachi	Count	88	266	36	390
		% within Residence	22.60%	68.20%	9.20%	100.00%
	Lahore	Count	96	221	11	328
		% within Residence	29.20%	67.40%	3.40%	100.00%
	Peshawar	Count	60	216	15	291
		% within Residence	20.60%	74.20%	5.20%	100.00%
	Quetta	Count	79	164	13	256
		% within Residence	64.00%	30.90%	5.10%	100.00%

**Source: Field survey by the author**

Pakistan and India emerged as independent states in August 1947 when the world dominated by the characteristic of bipolarity under the leadership of United States and Soviet Union. Both the newly born nations of South Asia for security and economic reasons decided to adopt the strategies of building relations with the super powers. Pakistan having two unsecure borders, western border with Afghanistan and eastern border with India, had no other option except to look abroad for financial and security assistance. The security and economic vulnerability compelled Pakistan to join the western camp led by USA. Contrary to Pakistan’s approach of aligning with the western bloc, India decided not to join any power camp, instead she preferred to remain neutral and joined the Non-aligned movement. The Indians adopted the realist approach to establish cordial relationship with both the super powers for assistance and security requirements.

USA, being a superpower has the global agenda while Pakistan and India has regional agendas—dominance in the South Asia. USA remained important to Pakistan and India but South Asia never remained the focus of attention of USA as Ernest R. May best described USA as “the center of international system” (Hess, 1987). The relations between Pakistan and USA were best described by the Pakistan’s first Foreign Minister Sir Zafarullah Khan, that “on matters in which the two countries’ interests coincided there would be greater cooperation, while on matters in which their interests varied there would be less cooperation” (Chaudhri, 1990, p. 16). USA supported both the nations of the South Asia economically and militarily when there was no international conflict but supported Pakistan more when international crisis erupted in the region. The decision to join western camps

did not bring any weight to Pakistanis over Indians in terms of economic and military aid. The crisis of 1965 and 1971 Indo-Pak wars witnessed the stoppage of arms supply to both the countries of South Asia created the impression of neutrality of the USA in the region. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the arms embargo mostly affected Pakistan because Pakistan only depended on the USA for her security while India did not wholly depend on the Americans for her security (Chaudhri, 1990, p. 45). Moreover, the ban on Pakistan after the end of cold war, embargo after the nuclear tests in 1998, created the impression in Pakistani public that USA preferred India to Pakistan in spite of the fact that Pakistan fully cooperated with USA when she needs our help. The tilt of Clinton administration towards India for political, commercial and strategic terms along with Bush administration’s “India first” policy clearly indicates the importance of Indians in the sub-continent (Chou, 2005). The signing of nuclear deal between USA and India at a time when Pakistan was engaged to defend the world from the scourge of terrorism shaped the negative image of USA in the country. Pakistan twice became victim of American proxy war in the region and paid heavily economically, politically and socially. US close ties with India put a question mark on ideal principle of international relations like mutual respect, friendship trust.

Table reflects the public opinion in Pakistan on the question of US relations with Pakistan and India. Nearly two-third respondents from Quetta supported the view that US gave importance to Pakistan over India. Respondents from Peshawar and Karachi and Lahore are extremely critical of the US policy towards India and Pakistan in post Cold War era. More than 67% respondents believed that US maintained close strategic ties with the Indians instead of Pakistan after the collapse of Soviet Union. US got less positive response on the question of her relations with two giants of South Asia in these three cities shown in the table.

**US Economic Aid**

Table No: VII City wise response on US economic aid

			US foreign aid supported the Pakistan's economy.			Total
			Agree	Disagree	Don't Know	
Residence	Islamabad	Count	147	65	10	222
		% within Residence	66.20%	29.30%	4.50%	100.00%
	Karachi	Count	247	82	61	390
		% within Residence	63.30%	21.00%	15.60%	100.00%
	Lahore	Count	173	125	30	328
		% within Residence	52.70%	38.10%	9.10%	100.00%
	Peshawar	Count	131	137	23	291
		% within Residence	45.01%	47.09%	7.90%	100.00%
	Quetta	Count	162	77	17	256
		% within Residence	63.33%	30.07%	6.60%	100.00%

Source: Field survey by the author

### *Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment*

Foreign aid is an important source of income in developing countries and carries potential to play a key role in promoting economic growth. The traditional literature on economic growth emphasizes the positive role of foreign aid in the process of economic development. Foreign aid inflow influences the process of growth by reducing the saving-investment gap, increasing productivity and transferring the modern technology.

