EXPLORING MEDIA VERSUS PUBLIC AGENDA ON NATIONAL ISSUES: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN

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EXPLORING MEDIA VERSUS PUBLIC AGENDA ON NATIONAL ISSUES: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Mass Communication At Gomal University, Dera Ismail Khan

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Exploring Media versus Public Agenda on National Issues: The Case of Pakistan
IN THE NAME OF ALLAH

THE BENEFICENT

AND

THE MOST MERCIFUL
Dedication

To the Journalists of My Country Who Perished
Their Lives For Freedom of Press
SUPERVISOR’S STATEMENT

This is certified that the work contained in this thesis entitled “Exploring Media Versus Public Agenda on National Issues: The Case of Pakistan” has been carried out under my supervision by Mr. Muhammad Riaz Raza and is approved for submission in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree of PhD Mass Communication.

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Aslam Parvez
Supervisor
ABSTRACT

A multi-layer analysis of media-public relationship was done in the dissertation by applying agenda-setting, framing, gatekeeping and priming theories. Till now, several research studies have been conducted in different parts of the globe to explore the relationship between media agenda and public agenda in different social and political settings. The basic assumption of the agenda setting theory is that, media sets the public agenda which has been investigated in traditional as well as in digitized media in contemporary societies during election and non-election settings. Majority of previous studies, more or less, established significant and positive correlation between media agenda and public agenda.

The present research project is the first ever study conducted to investigate the relationship between electronic media agenda and public agenda in the country at this level. Some studies based on print media contents have been witnessed in the year 2008 to explore media-public relationship by exploiting the agenda setting and other media effect theories. Recent development wave in the field of communication system in Pakistan has been leaving multiple effects on the information production on one hand and information consumption patterns on the other. Cable channels in Pakistan were a matter of just over a decade and there has not been a study to probe agenda setting effects between cable channels and their viewers.

On the lines of previous studies a mix method strategy based on content analysis and survey research was applied to measure the relationship between media agenda and public agenda. A code sheet for content and survey analysis for correlation purposes has been developed. The researcher took private cable news channels as population of the content study and selected two mainstream and mostly watched news channels, Geo and Express News for the period of one year from 1st October 2011 to 30 September 2012 for sampling purposes. The study was further delimited to prime time news bulletins and talk shows of these channels. The rationale behind selecting these news channels is that these channels are popular and mostly watched among dozens of cable channels in the country in a recent nationwide survey. Both the channels are in national language Urdu and have a good repute among viewers through their in-depth and ample analysis on national as well as on international issues. Seven widely covered news issues during one year study period include
democratic process, energy crisis, memo gate, National Reconciliation Ordinance, Pak-US relations, corruption and law and order were identified for the measurement of the media agenda. The time duration of the issues have also been measured to check the general trend of the salience of the issues, however, frequency of news were used for measurement of correlation between media and public agendas.

To tap the public agenda as a second part of the study, a closed ended questionnaire was served and got filled by the viewers of both the channels separately. Public agenda was measured through getting responses on the ranking order of the seven issues with their most important source of information and frequency of discussion with their family and friends on these issues. The study further investigated the valence of the issues by asking some queries about the standpoints of the viewers on the issues of the study. Results of the survey study (public agenda) were statistically correlated with the outcomes of the content analysis (media agenda) by applying Pearson method of correlation on SPSS.

The results illustrate strong and moderate relationships between media and public agenda on six issues except the issue of memo gate. However, memo gate got low relationship between coverage and audiences rankings. Corruption, energy crisis and law and order were obtrusive while Pak-US relations, memo gate, democratic process and National Reconciliation Ordinance were unobtrusive issues. The Pearson rank order correlation were ranged from +.20 to +.92 in seven issues. Interesting outcome of the study was that in spite of low coverage to the issue of energy crisis given by both the channels the audiences gave high priority to the issue, and it might be due to the obtrusive nature of the issue. Another reverse relationship has been observed on the issue of Pak-US relations. This issue was positioned as third most covered issue by both the channels while the viewers considered it as the sixth and least important issue among seven issues.

Another major finding of the study was the similarity in the media coverage and media agenda and there has not been any big difference between agendas of both the channels. On the same blueprints of the priorities of the media the viewers of both the channels followed the media agenda on all the issues except the issue of Pak-US relations which received extensive media coverage while the audiences rated it as the least important issue of the study. The issue of corruption was emerged as an obtrusive issue. In spite of
being low salience by media, the viewers ranked it as the second and third most important issue of the country on Express and Geo News respectively.

The viewers’ opinions on the issues do have a close relationship with the slants and frames for the issues set by these channels. The results show that media hardly supported the government on the issues of the study. Majority of the issues covered unfavorably towards government and the results indicate that the media salience has successfully been transferred to the public in terms of valence of the issues.
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Muhammad Riaz Raza
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION
Introduction

1.1 Rationale of the Study

The current digital form of mass media has changed the information production and consumption patterns of people. Media is considered to be a mirror of society and holds an important place in contemporary social system. Media outlets and their employees are at their toes to report and present these news events to the audiences on time. Among a dozens of ongoing news stories, news media determines the importance and priority of the news item that what to be published or aired and, at the same time, it tells what should not to be published. The people cannot have first hand information from the areas of war and conflict zones and even one can not aware of the incident happens in one’s own town without media, it is the media which brings the latest news, updates, footages and documentaries round the clock for its audiences. Holbrook (2005) states “at broader level media can be divided in to two types, news media and non-news media including newspapers, television and internet, news media are all actively providing news and information on all happenings across the world, whereas non news media generally include the entertainment media responsible for providing entertainment to each and every echelon of society.” Over the last few decades, media have developed different segments of their presentations for audiences; however, some research studies support the perception that the bulk of news on the media is based on politics.

McCombs and Shaw (1972, quoted Walter Lippmann’s writing that “since people had only limited opportunities to observe important events in a firsthand manner, they were dependent upon the press to provide them with information on what those events were like. The role of the press, he observed, was to provide us with views of “the world outside” from which we can form “pictures in our heads.” We cannot have the information about local and international events and the developments on the news stories taking place beyond our eyes without media. It is the media which takes us closer to the event through its digital capabilities
and functions. The time from ‘event happenings’ to ‘news delivery’ has been decreased with digital form of media. The imperative role of media and dependency of people on media have increased manifolds in recent decades of telecom technology. This dependency of the people on media has given a room to media organizations for setting agenda by prioritizing and re-arranging the news items. In the words of McCombs & Shaw, 1972, that the media influence the people more who are media reliant than the people who are not.

1.1.1 The Agenda-setting Role of Mass Media

Jan et al. (2013) quote Michel (2011) that “since the early 1970’s, the belief that mass communication is a powerful force has gained strength, in part from studies that document a correspondence between the amounts of media attention an issue receives and the amount of public concern about the problem.” Agenda-setting has been the most applied and utilized theory since its birth in 1972. Since bulk of today’s media communication is based on political communication, the theory has a great scope in the field of political communication. McCombs and Shaw (1972) conducted a research exploring public opinion towards voting behavior in 1968 presidential election of USA in which they surveyed undecided voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, USA to measure the correspondence between voter’s behavior and the media content supplied by both print as well as broadcast news media. They concluded that the findings supported their stance and a strong relationship between media and public agenda was found. “Agenda-setting is one of the possible ways that the mass media can have an effect on the public” (Severin & Tankard, 2000).

Media have the power to shape, refine and change the reality of the event through its agenda-setting functions over time. Several studies have been conducted on the agenda-setting hypothesis and its first proper study was reported in 1972 by McCombs & Shaw “Agenda-setting function of mass media refers to the media’s capability, through repeated news coverage, of raising the importance and exerting media influence of an issue in the public’s mind. This
notion can be traced back to Lippmann (1922, 9-16), who first suggested that the media are responsible for the “pictures in our heads” (McCombs, 1997). The researchers of the agenda-setting theory are agreed on the notion that when news issues are salient in news programs the same issues will become salient to public.

McCombs and Shaw, (1972, 1976) further stated that “people learn from the media what the important issues are”. Most of our perceptions about the world around us are based on the second-hand reality which we normally receive through media presentations. Since the role of media in our lives is of immense importance and we have turned out to be media reliant the media have become ‘agenda setter’ for the audiences. Darwish (2006) quoted Tuchman (1978) that “news is located, gathered, and disseminated by professionals working in organizations. It is the product of professionalism and it claims to interpret everyday occurrences to citizens and other professionals alike.” No doubt, worker’s interpretation for construction of reality will be just like the same as they see and perceive it. Moreover, the workers ideology, institutional processes and policies also have the impact on the production and dissemination patterns of the news.

Since the politics is a big share holder of journalism in the present age of ‘info-polity’, the role of media organizations in making and altering the opinion of the audiences according to their own agenda is being considered a part and parcel of a new social system. Werner et al. (1997) says that “agenda-setting is one of the possible ways that the mass media can have an effect on the public.” Cohen, 1963 and McCombs & Shaw, 1972 say that “when mass media emphasize a topic, the public receiving the message will consider this topic to be important.” McCombs and Shaw (1972) that “the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes towards the political issues”. In recent years people have witnessed several examples in the Pakistani media where agenda-setting approach has been used extensively by mainstream news media. For example, mainstream media gave extensive
coverage to Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) comparatively a new political party in the arena of Pakistani politics. Jan et al. (2013) explored that “two leading English newspapers covered the political activities of Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf quite differently. Daily The News gave huge coverage to PTI as compare to The Dawn. The News published 61 articles on PTI during the two months study period while The Dawn published only 14 articles.” The media, sometimes, by exaggerating and less coverage of the issue proportionally exert the salience in the public’s mind and it also tells the public which political party will be more beneficial for them by determining the slant and valence for news issues.

1.1.2 Agenda-setting in Television News

Brosius & Kepplinger study about the role and function of agenda-setting in television news in West Germany was conducted in 1990. They surveyed and enquired about 16 issues in their study however television news media during through its coverage influenced on four issues - defense, energy supply, environmental protection and European politics. They also explored that with problem awareness of the said issues TV news media was influenced three other issues pension, public debt, and public security. The researchers observed that sudden and intensive coverage of the issues caused the public awareness of a problem. The researchers found the strong relationship between TV news programs and public priorities about the issue. However, the effects may vary depending upon exposure, individual’s interest and environmental situation (Werner & Tankard, 1997). Pakistani media especially cable news channels gave extensive and live coverage to some national issue like, restoration of judiciary, law and order, war-on-terror, national reconciliation ordinance, democratic process, corruption, Pak-US relations, energy crisis etc. during the last three years even the issue of war on terror has been covering by the international media extensively since 9/11.

The present day interactive media does not just transfer the information in passive manner but it considers which news item is to be selected and which to be rejected. The internet
and non traditional media output helps the media people to mend and reframe the news stories which might otherwise be less effective. The media and its functions in a contemporary society have expanded manifolds and sometimes their process of news does not match or proportionate to the reality. In this way the news media outlets are more eager and ready to select some news issues and ignoring some others by keeping intact the ideology of the media outlet. This selectivity is called the first step towards the media’s function of agenda-setting. On the one hand media people like reporters; editors, photographers, cameramen, producers, and anchorpersons are considered to be as news filters in the news process while on the other hand,Advertisers, media owners and their policy on the issue do also work as filters. In doing this, media people shape our views about the world around us and frame their news events accordingly. From all the media effects theories, the agenda-setting is the most debated and most practiced theory since its inception in the 70s. One of the reasons of this wide validation and practice has been the allocation of big portion of media presentations to politics and related issues. McCombs (2005) is of the view that “fortunately, agenda-setting has attracted considerable interest from scholars, and when I wrote ‘setting the agenda’ there was an accumulation of more than 400 published studies to draw upon.” And since then a dozen of more studies based on election and non-election environment have been added to this list.

Warner & Tankard (1997) are of the view that:-

A few days before the 1980 presidential election between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, most public opinion polls said the race was too close to call. Two days before the election, the news media played up a story that the American hostages being held in Iran might be released. As it turned out, they were not. When the election results were known a few days later, Reagan had won an overwhelming victory, carrying all but six states and the District of Columbia.
It could be assumed that by releasing the hostage story, media brought this issue from low position to high which definitely worked against Carter because according to the majority of people, the hostage issue was a big failure of the Carter’s administration (Werner & Tankard, 1997). The news rooms of the media outlets are bombarded with news from reporters, news agencies, news mediums and other local, national and international sources. Media outlets have a limited space and time to print or broadcast the news events then it is not possible to cover every news item. The media organizations then go for selection of news items and we can call it an initial step in agenda-setting. It is also a common practice of the journalists to give salience to the qualified news according to the importance but sometime due to one and another reason they are unable to give equal treatment according to the proportionate reality of such news. Length, space, prominent place, prime-time, headline, tone, language, slant etc are some of the agenda-setting techniques which are common in a contemporary media society. The broadcasting or presentation of the news item to the public by salience from media outlet is considered a one aspect while the other aspect is regarded as the function of framing the news events to shape, refine or change the public agenda.

Weaver et al. (1992) quoted Wright (1986) that "social processes other than mass communication also affect the public’s judgment of an issue or person as important. For one thing, people talk to one another about social issues, and these conversations may play an important part in their judgments.” This concept is basically, a notion of the role of interpersonal communication in the agenda-setting functions of the media. Whenever people find some new information on the media for which they do not have any idea, they try to explore it for making sense through some discussion with their friend, colleague or family member. Since the thinking pattern of the people is different to one another, it does influence the perception of the person and leads new information in either way favorable or unfavorable. Media coverage, then, may have led to subsequent discussion of issues in the media. In other
words, the people according to their mind map and pictures in their heads can help them to reject or accept that new information. In this process of analyzing information when they find some information which is closer to the pictures in their minds about the world outside, they start convincing others. In this way, actually, the people are consciously or unconsciously playing as agents of agenda-setting organization (McCombs, 2004). The studies conducted on the ‘issue wise coverage’ in the media and we find that a big portion of daily coverage of news channels is based on politics and its related issues.

1.1.3 Penetration of Cable TV Channels in Pakistan

Since the creation of Pakistan, the people could not be able to witness the media as a custodian of democracy even it became more critical towards democratic institutions of the country. It is a common phrase that ‘media and democracy are complementary to each other’ and it is believed a sign of strength to each other. Fragile democracies, autocracies, military dictatorships and business oriented journalism have been some of the major causes in the way of the development of media freedom in the country. Military rulers used the media to legitimate their highhandedness and un-democratic deeds and even pro-democratic governments were also used to advance their agenda with the help of media to regularize their wrongdoings, however, the media and public in democratic regimes have been enjoyed their best time.

Political landscape has been changed in recent years back in the history of Pakistan when an elected government, after completing its term, handed over the power to other successful political party. Critics argue that this political achievement has become possible with free and outspoken electronic media that supported democratic norms in the country. Yusuf (2013) quoted Musharraf (2004) that “following the Kargil war (1999) between India and Pakistan, anti-Pakistan commentary on Indian satellite channels was credited with turning global opinion against Islamabad. In an increasingly media-saturated region, the Pakistani military thus saw licensing privately-owned media as an efficient way to strengthen Pakistan’s
capacity to compete in a “media war” with India.” This could be one of the reasons of the government to have independent and outreach media to counter the Indian propaganda. At the same time military government of General Musharraf badly needed for legitimization of extra-constitutional acts to bear the internal as well as external pressure on his government. Moreover, ‘limited media liberalization’ was not inconsistent with his theory of ‘enlightened moderate’ (Yusuf, 2013).

Hassan (2012) stated that “about 12 years ago when the state-run TV of Pakistan ended its monopoly over the airwaves, a mushroom growth of privately owned TV and FM radio channels was witnessed in the media landscape. We now have 90 TV channels besides 28 foreign channels for Pakistani audience. Similarly, there are at least 106 licensed FM radio station and a countless illegal FM stations mostly operated by various madrassas.”

The most vital compulsion on electronic media is to act as the guardian of the truth. There are some basic and universal moral bindings on electronic media which eventually to follow. Electronic media is widely accepted as commercial industry that functions for the execution of the informational needs of the public (Moazma, 2010). Controversies, accusations of biasness and sensationalism are, however, considered to be a part and parcel of these channels throughout their short history. At times, Pakistani news channels, in a fierce competition, feel and consider that they have the privilege to interpret the news events according to their own parameters. The single state-run TV has been using as ‘mouthpiece’ of the state and it was used as a tool to propagate against opponents for almost 38 years. After the establishment of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) in 2001, a burgeon growth of private news channels and FM radio channels was witnessed (Yusuf, 2013). Gallup Pak (2014) reported that “at all Pakistan level, 51% of households claim to have a cable connection. This would lead to around 13 million cable connections in the country.” Urban population has 7.74 million while rural population has 5.4 million cable connections. The
reports of Gallup Pak further explores that there has been a significant growth in viewership of cable channels in the rural areas for the last two years (Gallup Pak, 2014).

It is believable that the Pakistani private news channels have altered the news production and news consumption patterns of the people in the recent years. The critics of the news channels say that there are few channels which can be called as news channels and the rest are said as entertainment channels, however; they assert that audiences have a more choice and zapping options to move from one channel to another for better insight on the issue. Due to the low literacy rate like 56 percent (PSYB, 2011) and access to the private news channels, the people’s trend towards these news channels has boosted to gratify their informational needs relatively doing less effort. Hassan (2010) is of the view that “print media during the last decade, has gone through noteworthy decline in number of daily newspapers and magazines and it has been losing its business and readership to growing television exposure though its steady increase in viewership in last 6 years. Newspaper and magazine sector are on the second and third position respectively as per media exposure to Pakistani consumers. Total exposure of print media including newspapers and magazines 72 percent is still less than 89 percent exposure of the television which has turned out to be a dominant medium in the last one decade. All three most circulated newspapers and top two most circulated magazines are owned by the same media groups who are influential in the cable TV market. In another study conducted by Yusuf (2013) it is said that “the average daily sale of all Pakistani daily newspapers fell from 9.9 million in 2007 to 6.1 million in 2008, reaching less than four percent of the population at that time. Furthermore, the number of publications in the country peaked in 2007 at 1,820 and then fell to only 749 publications in 2011.” The downward trend of the Pakistani reader towards print media might be due to the easy and instant access to these cable channels which are growing even in rural areas at reasonable pace. Moreover, the use of mobile with latest hi-
tech features in recent years has offered a convenient way to access the news information on
their cell phones (Gallup Pak, 2013). Naqvi (2010) quoted Naom Chomsky (2014) that:-

I spent three weeks in India and a week in Pakistan. I would be surprised to find
that the media in Pakistan is more open, free and vibrant than that in India. He
added: “In Pakistan, I listened to and read the media which go to an increasingly
large part of the population. Apparently, the government, no matter how
repressive it is, is willing to say to them that you have your fun; we are not going
to bother you. So they don’t interfere with it” (Naqvi, 2010).

Furthering to the above quote, we can articulate that Pakistani media especially after the
inclusion of private cable channels in the mainstream media, the surveillance and watchdog role
has been expanded manifolds. However, it is still a challenge for the people to analyze a news
story in the contextual developments and annexed objectives of the media on the issue. It is a
common understanding that media illiterate audiences (silent ducks) are soft target for media
manipulations because they cannot easily differentiate between ‘framed’ and ‘non-framed’ news
items as compare to literate audiences. The agenda setters find them as soft target to influence
and emphasize on some issues and ignore the others. There has been a consensus among the
researchers on the agenda-setting effects on both literate and illiterate audiences; however, the
effects might be different in degree and nature depending upon some other variables. Electronic
media has some advantages over print media while focusing and framing news issues as it has
image support with written or oral news information which enhance the reliability of the news
item. An illiterate person can also take the news item on TV or radio with better understanding
and insight.

The media in Pakistan has been enjoying unprecedented freedom in their business
especially after the inception of private news channels in 2002. The continuous increase in the
cable TV subscribers in the urban and rural areas is witnessed which is considered to be a healthy
sign to bridge the media divide. At the same time viewers hardly find a news program on health,
environment, education, children issues etc on these channels due to having the less entertaining value while the news about politics, entertainment, fashion, celebrity, sports, film, modeling are always in their news as well as current affair programs. Christine (2011), a political analyst in South Asia admired Pakistani media by claims that:

Pakistani media is a role model and an example for other Muslim countries. He further added that the ‘only hope for Pakistanis is that the media will continue to mobilize people. The media have done a great job, even if they are at times very unprofessional, and have to come to term with the limits between journalism and political engagement.

1.1.4 Role of Private TV Channels in Pakistan

Both politics and media are enjoying their best time in the history of Pakistan as the media have unprecedented independence in terms of content generation and dissemination while politics is on the move to prove its separate and independent identity. It has been said that these news channels are being run by media conglomerates and big media groups those have their own commercial and ideological stakes. Therefore, they frequently place their agenda and the audiences can find ‘framed and slanted’ news frequently.

For the audience’s perspective, it is difficult to have first hand information from direct sources, so, the mass media provide the required information which is second-hand. The people have witnessed a lawyers’ movement for restoration of deposed judiciary in 2009 which became a ‘media event’ due to out of proportion coverage on the issue.

The cable news channels gave live and extensive coverage to the rallies of Judges during lawyers’ movement. Media, at times, becomes a party and serves like a sub-servant of the group or a party involved to safeguard its interests. Media has created awareness among the people regarding the issue of judiciary and at the same time it has set the agenda for the public leaving aside some important issues at that particular time. By covering the issue live upto 18 hours a
day is evidently indicates the agenda and valence effects to form certain opinion on the issue. On the one hand, media gives extensive coverage to an issue while on the other it ignores the other, might be very important and valued information for the audience. Media outlets have the practice to select and reject some news items, which they assume a better value annexed with the issue, among a dozen of ongoing issues. The primary criterion is their agenda, (might be a policy for specified time or otherwise) through which they filter and refine the information to shape and reshape certain behavior of the people. Reporters, editors, anchorpersons, photographers, camera men, sources of news and even media owners become gate-keepers by holding some facts of a story or exaggerating or angling the story to fit it according to the frames set by the media organizations to peddle their goals. Media especially, the cable news channels are exposing scandals of the politicians and civil bureaucrats in recent years. Media at the same time is under some serious corruption scandals in recent months. Walsh (2012) in his article published in New York Times says that:-

For a week, the country has been gripped by a drum roll of revelations: lurid corruption accusations against the family of the populist chief justice; dramatic television appearances by his billionaire accuser; angry judges threatening legal action against a major television station; and leaked video exposing sham journalism at its worst. It has raised pressing questions for the burgeoning television news channels, which have acquired great influence in Pakistani public life but now face accusations of becoming an entrenched part of what is wrong with the country.” Walsh (2012) further quotes observation of Raza Policy Director of the Jinnah Institute Islamabad that the “credibility of the electronic media is at stake and this is starting to look like the scam of the year.

The scandal put many Pakistanis into troubles severely because media in Pakistan especially television news channels brought a revolution for passive audiences during the last decade. People considered the inception of these channels as positive and healthy edition in broadcast media which previously consisted on state-run TV- a mouth piece of government. No
doubt, these news channels have played pivotal role in bringing the democracy back on track. Television news channels have become an integral part of Pakistani society. Since the literacy rate in Pakistan is less than 60 percent and newspaper readership at decline, the dependency and trust on these channels has improved in recent years. The anchors of these news channels are considered like celebrities and are normally hired on attractive salaries. Morning and evening shows about political upheavals, fashion, sports, film, and entertainment are the preferred news programs of these channels. Millions of people watch evening prime-time talk shows which tender crispy news stories, scandals of corruption, breaking news, a racy mix of breaking news, hot debate etc. One senior television executive, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said salaries of anchors reach $32,000 a month, in a country with a per-capita income below $250 a month (Walsh, 2012).

We can say with the arrival of these news channels the watchdog role of media has been considered a part and parcel of our media, however, the critics of the view that the news channels and media people are very much away from the real watch dogging. However, new broadcast media is outspoken and it has helped in building public opinion at critical junctures by using agenda-setting techniques. We have some examples of free media where it helped in building public opinion through its extensive coverage. In 2009, a video clip of a Pakistani Taliban beating a young girl played up in mainstream channels for building a public opinion in the Swat Valley in KPK province. The cause behind this move was to get support for planned military action against the extremist groups in the valley of Swat. This is also an example of agenda-setting in which some certain opinion has been formed to get support for military action. This footage and news story was telecast for days even it was uploaded on YouTube. Media in this way has the power to shape or reshape the opinion on the given issue through the use of agenda-setting, gate keeping, framing and priming techniques.
We have seen a divide in the policy line of some of the leading channels on national issues. During movement of the restoration of deposed judges (lawyers’ movement), some news channels were remained favorable towards deposed judges while some other channels were remained critical and unfavorable towards their cause. Walsh (2012) asserts that “the chief justice’s predicament had also drawn battle lines between the stations. Geo News has vigorously supported Mr. Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry ex-Chief Justic, while others have taken a more critical stance.” The agenda of media outlet does matter in framing a certain issue in a certain direction. The controversies have also been gripped the anchors in these news channels, on their partisan journalism on the national issues. “Ms. Bokhari, who was co-presenter of Dunya News program, billed as a special transmission, accused Salmaan Taseer, the then Governor of Punjab, of blasphemy on air in December 2010; days later Mr. Taseer’s bodyguard shot him dead for the same reason” Walsh (2012). It has been observed by the critics that since 2002, the year of liberalization, these news channels regarded themselves as a separate media-cum-political force by highlighting news stories on government wrongdoings, corruption and bad governance out of proportion.

It is a general perception of public that these news channels have been a part of irresponsible, bias and unethical moves for rating and commercial purposes, however, on the other hand, they also think that these channels are the main source for the people for getting political information and to build opinion on the issues facing the society. The news with a diverse opinion and easy access are some of the immediate benefits of these channels for the public. For instance, these channels covered the recent elections 2013 live for four days and discussions, interpretations, results, even the whole process of election from submission of nomination papers to the oath taking ceremonies of members of the parliament, the live transmission were telecast round the clock. These channels are considered to be outspoken in this region. According to critics, these news channels have played a remarkable role for the
restoration of the judiciary in 2009; however, critics also pose questions on the impartiality and objectivity of these news channels.

Results of some previous studies and surveys about these channels show that the perception of a common man is overall satisfactory as far as the freedom of press and provision of information is concerned. These channels are playing imperative role for bringing the ethnic, social, religious, extremist and political groups closer to each other to settle their disputes. Although, some media critics opined that these channels have not proved to be good catalyst, but some other sections say that these channels have become a platform for different social groups to resolve their disputes. Watchdog role of these news channels is an integral part of their broadcast. They hired professional and skilled journalists for the purpose of this specialized beat. Many corruption scandals of high profile have been explored, debated and tabled in recent years on the other hand, many critics of these channels do not agree with their claims. Different agenda on the issue has resulted in division of the public opinion.

Since the do not have direct access to the latest news stories especially on national issues like internal and external politics, relations with other countries, position on national and international issues, and so on, the ultimate option to get the information of the events is tied with media presentations – the second hand information. In this way, people form or construct the reality in the light of information and knowledge provided by the mass media. One function of media in agenda setting process is to exert the salience about the issue from media agenda to public agenda while the second function is related with media’s framing those events in public’s mind.

Serverin & Tankard (2000) stated that “there is evidence that the media are shaping people’s views of the major problems facing society and that the problems emphasized in the media may not be the ones that are dominant in reality.” The media has a great effect on the opinion building process of the public when media pay more attention to some issues and
neglect some others. For example, favoring one candidate in election campaign over the other, media can have an impact on the public perception. On the one hand media highlights personal characteristics of one candidate while ignoring others through priming. Order of priority denotes to the issue by the media has great impact in assigning salience order to the same issue.

According to Lasswell (1948), “the traditional agenda-setting role of the mass media involves both the surveillance and consensus functions of communication, calling attention to the new and major issues of the day and influencing agreement about what are the priorities of these issues.” It is not an easy job for media to provide total surveillance to the audiences, however, media can maintain a correspondence by influencing agreement on the major and important issues of the day. Media organizations in the present age of fierce competition are very much concerned about time and space they have. Media stakeholders like, advertisers, pressure groups, big finance groups, politicians, civil and military bureaucracy have a great influence particularly on the content generation and media functions as a whole, however the influence might vary in degree and nature.

“Much of the research on agenda-setting suggests that the press is not a mirror reflecting the realities of society as they are.” (Shoemaker & Mayfield, 1984). There are several examples in which media agenda have become public agenda. The studies indicate that the people who reported as heavy viewers of television in USA were emphasized and favored for military option rather than diplomatic ways in Persian Gulf. The US mainstream TV media extensively covered news regarding gulf in war frame and formed public opinion in their desired direction. Media through its agenda-setting power construct the media reality as a social reality. Another major example of the media agenda is Watergate scandal which resulted in the resignation of US President Richard Nixon was believed to be a joint venture of both government and media. Restoration of judiciary in Pakistan is another example in which mainstream media influenced the government not only through consistent and slanted media presentations but participating
and demonstrating physically. It is a general perception of the people on the recent Media gate 2013 in which the accusation of corruption were framed against son of the then Chief Justice of Pakistan was thought to be initiated by media moguls to marginalize the courts in the cases filed against the then President Asif Ali Zardari.

1.2 New Dimensions in Agenda-Setting – Framing and Priming

Agenda-setting hypothesis explores that why certain issues among a dozen of other ongoing issues become salient and get more attention than others. Cohen, (1963) is of the view that, “media do not tell the audience what to think but rather what to think about.” It is only possible through extensive coverage devoted to the issues for which the public opinion is required to be formed. Jasperson et al. (1998) cited Lyengar et al. (1982) that “experimental evidence demonstrates that when news coverage focuses more on a particular issue, people are more likely to cite that issue as the most important concern facing the nation.” Since the people have limited access to know about the national issues or what is happening around them, they depend on media to explore, evaluate and interpret to make easy and understandable for them. Media have the capability to sway and affect our perceptions in multiple ways. For the purpose, media give salience, prominence and valence to the issue.

Entman (1991) conducted a study based on the analysis of US mainstream media on the issues of shot down Korean airliner killing 269 passengers and crew members by Soviet fighter plane while US navy ship shot down Iranian airliner killing 290 passengers and crew members in 1983 and 1988 respectively. Both the incidents were very much similar in intensity and nature but US mainstream media portrayed both the incidents differently. The Times, News Week, Washington Post and New York Times more or less portrayed and showed the shooting of Korean airliner by Soviets as the brutal and barbaric act. The language and tone of the mainstream media was harsh and threatening towards Soviets. On the other hand, the media portrayed the shooting of Iranian airliner by US navy as a justified act under the circumstances.
The mainstream media called it a ‘tragedy’ while they considered the Soviet act as an attack on Korea. The tone and language of these media outlets towards US navy was more or less neutral. Television media took both the incidents in the same manner and more negative tone towards Soviets as compare to print media (Entman, 1991).

