

**The Relationship between the Public and Print Media Agendas on
National Issues in Pakistan**
(A Study of the Agenda Setting Role of Print Media in Pakistan)

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We are living in a world where millions of events are taking place simultaneously. Media organizations and institutions have employed thousands of people to observe those events and report them. The news media tell us which issues are important and which ones are not. We have never seen the war situations of Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine and Kashmir with our own eyes. Even then we have pictures of these disputed areas in our minds. The media's daily reports inform us about the latest events and changes taking place in the world beyond our reach. As a result of this phenomenon, most of our perceptions about the world are a second-hand reality created by the media organizations. There is no assurance and no guarantee that this reality is an accurate picture of the world.

Media organizations do not just passively broadcast information repeating the words of the official sources or conveying exactly the incidents of an event. They also do not select or reject the day's news in proportion to reality. Through their selection and display of the news stories, the reporters and the editors focus their attention and influence the public's perceptions of what are the most important issues of the day. Our pictures of the world are shaped and refined in the

way journalists frame their news stories. This function of media is called the agenda-setting function of media (McCombs 2002).

Agenda Setting is one of the most important media theories of the present times. The concept of agenda setting took its name from the idea that the mass media have the ability to carry the salience of items on their news agendas and then transfer it to the public agenda. Usually journalists deal with the news in several important ways. First of all, they decide which news to cover and which to ignore. Then they assess all of these available reports. In the words of McCombs (2002), in a typical daily newspaper, over 75 percent of the potential news of the day is rejected and never transmitted to the audience (p.4). Newspapers don't have enough space to print each and everything that is available. There is no way other than choices. These are the first steps in gate-keeping routine. But the news items that pass through the gate of the media organizations do not receive equal treatment when presented to the audience. Some news stories are published in a greater length and prominently displayed. Others receive only brief attention. Newspapers clearly state the journalistic salience of an item through its page placement, headline and length etc.

Agenda setting claims that audiences obtain this salience of the issues from the news media, incorporating similar sets of priorities into their own agendas. Agenda setting describes the transmission of these saliences as one of the most important aspects of mass communication. The news media not only inform us about the world at large, giving us the major elements for our pictures of the world, they also influence the prominence of those elements in these pictures.

Today, we are living in a global village where the mass media are an important source of information about what is going on in the world. This is an obvious fact that the news media organizations seem more interested in some events than in others. This is widely understood and accepted that the material presented by the media organizations is selective. That selectivity is a result of its limited capacity to provide total surveillance. Some factors are imposed on the people who do the gate-keeping (reporters and editors), and some financial limitations and economic pressures are also placed on the media because they must survive as profit making commercial organizations. These factors play a vital role to decide which stories to select, follow up, emphasize, interpret and manipulate in particular and desired ways.

According to the agenda-setting theory, because of the fact of paying attention to some issues and neglecting and ignoring some others, the mass media will have an effect on public opinion. People will be inclined to know about those issues and things, which are highlighted by the mass media and they adopt the order of priority assigned to different issues. This theory primarily deals with learning and not with attitude or opinion change. Some of the empirical studies of mass communication had confirmed that the most expected effects to occur would be on matters of information. Usually, people learn what the issues are and how these are ordered in importance in the media agenda.

Historical Background

It was Lippmann's theory that the mass media create our pictures of the world. However, he understood that the pictures provided by the media were often

incomplete and unclear. We can see only reflections of reality (not reality itself) in the news media. Yet, those reflections provide the basis for our pictures (Lippman, 1922).

After a long period of four decades, Bernard Cohen presented his idea in 1963 by saying: “Press 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” (pp.232-233).

The notion that the news media influence the “pictures in our heads” was put to an empirical test in 1972. Two researchers Maxwell McCombs & Donald Shaw from the University of North Carolina thought whether the topics selected by the news media to represent the world outside limited the kinds of events that people used to interpret the world. They also thought whether the public’s perception of reality depended on the topics highlighted by the news media or not (McComb & Shaw, 1972).

During the 1968 presidential election of the USA, McCombs and Shaw conducted the first test of Lippmann’s theory in Chapel Hill, NC. At that time, the existing theory was that the mass media had only limited effects on the public. Earlier studies conducted by some scholars stated that exposure to campaign information had little influence on the public’s voting behaviors (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1948; Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954). According to this limited effects model, voters relied on social groups and their perceptions to guide their voting decisions. The news media only supported and to some extent reinforced voters’ preference for some particular politician or party. Joseph Klapper (1960) summarized his research in the words that “mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a

necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating functions and influences” (p.8).

It was a tremendous beginning of a new mass communications theory, which can be divided into two aspects. The first aspect relates to the transmission of issue or object salience from the media agenda to the public agenda. The second aspect tells us about the news media’s role in framing those issues and objects in the minds of people.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) tested the notion that the mass media influence public perception about the important issues of the day through their daily selection and display of the news in their news bulletin etc. Especially, they believed that with the passage of time the priority issues of the news media organizations would become the priority issues of the public.

While conducting their research during the 1968 Chapel Hill study, McCombs and Shaw focused their attention on the most important problem facing the country. It was an open-ended question, “What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?” They also asked another question “What are you most concerned about these days? That is what are the two or three main things which you think the government should concentrate on doing something about?” (p.178). The researchers then made ranking order of the issues according to the percentage of voters stating the position of each issue.

The content of the news media was the independent variable in the Chapel Hill study. The researchers compared responses of their open-ended survey questions with a content analysis of the nine major news sources used by the voters of that particular area. Television, radio, newspapers, and news magazines were included in the

sources. As a result of the open-ended survey question five major issues of importance were found to the voters of Chapel Hill. These issues were foreign policy, law and order, fiscal policy, civil rights, evaluation of the news coverage across three weeks of the last presidential campaign (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The public agenda of the issues of the study was rank-ordered according to the number of voters naming an issue. These five issues were rank-ordered on the news agenda according to the percentage of news coverage on the issues falling into each category. There was a strong and significant relationship between the public's and the media's agenda about the issues. This transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public agenda was called as the agenda-setting role of mass communication.

A reasonable number of studies have been conducted on the agenda-setting theory. Rogers, Dearing, and Bregman (1993) found 223 publications that directly or indirectly were linked with agenda setting from 1922 to 1992. Most of them appeared after the year 1971, with the climax years of publication (1977, 1981, 1987, 1991) each producing 17 to 20 items (Rogers et al., 1993). Recently, a scholar Aeron Delwiche (2007) claimed in his article "Agenda Setting, Opinion Leadership and the world of Web Logs" that the number of studies on agenda setting has exceeded 350.

Agenda setting analysis is opening new dimensions in mass communication research. In most of the research till now, the comparison has been made between the media agenda and the public agenda. But there also are comparisons of different media agendas, of numerous political agendas with the media agenda, and a number of agendas with policy agendas. In addition to this, researchers have started thinking beyond the original domain of an agenda of issues to find new dimensions in the

traditional agenda-setting research. In the coming years of agenda-setting research, hopefully, scholars will be exploring numerous new dimensions of the news agenda.

Bi-Directional Nature of Agenda-Setting Process

A research study was conducted by Shanto Iyengar and Adam Simon (1991) in USA to find the agenda setting effects regarding the news coverage of the Gulf crisis of 1990. From August 1990 to March 1991, the Gulf crisis was the subject of the extensive news coverage in print as well as in electronic media. This event provided a powerful “natural experiment” for examining the effects of news on the development of public opinion. Framing, priming and agenda setting effects were studied in the research to examine which news coverage shaped the public’s response to the Gulf crisis. Respondents were provided with a choice between military or diplomatic response to the crisis. It was hypothesized that increased exposure to television news would be associated with increases in support for the military response. As per the results of the study, significant agenda setting effects were found - the more the informed respondents and respondents who watched the news more frequently were more apt to favor a military response. There were statistically significant results of the expected relationship. Exposure to episodic news programming strengthened, albeit modestly, support for a military resolution of the crisis (Iyengar & Simon, 1991).

The researchers of the study presented the idea of the unidirectional and bi-directional nature of the agenda setting process. Unidirectional effects of news coverage mean that increases in the news coverage are thought to bring about increases in the salience of particular issues or events. The results of the study provided some bi-directional nature of the agenda-setting process. The emergence of the Gulf as the

most important national problem was accompanied by a sudden decline in the prominence of drugs and the budget deficit. The researchers stated, “The intensive news coverage generated by a “crisis issue” not only elevates the prominence of the target issue, but also removes other issues from public attention” (Iyengar & Simon, 1991). The researchers called this phenomenon as the “Hydraulic pattern.”

Determinants of Agenda-Setting Effects.

What are the determinants of the agenda setting function of mass media? This is an important question of debate among the scholars of Mass Communication. Different scholars presented their views in different ways. Basically, the determinants of the agenda setting effects of media are the factors that play their role in setting the public agenda. Different determinants produce different agenda setting results in different situations. Following are the most agreed determinants of the agenda setting effects.

1. Media exposure: Earlier it was considered that media credibility and reliance on the media are the most important determinants of the agenda setting effects. But Wanta & Ghanem (2006) described that exposure was a stronger determinant than media credibility or media reliance. Earlier, Wanta and Miller (1996) had found exposure to be more important than media credibility in relation to presidential state of the union addresses.

2. Obtrusiveness: It refers to the extent that the public has experience with the policy issue. The more unobtrusive an issue, the more the individual may rely on media exposure for orientation. In a research study conducted by Zucker (1978), it was found that salience transfer was maximum for unobtrusive issues.

3. Need for orientation. Need for orientation is a function of individual interest in the policy topic combined with issue uncertainty. Weaver (1977) and others found that some persons have greater need for policy orientation and thus are more affected by salience transfer than others.

About this study

This study was aimed to find the relationship between the print media agenda and the public agenda in Pakistani society exploring the agenda setting effects of mass media. As discussed earlier, almost more than three hundred studies have been conducted to investigate the agenda setting role of media on audience members of different societies. Except a few, almost all of them have been conducted in the advanced and developed countries of the world. In Pakistan, no research study had been conducted on the agenda setting effects of the mass media on society prior to this research. So this was the first ever study of its kind in the country. The basic purpose of the study was to investigate the relationship of the print media agenda and the public agenda in Pakistan. In other words, the study focused on the agenda setting role of the print media in Pakistan.

Keeping in view the nature and requirement of the study, content analysis as well as survey research was adopted to explore and examine the relationship between the public agenda and the print media agenda in Pakistan. Content analysis of the two national dailies of Pakistan was done on alternate days for one year. These newspapers are the daily Dawn (the largest widely circulated English newspaper) and the daily Jang (the largest widely circulated Urdu newspaper). Coverage for the following six issues was categorically analyzed.

1. **Terrorism**
2. **Indo-Pak relations**
3. **Energy crisis**
4. **Food crisis**
5. **Judiciary crisis**
6. **Lal Masjid (Red Mosque)**

To investigate the relationship between the public agenda and the print media agenda, a survey of three hundred newspapers' readers from the city of Islamabad was conducted. The questionnaires were filled by the newspapers' readers. Then the results of the survey research were compared with the results of the content analysis to investigate the relationship between the print media agenda and the public agenda.