The decision of joining capitalist block under the leadership of USA in the early stages of cold war was more a compulsion rather than a choice for Pakistan. Security and economic compulsions drove Pakistan near to the USA. Since early 1950s, Pakistan played the role of overseer to safeguard the interests of USA in the region during and after the end of the cold war. In response, Pakistan received considerable economic and military aid from USA to strengthen its shattered economy and to boost its military power to counter its archrival India in the region. The United States has provided significant aid to Pakistan over the years since that country's independence, but at levels that fluctuated widely. Major aid flows during some periods and drastic cuts in others contributed to creating a perception among many in Pakistan that the United States is not a fully reliable ally. Providing more aid to Pakistan during military regimes as compared to civilian governments also created an image problem for USA in Pakistan. Pakistan received about \$56 billion in shape of economic and military assistance from USA from 1947-2013 (See Table VII-A). The aid under the coalition support fund during the episode of GWOT is not included in this amount.

The opinion differs on the issue whether US aid to Pakistan gave any support to Pakistan's economy or not? To some policy makers, politicians and professionals in the western world, the survival of Pakistan totally depends on the US aid (Haider, 2012). Considerable number of professionals and scholars in Pakistan also believed in the same. Pakistan is an economy of nearly \$175 billion (Khan, 2011). US aid since 1947 capture only 1% of Pakistan's economy. Others opposed by arguing that US aid did not have any impact on the country's economy. The Pakistani public also expressed the divided opinion on the issue. Considerable number of respondents from all urban centers favored the statement that US aid supported the Pakistan's economy. The US assistance to Pakistan is the only factor where Pakistani public opinion supported the Americans and rated the US image as positive. According to the results of this study Islamabad viewed, the American image is most positive where 66.20% respondents favored the US aid program to Pakistan followed by Quetta, Karachi and Lahore respectively. Peshawar became the only urban center where US image is still negative when only 45% respondents supported the American aid to Pakistan. However, the degree of negativity in this case was far less as compared to other factors in Peshawar.

**Table: VII-A US Aid to Pakistan from 1947-2013**

The Amount is in US \$ Millions

Civilian Governments			Military Governments		
Year	Economic Aid	Military Aid	Year	Economic Aid	Military Aid
1951	0.798		1959	1031.458	748.910
1952	78.796		1960	1240.608	720.106
1953	298.581		1961	848.996	462.265
1954	630.394		1962	2403.272	558.593
1955	595.200	439.484	1963	2127.502	301.547
1956	1007.821	1190.436	1964	2289.671	184.900
1957	721.803	856.835	1965	1996.741	76.245
1958	674.785	864.584	1966	849.901	10.879
1972	314.309	400.487	1967	1250.004	0.543
1973	428.708	309.290	1968	721.977	854.945
1974	391.823	3.484	1969	520.312	38.635
1975	635.692	0.004	1970	616.126	383.268
1976	667.693	0.328	1971	143.186	346.665
1989	981.408	2.076	1977	217.776	108.057
1990	953.627	2.051	1978	224.103	0.040
1991	451.256	0.000	1979	135.200	0.173
1992	29.426	0.000	1980	143.015	0.000
1993	75.385	0.000	1981	170.890	0.000
1994	74.231	0.000	1982	412.313	5.622
1995	24.287	0.000	1983	551.101	7.331
1996	26.433	0.000	1984	1103.760	7.934
1997	59.886	0.000	1985	1204.299	7.481
1998	38.389	0.000	1986	1248.954	7.940
2008	490.185	399.334	1987	1181.043	14.189
2009	798.247	376.808	1988	1361.096	53.511
2010	1974.919	314.351	1999	106.741	2.893
2011	1973.440	354.351	2000	30.829	1.434
2012	1493.018	7.339	2001	220.883	6.365
2013	799.087	13.053	2002	946.427	95.154
			2003	367.633	277.952
			2004	426.589	93.466
			2005	463.527	359.875
			2006	645.879	365.576
			2007	523.958	370.191
Total	16689.627	5534.295	Total	27725.769	6472.684

Source: US overseas Loans & Grants (Green book) available at <https://eads.usaid.gov/gbk/>

### Analysis

The present study provided an empirical test within a Pakistani sample by assessing the relationship between their perceptions of US-Pakistan relations and the specific images they had of the United States. Two research questions were devised for this study. First was to assess the image of USA on the following factors in Pakistan namely violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty, Islam phobia, US policies in Afghanistan, US India relations and US aid to Pakistan. The second question was to identify the urban center where American image is more negative.