The soul of framing is to magnify or shrink the facts for making the issue to minimize or maximize its salience. Jasperson et al. (1998) cited Entman, (1993) that “framing - making some aspects of reality more salient in a text in order to promote a particular “problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” The media through its capability to define, interpret and evaluate the things has strong influence on public opinion (Entman, 1993, p.52). The theory of framing says that media portray an issue containing particular attributes which influence the structure of the news item and ultimately it becomes more valued for the audience through attributes salience. And it has also got in experience that media use existing reality and attributes with stressing and focusing on these realities with its exploration, explanation, and interpretation tactics. The researchers agreed upon that the issue salience is first level agenda-setting while transfer of attribute salience is the second level agenda-setting. The notion of the quantity of coverage has been gone to backburner in contrast to the media interpretation on the issue. Riaz (2008) is of the view that “priming is a psychological process in which media emphasis on certain issues not only increase the salience of those issues, but it motivates in people’s memories previously obtained information about those issues.” Media provide context or frame of reference to the audience which can be useful to interpret and enhance the effects of priming. Media through priming tells the audience what news programs, what anchorpersons or which candidates are good or bad. It gives you a parameter to assess news item or person etc. Normally, there are few topics which are equally important for audience but media focus on one or two topics to discuss in prime time talk shows (Riaz, 2008).
1.2.1 Pressures on Media Content

There is a causal relationship of content and effect because without content of the media there is no media effect on audience or vice versa. Shoemaker and Rees (1991) argued that “different kinds of content have different effects and results.” Lasswell (1948) identified the important functions of the communication in the society include 1) surveillance of the environment, 2) correlation of parts of society in responding to the environment and 3) transmission of social heritage from one generation to another. Wright (1986) added entertainment in these three functions. We normally find a very thin line between hard news and entertainment news as well as: we can find many entertainment programs which annexed political content. Prime-time talk show of Geo news namely ‘Ham Sab Umeed Say Hain’ and Hasb-e-Hal of Dunya News are purely entertainment programs which levied a political content to a greater extent.

As it has earlier said that television channels are generally accused of needling the entertainment content into hard news to enhance the news ratings and peddle their agenda. Media have dual role in its function, on the one hand it does produce, reproduce, interpret, manipulate the content depends on the objectives of the media outlet and on the other hand, it is a tool to carry all these content to the public. In early studies the media was considered to be a channel of carrying the message, the role was passive as depicted in Lasswell’s model of communication for example, asks, “Who says, what, in which channel? Westley and MacLean (1957) also designed the model in the same sense that media as an agent to the audiences which serve the information non purposely. Non purposive messages can be defined without any objective of the sending organization to influence its audience. Communication cannot be purpose less it is always has an objective even entertainment news has an objective. In a broader way, a media or communication organization has its own priorities, objectives which fall under some well defined organizational policy.
Numerous studies have been conducted to explore the relationship between the outside influential forces and news content. It has been widely accepted paradigm that media sets the agenda of the public. As described in the earlier lines that there are forces outside and inside the media organization which have the power to set the media agenda that is more or less consistent or get aligned to their existing policies of the organizations. They can influence the content by shaping, reshaping, relocating, re-arranging, altering exaggerating and sometimes removing from the agenda keeping the correspondence between the media’s production and demand of its masters on the one hand and media’s priorities and issues facing the society on the other. Political affiliation of the media workers, their ideology, ethical roles, attitude, background knowledge, and field of experience, commercial policies, organizational pattern, and financial stability of the organization, religious orientations, pressure groups, media regulations, advertisers and government priorities influence media content which ultimately reshape the audience agenda.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The effective and efficient role of electronic media and especially news channels has been considered imperative requirement in today’s digitized world. It plays momentous role in shaping and altering the people’s perceptions, attitudes and opinion on the issues.

Advancement of technology in the field of telecommunication has opened the new horizons and prospects for the people throughout the globe especially in less developed countries of the south. As far as the agenda-setting theory and its application on cable channels are concerned, it will be a new sphere in Pakistani media by exploring media-people relationship. A previous study sample size 350 regarding exploration of sensationalism in Pakistani cable news channels conducted by the researcher in Islamabad during his MS Thesis in 2010. Although the study was based on social responsibility theory but gave a lot of information about viewer’s habits, likes and dislikes, priorities, involvement, frequency of watching, rankings of news channels,
credibility of channels and role of anchors etc. He further explored that “these channels have the tendency for ‘not to go for investigative journalism’ because it is time consuming and expensive. In all this process a viewer remains in ambiguity, chaos and less informed.” (p.50)

Recent development wave in the field of communication system in Pakistan has been leaving multiple effects on the information production on one hand and information consumption patterns on the other. Print media have been a major medium for getting news information until 2002 in the country. Although a state-run TV was established in 1964 and since its inception it has been using as a mouthpiece of the government till now and generally the people considered it as a spokesman of the government. However, still the access of state-run TV is almost to 60 percent households in urban and rural areas of the country. (Gallup Pak, 2013) The beginning of private cable channels was considered a sign of freedom in Pakistani electronic media. Keeping in view the rapid spread and development of these channels throughout the country, this area for communication researchers, may be the most challenging and relevant area of research. Moreover, content and effects has been a very interesting and challenging field for researchers since 1970.

The present study was an imperative nature in the media-public association. The role of electronic media in this digital age is considered as dominated in media’s world across the globe. Refinement and sophistication in the field of telecommunications during recent decades have changed our information having and digesting habits radically. Now we can have access to any newspaper site of the world on our cell phones, tabs or any other similar type of device. It has become possible due to the expansion of technology in the field of telecommunication and it has also a result of a valuable research in communication field during the last four decades. The last decade in the history of Pakistani media landscape was achieved a landmark when General Musharraf’s government granted licenses to private sector to start cable channels in Pakistan. Opening up of these channels, the media people and owners took it as a great blessing. The
mushrooming of these channels changed the whole scenario of Pakistani media. This study can be determined as the first ever study of its kind in the country in which electronic media was studied for exploration of media and public agenda on national issues. However, some study about the relation of print media and public agenda has been witnessed in 2008. This study sets a paradigm for the owners of the media outlets and media people as well. In setting the priorities for the public as the private cable channels are enjoying immense freedom which has never been benefited by Pakistan Television a state-run TV in its 50 years history. The state-run TV in most of its news and non-news transmissions used to cover government activities which full of statements and speeches of ministers, advisers and government officials are telecast. The prime responsibility of the media is to avoid partisan journalism and move towards institutionalization by gratifying the informational needs of the public. Results of the study could be beneficial for the media organizations to tap the informational needs of the public. The study would be handy for social scientists to initiate media literacy education in the country for people. In the broader term, this study being the first ever study in which the cable channels have been analyzed under some media effects theories. Further, it could be useful for the public to enhance their capabilities for deep insight on country’s political processes and social issues confronting the society.

1.3.1 Problem Statement

The main objective is to investigate relationship between electronic media agenda and public agenda in Pakistan through exploration of agenda-setting effects and role of electronic media on national issues of Pakistan like democratic process, corruption, national reconciliation ordinance, law and order, Pak-US relations, memogate scandal and energy crisis. This study focuses at understanding the phenomenon of agenda-setting effects in mainstream cable news channels of Pakistan on national issues.
During the last couple of years, media in Pakistan has widely been covering the issue of national reconciliation ordinance (NRO) - beneficiaries and its legalities. The tug of war between Supreme Court and executive was the focal point of the issue for media; resultantly media has been influencing the people in either way. The issue has its pros and cons; therefore, the coverage on this issue from the mainstream media has been dividing in ‘framing’ perspective. The understudied channels have been covering extensively the issue in their news and current affair programs for building public opinion in a certain direction. The correlation on this issue between public and media agenda will be measured by applying media effects theories.

The issue of energy crisis is being selected due to the huge amount of prime-time coverage to the issue on these mainstream news channels. These news channels played significant role in building a public opinion on the issue by framing and agenda-setting techniques. Therefore, the media agenda on the issue will be correlated with the public agenda. The third issue of the study is memogate. The perception and stand on the issue of the people has been strengthening with the passage of time. The audiences are divided on the issue as a general perception and media covered it extensively even live coverage has been arranged from abroad. Judiciary, parliament, Opposition, media, people and other stakeholder have their own stands on the issue. Although, the duration of the issue coverage was less than three months, however, it is an important issue to be studied in the light of agenda-setting, gate keeping and framing theories to measure and explore the relationship of media and public agenda.

Democratic process is one of the most covered issues among selected issues for this study. Since the inception of private news channels, some glimpses of democracy and democratic process have been screening to the people. The independent media is complementary to democracy and vice versa. The weak democracies and powerful military dictatorships have ruled the country almost equally in terms of time duration. However, anti-
establishment and pro-democratic support or vice versa is a reality in the country. In recent years, the media debate on the issue of toppling down the elected government of President Zardari by military establishment has been a hot topic for media and audiences as well. The media in general and news channels in particular gave extensive coverage to the issue of democracy and expected military take over. At times, media have their own agenda which might be different from public agenda. The current media is creating political awareness and a huge coverage is given to the issues relating to politics like, government, opposition and its functionaries etc. Therefore, the issue will need to be studied in media-public correlation perspective.

Corruption got huge coverage in the media in recent years and many channels covered it extensively. Most of the time, the sitting government has been accused of corruption and scandals. The issue of corruption has been rhetoric for sitting government even the ancestor civilian governments had been dismissed on corruption charges as well. The major corruption issues which covered and discussed in media were ephedrine case, Hajj corruption case, rental power projects case, steel mill case, oil and gas development corporation Ltd. corruption case, fake degree cases of parliamentarians, memogate scandal, Pakistan International Airline corruption cases, media gate and in some cases in educational sector in Punjab province. The issue also includes the irregularities reported in the media especially on these news media regarding the appointments, postings, transfers and dismissals of heads of the different departments by the government etc. Being an important issue due to its wide coverage and public interest in news channels it is included in this research study to correlate the media and public agenda.

The final issue of the study is Pak-US relations. The relations have been a dozen of ups and downs in the history of Pakistan. Since the start of war on terror the ties between Pakistan and United States have been considered a hot issue for media especially after the death of
Osama Bin Laden on 2nd May 2011, closure of NATO supply route, Pak army operation in valley of Swat, insurgency in Baluchistan and NATO attack on Salala check post and continuous drone attacks in the tribal areas of Pakistan etc. The issue has been taking a bulk of prime-time coverage from print as well as electronic media of Pakistan. Media has the power to influence the public on the issues of the day and more importantly what is most important issue to think about. This issue has always been a critical for media researchers, media users and media owners and it has been included in this research project to tap the media-public relationship on the issue.

1.3.2 Objectives of the Study

The following are the objectives of this research study:

1. To explore whether and to what extent electronic media agenda influence public agenda on national issues of Pakistan.

2. To tap the role of media economy in media-public relationship in Pakistan.

3. To explore the democratic role of electronic media in Pakistan.

4. To analyze the factors that how the media agenda shapes the public agenda with the passage of time.

5. To tap the correspondence between the issues of news bulletins and talk shows for exploring the salience of the media and priorities of the public.

The last decade is not less than a dream for Pakistani media and especially for broadcast media when monopoly of single state-run TV channel PTV-Pakistan Television was ended with the inception of privately owned channels in the country. The power of TV channels is much more as these are equipped with picture and voice even an illiterate person can also understand the news events. Moreover, the passive audiences of Pakistan have recently been able to interact with the live and comparatively a free news media. Therefore, the role of electronic media in the present digital age cannot be undermined.
Some perceptions in our mind about the issues of the world around us remain stored and cannot easily be changed or altered and the main sources of such perceptions are the media. Media is continuously feeding the people with the information but according to their own priorities and frames. The prime objective of this research is to investigate whether and to what extent electronic media is playing role in making the media agenda into public agenda on national issues.

1.4 Issues of the Study

Following is a brief overview of the issues which were studied in this research project:

1.4.1 Energy crisis

According to a report of Asian Development Bank (ADB), “Pakistan’s economy faces a major hurdle in the shape of its domestic energy crisis. The ADB has identified rising inflation, investment decline, low tax revenue and losses at public-sector enterprises as other factors hindering economic growth” (Dawn, 2012). The Bank further stated that “the economy continues to be affected by structural problems, including a domestic energy crisis, a precipitous decline in investment, persistently high inflation, and security issues” (Dawn, 2012).

It is a worst situation for Pakistan’s energy sector and this issue is imperative in nature because without energy the wheel of economy cannot move. According to nationwide Gallup Pakistan(2011) shows that “43% of all Pakistanis claim to be affected by more than 8 hours of load shedding. Electricity load-shedding is one of the biggest issues in Pakistan including poverty and unemployment.” In the age of information where everything is on electricity the manifolded importance of electricity is increased manifolds. The issue of energy crisis in the mainstream media has been getting a huge share both in print and electronic media. There have been strikes, boycotts, un-rests, and increase in unemployment due to the shortfall of energy. Since the issue is an obtrusive nature it is being discussed frequently among people because every sphere of common life is being affected due to the worst load shedding upto 12 to 18
hours a day. On the other hand, in winter season people are facing gas shortage which is creating great inconvenience for housewives to run kitchen matters. The cable news channels did discuss the issue frequently in their prime-time news and current affair programs. It is a very important issue to be analyzed; therefore, it has been included in this research project.

1.4.2 National Reconciliation Order

During the last couple of years, media in Pakistan widely covered the issue of national reconciliation ordinance, its beneficiaries and legalities. This ordinance was passed in the last part of an autocratic government of General Musharraf’s in 2007 to regularize and accommodate the cases of corruption initiated by Muslim League the then ruling party against Miss Benazir Bhutto (Late), President Zardari and thousands of others including bureaucracy and military establishment. Many members of major political parties like Muslim League (Q), Mutihidda Qaumi Movement and Pakistan Muslim League (N) were also in the list of beneficiaries of the National Reconciliation Ordinance.

This ordinance granted amnesty to politicians, political workers and bureaucrats who were accused of corruption, embezzlement, money laundering, murder, and terrorism between 1st January 1986, and 12 October 1999, the time between two states of martial law in Pakistan. The ordinance aimed at "promoting national reconciliation, fostering mutual trust and confidence amongst holders of public office and removing the vestiges of political vendetta and victimization, and to make the election process more transparent" (Wikipedia, 2014).

The media is struggling in this part of the world for bringing some positive attitudinal change among people on role of democracy and the responsibilities in relatively an independent and free media environment. We know to explore, report and to present an event into news is not a simple process and it needs fairness and objectivity in all its stages to maintain public’s interest. The coverage to the issue of national reconciliation ordinance in the recent months has shaped the opinion of the public as there has been extensive coverage with slanting dimensions
to the issue on leading news channels. Geo News, Express News and some other mainstream news channels devoted handsome amount of time to the issue of NRO which, in general, made and altered the opinion of the audiences. Therefore, the issue of NRO has been included in this study to explore the relationship between the media and public agenda.

1.4.3 Memogate Scandal

Since assuming the office of the presidency in 2008 about five years ago, the Zardari government was accused of massive corruption, bad governance and mismanagement at every level. The issue of immunity from initiating any case against the then sitting President got prominent space and time in mainstream media. The issue of memogate scandal has been projecting as a failure and bad governance on the part of government, therefore, frequent debates and analysis have arranged on media outlets on the issue. According to Kronstadt (2012):

“In October 2011, Pakistani-American businessman Mansoor Ijaz penned a high-visibility op-ed piece that made passing reference to a memorandum allegedly “dictated” to him in May 2011— only days after bin Laden’s death—by then-Pakistani Ambassador to the United States, Husain Haqqani.40 The unsigned memo was meant for the eyes of J.C.S. Chief Adm. Mullen, and it bluntly requested U.S. assistance in averting an allegedly imminent military coup, as well as U.S. support for Islamabad’s civilian government to install friendly new leaders for the country’s military and intelligence services, leaders who would fully cooperate with U.S. counterterrorism efforts. Once uncovered, the Pakistani Supreme Court, with the military’s prodding, launched an investigation to reveal the actual author and purpose of the document, and the resulting “Memogate” scandal cost Haqqani his job and brought immense pressure on President Asif Zardari. Both Zardari and Haqqani deny any involvement in the memo’s authorship”. (p.12)

The issue of memogate scandal was remained alive in the mainstream media of the country. The live coverage was arranged by news channels from United Kingdom during hearing of the case. The general perception and public opinion on the issue was divided; some said it was true while others said it was a fake case to damage the relations between government and army. The public opinion can be changed and altered in either way through framing the issues. The print as well as the electronic media especially news channels were remained
proactive to cover the issue with keen interest. Although the issue remained in the media for less than three months, however, the media’s interest and people’s involvement in the issue was prominent therefore, this issue has been selected to find the relationship between media agenda and public agenda as the issue got extensive coverage from the news media in recent past.

1.4.4 Democratic Process

History of the developed nations shows that democracy has been a more suitable government system for the people than several other systems. Media and democracy are complementary to each other. Jabri (2013) reported that, “Pakistan stands at an important crossroads where it has a huge occasion when a democratically elected government had the opportunity to pass on power to another democratically elected government.” Pakistan’s history can be described as military take overs of civilian governments and people are witnessed three long and some mini martial laws. The issue of edgy relations between military establishments and political governments has been a hot and much debated topic since the first military takeover in 1958 by General Ayub Khan. However, with the inception of today’s outspoken media especially the private news channels remained a positive sign for democratic forces. One thing has been common pertaining to media in both types of regimes - the laws and regulations for curtailment of freedom of press. During the period of military establishment media used to function as a mouthpiece of government while in the semi democratic governments the independence media do business comparatively in a free environment but the overall pace towards freedom of press is slow.

Critics of the media consider the last decade was a breakthrough for Pakistani media when private news channels became a leading and essential part of broadcast media. The news channels took birth in 2002 after the establishment of PEMRA- a media regulatory authority. Critics say that revival of democracy in the country is a main product of independent media. Ashraf (2003) says that:
“Media’s liabilities in the dearth of democracy are that it must facilitate a general debate about the functioning of the government. It becomes the prime duty of mass media to investigate and stop malpractices by public officials. Media must try to get audience credibility so that in any unusual circumstances people may not be left in dismay”.

In recent years these channels gave marathon transmission during the elections 2008, 2013, bi-elections, Senate elections, local bodies’ elections and all the parliamentary coverage as dominant media content. The bulk of news media outflow is in shape of news, talk shows, news commentaries, and coverage of parliament sessions, documentaries and political gatherings which has been a source of political awareness, political education and formation of public opinion. This issue has been selected for the study keeping in view the imperative nature and vast coverage on these channels.

1.4.5 Pak-US Relations

The media has always been proactive to cover Pakistan-US relations extensively and regularly. US have been a major aid provider to Pakistan in the fields of economic, education, science and military, moreover, Pakistan has been an ally of US at different international fronts whether it is the case of cold war with USSR or war on terror with Taliban. Our civil and military governments have facilitated and provided army bases to US forces during war on terror to materialize counter terrorism measures against Taliban. However, the relations between two countries have never been based on equality. On the same pattern, the public opinion in Pakistan is divided on the issue of relationship between the two countries. Recently, some significant events took place in Pakistan, on those issues the people, government, and military establishment of Pakistan were remained much concerned and had diverse opinion. Since, the war-on-terror the US interference has been increased manifolds in different Muslim countries particularly in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. NATO forces attack on Salala check post which resulted stoppage of NATO supply to US led NATO forces in Afghanistan.
Uninterrupted drones attacks in Pakistani territory by US has also been a much debated issue in public and media for the last 8 years and this issue has different viewpoints and policy line of Pakistani government, civil and military establishment of Pakistan, US government and defense experts. All these events happened and generated a good stuff for media organizations which given long and detailed debates on the issue to establish and reshape the public as well as official opinion on the issue of Pak-US relations. The issue got wide coverage in media in general and news channels in particular; therefore, this issue has been included in this research study to check the correlation between media priorities and public demands.

1.4.6 Corruption

According to Transparency International (2014), “corruption can be defined as the paying and receiving of bribes for preferential treatment.” Corruption is considered to be a big hurdle in the way of development of a society throughout the world. Pakistan has been remained some of those countries which are rated as most corrupt country. Begonholms (2010) quoted Huberts (1995) that “political corruption is at hand when politicians are taking advantage of their position in order to win financial favors, either personally, for friends and relatives or seeking advantages for the party they represent.” According to the report of Transparency International Pakistan (2010) “overall corruption in 2010 increased to an awe-inspiring level of Rs.223 billion as compared to Rs.195 billion in 2009.” Another survey conducted by Gallup Pak (2011) explored that “more than half 52 percent of all Pakistanis say that no task can take place without bribing the other party when asked about the most common reasons for bribery.” According to a nationwide survey conducted by Gallup Pak (2011) that 58 percent approve of ‘safarish’ (reference) through a friend or relative to get a job while 48 percent do no. The overall perception of the general public in Pakistan towards government in terms of trustworthiness and transparency is very poor. The question arises that whether media has played in building such opinion among public in a certain direction or not. However, some
sitting ministers, members of parliament including opposition members, bureaucracy, business tycoons even media people have been accused of corruption, embezzlement and misuse of powers in the recent years. Allegations of corruption have been framed against the government by opposition and vice versa. However, rhetoric of corruption has a clear line against the sitting government. Rental power projects, ephedrine case, Hajj corruption scandal, Pakistan steel mills case, media gate, were some big corruption cases in the recent years which were analyzed and discussed in the media extensively. Media in general and cable channels in particular gave extensive and consistent coverage to these issues. Keeping in view the wide coverage, this issue has been selected to measure the media and public agenda relationship on these channels.

A study conducted in Argentina to assess the agenda setting effects during legislative elections in 1997. Strong correlation was measured between media and public agenda on the issue of corruption which always ranked first or second (McCombs, 2002).

**1.4.7 Law and Order**

“Pakistan has very important strategic location; and it has been a front line country and was extended full military and civil cooperation to Afghanistan during the Soviet attack on Afghanistan (1979-1989). Now the country is again joined war on terror which created some internal and external security problems for the country” Fani et al. (2010). The issue of law and order has been one of the burning issues among dozens of internal and external issues facing the country. US-led forces in Afghanistan have been bombarded since 9/11, sometimes indiscriminately. The desired goal of these forces has been to destroy the Taliban’s rule in the country. This damage of Taliban has been creating external and internal security and social problems for Pakistan. The Afghan and Pakistani militants were using the bordering areas and tribal belt of the country as a safe heaven. With the help of local extremist groups, they have been targeting high value targets including national strategic assets in urban areas. More than 70 thousands innocent people have sacrificed their lives in thousands of extremists’ attacks. More
than 10 thousand security personnel’s have perished their lives in the war on terror. Loss of billions of dollars to the economy of the country has been one of the crucial setbacks.

In this uncertain situation, every segment of the society has been conscious and worried about; the media also has been covering the issue of law and order consistently. Debates about deteriorating of the situation at political, social, military, media and general public level have been a part and parcel of daily routine. Media in general and cable channels in particular covered the issue of law and order extensively. Due to the national importance and its wide coverage, this issue has been selected to measure the correlation between media agenda and public agenda.

1.5 Corporate Profile of Geo News Channel

Geo TV was established and started in 2002 and Geo News came in 2005. Geo Super, Aag TV and Geo TV are the other channels of this network. Political discussions and news reviews and commentaries are the most popular programs of the Geo network. In talk shows segment, Capital Talk with Hamid Mir, Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Sath and 50 Minute are very popular and accepted programs (Infopedia, 2013). Geo TV is the first South Asian Urdu language channel to provide content comparable with world-class television broadcasters. Geo is the fastest growing TV channel in Pakistan with ratings exceeding all satellite delivered TV channels in the market. A powerful and comprehensive news production system, it can be customized for use by everyone - from small news channels with just one broadcast a day, to 24-hour, multi-channel news networks (Geo, 2013).

According to Gallup (2013), Geo News is mostly watched private cable news channel while Express News is ranked at second place among news channels. The Gallup Pak ratings are currently the only barometer of measuring audience size in terms of population numbers. It also allows data mining for analysis at the demographic level. Gallup Pak TV ratings also
provide unique insights due to its 20 years of trends data available for all the major and minor TV channels in Pakistan (Gallup, 2013).

Besides seven bureaus in Pakistan a robust international network feeds live content from New York, Washington and London. Formal multi-disciplinary training has been given to 500 members of GEO staff including all producers, reporters, writers, camerapersons and editors by Intelligent Media Consultant. Its member team comprising of CNN, BBC producers, cameramen, editors and presenters were split in Dubai and Karachi for 5 months to complete the training (Geo, 2013).

1.6 Corporate Profile of Express News

“Express News is the second most famous news channel of Pakistani media. It is owned by Express daily newspaper, third widely circulated newspaper of Pakistan. Express news was launched in January 1, 2008. The channel became very popular within a short span of time and quickly won the hearts of Pakistani people. Express channel has a unique color schemes in their presentations. The political talk shows are very popular of the news channel namely Point Blank with Luqman, Siyasi Log and Kal Tak” (Pakpedia.pk, 2017).

According to a research study based on survey in Islamabad conducted by the researcher in his MS level degree program, the Express News has perceived as the second most-watched news channel after Geo News (Raza, 2010). According to the latest survey based on whole country, both Geo News and Express News channels are ranked as first and second respectively (Gallup Pak, 2013). Its headquarters is in Lahore and it is owned by Lakson Group of companies. As far as the channel’s policy is concerned, overall Express News channel is not considered a hard liner and is remained consistent in its policy on different national and international issues. There has not been a big shift noted in terms of content generation since its inception in 2008. As a general perception, the channel has credibility and objectivity in its
news and current affair programs and it is known with its balanced approach while discussing the national issues.
Literature Review

2.1 Evolution of Agenda-setting-Theory

“The world outside and the pictures in our heads” was the title of first chapter of Walter Lippmann’s book Public Opinion written in 1922. According to his theory, most of our pictures of the world outside are based on the information provided by the mass media. He further observed that these pictures, most of the time, are incomplete and blurred. In other words it just reflects the reality but not the reality exists in society (Lippman, 1922). “Although Lippmann had never used the term “agenda-setting”, the idea he was presenting essentially what we call now agenda-setting. The field of communication really didn’t begin to develop until 1930s and, particularly for the area of political communication” (McCombs, 2008, p.2).

McCombs (2008) in his interview argued that several research studies conducted by Lazarsfeld’s school in 1940s and in 1950s on effects of media on public. Klapper one of Lazarsfeld students around 1960 wrote a book titled ‘Effects of Mass Communication.’ The overall gist of the book was that there were no effects of mass communication on public. It was rather a different direction from Lippman’s original idea about the media effects. Lazarsfeld and his partners were looking for media effects on opinion and attitudes which was perhaps quite a contrary perspective to the basic idea of this theory (p.2).

Selective Perception was the basis of Klapper’s point of view that why the media had no effects on attitudes and opinion of the people. In his opinion, there was a strong psychological defense system against proposed persuasion attempt. McCombs (2008) clarifies that “if selective perception is the explanation for a lack of effects, we decided to focus our study on undecided voters; we believed that if there would be some kind of media influence, they were likely to be seen among them, because they would be more open to media messages.” (p.3)
McCombs further describes that, “media do not control what people think, but do control what they will think about” (p.3). This way media has the power to set the public agenda through provision of news information to the public. McCombs (2004) quoted Lippmann (1922), that “the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is “out of reach, out of sight, out of mind.” Since the media is considered to be a primary source of information, it is the media which decides what to tell us. In Lippmann’s view the media in this way has a room to interpret, or distort the reality. Hology (2011) cited Long (1959) that “the newspaper is the prime mover in setting the territorial agenda - determining what most people will be talking about, what most people will think the facts are, and what most people will regard as the way problems are to be dealt with.”

Newspaper has been the main source for information and the capability of media as a primary source has also been established in provision of news on local, national and international levels. Media is feeding us a huge amount of news information on different issues and at the same time media’s ability to shape, reshape, or remove the existing reality through its news patterns in certain amount and in certain directions has been established. Several studies on media influence on public agenda have been recorded in different environments and social setups with different research questions to correlate the media versus public agenda. The influence of the media agenda on public agenda has been established in several studies conducted in the different parts of the globe during the last four decades.

2.1.1 First Documented Study of Agenda-Setting

Until 1972, the theory was remained a raw idea which was later on practically applied and approved by McCombs & Shaw during 1968 presidential elections. However, the research on media effects on public was remained a burning topic during the 50s from some eminent scholars but direction of that research was not in a right and proper place. More or less the
scholars were engaged in measuring media effects in ‘selective perception domain’. The first documented study based on a single hypothesis was conducted in 1972 by McCombs & Shaw to explore the media influence on public agenda during the 1968 presidential election campaign in Chapel Hill, NC. Holody (2011) found that “researchers of the study hypothesized that when issues are salient in news content those same issues will become salient to news consumers.” Massart (2010) cited Bryant & Zillman, 2002; Wanta & Ghanem, (2007) that the results of the Chapel Hill study explored a strong agenda-setting correlation of +.97, which might difficult to achieve consistently. The researchers came to know that perceptions of the people on certain reality could be emphasized by giving the salience to some issues (Holdy 2011). In this study nine major sources of news including elite local and national newspapers, magazines, and network television news for the undecided voters were analyzed to measure the media agenda. The researchers found a strong relationship between the media agenda and public agenda (Don & Salwen, 1996).

People do not have direct access to the issues beyond their reach or sight and it is the media which provide and give access to those issues or pictures. In this way media is responsible to determine our cognitive maps of the world outside. People reliance exclusively on media organizations for news and information, on public and policy issues; give the chance to media for making certain issues more salient and important. Civil rights movement in modern times which was witnessed in some form during the mid-nineteenth century was publicly and politically considered to be prominent after turning it to be a salient media issue for women’s rights and 1940s-1970s for segregation (Mussart, 2010). Another research study conducted in Spain, in 1995 was conducted to tap the relationship between media agenda and public agenda. The results of the study showed that viewers were concerned about the issues of unemployment and urban congestion in which high correlations were found between the public importance issues and media preferences.
McCombs & Shaw observed some other aspects of agenda-setting theory through conducting a panel study in 1977. They found that due to the increased media exposure, media influence on the perceptions of the public. They further explored that specific media and need for orientations were also the main factors in media’s influence. The persons who have little direct experience with some issues in their real life they get easily be influenced by the media manipulations as they do not have another source to have knowledge about the issue (Zucker, 1978). In another study conducted by Palmgreen and Clark (1977) measured the effects of the media presentation in terms of local as well as national level agenda. They found weak impact of news media agenda-setting on local than national level. They argued that interpersonal communication and personal knowledge became the intervening factors which might be the cause of weakening the agenda-setting effect at local level. On the other hand, it is not possible to have knowledge about national news events or policies through interpersonal communication channels. It is the media which give access to the audiences for latest updates. For longitudinal study the peak time to tap the significant agenda-setting effects might be from eight to ten weeks of coverage while he found initial evidence of agenda-setting effect after five to seven weeks in Television news (Don & Salwen, 1996). They further quoted Wanta & Yu-wi (1994) that “the benchmark for agenda-setting is one to two months, there are, of course, variations among individuals and across issues.” (p-93)

The theory of agenda-setting has two parts. Its first part communicates the transfer of issue salience from media agenda to public agenda while the second part tells about the task of media in framing those objects or issues in thoughts of the people.

2.1.2 Agenda-setting Role of Media:

The common hypothesis about agenda-setting is elaborated as the ability of the media to influence the notice-ability of incidents in the public mind has been a part and parcel of our
world for more than four decades. In this sense, the concept of agenda-setting is to selectively choose what we think, see or hear in the media (McCombs, 2008). Several studies have been conducted to explore the phenomena of the agenda-setting at different perspective like, the audiences agenda, the media agenda with some supportive theories as framing, priming, gate keeping etc.

