

**RESEARCH PAPER****Post 9/11 Media Coverage of Pakistan's Reputation: Comparative Study of Pakistan and America's Newspapers****Hassan Khalil**

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***Corresponding Author:** hassankhalil@ucp.edu.pk**ABSTRACT**

Ever since the terrorists' attacks of September 11, 2001, the role of Pakistan has been questionable. Pakistani nationals have been profiled and associated to terrorism acts. This paper aims to explore the post-9/11 media coverage of Pakistan's reputation through a comparative analysis of newspapers from Pakistan and America spanning the years 2001-2015. Researcher has employed a mixed-method (qualitative and quantitative) content analysis approach, the findings were analysed using thematic analysis and statistical analysis. The qualitative content analysis tends to uncover the fundamental stories and themes exist in the news stories, though the quantitative content analysis emphasizes on methodically measuring and examining communication systems within the newspapers. By exploring content of the prominent newspapers such as 'The Washington Post', 'New York Times', 'Dawn', and 'The News', these papers provided insights into how Pakistan's individuality has been represented in media discourse, especially in the repercussion of 9/11 attacks. The study recommended that both international and national media must carefully measure the influence of coverage to evade negatively representing individuals, societies, or groups, that might tarnish their reputes globally.

KEYWORDS 9/11 Attack, Media Coverage, New York Times, Pakistani Dailies, The News, Dawn, Washington Post**Introduction**

Ever since the terrorists' attacks of September 11, 2001, the role of Pakistan has been questionable. Pakistani nationals have been profiled and associated to terrorism acts. Even today, they remain as potential terrorism suspects. A terrible crisis for many Muslim nations was brought by September 2001 incident anger (Shadid & van Koningsveld, 2002, p.189). A fierce discrimination, hate speech, and alienation became the fate of Muslim Americans, Pakistani Americans, Pakistani immigrants, or Pakistani minority - worldwide. Imran (2009) have stated that many Arab, Muslim, or Middle Eastern identities were subjected to strictracial profiling to avoid potential threat of terrorism to United States.

The US Department of Justice carried on with racial profiling on tourist, student, and business visas. It even led to five thousand investigatory interviews of male noncitizens belonging to Middle East (Volpp, 2002, pp.564-565). Moreover, more than twelve hundred noncitizens of United States were taken into detention for investigating the attacks - to prevent them in future. However, it should be noted that none of the arrested individuals were involved in terrorism.

In accordance with Volpp (2002), Racial profiling only occurs when we understand certain groups of people to have indistinguishable members who are fungible as potential terrorists". Former President George Bush and other top representatives categorized war against radicalism as a battle for "civilization" and also had dictated the

US public through their report that seems like "Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim" equals "potential terrorist. (pp.563-568)

Pakistan's image continues to suffer worldwide because of continued terrorism. This paper reveals the reliance of Pakistani media on U.S media for reporting of post 9/11 attacks. Like, how Pakistani print media highlights international event in national context. It will also compare the same coverage in US print media (Saeed, 2007, p.5)

Theory of agenda setting and framing will be applied as the study emphasizes on news coverage of alleged terrorists in four newspapers: September 12, 2001, to December 31, 2015 – two for each, Pakistan and USA. This study aims to outline the media agenda of Pakistan's dailies in covering alleged terrorists. For analyzing the framing of alleged terrorists, content analysis research method has been applied. Overall, the findings are computed through quantitative analysis.

Literature Review

For understanding literature surrounding the selected research topic, this chapter is divided into four parts. These sections help reflect the objectives of study and evaluate the fundamental literature in a systematized way. Moreover, it also highlights the area which has not been explored so far. The sections are categorized as following:

Post-9/11 Terrorism and Its Impact on Perceptions of Pakistanis

As defined by US Department of State in 1999, 'Terrorism' is politically driven violence committed against noncombatant marks by sub-national groups or underground agents, it generally aims to impact an audience. It can be thought of as a complex phenomenon which can be categorized depending on pursued goals, manifested acts, motivations, and organized hierarchy – according to Bates (2012).

In accordance with Hess and Kalb (2003), terrorism can also be classified on place-based topologies. For example, international, non-state, domestic, state-sponsored, and internecine. It can also be purpose-based. For example, radical, non-political, quasi-terrorism, partial political, and state terrorism.