Issues of the Study

1. **Terrorism:** Although the issue of terrorism is a global issue but Pakistan has suffered the most in the war against terrorism. On one hand, the country has become a target for suicide bombers who have killed thousands of soldiers and innocent people in bomb blasts while on the other hand the people are being killed brutally by the missile attacks of the Americans jets. The country has to pay a lot for becoming the ally of the US in war on terrorism.
2. **Indo-Pak relations:** Friends can be changed but neighbors can't. Pakistan came into being on 14th August 1947 but India did not accept its creation. Two major wars have been fought in 1965 and 1971 between two countries and a number of other small wars have been taken place including the war of Kargil in 1997. Both countries spend more than 80% of their annual budget on defense instead of spending

this money for the prosperity of the people. Kashmir is the major dispute between two countries, the major portion of which is under the occupation of India.

3. Energy Crisis: Pakistan is passing through the worst ever situation of the energy crisis nowadays. According to an official report, the country is currently facing a shortage of 3000 Mega Watt electricity. The report says that the actual consumption of the electricity is 14500 MW while the current production is only 11500 MW (Daily Dawn Islamabad May 13th 2008). Because of this shortfall, the daily life cycle of the people in Pakistan has badly disturbed. Residential and commercial units, industries, government and private offices, markets all of them are facing a huge problem of power cut-off. Usually the power supply is suspended for six intervals of one hour each in a day.

4. Food Crisis: The country is passing through a worst kind of food crisis because of the unavailability of the basic food items especially wheat flour. The issue was one of the major issues of public interest at the time of the research project.

5. Judiciary Crisis: One of the most important issues of Pakistan is judiciary crisis. The issue has become a focal point after the establishment of new democratic government. The issue started on March 9th 2007 when the then President General Pervez Musharraf dismissed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pakistan Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chodhary. A huge wave of protest was started by the members of the civil society and lawyers of the country for the restoration of the Chief Justice. On 20th July 2007, the Supreme Judicial Council made the historic decision of the restoration of the Chief Justice. The lawyers and public welcomed the decision. But on the 3rd of November 2007, the then President Mr. Pervez Musharraf

6. Lal Masjid Issue: It was a sad incident that happened in Islamabad in June and July 2007 (during the study period of this research project) in which thousands of innocent boys and girls were killed by the armed forces of the country. Lal Masjid (red mosque) is one of the old mosques in the federal capital of the country spreading religious education for decades. More than five thousand female students were enrolled in the seminary while a greater number of male students were also enrolled separately in the boys section of the seminary. The dispute emerged between the mosque administration and the government when a portion of the seminary was demolished by the city administration that was built on some illegally occupied land. As a protest the students of the seminary occupied the nearby children's library. They demanded to build the demolished part of the seminary that was not acceptable to the city authorities. The government warned the seminary administration to leave the illegal occupation of the library but they did not. Suddenly some reports appeared in the media that some militant activities were happening there. In this situation the government deployed army troops all around the mosque and the seminary in the last week of June 2007. A fierce gun battle started on 3rd July 2007 between the seminary

students and the military forces. The battle lasted for almost two weeks but it took thousands lives of poor children who had come there from all over the country for religious education. Some military personnel and common citizens were also killed in this battle. The main cleric was arrested while his younger brother was killed in the battle. According to some reports the most dangerous chemicals and gases including phosphorus were used during the military operation. The issue remained a hot burning topic of discussion in media as well as in the society. It was included in the current study due to its huge media coverage and its impact on society.

Research Design

Research Questions

Whether and to what extent the print media agenda influences the public agenda in Pakistan?

Hypothesis:

The greater the coverage of an issue in the newspaper, the greater will be its importance for the public and vice versa.

Methodology

Content analysis as well as survey research was adopted for this study.

Content Analysis

Content of the two newspapers, daily Jang Rawalpindi and daily Dawn Islamabad was analyzed for this study for one year. (From May 1st 2007 to April 30th 2008). The reason for the selection of these newspapers is that the former one is the largest widely circulated newspaper of Urdu in Pakistan while the later one is the largest widely circulated English daily of the country. Both newspapers have a strong professional reputation covering almost all of the important issues of the country as

well as the important issues of the world. They have engaged a sufficient number of highly qualified senior and professional journalists in their organizational structures. The main reason for the time period is that the issues of the study remained dominant in the Pakistani print media almost constantly throughout the period of the research study. The content analysis of the front and back pages of the newspapers was done on the alternate days. The content analysis of the daily Dawn was conducted of the newspapers published on even dates (2, 4 6, etc.) and the content of the daily Jang was analyzed on the odd dates (1, 3, 5, etc.). Hence the content of a total number of 182 copies of daily Dawn and 183 newspapers of daily Jang was analyzed thoroughly and the news on the issues of the study were counted and their length was measured in centimeters per column.

Variables of the Content Analysis

Frequency and Length

News stories published about the issues of the study on the front and back pages of the sample newspapers were counted and their length was measured in centimeters per column.

Slant

The slant of the news stories published about the issues was also analyzed in terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral. The slant was measured by analyzing the coding unit of analysis that is paragraph.

Frame

Framing is an important factor in agenda setting effects. It means how a news story was framed. The frames of the news stories were measured in terms of friend, foe, neutral, pro government, anti government, and neutral etc. These were measured on the basis of the contextual unit because the whole news story was a contextual unit.

Placement

The placement is also an important factor in agenda setting study. It means where the news story was placed in the newspaper. In this study, the placement was divided into four categories. These are as under:

- 1- Front Page upper half
- 2- Front Page lower half
- 3- Back Page upper half
- 4- Back Page lower half

Survey Research

A survey of three hundred (300) regular readers of these newspapers (150 readers of each newspaper) was conducted in Islamabad because the researcher is stationed in Islamabad, the federal capital of Pakistan. The list of the regular subscribers was obtained from the management of these newspapers. The sample of 300 respondents was selected equally among the seventeen residential sectors of Islamabad. Although the sample was selected from Islamabad and not from the other areas of the country but even then it represents the trend of the whole country. Islamabad is not an old city (until 1960 it was a forest) and it represents the people of the whole country who are living here for their jobs, businesses or residential facilities. The residents of this city have come from nooks and corners of the country and they virtually represent the population of the whole country. Keeping in view these facts, it can be said that to a

greater extent, the sample of the study represents the newspaper readership of the whole country. The results of the survey research were then compared with the results of the content analysis. The opinion of the readers of the daily Dawn was compared with the results of the content analysis of the same newspaper while the results of the survey of the readers of daily Jang were compared with the findings of the content analysis of the same newspaper.

The questionnaire was administered through a team of the volunteer students of Mass Communication at the Allama Iqbal Open University Islamabad. The whole process was supervised by the researcher of this study.

Variables of Survey Research

Salience: The measurement of the salience assigned to the issues under study was the most important variable of this research study. The salience was measured by giving a list of the issues of the study to the correspondents and asking them to give them rank order according to their own perception.

Formation of Opinion: Formation of opinion of the newspapers' readers was also measured through a question and its results were correlated with the slant of the newspaper coverage. This variable was included to strengthen the findings of the study.

Discussions with family and friends: Usually, when we get some information about an issue, we discuss it with our family and friends to strengthen our opinion and perception. Hence it plays an important role in agenda setting. We can call this process as the second level of agenda setting. In the first level audience receive

information about an issue from media and then in the second phase they discuss this issue with their family and friends. Hence agenda setting works at its best.

Results and Findings of the Study

Frequency of the News Stories published on the Issues

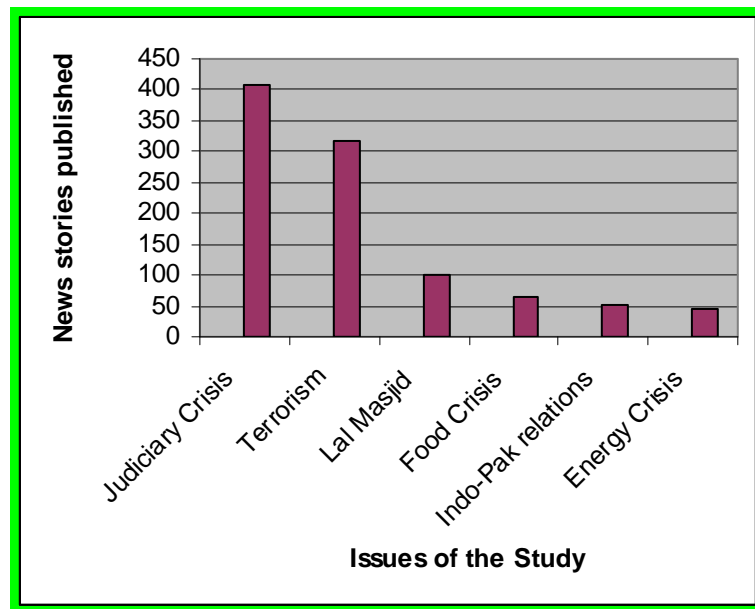
During the study period of one year the daily Jang published 407 news stories on its front and back pages about the issue of judiciary crisis and hence this issue got the largest coverage among the issues of the study. The issue of terrorism got the second position having a number of 316 news stories which were published in the daily Jang. The newspaper published one hundred news stories about the issue of Lal Masjid (Red mosque) and hence the issue got the third position in its coverage during the year of the study. The issue of food crisis remained on fourth position having a score of 65 news items while the fifth position went to the issue of Indo-Pak relations having a score of 52 news stories. The issue of the energy crisis got the minimum coverage in this newspaper during the year and only 45 news items were published on the crisis. Hence the total number of the news stories about the issues of the study published on the front and back pages of the daily Jang (on alternate days) was 985.

On the other hand, the daily Dawn donated the largest coverage to the issue of terrorism by publishing 479 news stories on its front and back pages during the period of one year (on alternate days). Here, the issue of judiciary crisis got the second position having a score of 129 news stories. The issue of Indo-Pak relations got the third maximum coverage having a score of 104 news items. Thirty nine news stories were published about the issue of food crisis and the issue remained on the fourth

position just like the coverage of daily Jang. The issue of energy crisis remained on fifth position having a score of 36 news stories while the issue of Lal Masjid got the minimum coverage in this newspaper because only 31 news stories were published about this issue on the front and back pages of the daily Dawn. Hence the Dawn published a total number of 819 news stories on the issues of this study.