The theory of agenda-setting has two parts. Its first part communicates the transfer of issue salience from media agenda to public agenda while the second part tells about the task of media in framing those objects or issues in thoughts of the people. Moreover, the phenomena of different levels of agenda-setting have been analyzed in the light of effects on the target audiences. Walgrave and Aelst (2006) cited Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Kingdon; Protess & McCombs, 1991) “the media report what is going on in government, by and large, rather than having an independent effect on government agendas.” They further cited Kleinnijenhuis (2003) that “media impact was very limited on politics. The limited agenda-setting power of the media, some of these authors speculate, is due to their short attention span, hence diluting their impact on the slower workings of democracy.”

More or less it has been widely approved that media is a power to shape and reshape our world. Agenda-setting theory has a close relation to persuasion, and according to the scholars most part of our communication is consisted of persuasion. We are, more or less, engaged to pursue someone during our communication events. In this regard, actually, we have some agenda or goal to convey according to our will which we set through agenda-setting. Walgrave and Aelst (2006) cited Cobb and Elder (1971, p. 909) that “the media can also play a very important role in elevating issues to the systematic agenda and increasing their chances of receiving consideration on institutional agendas.”

Riaz (2008) cited McCombs and Shaw (1972) that “a great degree of relationship between these two agendas of political and social issues established a relationship that became a
substantial chain of evidence for an agenda-setting role of the media.” A considerable portion of our communication is based on political communication including the formal or non-formal communication among members of organizations, institutions, schools, colleges, family etc. We heard news from media outlet and start discussing it with our family members and friends etc to pursue others on the issues that media presented to us. We can call it an initial and second level of agenda-setting. Riaz (2008) cited McCombs, 2002) that “our pictures of the world are shaped and refined in the way journalists frame their news stories.”

To collect, report, edit and present the information in news is, no doubt, a complex job on the part of journalists. Since every active person of the society has its own affiliation with some political parties, therefore, it is rather a difficult decision for media people to stay unbiased. Scholars of the view that hundred percent biases cannot be erased from media people. Framing has the ability to change or alter the opinion of the people according to the frame set by the media people. Framing is a powerful branch of agenda-setting. Framing means to highlight some aspect of the issue and obscuring the other. Framing has been a very popular technique to give the salience to the existing reality and put the issue into limelight. Media studies show that our daily communication, more or less, revolves around political and social issues.

2.1.3 Key Concepts and Terms in Agenda Setting

I) Agenda setting is giving priorities to alternative policy issues. Whereas early communications studies had shown a mixed picture about the ability of media to influence opinions on a given issue, Cohen (1963) and others showed that the media had much greater capacity to influence which issues were perceived as important. That is, the media agenda (policy rankings by importance in the media) influences both the public agenda (rankings in opinion surveys) and the policy agenda - rankings in legislative bodies (Cohen et al. 1963).
II) A notable study proving the existence of salience transfer was that by Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder (1982), where experimental groups gave baseline priorities, then were exposed to different news broadcasts with different policy emphases over four days, then rated priorities again. The authors found subjects' issue rankings realigned to match the media agenda.

III) Gatekeeping refers to how media content is controlled. Gatekeeping determines the content of salience transfer.

IV) The importance and interpretation of people attach to potential items on the public agenda are strongly influenced by how the media present news stories (Chyi and McCombs, 2004). Entman (2004), for instance, attributes differential foreign policy perceptions to how the media cheered American victories in Grenada and Panama but took scant note of success of far more difficult missions in Haiti and Kosovo. Another example cited by Entman (2001) is the media labeling an incident in which a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) aircraft shot down a civilian aircraft as an "attack," while labeling as a "tragedy" a similar incident in which an American aircraft shot down a civilian Iran Air airplane. Earlier work by Entman (2001) focused on framing examples related to racial issues in the U. S.

V) Where framing centers on political loading of the presentation of news, consciously or not, priming has to do with drawing attention to certain issues even in a neutral manner. For instance, priming survey respondents with information about street crime may affect the views expressed on crime policy as compared to the same survey administered without priming.

2.1.4 The Acapulco Typology

McCombs the inventor of agenda-setting theory described in its invitation, four perspectives of agenda setting effects at Acapulco, Mexico in International Communication Association. To measure the media and public agenda the researchers operationalized it in four
different categories. These perspectives are called Acapulco typology due to its presentation in Acapulco, Mexico by McCombs (Bryant and Oliver, 1994, p.5).

Type-1 says about the comparison of news coverage for aggregate public agenda on a set of important issues. This type was used in the Chapel Hill study. Type-2 speaks about the media agenda (classified in terms of set of issues). It was shifted to the individual from aggregate population. Ranking order is determined on individual level. The third type established the association between media coverage on specified single issue and the opinion of the public on that issue over a period of time. This type is called “natural history” because the focus is remained on the amount of association between public and media agenda on a single issue over time (Bryant and Oliver, 1994, p.5).

Type-4 focuses on individual but it delimits the observations to salience of single item agenda. This perspective is called ‘cognitive portrait’. The best example of this type is Winter and Eyal’s (1981) study on civil rights over a 23 years period in which cognitive perspective was presented (Bryant and Oliver, 1994, p.5). There are typically four different research methods to measure the public and media agenda depends on the audiences’ characteristics and nature of study etc. Type-3 and 1, support the degree of confidence of media effect. Type-1 provides handsome details on media content and public opinion. As far as type-3 is concerned it provides valuable explanation of natural history. It consists of a single issue but it covers a large social context. The concept of ‘how’ and ‘why’ in agenda setting, the scholars considered these to be absolutely important for a comprehensive and detailed explanation (Bryant and Oliver, 1994, p.5).

2.2 Media and Public Agenda Correlation:

The agenda-setting theory has two levels as described in Theories of Communication. The first level of agenda-setting is endorsed the common issues that are most important while the second level decides what components of the issues are important (McCombs, 2008). He
further quoted Rogers and Dearing (1996) on these two levels of the concept that “the first part of the process is the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. Second, the issues discussed in the media have an impact over the way the public thinks, this is referred as public agenda.” Wanta and Ghanem, (2007) found that there have been strong correlation strengths between public and media agendas as the studies range from .05 to .967 and remained as averaged around .358 (Massart, 2010).

Walgrave and Aelst (2006) cited McCombs and Weaver, 1973, Weaver, 1977) that “the more people have a need for orientation on an issue, the more they will rely on media and be affected by media coverage.” In the contemporary media saturated society we can live without culture but cannot live without media culture. People rely on media for latest news about their town, city, country and globe. They even do not know about the news events which do occur in their home towns, it is the media that fulfills their informational needs. People also need orientation on ongoing issues of the day and ultimately they get influenced from this orientation.

The standardized measuring parameters for media agenda are in practice for coding and sampling procedures. Walgrave and Aelst (2006) cited Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Ghanem, 1996; McCombs and Shaw, 1993; Weaver, Graber, McCombs, and Eyal, 1981 that “numerous studies all over the world established firm correlations between media and public priorities.” Scholars of the media like Walgrave have firm believe over the correlations between media and public agenda. The agenda-setting is a media effects theory and it was first developed by Lippmann (1922), however, he could not be applied and materialized it in a practical form. Since the media’s major production is consisted of politics. Bernard Cohen (1963) says that “the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about.”(p.13)
2.2.1 Longitudinal Studies of Agenda-setting

Riaz (2008) quoted some of the scholar’s point of view on longitudinal studies and its effects on the audiences as follows:-

Two researchers Winter and Eyal (1981) found a strong relationship between media portrayal of civil rights from 1954 to 1976 and the importance given by the audiences. This was the longitudinal study which consisted 23 years. The results showed that the percentage of the citizens ranged 0 percent to 52 percent who named civil rights as the most important problem facing the country. In another study conducted by Smith in 1987 to tap the relationship between local issues and public opinion through newspaper coverage. Smith conducted 22 surveys from 1974 to 1981 and he analyzed the contents of the Louisville Times and found agenda-setting effects on two local issues – environment and crime. The remaining issues in the study could not get high salience on public agenda. This study gave birth to a different dimension of ‘contingent conditions’ to agenda-setting theory.

Eaton (1989) analyzed three national newscasts, five newspapers and three magazines for more than 3 years period through a Gallup Pak Polls. He came to know that the issues which were remained salient in news coverage were also at high salience in public’s agenda. The results indicated that the correlation measured was the stronger and positive in nature than the television channels in 1990, Brosius and Kepplinger conducted a 53 weeks long study. They found significant agenda-setting effects in five issues like energy supply, East-West relations, European politics, environmental protection and defense (Sevrin and Tankard, 2001).

Some studies proved the agenda-setting effects on long term exposure while some others do not accept the notion. But at the local level the agenda-setting effects are more significant than the foreign. According to McCombs (1972) “influencing the focus of public attention is a powerful role, but, arguably, influencing the agenda of attributes for an issue or political figure is the epitome of political power.”
2.2.2 Bi and Uni-Directional Nature of Agenda-Setting

A study was conducted by Lyengar and Simon (1991) to explore the media coverage of first live war of Gulf 1990 in terms of agenda-setting, priming and framing perspectives. The US media gave extensive coverage to the issue both in print as well as electronic media. Respondents were asked to give their opinion in favor of military or diplomatic solution. It was assumed that extensive coverage in television news could lead to the increase in support of military solution of the crisis. The hypothesis was proved as the heavy and regular viewers of television news favored and supported the military action as assumed by the researchers (Lyengar and Simon, 1991). Riaz (2008) cited Lyengar and Simon (1991) that increase in news coverage is assumed to be the increase in salience of specific issues in public’s mind. This approach is called a unidirectional nature of agenda-setting theory.

2.2.3 Old and New Paradigms of Agenda-Setting

Mass media have a great effect and influence on their audiences (Sevrin and Tankard, 2001). Basically, this was the earliest paradigm based on the hypothesis that audiences have limited choice to have news on national and local levels; therefore, they were remained in isolation until mass media provide them with the news information. It stems from the magic bullet theory which treats the audiences as ‘silent Ducks’ that ready for any type of manipulation. More or less, the old paradigm of the agenda-setting theory has its direct effect on the audiences. The supporters of the old paradigm were of the view that the audiences had limited sources of news and the scholars were unable to define and identify the media effects on people’s attitude or behaviors. These assumptions of old paradigm of magic bullet theory led to a new limited effects paradigm which says that media have only indirect effects and reinforce the existing attitudes and behaviors of the audiences (Sevrin and Tankard, 2001).

Lazarsfeld et al. (1940) studied during presidential election and were of the view that media had limited effects on the audiences due to the individual differences like persuasion,
5Ws and two step flow dimensions. McCombs (2004) further cited Klapper, (1960) that the audiences in new paradigm are active members and react to the messages received from mass media. There are Several factors which play important role in ascertaining the value of the messages like, psychological filtering, societal norms, and interpersonal communication.

Reese et al. (2001) cited Cohen (1963) “media may not tell us what to think; the media are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.” One of the evaluations of both the approaches magic bullet theory and limited effects model is that these hypothesis came before the era of television, so after the technological changes in the field of communication, these media cannot claim as the sole provider of information to the audiences. It also does not transmit the messages in a similar fashion and similar effects to everyone (McCombs, 2004).

2.2.4 Experimental Research on Agenda Setting

Roughly estimated about 400 research studies have been conducted throughout the world on the idea of agenda setting effects on the people’s opinion till the end of 20th century (McCombs, 2005). Dearing & Rogers (1996) of the view that Several studies have validated and supported the basic agenda-setting thought that how mass media determines the people’s perception about some issues of the society (Walgrave, 2006). Media effects studies are normally conducted through a combination of analysis of media contents and measuring the public agenda through survey or interviews. The other method of tapping the association between media and public agenda is experimental method.

Lyengar and his colleagues in 1987 conducted a first experimental study to measure the relationship and media effect in the light of agenda setting techniques. Basically, they were studied and explored the media and public agenda correlation in two different group members. They made two groups of participants of this experimental study, group one was based on 13 participants while group two was consisted of 15 participants. Group one was given a chance to watch several stories about deficiencies of American defense system around eighteen minutes
for four days. The second group (controlled group) consisted of fifteen participants was not exposed to any defense related stories. The researcher found that participants of group one ranked the inadequacies in American defense system as they were exposed and emphasized about the news stories on the topic. While controlled group which was not exposed to inadequacies of the American system ranked the issue of environment pollution at the most important issue. On the very first day of the study the viewers declared the defense issue as number six out of seven issues. While after watching the news programs for four days, their ranking order changed significantly as they ranked defense as the second most important issue. The results of the study strongly supported the agenda setting effects and ranked by the participants significantly different. The study also supported the classical version of the agenda setting theory (Lyngar, 1987).

2.3 Post Modernism and Television News Media:

Marshall McLuhan was a literary scholar who had an enthusiastic approach towards technology for electronic media. ‘Medium is the message’ was his famous phrase which advocated for the superiority of the medium over message. He further argued that every new medium had the capacity to reshape or disrupts our social life. McLuhan was much interested to tap electronic media effects on culture and society especially television media. (New world encyclopedia)

Siraj (2004) stated that “we are living in a three-minute culture because reality is littered with video footage, computer games, advertising, film, television images and photographs.” Medium or technology plays an important role in making decisions and opinions and more or less technology decides it (Postman, 1985). Gerbner et al. (1986) cited McQuail (1976) that “television is said to ‘stimulate,’ ‘involve,’ trigger off,’ ‘generate,’ induce,’ ‘suggest,’ ‘structure,’ ‘teach,’ ‘persuade,’ gratify,’ arouse,’ ‘reinforce,’ ‘activate,”
“Many refer to John F. Kennedy as the nation’s first “television president” (Rozell, 1996). He further observed that visual appeal, charismatic personality of the president and television were an ideal counterpart. Many critics of media were of the view that print media was declining in the presence of modern and colorful presentations of the image of the president. The immediacy of television was distinguishing itself from newspapers and magazines over the time just like as the radio has more immediacy than television (Rozell, 1996).

“Television ads have played such a key role in modern political campaigns that it's hard to imagine campaigns without them. Through television, candidates have the potential to reach more voters than all the stump speeches and handshakes across America” (Shahid, 2014). Television coverage on presidential election campaign in 1952 analyzed through a survey study when the people were asked which news medium gave you the most information about the election campaign the majority of the people were given opinion in favor of television (Campbell et al. 1953).

The communication scholars are of the view that news media has been becoming more negative in its nature and gist over time. The scholars explain several reasons which accumulate towards hostile media. Several studies show that the people who are more involved and have strong views and deep involvement in the topics are more critically examined. One of the possible reasons of negative attitude of the audiences towards media is reasoned as the specific style of issue coverage (Jonathan, 1978, p.108).

2.3.1 Growth of Cable Television Channels in Pakistan

The Kargil war was influenced in a crucial manner by the media. It took it to a different dimension and helped Indian gain international diplomatic advantage over Pakistan. Coming at a time of exploding growth in electronic media in India, the Kargil news stories and war footage were often telecast live on TV with many websites providing in-depth analysis of the war
Kargil conflict considered to be the first ‘live’ mini war in South Asia as this was given such a huge and detailed media coverage from the battlefield. Soon this conflict turned into a media propaganda war due to its official press briefings from both sides were making claims (Merinews, 2011).

Critics of the media and war studies say that, the reason behind opening of cable news channels in Pakistan was the outcome of the pressure from Pakistan military establishment. Government wanted to counter the Indian cable news propaganda which Indian channels have begun to gain the international support against Pakistan. Merinews (2011) further reports that eventually an Indian media gained international support through wide and huge coverage as the international media supporting the Indian cause.

In the past there was only a state-run channel Pakistan Television which has been working as a mouth piece of government since its inception in 1964. Every government whether military or democratic has used Pakistan Television and Pakistan Radio for promotion of their own agenda and to safe its vested interests. Unfortunately, the ruling parties have been very successful in doing so. Moreover, Pakistan Television has an access of almost all over the country and it is being used successfully to promote the agenda of the government. On the other hand, radio Pakistan has also been using to safeguard the interests of sitting governments.

Initially the cable news network was started in Karachi on small scale in early 1980s and after that the cable network introduced all big cities of Pakistan but all these channels were out of any legal cover. There was no functionary body to run the business of this cable television network. However, it is worth mentioning here that operation against all illegal cable news channels in Karachi was initiated. These cable channels were remained off and on for more than 15 years. The Government took action against these illegal cable news channels in 1998 and later framed a policy to declare them as legal.
The military coup against Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif resulted in toppling down his government in 1999. The process of legalization of the channels went on back burner due to the uncertain situation of the country during early years of General Musharraf’s regime. The passive audiences of the state-run-TV became able to watch independent private news channels in 2002. As earlier said that there were mainly two causes of liberalizing the private news media; Indian media diplomacy on Kargil war and secondly, immense international pressure on the military ruler to free the press and stop human rights violations. For the purpose, Pakistan media regulatory authority (PEMRA) was established in 2001. “After liberalization of much of the broadcast media in 2002, the sector began to establish a reputation as an alternative political force by airing stories on government corruption and poor service delivery” (Yusuf, 2013). However, the access to independent news and information about every segment of the society was not less than a dream for passive audiences of state-run TV. Awareness level and political knowledge of the people have increased with these cable channels.

New millennium witnessed a mushrooming of cable television throughout the country after legalization of the television network. Yusuf (2013) further explored that viewership of the news cable channels is not limited to elite, upper, and upper middle classes as this is available at minor fee. Audiences may have instant access to several national and international cable news channels including news, entertainment, sports, religious, children and women etc., (Zia, 2007). More or less the print media publication groups have captured the landscape of these private news channels. Jang group being a largest publication group has more than five sister channels: Geo News, Geo Super, Geo Entertainment, Geo Kahani, Geo Tez, and Aag music channel. The group has more access on the people of Pakistan regarding the provision of latest news through their cross-media ownership (Wikipedia, 2013).

“At All Pakistan level, 51 percent of households claim to have a cable connection. This would lead to around 13 million cable connections in the country” (Gallup Pak, 2013). A study
report says that viewership of these cable channels in urban areas is about (85 percent) while it is understandably (50 percent) in rural areas in the year 2013. However, the results show that the rapid increase in viewership has been observed during the last 2 years (Gallup Pak, 2013).

2.3.2 Basic Agenda-setting Versus Online Agenda-setting effects

McCombs (2005) described in his study conducted to check the viability of new media agenda-setting effectiveness and diminishing the traditional agenda-setting. He argued that traditional agenda-setting has been remained significant and focused by attending key public issues through transfer of salience. But with the inventions and rapidly changes in the media technologies have changed the media landscape dramatically. The most common shapes of new technologies are Skype, face book, LinkedIn, Email, online newspapers websites, chat rooms and so on. No doubt, internet has become a new frontier for traditional agenda-setting concept and effects. Some critics of communication are considered and foresee this change as the end of agenda-setting. They argue that audiences of new media are fragmented and ultimately everyone has its specific external media agenda which he or she gets from online news information sites. The focal point of in this assumption is that the traditional agenda-setting role is going to be diminished. McCombs (2005) further argued that the users of new media (internet) are heterogeneous and scattered while original Chapel Hill found that there was a high degree of similarity observed in spite of diversity in news media.

Zeller (2005) is of the view that audiences of these blogs, individual and more personal websites and having diversity in agendas minimize the homogeneous nature of users of new media. He further questioned that how many users are regularly visited these sites to have news. He tested two hypotheses in his study and one is that “large numbers of people have access to the web and regularly go to many different sites there for news, information and commentary” (McCombs, 2005). Whether a large number of audiences have the access to the internet and they do regularly visit these webs for getting news and updates? The first line of this hypothesis
is concerned with the digital divide, the haves and have not’s. Instead decline in the computer and internet prices and provision of these facilities to the common people, yet this digital divide has not disappeared (McCombs, 2005).

The second part of hypothesis is concerned with the exposure of these sites by the intended users. The traditional news media has the power and established habits of being regular audience member and these similar habits do not seem on internet users they are rarely and occasionally visit the sites for getting news (McCombs, 2005). He further observed that most of the websites are directly or indirectly linked to the traditional media through online networking of newspapers, cable TV channels, magazines and television. Wanta (1997) argued that agenda-setting effects are more immediate and swift on Internet discussions. Internet users, generally, can post any new information of current events to the internet immediately after getting it from the traditional media. In this process, the effects and influence is increased and expand to the scattered audiences (Roberts et al. 2002).

Alexandra (2010) quotes Pew that "blogs still heavily rely on the traditional press - and primarily just a few outlets within that - for their information.” The study further found that almost 100 percent news stories are associated with the blogs which do come from the original source of media outlets like newspapers and broadcast networks. The study further explores that 80 percent of links are traced to their original source in the cases of the CNN, New York Times, the BBC and the Washington Post. Twitter is considered to be less tied link to traditional media. The study further opines that visitors on any website or the members on social media do not keep on going on any single story. Study explored that only 53 percent of news stories stay on the list for not more than three days on blog’s web. The time duration is more on lesser side in the case of Twitter which keep on sites for 24 hours. The findings of the research study support the effectiveness of traditional agenda for the moment (Pew Research, 2010). Stephen et al. (2010) conducted a study and found that “86 citizen blog sites, 53 citizen news sites and 63
daily newspaper sites indicated that citizen journalism sites, including both news and blog sites, differed significantly from newspaper sites.”

Sorin (2010) quoted a study of Marcus and Distaso (2007) that based on contents analysis of *New York Times* and *Washington Post* over a six-year period and observed that newspapers are increasingly considered the weblogs as credible sources. They found the 30-40 percent of blog articles cited as a source by the audiences. As far as the point of haves or have not is concerned, the situation of developing or underdeveloped societies is more critical. In other words the phenomenon of social media and digitized media is still a dream for most of the south. Weak political systems, deteriorating economies and low literacy rate further enhance the deplorability of these societies.

**2.3.3 Political Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media**

The theory of agenda-setting has its roots in political communication. If we measure the whole day transmission especially the prime-time, there is a general perception that more than fifty percent of the coverage of mainstream media goes to political issues. Political communication has been a major stakeholder in the whole products of media outlets. Media, in this way, have a great scope to manipulate the news information by using the agenda-setting applications.

Walgrave and Aelst (2006) are of the view that agenda setting has been very frequently used model in political science. Baumgartner and Jones, 1993; Cobb & Elder, 1971; Kingdon, 1984; Klingemann, Hofferbert, and Budge, 1994; Laver and Budge, 1992) of the view that the political scholars covered and analyze that how these political actors like parliament, political parties and government etc. established their relationship with other stakeholders by setting the priorities of attending some issues while ignoring others and taking decisions on (Walgrave and Aelst (2006). The political scientists further viewed that “political scientists’ agenda setting
research focuses mainly on endogenous political factors: The presence of issues on the agenda of a certain political actor (e.g., congress) is attributed to the influence of another political actor (e.g., the president) or to issues on the same agenda in a preceding period – incrementalism” (Walgrave and Aelst (2006).

Bartels (1996) opined that “if media scholars are, by and large, much taken with the agenda-setting power of the press, many scholars of traditional political institutions seem less impressed.” The conflicting nature of outcome of from communication and political perspectives, the scholars did not ignite an academic debate on the causes of the inconsistencies. It is a general view about the field of media and politics is still under theorized. “The researchers think that they cannot still answer the basic question, whether the mass media determine the political agenda or put more precisely, under what specific circumstances the mass media are able to boost political attention for issues” (Walgrave and Aelst (2006).

Dearing and Rogers (1996) believed in the limited power of the media in political agenda. It could be due to their short attention normally devoted to the political issue. They were of the view that time always running from one political crisis to another crisis, therefore, is caused diluting the attention at slower working of democracy (Walgrave and Aelst, 2006).

The believers, of another view point, considered strong media effects could create effects on political agenda. Kingdon (1984) further mentioned another weakness of media is to have a tendency to highlight prominent, popular, amazing and sensitive stories, these stories otherwise might take place at the end of the policy-making-process (Walgrave and Aelst, 2006). Walgrave and Aelst (2006) cited Cobb & Elder (1971) stated that “the media can also play a very important role in elevating issues to the systemic agenda and increasing their chances of receiving consideration on institutional agendas.” Baumgartner, Jones, and Leech (1997) found a firm relationship between media attention and U.S. congressional attention for four domestic
issues and concluded “that the media help create situations that make increased government attention almost unavoidable” (Walgrave and Aelst 2006).

Trumbo (1995) observed that there were strong effects on the political agenda on the issue of global warning. Soroka (2002) conducted a study which came about almost similar outcome on the issue of power of media and political agenda. Walgrave and Aelst (2006) opined that election and non-election settings have significantly different results while we put or manipulate the matters.

2.4 Three Media Effects Models (Agenda-setting, Framing, Priming)

McQuail (2005) is of the view that there has been a paradigm shift in political communication after the appearance of a handsome amount of research on framing, agenda setting, and priming. He further declares that the 20th century has witnessed some paradigm shifts in agenda-setting effects. Many scholars consider the emergence of framing concepts in communication as a rebirth of academic research in the area of cognitive campaign effects like priming and agenda-setting. Some scholars do not separate the framing from agenda-setting and framing concepts (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Lazarfeld, Berelson & Gaudet (1948) of the view that people’s priorities and following research are more difficult and multi-layers process than it considered in its evolutionary stages. They argued that people’s homogeneous communication networks and their selection process of information which result in the reinforcement of their existing beliefs. They further opined that hypodermic needle theory was quickly replaced with more sophisticated methods of media effects as ‘people’s choices’. Agenda-setting research study in the 1970s by McCombs & Shaw of agenda-setting research in political communication emerged as the landmark study for the scholars looking for alternative to the limited effect model paradigm (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).
McQuail (2005) stated that 1980s and 1990s is believed the recent stage in political effects research which sometimes labeled “negation models” (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). These mainly two approaches are called as priming and framing which have strong potential and power to affect the attitudes, but these effects are also reliant heavily on audiences characteristics like schema, and other beliefs which influence in processing the messages. McCombs and Ghanem (2001) observed framing has close relationship with agenda-setting both tell us ‘how to think about’. Rees (2001) cited Entman (1993) that:-

A frame is determined in large part by its outcome or effect: 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.

Darwish (2006) cited Tuchman (1978) that “news frame is problematic in its characteristics and perspectives it presents.” Furthering this view, Schudson (2003) of the view that news is a representation of the world and these representations are selective. Darwish (2006) cited Hallahan (1999) “a frame limits the message’s meaning by shaping the inferences that individuals make about the message.”

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) stated that “interpretation (time and attention) of the information, according to the schemas is a focal point in a frame. They further stated that “primary difference on the psychological level between agenda setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other hand, is therefore the difference between whether we think about an issue and how we think about it.” They further hold the view that framing effects could fluctuate in intensity. More the existing frames of the audiences are similar to the frames of the messages; more effective could be the message (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Darwish (2006) cited Ryan (1991) “although the news media present reality the way it is, news
writers and editors construct a subjective picture of reality by selecting and organizing information in a way that makes sense to them and their audiences through framing.”

Lyengar and Kinder (1987) conducted a series of experiments which explored a significant proof of priming effect in television news regarding the performance of the president. Five different issues defense, arms control, civil rights, unemployment and inflation were selected to analyze the priming effects through news items as these issues got wide and extensive coverage on the television news media. In president’s case the priming effects in news were significantly noticed.

Iyengar 1991; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Zaller 1992 were of the view that “the established perception of the concept of priming and agenda-setting is that they are motivated by an “accessibility bias”. Lyengar 1991; Zaller 1992 stated that the logic behind this bias is that people cannot retrieve huge relevant information from their memory to support their argument, they only are able to get relevant sub set of information (Lyengar and Kinder, 2010).

Hill (2003) of the view that for almost forty years, the most dominated opinion about relationship between media and politics prevailed in American society was concerned with limited effect. “Priming refers to changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations” (Lyengar and kinder, 2010). Asch (1946) opined that audiences do not pay attention to all happenings around them with equal interest. Since the attention is very much selective action; therefore, people normally notice particular features of the events (Lyengar and Kinder, 2010).

### 2.4.1 Agenda-Building Process

Mussart (2010) cited Dalton et al., 1998; Erbing et al., 1980 that “external forces can and do limit the power of individuality. Political scholars define political agenda-setting as a process of presentation (media agenda), filtration (public agenda) and adoption (political agenda and
institutions).” She further interprets it in this way that effects of agenda-setting may expand the interaction of the media and public by becoming an integral part of society and culture (Mussart, 2010). Erbring et al. (1980) of the view that political agenda-setting campaigns assumed to be different from day to day agenda. The media organizations are structured and institutionalized to refined and shape the message for the public as the audiences are more concerned and more vigilant about the issues they are consistently watching (Mussart, 2010). Jonathan cited e.g. Kahneman and Tversky, 1984; Gamson and Modigiani 1989; Lyengar 1991; T. Nelson and Kinder; Clausen and Oxley 1997; Kellstedt 2000, 2003; Berinsky and Kinder 2006; Chong and Druckman 2007 that “the press can also change opinions by focusing on certain aspects or interpretations of an issue or candidate.”

2.4.2 Role of Media Organizations in Agenda-setting:

The reliance of media organization on each other for news and latest information is a routine matter. To get the news stories from local as well as international news agencies is also a routine matter for media outlets as the major player in the field of news production and news gathering rests with west-led USA. Therefore, these news agencies release the information according to their set agenda to guard their vested interests. Now a days, the same news stories are broadcast on other channel being a same source, therefore, many a times’ media organization as a main source has the opportunity and power to set the agenda of other media outlets. The media outlets are facing time constraints issue in broadcasting on time and breaking news, and to achieve the target the journalists have to finish their job in a stipulated time. In this way, they also influence the agenda of the media in either way. The other important factor is that the media organizations do have a keen eye on the news coverage of their competitor channel. Pakistani media particularly news channels in grabbing the maximum audiences try to present exclusive news stories and other media outlets also broadcast the same story with some extra information or otherwise.
2.4.3 Outside Pressures and Influences

Saurombe (2001) of the view that some critics argue that a commercial broadcaster can play the public service role; it is difficult to balance the two such that in most cases public service broadcasting suffers. Raboy (1996:31) noted that commercial and public service objectives are wholly incompatible and cannot be combined within a single service. He also noted a second view in which he noted that they can coexist and public and commercial broadcasting can compete in the advertising marketplace to the mutual benefit of both. Without seeking to resolve the dilemma, he suggested a third conceptual and structural approach to this question: assuming that certain activities of broadcasting can be financed commercially and others cannot, why not redistribute the benefits of the commercial sector to finance the non-commercial sector (Raboy, 1996).

Advertisers have great influence on the contents as they fulfill the aspirations of the media outlets. As in this part of the world, developing countries where different rules regulations in the shape of restrictions for media are existed. Moreover, in such a country with low per capita income and weak economy, it is not possible to run a media organization without a proper financial support or facilitation from the government. Ultimately, the media owners draw their lines of action for such support and take influence from advertisers and pressure groups. For example, a general perception of the public about Jang group is that they don’t take any pressure of groups as they are financially sound and stable. At present this group is granting fewer ads from government being its critical approach towards government. The government can restrict the media outlets by discontinuing government’s advertisements to these media outlets. Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority has been frequently threatening to terminate or cancel the license of the media organization.
2.5 Agenda-setting Techniques:

Moazma et al. (2010) stated that media do affect public’s perceptions, priorities and rankings through their presentations of political contents. Media shapes, reshapes, mend and mould the public's attitude towards important issues and plays vital role in highlighting certain attributes of issues. Gatekeepers of the media outlets like editors, news editors, cameraman, owners, sources, translators, interpreters and other journalists they do play central role in shaping and reshaping and sometimes creating the media agenda which ultimately becomes public agenda through media deliberations.