Furthermore, Rollins (2010) categorized it on its underlying issues. For example, cause-based, ecological, state supported, atomic, revolutionary, political, nationalist, and genocide.

Rabbi (2012) and Powell (2011) say that terrorism is a tool – a technique – in military sectors, political orders, economic domains, and religious. For instance, the terrorist's attack on 'World Trade Center' and the 'Pentagon' is similar to having a massive attack from outer space (Zelizer & Allan (Eds.), 2004, p. 91). It engaged and mobilized the whole American Nation. Moreover, it also involved a large group of Muslim populations – a large part of Muslim World. Included in it were Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Mauritania, and Yemen. Only Pakistan (Islamic Republic of Pakistan) makes up of 96.4% Muslim population.

Identity Crisis, Stereotypes and Prejudice towards Different Communities

According to Miller (2004, identity is a conscious awareness shared by the members who belong to the same group. Moreover, sense of personal identity is closely connected with the "we" and "they" relationships of one's group. In a study conducted

by Leudar, Marsland, and Nekvapil (2004), public addressing of US President George W. Bush, the British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Osama bin Laden of

Al-Qaeda were examined after the terrorists' attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001 (Naber, 2006). This study concluded that a distinction of "us" from "them" was established by each speaker - in political and social context.

In an article by Muller (2008), "Us and Them: The enduring power of ethnic nationalism," it was illustrated that United States population has mixed up ethnic identities. It sheds light on how immigrants try to reshape their identities in America. Now, there's a mix-up of Asian, African, and Middle Eastern origin in America. Still, Muslim immigrants in Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere face a cultural alienation, as cited by Alsultany, E. (2012).

There's term coined by Yuji Ichioka, late historian and an activist, that refers to immigrants whose ancestors migrated to US from Asia East of Pakistan: "Asian American." This identity is reluctantly accepted by the immigrants (Zhou, 2004, p.1). Moreover, the difference between two parts of the world that Orient (East) is inferior to Occident (West) which is superior is highlighted by the concept of Orientalism. Orientals are thought to be irrational, uncultured, and barbaric.

Influence of Media's Framing Terrorism, and Foreign Policy

A certain bias can be found in the world-wide media. After all, it nurtures deviances, negatives, conflicts, and violence (Keeble, et al., 2011 as cited in Eijaz & Ahmad, 2011, p.686). It serves as an autonomous image agent thanks to high news penetration and credibility (Jensen, K. B. (2013). In their research on the effect of newspaper entry and exit on electoral politics, researchers Gentzkow, Shapiro, and Sinkinson (2011), found out that newspapers' impact on political participation is positively robust.

The spillover effect of news impacts the news flow and media framing. The Chinese mainstream media's spillover effect of news flow and power relations was studied by Lin, Chang, and Zhang (2015). They found that effects are effective when it comes to media power dynamics on the trajectory of news diffusion. They also found that the website news with no institutional ties circulated higher, hinting at a selective power control in the mainstream media.

Theoretical Framework

The Research has been defined as "thorough review or scrutiny; especially; experimentation aimed to discover and interpret the facts, or practical claim of such new or reviewed theories" (Connaway & Powell, 2010, p.1).

The terrorists' attacks of incident 9/11 have brought Islam and terrorism engagingly into

American mindfulness and media attention. War, conflicts, violence, terrorist attacks, and extremism frequently dominate newspaper headlines, attracting significant attention. The researchers often use the theories of agenda setting and framing to read-through; how these topics are enclosed in the print media; said Akram & Karmely (2004).

According to Maher (2001), Agenda setting is a significant perception which helps academics to comprehend that how media portrays an incident through diverse contents of media and framing helps to recognize therepresentation given to that occurrence.