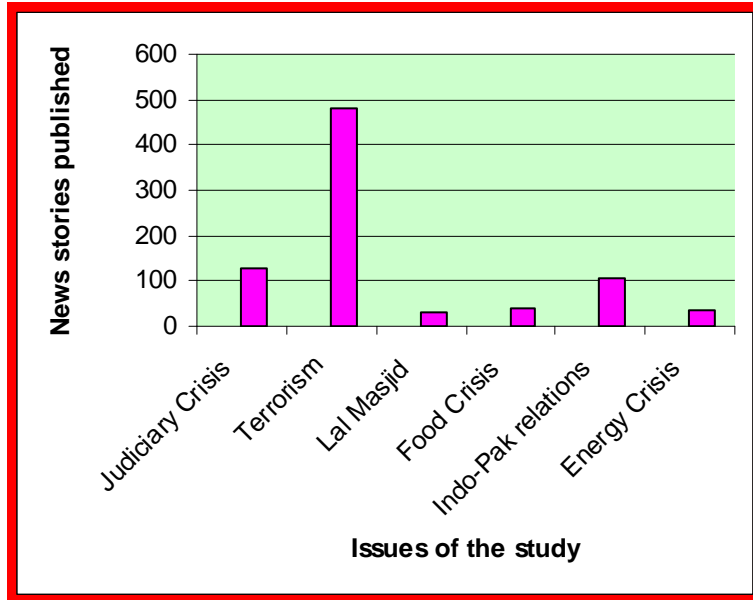
The difference in the media agenda setting can be seen in the following two figures. The figures show two different patterns of the coverage to the most important issues of the time in the two newspapers. The figure 1 elaborates the frequency of news stories about the issues of the study published in the daily Jang during the study period of one year while the figure 2 depicts the coverage of these issues in daily Dawn in the same period.

Figure 1: Frequency of the news stories published in daily Jang



The issue of judiciary crisis got first position in daily Jang while it remained on number two in the daily Dawn.

Figure 2: Frequency of the news stories published in daily Dawn



On the other hand, the issue of terrorism got the maximum coverage in the daily Dawn but it remained on number two in the daily Jang. The issue of the Lal mosque remained on third position in the daily Jang while it got the minimum coverage on the front and back pages of the daily Dawn by publishing only 31 news stories. The only issue which got the same position in the two newspapers was the issue of the food crisis that remained on number four position in the two newspapers. The issue of the Indo-Pak relations remained on fifth position in the daily Jang but stunningly it got the third position in the daily Dawn. The issue of the energy crisis got the last position of number six in the daily Jang while it remained on the second last position in the daily Dawn.

Table 1 elaborates the result of the statistical test chi square which shows the difference of the statistical significance. As apparent from the table, the difference between the coverage of the issues of the study in both the newspapers is significant

(chi square = 1094; p.000 for the daily Dawn and chi square = 746; p.000 for the daily Jang).

Table 1: Chi-Square Test Statistics about the number of the news stories

	Coverage in Dawn	Coverage in Jang
Chi-Square(a, b)	1094.181	746.659
df	5	5
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 136.3.

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 164.0.

Length of the News Stories

The space (length) given to the news stories about the issues of the study was measured in centimeters per column. The normal width of a column in the Pakistani newspapers is four centimeters. This is important to mention here that the visual coverage of the issues in shape of pictures was also included in the measurement of the length of the news stories. Most of the news items published on the front and back pages of the newspapers carry their remaining parts on the inner pages. The length of the remaining parts of the news stories published on the inner pages was also included in the measurement.

The daily Jang donated a space of 13017 centimeters column to the number one issue of judiciary crisis while it gave 8921 centimeters column to the issue of terrorism. The third issue of the Lal Masjid received coverage of 2637 centimeters while the fourth issue of the food crisis got coverage of 1620 centimeters column. The newspaper gave fifth position to the issue of Indo-Pak relations which received length of 1013 centimeters column while the issue of the energy crisis received coverage of 1273 centimeters. This is pertinent to mention that the sequence of the

coverage of the issues remained same as it was in the frequency measurement. However, the issue of the energy crisis which was on the last position in frequency measurement got more coverage than the issue of Indo-Pak relations in its length measurement. The figure 3 depicts the picture of the space given to the news stories of the issues by the daily Jang.

Figure 3: Length of news stories published in daily Jang in centimeters per column

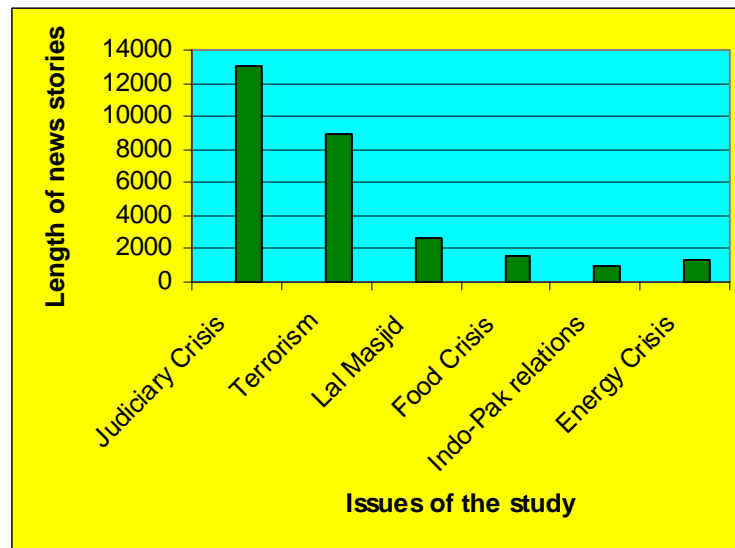
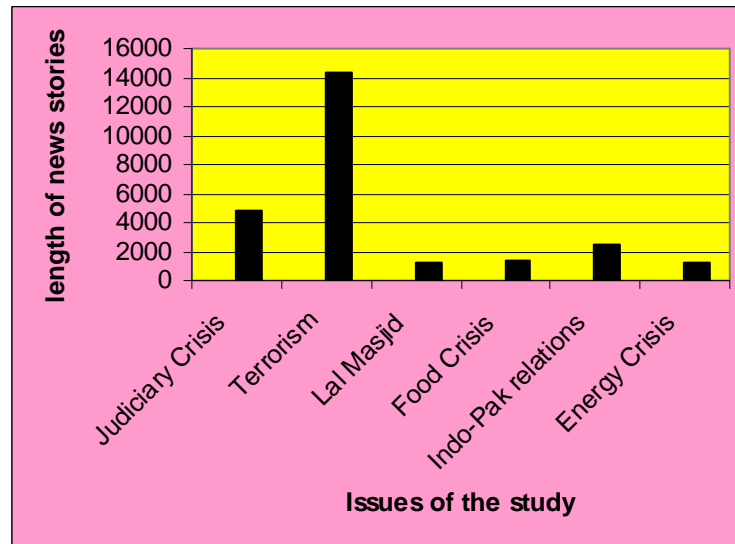


Figure 4: Length of news stories published in daily Dawn in centimeters per column



The figure 4 explains the length of the news stories about the issues of the study published in the daily Dawn. The relationship of the coverage of the issues was the same as it was in the frequency measurement. The world wide issue of terrorism got the largest portion of the newspaper coverage by getting a length of 14372 centimeters column while the judiciary issue received the second largest portion of the newspaper coverage by having 4864 centimeters column. The number three issue Indo-Pak relations got 2451 centimeters column coverage in the daily Dawn while the issue of the food crisis received a space of 1315 centimeters column in this newspaper. The issue of the energy crisis received 1223 centimeters while the issue of the Lal Masjid got the minimum coverage of 1201 centimeters column in the front and back pages of the daily Dawn (on alternate days) in the whole year of the study period.

Table 2 Chi Square Test Statistics about the length of the news stories

	Length of news stories in Dawn	Length of news stories in Jang
Chi-Square(a, b)	819.714	1566.067
df	74	88
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 10.9.

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 11.1.

As apparent from the table 2, the difference in the coverage of the issues of the study in both of the newspapers is significant (chi square = 819; p.000 for the Dawn and chi square = 1566; p.000 for the Jang). The result of the statistical test is same as it was found in the earlier variable of the number of news stories published during the study period in the both newspapers.

Slant

The slant of the news stories published about the issues of the study was measured in terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral. The paragraph was the coding unit of analysis and the slant was measured according to the rules of categorization.

Table 3: Slant of the news stories published in the newspapers

Issues	Daily Jang			Daily Dawn		
	Favorable for US/ Govt.	Unfavorable for US/ Govt.	Neutral	Favorable for US/ Govt.	Unfavorable For US/ Govt.	Neutral
Terrorism	678	741	307	1986	1311	819
Indo-Pak relations	119	44	48	309	269	154
Energy Crisis	104	93	46	181	99	40
Food Crisis	160	109	49	190	128	92
Judiciary Crisis	382	1582	323	282	684	228
Lal Masjid	149	280	47	110	112	29

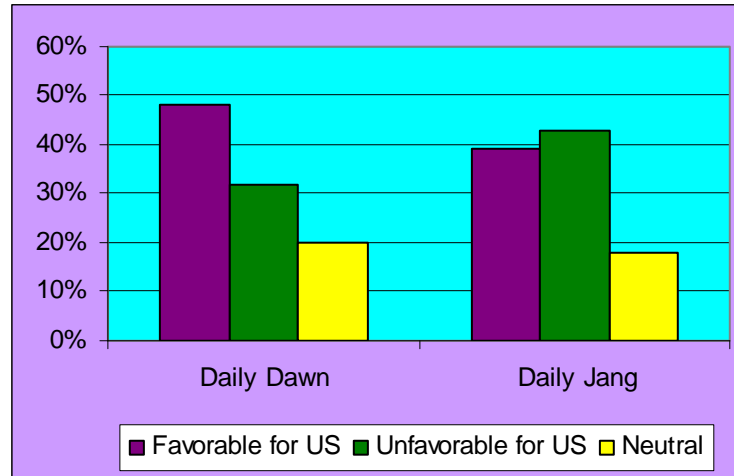
The table 3 unveils the slant of the national Pakistani newspapers about the issues of the study. The table depicts the actual number of the paragraphs in terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral separately in the both newspapers.

Slant for the issue of Terrorism

The figure 5 elaborates the slant for the issue of terrorism in the daily Dawn and the daily Jang. The Dawn donated 48 percent news coverage favorable for the issue of terrorism, 32 percent coverage unfavorable for the US and 20 percent neutral.

On the other hand, the daily Jang gave 39 percent coverage favorable for the US, 43 percent slant was given against the US while its 18 percent coverage was neutral. Here we can see a clear difference between the policy of English and Urdu journalism about the issue of terrorism.

Figure 5: Slant for the issue of Terrorism



Being the largest widely circulated English newspaper of the country, the Dawn gave more coverage in favor of the US policies and less coverage against the policies of the US while the daily Jang gave more coverage against the US policies and the less coverage favorable for the US.