Table: VIII Image of USA in Pakistan

## *Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment*

Image of USA in	Drone Strikes in		USA and Threat of		US Agenda in		Indo-US Relations		US Aid to Pakistan	
	Pakistan		Islam		Afghanistan					
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
	28.80%	66.12%	30.56%	64.37%	31.32%	63.12%	33.76%	60.12%	58.10%	33.11%

The events of 9/11 transformed the methods of American dominance in the international politics. Conventional diplomatic channels replaced by the deterrent tools for seeking its security related objectives. The use of force against other states under the doctrine of “Pre-emptive strike” is the cover for bringing this act into legal domain (Sarwar, 2009). US drone policy in the tribal belt is a clear violation of UN charter, Rome Statue of International Criminal Court and the Geneva Convention of 1949 (Mazhar & Goraya, 2011). The implications of the drone warfare in shape of Civilian Casualties, psychological illness, strengthening of militants and more importantly counter productivity jolted the pakistani society. The drone strikes although succeeded in elimination of high valued targets in FATA however, majority of Pakistanis rejected the policy. Violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty in shape of drone strikes came first among the mentioned factors where US image is extremely negative when 66.12% respondents replied in disagreement to these strikes (See table VIII).

Religion plays an important role in motivating the people towards peace around the globe. The invention of modern means of communication and the era of globalization transformed the role of religion, and its frequent use for political and economic purposes can be seen in the last few decades. Confrontational religious issues created an atmosphere of intolerance between the Islamic and western civilizations. Moreover, the western policies during the last two centuries including division of Ottoman Empire, creation of Israel, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and the issue of Libya clearly illustrates the fault lines between the two civilizations. A considerable number of scholars in the west and in the Muslim world namely, Amartya Sen, Paul Berman, Edward Said, and Noam Chomsky believe that west considers Islam as threat to her security and for that purpose the thesis of “clash of civilizations” was intentionally introduced in 90s (Khan, 2016). Although, the hypothesis of American consideration of Islam as threat may not be true as era of ideological confrontation has over with the end of cold war, but still public opinion in Pakistan is against USA on this issue and this factor came second in the list of distrust. Table VIII shows that 64.37% respondents viewed the American image as negative while nearly one-third respondents rated the US image as positive.

The mysterious attack on twin towers in USA and subsequent declaration of Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda as main culprits behind the incident gave birth to many doubts in the minds of the people around the globe. Resultant afghan policy by the USA was to punish the main culprits behind the attacks on the twin towers however; distrust over the real agenda of the Americans can be seen in shape of reports, books and articles around the globe. Containment of China, oil and gas

reserves in Central Asian States is the main undeclared objectives of USA (Klare, 2006). The US agenda in Afghanistan was also under the shadow of doubts by the Pakistani public. According to table VIII, the factor came third in the assessment of American image when 63.12% respondents saw the image as negative while only 31.32% respondents viewed it positively.

The factor of Indo-US relations buildup at the cost of Pakistan came forth in list where US image is negative. The end of cold war brought major shift in US policies towards South Asia. The Indo-US strategic partnership and subsequent severe and discriminatory restraints on Pakistan resulted in negative image of USA. Openness of all doors of technology and military cooperation to India, persuasion of allies for support of India and signing nuclear deal reminds the public in Pakistan that balance has shifted in favor of Indians. India is spending \$100 billion on purchasing of weapons each year, two-third of which are deployed against Pakistan (Akram, 2016). A median of 60% respondents viewed the American image as negative while 33.76% respondents rated the image as positive.

Scholars of the international relations have divided on the purpose of aid to developing countries. For some aid given to developing countries is purely for humanitarian and development purpose, while some holds the view that there are some hidden motives behind the aid. Table VIII shows that the factor of the aid to Pakistan by USA is the only area where American image is positive when a median of 58.10% respondents viewed the US image as positive on the issue while 33.11% respondents still rated the image as negative.

Table: VIII-A Image of USA (Urban Center wise)

Urban Center	Drones Strikes in Pakistan		USA and Threat of Islam		US Agenda in Afghanistan		Indo-US Relations		US Aid to Pakistan	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Islamabad	27.50%	66.20%	30.20%	68.50%	37.80%	58.10%	32.40%	63.90%	66.20%	29.30%
Karachi	18.20%	74.10%	24.30%	68.70%	20%	74.40%	22.60%	68.20%	63.30%	21%
Lahore	29.90%	68%	23.10%	71.10%	28.70%	68.30%	29.20%	67.40%	52.70%	38.10%
Peshawar	16.10%	78.70%	21.30%	71.75%	18.60%	74.90%	20.60%	74.20%	45.01%	47.09%
Quetta	52.30%	47.60%	41.80%	53.90%	51.50%	39.90%	64%	30.90%	63.33%	30.09%