The media is influential in framing crises and broadcasting crisis-related evidence, emphasizing events as substantial and suggesting possible retorts (Eijaz, Ahmad, & Rahman, 2011, p. 682). Moreover, mass media play a central role in shaping perceptions of foreign states. A research by Wanta, Golan, and Lee (2004) highlights that general attention of a state rises public concern about it, similar to the preeminent reputation placed on recurrently enclosed issues (p. 2). Media censors Herman and Chomsky (2000) proclaim that media framing pointedly influences how actions or stories are portrayed, determining or even misrepresenting public insight (Vliegthart & Walgrave, 2008). For example, post 9/11, media and government framing represented the actions as turns of war by wrongdoers driven by hatred for US freedom, intensely affecting global acuties (Archetti, 2008 as cited in Bowe 2014, p. 9).

Hypotheses

A hypothesis is a formal and provisional statement about the connection between two or more variables and concurs with Kerlinger and Lee's definition which states that a hypothesis is "the conjectural statement or tentatively proposed proposition about the relation between two or more phenomena or variables" (p.12).

Remove a,b, c and add No with H_1 in this way

H: America's newspapers negatively frame Pakistani identity as assumed terrorists compared to others.

Ha: US's leading newspapers negatively tag the terrorist spells by suspected terrorists of Pakistani identity in contrast to others.

Hb: American newspapers depressingly label the motive for extremist outbreaks by Pakistani identity alleged terrorists.

Hc: America's leading newspapers negatively establish the links of alleged terrorists of Pakistani identity with terrorist groups/militants.

Hd: America's leading newspapers negatively link the alleged terrorists of Pakistani identity to militant training.

Material and Methods

The researcher has used mix-method Content analysis approach to process and read- through meaning and themes within content.

The qualitative part of content analysis presents the thematic edifices of the news stories, ensuing in an overall thematic explanation of the cumulative data. During the overall process; the main job is to methodically exploring the qualitative data; and draw a narrative by covering the material inside a category agenda. This technique has provided the researcher with an approach, because of a lack of unpredictability, and freedom in the explanation of the mined data, ensuring the researcher's focus is on the chosen aspects of meaning that are directly related to the research problem.

The purpose of this research approach is to evaluate the material (newspapers like The Washington Post, New York Times, Dawn, and The News) from the period after 9/11, within a time frame from September 12, 2001 to December 31, 2015. By the study the whole phenomenon would be investigated through looking on the way in which the blamed Pakistani terrorists will be framed compared to other terrorist in Pakistan and the USA newspapers.

Data Analysis, Coding and Pilot Study

For this study, researcher has gathered data gathered from four leading newspapers: two Pakistani leading English dailies; Dawn, The News, and two US newspapers; The Washington Post, and The New York Times, by employing a purposive sampling technique. The terror things that involved the choice of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) database on terrorist attacks between September 12, 2001, to December 31, 2015, in which the reporting was in the US. Among 228 attacks logged in the GTD was the set of events that did not embody cases described either in every Pakistani or American newspaper.

Coding and Reliability

The theoretical framework, research questions, and objectives for coding and analysis in content analysis must comprise the precise personification, Hansen and Machin (2013) stressed the same. Coding means conveying units of study to content categories, which in most cases, is a job of coders, including the researcher, and those that may have been specifically hired. Coders, before coding reliably, are trained in similar fashion. Here, two students were trained in this study by way of discussions on coverage of reported Pakistani terrorists in Pakistani and US newspapers. All the participants were assigned news stories to code on their own and the researcher supervised validity of the students' code. Coding sheets, which were standardized, were used to ensure content categories. However, identifiers were data items. Following encoding, the data was combined into one file with SPSS statistical software being employed. The coder's knowledge went up after the discussion of categories, research purposes, major terms, themes, and stereotypes was done for each category. Also, row after row of differentiated news story reading was done to decide on the articles' directions and encode particular subcategories. In the third place, inter-coder reliability was tested during the pilot period by introducing additional data for both coders, which led to an increased level of reliability of the whole process.

Content Analysis and Categories

Qualitative content analysis serves as a method for dissecting textual data, aiding in the creation of coding frameworks due to its emphasis on meaning and interpretation. Given the time-consuming nature of cataloging communication content, only dimensions and characteristics yielding relevant information to the research objectives or questions are included. Through this analysis, the researcher rigorously assessed themes and content direction concerning the framing of alleged terrorists based on their origin. Ultimately, four content categories or coding frames were established, with sub-categories defined by their direction as positive, negative, neutral, or mixed. Nature of identification of alleged terrorists

Data Analysis

The researcher has used SPSS 17, for data analysis, adept for complicated statistical analyses. Regularities were calculated by the researcher together with an expert statistician to evaluate framing of alleged terrorists' from Country Pakistan, the America, and others from September 10, 2001, to December 31, 2010. However, the chi-square of independence test (χ^2) evaluated reporting variances among four leading dailies.