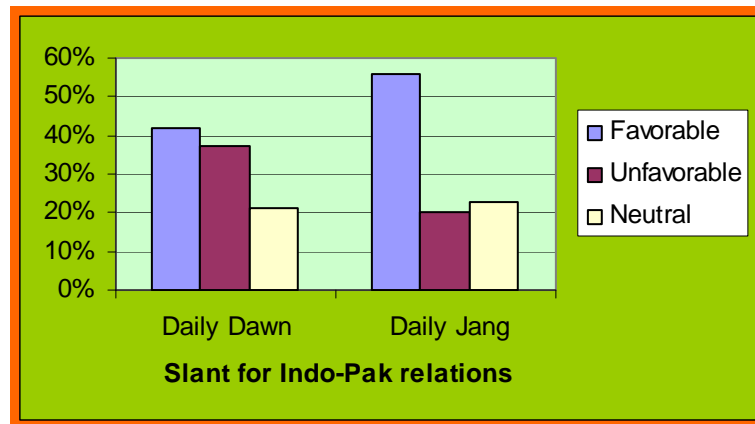
Slant for the issue of Indo-Pak Relations

The issue of the Indo-Pak relations always remained an important topic in the country for several reasons. Two wars and several battles have been fought between the two countries. Now the Pakistani media is playing its role to change enmity into good relations. The figure 6 is evident for this struggle.

As the figure shows, the daily Dawn gave 42 percent slant in favor of the bilateral relations, 37 percent coverage for the slant unfavorable for the relations while 21

percent news coverage was found as neutral. The daily Jang donated its 56 percent slant in favor of the bilateral relations, only 20 percent slant against the Indo-Pak relations while its 24 percent coverage was neutral.

Figure 6: Slant for the issue of Indo-Pak relations



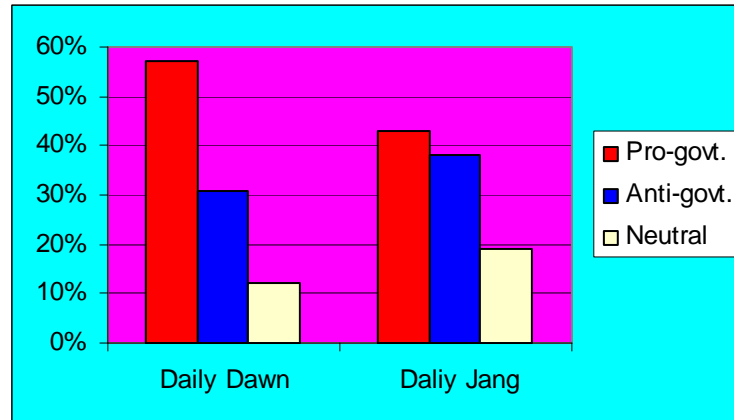
Most of the news stories favorable for the bilateral relations were about the exchange of delegations, meetings of the officials to discuss the issues, exchange of prisoners, statements of the politicians and ministers for good relations, traveling facilities, visa relaxation etc. The negative news were about the issue of Kashmir, threats to each others, killing of the prisoners, blaming of terrorist activities and bomb explosions on each other, etc.

Slant for the issue of Energy Crisis

The figure 7 shows the ratio of slant for the issue of the energy crisis. The dominant slant was in favor of the government in both newspapers. The Dawn gave 57 percent coverage while the Jang donated 43 percent coverage of this issue in favor of the government. However it was found unfavorable for the government as 31 percent in the Dawn and 38 percent in the Jang.

Most of the news stories in favor of the government were about the government efforts and statements to overcome the shortage of the energy resources and to overcome the power cut-off. Some news items were published about the construction of new dams and import of electricity from some nearby countries.

Figure 7: Slant for the issue of energy crisis

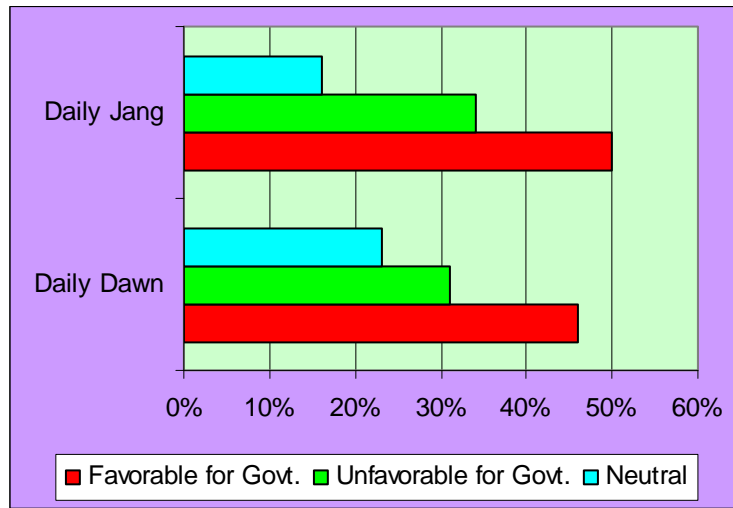


The news of the issue that were counted and measured as unfavorable for the government were about the long power cut-offs, peoples' demonstrations against the authorities, closure of some industrial units because of the power shortage etc.

Slant for the Issue of Food Crisis

The slant for the issue of the food crisis is evident from the figure 8. It can be seen that although the people of Pakistan are suffering from a great shortage of food, the national newspapers of Pakistan follow the official line of the government and they don't take any care of the real problems faced by the people.

Figure 8: Slant for the issue of food crisis



Both newspapers published more news in favor of the government than the news unfavorable for the government about the issue of the food crisis. The Dawn and the Jang published 46 percent and 50 percent news about the issue of the food crisis in favor of the government respectively. However, they published 31 percent and 34 percent news items that were giving an unfavorable image of the government respectively. The percentage of the neutral news items on the issue was 23 in the Dawn and 16 in the Jang.

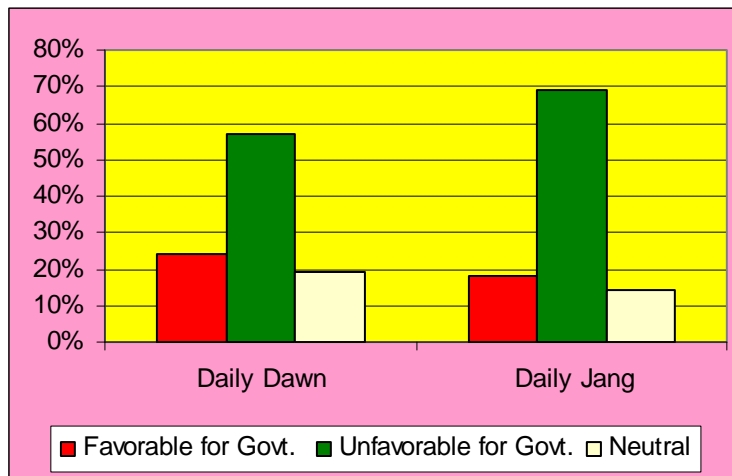
The news items regarding the government's efforts to overcome the food shortage, supply of wheat quota to flour mills, incentives to farmers to produce more wheat crop, supply of wheat flour and other food items at subsidized rates at the government run utility stores etc. were included in the category of the news favorable for the government. On the other hand, the unfavorable news about this category included the news stories about the shortage of the wheat flour, news items about the wheat smuggling to Afghanistan, high prices and unavailability of the basic food necessities, etc. were counted as unfavorable for the government.

Slant for the Issue of Judiciary Crisis

Unlike the other issues, the issue of the judiciary crisis received tremendous slant against the government. It might be a result of a huge movement of the lawyers of the country for the restoration of the judiciary.

The daily Dawn published 24 percent news paragraphs on this issue in favor of the government while it published 57 percent news paragraphs about the issue that were unfavorable for the government. The percentage of the neutral paragraphs was 19. On the other hand the daily Jang allotted 18 percent coverage on the issue of the judiciary crisis in favor of the government while its 69 percent coverage on the above-mentioned issue was unfavorable for the government. The paper published 14 percent neutral paragraphs about the issue.

Figure 9: Slant for the issue of Judiciary crisis

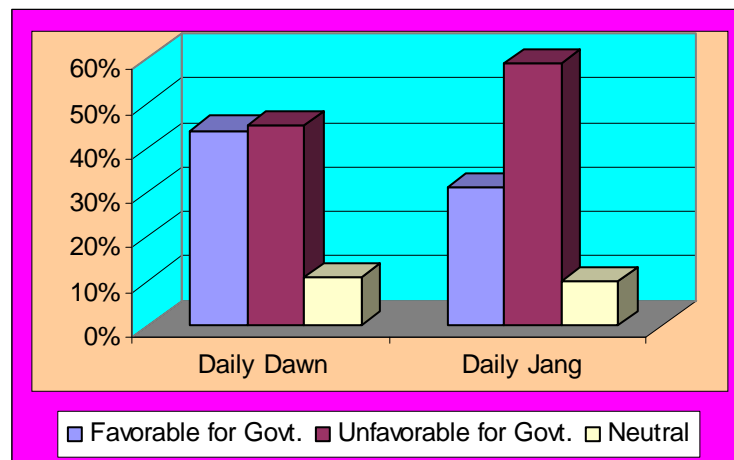


The news items about the judiciary issue that were found favorable for the government included the statements of the then President Musharraf, the Attorney General, the ministers etc. while the unfavorable news items included the activities of the lawyers, bar councils and civil society for the restoration of the judiciary, the statements of the lawyers' leaders.

Slant for the Issue of Lal Masjid (Red Mosque)

The slant given by the newspapers of the study on the issue of the Lal Masjid is clear from the figure 10. It was a very much sensitive issue in which thousands of innocent seminary boys and girls were killed brutally by the armed forces. The Dawn kept a balance during the coverage of the issue by giving almost equal treatment to both sides while the Jang being a popular newspaper of the country donated more coverage against the government because of its brutalities. The Dawn gave 44 percent coverage on the issue of the Lal Masjid in favor of the government and 45 percent coverage against the government while its 11 percent coverage about the issue was neutral.

Figure 10: Slant for the Issue of Lal Masjid



The Jang gave only 31 percent coverage of the issue in favor of the government while it donated 59 percent coverage of the issue against the government. The neutral slant was only 10 percent in this newspaper's coverage about the issue of Lal Masjid.

The news stories that presented a favorable position for the government included the statements of the then President Musharraf, ministers of the government, officials etc. On the other hand the dominant news items against the government included the

statements of Ghazi brothers (leaders of the mosque), religious leaders, politicians, news items about the brutalities of the armed forces and killings of the seminary students, reports about the parents of the students, burning of the pages of the Holly Quran, etc. The newspapers (as well as the TV channels) played an excellent role in highlighting the state killings.

Framing of the Issues

Framing was also measured about the issues of the study in terms of friend and foe in case of the issues of terrorism and Indo-Pak relations while the titles for the frames of the other issues were called as pro-government and anti-government. The table 4 elaborates the picture of framing for the issues of the study.