According to the above observations it is fact that media has great contributions in bringing political and social awareness among the passive audiences of state-controlled media. The electronic media boom especially the beginning of private news channels in print media industry is a great addition to media as a whole. Due to the low literacy rate the readership increasing rate is at low side and could not play attractive role in development and freedom of the print media industry. The main source of income for print media is the advertisements and not the readership as the cost of a newspaper becomes very high that is not cater only through low readership. Littlejohn (2002), of the view that:-

Other factors that affect agenda-setting these may be the combination of gatekeepers, editors and managers, and external influences. These external influences may be from non-media sources, government officials and influential individuals. These factors affect the agenda-setting process to an extent that depending what power each factor may have will eventually influence the media agenda.

The term gatekeeper is very frequently used in media family particularly while we discuss media effects theories. The term generally denotes to reporters, managers, editors, source persons, and pressure groups etc who are involved in gatekeeping. It is vary from media
outlet to media outlet as it is up to the media organization that who has the power to amend and change the content and tone of the news information and to what extent. It may be editors, reporters and more commonly advertisers and media-business-politician troika. Media organizations most of the times are in a position to dictate or promote the agenda of their masters. Therefore, ‘pay the piper approach’ is using extensively in Pakistani media landscape. The conglomerate media give priority to their commercial gains by selecting conflicting news having more drama and hype to create curiosity and they are not much concerned about the people’s priorities and demands.

In other words, we can say that the elites of Pakistani society have the close relationship with the mainstream media and they have the ability and power to set the agenda according to their wishes. Even with the inception of entertainment channels, there has been rapid change in the drama, music, cartoon, and other segments of these broadcasts. The dominant class of the society which is always in minority influences and carves the agenda of the whole society.

But at the same time the role of gatekeepers has been a significant in the media environment of Pakistan. Reporters, editors, photojournalists, translators, anchorpersons, news source persons, owners etc are busy in shaping and altering the raw news into the set criteria of their own. In the world of cable news channels in Pakistan, the role of gatekeepers can be observed of significance nature. The anchor person handles the whole direction of the issue that is being presented, and he is authorized to manipulate the information according to the agenda set by his team.

Littlejohn (2002) quoted McCombs and Shaw who described the agenda-setting function in their book Emergence of American Political Issues. In this book the authors point out that “there is abundantly collected evidence that editors and broadcasters play an important part as they go through their day to day tasks in deciding and publicizing news” Sanchez (2002). As we have noticed that the consistency in our politics and media is rare as both are complementary to
each other but media organization has some key issues to discuss with but one hardly finds a single current affair program which has some series of sequential events with their solution for building public opinion. These channels are more likely to be run on contingency basis and the media is not functioning as a fourth estate. We can also find the similarity in the programs and selection of issues among news channels on day to day basis.

Transfer of salience from media outlets to media users has been successfully observed where there is relatively open political system or democracy existed. But agenda-setting effects have also been reported in Asia, Europe and other parts of the world in contrast to the more open and transparent system of United States. The other incremental element for successful agenda-setting effects is that majority of the citizens are eligible to participate in elections. Moreover, the media systems of proposed countries may be free from the governmental interference and these media outlets have independent sources of news. In these conditions of transparency of political and media systems, the public may prey of the media agenda advanced by the news media (McCombs, 2004).

Although private electronic media has brought a paradigm shift in the Pakistan’s media industry but at the same time the criticism and debates on their credibility, impartiality, objectivity and responsibility levels in their media discourses has been a hot topic during this period of recent development. Whether it is the case of Lal Masjid (red mosque) (2007), restoration of judiciary (2008), collapse of Musharraf government (2008), cases against Zardari government (2010), Pak-US (2011) relations or other local issues, there are question marks against ‘impartiality’ and ‘objectivity’ in the presentations of these news channels. A much criticism on some big publication groups has been witnessed in recent years on the issue of partisan journalism. Stephen (2001) further cited Tankard et al. (1991) that “a frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.”
2.5.1 Measurement of Issue Salience

Issue salience has been the focal point in the research on agenda-setting since the application of agenda setting theory in the 70’s. The method to check the relationship between public and media agenda has been defined in several ways. However, a very meager amount of research has been conducted to ascertain the theoretical explications and conceptual framework for either agenda (McCombs, 2005). Kiousis (2004) identified that attention; prominence and valence are three dimensions of media salience theoretically. By attention he means the number of stories allocated to the issue, and secondly by prominence he means the page placement, amount of time or space, headline etc and thirdly valence describes the overall tone; negative, positive (McCombs, 2005).

2.5.2 Determinants of agenda-setting effects:

i) Media exposure:

Riaz (2008) quotes Wanta and Ghanem (2006) that “exposure was a stronger determinant than media credibility or media reliance, which was unrelated, in a study of Hispanic cable news.” He further quotes Wanta and Miller (1996) that “exposure to be more important than media credibility in relation to presidential state of the union addresses. The same study found exposure led to thinking issues were important.”

ii) Obtrusiveness:

Riaz cited Zucker, (1978) that obtrusiveness refers to the degree of exposure to the public with the policy issue. More the unobtrusive the issue, more person will be media reliance for orientation. Transfer of salience is significant among unobtrusive issues

iii) Need for orientation:

Weaver (1977) and others found that some individuals have greater need for policy orientation and thus are more affected by salience transfer. Need for orientation, in turn, is a function of individual interest in the policy topic combined with issue uncertainty. Whenever a
person finds or meet someone strange and unfamiliar person, he or she afraid to start communication with him or her due to some uncertainty level which decrease after communicating with him or her. The more he or she knows more the uncertainty level is decreased and communication becomes easy (Riaz, 2008).

McCombs (2002) of the view that “your initial feeling upon visiting a foreign city. This innate need for orientation also exists in the civic arena, especially in those elections where citizens are faced with unfamiliar candidates or referendum questions on which they are less than fully knowledgeable. In all these situations, and many more, people experience a need for orientation.” He further stated that, the extent of need for orientation is highly a psychological attribute for audiences. For some people there is a great need for orientation while little for some other individuals. According to McCombs (2002) there is two parts of need for orientation: relevance and uncertainty. Relevance is considered an initial step in determining the level of need. If someone considers a message irrelevant or of low relevance then there is a low need for orientation which results in weak agenda-setting effects. When the relevance of topic is high for individuals the uncertainty level is low it means that they understand the topic very well. In this case the need for orientation to the individuals is moderate. The agenda-setting effects in this situation are moderate because the individuals are not much keen to have more exploration of the news item. If relevance and uncertainty among the individuals are high, ultimately the need for orientation is high. They are keen consumers of the news, therefore, strong agenda-setting effects could be found in these individuals.

2.5.3 Attribute Agenda-Setting and Tone

Media effects are generally considered the outcome of the absolute volume of coverage or exposure of the media outlet. Transfer of salience of media agenda is a first level agenda-setting. Framing is to be considered as a second level agenda-setting. Media just not send the
content in shape of words or pictures but it gives some background and detail of the message for better understanding of the audiences (McCombs, 1972).

The metaphor of an agenda need not restrict us to a list of public issues, the approach taken in the majority of studies to day. Public issues are not the only objects that can be studied from the agenda-setting perspective. The objects defining an agenda can be political candidates, public institutions or competing brands of goods. Each of these objects has numerous attributes, those characteristics and properties that fill out the picture of each object. Reese et al. (2001).

To tap the existing effects of agenda-setting manipulations, it is fundamental to gauge the amount of exposure of the news media. The variable of tone has a great impact on audience’s opinion building process. The audiences get some wide grip on the issue and broad base about the ongoing phenomenon through the presentation tone of the issue.

For example, media portrayed Helmut Kohl of Germany from 1975 to 1984 negatively and positively through setting its tone of the news in magazines and major newspapers. Ultimately, the coverage of the issue with particular tone about his political performance as a leader of the opposition on the one hand and as chancellor on the other had effects on the opinion of the people. Media signify his six attributes of agenda setting in their media presentations (McCombs, 2002).

Favorable coverage of Republican campaign events on four national television networks increased support for the Republican candidate. Conversely, favorable coverage of Democrat campaign events decreased support for the Republican candidate. The strength of these media effects on voters’ opinions was similar in the two years (McCombs, 2002).

He further found that in US final three months campaign in the 1992 and 1996 in presidential elections the media put some key issues with some special tone influenced the public behavior towards the candidates. Favorable coverage was given to the Republican
candidate in four national TV channels. Favorable coverage to the Democrat candidate was decreased. It has been observed that the attribute agenda-setting effects are not limited to the political communication or political candidates. It has been a successful in other fields of media effects like economy.

2.5.4 Role of Interpersonal Communication in Agenda Setting Process

Interpersonal communication has an imperative role in agenda-setting process. The scholars have always been much keen to conduct studies to find the relationship between interpersonal communication and agenda-setting. Interpersonal communication helps to comprehend the mass media messages. For instance, the discussion on last night hot issue in political scene or celebrity presentations in the morning show help to make and define social and conceptual framework on the issue (John, 1996).

Yang and Stone (2003) of the view that, “interpersonal communication may increase salience by playing an essential role when people want to make sense of new topics reported by the media.” The world has become into a global village and many issues of the day are thought and treated in a global context keeping in view the nature and value. Media is feeding us with latest information in raw shape and generally may leave the audience with curiosity. Then we according to our mind map and pictures in our heads reject or accept that information under different circumstances. The mass media is the source of disseminating the news, information, awareness to the public at large, but the interpersonal channels do motivate the public to act on that information (John, 1996).

Winter (1981) of the view that some researchers observed that interpersonal communication among the audiences filtered or reduced mass media influence. Some researchers of the view that interpersonal communication resulted in incremental to media effects (Yang and Stone, 2003).
Roberts et al. (2002) cited Wanta and Wu (1992) that “interpersonal communication can reinforce the media agenda-setting effects on the public agenda when the conversation deals with the same issue that the media have emphasized. This study, however, did not look at time order. Individuals, in fact, may have used the news media for cues regarding which issues they should discuss with others. Media coverage, then, may have led to subsequent discussion of issues in the media.”

Interpersonal Communication researchers who studied interpersonal network in political communication stated that audiences evaluate and explain their subsequent understanding of the information through interpersonal communication (Yang and Stone, 2003). People have the tendency to discuss local, national and international affairs frequently at their work place and in leisure time. This informal conversations and deliberations considered to be a vital element of political life (Yang and Stone, 2003). Atwood et al. (1978) observed that local newspaper may, to some extent, set the public agenda, but at the same time interpersonal communication serves a range of topics that are not expected to be projected in the media (Yang and Stone, 2003).

Yang & Stone (2003) cited Ball-Rokeach (1985) that “the agenda of intrapersonal discourse is, to some extent, shaped by the message foci of the media system.” This logic approves the impact of the mass media on interpersonal channel, for a role for interpersonal communication in setting the public agenda (Yang and Stone 2003). When audiences receive a message from media system the process of intra-personal communication may help in proceeding towards explanation through interpersonal communication. It is observed from the above discussion that interpersonal communication channels have its vital impact in strengthening and reinforcing the media agenda particularly when media’s and public’s predisposition are similar.
CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
Theoretical Framework

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Although there are several theories available in the field of mass communication and particularly in measuring the media effects, but the researcher selected agenda-setting, framing, priming and gate keeping theories to tap the phenomenon. The main theory in this research was the theory of agenda setting; however, there were three more theories which covered the other portions of the research study. Theories of framing, gate-keeping and priming were applied too. The query was analyzed in the light of theoretical framework designed for the study.

3.1.1 Background of Theory of Agenda-Setting

The theory of agenda setting has been applied across the globe in different social, cultural and political settings. Until 2004, more than 400 research studies were conducted with considerable diversity in the issues in different parts of the world by exploiting theory of agenda setting. McCombs (2004) is of the view that, “Agenda-setting is a robust and widespread effect of mass communication, an effect that results from specific content in the mass media.”

The theory of agenda-setting initially started at a small scale in Chapel Hill town in North Carolina during a presidential election of 1968. The study was based on a single hypothesis, however, this had expanded to a full fledge theory that had five distinct stages. Walter Lippmann a journalist and social commentator was the intellectual father of theory of agenda-setting. He was of the view that the, “the world outside and the pictures in our heads: the world outside, meaning reality, and the pictures in our heads, meaning the world as we imagine it to be, what we think it is.” His thesis was that the news media is the link between the world outside and those pictures in our heads, and he made the important observation that people’s behavior is a response, not to the environment as it actually exists, but to the environment as
they think it exists. Although Lippmann had never used the term “agenda-setting”, the idea he was presenting was essentially what we call now agenda-setting. The field of communication really didn’t begin to develop until 1930s and, particularly for the area of political communication” McCombs (2008). “I usually mark the historical beginning of the field with the Erie County election study, in the United States, in 1940, almost 18 years after Lippmann’s book was published” (McCombs, 2008).

Lazarsfeld and his partners in Columbia school took a very different approach from Lippmann’s in studying mass communication. The ideas of Lippmann’s about making public opinion did not attract the researchers. The Columbian school of thought conducted several studies during 1940s and 1950s. McCombs in his interview in 2008 opined that Klapper, a student of Lazarfeld around 1960, wrote a book named Effects of Mass Communication, which he at times say that it’s the worst title book he has ever seen in the field of mass communication. The book more or less predicts no effects of mass communication. And what theoretical and empirical evidences of the effects of mass communication on the individual and society had received up till 1960. The focal point of Lazarsfeld’s research was no media effects on attitudes and opinions (McCombs, 2008).

Klapper’s explanation of why there were no effects was based on the idea of selective perception, that media did not have effects on people’s attitudes and opinions because people put up a psychological defense against being persuaded. If selective perception is the explanation for a lack of effects, we decided to focus our study on undecided voters; we believed that if there would be some kind of media influence, they were likely to be seen among them, because they would be more open to media messages.

There was a perfect correlation in the original Chapel Hill study in 1968 that indicated great correspondence between media agenda and public agenda gauged through a rank order. However, it did not establish any causality but through the results supported and paved a
promising area for research. McCombs further says that conventional wisdom demand to test the concept and factor of selective perception. McCombs (2005) further says that:

“For the purpose he went back to test all types of undecided voters those who were going to vote and those who were leaning towards a candidate, but were not totally committed – and wondered if, among those people, we could find salience of selective perception, and to what extent selective perception is a better explanation, or to what extent is agenda-setting a better explanation for what issues they think are important.”

McCombs and Shaw defined five stages of the agenda setting process those have been evolved since the first documented study on the agenda-setting effects. He clarified that these five stages should not be taken in the sense of historical stages as all the stages are remained active field of research. He is of the view that the media has unlimited power in terms of focusing public attention on some particular issues. This dimension is not a turn towards earlier theories like hypodermic needle theory. The key element of this process in the second stage is the psychological concept of need for orientation. It definitely suggests some limits of the media’s capability to exert influence. McCombs of the view that, “people need to map or understand their surroundings.” McCombs quotes David Weaver, a graduate student of Donald Shaw in Chapel Hill, worked on this idea of how people approach the media in the following lines:

“The first aspect of need for orientation is that no one reads every item on a newspaper every day, because they don’t see all of them as relevant. And the second aspect is uncertainty. If you already know everything you want to know about a certain topic, you may or may not need to know more about it. This concept cannot be measured, because there’s no absolute level of uncertainty. Some people read just two facts about a topic and are quite happy with that. Other people read 12 books on the topic and they feel that they don’t know enough. So, uncertainty is defined by each individual. Regarding the public issues, if the need
for orientation is very low, you are not going to find very strong agenda-setting effects. If the need for orientation is moderate, you are going to find moderate effects, and if the need for orientation is very strong, you are going to find very strong effects.”

The relationship, that how media agenda becomes the public agenda with the passage of time was analyzed and explored. The ideas of agenda-setting was presented by Walter Lippmann in 1922 wrote in his book ‘Public Opinion’. He theorized the relationship between media agenda and public agenda and told that it was the media which inform us and make images of the world outside in our minds. Therefore, the media has the power to change the opinion of the public through consistency in presentations of contents. The result of the Chapel Hill study explored a strong agenda-setting correlation of +.97, which might difficult to achieve consistently (Bryant and Zillman, 2002; Wanta and Ghanem, 2007). The researchers came to know that perceptions of the people on certain reality could be emphasized by giving the salience to some issues (Holdy 2011). In the study nine major sources of news including elite local and national newspapers, magazines, and network television news for the undecided voters were analyzed to measure the media agenda. The researchers found a strong relationship between the media agenda and public agenda (Don and Salwen, 1996).

According to McCombs (2008),

First level of agenda setting described: What are the pictures about? Second level of agenda setting literally says: what are the pictures? And then, we begin to say: What are the consequences of having the pictures? On the fourth stage, we went back to considerations of attitudes and opinions. The fifth and last stage is concerned with the sources of the media agenda. So, the media agenda, which has been an independent variable, becomes a dependent variable.
3.1.2 Framing

The theory of framing is very common in the field of newly born news channels of Pakistan. The researcher got benefited from this theory in this research. Miller (2002) suggests that in perspective of the agenda-setting, “framing is a process through which the media emphasize some aspects of reality and downplay other aspects” (p. 262).

Gatlin (1980) stated that “media coverage mostly favored the elite class and promotes their opinion. This way media frames seemed very powerful in society.” He further says that “frames are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters.” The words of Gatlin more or less represent the present supremacy of elite class in the mainstream media of the world. The scenario of Pakistani media especially electronic media could be an ideal and viable field for taping the practices and manipulations of these channels. Pakistan media is also representing conglomerate and powerful dimensions in outlook because more or less the mainstream print media owners took over as the broadcasters in cable channels network in the country.

3.1.3 Gatekeeping

The third and the most important theory of gate-keeping worked in getting the research objectives as the involvement of the media people like reporters, editors, photojournalists, camera men, translators, media owners, source persons. They are also work like filter and can hold, add and remove in the story from their own into the stuff which could be resulted in different reactions from the audiences. It is not possible for media outlet to cover and print all the news stories they received from reporters or other news sources due to the limited space and time in the newspapers or television programs. Therefore, the reporter is the first gate-keeper who starts the coverage of a story according to his frame of reference and the ideologies of the
media organization and he or she tries to be similar and avoid covering the story dissimilar. In other words we can call it gatekeeping at source. Durham (2008) cited McQuail (1994):

The gate keeping concept, despite its usefulness and its potential for dealing with many different situations, has a built-in limitation in its implication that news arrives in ready-made and unproblematic event-story form at the ‘gates’ of the media, where it is either admitted or excluded (p.123).

In the case of electronic media, especially news channels, the process of ‘news information filtration’ is quite effective and rapid by using remote control. Actually, we in our daily routine are engaged in gate keeping, for example in communicating with others, we think, speak and hold information for which we think could create some contradiction. By zapping, we select our favorite program on radio or television and remain actively involved in gate keeping.

3.1.4 Priming

Priming theory could also be relevant in this study as there are some political issues and political figures are to be examined. Priming is comparatively a newer phenomenon in the research of media effects. This theory has grown surprisingly in the last two decades and has been focusing the impact of media priming in perceiving the individuals on one hand and ambiguous individuals on the other hand, and further it belongs to political judgments (Bryant and Oliver, 1994. p.77). Lyengar and Kinder (1987) in their long experiments established handsome proofs of priming effect in TV news on people’s choices about performance of president. They observed the television news media gave extensive coverage to the issues: inflation, defense, arms control, civil rights and unemployment to prime the issues for rating of president’s performance. They came to know that the viewers who exposed to heavy news coverage to certain issues influenced overall opinion about the presidential performance more than those viewers who were in controlled group.
3.1.5 **Research Questions**

RQ1 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on national issues?
RQ2 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of Memogate Scandal?
RQ3 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of Pak-US Relations?
RQ4 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance?
RQ5 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of Democratic Process?
RQ6 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of Law and Order?
RQ7 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of Corruption?
RQ8 Does the electronic media agenda influence public agenda on the issue of Energy Crises?

3.1.6 **Hypothesis of the Study:**

H1 The media will have no influence on the audience’s agenda.
H2 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Memogate Scandal.
H3 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Pak-US Relations.
H4 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance.
H5 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Democratic Process.
H6 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Law and Order.
H7 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Corruption.
H8 The media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Energy Crisis.

3.1.7 **Theoretical Statements:**

TS1. News channels assumed correlation or contradiction with agenda of the public.
TS2. News channels do frame some issues more than the others.
TS3. News channels determine the impact of issues according to their policy.
TS4. News channels have the power to mould and mend the public opinion.
TS5. News channels provide information on different issues.
Media people, reporters, editors, camera men, anchorpersons have much influence on the news stories.

News channels do prime some issues more than the others.

Anchors of Geo News talk shows grab more time than the anchors of Express News talk shows and use it to cater the agenda of news outlet.

There is a strong correspondence between the time consumed by the anchors and unfavorable slant towards government.

Both the channels do remain unfavorable towards government in their news programs.

There is a correspondence between the slant of the channels and opinion of the viewers on the issues which further strengthens the media agenda.

3.1.8 Conceptual Definitions of the Variables

There were four independent variables studied in this research project which were caused ranking, formation of opinion by the viewers as dependent variables. Following are the independent variables:

i. Frequency of Story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows

News stories broadcasted regarding the issues of the research study of the respective channel were measured by the frequency given in news bulletins and talk shows of prime-time.

ii. Slant of the Story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows

News stories broadcasted about the issues were examined in terms of favorable and unfavorable towards government.

iii. Frame of the Story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows

Frames in a news story tells us how a news item is framed for example the outlook of a story tells us whether it is pro-government or anti-government. The whole news item was considered contextual unit because whole news story was measured on the basis of contextual unit.

iv. Placement of Story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows

People have the tendency to give attention to the first issue with more interest than the issue presents at mid or last portions of the news programs. Therefore, the placement is
an important variable in media effects studies like agenda-setting. In news channel, it is of prime consideration that where the news item is being presented like opening story, middle story and last story. Therefore, in this research project, there were three categories in the placement of stories.

3.1.9 Anchorperson’s Role in Formation of Opinion

Since the induction of private news channels in the arena of Pakistani media in 2002 the majority of the reporters, sub editors, editors, photographers from mainstream print media moved to these cable channels as anchors, editors and hosts of talk shows. However, a newly established phenomenon of becoming analysts and experts from their original role of hosting the talk shows by asking questions and facilitating the participants is considered a common practice in these cable channels. Generally, anchors are eager to give expert opinion on any topic under discussion topic in the show rather giving an opportunity to the expert for some authentic and proper information. On one channel a person is appeared as host of a talk show while on the other channel the same person can be seen as an expert commentator regardless of the expertise required for the issue under discussion. By doing this, anchors are, consciously or unconsciously involved in slanting the news items. The tilt of the anchorpersons has a great impact on the opinion formation of the public on some specific issues.

3.2.1 Problems Faced During Research Study:

Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA), on Sep 17, 2012 blocked access to YouTube as the website did not eliminate the trailer of Sam Bacile's Innocence of Muslims. The film Innocence of Muslims was caused a ban on YouTube. Due to non-compliance of YouTube management on the issue the Pakistani authorities did not unblock the site (Wikipedia, 2014). Due to the continuous ban on YouTube access great inconvenience has been faced by the researcher as the managements of both the understudied news channels; The Express News and Geo News did not give access to their archives. The ultimate access was remained with
YouTube. The other proxies were applied to get access to these programs; however, these proxies did not allow downloading the material.

According to Pakistan Statistical Year Book (2011) Pakistan with 56% literacy rate is the lowest in the region, however, the situation is better in the capital city Islamabad. According to Chairman Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (2014) in his interview stated that “the total number of universities working in public and private sector comes to 158 and these are lesser side among the countries of this region. Research environment in a country like Pakistan is not encouraging for researchers as the people do not consider the research as an important work. Since people are not aware of the research and its utility and they are hesitant to give their point of view on some sensitive issues like law and order, terrorism, corruption, democracy, memogate scandal, Pak-US relations, judiciary, blasphemy, women rights, therefore, it was a tough job to get the data.

Energy crisis has become a talk of the town in Pakistan. In summer season, the country has to face electricity shortfall while in winter season the crisis of gas becomes severe for the people of every walk of life. Interestingly, the energy crisis was one of the issues of this research project. Therefore, the issue remained a big hurdle in carrying out the research smoothly.
CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
Research Methodology

4.1 Research Design:

This type of research study demands combination of methods both content analysis as well as survey research to explore the relationship between media and public agenda. McCombs (2014) of the view that “the most common measure of the salience of issues on the media agenda is the number of news stories about each issue in the media over some period of time. There are more complicated measures, but simple frequency counts work very well.”

4.1.1 Content Analysis:

For the purpose of content analysis, the researcher selected elite private news channels as a universe and selected Geo and Express News for sampling purposes. Keeping in mind the previous survey research conducted by the researcher in his MS research project in (2010) Islamabad, two mostly watched news channels Geo and Express News were selected. Further according to Gallup Pak Pakistan (2013) in a nationwide survey, Geo News was mostly watched private cable news channel while Express News was ranked at second place in cable news channels. Both the channels are in national language Urdu and have a good reputation at their back with their in-depth and comprehensive analysis on national as well as international affairs. Being cross-media ownership, both these publication groups have multi-dimensional approach for their print and electronic media outlets on the important national and international issues.

Data was collected from YouTube for the respective channels Geo and Express News for one year from lst Oct 2011 to 30 Sep 2012. The study was further focused on prime-time news bulletins of 9 pm and talk shows of 10 pm of each channel. The data was used to check the media agenda. The news bulletins and talk shows were recorded to explore the time duration, frequency, slant, frame and salience of news stories covered by these channels.
McCombs (2014) of the view that:

“The nine major news sources used by these voters were also content analyzed. This included five local and national newspapers, two television networks and two news magazines. The rank order of issues on the media agenda was determined by the number of news stories devoted to each issue in recent weeks. Although this was not the very first time that survey research had been combined with content analysis to assess the effects of specific media content, their tandem use to measure the effects of mass communication was rare at that time.” (p.5)

4.1.2 Universe and Sampling Method

Cable news channels were the population for the content analysis. For sampling purposes Geo and Express news were selected. The reason behind selection of these channels was the ratings of the private news channels as number one and two through a nationwide survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan (2013). The total period of the sample was one year from October 2011 to September 2012. The selected issues of the study were extensively covered by these channels during the period and data was collected randomly. To gauge public agenda, a survey on 500 regular and specific viewers of these channels residing in eighteen different sectors and two model villages of Islamabad was conducted. The respondents of the channels depicted every class of Pakistani society like low, middle and upper class. The representative sample collected through a systematic sampling technique.

4.1.3 Sampling Frame

The general audience above who have cable connections and living in Islamabad was the population for survey analysis. The researcher got the list of the viewers from cable providers of the respective areas. It was very tough job to select the relevant audiences of Geo and Express News separately. Since the people do not stick to only one or two channels, however, face to face meeting helped in exploring the frequent and most watched channels by the viewers. At all Pakistan level, 51 percent of households claim to have a cable connection. Viewership of cable
channels is much higher (85 percent) in urban areas than in rural areas (50 percent) in the year 2013” (Gallup Pak, 2013).

4.1.4 Construction of Categories and Rules for Correlation

According to Potter and Donnerstein (1999), “the designer of content analysis develops a coding scheme that consists of rules that tells coders how to put their observations into the correct data categories” (p.266). The complete coding sheet and scale developed for measurement of agenda setting and correlation purposes are available at appendices-II.

4.1.5 Coding Unit of Analysis

The paragraphs of the talk shows while a news story in the news bulletins were the coding unit of content analysis. The story which lasts for more than 45 seconds in news programs is counted as a paragraph for correlations purposes while paragraphs were counted in terms of favorable and unfavorable keeping in view the amount of time given to each paragraph. For example, the paragraphs regarding the issue of memogate scandal in favor of the Haqqani was considered as favorable for government. The paragraphs of the news regarding the same issue against Haqqani were considered as unfavorable for government. Therefore, in this pattern the number and amount of time of the paragraphs were measured to check its slant.

4.1.6 Contextual Unit of Analysis

The whole news story was the contextual unit in this research study. Likewise, the frames of the stories were analyzed on the basis of contextual unit.

4.1.7 Data Collection

There were two samples for content analysis – the news bulletins and talk shows. News bulletins and talk shows were downloaded for one year from YouTube to tap the media agenda. Questionnaire based survey was conducted in Islamabad to get the responses from viewers of cable news channels to measure the public agenda.
4.1.8 First Sample for Content Analysis:

For sampling, by using systematic random sampling technique, three days (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday) of every week was used for news bulletins. Altogether there were 312 news bulletins (52 x 3 x 2) available for analysis, 156 news bulletins each for the specified channel.

4.1.9 Second Sample for Content Analysis:

As a second sample of content analysis for the study, the researcher got 312 (52 x 3 x 2) talk shows (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday for Geo News and Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday for Express News) of prime-time. Altogether 156 talk shows per channel (52 x 3) were available.

4.2.1 Variables of Content Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency means the number of news items telecast by the news channel on the issue on specific time in news bulletins and talk shows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slant</td>
<td>The second variable in the study is slant of the story whether the news story is favorable or unfavorable towards government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>Frame in a news story tells us how a news item is framed for example the outlook of a story tells us whether it is pro-government or anti-government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement</td>
<td>Placement means where the story is being presented in news bulletins and talk shows whether it is opening story, middle story or end story.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2 Conceptual Definitions of the Variables:

There were four independent variables studied in this research project which were caused ranking, formation of opinion by the viewers as dependent variables. Following are the independent variables:-

i) Frequency of the story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows

News stories broadcasted regarding the issues of the research study of the respective channel were measured by the frequency given in news bulletins and talk shows of prime-time.
ii) **Slant of the story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows**

News stories broadcasted about the issues were examined in terms of favorable and unfavorable towards government.

iii) **Frame of the story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows**

Frames in a news story tells us how a news item is framed for example the outlook of a story tells us whether it is pro-government or anti-government. The whole news item was considered contextual unit because whole news story was measured on the basis of contextual unit.

iv) **Placement of news story in News Bulletins and Talk Shows**

People have the tendency to give attention to the first issue with more interest than the issue presents at mid or last portions of the news programs. Therefore, the placement is an important variable in media effects studies like agenda-setting. In news channel, it is of prime consideration that where the news item is being presented like opening story, middle story and last story. Therefore, in this research project, there were three categories in the placement of stories.

### 4.2.3 Operational Definitions of Variables for Content Analysis:

**Frequency of the story**

Every news story on the topic in news bulletins and talk shows which last for 45 seconds on the issues of the research study was included in data.

i) **Slant**

News stories in bulletins and talk shows broadcasted about the issues were also examined in terms of favorable and unfavorable towards government.

ii) **Frame**

Frame in a news story tells us how a news item is framed for example the outlook of a story tells us whether it was pro-government or anti-government. The whole news item was considered contextual unit because whole news story was measured on the basis of contextual unit.
iii) **Placement**

People have the tendency to give attention to the first issue with more interest than the issue presents at mid or last. The audiences sometimes take bird’s eye view from headlines or first stories in news programs. Therefore, the placement is an important variable in media affects studies like agenda-setting. In news channels, it is of prime consideration that where the news item is being presented like opening news story etc. The researcher used the following three categories for placement of news in news bulletins and talk shows.