The stated hypotheses were tested with the alpha (α) level of 0.05, that indicates 95% of the difference among expected and observed frequency, whereas only 5% occurred by chance.

- A p-value of ≤ 0.05 (α) in Fisher's Exact rejects null hypothesis (H_0) and authorizes the substitute hypothesis (H), demonstrating either independence or the significant connotation among variables.

- A p-value > 0.05 (α) in Fisher's Exact accepts null hypothesis (H_0); and refutes the alternate hypothesis (H), inferring a relationship or no significant connotation among variables.

| Variables | Chi-Square Value |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Category of Attack | $\chi^2 = 49.983$, p-value = 0.045 |
| Motivation of Attack | $\chi^2 = 106.565$, p-value < 0.001 |
| Link with Terrorist Group | $\chi^2 = 30.523$, p-value = 0.017 |
| Link with Militant Training Space | $\chi^2 = 33.106$, p-value < 0.001 |
| Terrorist as Terrorist Plot | $\chi^2 = 22.957$, p-value = 0.003 |

Results and Discussion

Nature of Identification among Alleged Group

This category examines the identity of alleged terrorists in Pakistani and American newspapers, while shedding the light on whether and how the suspects are identified by name, origin, nationality, religion, ethnicity, or race.

Nationality or origin of alleged terrorist or attacks

This category helpful in identifying the roots or nationalities of suspected terrorists stressed in top English dailies of Pakistan and America. It helps in categorizing the news stories built on terrorists' origins; for example "Pakistani", "American", or others.

Labeling type of terrorists' attacks

This category helps in locating how attacks are listed in GTD and have been characterized in selected newspaper stories. However, the Labels may comprise violence, domestic or international terrorism, etc. Most likely, the manner of labeling is as negative, positive, or neutral.

Source of News

This category helps to dig out the sources of news; while facilitating more news stories in a newspaper or reliance of a newspaper on other news gathering sources. This

proves out to be helpful to study the dependence of Pakistani media outlets on foreign media to get news to set any sort of media agenda.

Findings and Data Analysis

This chapter gives quantitative findings from a content analysis of selected leading English dailies, the framing of assumed terrorists by Pakistan, the US, and other origins. While the second section of analysis is the Statistical analysis, which includes hypothesis testing, and explores associations between selected variables. Using SPSS software, the researcher analyzed differences in framing across American and Pakistani newspapers from September 12, 2001, to December 31, 2015. The New York Times and The Washington Post are analyzed collectively as leading American dailies, while The News and Dawn represent leading Pakistani dailies, with a total of 149 news stories analyzed (97 from American papers and 52 from Pakistani papers).

Type of Identification of Alleged Terrorists in Headline, Introduction and Body

The identification of alleged terrorists in headlines, introductions, and body of news stories from leading US dailies during the selected terrorism timeline, totaling 97 stories in The New York Times and The Washington Post.

The origin of alleged terrorists is significantly featured in all sections of news stories, mostly in American headlines, which indicates negative framing of high level. Furthermore, the name of terrorists seems across all the sections, but this is more prominent in the introductions and bodies, signifying a reasonable level of negative framing. While, the nature of identification of alleged terrorists as covered in headlines, introduction and body of news. Total of 52 news stories from The News and Dawn were taken in consideration for study. The origin and nationality of alleged terrorists is blatantly presented in all parts of news stories (headline, introduction, and body), similar to the American newspapers; the intro part of Pakistani newspapers, representing great level of negative framing. Moreover, the identity and source of radicals are stressed across all three parts of news stories, with body being the most dominant, signifying a reasonable level of negative framing.