The answer to second research question resulted in shape of Peshawar as shown in table VIII-A where anti-American sentiments are very high. Peshawar having distance of 54 km from Afghan border is the only city that faced grave consequences of the American policies in the region. Burden of Afghan refugees, drug trafficking, Kalashnikov culture, militancy and terrorism are the implications, which the city is witnessing from the last four decades due to US policies in the region. Habitat of conservative society and having strong love and affection for religion considers the American policies towards Islamic world as totally based on antipathy. The factor of US aid got positive image throughout the country except Peshawar showing their distrust over the American policies in the region. Quetta emerged the only urban center where US image is positive on all the issues including violation of sovereignty. Balochistan remained a turbulent province

## *Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment*

since the country's independence in 1947. Having highest infant and maternal mortality rate, the lowest literacy rate, the highest poverty rate, continuous military operations, ethnic rivalries and economic oppression resulted in opposition to central government (Kupecz, 2012). Involvement of foreign hands in Baloch insurgency further aggravated the situation in the province. Their grievances with the center and foreign involvement could be the reason of their support for American policies.

### **Conclusion**

The intellectual community, politico-military leadership and common people cannot underestimate the importance of Pak-US relationship. However, they wanted a relationship based on mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and honoring the national interests of each other. No doubt, the US has global agenda as superpower but Pakistan has to protect its own national interests. Politics cannot be one sided game or zero-sum as US considered it in the case of Pakistan. There are opinions that Pak-US relations can be improved quickly however, it needs to take major initiatives. Pakistan's concerns should be addressed properly and steps towards turning the negative image into positive should be taken. In this context, following policy options and recommendations are offered to the Pakistan's and US policy makers.

Drone strikes and military operations in Pakistan's territory are unacceptable for both at public and private levels in Pakistan. For achieving its targets in Pakistan, both the states should establish a comprehensive intelligence-sharing network. The network will prove to be beneficial to the interests of both the allies. The sharing of information will reduce the possibility of Drone strikes and military operations by the US. Pakistan will be able to control the wave of terrorism and extremism while US would achieve its goals in Afghanistan without damaging her image in Pakistan.

Pakistan suffered politically, socially and economically due to US Afghan policy since 1979. To end the suffering of Pakistan regarding Afghanistan problem, a trilateral dialogue process involving USA, Pakistan and Afghanistan should be started to find out the solution acceptable to the Afghan people. India-Afghanistan partnership is growing steadily after the incidents of 9/11. India is continuously trying to destabilize Pakistan from its consulates established along the Pak-Afghan borders. Assurance should be given to Pakistan by the US administration that India would not be provided a foothold in Afghanistan. India's close relationship with the US should not exploit for strategic gains especially on the issue of Kashmir and Afghanistan.

While Pakistani people are not against US- India friendship, they want that the US should consider Pakistan equally important in this region and should give equal treatment to it. Indo-US is growing strategic ties created a threat perception in Pakistan and especially the signing of nuclear deal between the two states. US should sign a similar nuclear deal for civilian purposes with Pakistan as the

country is facing the energy crisis. The deal will not only help to meet the energy resources, but it will also end the perception that US is against Pakistan's nuclear program. Kashmir issue is the core of hostilities between India and Pakistan. US should play a role of mediator and use its influence over India to find out a respectable solution according to the wishes of Kashmiri people.

US Afghan policy caused a huge burden on Pakistan's economy. US may announce a concrete plan to help meet Pakistan's energy needs within shortest possible time since this shortage very badly affected Pakistan's industrial sector and also the common people. US should declare the provision of substantial economic aid to Pakistan (without strings or restrictions) for ending Pakistan's debts, bailing out its economy due to losses suffered on account of war on terror.

This present study researched the question of Pakistanis' images about US in linear model. To understand the phenomenon for other aspects like sources of image formation and their ranking could result in fuller understanding of the area. For this many aspects could be researched by future researchers like image of US in popular cinema; popular fiction; and most importantly in the journalistic corpus. This could be better to divide along the events and dates that could be term as fault lines of Pak-US relations. Such events are Pak-India wars of 1965 and 1971; Pakistan's Nuclear Test; and post 9/11 images especially as found in the rightist and extreme rightist publications in Pakistan. Meta-analysis studies on the topic is also due by comparing all academic and policy recommendations researches on the topic and identifying the rise and fall of trust of each other state and public along the timeline and events.