1- Opening news story
2- Middle news story
3- Last news story

Scheme for these three categories have been defined. There are normally three to four news stories in the opening segment of news bulletins. In the mid of the news bulletins there are two to three stories and at the end there are three to four news stories in the news bulletins of prime-time.

**4.2.4 Survey Analysis**

A survey was conducted on 500 viewers of Islamabad who regularly watched these news channels to examine the relationship of media and public agenda. The list of the subscribers of these cable channels was collected from cable operators of the respective areas. The data was collected in face-to-face meeting through systematic random sampling technique.

The 18 sectors for survey of Islamabad were E-7, E-8, E-9, F- 6, F-7, F-8, F-10, F-11, G-6, G-7, G-8, G-9, G-10, and G-11, G-14, I-8, I-9, I-10 and two model villages of Islamabad Margallah Town and Chak Shahzad were included for survey. Every sector and model village was served with 25 questionnaires and the survey was based on residential areas and excluded the commercial areas, government organizations, offices etc.
Since, the bifurcation of the viewers between two specified channels and two talk shows was a difficult task, the data was collected in face to face meeting to avoid any sort of question confusion and representative sample.

The interviewees were trained to get the data from specific channel users and advised to skip the household if it was not relevant. The collected data was compared and analyzed statistically through Pearson correlation on SPSS with the outcomes of the contents of these news channels for the exploration of the association between media and public agenda on these national issues. For validity and reliability purposes, there were intra coder and inter coder reliability tests carried out. The results were 95 percent and 85 percent respectively.

Although the survey study was limited to Islamabad city but this city represents the trend of whole country and the residents of the city belong to all strata of life and come from every part of the country. Being inhabitants of capital city, they are better educated and have better democratic, political and media know how as compare to other parts of the country. In this sense, we can say that the survey data is representative of the whole country.

4.2.5 Pre and Reliability Test of the Questionnaire

Pre-testing was done by the researcher through interviewing one viewer from each sector of Islamabad. The shortcomings in the questionnaire were modified before finalizing the instrument. Cronbach’s alph’s method was used to test the reliability of the instrument. All the questions of the survey were in form of Likert scale. In this method, the respondents give their opinion by rating their agreement with some series of statements (Zia, 2007).

4.2.6 Operational Definitions of Variables for Survey

i) Ranking of Issues

Salience of the issues was measured through an ordinal scale where a list was given to assign a rank order. It is necessary to give rank order to correlate the contents of the channels with the ranking of the audiences.
ii) **Sources of News**

The source of information is an important factor while measuring agenda-setting effects. In formulation of opinion about an issue, the source is a basic factor which can change the opinion of the viewer. The audiences were asked to choose an option for source of information. There were four options; news channels, newspapers, interpersonal communication and others.

iii) **Opinion Building**

The slant does matter in building the opinion about the issue. Slant tells us the coverage pattern and correlation aspect in the study. Media outlet set the valence for a particular news item. The slant was measured through some questions.

iv) **Discussion with Family and Friends**

After having new information through some source, a person does discuss it with his family, friends or colleagues to strengthen his point of view on the issue. Thescholars call it the initial step in building opinion through agenda-setting effects. If the person has the same point of view on the issue discussed with him, the discussion can strengthen the stand point of the source. In this way, the media agenda successfully travels to the audiences and becomes the public agenda.
CHAPTER 5
DATA ANALYSIS
5.1 Data Analysis of the Content Analysis

Data for one year of both the widely watched cable news channels Express News and Geo News were content analyzed on Monday, Wednesday and Friday while Express News was analyzed on alternate days Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. The study period started from 1st October, 2011 to 30th September, 2012. The news bulletins of 9.00 pm and talk shows of 10 pm were two samples for the content analysis. News stories which were on aired in news bulletins on the issues of the study were counted and duration of the same was measured in minutes. However, for correlation purposes, method of counting the number of stories was adopted in content analysis as already categorized in methodology chapter. McCombs (2014) is of the view that:-

The most common measure of the salience of issues on the media agenda is the number of news stories about each issue in the media over some period of time. There are more complicated measures, but simple frequency counts work very well.

On the other hand, the prime-time talk shows of 10.00 pm were a second sample of content analysis. Two prime-time talk shows, ‘Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath’ of Geo News and ‘Kal Tak’ of Express News were selected. Again the numbers of stories about each news issue of the study were counted to measure the media salience. Stories which telecast in news bulletins and talk shows were counted and used for correlation purposes. Altogether, Geo News telecast 1297 news stories during the study period of one year while Express News covered 1143 news stories during the same period of time on seven understudied news issues. Slant was measured of the issues in terms of favorable and unfavorable and the relationship was explored through analyzing the slant for the issues by cable channels and opinion of the viewers on these issues. Furthermore, frames of the news stories were also
measured in terms of pro-government and anti-government. The anti-government frame was considered as the anti-US in the news stories relating to Pak-US relations. Salience of news stories was measured in terms of their placement, therefore, three categories opening news story, middle news story and last news story were designed. However, the categorization of placement in talk shows was not much suited to get the objectives of the study but it was very much effective in news bulletins to measure the salience of the news stories. The role of anchorperson is an imperative nature in news presentation in television, in setting the tone of the news talks and conducting the news programs according to the agenda of the stakeholder. On one hand the researcher was measured the overall tone of the anchorpersons while on the other hand, the time consumed by anchorpersons and time allotted to experts was calculated for assessing any gatekeeping effects and general trend therein. Since, the anchorperson is at driving seat during conducting the program, the participants or experts in the relevant field are, sometimes, dependent on anchorperson for giving their input on the issue. Therefore, the role of anchorperson in building public opinion in a certain way is of imperative and powerful nature in terms of gatekeeping effects.

However, the time duration of the talk shows and news bulletins was used to check the priorities of the channel and not used for correlation purposes. Since the major theory of this research project was agenda-setting the other media effects models were utilized as support to predict the queries. All the results of content analysis are described in the coming pages. For validity and reliability purposes, there were intra coder and inter coder reliability tests carried out. The results were 95 percent and 85 percent respectively.
5.1.1 Frequency of Stories Covered by Geo News

Geo News covered 1297 news stories on eight understudied issues in its news bulletins and talk shows at 9.00 pm and 10.00 pm respectively. As shown in the figure 1, the largest coverage given to the issue of democratic process among the seven issues by devoting 30 percent stories. The second most covered issue was law and order which received 21 percent news stories during the study period of one year. The issue of Pak-US relations got third position by receiving 13 percent news stories. The issue of corruption got 9 percent news stories and placed at number four position during study period. Geo News covered the issue of Energy Crisis nine percent during the study period and placed at number fifth position. Figure 1 above indicates that the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance remained on sixth position having a score of nine percent news items. The least covered issue by Geo News among the issues of the study was memogate scandal which got 8 percent news items during the year.
5.1.2 Frequency of Stories Covered by and Express News

On the other hand, Express News telecast 1143 news stories on seven understudied issues during the study period of one year on alternate days. Express News also gave largest coverage to the issue of democratic process by devoting 29 percent news stories in news bulletins and talk shows during the study period. Again the second position remained with the issue of law and order as it received 24 percent news stories among all seven issues. The third position with the score 11 percent of news stories was given to Pak-US relations while memogate scandal remained at fourth with 10 percent news stories. Energy crisis got 9 percent news stories and placed at number five position among the seven issues. The figure 2 above depicts that the issue of corruption got nine percent news items and placed at second last among seven issues. The issue of NRO received eight percent news stories and remained as the least covered issue.
The minor and moderate change has been observed in the media agenda among some issues of the study. However, no change has been noted between the top ranked three issues democratic process, law and order and Pak-US relations. Express news considered the issue of memogate scandal as more important and placed it at number four while Geo News considered the issue as least important.

However, there is a great difference between coverage of these issues in the news bulletins and coverage of these issues in their talk shows. For instance, law and order got 23 percent coverage in news bulletins on Express News while the channel gave only two percent coverage in their talk shows. Again, more coverage 16 percent was given to the issue of corruption in talk shows as compare to six percent news coverage in news bulletins. A huge difference can be seen on the issue of democratic process which received 21 percent of the total coverage of seven issues in news bulletins while it got 30 percent coverage in talk shows. On the other hand, Geo News also did make some difference while covering these issues between news bulletins and talk shows. Geo News remained more consistent and there is no big difference has been noted. The results show that both the news channels remained in consonant while covering the issues of democratic process, law and order and Pak-US relations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Showing Differences between News bulletins &amp; Talk shows on Express News on the issue of Law and Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law and order on Express News</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-Square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Df</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5.

The minimum expected cell frequency is 142.0.
Table Showing Differences between News bulletins & Talk shows on Express News on the issue of Democratic Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Democratic process by Express News</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chi-Square</td>
<td>84.503&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Df</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asymp. Sig.</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 167.0.

Table 5.2

Table 5.1 above shows the differences through significant chi square value of 268.225 on the issue of law and order between coverage of news bulletins and talk shows. Table 5.2 shows the significant chi square value and showing the same trend on the issue of democratic process on Express News. The value clearly shows the difference of coverage on the issue of law and order by both the channels.

5.1.3 Duration of News Stories Covered by News Channels

Time duration given to the news issues of the study by two mainstream understudied news channels were measured in terms of minutes. Every story on the issues which lasts more than 45 seconds has been included for data analysis. This compulsion was only meant for news bulletins. The news stories of the talk shows were added in the stories of news bulletins to measure the media agenda. The best way to examine the correlation between public and media agenda is to count the number of stories published or broadcast on some specific issue for a specific time. However, it was also important to measure the duration of the issues covered in the news programs. The duration of the stories also tell the salience of some issues and overall agenda of the media or otherwise.

Express News channel devoted 7329 minutes to the seven issues of the research study. The channel gave 5736 minutes to talk shows while 1593 minutes were given to issues in news bulletins of 9.00 pm. Most of its time was spared for the issue of
democratic process which grabbed 3312 minutes while corruption remained second most covered issue in terms of time duration that got 1107 minutes. The third highest issue in terms of time duration was national reconciliation ordinance which took 776 minutes. 681 minutes devoted to the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance. Pak-US relations got 602 minutes while 442 minutes were given to the issue of memogate scandal. Express News given 409 minutes to energy crisis during the study period of one year.

On the other hand, Geo News devoted 5065 minutes to their talk shows and 1610 minutes were donated to the issues in news bulletins. Altogether Geo News telecast 6675 minutes coverage to these seven issues during the study period of one year in their news bulletins and talk shows. Geo News also allocated maximum time to the issue of democratic process devoting 2206 minutes during the study period. Corruption was the second highest issue in terms of duration as he got 970 minutes while law and order received 924 minutes and grabbed position three among seven issues. Geo News devoted 790 minutes to the issue of NRO and 680 minutes were given to the issue of Pak-US relations. Memogate scandal obtained 595 minutes during the whole year of the study. 510 minutes were given to the issue of energy crisis. The analysis of the issues covered by these two news channels indicated that more or less equal time has been devoted to the issues of the study by both these channels.

5.2.1 Slant of the News Stories

Slant of the news items telecast in these channels was computed in terms of favorable, un-favorable and neutral towards government. The slants used for government on these issues were considered as the same towards US on the issue of Pak-US relations. Every news story telecast for more than 45 seconds was the coding unit of analysis. Rules of categories have already defined in the methodology chapter.

Slant of the News Stories
Express News

As illustrated in the Figure 5.3 above that both these channels remained anti-government in their news bulletins as well as in talk shows. The Geo News was telecast a significant portion of their news in unfavorable slant. However, Express News was also remained anti-government significantly in few of its issues but Geo News used more aggressive and unfavorable tone towards government on the issues of corruption, energy crisis, NRO, memogate scandal and Pak-US relations as shown in the above table, however, majority of the news telecast were neutral. It is pertinent to note that favorable slant has not been significant towards government in both the news channels. The issue of corruption got
fourth position on Geo News which got more than nine percent coverage of the total coverage of seven issues in news bulletins and talk shows.

**Geo News**

![Slant of the News Stories](image)

Figure 5.4

The issue remained second highest in talk shows of the channel among the issues studied. It has widely and consistently discussed issue on news channels during the study period in 2011 and 2012. It has been a general perception that the corruption issue is tied with the then sitting government and its power ends. The issue of corruption has been rhetoric for sitting government even the ancestor civilian governments had been dismissed on corruption charges.
5.2.2 Slant for the issue of Democratic Process

Since the country has been enjoying back to back democratic regimes for the last seven years, the media particularly cable news channels have been the main source of getting political and social information for the people, the news programs like news bulletins of every thirty minutes, breaking news and detailed news bulletins are providing required information. At the same time, talk shows of every channel are the main source for building opinion on national and international issues.

Express News has been remained unfavorable to the government by giving 12 percent of its coverage in its news bulletins and talk shows. The channel remained in favor of government in its four percent coverage. On the other hand, Geo News telecast 29 percent stories on the issue of democratic process unfavorably and it has been remained favorable only in four percent news stories. Both the channels covered the issue of democratic process differently as Geo News remained 29 percent unfavorable as compare to 12 percent of Express News. Here we can observe a clear difference between media agenda of Express and Geo News.

5.2.3 Slant for the issue of Law and order

Law and order remained a second highest issue in terms of coverage on both the news channels. Since the issue has been a hot topic for Pakistan, its neighboring countries as well as for the rest of the world, the issue has been covering extensively by Pakistani media. The cable news channels have been a main source for any latest development in the matter. However, there is a general perception that the public, media and government have not been on a single page due to which opinion is remained divided on the matter. Moreover, people consider themselves as unsafe and less secured and results of the study show that they were less satisfied with the performance of government as far as the situation of law and order is concerned. Express News gave 25 percent news stories
on the topic of law and order unfavorably to the government. Table above shows that 4 percent coverage was favorable.

It is evident from the table above that Geo News remained less critical and in unfavorable slant by giving the issue 12 percent unfavorably. There has been a consensus between both the channels as Geo News and Express News also project two percent and three percent respectively in favor of government.

5.2.4 Slant for the Issue of Pak-US relations

For Express and Geo News, third most valued issue was Pak-US relations. Both the channels gave extensive coverage to the issue in the context of the upheavals between Pakistan and USA on the issues of Osama bin Laden, closure of NATO supplies routes, military action against Taliban, Raymond Davis, Dr. Aafia Siddiquie, Dr. Shakil Afridi, relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, logistics and coordination for counter terrorism etc. The public opinion on the issue of Pak-US relations has been divided and media has also been covering the issue widely but with slants.

Geo News remained more aggressive and critical towards the policies of the government relating to US in the context of counter terrorism. Especially, after the strike against Al-Qaida chief, Bin Laden on May, 2011 in Pakistan, the public opinion becomes more unfavorable towards government and USA. The issue received 35 percent unfavorable slant from Geo News while 11 percent coverage of the same channel went to favorable slant. Express News has also been critical towards the policies and relations of Pakistan with USA. The channel gave 30 percent unfavorable stories for Pak-US relations and only 4 percent of its coverage went to favorable slant. From the results above, we can see a similar policy line of both the media outlets on the issue of Pak-US relations which was closer to the then official line of government.
5.2.5 Slant for the Issue of Corruption

Geo News telecasts 61 percent stories unfavorably towards government on the issue of corruption. Interestingly, there is not a single story telecast favorably to the government. The channel remained neutral in 39 percent stories. On the other hand, Express News placed the issue of corruption in third position in its talk shows with nine percent coverage among the seven understudied issues. However, the channels remained dominantly unfavorable by giving 27 percent coverage in anti-government slant while it gave six percent coverage in favor of government. Here we can see a clear difference of policies of the channels whether going for favorable or unfavorable slant towards government.

5.2.6 Slant for the Issue of Energy Crisis

Energy crisis have been one of the hotly debated issues for the last five to seven years and the situation is deteriorating by every passing day. The gap is becoming wider between production and consumption of electricity. Many industrial units have been closed due to long power cut-offs. In summer season, people have been a part of demonstrations, strikes and long marches due to short fall of electricity while gas shortage has been worsening the situation in winter seasons.

The news stories based on peoples’ demonstrations, strikes against power cut-offs in news bulletins and talk shows were counted as unfavorable for government. The stories which were based on solutions of the problem, news about measures for increasing the capacity and decreasing power short fall were measured as favorable for government. Geo News gave 44 percent stories in unfavorable slant while three percent coverage went favorable to government. On the other hand, Express News also gave significant portion of coverage on the issue of energy crisis in an unfavorable slant towards government. 25 percent stories telecast unfavorably and eight percent stories
projected favorable slant. Express News remained less critical towards government as compare to Geo News.

5.2.7 Slant for the Issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance

During the last couple of years, media in Pakistan has widely been covered the issue of NRO beneficiaries, legalities and its dimensions in political context. The cable news channels have been covering extensively the issue in their news and current affair programs for building public opinion. The people in general and media in particular have been focusing the then sitting government specifically the then President of Pakistan as the big beneficiary of black ordinance to safeguard their illegal assets. The ordinance later on challenged in apex court of the country that resulted the disqualification of the then sitting prime minister of the country.

Both the channels were remained unfavorable towards government on the issue of NRO in news bulletins and talk shows. Express News gave 68 percent coverage unfavorably while Geo News gave 58 percent news stories in unfavorable slant. It is interesting to note that Geo News telecast one percent stories in favorable way. On the other hand, Express News remained 4 percent favorable.

5.2.8 Slant for the Issue of Memogate Scandal

The audiences are divided on the issue of memogate scandal as a general perception and Pakistani media particularly news channels covered it extensively even live coverage has been given to the issue from abroad. Government, military establishment, opposition, judiciary, media and people have their own stands and interpretations about the issue. It was an important issue to be studied in the light of agenda-setting and framing theories for measuring and exploring the association of media and public agenda.
Both the news channels were remained unfavorable to the government in most of their presentations in news and current affair programs. Express News gave 50 percent coverage of the issue in unfavorable slant while four percent news depicted favorably. 43 percent news items went neutrally. Geo News remained 59 percent unfavorable on the issue towards government and two percent news stories covered favorably. The channel remained neutral on the issue by giving 39 percent coverage.

5.3.1 Framing of the Issues

Framing has also measured about the issues in terms of pro-government, anti-government and neutral in the case of democratic process, Law and order, corruption, energy crisis, NRO, memogate scandal and Pak-US relations. The slants used for government has been considered as the same for US on the issue of Pak-US relations.

Table showing Framing of the Issues by News Channels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Express News</th>
<th>Geo News</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic process</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Crisis</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRO</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memogate</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak US relations</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table.5.3

5.3.2 Democratic Process

As apparent from the above table, Express News covered the issue of democratic process by giving dominantly, 14 percent coverage in anti-government frame 4 percent pro-government frame has been used by the channel. On the other hand, Geo News was also remained more aggressive in using frame to the issue of democratic process. 30% coverage of Geo News depicted anti-government frame while remained three percent coverage was observed as pro-government.
5.3.3 Law and order

The issue of law and order presented by Express News in an anti-government frames by giving 27 percent coverage. Express News was remained in pro-government in three percent coverage. When we analyze the Geo News the picture is little bit different from Express News as it has given 16 percent of its coverage time as anti-government stories while 3 percent pro-government frame used by Geo News on the issue of law and order.

5.3.4 Corruption

It is clear from the table above that Express News remained pro-government frame in seven percent stories while it comes to 30 percent anti-government frames. There is significant difference between pro-government and anti-government frame in the issue of corruption. The results of Geo News on the issue of corruption tells a total different story as it depicted 64 percent stories in anti-government frame while it did not aired even a single story in pro-government frame. More or less both the channels portrayed anti-government frames and Geo News was remained more aggressive than Express News.

5.3.5 Energy Crisis

The Express and Geo news channels telecast 27 percent and 49 percent respectively of their coverage on the issue of energy crisis in the anti-government frame. The Express News used pro-government frame in seven percent stories while Geo News was remained pro-government in only five percent stories.

5.3.6 National Reconciliation Ordinance

Both the channels covered NRO in anti-government frame dominantly. Express News has given 69 percent coverage in anti-government frame while Geo News
portrayed the issue as an anti-government frame in 60 percent stories. Express News gave 4 percent while Geo News given one percent coverage in pro-government frame. There was no significant difference in framing the NRO has been observed.

5.3.7 Memogate Scandal

Like the issue of NRO, the issue of memogate scandal got the similar treatment in terms of anti and pro-government frames. Express News was remained anti-government frame in 49 percent stories while Geo has given 63 percent coverage in anti-government frame on the issue of memogate. Express and Geo News were remained pro-government in six percent and two percent stories respectively. The channels portrayed the issue more or less in the same pattern by giving more time duration and number of stories to anti-government frame as shown in the Table 5.4 above.

5.3.8 Pak US Relations

Pak US Relations was one of the sensitive and more discussed issue on media as well as in public since 9/11 and war on terror. The Salala Check Post incident along the Afghan border, Osama Bin Laden Operation in Abbottabad, vacation of Pakistani bases from USA, stoppage of NATO supplies through Pakistan and consistency in drone attacks in tribal areas of Pakistan from United States of America created unrest among the people of Pakistan. The issue has been extensively discussed on media and public forums at every level. The people and media generally consider the policies of the government were not good therefore; they criticize and oppose the policies and major decisions and actions of the government. Express News gave anti-government frame in its 33 percent coverage while Geo News has given anti-government frame in its 34 percent news stories on the issue. Both the channels supported their public’s opinion by giving anti-government frame. Geo News was remained more pro-government than Express News. Express News gave four
percent pro-government frame in their coverage while Geo News covered 14 percent news stories in pro-government frame.

5.4 Placement of the Issues in News Bulletins and Talk Shows

Placement of an issue in media outlets like front page news story, upper half, lower half, back page story in print media while opening, middle, and last news story in broadcast media. For example, a news story presented as opening news story does have more impact than the news story which telecast in the mid and last portions of news program. People generally, have more interest in the days top stories and the salience to some news does measure through the placement of news given by media. The placement of news in bulletins and talk shows were measured in three categories, Opening news stories, middle news stories and last news stories. Normally, in news bulletins, there are two to three news stories placed as opening stories, two to three news stories are placed in the mid of the bulletin while three to six news stories are placed in the end of the news bulletins. Talk shows normally discuss one and sometimes two to three issues per program.
As clear from the figure 5.5 above, 69 percent news stories about democratic process were presented in the opening slots while 22 percent were placed in the mid of the programs by Geo News. Nine percent news about democratic process was presented as last news stories. On the other hand, Express News placed the issue in opening news stories with 78 percent of its coverage, while 12 percent coverage of democratic process placed as mid of their news programs. As evident from the figure 5.6 above, 10 percent news stories presented in the last portion of their news bulletins and talk shows.
5.4.2 Placement of news stories on Law and order

The above figures show that Express News placed news stories about law and order in their opening slots of news bulletins and talk shows as it presented 87 percent stories as opening stories while nine percent covered in mid of the news programs. On the other hand, Geo News distributed, more or less, the news about law and order in opening, middle and last portions of the news programs equally. 25 percent stories presented in opening slot, 38 percent in mid while 37 percent stories gave in last portion of their news programs as depicted in the above figure.
5.4.3 Placement of news stories on Corruption

![Graph 1: Placement of Corruption by Express News](image1)

![Graph 2: Placement of Corruption by Geo News](image2)

As evident from the above figure seven Express News gave majority of news stories about the issue of corruption in their opening slots in news programs as it gave 89 percent coverage on the issue. On the other hand, Geo News gave 42 percent coverage as opening, 38 percent in middle while 20 percent in the last slots of news programs as apparent in the figure 5.10.
5.4.4 Placement of news stories on Energy Crisis

From the figure 5.11 above, it is evident that Express News placed 91 percent stories on the issue of energy crisis in opening slots of its news bulletins and talk shows. Nine percent were given in the last portion. Geo News distributed the news stories among its three slots more or less were evenly balanced. It gave 29 percent news as opening news stories, 44 percent as middle while 26 percent considered as the last stories as depicted in figure 5.12. Both the channels considered the issue for its prime placement.
5.4.5 Placement of news stories on National Reconciliation Ordinance

As depicted in the above figure 5.13 Express News placed 82 percent news stories on the issue of NRO in opening slots while it presented 18 percent in middle of their news programs. They did not give any story in the end portion of their news bulletins and talk shows on the issue. On the other hand, Geo News also gave the issue more or less in opening and middle slots by placing 53 percent stories in opening, 45 percent in middle slots. Only three percent stories were placed in the last. Therefore, both the channels placed news about NRO in prime places.
5.4.6 Placement of news stories on Memogate Scandal

As the above figure elaborates the placement of news stories on memogate, Express News presented 88 percent news on the issue as opening news stories while 12 percent put in the last portion of its news programs. While analyzing Geo News, it is clear that 41 percent placed in opening portion, 35 percent in mid and 24 percent placed in last segment of their news programs. However, Express News gave more salience through placing 88 percent news about memogate scandal as opening stories.
5.4.7 Placement of news stories on Pak-US relations

The above figures 5.17 and 5.18 show that Express News placed the issue of Pak-US relations in its news programs prominently by placing 92 percent news as opening while eight percent news presented in middle of its news bulletins and talk shows. Geo News gave the news on the issue all-around as it placed 36 percent news in opening stories, 38 percent in its middle while 26 percent presented in the last portion of news bulletins and talk shows. Express News has been gave more salience to the issue of Pak-US relation.

5.5 Role of Anchors in Slanting the Issues

Since the introduction of private news channels in the arena of Pakistani media in 2002 the majority of the reporters, sub editors, editors, photographers from mainstream print media moved to these cable channels as anchorpersons and hosts, editors, reporters,
sub editors, cameramen, producers etc. The newly established phenomenon of becoming analysts and experts from their original role of hosting and facilitating the talk shows by asking questions from the participants is considered a frequent practice in these cable channels. Generally, anchorpersons are eager to give expert opinion on any under discussing topic in the news programs rather giving an opportunity to the expert for some authentic and proper information. On one channel a person is appeared as host of a talk show while on the other channel the same person can be seen as an expert / commentator regardless of the expertise is required. By doing this, anchorpersons are, consciously or unconsciously involved in slanting the news items. In the figures 5.17 and 5.18 below elaborates that 71 percent time in talk shows consumed by anchors while 29 percent time has been allotted to experts or guests during the study period.

5.5.1 Time Distribution between Anchorpersons and Experts on Talk Shows

![Figure 5.19](image1)
![Figure 5.20](image2)
Figures 5.19 and 5.20 above sketched that the anchorpersons of Express News have consumed 31 percent time of the total time of talk shows while experts of Express News have consumed 69 percent time. On the other hand, the quite opposite picture can be seen as anchorperson of the Geo News have consumed 70 percent time while the experts are given 30 percent time in their talk shows.

### 5.5.2 Survey Results

To tap the public agenda, survey has been considered to be a good method. Therefore, for the purpose, 500 viewers of cable news channels and 250 viewers of each news channel of the study were selected randomly and interviewed about the seven issues of the study in face to face meetings. Great care has been taken in selecting the specific and representative data, however, it was a difficult task to bifurcation between the viewers of the both the channels who were regular viewers of the particular programs as well. Questionnaire has been developed to enquire the salience, opinion, ranking, and most watched issues of the viewers. Following are some of the demographics of the viewers of news channels.
5.5.3 Gender of Viewers:

![Figure 5.21](image1)

![Figure 5.22](image2)

The above figures 5.21 and 5.22 show that 78 percent viewers of Geo News while 83 percent viewers of Express News were male respondents while 22 percent and 17 percent consisted on female respondents respectively.

5.5.4 Age of Viewers

![Figure 5.23](image3)

![Figure 5.24](image4)
Figures above show that there is no big difference regarding the age of the respondents of the survey even great similarity has been observed among age of different age groups.

5.5.5 Education of Viewers

It is apparent from the figures above, that education of the respondents is very much similar. The viewers of Express News are greater in number regarding holding of the master and bachelor degrees while on the other hand, the viewers of Geo News are greater in undergraduate degrees.
5.5.6 Professional Affiliation of Viewers

The above boxes show the great similarity regarding the profession of the viewers of both the news channels except the categories of government service and private service. Very first question was posed to know the ranking of the issues. Three questions were framed to enquire source of news, opinion about the issue and discussion with friends, colleagues and family. Since the role of anchor person was important in news bulletins and talk shows and it was quite justified to check the time duration that has been consumed by the anchors and experts of these channels. At the same time, it was very important to know the public views about the tone and opinion of the anchorpersons for promoting the media agenda.

5.5.7 Ranking Order of Issues by the Viewers

The question about the ranking order of research study was very important to explore the public agenda. Like outcome of the content analysis, the results of the survey were not much different. Some results of content analysis were correlated with the results
of survey analysis. The issue of democratic process was one of the most watched and most telecast issue therefore a strong relationship was observed between frequency of watching and frequency of telecast. Both the channels placed democratic process as most important issue.

### Ranking Order of the Public Agenda of the Viewers of Express News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>6th</th>
<th>7th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Process</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Crisis</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRO</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak-US relations</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memogate</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
<th>6th</th>
<th>7th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic process</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Crisis</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRO</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memogate</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak-US relations</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5.5

#### 5.5.8 Most Important Issue

According to the viewers of Express News, the issue of Democratic Process was the most important issue of the study as shown in the above Table 5.4. It is clear from the content analysis that the issue of democratic process received the maximum duration on
Express News. Majority of the viewers of Express News 27 percent stated the issue of democratic process as the most important issue of the study. 12 percent viewers declared the issue as second most important issue, 19 percent of the viewers gave it third position. 20 percent viewers declared it as fourth important issue while seven percent of them called it as fifth important issue. 10 percent viewers placed it at sixth position while five percent declared the issue as least important issue. Table above shows that the majority of viewers of the Geo News also declared the issue of democratic process as the most important issue. Results of content analysis of both the news channels correlate with the results of the survey (Table 5.5).

5.5.9 Second Most Important Issue

Majority of the viewers of the Express news (31 percent) have the consensus that corruption was the second most important issue. As apparent from the above table, 18 percent of the viewers called the issue as first important issue while 17 percent gave it third position. Results show that 12 percent of the viewers gave it fourth place. Nine percent people were of the view that corruption was the fifth important issue while six percent declared it as sixth place issue. Seven percent gave it seventh and least important position among the issues. Majority (26 percent) of the viewers of the Geo News declared the issue of Law and order as the second most important issue. The outcome of the content analysis of the issue of law and order on Geo News did not correlate with the survey results. However, comparison will be made later on the reasons behind the phenomenon.
5.5.10 Third Most Important Issue

Energy crisis was the third most important issue for the viewers of Express News as majority of its viewers (28 percent) gave their opinion. 22 percent called it as second number issue while 15 percent considered it to be the number one issue. As evident from the Table 5.4 above those 13 and six percent viewer of this channel placed it at fourth and fifth position respectively. Eight percent viewers gave it sixth stage while the same percent of audiences declared it as least important issue. According to the above Table 5.5, results of Geo News are different from Express News as majority of viewers of Geo News 28 percent declared the issue of Corruption as the third most important issue.