Coverage of Nationality/Origin of Alleged Terrorists in News

Summary

The Pakistani nationality in US dailies is prominently highlighted in the news stories, particularly in headlines, ensuing high level of the negative framing overall. Also, US origin is ubiquitous across all the sections of news stories, hence indicates a reasonable level of negative framing. While, other terrorists' origins are stated without prominence on any particular nationality. There was a strong negative framing of terrorists with Pakistani source found, mainly in headlines within Pakistani News. US-origin extremists also have faced negative framing, more so in the introduction and body sections. While, additional alleged terrorists have less negative enclosing in both headline, and body.

Directional Analysis of Coverage of Alleged Terrorists

This part outlines the results of six categories aimed to analyze the framing of each of alleged terrorists of Pakistan, US and other nationality or origin to explore the frequency and direction of coverage as negative, positive or neutral. The last one category

is to know the source of news gathering for both leading English dailies of America and Pakistan.

Each category is organized to show the results of American newspapers and their direction of coverage; then Pakistani newspapers and their direction of coverage and then directional comparison of newspapers of both countries for that category.

Coverage of Labeling the Type of Terrorist Attack for Alleged Terrorists

Direction

The Terrorist attacks in America accredited to alleged terrorists from the Pakistan are constantly represented with negative cataloguing in the US dailies. On the other hand, the similar attacks, executed by the alleged extremists from country Pakistan, are shown with the neutral-level labeling in English dailies of Pakistan. While, the type of attacks in US have been portrayed positively; which are done by supposed terrorist groups of US in leading English dailies of America as all tags are considerably positive.

The leading dailies in America and Pakistan highlights that attacks' drives by terrorists of Pakistani origin are more destructively labeled in negative light in US newspapers; compared to US nationals, which eventually supports H_b. Also, the leading dailies in Pakistan shows an inclination to tag negatively compared to US nationals or others, that aligns with the H_{2b}. This eventually indicates a uniformity in negative labeling of motives built on suspected terrorists' identity of Pakistan across US and local media.

Coverage of Terrorists of Pakistan, US and Other Nationality

While comparing the direction of leading English dailies in America and Pakistan in terms of coverage of events; validates a negative framing of Pakistan's alleged terrorists' group as a part of greater terrorist plots, compared to US or other origins/nationalities, hence supporting H_e. Likewise, Pakistani dailies shows a corresponding trend, depicts alleged Pakistani terrorists' identity destructively, positioning. Finally, the sources of stories between both leading English dailies; indicates that the Pakistani dailies aim to reflect the framing of suspected Pakistani extremists perceived in American mass media, likely because of reliance on foreign bases. However, this bring into line with the hypothesis that the media in Pakistani is influenced by positive inclination towards US foreign policy.

Upon detailed review both the test "chi-square of independence" and "p-values from Fisher's Exact test" highlights that the p-value is lower than our chosen level ($\alpha = 0.05$) for all variables; consequently, it rejects the null hypothesis and recommends a noteworthy association among the origin of terrorists and labeling of above-mentioned variables correlated to the activities of terrorist groups within US.

Hence, based on the results, it is specified that the two categorical variables of hypotheses H_a, H_b, H_c, H_d and H_e are self-governing thus the stated hypotheses statements are permitted for the present study.

Conclusion

The global image of Pakistan has suffered because of its connotation with radicalism, extremism and violence leading to the negative stereotyping of citizens, principally those professed as the Middle Eastern or the Muslim, adds into the racial

sketching in the America. Both “Western and Pakistani dailies” have played their roles in disseminating these negative acuties. This study scrutinizes how US and Pakistani leading dailies framed alleged terrorists of Pakistan post-9/11 attack, depicting parallel negative representations. Whereas US newspapers has negatively framed Pakistani terrorists, and the media in Pakistani, takes influence by foreign sources of news, and also consider leads from suit.

Recommendations

This study offers some recommendations for stake holders at media and government level, such as;

- Both international and national media must carefully measure the influence of coverage to evade negatively representing individuals, societies, or groups, that might tarnish their reputes globally.
- Media coverage for terrorism at the national level should endure analysis by watchdogs and gatekeepers to confirm accountable reporting and precise likeness of nation's image.
- The coverage of sensitive subjects; for example terrorism needs responsible control of country's global image.
- The National standing and repute must not be negotiated in the matter of press freedom; news should follow to ethical values and depicts the committer's identity impartially.

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