Table 4: Framing of the issues

Issues	Daily Dawn		Daily Jang	
	Friend / Pro-Govt.	Foe / Anti-Govt.	Friend / Pro-Govt.	Foe / Anti-Govt.
Terrorism	259	220	136	180
Indo-Pak relations	48	56	36	16
Energy Crisis	23	13	27	19
Food Crisis	21	19	38	27
Judiciary Crisis	34	96	73	334
Lal Masjid	12	19	36	64

As apparent from the table 4, the Dawn published 259 news items on its front and back pages about the issue of terrorism in which the US was portrayed as a friend of our country while 220 news stories depicted the US as foe or enemy. The ratio was opposite in the daily Jang which published 136 news items showing the US as friend

while the newspaper published 180 news stories portraying the US as foe. Here, again a difference can be seen between the policies of the two newspapers. Here this is important to mention that the readership of the two newspapers is totally different. The Dawn is usually read by the elite class, foreigners, diplomats, etc. while the Jang is the newspaper of the general masses. The reason of the difference of the policies of the newspapers might be a result of their readership. As apparent from the table 5, the chi square test between the friend and foe frames for the US shows that there was a significant difference between the two frames in both of the newspapers (chi square = 3.69; p.055 for the Dawn and chi square = 7; p.008 for the Jang).

Table 5: Chi Square Test Statistics for the framing of the issue of terrorism

	Framing of Terrorism in Dawn	Framing of Terrorism in Jang
Chi-Square (a,b)	3.690	7.013
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.055	.008

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 239.0.

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 157.5.

Regarding the framing of the issue of the Indo-Pak relations, the Dawn published 48 news stories giving India a frame of friend while it was framed as foe and enemy in 56 news items published in the front and back pages during the year of the study. On the other hand, the daily Jang published 36 news items in the frame of friend and 16 news items portrayed India as foe. On the basis of this finding, it can be said that the daily Jang has a tilt towards bilateral relations with India.

Table 6: Chi Square Test Statistics for the framing of the issue of Indo-Pak relations

	Framing of the Indo-Pak relations in Dawn	Framing of the Indo-Pak relations in Jang
Chi-Square(a, b)	.154	7.692
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.695	.006

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 52.0.

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 26.0.

As evident from the table 6, there is no significant difference between the friend and foe frames for India regarding the bilateral relations but this difference is significant in case of daily Jang (chi square = 7.69; p.006).

Regarding the framing of the issue of the energy crisis, both newspapers are seemed to support the government giving a pro-government frame about the coverage of the energy crisis. The Dawn donated the pro-government frame to 23 news stories on the issue while it gave anti-government frame to 13 news items in this regard. The Jang published 46 news items on the issue of the energy crisis in which 27 news items were having a frame of pro-government and 19 of them were carrying a frame of anti-government. It seems that the newspapers favored the government on this issue. Most of the news items were statements of the ministers and government authorities to overcome the shortage of the electricity. The table 7 shows the picture of the statistical test which states that there did not exist a significant difference between the Pro and the Anti- government frames regarding the issue of the energy crisis in both of the newspapers of the study.

Table 7: Chi Square Test Statistics for the framing of the issue of energy crisis

	Framing of Energy crisis in Dawn	Framing of Energy crisis in Jang
Chi-Square(a, b)	2.778	1.089
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.096	.297

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 18.0.

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 22.5.

The Dawn published 21 news items on the issue of the food crisis in which the government was favored while 19 news stories were having a frame of anti-government coverage. On the other hand, the daily Jang published 38 news stories on the issue of the food crisis giving a pro-government frame while 27 news items presented an anti-government frame regarding the coverage of the issue. The table 8 describes the result of the statistical significance between the pro and the anti government frames about the coverage of the issue of the food crisis in the daily Dawn and the daily Jang which again states that none of the significant difference was found in the pro and the anti government frames about the coverage of the issue of the food crisis in the both newspapers.

Table 8: Chi Square Test Statistics for the framing of the issue of food crisis

	Framing of Food crisis in Dawn	Framing of Food crisis in Jang
Chi-Square(a, b)	.100	1.862
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.752	.172

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 20.0.

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 32.5.

Regarding the coverage of the issue of the judiciary crisis, both of the newspapers donated more coverage to anti-government frames. The Dawn published 34 news items giving a pro-government frame while it published 96 news stories against the government giving an anti-government frame. The Jang published 73 news stories with a pro-government frame and 334 news items with an anti-government frame regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis. The newspapers showed a clear policy on this issue and they did not support the government and the then president Musharraf. They gave a huge coverage for the restoration of the judiciary against the wish of the government.

Table 9 elaborates the picture of the statistical significance of the pro and the anti government frames regarding the coverage of the issue of the judiciary crisis in both the newspapers of this study. As evident from the table, there was quite a significant difference in the both frames regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis (chi square = 28; p. 000 for the daily Dawn and chi square = 167; p.000 for the daily Jang).

Table 9: Chi Square Test Statistics for the framing of the issue of judiciary crisis

	Framing of judiciary crisis in Dawn	Framing of judiciary crisis in Jang
Chi-Square(a, b)	28.845	167.373
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 64.5.

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 203.5.

Lal Masjid issue was one of the most sensitive issues in which thousands of the seminary students were killed and the general public's emotions were against the government action. The newspapers also supported the public's opinion and most of

their coverage presented an anti-government frame. The daily Dawn gave anti-government frame to 19 news items and pro-government frame to 12 news stories. The Jang gave anti-government frame to 64 news stories while it gave pro-government frame to 36 news items. The table 10 explains that there was a significant difference between the pro and the anti government frames regarding the coverage of the issue of the Lal Masjid in the daily Jang (chi square = 7.84; p.005) but it was not significant in the daily Dawn.

Table 10: Chi Square Test Statistics for the framing of the issue of Lal Masjid

	Framing of the Lal Masjid in Dawn	Framing of the Lal Masjid in Jang
Chi-Square (a,b)	1.581	7.840
df	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.209	.005

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 15.5.
b 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 50.0.

Placement of the News Items (regarding the issues of the study)

Placement of a news story is a key function in media gatekeeping which ultimately results in media agenda setting. A news story published on the front page of a newspaper definitely has many times more impact on the readers than a news story which is published in the inner pages. Keeping in view the research methodology of this project, the placement was divided into four categories. These were:

- 1- Front page upper half
- 2- Front page lower half
- 3- Back page upper half
- 4- Back page lower half

Placement of the news stories on the issue of Terrorism

As evident from the figure 11, the daily Dawn published 29 percent news stories about the issue of terrorism on the upper half portion of its front page, again 29 percent news items on this issue on the lower half portion of its front page, 32 percent news on the upper half portion of the back page and 10 percent news items on the issue on the lower half page of the back page. In other word, the newspaper published 58 percent news on its front page and 42 percent news on its back page. On the other hand, as apparent from the figure 12, the Jang published 39 percent news on the issue on the upper half portion of its front page, 16 percent news on its lower half front page, 32 percent news on its upper half back page and 13 percent news on the lower half portion of its back page. Hence, the Jang published 55 percent news on the issue of terrorism on its front page and 45 percent news on its back page.

Figure 11: Placement of news stories on the issue of Terrorism in daily Dawn

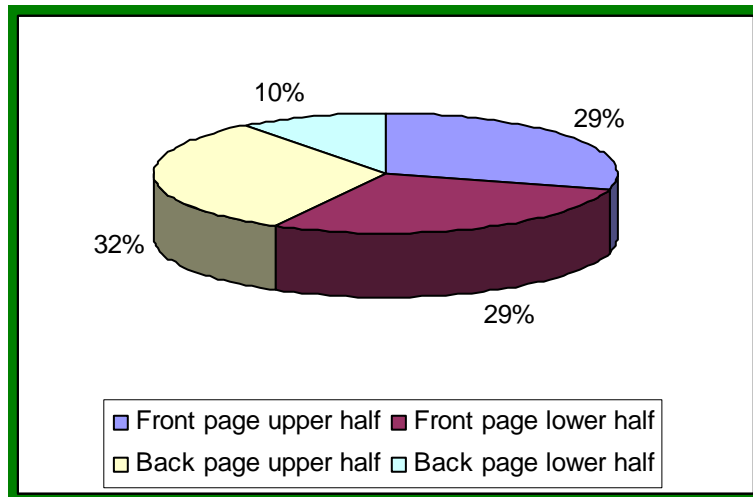
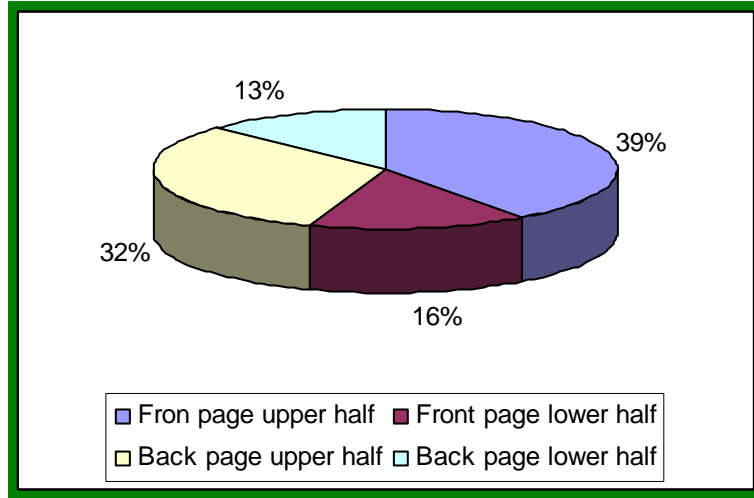


Figure 12: Placement of news stories on the issue of Terrorism in daily Jang

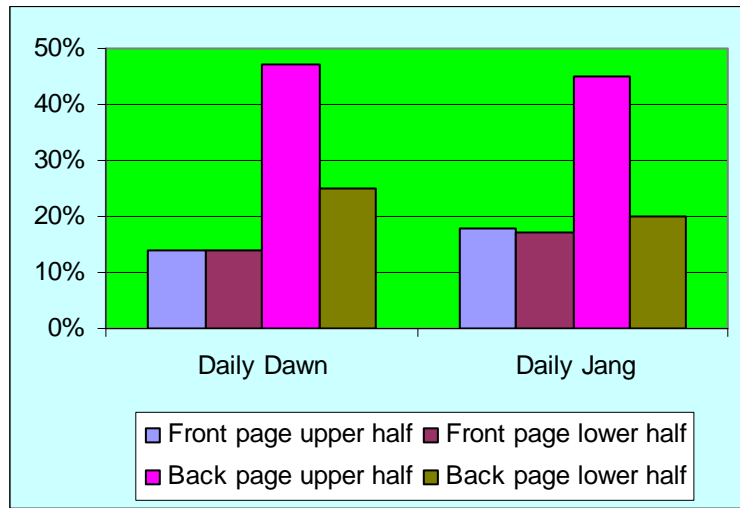


The ratio of the coverage of the issue of the both newspapers is very close. This similarity might be a result of following the world wide accepted news values by the both newspapers.

Placement of the news stories on the issue of Indo-Pak relations

The figure 13 elaborates the placement of the news items relating to the coverage of the issue of the Indo-Pak relations. Here, it again seems a great similarity in the coverage patterns of the two newspapers. The Dawn and the Jang published 14 and 18 percent news items about the issue on their front page upper half and 14 and 17 percent news about the issue on the lower half part of their front pages respectively. The Dawn published 47 percent news stories about the issue of the Indo-Pak relations on the upper half portion of its back page while the Jang donated 45 percent space of the total coverage of the issue on the same position. There is only a slight difference in the coverage pattern on the lower half portion of the back page where the Dawn published 25 percent news items about the issue while the Jang published 20 percent news on the issue under study.