5.6.1 Fourth Most Important Issue

Majority 22 percent of the audiences of the Express News termed the issue of Law and order as the fourth most important issue. 18 and 11 percent viewers declared it as the second and third important issues respectively. 19 percent opined that the issue will be placed at fifth position while 13 percent considered the issue as most important one. Eight percent audiences placed the issue at number six while according to nine percent the issue was least important issue. On the other hand, as apparent from the table above, viewers of Geo News gave the issue of Energy Crisis at place fourth.

5.6.2 Fifth Most Important Issue

Majority of the viewers of Express News (34 percent) put the issue of NRO at fifth place. 11 percent declared as number one issue while eight percent replied in favor of second place. Seven and 12 percent viewers gave it position third and fourth respectively. 21 percent viewers of Express News were called it position six issue while seven percent declared it as the least important issue. At the same time majority of
viewers of Geo News also considered it to be the fifth most important issue as indicated in the above Tables 5.4 and 5.5.

5.6.3 Sixth Most Important Issue

Table above showed that majority of viewers of Express News (26 percent) posed the Pak-US relations as sixth most important issue of the study. With a little margin 23 percent audiences considered to be the issue as the least important. Nine percent viewers opined that this issue was the number one issue however the same percentage has agreed on the place fifth. 11 percent and 17 percent audiences called it as the second and third most important issue respectively. Four and six percent viewers considered the issue as number four and five issue. Majority of the viewers of Geo News 44 percent considered the issue of memogate scandal as the sixth most important issue. Content analysis of the issue on Express News did not correlate with the results of the respondents while ranking the issues as the Express News channel gave it fourth position in terms of frequency and duration but the audiences reported it as sixth grade among seven issues.

5.6.4 Least Important Issue

Majority of 39 percent viewers of Express News the least important issue was memogate scandal while viewers of Geo News called the issue of Pak-US relations as the least important issue as indicated in the above table. 17 percent viewers of Express News considered this issue as the fifth most important issue while seven percent viewers allotted rank one and. 13 and 11 percent called this issue as the third and fourth important issue respectively while News Express News cable channel also given seventh slot in terms of frequency and duration to the issue. However, the correlation between media and public agenda could be seen.
5.6.5 Viewers Sources of Information

In the agenda-setting function, the sources of information of viewers’ play an important role in building consensus on the issue, however, the other media effects theories like framing and priming is concerned about cognitive processes as well which lead to alertness of priorities. In this study the respondents were asked to tell the source of information on the topics under studied. The results indicate a strong tilt toward cable news channels for getting news and current affair programs than newspapers or any other media. The heavy viewership of these cable channels provides the strong base for representative data for this research project. The following four options were given to the respondents.

1. News Channels
2. Newspapers
3. Interpersonal communication
4. Any other
As apparent from the above figures 5.29 and 5.30, 86 percent viewers of Express News rely on cable news channel for news on the issue of democratic process; nine percent viewers relied on newspapers as the main source of information regarding the issue of democratic process. About five percent were replied as the interpersonal communication was their main source of information. On the other hand, 92 percent viewers of Geo News considered the cable news channels as the main source of information on the issue of democratic process. Five percent read newspapers while three percent replied that interpersonal communication was the main source of information on democratic process.
5.5.9 Source of Information for the issue of Law and order

As elaborate in the above figure 5.31, majority (88 percent) viewers of Express News were considered cable news channels as the primary and main news source for having news on the issue of law and order. On the other hand, 91 percent viewers of Geo News claimed that they preferred cable news channels for news regarding the issue of law and order as apparent in the figure 5.32.
5.6.7 Source of Information for the issue of Corruption

As clear in the above figures 5.33 and 5.34, majority of viewers 91 percent and 84 percent of Express and Geo News channels respectively considered cable news channels as the main source of news on the issue of corruption.
92 percent viewers of Express News replied that they were relied upon cable news channels on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance. Only three percent viewers declared that interpersonal communication was the main source of news on the issue of NRO. The respondents of the Geo News were also similar in choosing the source of information on the issue of NRO. 96 percent viewers of Geo News considered cable news channels as most important source of information.
5.6.9 Source of Information for the issue of Pak-US Relations

Figure 5.37 reveals that 95 percent viewers of the Express News preferred cable channels as their main source of news on the issue of Pak-US relations. On the other hand, 97 percent viewers of Geo News considered cable news channels as their main source of getting news on the issue as evident from above figure 5.38.
5.6.10 Source of Information for the issue of Energy Crisis

As depicted in the above figure 5.39, more than 78 percent viewers of Express News declared cable channels as their most important source of news on the issue of energy crisis. 11 percent were relied on interpersonal communication channels while 11 percent did consider newspaper as their main source of news on the same issue. The picture of Geo News is very much similar to Express News on the choice of sources by viewers on energy crisis as clear from the figure 5.40 above.
5.7.1 Source of Information for the issue of Memogate Scandal

On the issue of memogate, viewers of both the news channels were declared channels were the most important source of information. The score was 96 percent and 95 percent for Express News and Geo News respectively as evident from the figures 5.41 and 5.42.

5.7.11 Standpoint of Viewers of News Channels About the Issues

It is important to measure standpoint and opinion of the viewers about the issues of the study. The slanting of the understudied issues has been measured of both of the channels and described in the earlier pages of this chapter. To assess the slanting effects on the viewers of news channels, the standpoints of the viewers were measured through survey responses.
5.7.3 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on Democratic Process

As evident from the above figures 5.43 and 5.44, viewers of Express News and Geo News gave their opinion 61 percent and 62 percent respectively appreciated the government on the issue of democratic process. The results are consistent with the policies and reforms made by government through constitutional amendments to strengthen the democracy. However, a large number of viewers of both the channels did not favor the government. 39 percent viewers of Express News while 38 percent viewers of Geo News were unsatisfied with the performance of the government on the issue of democratic process.
5.7.4 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on Corruption

Figure 5.45 showed that 71 percent viewers of Express News did not appreciate the government on the issue of corruption while 29 percent favored the government. On the other side, 67 percent viewers of Geo News disfavored the government and 31 percent favored on the matter as shown in the figure 5.46 above.
5.7.5 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on NRO

As reflected in the above figures, 69 percent viewers of Express News did not appreciate the government on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) while 31 percent appreciated the government. On the other hand, 61 percent viewers of Geo News did not appreciate the government while 37 percent appreciated the government on the issue. The viewers’ standpoint on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance has been very much similar.
5.7.6 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on Pak-US relations

The 8three percent viewers of Express News have not appreciated the government as depicted in the above figure 5.49 while 17 percent viewers favor the government on the issue of Pak-US relations. On the other hand, 56 percent viewers of Geo News appreciated the government while 42 percent did not favor the government on the issue as shown in figure 5.50.
5.7.7 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on Energy Crisis

Majority of the viewers 80 percent of Express News and 76 percent of Geo News did not appreciate the government on the issue of energy crisis as clear from the above figures 5.51 and 5.52. Twenty percent viewers of Express News while 23 percent of Geo News was favored the government on the issue.
5.7.8 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on Memogate

Figure 5.53 shows that 5.54 percent viewers of Express News and 35 percent viewers of Geo News did not favor the government on the issue of memogate. 48 percent and 63 percent viewers of Express and Geo News respectively favored the government on the issue as depicted in the figure 5.54. The opinion of the viewers of both the channels was divided to a large extent.
5.7.9 Opinion of the Viewers of News Channels on Law and Order

The above figures show that majority 80 percent viewers did not support the government on the issue of law and order. The results of the survey on the issue are very much similar as depicted in the figures above. Only 20 percent viewers of both the channels favored the Government.

5.7.9 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends

Interpersonal communication networks play an important role in the effectiveness of agenda-setting. It is impossible to be unattended to the sounds and actions of others. However, the reaction and response is varying in terms of nature and degree. When a person receives a message which he/she considers important from the media or any other channel of communication, he/she tries to discuss it with other member of family, colleague or friend. In this way, a message travels in three phases. In the first phase people receive information from media and in the second phase they discuss it with their family and friends and then in the third phase, they discuss that information with
their friends. In this way, agenda-setting process is continued and like an ongoing activity. The traditional and underdeveloped societies like Pakistan where people heavily depend on other members of their society for any new information and its ratification and verification, the role of interpersonal communication becomes an imperative nature. Although, with the growth of literacy rate and free media penetration, the dependence of information at different levels has been decreased however, still people discuss the matters and reinforce their agenda which they normally get from media and other members of their society. In this process, media agenda get more reinforcement and endorsement of the people for acceptance that agenda as public agenda. Since the discussion is very important in the process of agenda-setting, it has been included in this study. For the purpose, a question of discussion in questionnaire has been included to enquire and measure the frequency of this variable. The outcome of this variable is being presented in the following pages.
5.7.10 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends on Democratic Process

Above figure 5.57 shows that 41 percent viewers were discussed the issue of democratic process with their family and friends very frequently. 30 percent viewers of Express News did discuss the issue frequently, 28 percent of the view that they discuss the issue rarely. On the other hand, viewers of Geo News discuss the issue of democratic process frequently. 30 percent discuss it very frequently, 32 percent viewers discuss the issue frequently while 35 percent viewers declared they discuss the issue rarely as apparent from the figure 5.58 above. Overall, the results show that majority of viewers of both these channels discuss the issue frequently.
5.8.1 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends on Law and order

The figure 5.59 elaborates the discussion patterns of the viewers of Express News on the issue of law and order. 54 percent viewers discussed the issue very frequently, 39 percent discussed it frequently while about seven percent did discuss it rarely. Viewers of Geo News were not different from the viewers of Express News as clear from the above figures. 52 percent discussed it very frequently while 39 percent discussed the issue frequently as evident from the figure 5.60.
The above figures show that majority of respondents were of the view that they discussed the issue of NRO with their family members and friends. Viewers of both the channels discussed the issue very frequently like 27 and 23 percent by Express and Geo News respectively. On the same lines 38 percent viewers of Express while 44 percent viewers of Geo News discussed the issue frequently.
5.7.7 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends on Corruption

As apparent from the above figures that 70 percent viewers of both the channels discussed the issue frequently while 30 percent discussed the issue rarely.
5.8.4 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends on Energy Crisis

Figures 5.65 and 5.66 depict that the viewers of both the channels discussed the issue of energy crisis frequently. About 90 percent viewers did discuss the issue with their family, friends and colleagues. Although, both the channels covered the issue as less important but the audiences were frequently discussed it. Obtrusive nature of the issue might be the reason behind frequently discussion.
5.8.5 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends on Pak-US Relations

The above figure 5.67 shows that 52 percent of viewers of Express News discussed the issue of Pak-US relations frequently while 41 percent viewers did discuss the issue rarely. On the other hand, 43 percent viewers of Geo News discussed the issue frequently while about 50 percent discussed rarely. The issue remained at position three in terms of coverage on these channels while it has not discussed so frequently.
5.8.6 Viewers’ Discussion with Family and Friends on Memogate Scandal

The figures above indicate that majority (50 percent) of viewers of both the channels discussed the issue of memogate scandal rarely. Only 40 percent discussed it with their friends, family and colleagues.

5.8.7 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of Viewers of Express News

Valence for the issues has been a very useful tool to measure the relationship between media and public. In this research dissertation, the same was included to gauge the media’s slanting trends and public’s stance on the issues. The results of the study shows a great correspondence and agreement between the slant for the issues set by media and standpoint of the audiences of Express News as shown in the following pages:-
5.8.8 Correspondence between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Democratic Process

The above figures 5.71 and 5.72 depict a moderate correlation between standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of democratic process and slant for democratic process by Express News. Hence, positive correlation has been observed.
5.8.9 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Corruption

As clear from the above figures 5.73 and 5.74, there has been a perfect correlation between the standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of corruption and the slant given by the channel to the issue. The channel gave unfavorable slant to the issue while the same unfavorable opinion has been recorded by viewers of Express News on the issue.
5.8.10 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on NRO

On the issue of NRO, the positive correlation has been observed between the slant set by Express News and the opinion of the viewers as shown in the above figures 5.75 and 5.76. The channels more or less remained unfavorable towards government on the issue and the viewers were also remained non-appreciable for government. Hence, there has a strong association between both the factors; coverage and opinion.
5.9.1 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Memogate Scandal

As apparent from the above figures 5.77 and 5.78 that positive correlation can be seen between the standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of memogate scandal and the slant set by the channel. The channel remained more unfavorable towards government on this issue, however, the opinion of the audiences almost divided equally as shown in the above table.
5.9.2 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Pak US relations

Figures 5.79 and 5.80 depicted that Express News remained unfavorable in slant on the issue of Pak-US relations while the audiences have also given their unfavorable opinion for government. Therefore, a strong correlation has been observed between slant of the issue and opinion of the viewers. Close relationship could be seen between media agenda and public agenda.
5.9.3 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Law and order

Figures 5.81 and 5.82 above depicted the strong correspondence between media agenda and public agenda as the slant for the issue of law and order was remained unfavorable towards government while standpoint of the public was also experienced as negative towards government. Therefore, media agenda has closely related with public agenda in terms of valence effects.
5.9.4 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Energy Crisis

An energy crisis has been one of the consistently covered issues which received perfect correspondence between the standpoint of the viewers and slant given by the channel to the issue. Since the issue was directly related to the people therefore, the public on the issue has been recorded their un-satisfaction on the issue towards government’s efforts.

![Figure 5.83](image1)

![Figure 5.84](image2)
5.9.5  Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of Viewers of Geo News

The results on correspondence between slant for the issues set by Geo News and opinion of its viewers are very much similar to the results of Express News. The following graphs depict the pictures of the relationship.

5.9.6  Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Democratic Process

![Figure 5.85](image1)

![Figure 5.86](image2)

The above figures 5.85 and 5.86 depict a positive relationship between slant set by Geo News and standpoint of the viewers of Geo News on the issue of democratic process. However, the channel remained more unfavorable than favorable towards government. Moderate correlation has been observed on the issue. There is 37 percent audiences have given their favorable opinion on the issue.
5.9.7 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of the Viewers on Corruption

![Bar Graph: Stand Point of Viewers of Geo News on Corruption]

The above figure 5.87 shows that majority of 67 percent of the viewers of the Geo News channel did not appreciate the government on the issue of corruption. On the other hand, the channel remained 100 percent unfavorable to government and it did not telecast a single news story in favor of government. Although there has been a positive correspondence between the slant of the channel and standpoint of the viewers, however, a favorable tilt of the audiences has also been significant.
The above figures 5.88 and 5.89 indicate strong correlation between slant for the issue of NRO by Geo News and opinion of the viewers of Geo News. However, channel rarely remained favorable to government as shown in figure above. The unfavorable slant has been significant in its presentations on the issue. The above figure 5.88 shows that viewers favored the government’s viewpoint to some extent.
The above results show that strong correlation is existed between slant set for Pak-US relations by Geo News and standpoint of viewers of Geo News. Although the channel has not been favorable to a greater extent towards government but the viewers appreciated the government stance on the issue. It was due to steps taken by government like firm stand on US armed attacked to kill Osama Bin Laden, attack on Salala check post, evacuation of Shamsi Airfield from US, closure of NATO supply route etc. The significant relationship of variables has been observed.
6.1.1 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of Viewers on Energy Crisis

The above figures 5.92 and 5.93 above indicate a strong relationship between slant set by the channel on the issue of energy crisis and the standpoint of the viewers of the channel. There has been a significant correlation as shown in the above figures. However, 23 percent viewers have been appreciated the efforts of the government to manage the issue as shown in the figure above.
6.1.2 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of Viewers on Memogate

The above figures 5.94 and 5.95 show some mix relationship. There is a reverse relationship is existed between the slant for the issue and standpoint of the viewers. Geo News presented favorable stories rarely but the viewers appreciated the government on the issue. It might be the cause of the complexity of the issue. Several ambiguities were seen during the coverage, trials and debates on this short lived issue. However, the people were not clear on the issue. The channel was remained unfavorable towards government and Mr. Hussain Haqqani (one of the accused in the case).
6.1.3 Correspondence Between Slant and Opinion of Viewers Law n Order

The above figures 5.96 and 5.97 depict strong relationship between the slant given by Geo News to the issue of law and order and standpoint of the viewers of Geo News. The media agenda is reflected in the public agenda as significant correlation has been observed on the issue. Moreover, the issue is an obtrusive nature; therefore, it has been treated by the viewers in a different way.
### 6.1.4 Rank Order Correlations of Geo News

#### Democratic Process

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Democratic Process Geo News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Priority of</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coverage of</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Process</td>
<td>viewers</td>
<td>Democratic Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
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<td>.888**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
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<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coverage of</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pearson Correlation</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Process</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table.5.6

A considerable correspondence of +.88 is observed between the coverage of the issue of democratic process by Geo News and the rank order given by viewers of the channel. As clear from the above table, perfect correlation has been measured between the coverage of democratic process by Geo News and the ranking responses made by viewers of Geo News on the issue. Comparison of media agenda and public agenda shows that the salience transfer on the issue of democratic process from media to public has positively correlated.

#### Law and order

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Law and order by Geo News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Priority of</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coverage of</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order by</td>
<td>viewers</td>
<td>Law and order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viewers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
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<td>.902**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
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<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coverage of</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pearson Correlation</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and order by</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geo News</td>
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<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table.5.7
As shown in the above table, a strong rank order correlation +.90 has been observed between the issue coverage of Law and order and the ranking given by viewers of the Geo News.

### 6.1.7 Pak-US relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>媒体关注</th>
<th>公众关注</th>
<th>评论</th>
<th>优先级</th>
<th>覆盖率</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73.6%</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.859**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.8

A high correlation +.85 has been found on the issue of Pak-US relations as evident from the table shown above. The strong relationship was observed about the issue coverage by the channel and rank order of the issue by viewers.

### 6.1.8 Corruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>媒体关注</th>
<th>公众关注</th>
<th>评论</th>
<th>优先级</th>
<th>覆盖率</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73.4%</td>
<td>73.4%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.734**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.9
Comparison of media agenda and public agenda shows that the salience transfer of the issues from media to public has positively correlated on the issue of Corruption. The significant positive correlation +.73 has been observed.

### 6.1.9 Energy Crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of Energy Crisis by Viewers</th>
<th>Coverage of Energy Crisis by Geo News</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority of Energy Crisis</td>
<td>Coverage of Energy Crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of NRO by Viewers</th>
<th>Coverage of NRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority of NRO by Viewers</td>
<td>Priority of NRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

Table 5.10

There was a considerable correspondence which has been measured between the coverage of Energy Crisis and the ranking order given by audiences of the Geo News. A significant correlation +.66 has been found.

### 6.1.10 National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coverage of NRO by Geo News</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of NRO</td>
<td>Public Agenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of NRO by Viewers</th>
<th>Coverage of NRO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority of NRO by Viewers</td>
<td>Priority of NRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

Table 5.11

As indicated in the table above, there was a significant correlation of +.70 between the coverage of NRO and the priority given by the viewers to the issue.
### 6.2.1 Memogate Scandal

**Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Memogate Scandal by Geo News**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of Memogate by Viewers</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.545**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of Memogate by Geo News</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.545**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.12

A moderate correlation of +.54 between coverage of memogate scandal and rank ordering of the viewers have been measured which show a considerable relationship.

### 6.2.2 Rank Order Correlation Analysis of Express News

### 6.2.3 Democratic Process

**Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Democratic Process by Express News**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of Democratic Process by Viewers</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.923**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of Democratic Process by Express News</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.923**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.13

The above table shows a perfect correlation +.92 between coverage of democratic process and the rank order of the viewers of Express News. The issue got highest coverage among seven understudied issues.
### 6.2.4 Law and order

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Law and order by Express News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of Law and order by Viewers</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority of Law and order</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of Law and order by Exp News</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.902**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

Table 5.1

As depicted above table a perfect correlation +.90 between priority of the viewers of Express News and coverage of law and order by the channel. Almost complete consensus has been observed on the issue.

### 6.2.5 Pak-US relations

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Pak-US relations by Express News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of Pak US relations by Viewers</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priority of Pak US relations</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of Pak US relations by Exp News</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.785**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

Table 5.15

There is a large correlation observed between the coverage of Pak-US relations and rank ordering of the viewers. The +.78 correlation is measured which shows a significant consensus.
6.2.6 Energy Crisis

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Energy Crisis by Express News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of Energy Crisis by Exp News</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.747**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priority of Energy Crisis by Viewers</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.747**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.16

As shown in Table 4 above +.74 correlations have been observed between coverage of energy crisis and rankings of the issue by viewers of Express News. Strong relationship has been recorded. The issue received almost 9 percent coverage of the total coverage given to seven issues.

6.2.7 Corruption

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Corruption by Express News

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>.688**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priority of Corruption by Viewers</td>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.688**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.17

There has been a significant positive correlation of +.68 calculated between the coverage of the issue and rank ordering of the viewers of the Express News. Almost 9 percent air time devoted to the issue of corruption by the channel.
6.2.8 National Reconciliation Ordinance

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of NRO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of NRO by Viewers</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priority of NRO</td>
<td>Coverage of NRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.669**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.18

The above table shows the media agenda and public agenda correlation at significant level of +.66 on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance.

6.2.9 Memogate Scandal

Correlation Measurement on the Issue of Memogate Scandal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Priority of Memogate by Viewers</th>
<th>Media Agenda</th>
<th>Public Agenda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coverage of Memogate by Memogate</td>
<td>Coverage of Memogate</td>
<td>Priority of Memogate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Correlation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.203*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.033</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 5.19

The table above shows low correlation +.20 between media agenda and public agenda on the issue of memogate scandal is observed. However, great correspondence has observed between valence for the issue by media outlet and opinion of the viewers.
6.3 Results and Findings

6.3.1 Coverage of News Stories by Channels:

- As described in the methodology chapter, there were two samples for content analysis; news bulletins of 9.00 pm and talk show of 10.00 pm of both the news channels. Express News telecast 1143 news stories in all the seven issues of the study during one year study period. These stories covered in news bulletins as well as in talk shows. For the purpose prime-time talk show of Express News ‘Kal Tak’ was content analyzed with news bulletins. On the other hand, Geo News covered 1297 news stories in their news bulletins and talk shows about seven issues during the same period of time. Geo News talk show ‘Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath’ was content analyzed for one year with news bulletins. Figure 5.1 shows the overall coverage of the channel on the seven issues of the study in percentage.

- Both the news channels covered three issues with same salience by putting three issues, democratic process, law and order and Pak-US relations in their top three slots of media agenda. However, the media agenda of both the channels was different in three issues like memogate, National Reconciliation Ordinance and corruption as they gave different slots, frequency and valence in their news programs. The Geo News gave fourth position to the issue of corruption while this position went to the issue of memogate scandal in Express News. The issue of corruption was placed at position sixth in Express News. In this way the media agenda of the Geo News was different from the media agenda of Express News. The Geo News put National Reconciliation Ordinance at place sixth while this issue was available as the least covered by Express News. The media agenda of both the channels regarding the issue of energy crisis was same by giving equal salience to both these issues which were available at position fifth. As described in the earlier pages that the Express
News channel gave very low coverage to the issue of law and order in their talk shows while the same issue was covered extensively in the news bulletins as hard news (chi-square results are available in Tables 5.1 & 5.2). The media agenda could be traced out through such difference between the wide coverage of news items in news bulletins as hard news and no coverage and low coverage of the same issue in the talk shows of the channels or vice versa.

- The results of the issue coverage in terms of time duration devoted by the channels in talk shows were different in some issues from their salience in terms of frequency of news stories. For instance, the issue of corruption placed at number six position in terms of frequency while this issue got the second highest place in terms of minutes as it grabbed 1009 minutes among all seven issues. The second placed issue in terms of frequency was law and order that was considered as the least important issue in terms of time duration. Similarly, the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance promoted to position third in terms of time duration while it is available at the last among seven. Except the issues of energy crisis all the issues have been promoted or demoted in terms of time duration. This practice could also be mapped out as the techniques of media agenda-setting through shuffling the issues from low place to top and vice versa. On the other hand, the situation of Geo News channel remained a little bit different from Express News in terms of devoting the time duration to the issues. There have not been seen a significant shuffling of issue positions except the issue of corruption which grabbed second highest place in terms of time duration.

### 6.3.2 Slant of the News Stories

Slant in this research project was a very important variable to measure the media’s overall tone and standpoint towards the news issue. Slanting of the news stories have correlated for the purpose of measuring the effects of these slants on the viewers of news channels. Every news story telecast for more than 45 seconds was included in the sample of contents. The private cable channels have been remained a main source of information on
political issues for the last 10 years. The country has been enjoying back to back democratic regimes for the last seven years, therefore, the media in general and these news channels in particular played pivotal role to restore and sustain the democracy. The news channels have been covering political issues and telecast in-depth analysis. People more or less do find political stuff in a huge quantity than other news spheres on these channels. They allotted most of their transmission time to democratic issue during the study period. The people are becoming more attentive and interested in the national politics after the influx of these cable channels as these channels are considered to be the main source of day’s national and international events. This free media environment is helping the people in taking their political decisions.

- Express News covered the issue of democratic process neutrally, however, Geo News remained a little bit more critical and anti towards government. The results indicate that Geo News more or less remained unfavorable towards government than Express News. However, both the channels have not been favorable to the government on national issues like, law and order, democratic process, energy crisis, National Reconciliation Ordinance, memogate Scandal, Pak-US relations, India-Pak relations, economic crisis, inflation, terrorism, judicial crisis etc. Express News gave more time duration to the issue of democratic process than Geo News. (Figures 5.3 & 5.4)

- One of the very important and widely covered issues was law and order; this issue has been all time burning and hotly debated issue of the media in general and the channels in particular. Due to the fast and flexible nature of cable news media, the people prefer to watch these channels for breaking news if there is any important event taken place. Express News covered news about law and order in news bulletins however; the channel has been reluctant to cover it in their talk shows. The results show the inconsistency between the coverage of the issue in news bulletins and talk shows. However, the channel has been covered the issue
in news bulletins regularly and frequently. Express News remained unfavorable in its discourse on the issue towards government. Favorable slant on the issue was observed insignificant. On the other hand, Geo News remained less unfavorable than Express News; however, both the channels did not favor the government significantly. (Figure 5.3)

• Another hotly debated issue on these news channels was corruption. The people generally use the term of corruption to denote the corruption in government, top rank officials including Prime Minister, president, chief ministers, cabinet members, government functionaries, bureaucracy, parliamentarians etc. In the recent past, the issue of corruption has been one of the big challenge for the then sitting government because several cases were initiated against government in different courts. The apex court disqualified the then Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gillani, from his seat in a unanimous decision by full bench in the National Reconciliation Ordinance (Prime Minister Contempt case) case. Results show that rhetoric of corruption was successfully used by these news channels and a clear standpoint was taken by the media on the issue of corruption. Geo News was remained more aggressive and unfavorable towards the government than Express News. Geo News did not telecast even a single story in favor of government on the issue. The media successfully transferred the media salience to the public as results indicated.

• One of the very interesting outcomes of this research study has been observed regarding the time distribution between anchorperson of the talk show and participants or experts of the talk show. Anchorpersons of ‘Kal Tak’ of Express News consumed 30 percent time of the total time of talk shows while experts have consumed 70 percent time. On the other hand, quite opposite representation could be seen as anchorperson of Geo News has consumed 70 percent time while experts or participants of the programs given 30 percent time in their talk shows (Figures 5.19 & 5.21). It means that anchorpersons of Express News
performed like a facilitator while on Geo News the anchorpersons acted to control and move the program in a certain direction by restricting the experts and grabbing maximum time. In this way, the chance of being bias and partial on the part of anchorperson is increased. However, it has been used as a key technique in setting the media agenda to reinforce as public agenda on these channels. The tone, slant and frame of the stories were remained unfavorable and neutral to a great extent. They rarely used favourable tone and slant as discussed in Analysis chapter.

- Regarding the slant for the issue of energy crisis, the Express News gave unfavorable slant towards the then government (Figure 5.3). Since the issue has been unresolved for many years, the government has been remained under criticism for this serious negligence. Therefore, the people have already been charged on the issue as mainstream media highlighted some corruption cases against the then sitting government in the deal of rental power projects. Moreover, the issue was an obtrusive nature and every common person affected by the short coming of power. Express News gave high coverage in their news bulletins while this issue was discussed rarely in talk shows. According to media agenda, this issue was placed at number five however the issue was reversed as it was ranked as the third most important issue of the country. On the other hand, Geo News remained more critical and unfavorable towards government. The channel telecast three percent favorable news stories as compare to 44 percent unfavorable coverage on the issue. On the media agenda it was available at position fifth while public placed it as the fourth important issue of the country. Being an obtrusive issue there was no significant effect on public’s ranking of the issue observed due to the coverage.

- It is evident from the Figure 5.3 that slant on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance was also similar to the above said issues. The most unfavorable issue to the government on Express News was NRO which received 64 percent news unfavorably. Only
four percent news on the issue was telecast in favor of government. This issue remained third most covered issue among seven issues in terms of time duration on Express News. The channel gave unfavorable slant with great coverage which caused the media agenda into public agenda. The issue was placed at seventh position in media agenda while it moved to position sixth according to public agenda. This up-gradation might be due to the dominant unfavorable slant towards government given by the channel. It has concluded that these unfavorable slants, and frames were complementary and supportive to the agenda setting function of the media regarding the issue of NRO.

• Regarding the slant of the issue of memogate scandal, the news channels were remained unfavorable towards government in majority of their presentations in news and talk shows. 50 percent coverage of the issue by Express News went unfavorable to government while four percent news depicted favorably. On the other hand, Geo News remained more critical and unfavorable by giving 59 percent unfavorable coverage on the issue towards government. The channel remained favorable in only two percent news stories (Figure 5.3 & 5.4).

• Regarding the issue of Pak-US relations, the Pakistani news channels were remained much consistent in covering the news on Pak-US relations. The results show that Geo News remained more critical and unfavorable towards the policies of the government relating to US especially in the contexts of US strike against Al-Qaida Chief, Bin Laden in Abbottabad, Pakistan, Raymond Davis issue, US-led NATO forces attacked Pakistani check post at Salala, on Pak-Afghan border killing 26 Pakistani soldiers. Pakistani people reacted strongly in rallies and protests throughout the country resultantly government closed the NATO supply line from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Moreover, some air bases like Shamsi airfield evacuated during this high-tension period. Pakistani media covered this important issue extensively however; the stance of the media on the issue was remained unfavorable to the
US as well as towards government. However, the opinion of the public on the issue remained divided as some measures were taken to bring down the temperature of the public like evacuation of the Shamsi Airfield, stoppage of NATO supply routes, demand of apology on Salala attack etc. Therefore, these steps of the government were discussed in media directly and indirectly which resulted in favoring the government to some extent. 42 percent viewers of Geo News did not appreciate the government while on the other hand, 83 percent viewers of Express News remained unfavorable to government on the issue of Pak-US relations. Both the channels remained neutral most of the time but the public responded differently and they became unfavorable towards government (Figures 5.3 & 5.4). It might be due to the decisions by the ancestor governments’ and some underhand deals with US which resulted unrest among the people of Pakistan regarding Pak-US relations. The public, generally think that the presence of US led forces in Afghanistan are the main reasons of unrest in Pakistan.