## **References**

- Akram, M. (2016, April 17). *The Indo-US Alliance*. Retrieved June 15, 2017, from Dawn: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1252498>
- Alikuzai, H. W. (2013). *A Concise History of Afghanistan*. New York: Trafford Publishing.
- Anwar, M. (2006). Who Determines the Foreign Aid to Developing Countries? *The Journal of Commerce*, 1(1), 9.
- Anwar, M., & Michaelowa, K. (2006). The Political Economy of US Aid to Pakistan. *Review of Development Economics*, 10(2), 195-209.
- Beck, A. T. (2002). Prisoners of Hate: *Behaviour Research & Therapy*, 40, 209-216.
- Boulding, K. (1959). National Images and International System. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 3, 120-131.
- Chaudhri, M. A. (1990). In search of Peace and Security: Political Relations between Pakistan and The United States (1947-1967). In R. A. Khan, *In Search of Peace and Security: Forty Years of Pakistan-United States Relations* (pp. 16-49). Karachi: Royal Book Company.
- Chou, D. S. (2005). US Policy towards Indian and Pakistan in the Post Cold War Era. *Tamkang Journal of International Affairs*, 27-56.
- Eposito, L. J. (1992). *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



## ***Image of USA in Urban Pakistan: An Empirical Assessment***

- Haddar, T. L. (1993). What Green Peril? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(2).
- Hagger, N. (2011). *The Secret American Dream*. London: Watkins Publishing.
- Halliday, F. (1996). *Islam & the Myth of Confrontation*. New York: I.B.Tauris.
- Hertz, N. (2001). *The Silent Takeover, Global Capitalism and the Death of Democracy*. New York: The Free Press.
- Hess, G. R. (1987). Global Expansion and Regional Balances: The Emerging Scholarship on United States Relations with India and Pakistan. *Pacific Historical Review*, 56(2), 259-295.
- Huntington, P. S. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3).
- Jervis, R. (1970). *The Logic of Images in International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, T. S. (2007). Financing Afghan Terrorism: Thugs, Drugs and Creative Movement of Money. In J. K. Giraldo, & H. A. Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (pp. 93-115). California: Stanford University Press.
- Johnston, P. B., & Sarbahi, A. (2012). The Impact of US Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan. *Rand Corporation. Unpublished manuscript*.
- Jones, O. B. (2009). *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*. London: Yale.
- Khan, M. M. (2016). Is a Clash between Islam and the West Inevitable. *Strategic Studies*, 36 (2), 1-23.
- Klare, M. T. (2006). Target China: The Emerging US-China Conflict. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 4 (4), 108-116.
- Kupez, M. (2012). Pakistan's Baloch Insurgency: History, conflict Drivers, and Regional Implications. *International Affairs Review*, XX (3), 95-110.
- Mazhar, M. S., & Goraya, N. S. (2011). Drone war against Pakistan: An analytical study. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18 (2), 187-206.
- McGill, A.-K. S., & Gray, D. H. (2012). Challenges to International Counterterrorism Intelligence Sharing. *Global Security Studies*, 3 (3), 76-86.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W.Norton.
- PEW. (2014, August 27). *A Less Gloomy Mood in Pakistan*. Retrieved June 3, 2015, from PEW Research Center: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/08/27/a-less-gloomy-mood-in-pakistan/>
- Rana, S. (2015, June 4). *Economic Survey 2014-15: Losses due to war on terror down by a third to \$4.5b*. Retrieved August 4, 2015, from The Express Tribune: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/898015/economic-survey-2014-15-losses-due-to-war-on-terror-down-by-a-third-to-4-5b/>
- Rice, C. (2000). Promoting the National Interests. *Foreign Affairs*, 79(1).
- Saikal, A. (2014). *Zone of Crisis: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Iran*. New York: I.B.Tauris.
- Sarwar, N. (2009). *US Drone Attacks Inside Pakistan Territory: UN Charter*. Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies
- Schwartz, M. (2010). *The Department of Defense's Use of Private Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Background, Analysis and Options for Congress*. Washington D.C: Congressional Research Service.

***Muhammad Asif & Ayaz Muhammad***

- Shambaugh, D. (1996). Containment or Engagement of China. *International Security*, 21(2), 180-209.
- Shearman, P. (2014). The Rise of China, Power Transition and International Order in Asia. In P. Shearman, *Power Transition and International Order in Asia* (pp. 8-27). New York: Routledge.
- Wilkins, B. (2015, March 25). *Doctors' group says 1.3 million killed in U.S. 'War on Terror'*. Retrieved August 4, 2015, from Digital Journal: <http://www.digitaljournal.com/news/world/study-1-3-million-killed-in-usa-war-on-terror/article/429180>

**Biographical Note**

**Muhammad Asif** is PhD Scholar at Department of Political Science Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan.

**Ayaz Muhammad** is Professor at Department of Political Science Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan.

---