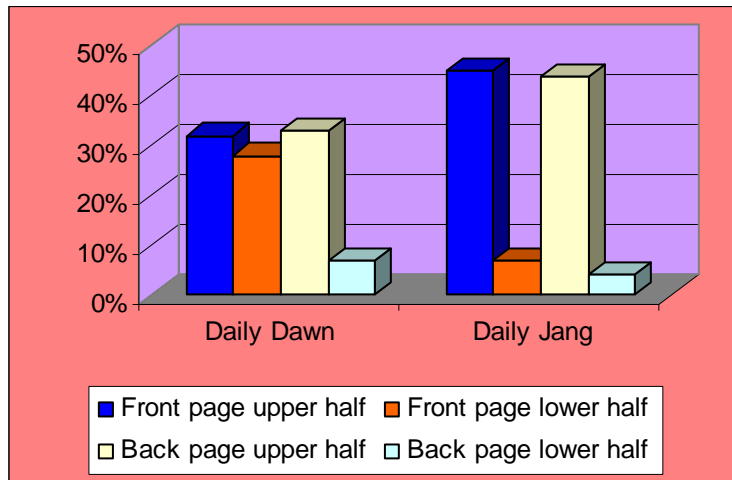
Figure 13: Placement of the news stories on the issue of Indo-Pak relations



Placement of the news stories on the issue of Energy Crisis

The figure 14 unveils the placement of the coverage given to the issue of the energy crisis by the two national newspapers of Pakistan. The Dawn published 32 percent news items on the issue on the upper half portion of its front page, 28 percent news stories on the lower half of its front page, 33 percent news items on the upper half back page and the remaining seven percent news stories on the lower half portion of the back page. Similarly, the daily Jang published maximum news items (45 percent) about the issue of the energy crisis on the upper half portion of the front page and only seven percent on the lower half front page. However, the newspaper published 44 percent news stories on the issue on the upper half portion of its back page and only four percent news items on the lower half page of its back page. The ratio of the placement of the news items of the issue between the front and back pages remained 60: 40 in the Dawn and 52: 48 in the Jang.

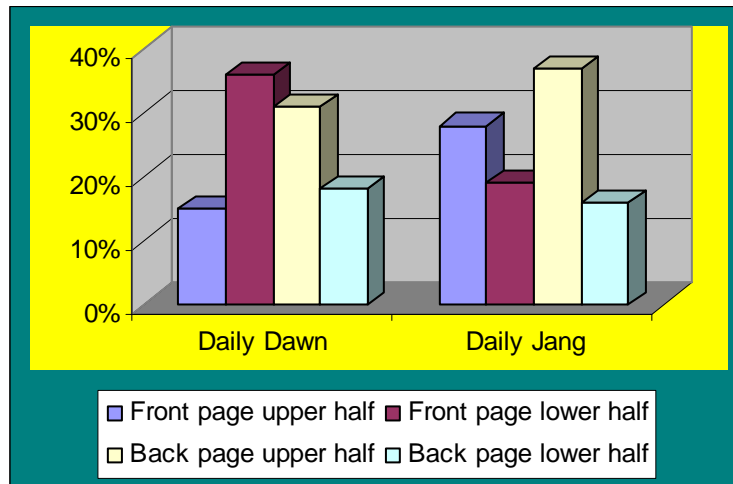
Figure 14: Placement of the news stories on the issue of Energy Crisis



Placement of the news stories on the issue of Food Crisis

Although both of the newspapers of the content analysis of this study gave a poor coverage to the vital issue of the energy crisis, however, the coverage is spread all over the four categories of the placement. The daily Dawn published 15 percent news items on the issue of the food crisis on the upper half of its front page while the Jang published 28 percent such news on the same position. The earlier newspaper published 36 percent news about the issue of the food crisis on the lower half portion of its front page while the later one published 19 percent news on the same position. The Dawn printed 31 percent news stories on the issue in the upper half of the back page while the Dawn published 37 percent news items on this position. The issue of the food crisis got 18 percent coverage on the lower half portion of the back page in the daily Dawn while it got 16 percent of its total coverage on the same position in the daily Jang. The ratio of the placement of the news items of the issue between the front and back pages remained 51: 49 in the Dawn and 47: 53 in the Jang. The placement of the news stories about the issue of the food crisis is reflected in the figure 15.

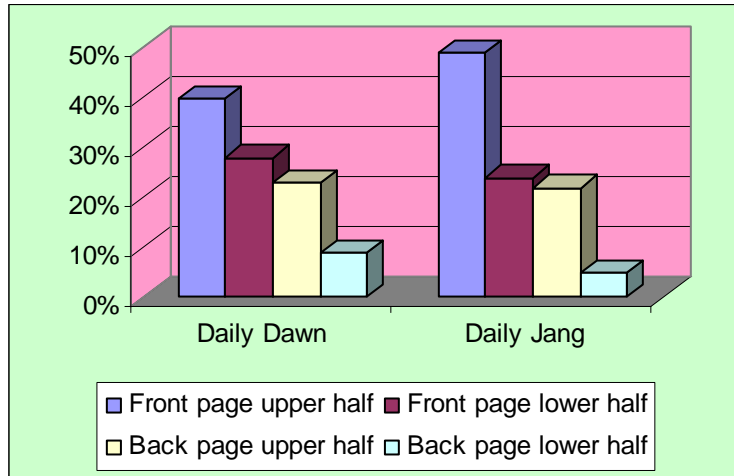
Figure 15 Placement of the news stories on the issue of Food Crisis



Placement of the news stories about the issue of Judiciary Crisis

The issue of the judiciary crisis remained a top priority issue for the Pakistani media throughout the year. Both the newspapers of this study gave a tremendous coverage to this issue ignoring all the governmental pressures. As obvious from the figure 16, both newspapers gave maximum coverage to this issue on the upper half portion of their front pages which is the most important placement in newspaper coverage. The Dawn published 40 percent news of this issue on the upper half portion of the front page while the Jang published 49 percent of the news of this issue on this placement. The earlier published 28 percent news items on the issue on the lower half of its front page while the later gave 24 percent coverage to this issue on this position. The Dawn donated 23 percent space to the issue of the judiciary crisis on the upper half part of its back page while the Jang published 22 percent news on this position. The category four got the least coverage of the issue in both of the newspapers. The Dawn published only nine percent and the Jang published only five percent news items about this issue on the lower half portion of their back pages.

Figure 16: Placement of the news stories about the issue of Judiciary Crisis

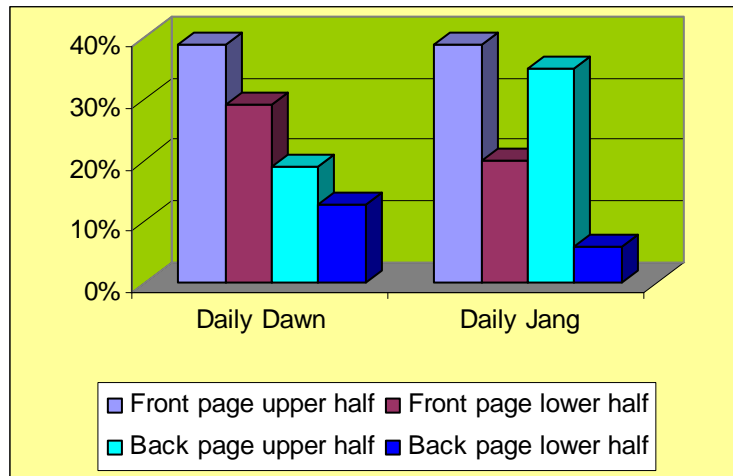


The ratio of the placement of the news items of the issue between the front and back pages remained 68: 32 in the Dawn and 73: 27 in the Jang. It seems that the Jang gave a little more coverage to the issue on its front page than the Dawn.

Placement of the news stories on the issue of Lal Masjid

This issue remained an important topic for a period of almost two months (June and July 07). The placement of the news stories about this issue is shown in the figure 17. Regarding the placement of the news stories on the front pages, there is complete uniformity between the coverage patterns of the two newspapers because both of them published 39 percent news items about the issue on the upper half portion of their front pages. However, the Dawn published 29 percent news items on the lower half of its front page while the Jang published 20 percent news stories on this position. The Dawn published 19 percent news about the issue of the Lal Masjid on the upper half part of its back page while the Jang published 35 percent news on this position. The earlier newspaper published 13 percent news about this issue on the lower half of its back page while the later published only six percent of these news items on this position.

Figure17 Placement of the news stories on the issue of Lal Masjid



As an overall placement position of the news stories about the issue of Lal Masjid, the Dawn published 68 percent news stories on its front page and 32 percent news on its back page while the Jang donated 59 percent coverage of the issue on its front page and 41 percent space on its back page.

Results of the Survey Research

Survey research was an integral part of this research project. As described earlier, a sample of 300 newspaper readers (150 readers of each newspaper of the study) was selected and interviewed regarding their opinion about the six issues of the study. First of all the most important question was asked about the ranking position of the issues under study. Then three questions were asked from the respondents about each issue regarding their most important source of information, their opinion about the issue, and their discussion with friends and colleagues. The findings of the survey research are being presented in the coming lines.

Ranking Order of the Public Agenda

The first and the most important question of the survey was the ranking order of the issues of the study according to the opinion of the respondents. A clear difference

in the opinions of the readers of the two newspapers was found as it was found in the findings of the content analysis. Table 12 elaborates the public agenda of the readers of the daily Dawn and the table 13 explains the public agenda of the readers of the Jang.

The Most Important Issue

The readers of the daily Dawn stated the issue of terrorism as the most important issue among the list of the issues given to them while the readers of the daily Jang stated the issue of the judiciary crisis as the most important issue. This result supports the hypothesis of this research project because the Dawn gave maximum coverage to the issue of terrorism while the Jang gave maximum coverage to the issue of the judiciary crisis. A significant correlation was found between the public and media agendas (+.71 for the Dawn and +.78 for the Dawn).

Table 12: Ranking Order of the Public Agenda of the readers of the daily Dawn

Issues	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Terrorism	64%	11%	9%	7%	5%	4%
Judiciary Crisis	11%	64%	10%	7%	5%	3%
Food Crisis	7%	9%	51%	10%	11%	12%
Energy Crisis	6%	13%	9%	61%	6%	5%
Indo Pak Relations	0%	5%	9%	11%	58%	17%
Lal Masjid	3%	5%	7%	9%	13%	63%

As evident from the table 12, 64 percent readers of the daily Dawn declared the issue of terrorism as the most important issue. On the other hand, as apparent from the

table 13, the majority of the readers of the daily Jang (63 percent) declared the issue of the judiciary crisis as the most important issue.