6.3.3 Framing of the News Stories

- Regarding the framing of the issue of democratic process, both the news channels gave more anti-government stories than pro-government. Table 5.3 explains the results.

- Regarding the framing of the issue of law and order, both the news channels gave more anti-government stories than pro-government on the issue as explained in the Table 5.3.

- The issue of corruption was framed anti-government dominantly. Geo News remained more anti-government than Express News. Both the news channels gave pro-government frame insignificantly.
• Regarding the issue of energy crisis, again both the channels were remained anti-government frame by giving more news in anti-government frame than pro-government. Table 5.3 explored the results.

• The issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance framed anti-government by both the channels. The antigovernment frame is prominent than pro-government. Express News used anti-government frame dominantly and aggressively as explained in Table 5.3 in the earlier pages.

• Memogate was also framed as anti-government dominantly while pro-government frame was insignificant on both the channels.

• Regarding the framing of Pak-US relations, both the news channels denoted more news stories in anti-government frame than pro-government. The pro-government frame has used rarely (Table 5.3).

6.3.4 Placement of the News Stories

• Placement of the news stories in the content analysis is an important factor which has the power to increase and decrease the value of the news for the audiences. This placement in newspapers can be defined as the news in front pages, back pages and inner pages of the newspapers while in broadcast media like news channels, it could be defined as opening news stories, middle news stories and last news stories. There are normally three to four stories in opening slot, two to three stories in middle while the same numbers of stories are presented in the last portion of news program. However, it does have the same effect as it has in newspapers. Democratic process was the most covered issue among seven under researched issues. Although, this issue placed in all the three slots of news bulletins and talk shows, however, majority of news on the issue are available in opening and middle slots. The
survey results show that audiences also ranked this as the most important issue of the country therefore, placement did effect in the process of ranking of the issues.

- Regarding the placement of law and order, Express News placed its 87 percent stories in opening slots as explained in figure 5.7 and on the other hand, Geo News put most of its stories on the issue in middle and last portions of the news programs as shown in figure 5.8. Regarding the placement of the issue of corruption, Express News telecast its 90 percent stories in the start of their news programs as shown in figure 5.9 while Geo News distributed the news stories among opening, middle and last slots of the bulletins and talk shows as shown in figure 5.10. The more focus was remained significant in opening and middle while placing the stories.

- Regarding the placement of the issue of energy crisis, it is evident from figure 5.11 that Express News gave 91 percent stories on the issue as opening and middle stories while 19 percent presented in the last portions. On the other hand, Geo News placed the news stories almost equally among the three slots as can be seen in figure 5.12. Since the issue is an obtrusive nature, therefore, the placement does not have any strong effects on ascertaining the public agenda.

- Regarding the placement of the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance, both the channels covered the issue in their opening and middle of their news programs as depicted in figures 5.13 and 5.14. Express News did not place even a single story in their end slots of news programs. However, majority of viewers of both the channels ranked NRO as fifth most important issue while the Geo and Express News gave the issue sixth and seventh place respectively.

- Regarding the placement of the issue of memogate, figure 5.15 show that Express News placed 88 percent news about the issue in the opening slots of their news programs.
Geo News put the news on the issue almost equally among all the slots as depicted in the figure 5.16.

- According to figures 5.17 and 5.18, Express News placed 92 percent stories on the issue of Pak-US relations in opening slots while Geo News again remained consistent in distributing the news among all the three news slots. The result of the respondents were consistent with the placement of the channels because the viewers of Geo News considered Pak-US relations as the seventh most important issue while Express News ranked the issue as sixth most important issue. A significant number of viewers ranked the issue in top three numbers while the viewers of Geo News can be seen at the end slots of rankings. It might be due to the placement of the issues in opening of news programs.

### 6.3.5 Results of Rank Order Correlation

The main purpose of the study was to measure the correlation between media agenda and public agenda. On the one hand researcher tapped the media agenda through frequency of the news on the issues for a specific time period and on the other hand, a survey study was conducted to tap the public agenda for which sampling frame was designed as discussed in the methodology chapter. The public agenda was measured through ranking orders (most important to least important) of the seven issues through a close ended questionnaire which was codified in number of responses on the issues. The ranking order further codified according to the priorities of the issues given by media for correlation purposes. (Appendices-2) There were significant, moderate and reverse correlations found on the issues between media agenda and public agenda as presented in the previous chapter. However, frames, slants, placements were used to support the major inquiry regarding agenda setting. Overall, these supporting theories were useful to get the comprehensive analysis of the viewing habits and priorities which has been used as second level and third level of agenda setting functions.
- Regarding the correlation of the issue of Democratic process on Geo News, a strong rank order correlation +.88 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) was observed between coverage of the issue and rank order given by viewers of the channel who watched this issue as depicted in the Table 5.6. Salience transfer on the issue from media to public has observed by assessing the media coverage. The most covered issue on both the channels was democratic process. On the other hand, almost perfect rank order correlation +.92 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) was found between coverage of the issue of democratic process and rank order of the viewers of Express News who watched this issue (Table 5.13).

- Regarding the correlation of the issue of law and order on Geo News, almost perfect rank order correlation +.90 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) has been observed between media agenda and public agenda as evident from Table 5.7. On the other hand, the same score of +.90 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) has been achieved on Express News as shown in Table 5.14. Both the news channels placed the issue as second highest among seven issues in terms of coverage.

- Regarding the correlation of the issue of Pak-US relations, a significant rank order correspondence +.85 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) was observed between the media agenda of Geo News and public agenda of the viewers (Table 5.9). On the other hand, +.78 has been observed with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) on the issue of Pak-US relations on Express News (Table 5.16).

- Regarding the correlation of the issue of corruption, there was a strong correlation +.73 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) observed between coverage of the issue by Geo News and ranking order by the viewers who watched the channel as depicted in Table 5.9. A significant consensus +.68 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) has been measured between the coverage of the issue by Express News and ranking order of that issue by the viewers of the channel (Table 5.17).

- A strong correlation +.66 with \( p \) value \( \leq .001 \) was noted between the coverage pattern of the issue of energy crisis and rank order of the viewers of the issue on Geo News (Table
5.10). On the other hand, strong correlation of +.74 with \( p \text{ value } \leq .001 \) has been achieved on the same issue on Express News as shown in Table 5.17.

- Regarding the correlation of the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance, a strong correlation +.70 was observed with \( p \text{ value } \leq .001 \) on Geo News while +.66 was observed with \( p \text{ value } \leq .001 \) on Express News between the coverage patterns of the channels and viewers’ rank order on the issue (Tables 5.11 and 5.18).

- Regarding the correlation of the issue of memogate, a mild positive correlation +.20 was observed between the coverage of the issue on Express News and rank order by viewers of the channel who watched the issue (Table 5.20). On the other hand, significant rank order correlation +.54 with \( p \text{ value } \leq .001 \) was observed between the coverage of the issue and rank order of the viewers of Geo News of the same issue. Two variables in the case of Geo News were strongly correlated (Table 5.12).

6.3.6 Channel’s Slant and Viewer’s Standpoint Correlation

Slant was a very important variable of this study project, media generally reinforce its agenda through slanting the news stories on the topic. For the purpose, reporter, photographer, analyst, anchorperson, editor, producer and the other media people do the slanting consciously or unconsciously. Media agenda could be influential and more powerful with tilting or angling the news issue as the people generally understand and accept the analysis and interpretation made by the media people. The slant in simple words can alter the opinion of the people. The story which presents unfavorably will have some different outcome and effects than the story which presents in a neutral way. Following are some correspondence results between the standpoint of the viewers and slant given by the channels on eight understudied issues.
• Regarding the correspondence between slant for the issue of democratic process by Geo News and standpoint of the viewers of the channel, the figures 5.85 and 5.86 indicate a positive relationship between slant set by Geo News on the issue of democratic process and standpoint of the viewers of Geo News. However, the channel remained more unfavorable tilt for the government than the favorable. Moderate correlation between standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of democratic process and slant for democratic process by Express News as shown in figures 5.71 and 5.72. The channel remained unfavorable most of the time while the audiences reacted more favorably on the issue. It might be due to the huge and excessive representations of the government in unfavorable and anti-government frames. Too much unfavorable coverage undermines the support of people.

• Figure 5.87 shows majority 67 percent viewers of the Geo News channel did not appreciate the government on the issue of corruption. On the other hand, the channel remained 100 percent unfavorable to government and the channel did not telecast even a single news story in favor of government. There has been a perfect correlation between the standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of corruption and the slant given by the channel to the issue. The channel gave unfavorable slant to the issue while in response; an unfavorable opinion has been recorded by viewers of Express News on the issue. (Figures 5.73 and 5.74)

• Figures 5.88 & 5.89 indicate strong correlation between slant for the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance by Geo News and opinion of the viewers of Geo News. However, channel rarely remained favorable to government. The unfavorable slant has been significant in its presentations on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance. On the issue of NRO, the positive correlation has been observed between the slant set by Express
News and the opinion of the viewers as shown in the above figures 5.75 & 5.76. The channel more or less remained unfavorable towards government on the issue and the viewers were also remained non-appreciable for government. Hence, there has a strong association between both the factors.

- Strong correlation is existed between slant for Pak-US relations by Geo News and standpoint of viewers of Geo News. Although the channel has not been much favorable towards government but the viewers appreciated the government stance on the issue. It was due to steps taken by government like firm stand on US armed attacked to kill Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan as shown in 5.88 and 5.89. The significant relationship of variables has been observed. Express News remained unfavorable in slant on the issue of Pak-US relations while the audiences also given their opinion unfavorably for government. Therefore, a strong correlation has been observed between slant of the issue and opinion of the viewers. Agenda-Setting did work as depicted in 5.77 and 5.78.

- Figures 5.90 and 5.91 above indicate a strong relationship between slant set by the channel on the issue of energy crisis and the standpoint of the viewers of the Geo News channel. There has been a significant correlation as shown in the above figures. However, due to some steps taken by the government the viewers appreciated the progress. An energy crisis has been one of the consistently covered issues which received perfect correlation between the standpoint of the viewers and slant given by the Express News to the issue as shown in the figures 5.83 and 5.84. Since the issue was directly related to the people therefore, the public on the issue has been recorded their un-satisfaction on the issue towards government’s efforts.

- The figures 5.92 and 5.93 depicted the strong relationship between the slant given by Geo News to the issue of law and order and standpoint of the viewers of Geo News. The
media agenda is reflected in the public agenda as significant correlation has been observed on the issue. Figures 5.81 and 5.82 above again depict the strong correspondence between media agenda and public agenda as the slant for the issue of law and order was remained unfavorable towards government while standpoint of the public was also experienced as negative towards government.

- Figures 5.92 and 5.93 show some mix relationship on the issue of memogate. There is a reverse relationship is existed between the slant for the issue and standpoint of the viewers. Geo News presented favorable stories rarely but the viewers appreciated the government. It might be the cause of the complexity of the issue. Several ambiguities were seen during the coverage, trials and debates on the issue. However, the people were not clear on the issue. The channel was remained unfavorable towards government and Mr. Hussain Haqqani (one of the main character in the issue). As described in the above figures 5.77 and 5.78, it is clear that positive correlation can be seen between the standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of memogate scandal and the slant set by the channel. The channel remained more unfavorable towards government on this issue however, the audiences almost divided on the issue and there is a little tilt towards unfavorable attitude for government.

6.3.7 Ranking Order of the Issues by Viewers

Survey method is considered to be a useful method to measure the public agenda. The research, therefore, conducted a survey of 500 respondents who were regular viewers of two news channels; Express News and Geo News based in Islamabad. As described in the methodology chapter, a questionnaire was developed to enquire the opinion, salience and ranking of the viewers of seven issues which were later on correlated with the coverage of these news channels for measuring relationship.
Regarding the ranking order of the issue of democratic process, viewers of both the news channels were ranked the issue as the most important issue among seven issues. The issue of democratic process was the most covered issue on these channels, 29 percent and 30 percent coverage of the total coverage of these seven issues given by Geo and Express News respectively. The strong relationship has been found between two variables therefore, the results have answered the questions of the study “electronic media agenda will influence the public agenda.”

Regarding the rank order of the issue of law and order, 26 percent viewers of Geo News ranked the issue as the second most important issue while 31 percent viewers of Express News considered the issue of corruption as the second most important issue. Viewers of both the channels took corruption as a general term that has been a part and parcel of our society in one or the other way. People generally denote corruption to the government and its functionaries. Mainstream media especially, cable news channels have been extensively covering news stories of corruption. Although, both the channels covered the issue of corruption almost equally in terms of frequency and time duration, however, a little variation has been noted in the rank orders of viewers of both these channels. The results of the content analysis of Geo news on the issue of law and order were consistent with the rank order outcome of the viewers of the Geo News. It was the second most covered issue on Geo News while it was also ranked the second most important issue of the study.

Majority 28 percent viewers of Geo News declared the issue of corruption as the third most important issue of the study while majority 26 percent viewers of Express News were of the view that energy crisis was the third most important issue. The results were consistent with the results of the content analysis as Geo News gave more coverage to the issue of corruption than energy crisis, therefore, the viewers ranked accordingly. On the same lines,
Express New denoted almost equal coverage to the issue of energy crisis and corruption, but being an obtrusiveness of the issue, viewers promoted in ranking order.

- Majority 22 percent viewers of the Express News ranked the issue of law and order as the fourth most important issue of the study. On the other hand, viewers’ of Geo News ranked the same issue as the second most important issue. One of the reasons might be the difference of coverage of the issue between news bulletins and talk shows. It is pertinent to mention that Express News discussed the issue of law and order four times during the whole study period of one year while it was being covered frequently in news bulletins as shown in Table 5.5. Some viewers watch only news bulletins while some other viewers watch talk shows and the others do the habit of watching both news bulletins and talk shows.

- 34 percent viewers of both the channels considered National Reconciliation Ordinance as the fifth most important issue of the study however, Geo News and Express News gave weight-age by covering it as the sixth and seventh in salience. This issue widely and equally covered issue in both news bulletins and talk shows. Furthermore, it has been covering almost two to three years consistently by mainstream media and especially news channels. The intervening factors will be discussed in discussion portion of this chapter.

- Regarding the sixth most important issue of viewers on Express News was Pak-US relation while viewers of Geo News ranked as least important issue among seven issues. According to media agenda of the Geo News, memogate scandal was the sixth most covered issue. The results of the content analysis were consistent with the results of survey. Express News put the issue in top four issues in terms of coverage but public put it in the sixth and seventh in rankings. Although, there was a significant association observed between media and public agenda (Tables 5.4 & 5.5).
6.3.8 Source of Information of the Viewers

For many decades in the history of Pakistan, the main and credible source for information regarding national and international issues was print media and especially newspapers. Inception of private cable channels in the beginning of 21st century has changed the landscape of Pakistani media, its production and consumption patterns of the viewers. Critics have the consensus that rapid growth and independent policies of the channels have contributed in achieving media freedom. Due to the low literacy rate and cost effectiveness and availability of cable channels, the readership of print media has been declined in recent years. In cities and urban areas the cable connections have crossed almost 50 percent households (Gallup Pak, 2013). Definitely, it has become the main source for public to get latest news. Keeping in view the importance of the source of information for viewers, the researcher in this project has given the viewers four options for choosing their appropriate source of information; news channels, newspapers, interpersonal communication and others (social media etc). Following results are presenting on this variable.

6.3.9 Discussion on the Issues by the Viewers

When people receive some new information from media outlets on some issue, they discuss it with their colleagues, friends, and family members to inform and to have their standpoint on the information for making some sense and opinion on the issue. we can call it a part of an agenda setting process because after receiving information we pass on or discuss it with our family, friends or colleagues. In this way, agenda setting do travel in multi ways. People give importance to some issue more than the others and when they discuss it with other fellows they endorse and give weight-age to that issue. Through interpersonal communication channels, the people can and do have information about different issues. However, this complementary object to agenda setting has utilized to comprehend the results received from main method of correlations as defined by McCombs (2004). Low literacy
societies like Pakistan, the role of interpersonal communication is very vital to make public opinion on some important issues. However, in recent years the growth of private cable channels in Pakistan has significant contribution in distribution of different viewpoint on national and international issues. There is still a dependency of the public, living in remote or rural areas, on other channels of communication like interpersonal communication. In this research project, the researcher has included this variable to gauge the impact of agenda setting. The outcome of the discussion variable is being presented in the following lines.

- Regarding the issue of democratic process, the viewers of both the channels were remained more consistent in discussing the issue. 65 percent viewers of Geo News discussed the issue consistently while only 3 percent did not discuss (Figure 5.58). On the other hand, 71 percent viewers of Express News discussed the issue frequently and only one percent viewers did not discuss the issue with their family and friends. Viewers of both the news channels were remained consistent in discussing the issue of corruption, as 70 percent viewers of Geo and 68 percent viewers of Express News frequently discussed the issue. The recent growth of private cable channels and consistent democratic transition have played vital role in making the people more aware on political issues of the country therefore, they frequently discuss democratic process like elections, parliaments roles, civil and military establishment and other functionaries of the state (Figures 5.57 & 5.58).

- Majority 65 percent of respondents of the Geo News and 63 percent viewers of Express News frequently discussed the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance. There were few viewers of both the channels who did not discuss the issue (Figures 5.59 & 5.60).

- As depict in Figures 5.67 & 5.68, 44 percent viewers of Geo News discussed the issue of Pak-US relations frequently while majority of 48 percent did not discuss the issue. The results of the ranking order of the issue at number seven was consistent with the outcome of
the discussion factor. Majority of 52 percent of the viewers of Express News discussed the issue frequently while viewers also ranked the issue of Pak-US relations as sixth most important issue among seven issues. The results were consistent with discussion variable (Figures 5.67 & 5.68).

- The most discussed issue among all the eight understudied issues was energy crisis. 91 percent viewers of Express while 87 percent viewers of Geo News discussed the issue frequently. The viewers of Express ranked the issue as the third most important issue of the country while viewers of Geo News considered the issue as fourth most important issue among seven issues. A great correspondence has been achieved between the ranking orders results and discussion on the issue by viewers of both the channels. One of the reason of widely discussed the issue was the obtrusive nature of the issue. The discussion did strengthen the agenda setting effects in different phases like receiving information from media and passing on to other media isolate people with a particular line and objective (Figures 5.65 & 5.66).

- Majority of viewers of both the news channels rarely discussed the issue of memogate scandal 50 percent viewers of Express News while 47 viewers of Geo News rarely discussed the issue with their friends and family. The viewers of Geo News ranked the issue as sixth most important issue while Express News ranked the issue as seventh most important issue among the eight issue of this research project. The impact of this variable was great in degree and nature (Figures 5.69 & 5.70).

- The issue of law and order remained most discussed issue among the seven issues as 94 percent viewers of Express News and 100 percent viewers of Geo News discussed the issue consistently. Since the nature of the issue is obtrusive, public in general experienced the situation of law and order directly. The viewers of Geo News ranked the issue as second
most important issue and on the other hand, viewers of Express News ranked the issue as fourth important issue of the study. The reason of this difference might be the difference of coverage in news bulletins and talk shows of the Express News. Express News covered the issue of law and order rarely in their talk shows while the issue was covered consistently in news bulletins. The viewers sometimes want to have detailed picture about issue in talk shows. Express News covered only four news stories in whole year study period. On the other hand, Geo News managed a good balance between their talk shows and news bulletins (Figures 5.59 & 5.60).
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION

AND

RECOMMENDATIONS
6.1.1 Discussion on Results

The core assumptions of this dissertation were to measure the relationship between coverage of the news issues and rank order given to these issues by viewers of these news channels and to measure the effects of the slant for issues on standpoint of the viewers. Moreover, some key factors of media salience like attention and prominence has also been measured.

The channels gave salience to three issues very prominently; democratic process, law and order and Pak-US relations (Figures 5.1 & 5.2). The reasons of covering these issues significantly were the restoration of democracy in the country and the deteriorating law and order situation since war on terror in this region. Walgrave and Aelst (2006) viewed the agenda setting has been a very frequent used model in political science. The results of the study indicate the strong relationship between coverage patterns of these issues by the news channels and rank order of the viewers. There were three obtrusive and four unobtrusive issues in this research project. The people directly experienced the obtrusive issues like corruption, law and order and energy crisis in this research study. Zucker’s (1978) findings on agenda setting effects reveal the obtrusive and unobtrusive nature of news items for the people. People, normally, do not depend on media to get the news information on obtrusive issues like energy crisis, corruption and law and order etc. as people experience these issues in their daily routine and have a direct interaction.

There were two samples of content analysis; the news bulletins and talk shows of two leading media outlets; Express News and Geo News channels. Express News covered 1143 news stories while Geo News telecast 1297 news stories. However, Express News allotted more time duration 7280 minutes as compare to Geo News 6675 minutes during the study period of one year. This difference might be due to the difference in
pattern of news bulletins as Express News give news stories comparatively with more detail and depth. The results, more or less, support the basic assumptions of agenda setting theory and the hypothesis posed in this research project. Out of eight hypothesis posed in the research only one hypothesis was accepted and seven were rejected, therefore, there is an effect in seven out of eight hypothesis.

Both the news channels have been successful in setting the public agenda through their media presentations. The issue of democratic process was extensively covered in terms of frequency and duration on both the channels that took almost 29 percent of the total time of seven issues. The results of the survey were corresponded with the coverage given by the media outlets. A strong +.92 rank order correlation on the issue has been achieved on Express News. There is no big difference in the rank order correlation between the viewers of the issue of democratic process and the coverage given by Geo News channel to the issue. A strong correlation +.88 has been observed on the issue. The pattern of news coverage on the issue by these channels shows a great degree of correspondence averaging +.90 between salience given to the issue of democratic process and rank order given by the users of the content (Tables 5.6 & 5.13). The channels exerted influence and salience to audiences on the issue through manipulating different techniques of agenda setting. The first level agenda setting theory says, the more coverage (in terms of words, space, time, frequency, audio clips) is given in the media on some issue, the more salience is granted to that issue by the audiences. According to McCombs (1972) media effects are generally considered the outcome of the absolute volume of coverage or exposure of the media outlet. The results on the issue are consistent with the theoretical assumptions of the theory of agenda setting. However, Express News given more time to the issue of democratic process as compare to Geo News but there has been a consensus between the channels in keeping the issue at top
position. Resultantly, the viewers of both the channels considered the issue as most important issue of the country among seven researched issues. Both the channels remained successful in transferring and exerting media agenda to their viewers.

One thing should be kept in mind that people always rate the news stories on important national issues in the context of overall performance of the government. Generally, it has examined in empirical studies that media use that ‘performance’ whether for highlighting the positive or negative aspect to build some predefined or self defined consensus on the issue. As previously stated, there was a general perception about Zardari regime (2008 to 2013) that it was a corrupt regime, however, if we have a look on the coverage pattern of corruption issues it can be seen in mainstream media, in general, and on channels in particular. The two other issues, memogate scandal and NRO were being perceived in connotation of corruption by relating both these issues directly to the government and its functionaries. Moreover, the issue of NRO was challenged in the apex court for nullification by some politicians. The case was proceeded for almost four years 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012. NRO declared null and void in a judgment by apex court in 2012, resultantly the then prime minister had to leave his office. Media covered the issue widely and consistently. The results of the slant also disfavored the government. These will be discussed in coming lines.

Regarding the issue of law and order, the results indicate the strong correlation +.90 on both these channels between the news coverage of the issue and ranking order assigned by the viewers (Tables 5.9 & 5.16). The issue extensively covered by both the channels. The coverage might be the cause of the uncertain and deterioration in law and order situation in the country. The issue falls in the category of obtrusive issues as every common man suffering and affecting due to the prevailing worst kind of terrorist activities in the country. The theory of agenda setting claims to have more
influence if media covers any obtrusive issue extensively. As Zucker (1978) claims that ‘more the unobtrusive the issue, more person will be media reliance for orientation. Transfer of salience is significant among unobtrusive issues’. The chances of transfer of salience from media outlet to the users of the content increased manifolds. Therefore, the issue got more coverage and received great correspondence on media and public agenda. Both the news channels have been covering the issue of law and order for the last many years and during study period these channels placed the issue as the second top most issue in terms of frequency (Figures 5.1 & 5.2). The accumulation of the news stories on the topic for a long time has increased the salience of the issue among public.

Media coverage and ranking of viewers of Geo News highly correspondent as the viewers ranked the issue as second most important issue according to the salience given by the channel. On the other hand, viewers of Express News ranked the issue as fourth most important issue. The reasons might be due to the less coverage of the issue in their talk shows. As previously stated a big difference noted between frequency of news stories on the issue of law and order telecast in news bulletins and talk shows (Figures 5.19 & 5.20). Littlejohn (2002) discusses the factors that affect, ‘agenda-setting may be the combination of gatekeeper, editors, managers and external influences.’ It is pertinent to say that Express News discussed the issue only four times in a whole study period of one year while the issue can be seen persistently in news bulletins. The other possibility might be that some people watch news bulletins and do not watch talk shows and vice versa, therefore, the audiences of Express News have not exposed to wide coverage of the issue. The gatekeeping theory did work for the media outlet on the issue of law and order. Chi-Square .268 with $p$ value less than 5 has been calculated on coverage of news bulletins and talk shows (Tables 5.1 & 5.2). From another perspective it can be said that Express News did not cover the issue proportionally and might be it covered another
issue of its choice in talk shows. On the other hand, Geo News remained more consistent and proportionate to the issue. The viewers of Geo News ranked the issue of law and order as the second most important issue of the study and results of survey remained consistent with the results of the content telecast on the channel.

The third most covered issue on both these channels was Pak-US relations in terms of frequency of news stories (Figures 5.1 & 5.2). The reason of covering the issue extensively might be the deterioration of relations between Pakistan and USA during the year 2011. Raymond Davis case killing two Pakistani in Lahore, 2nd May operation against Bin Laden in Abbottabad by US Navy Seal without taking Pakistan into confidence, attack on Salala check post inside the Pakistani border killing 24 Pakistani soldiers in November, 2011 were the main causes of tension between Pakistan and USA. In reaction to all these events, Pakistan got back Shamsi airbase from USA and closed the NATO supply route from Pakistan to Afghanistan. All these incidents further deteriorated the crumbling relations between the two countries. The tension was released after US apology on the incident of Salala check post tragedy. The supply route was reopened in July 2012. Since most of the time period of the research study consisted the year 2012, the data for content analysis was available on the issue; therefore, one of the reasons for extensive coverage of the issue might be the sentiments and reservations of the people on the issue of Salala check post.

A significant correlation +.78 has been achieved between the coverage of news on the issue of Pak-US relations by Express News and the rank order to the issue given by the viewers of the channel. On the other hand, strong correlation (+.85) has been measured between the media agenda and public agenda on Geo News on the same issue (Tables 5.8 & 5.15).
Express News placed the issue of memogate scandal at fourth position while the Geo News rated and covered the issue at position seven. The viewers of Express News ranked the issue of memogate scandal as the seventh most important issue. On the other hand, viewers of Geo News put the issue at position six in their priority list. Therefore, there is a great degree of conformity between coverage of Geo News and their audiences on the issue. A low correlation (+.20) was calculated by coverage pattern of the Express News and rank order of the viewers of these news programs. On the same pattern a low correlation (+.54) was observed between media and public agenda on Geo News on the issue of memogate (Tables 5.12 & 5.19). There is a slight difference in media agenda on some issues. The Geo News covered the issue of memogate scandal moderately and placed it at number seven while the Express News covered the issue extensively and placed at number four in terms of frequency. The time span of the issue in the media lasted for less than three months. One of the reasons of low correlation between coverage of the issue by Express News and viewers of the channel is the gap between the issue coverage and conduct of survey. On the other hand, the reason of significant correlation on Geo News might be the coverage for longer time span which lasted for six months as compare to three months of Express News (Figure 5.1).

Regarding the issue of energy crisis, both the news channels covered the issue almost in equal frequency and duration. Since the obtrusive nature of the issue, the viewers rated a high rank in spite of less media coverage. The people have been facing worst kind of energy crisis electricity shortfall in summer while gas load shedding winter seasons. The viewers of Express News ranked the issue as the third most important issue among given issues in the list. On the other hand, with a slight difference in ranking order, the viewers of Geo News rated the issue as fourth important issue of the country. A significant correlation +.74 was observed between the coverage of the issue and ranking
order of the viewers of Express News. Geo News coverage produced positive correlation +.66 on the issue (Tables 5.11 & 5.18). Since the people do not need media to get information on obtrusive issues, interpersonal communication and personal experience are the main source of knowledge about obtrusive issues. The results are consistent with the research finding of Zucker (1978).

The most and consistently covered issue on both the news channel was the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance. This issue has been in mainstream media for whole study period of one year. The Geo News placed the issue as the sixth most telecast issue in terms of frequency while according to the coverage Express News placed as the least covered issue, however, Express News placed the issue as the third highest in terms of duration. On the other hand, Geo News put the issue as the fourth highest among the issues in terms of duration. A moderate correlation +.66 between the coverage of the issue of NRO by Express News and rank order given by the viewers of the channel is measured. Again a moderate correlation +.70 has been achieved on the same issue on Geo News, (Tables 5.12 & 5.19).

The findings of the study overall meet with the criteria of agenda setting assumptions, however, the opinion of the public is mix while ranking of the issues. Since there are some obtrusive issues like corruption, law and order, and energy crisis, less or more coverage did not do the huge contribution. However, channels were remained out of proportion to transfer the salience about some issues to the public. For example, the issue of corruption by both the news channels has been placed as second highest among seven issues by duration (Figures 5.1 & 5.2). McCombs (2014) of the view that “the most common measure of the salience of issues on the media agenda is the number of news stories about each issue in the media over some period of time. There are more complicated measures, but simple frequency counts work very well.” The Express News
gave 15 percent time of the total time of seven issues of the study to the issue of corruption. On the other hand, the Geo News devoted 16 percent time duration for the issue. In response to the more time slot to the issue of corruption, the viewers of Express News declared the issue as the second most important issue while viewers of Geo News were declared the issue as third most important issue. By closely analyzing the results, there has been a close relationship between the issue coverage and rank order of the viewers. It is notable that the viewers of Express News ranked a high place to the issue of corruption prior to the very important issues like law and order and energy crisis. This ranking by the viewers might be the cause of huge coverage to the issue in terms of duration. Another noticeable point is the obtrusiveness nature of the issue as people in their day to day business do experience such corruption incidents in every segment of the society. The third important factor could be the framing aspects of the news issue as Kiousis (2004) identified that attention; prominence and valence are three dimensions of media salience theoretically. All three factors are very prominent in coverage of the issue of corruption.

Regarding the slant of the issues by news channels, the results show that slant for all the issue was remained unfavorable towards government. Favorable slant and frame rarely observed towards government. Democratic process has been the most covered issue by these channels as it took bulk of the coverage. As shown in Table.5.3 regarding the slant of the issues, Geo News remained more aggressive and unfavorable towards government on the issue of democratic process than Express News. Although, there have been some significant achievements on the political fronts, like strengthening the democracy, stepping down presidential powers in favor parliamentary system, major amendments for appointments of judges of apex courts, mechanism of appointment of election commissioner with consensus, and many other notable bills have been tabled by
the Zardari government however, media’s coverage shows rarely a favorable slant on the issue. The News channels set the public agenda through its slanting and framing techniques which helped in transferring the salience from media to public. Cohen (1963), the creator of the theory, “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (p.13). By looking closely to the opinion of the viewers on the issue of democratic process, a close relationship found between the slant for the issue and opinion of the viewers of the channel. Majority of the viewers of both the channels remained unfavorable towards government. The media agenda and public agenda have been closely associated on the issue of democratic process.