Table 13: Ranking Order of the Public Agenda of the readers of the daily Jang

Issues	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th
Judiciary Crisis	63 %	13 %	9%	7%	7%	1%
Terrorism	15 %	59 %	12 %	9%	5%	0%
Food Crisis	7%	11 %	56 %	9%	10 %	7%
Energy Crisis	10 %	9%	11 %	58 %	7%	5%
Lal Masjid	5%	6%	8%	9%	63 %	9%
Indo Pak Relations	2%	3%	6%	7%	11 %	71 %

The Second Most Important Issue

The majority of the readers of the daily Dawn (64 percent) stated the issue of the judiciary crisis as the second most important issue while the majority of the readers of the Jang (59 percent) declared the issue of terrorism as the second most important issue of the study. The results again support the hypothesis of this research project because these results substantially correlate with the findings of the content analysis (+.68 for Dawn and +.61 for Jang).

The Third Most Important Issue

As obvious from the table 12 and 13, the maximum readers of the both newspapers declared the issue of the food crisis as the third most important issue. Fifty one (51) percent readers of the daily Dawn declared this issue as the third most important issue. On the other hand 56 percent readers of the daily Jang stated the

issue of the food crisis as the third most important issue. Statistically speaking there was no relationship between the public and the media agendas (-.14 for the Dawn and -.17 for the Jang). The reason might be the unobtrusiveness of the issue.

The Fourth Most Important Issue

As the table 12 and 13 elaborates the ranking order of the fourth most important issue among the given list of six issues, the readers of the both newspapers declared the issue of the energy crisis as the fourth most important issue against the findings of the content analysis. No correlation was found between the two agendas in this case (+.12 for the Dawn and -.17 for the Jang).

According to the results of the survey research, 61 percent readers of the Dawn declared the issue of the energy crisis as the fourth most important issue while the majority (58 percent) readers of the daily Jang declared the issue of the energy crisis as the fourth important issue.

The Fifth Most Important Issue

As evident from the tables 12 and 13, there is a difference of public agenda in the readers of the both newspapers just like the difference in their content analysis. The results support the hypothesis of the study as the readers of the daily Dawn declared the issue of the Indo-Pak relations more important than the issue of the Lal Masjid because the newspaper gave more coverage to the first issue than the later one. Here the correlation was found substantial (+.67). In contrast to this finding, the readers of the Jang declared the issue of the Lal Masjid as more important than the issue of the Indo-Pak relations because the Jang published a greater number of news stories about

the issue of the Lal Masjid as compared to the issue of the Indo-Pak relations. Here the correlation was also significant (+.62).

According to the details, majority of the readers of the Dawn (58 percent) declared the issue of the Indo-Pak relations as the fifth most important issue. On the other hand, the maximum readers of the Jang (63 percent) declared the issue of the Lal Masjid as the fifth most important issue.

The Least Important Issue

The majority of the readers of the daily Dawn declared the issue of the Lal Masjid as the least important issue while the majority of the readers of the daily Jang stated the issue of the Indo-Pak relations as the least important issue among the given list of the issues of the study. As evident from the table 12, 63 percent of the readers of the daily Dawn declared the issue of the Lal Masjid as the least important issue. On the other hand, as apparent from the table 13, the vast majority (71 percent) of its readers stated the issue of the Indo-Pak relations as the least important issue. The correlation was found modest but positive for both newspapers (+.47 for the Dawn and +.35 for the Jang).

Source of Information

Sources of information play a pivotal role in the agenda setting of the public. After investigating the salience of issues from the newspaper readers, they were asked to tell the most important source of information regarding the issues (for every issue separately). The respondents were given the following four options:

- I- Print media
- II- Electronic media

III- Interpersonal Communication

IV- Any other

The results about this variable are being presented in the following lines.

Source of Information for the issue of Terrorism

A similar pattern can be seen regarding the source of information among the readers of the daily Dawn and the Jang. For the majority of the respondents, print media was the most important source of information about the coverage of the issue of terrorism. Fifty nine (59) percent readers of the Dawn and 62 percent readers of the Jang stated the print media as the major source of information regarding the issue of terrorism. However, 33 percent readers of the Dawn and 31 percent readers of the Jang described the electronic media as the most important source of information regarding the said issue. Some eight percent readers of the Dawn and seven percent readers of the Jang stated the interpersonal communication as the major source of information about the issue of terrorism.

Source of Information for the issue of Indo-Pak relations:

The majority of the readers of both of the newspapers again termed the print media as the major source of information for their information about the issue of the Indo-Pak relations. Fifty one (51) percent readers of the Dawn and 52 percent readers of the Jang stated the print media as the most important source of communication. However, 41 percent readers of the Dawn and 39 percent readers of the Jang reported electronic media as the most important source of information. Some eight percent readers of the Dawn and nine percent readers of the Jang informed that the interpersonal communication was the major source of information for them regarding

the issue of the Indo-Pak relations. In this case, it is clear that there is a minor difference between the print and the electronic media as the most important source of information.

Source of Information for the issue of Energy Crisis

The public opinion seems dispersed regarding the most important source of information about the issue of the energy crisis. Here emerged a new unexpected category because most of the respondents belonging to both groups responded that the energy issue was important for them because they themselves were suffering with the problem mentioned. They were well informed about the issue not because of the print or electronic media but because of the interpersonal channels and their self-suffering. Only 21 percent readers of the daily Dawn and 18 percent readers of the daily Jang declared print media as the most important source of information about the issue of energy crisis, 19 percent readers of the Dawn and nine percent readers of the Jang declared the electronic media as the most important source of information for the issue, 23 percent readers of the daily Dawn and 24 percent readers of the daily Jang stated the interpersonal communication as the most important source of information while the remaining majority (37 percent of the Dawn readers and 49 percent of the readers of the Jang) ticked the option of 'any other' mentioning their self suffering as the most important reason regarding the issue of the energy crisis.

Source of Information for the issue of Food Crisis

Although the print and the electronic media were the most important source of information for some people, even then the majority of the newspaper readers declared either interpersonal communication or their self suffering as the most

important reason to declare the issue of the food crisis as an important issue. Twenty three percent readers of the Dawn and 22 percent readers of the Jang declared the print media as the most important source of information while 20 percent readers of the Dawn and 15 percent readers of the Jang stated that the electronic media was the most important source of information for them regarding the issue of the food crisis. However, 28 percent readers of the first newspaper and some 27 percent readers of the second newspaper declared that the interpersonal channels were the most important source of information for them. The remaining 29 percent readers of the Dawn and 36 percent readers of the Jang declared that the issue of the food crisis was an important issue for them because they themselves were facing the problem very much.

Source of Information for the issue of Judiciary Crisis

The print media were declared as the most important source of information by the maximum readers of the both newspapers, daily Dawn and the Jang regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis. Sixty four (64) percent readers of the Dawn and 71 percent readers of the Jang were of the view that the print media were the most important source of information for them about the issue of the judiciary crisis. Some 25 percent respondents who were readers of the daily Dawn and 19 percent respondents who were readers of the daily Jang stated that the electronic media were the most important source of information for them regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis while 11 percent readers of the Dawn and 10 percent readers of the Jang stated that the interpersonal communication was the most important source of information for them regarding information about the issue of the judiciary crisis.

Source of Information for the issue of Lal Masjid

According to the results of the survey research about the sources of information, again print media were declared as the most important source of information regarding the issue of the Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) by the maximum number of the respondents. Fifty one (51) percent readers of the daily Dawn and 57 percent readers of the daily Jang declared print media as the most important source of information regarding the issue of the Lal Masjid. However, 40 percent readers of the Dawn and 32 percent readers of the Jang stated electronic media as the most important source of information regarding the issue under discussion. Furthermore, nine percent readers of the Dawn and 11 per cent readers of the Jang told that the interpersonal channels were the most important source of information for them regarding the issue of the Lal Masjid.

Opinion of the Newspaper Readers about the issues of the study

The slant of the newspapers towards the issues of the study was measured during the content analysis and its results have already been described. To investigate the effects of the slant on the newspaper readers, their opinion towards the issues of the study was measured through the survey research. Table 14 describes the responses of the respondents in this regard.

Public Opinion on the issue of Terrorism

As evident from the table 14, 58 percent readers of the Dawn were found in favor of the US policies regarding the issue of terrorism. However, 29 percent readers' opinion was anti US on this issue. Thirteen percent readers were not clear about the issue. On the other hand, the opinion of the majority of the readers of the Jang (52

percent) was anti-US, a reasonable number of people (35 percent) were found as pro-US regarding the issue of terrorism while again 13 percent readers of this newspaper were not clear about their opinion on the issue.

Table 14: Opinion of the Newspaper Readers about the issues of the study

Issues	Readers of Dawn			Readers of Jang		
	Pro-US/ Pro-Govt.	Anti-US/ Anti-Govt	Not Clear	Pro-US/ Pro-Govt.	Anti-US/ Anti-Govt	Not Clear
Terrorism	58%	29%	13%	35%	52%	13%
Indo-Pak relations	52%	27%	21%	54%	35%	11%
Energy Crisis	13%	78%	9%	11%	71%	18%
Food Crisis	18%	76%	6%	8%	75%	17%
Judiciary Crisis	6%	85%	9%	6%	91%	3%
Lal Masjid	32%	50%	18%	16%	71%	13%

The findings of the public opinion of the newspaper readers correlate with the results of the content analysis of this study (+.76 for the Dawn and +.72 for the Jang). The slant of the Dawn towards US was found more favorable in the content analysis and as a result its maximum readers showed a pro-US opinion about the issue. Opposite to this, the Jang published more news on the issue of terrorism which were unfavorable for the US, therefore its maximum readers expressed their opinion as anti-US. The finding supports the theory of agenda setting which is the focal point of this study.

Public Opinion about the issue of Indo-Pak Relations

A great similarity can be seen among the readers of the two newspapers. Fifty two percent readers of the Dawn and 54 percent readers of the Jang were found in favor of the Indo-Pak relations while 27 percent readers of Dawn and 35 percent readers of Jang were found as against the bilateral relations. They might have a number of reservations in this regard. Twenty one percent readers of the Dawn and eleven percent readers of the Jang were found unclear about the issue of the Indo-Pak relations. These results correlate with the results of the content analysis of the slant about this issue which support the hypothesis of this study. During the survey, some of the respondents suggested that Pakistan should develop good relations with India but with certain conditions including the solution of the Kashmir issue. Here a modest but positive correlation was found between the slant given by newspapers and the public opinion about the issue (+. 39 for the Dawn and +.35 for the Jang).

Public Opinion about the issue of Energy Crisis

This research study was conducted in a time period, when the country was facing the worst ever shortage of electricity in the history of Pakistan. The people from each and every walk of life were suffering a lot. Because of their personal suffering they were having a great anger on the government who could not manage the issue. Although both of the newspapers published more news and donated more space to the news about the issue in favor of the government than the news against the government, even then the favorable coverage could not alter the opinion of the public. A huge number of the respondents conveyed their grievance against the government. According to the results of the survey research, 78 percent readers of the Dawn and 71 percent readers of the Jang expressed their opinion as anti government

regarding the issue of the energy crisis. Only 13 percent readers of the Dawn and 11 percent readers of the Jang stated that they were in favor of the government on the issue of the energy crisis. Nine percent readers of the Dawn and 18 percent readers of the Jang could not fit them in any category of pro or anti government by stating that they were not clear about the issue. A negative correlation was found in this case (-.56 for the Dawn and -.47 for the Jang). On the basis of these results it can be concluded that the people's personal needs, desires and problems play more important role than the media agenda setting.