Regarding the slant for the issue of law and order, Figures.5.3 & 5.4 both the channels were remained unfavorable to the government. The results show that the Express News remained more critical and unfavorable to the government than the Geo News. Since the issue was an obtrusive one, the people generally do have chat and personal experience to get the latest on the issue, therefore, media’s exaggeration or less coverage has not played much. However, the channel’s anti-government slant is significant. More than 80 percent viewers of both the channels disfavored the government on the issue of law and order. A priority of the media outlet becomes the priority of the public and the media have the power to build, influence, alter or change the opinion of the public through their presentations of news information.

Regarding the slant for the issue of Pak-US relations, the issue covered by both the news channels as the third most salient issue in terms of frequency, however, the audiences put the issue as less important. The viewers of Express News ranked the issue as the sixth most important issue while viewers of Geo News ranked as the seventh most important issue. Slant
for the issue on Geo News was unfavorable towards government, however, Geo News remained little bit more anti-government and unfavorable than Express News (Figure 5.3 & 5.4). Majority of the viewers of Geo News favored and appreciated the government on the issue. On the other hand, close correspondence has been observed between the slant for the issue and opinion of the viewers of Express News. Majority of viewers of Express News disfavored the government on the issue of Pak-US relations. ‘Attention means the number of stories allocated to the issue, and secondly by prominence it means the page placement, amount of time or space, headline etc. and thirdly valence describes the overall tone; negative, positive (McCombs, 2005).

As we know, the strength and impacts of agenda-setting theory are varying in degree and nature, therefore, exact measurement of the behavior is not possible. The other invisible factors might become intervening variables which influenced the opinion of the public on some particular time.

The Express News and Geo News remained unfavorable towards government on the issue of memogate scandal by giving 50 percent and 59 percent coverage respectively. As described in the figures 64 and 65, it is clear that positive correlation can be seen between the standpoint of the viewers of Express News on the issue of memogate scandal and the slant set by the channel. There is a reverse relationship is existed between the slant for the issue and standpoint of the viewers. Geo News presented favorable stories rarely but the viewers appreciated the government. It might be the cause of the complexity of the issue several ambiguities were seen during the coverage, trials and debates on the issue. One of the main characters of this case was unwilling to come to Pakistan to face the trials, however, some judges of apex court went to London to facilitate for proceeding the case. The issue was remained a short life issue for the media. However, positive correlation has been observed on both the channels.
Regarding the slant of the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance, both the news channels remained unfavorable towards government. Favorable slant is rarely seen on the channels. The positive correlation has been observed between the slant set by Express News and the opinion of the viewers as shown in the above figures 62 and 63. Media portrayed the issue negatively; therefore, the viewers also remained anti-government. Kiousis (2004) identified that attention; prominence and valence are three dimensions of media salience theoretically.

Slant on the issue of corruption was also unfavorable towards government on both the channels. 65 percent coverage of Express News on the issue while 61 percent coverage of Geo News remained unfavorable. Geo News did not present a single news story in favor of government while Express News gave 6 percent news in favor of government. The viewers of both the news channels were remained unfavorable to government. They responded according to the slant set by the news channels, therefore, media slant influenced the standpoint of the viewers on the issue of corruption.

Regarding the slant of the issue of energy crisis, although both the channels could not cover the issue properly and they were remained un-proportionate, however, due to the obtrusiveness of the issue, the viewers did their opinion unfavorably. The electricity is a basic need and the hours long load shedding is creating many problems for the people from every segment of the society. The slant of Geo News was more unfavorable than the slant of Express News.

Framing theory is called the second level of agenda setting, Cohen (1963), the creator of the theory, “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (p. 13). McCombs of the view that the effects produced by media on the public are not inevitably flow from the media. The media in this way use the existing beliefs and stance of the people
and through agenda setting techniques like framing, slanting, salience, exaggerating or under coverage on the issues helped to set a certain direction of the public. The media generally use both first and second levels of agenda setting to reinforce and get more response on some particular issue. Majority of the news on all issues on both the channels were anti-government while pro-government coverage is hardly seen. The media organizations are structured and institutionalized to refine and shape the message for the public as the audiences are more concerned and vigilant about the issues they are consistently watching (Mussart, 2010)

The news placement for this research study has been categorized as opening news, middle news and last news. People generally have the habit to read stories which are presented in front page. In the news channels, the viewers want to have more news in the first few minutes and for the purpose they prefer to stay with the channel in first few minutes. Normally, people do not watch full news bulletins, in this way, the opening news have different effects than the news in the middle or last. The researcher gauged the phenomenon of salience by putting placement as key variable. Negative headlines about economic issue may influence the people’s perceptions about the strength of the economy (McCombs, 2002).

Since the bulk of our communication is based on media communication and bulk of our media communication is based on political communication, the scope of coverage of political issues has been increased manifolds in this society. One of the reasons of huge coverage to the issue of democratic process in recent years is the back to back general elections and smooth transition from one democratic government to other. Moreover, the independent news media especially cable news channels have contributed a lot in bringing the democracy on track. Noam Chomsky (2010) of the view “I spent three weeks in India and a week in Pakistan. I would be surprised to find that the media in Pakistan is more open, free and vibrant than that in India.” Daily debates on political upheavals, promotional and
developmental activities, and news regarding opposition, government functionaries and other prestigious institutions on news channels become a bread n butter for Pakistani passive audience whom in recent past had only a state-run TV channel.

Regarding the placement of the issue of democratic process, both the news channels placed majority of news on the issue of democratic process in their opening slots of their news programs as presented in figures 5.5 and 5.6. The results show the direct impact of giving salience to the issue in their opening parts of their news programs. The results of the study are consistent with the theoretical assumptions of the theory of agenda setting as the salience does matter. The news which presents in the opening and start of the news program does have different impact than the news that telecast in the middle or end portions of programs.

Majority of news on the issue of Law and order by Express News telecast in the opening slots of news programs as shown in figures. On the other side, the Geo News maintained a balance in three categories of placement as it distributed the news on law and order equally. However, the placement in the opening stories by Express News resulted in the negative standpoint of the viewers on the issue while viewers of Geo News were remained less unfavorable (Figures 5.7 & 5.8)

Regarding the issue of Corruption, the figures 5.9 show that Express News placed 90 percent news in the opening slots of their news programs. On the other hand, Geo News again maintained a good balance by spreading the news all over the three categories (Figure 5.10). The results of the rank order are consistent with the issue placement as the viewers of Express News ranked the issue of corruption as the second most important issue among given list. The viewers are more likely to recall the issue due to its coverage pattern. On the other hand, the viewers of the Geo News ranked the issue as the third most important issue. It is pertinent to state that Express News covered the issue by salience as sixth among eight while the viewers
ranked it as number two. One of the reasons or factors might be the placement of the news issue in opening slots.

The issue of energy crisis got almost equal treatment by the channels as they distribute the news stories about energy crisis in all three categories. Since the energy crisis is an obtrusive issue, people do not depend on media to get the news on the issue. People’s personal experience and their sufferings in basic needs and interpersonal relationship are the main source of getting some latest on the issue (Figures 5.11 & 5.12).

Regarding the placement of the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance, both the news channels telecast majority of the news in top categories. The viewers ranked the issue more than that of their coverage by the channels. The channels gave salience to the issue as the number six and seven in terms of coverage while the people ranked this as number five among seven issues.

Regarding the placement of the issue of memogate, the Express News placed the issue about 80 percent in its opening slots while Geo News maintained a good balance among all three categories of placement. However, some mix results came in ranking order of the issue, there is no significant impact of placement has been seen in spite being placing the issue in opening slot in Express News.

Figures 5.17 and 5.18 show the same trend as depicts in the other issues of both the news channels. The Express News remained consistent in presenting the issue of Pak-US relations in its opening part of news programs while the Geo News telecast news stories on the issue by spreading all over the three categories. Significant correlations were found on the issue between news coverage of the issue and ranking by the viewers on both the channels. Riaz (2008) of the view that “priming is a psychological process in which media emphasis on certain issues not only increase the salience of those issues, but it motivates in people’s memories previously obtained information about those issues.”
Source of news for the viewers of these news channels was an important variable in this research project. There were four options in the sources of news for viewers, news channels, newspapers, interpersonal communication and others (social media etc). According to some recent research studies, there has been a sharp decline in the readership of newspapers. One of the reasons might be the availability of private independent news channels at low cost than newspapers. There are several factors which play important role in ascertaining the value of the messages like, psychological filtering, societal norms, and interpersonal communication (McCombs, 2004).

The correlation between standpoint of the viewers and slant set by the channels has been an important analysis of this research project. Measurements of these media and public agenda priorities can give a picture of the effects of media on public agenda. There have been very strong relationships observed between slant given by the channels and opinion of the viewers. Since the media salience is generally comprised on prominence, valence and attention and the channels in this research project have been applying these key elements of media salience very consistently and as a part and parcel of the coverage. The One of the interesting outcomes of this research project is the valence - anti-government and unfavorable media coverage is very prominent on all the issues. Media agenda shows a clear tilt in their coverage on almost all the issues especially on the issues of National Reconciliation Ordinance, memogate scandal and corruption. Resultantly, the viewers gave their opinion according to the coverage pattern of the channels. Rank order correlation between media agenda and public agenda has been remained a significant outcome of this study, on the same pattern, the correlation between media’s valence for the issues and standpoint of the viewers is also notable (Figures 5.94 & 5.95).

One of the very important variables in this study was discussion or interpersonal communication on the issues with their family, friends or colleagues. Since, the interpersonal
communication is very important step for reinforcement of the media agenda through discussion. Hence, the media agenda get more power and strength through people’s discussion with other people to mould or to direct the opinion in a certain way. Since the people do not have equal capability to analyze or interpret the information which they receive from media, therefore, they discuss it with their family members, friends etc. Lazerfeld and Kaz (1955) gave the theory of two step flow which suggests that information has two steps to reach to a common man. In the first step the information travels from media to opinion leader and then in the second step it travels from opinion leader to general people. On the same pattern, the agenda setting theory works in this way through discussion and interpersonal communication. The media use opinion leaders, public figures and prominent personalities to reinforce and strengthen the media agenda. Moreover, in the society like Pakistan where a joint family and social system is very much integrated and the people depend one another for making decisions on different political, social and personal issues. This variable has been included in this research project to tap the viewers’ habit and effect of discussion on agenda setting process.

Regarding the discussion of the issue of democratic process, the results indicate that viewers of both the channels are frequently discussed the news stories with their fellow, friends etc to reach a position of decision on some issue. The viewers of Express News are more aggressive and more frequent in discussing the news issue than the viewers of Geo News. The media ranked it as the most important issue of the country while public also ranked the issue of democratic process as the most important issue. Viewers of both the channels have the consensus on the matter.

The figures 5.59 and 5.60 depict that viewers of both the channels frequently discuss the issue of Law and order. The issue is an obtrusive nature as every person can experience such uncertain and dangerous situation; therefore, the people of the country are experiencing
and suffering deterioration in the law and order of the country. Results show that both the
audiences discussed the issue of law and order frequently. A significant correlation and
successful transfer of salience from media agenda to public agenda has been observed on the
issue. Slant and framing of the issue is also correlated with the opinion of the viewers.

Regarding the discussion of the issues of National Reconciliation Ordinance,
memogate scandal and the viewers of both the news channels discuss both the issues very
frequently (Figures 5.61 & 5.62). The discussion does have the effects on the people’s
rankings and stance on the issue. The issue of energy crisis was also frequently discussed by
the people. The issue was an obtrusive issue, therefore, the influence of transfer the salience
and standpoint remained significant in the process of discussion. Since the level of education
in the city of Islamabad is about 87 percent literacy rate highest in the country, the people
discuss the matters of their interest frequently. The media boom, especially in the field of
electronic media has increased the general public interest and capacity to understand the
knowledge in the politics, education, economy, environment, health, law and order,
entertainment, sports, international affairs etc. Therefore, they are frequently discussing
national and international issues with more confidence as the trend has been observed in the
present research study.

By looking closely on the results of the study, it is clear that a successful media
agenda transferred to public agenda on most of the issues. However, the effects do vary in
degree and nature. The correlations between media coverage and ranking of the viewers
observed as (+.20 to +.92). Valence of the coverage shows the agenda of the media outlets
dominantly remained unfavorable towards government (Tables 5.3 & 5.4). There has been a
great correspondence between the priorities of the media and priorities of the viewers.

The demographics of the viewers of the news channels were analyzed by four factors
like gender, age, education and profession. It is apparent from the figures 21 and 22 that there
is a great similarity in demographics between the viewers of both the channels. Regarding the
gender of the respondents, it has been observed that 22 percent of Geo News while 17
percent viewers were female respondents. The findings show that 78 percent viewers of Geo
News while 83 percent viewers of Express News were male (Figures 5.21 & 5.22).

Regarding the age groups of the viewers of both the channels it has not been observed
any big difference between the age groups of the audiences of the channels as shown in the
figures 5.25 and 5.26. However, majority 84 percent viewers of Geo News and 87 percent
viewers of Express News belong to young age 25 to 45 years. The educational demographic
of the respondents is also showing great similarities as apparent from the figures 5.27 and
5.28. However, the literacy rate in the city of Islamabad is higher than other cities of the
country as depicted in the figures. The political know-how and media literacy are also
comparatively higher than other cities.

Regarding the profession of the respondents, the great correspondence has been
observed. A minor difference can be seen in the figures 5.29 and 5.30. Moreover, no special
effect of the demographic characteristics has been observed on opinion change or ranking
orders of the issues.

An interesting finding of this research study was the time division between
anchorpersons of the news programs and experts or guests of the programs. The Express
News did manage a good balance between the time allotted to anchors and the time granted
to experts. The ratio was calculated as 30 and 70 percent for anchors and experts
respectively. The quite opposite to the Express News, the Geo News allotted 70 percent time
to its program anchors while they spared only 30 percent time for the experts of the
programs. Since the role of anchor or host is to facilitate the program in a right direction with
a balanced feedback on the issue, the more time is given to the expert or guest of the
program. However, there has not been any significant difference observed in the public
opinion in this particular study due to this diversification but in this way the media agenda could be more effectively transferred to the audiences.

6.1.2 Conclusion

Seven issues have been examined in the light of agenda setting, framing, gatekeeping and priming theories to measure the media public relationship. Eight hypotheses were posed to tap this relationship. H1; the media will have no influence on the audience’s agenda is rejected, therefore there is an effect.

H2 the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Memogate Scandal is accepted, therefore, there is no effect. H3; the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Pak-US relations is rejected, three is an effect. H4; the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance is rejected, therefore, there is an effect. H5; the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Democratic Process is rejected, therefore, there is an effect. H6; the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Law and Order is rejected, therefore, there is an effect. H7; the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Corruption is rejected, therefore, there is an effect. H8; the media will have no effect on the audience’s agenda about the issue of Energy Crisis is rejected, therefore, there is an effect.

The findings of the study on seven national issues show significant effects and strong and moderate correlations between media agenda and public agenda on seven issues except the issue of memogate. Simultaneous use of frequency and slant for the news stories on the issues have manipulated for determination of the public agenda. The media influence has also been observed in terms of valence of the issues. There has been a great to moderate consistency and correspondence between the slants for the issues set by the channels and the opinion of the audiences of these channels. The news coverage regarding
the issues on both the channels was framed as an anti-government while pro-government frame was rarely seen. Media in general and electronic media in particular has the potential to impact the public opinion in low media literate societies like Pakistan. There has been a significant media influence observed on public due to the recent boom and rapid growth of the private cable channels over the past few years. There has been a hot debate over the years on the power and responsibility of the media especially after the influx and phenomenal growth of cable channels in the country.

Democratic process remained highest in ranking of the salience of the channels. However, there was a significant difference in coverage in news bulletins and talk shows. We can have some clear picture of agenda setting of the issues by scaling and measuring the existence of the issue in news bulletins and it’s out of proportion coverage in talk shows. People responded on the same lines that media set for them through the salience and valence for the issues. One of the reasons might be the cause of this extensive coverage by the news channels was the recent boom in cable industry and restoration of the democracy in the country. Back to back democratic regimes during last 6 years have increased the interest of the common people in national issues. Walgrave and Aelst (2006) cited McCombs and Weaver, 1973; Weaver, 1977) that “the more people have a need for orientation on an issue, the more they will rely on media and be affected by media coverage.”

The second most covered issue by both the channels was law and order. War on terror is underway in this region and Pakistan has been remained a front line state throughout this war since 9/11. Deteriorating law and order situation is damaging a lot to every segment of society as it experienced every person. The law and order issue becomes an obtrusive issue; therefore, it has ranked as second and fourth most important issue by the viewers of Geo News and Express News respectively. The salience of news issue has been
transferred successfully to the public and the extensive coverage has increased in the salience on the part of viewers due to the obtrusiveness of the issue.

Another very important outcome of the study was that both these channels had the same agenda on some issues. A great consensus has been noted on the issues of democratic process, law and order and Pak-US relations, however, there has been a difference in the priorities of news bulletins and issues in the talk shows. The issue of corruption has also been emerged as obtrusive issue. Since the corruption has penetrated in every segment of the society from individual to institutional level, every member of the society might face the issue. However, the findings of the study reveals that channels have been focused on the corruption issues of the government and its functionary bodies. Results of the slant and framing support the basic assumptions of the agenda setting theory. Since the role of the anchorpersons in the news programs of the channels is of imperative nature, they do impact and influence the news issues in degree and nature. in the present study, it was found that anchors of the Geo News grabbed 70 percent time and 30 percent remained with the experts or participants of the talk shows while on the other hand, anchors of the Express News grabbed 30 percent time of the total time of the talk shows while they gave 70 percent time to experts and participants of the programs. However, this treatment did not affect the overall ranking and valence of the viewers. Anchors of both the channels were remained unfavorable towards government most of their media presentations. It might be the media agenda at individual level or institutional agenda at outlet level.

The placement of news stories has great correspondence with the ranking given to the issues by the audiences. The more an issue presented in opening slots, the more recalled that in ranking order by the viewers. As clear in the results, Geo News almost distributed equally all the issues among all the three slots while on the other hand, Express news presented almost all the issues in their opening and middle categories.
Both the news channels covered three issues with same salience by putting three issues, democratic process, and law and order and Pak-US relations in their top three slots of media agenda. However, the media agenda of both the channels was different in three issues like memogate, NRO and Corruption as they gave different slots in their news programs. Geo News gave fourth position to the issue of corruption while this position went to the issue of memogate scandal in Express News. The issue of corruption was placed at position sixth in Express News. In this way the media agenda of the Geo News was different from the media agenda of Express News. Geo News put national reconciliation ordinance at place sixth while this issue was existed at position seven among the issues by Express News. Media agenda of both the channels regarding the issue of energy crisis was same by giving equal salience to both these issues which were available at position fifth and eighth.

6.1.3 Recommendations

The media is said to be the informer, adviser, instructor, teacher and a motivator for members of the contemporary society. The media also work like a bridge between public and government. In this digitized age, the role of media has increased manifolds. In this research study, the private cable channels were investigated to check their impact and power to transfer media salience to public’s agenda. The rapid flourishing industry of cable channels in the country can present a better picture by getting clearer sketch about the coverage patterns and priorities of the audiences on national issues through this study. They can also reset and better correspond with some ignored but very important issues at national state of affairs.

On the other hand, the public can also judge and analyze the difference between the real issues facing the society and media primed issues. This research project can be useful for the policy makers of the news organizations especially for news channels. The results and
findings of the study could help the media people to be objective and responsible on the national issues by keeping the energies and time of the public at safer end.

- Framing and slanting of news regarding democratic process was more or less negative towards government while the favorable tilt has not been observed. Despite many good and important breakthroughs on the part of government; for example, to empower the parliament, election commission and judiciary, and strengthening democratic institutions and many constitutional amendments have been made, but these channels did not favor the government significantly. The media should complement the good doings of the government and criticize the wrongdoings to keep its business at a balance state to maintain impartiality and objectivity.

- The extensive coverage has been given to national as well as international politics by keeping away some real critical issues like energy crisis etc. There should be more proportionate coverage to these obtrusive issues. The Express News discussed the issue of law and order only four times in their talk shows during the whole study period of one year. More proportionate coverage should be given to such complicated issues.

- Anchors must not hijack the program for being just hosting it, but to follow the objective approach. The maximum time should be given to the expert or guest called in the program for better insights on the issue. The credibility of these news channels can be increased by granting more time to experts and guests for diversified opinion on the issues for better understanding of the issues.

- Watchdog role of the media should be sketched in a real spirit. The rhetoric of corruption, wrongdoings and bad governance of the government leads to ineffectiveness and the issue becomes insensitive for the public. The channels should keep a good balance slanting, framing and covering such type of news in an unbiased way. A little
carelessness can cause a social disintegration especially on the issues relating to religious, minorities, cultural and ethnic groups.

- The media should not raise the issues out of proportion. All the top three issues were covered out of proportion (exaggerate or less). The media should keep in mind that they have the power to transfer its agenda through agenda-setting techniques; therefore, through their coverage the media agenda can become a public agenda.

- Education, health, environment, pollution, social integration, women and children programs etc. should be in the media’s prime-time slots.

- The media should cover the sensitive issues with great care such as the incident of bomb blast, terrorist attack and resultantly possible casualties. The media should not create extra hype and sensationalism in such obtrusive and sensitive cases and they should wait until the loss of lives, or property is confirmed. Exaggerating figures about dead and injured could create some serious troubles and embarrassment among the people.

- The breaking news fashion has been a part and parcel in the transmission of cable news channels. Normal and routine news should not be presented as breaking news to avoid unhealthy news environment.

- Balanced coverage on national issues should be ensured by these media organizations to back the democratic forces and strengthen the media freedom in the country. The ideology and predetermined policy of the media organization is the parameter and scale for the team of the media organization. Moreover, the political and social affiliations of the people involved in the news making process could have an impact on the determination of the overall tilt of the news item. However, this research study shows that both the channels covered most of the understudied issues in an anti-government tilt. In this media commercialization marathon, there is a dire need to maintain a good balance
between the benefits of the media organization and the true and real issues facing the society.

6.1.4 Delimitations of Research Study

The research study was limited to Islamabad city and the results of the study could not be generalized on whole country. However, being the capital city, it has the population from all over the country. The population of this city can be called a representative. Some future study can be conducted in multiple cities. In this way, the results could be different in different environment. Due to the limited resources and time constraints, this study is limited to one year sample of the media outlets. Further, some more funding facility, this can be extended upto longer period. The study was based on the contents derived from prime talk shows and news bulletins. This can be enhanced upto day time news programs also or in a wider perspective.

6.1.5 Further Study

The study about measuring agenda setting effects on people in print media was witnessed in Pakistan in the year of 2008. The present study has become the first ever study about measuring agenda setting effects on audiences in the private news channels in the country. Since the rapid growth of private cable channels in the country, interest and awareness level of the general public has been raised manifolds. The study focused on assessing the media agenda setting effects on the audiences and the other aspect could be the public priorities and its effects on media agenda. This can be studied in future research of this kind.

The age of cable news channels is almost 12 years, and any longitudinal study based on the same outlets can explore some consistency and prevailing patterns of the
media production and public consumption. Further, some other dimension can be explored regarding the obtrusive and unobtrusive issues based on longer study period.

Since the pattern of media ownership in Pakistan is cross-media ownership, major newspaper publishing groups like Jang group, Herald group, Century group, Express group, Nawa-e-Waqt group have their news channels as well. Jang group besides widely circulated English and Urdu newspapers have a series of news channels. The future study can be based on media group bases. Media agenda can be measured on organizational basis both in print and electronic media outlets to correlate it with public agenda. This research study was based on non-election settings while some other future study could be performed in election occasion.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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**APPENDICES**

**Questionnaire for Survey**

This Questionnaire involves Pakistani Private Cable News Channels Only. Please Give answers to all the questions. Please Tick the appropriate choice.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S #</th>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>S #</th>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Reply</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Which of the following issues have you watched frequently during recent months? Please tick (√ ) one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Energy Crises</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NRO</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Memogate scandal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Democratic Process</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Pak US Relations</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Corruption</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Law n Order</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>In your opinion, what are the most important issues of Pakistan? Please rank most important one as No.1, the next as No.2 and so on…………………</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Energy Crises</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>NRO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Memogate Scandal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Democratic Process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pak US Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Law n Order</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Which one of the following media is the main source for news regarding the issue of energy crises? Please tick (√ ) one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>News channels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Any other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What is your stand on the issue of energy crises? Please tick (√ ) one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>We should appreciate the government on the issue of energy crises.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>We should not appreciate the government on the issue of energy crises.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>How frequently do you discuss the issue of energy crises with your family and friends? Please tick (√ ) one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Very frequently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Frequently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Never discuss</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Which is your main source of news regarding the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO)? Please tick (√ ) one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>News channels</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Any other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>What is your stand on the issue of National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO)? Please tick (√ ) one.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Government is doing right job.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Government is not doing right job.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>How frequently do you discuss the issue of…</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Very frequently</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Options</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Which one of the following media is the main source for news regarding the issue of Memogate? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. News channels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Any other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>What is your stand on the issue of Memogate scandal? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. Government is doing right on the issue of Memogate scandal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Government is not doing right on the issue of Memogate scandal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>How frequently do you discuss the issue of Memogate Scandal with your family and friends? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. Very frequently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Frequently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Never discuss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Which one of the following media is the main source for news regarding the issue of Democratic process? Please tick one.</td>
<td>1. News channels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Any other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>What is your stand on the issue of Democratic Process? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. Government is doing right on the issue of Democratic process.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Government is not doing right on the issue of Democratic process.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How frequently do you discuss the issue of Democracy with your family and friends? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. Very frequently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Frequently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Never discuss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Which one of the following media is the main source for news regarding the issue of Pak-US relations? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. News channels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Interpersonal Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Any other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>What is your stand on the issue of Pak-US relations? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. Pak-US relations are good for Pakistan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Pak-US relations are bad for Pakistan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>How frequently do you discuss the issue of Pak-US relations with your family and friends? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. Very frequently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Frequently</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Never discuss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Which one of the following media is the main source for news regarding the issue of Pak-US relations? Please tick (√) one.</td>
<td>1. News channels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Newspapers</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Interpersonal Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Any other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Options</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| What is your stand on the issue of corruption? Please tick (✓) one.      | 1. Government is doing right on the issue of corruption.  
                                                                   | 2. Government is not doing right on the issue of corruption.  
                                                                   | 3. Don't know                                                  |
| How frequently do you discuss the issue of corruption with your family  | 1. Very frequently  
                                                                   | 2. Frequently  
                                                                   | 3. Rarely  
                                                                   | 4. Never discuss                                                   |
| and friends? Please tick (✓) one.                                       |                                                                        |
| What is your stand on the issue of Law n Order? Please tick (✓) one.     | 4. Government is doing right on the issue of Law n Order.  
                                                                   | 5. Government is not doing right on the issue of Law n Order.  
                                                                   | 6. Don't know                                                  |
| How frequently do you discuss the issue of Law n Order with your family | 5. Very frequently  
                                                                   | 6. Frequently  
                                                                   | 7. Rarely  
                                                                   | 8. Never discuss                                                   |
| and friends? Please tick (✓) one.                                       |                                                                        |
| Do you think the anchors or hosts of these channels are biased towards  | 1. Very Greatly  
                                                                   | 2. Greatly  
                                                                   | 3. To some extent  
                                                                   | 4. Not at all                                                      |
| the issues? Please tick (✓) one.                                        |                                                                        |
| Gender                                                                  | 1. Male  
                                                                   | 2. Female                                                   |
| Age                                                                     | 1. 25 to 35  
                                                                   | 2. 36 to 50  
                                                                   | 3. 51 and above                                                  |
| Qualification                                                           | 1. Intermediate  
                                                                   | 2. Bachelor  
                                                                   | 3. Masters  
                                                                   | 4. MS/M.Phil                                                      |
### Code Sheet for Content Analysis

**Categories and Rules of Coding for Content Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Rules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1- Issues</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Energy Crisis</strong></td>
<td>Energy crisis means news relate to the short fall of Electricity, gas, power. All news related to power sector</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NRO</strong></td>
<td>All news related to government with reference to NRO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Memogate Scandal</strong></td>
<td>All news related to Husain Haqqani, Mansoor Ejaz with reference to Memogate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Democratic Process</strong></td>
<td>All news of parliament, govt, election commission, voter lists, ministers, committees with reference to promote the democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pak-US relations</strong></td>
<td>All news related to Pak-US relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Favorable for US</strong></td>
<td>All news depicting a favorable image of US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Un-favorable for US</strong></td>
<td>All news depicting an un-favorable image of US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td>News not favorable not unfavorable for US</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Favorable for Government regarding energy crisis, NRO, Memogate, Democratic process, and Pak-US relations, law n order, Corruption.</strong></td>
<td>All news depicting a favorable image of the government on the specified issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unfavorable for Government regarding energy crisis, NRO, Memogate, Democratic process, and Pak-US relations, law n order, Corruption.</strong></td>
<td>All news depicting an unfavorable image of the government on the specified issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral for Government regarding energy crisis, NRO, Memogate scandal, Democratic process, and Pak-US relations, law n order, Corruption.</strong></td>
<td>All news devoting equal time to (favorable and unfavorable for the government or neutral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>Pro Government (About energy crisis, NRO, Memogate scandal, Democratic process, and Pak-US relations, law n order, Corruption.)</td>
<td>Pro-Government frame (on the issues under study) means the news giving a positive image of the government.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti Government (About energy crisis, NRO, Memogate scandal, Democratic process, and Pak-US relations, law n order, Corruption.)</td>
<td>Anti-Government frame (on the issues under study) means news giving a negative image of the government.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of Time</td>
<td>Time devoted to the news stories means the time per news bulletin including the supportive photage time in seconds Minutes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Official</td>
<td>Official source means the government or official person gives news to the media outlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un-official</td>
<td>Un-official source means the person outside the govt or agency gives news to the media outlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>The news story coming from some un-identified will be categorized as ‘others’. It may include news channel’s own analysis i.e. reporter, anchor or media expert etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placement</td>
<td>Opening news story</td>
<td>News stories broadcast in the start of news bulletin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mid news story</td>
<td>News stories broadcast in the mid of news bulletin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Last news story</td>
<td>News stories broadcast in the last of news bulletin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Coding of Data for Correlation Purposes:**

Categories designed to assess the survey data: (Public Agenda)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Low Priority</th>
<th>Low Priority</th>
<th>Moderate Priority</th>
<th>Great Priority</th>
<th>V. Great Priority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50 and Less</td>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>101-150</td>
<td>151-200</td>
<td>201 and above</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Categories designed to assess the content data: (Media Agenda)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V. Low Coverage</th>
<th>Low Coverage</th>
<th>Moderate Coverage</th>
<th>Great Coverage</th>
<th>V. Great Coverage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50 and Less</td>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>101-150</td>
<td>151-200</td>
<td>201 and above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>