Public Opinion about the issue of Food Crisis

Just like the issue of the energy crisis, food crisis was also suffering the lives of the common people of Pakistan at the time of the survey research. The media agenda could not affect the public agenda on the issue of food crisis. As evident from the figure 8, both newspapers of the study published more coverage in favor of the government than the news items unfavorable for the government, even then the vast majority of the respondents gave an anti government response about the issue. Seventy six (76) percent readers of the Dawn and 75 percent readers of the Jang expressed their views as anti government regarding the issue of the food crisis. Again a negative correlation was found (-.47 for the Dawn and -.44 for the Jang). The people thought that the government was responsible for the mismanagement and the shortage of the food. However, 18 percent readers of the Dawn and eight percent readers of the Jang were in favor of the government and they were of the view that the government was not responsible for the shortage of food and it was making its best efforts to overcome the situation. Furthermore, six percent readers of the Dawn

and 17 percent readers of the Jang were not clear about the issue. A great similarity can be seen between the public agendas on the issues of the food crisis and the energy crisis. Both issues have been published in a favorable slant for the government, but even then the public agenda was found totally different.

Public Opinion about the issue of Judiciary Crisis

The findings of the public opinion correlate with the findings of the content analysis regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis. As obvious from the table 14, the opinion of the vast majority of the respondents was found as anti-government regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis. The opinion of 85 percent readers of the Dawn and 91 percent readers of the Jang was found as anti-government regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis. A strong level of correspondence was found in this case (+.81 for the Dawn and +.83 for the Jang). The strongest ever opinion was found in this issue among the public opinion about the issues of the study. It can be seen how people of the country are keen in restoration of the judiciary. Only six percent readers of the Dawn and Jang were found in favor of the government regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis. Some nine percent readers of the Dawn and three percent readers of the Jang were found as confused and unclear about their opinion regarding the issue of the judiciary crisis.

Public Opinion about the issue of Lal Masjid

Although the Dawn maintained a good balance between the coverage of the most sensitive issue of the Lal Masjid (figure 10), even then 50 percent of its readers expressed their sympathies with the affected families. In the opinion of these fifty percent people the government did a wrong job to kill the thousands of the innocent

seminary children. Thirty two percent readers of the Dawn said that the government was justified for the action while 18 percent people were found as unclear about the issue. Here the correlation was found weak but positive (+.27).

On the other hand, the majority of the readers of the daily Jang (71 percent) expressed their viewpoint that the government did a wrong job to kill the children. However, 16 percent readers of this newspaper stated that the government did a good job while 13 percent respondents were not clear about the issue. The results are consistent with the findings of the slant given by the same newspaper regarding the issue of the Lal Masjid. Here a significant correspondence was found between the slant of the issue and the public opinion of the newspaper readers (+.67).

Discussion with Family and Friends

Discussion with family and friends is also a part of the agenda setting. When people receive some information from the media about an issue and they feel it important, they usually discuss it with their friends, family members and colleagues at work places. In the first phase, we receive information from media, in the second phase we discuss it with our family and friends, in the third phase they discuss it with their friends and colleagues, and hence agenda setting of the media travels in many phases. When people discuss some issue with their friends and family members, it means that the issue was important to them among a long list of the other issues. Interpersonal channels also play a more pivotal role in the developing societies of the world like Pakistan where people heavily depend on each other for information, discussion and guidance. Hence they can quench their thirst of information regarding some issue. Keeping in view this social phenomenon, a variable of discussion with

friends and family members was included in the survey questionnaire. The results are being presented in the coming lines.

Discussion with Family and Friends regarding the issue of Terrorism

Twenty six (26) percent readers of the Dawn and 27 percent readers of the Jang stated that they discussed the issue of terrorism with their family, friends and colleagues very greatly while 28 percent readers of the Dawn and 25 percent readers of the Jang said that they discussed this issue with their family, friends and colleagues greatly. Some 21 percent readers of the first newspaper and 27 percent of the later newspaper stated that they discussed this issue to some extent while 25 percent readers of the Dawn and 21 percent readers of the Jang stated that they didn't discuss this issue with any body else.

If we calculate the sum of the first three categories, we come to conclusion that more than 75 percent readers of the newspapers discuss this issue with their family members, friends and colleagues, more or less. The results are also consistent with the results of the content analysis as well as with the results of the ranking order of the issues as described by the respondents. This is a proof that the media agenda setting works regarding the issue of terrorism.

Discussion with Family and Friends regarding the issue of Indo-Pak relations

Majority of the respondents informed that they did not discuss the issue of the Indo-Pak relations with their friends, family members and colleagues. If we see the results of the content analysis and the ranking order, the result also seems consistent. In both of these results the issue of the Indo-Pak relations was framed at least positions and therefore the people usually don't discuss this issue very much with the

other people. Sixty nine (69) percent readers of the Dawn and 65 percent readers of the Jang stated that they did not discuss this issue at all with their friends, family members and colleagues. However, 13 percent readers of the earlier newspaper and 20 percent readers of the later one said that they discussed this issue with these people to some extent. Fifteen percent readers of the Dawn and 12 percent readers of the Jang stated that they discuss this issue greatly and only three percent readers of the both newspapers said that they discuss the issue of the Indo-Pak relations very greatly with their friends, family members and colleagues.

Discussion with Family and Friends regarding the issue of Energy Crisis

As it has been explained earlier that in spite of its less media coverage, the issue of the energy crisis has been described as one of the important issues of the study by the majority of the respondents (table 11 and 12). The reason might be their personal suffering. Perhaps again this is the reason why majority of the respondents stated that they discussed the issue of the energy crisis and power cut-off very frequently with their friends, family members and colleagues. According to the results, 73 percent readers of the Dawn and 71 percent readers of the Jang stated that they discuss this issue with their family and friends very frequently. Furthermore, 21 percent readers of the Dawn and 25 percent readers of the Jang told that they discussed this issue greatly while three percent readers of the Dawn and four percent readers of the Jang stated that they discussed this issue with their family and friends to some extent. The interesting thing is that three percent readers said that they did not discuss this issue at all with any body else. However, there was not even a single person among the

readers of the Jang who did not discuss the issue of the energy crisis at all with family, friends, and colleagues.

The results confirm that the issue of the energy crisis was really a public issue that was disturbing the lives of the general public very greatly. The reason might be the self suffering of the people and the interpersonal communication.

Discussion with Family and Friends regarding the issue of Food Crisis

The issue of the food crisis has affected the lives of the common people of the country and just like the issue of the energy crisis the majority of the respondents associated a great importance with the issue of the food crisis because of their personal suffering of the same problem. According to the results, 64 percent readers of the daily Dawn and 59 percent readers of the daily Jang declared that they discussed the issue of the food crisis very much with their family members, friends and colleagues. Furthermore, twenty five percent readers of the daily Dawn and 17 percent readers of the Jang stated that they discussed this issue greatly with these people while nine percent readers of the Dawn and 15 percent readers of the Jang said that they discussed this issue with their family and friends to some extent. Only two percent readers of the Dawn and nine percent readers of the Jang said that they did not discuss this issue with their family and friends at all. These few people might be from the elite class who don't have such problems of food shortage or power cut-off.

The result shows that for a greater number of respondents the food crisis was really an important issue therefore they discussed this issue with their family members, friends and colleagues despite of the fact that the media gave a minor coverage to the issue as compared to the other issues.

Discussion with Family and Friends regarding the issue of Judiciary Crisis

The issue of the judiciary crisis remained a hot issue during the study period of this research project and the newspapers of the content analysis of this study gave a tremendous coverage to this issue (figure 1 – 4). The results of this variable also correlate with the results of the content analysis and survey regarding the ranking order of the issues. According to the results, majority of the respondents said that they discussed this issue with their family and friends very greatly. Seventy one percent readers of the Dawn and 75 percent readers of the Jang stated that they discussed the issue of the judiciary crisis with their friends and family members very greatly. Some other 18 percent respondents from the Dawn readers and 16 percent respondents from the Jang readers said that they discussed this issue with these people greatly.

However, seven percent readers of the Dawn and six percent readers of the Jang declared that they discussed this issue with their family and friends only to some extent. Four percent readers of the Dawn and three percent readers from the Jang stated that they did not discuss this issue with any body else.

Discussion with Family and Friends regarding the issue of Lal Masjid

The issue of the Lal Masjid was the most sensitive issue among the list of the issues of the study. The media had to deal with this issue very carefully. However, the issue remained the hot topic for media only for a period of two months (June and July 2007). The survey of the newspaper readers was conducted in the month of May and June 2008. It might be the reason that most of the respondents from both newspaper readers stated that they discussed the issue of the Lal mosque only to some extent

with their family, friends and colleagues. Fifty four (54) percent readers of the Dawn and 43 readers of the Jang stated that they discussed this issue to some extent with their family, friends and colleagues. Some 22 percent readers of the Dawn and 19 percent readers of the Jang declared that they did not discuss this issue at all with anybody.

However, 13 percent readers of each newspaper of the study stated that they discussed this issue very much with their family, friends and colleagues while 11 percent readers of the Dawn and 25 percent readers of the Jang also told that they discussed this issue greatly with their surrounding people. The results of this variable are consistent with the results of the content analysis as well as with the ranking order of the issues stated by the respondents.

Conclusion

On the basis of the findings of this study, it can be concluded that there is a strong relationship between the public and the print media agenda except for issues of the individuals' personal sufferings. A strong relationship has been found between the public and the print media agenda on the four out of six issues of the study. These issues are terrorism, judiciary crisis, Indo-Pak relations and Lal Masjid. There was no relationship between the two agendas regarding the issues of the food and the energy crises. Both of the issues received higher position in public agenda as compared to the media agenda. The reason of giving more importance to these issues by the respondents was definitely their personal suffering because they themselves were facing a worst kind of the shortage of the basic food items especially the wheat flour and the long intervals of the power cut-off. Both the issues received less coverage in

the newspapers of the study, even then, their readers associated more importance with these issues. The other important finding related to this result is that the slant of the media did not affect the opinion of the respondents because the media's slant about these two issues was in favor of the government while the public opinion was found to be against the government.

Another important finding was that both of the newspapers had a different agenda on the issues of the study. Their readers also followed the same agenda as it was the newspaper's agenda except the issues of the food and the energy crises (already discussed). The public opinion about the issues of the study was also found consistent with the media slant and framing of the issues except these two issues. It can be said on the basis of this finding that the media not only tell us what to think about, but also tell us how to think about.

The placement of the news stories about the issues also played an important role in setting the public agenda. The issues which got good placement received a good score on the public agenda and vice versa (except the issues of the food and energy crises).

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