

**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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ABSTRACT

This study was conducted to investigate the relationship between the public and the print media agendas in Pakistan. The content analysis of the most widely circulated English and Urdu newspapers was done for the whole one year about the six important issues. Then the public agenda was measured through a survey from the readers of the same newspapers and it was compared with the print media agenda. A strong relationship was found between the public and the print media agendas except the obtrusive issues. It was also found that the peoples' personal needs and requirements were not dependent on the media agenda to become the public agenda. The findings of the study suggest that the obtrusiveness of issues is an important factor that should be added in the agenda setting hypothesis.

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. 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 this salience 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.

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.

According to the agenda-setting theory, the agenda of public tends to be the same as of media. 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.

1. 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 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. 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.

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.

Since then 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 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 has opened new dimensions in mass communication research. In most of the research till now, a correlation between the media agenda and the public agenda has been made. 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.

2. ABOUT THIS STUDY

This study 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. The basic purpose of the study is to investigate the relationship of the print media agenda and the public agenda in Pakistan. In other words, the study focuses 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 is 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. Judicial 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 through random sampling 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.

3. ISSUES OF THE STUDY

3.1 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 thousands of innocent people are being killed brutally by the missile attacks of the Americans jets and Drones. The country has to pay a lot for becoming the ally of the US in war on terrorism.

3.2 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.

3.3 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.

3.4 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.

3.5 Judiciary Crisis: One of the most important issues of Pakistan was judiciary crisis in the recent past. The issue became 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 used his special powers and dismissed all the judges of the Supreme Court of Pakistan including the Chief Justice. Again a huge protest was started by the lawyers and the civil society throughout the country. The issue of the restoration of the judges of the Supreme Court became the major issue of the national elections of 2008. The political parties used this slogan to gain the sympathies of the voters. But the new president of the country and the Co-Chairperson of the ruling party Mr. Asif Ali Zardari was not willing to restore the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. However, the Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani announced to restore the Chief Justice on 16th March 2009, when the whole nation was protesting in a long march against the government.

3.6 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.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN

Research Questions

RQ 1: Whether and to what extent the print media agenda influences the public agenda in Pakistan?

RQ 2: What is the comparison of the news coverage of the issues of the study between Urdu and English newspapers?

Hypothesis:

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

5. METHODOLOGY

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

5.1 Content Analysis

The content of the two newspapers, daily Jang Rawalpindi and daily Dawn Islamabad was analyzed 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

Frequency and Length: Salience of the news will be considered from the length, frequency and placement of the news story. News stories published about the issues of the study on the front and back pages of the sample newspapers will be counted and their length will be measured in centimeters per column. The space of the relevant pictures will also be measured and included in the same news stories.

Slant and Frame: Framing and slanting 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: Placement is also an important factor in agenda setting. 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

5.2 SURVEY RESEARCH

A survey of three hundred (300) regular readers of these newspapers (150 readers of each newspaper) was conducted in Islamabad. 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. 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.

Keeping in view the importance of the issues of the study, the survey was conducted in May and June 2008, immediately after the period of content analysis. This time was significant because the issues of the study were the burning issues at that time. 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.

6. RESULTS AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

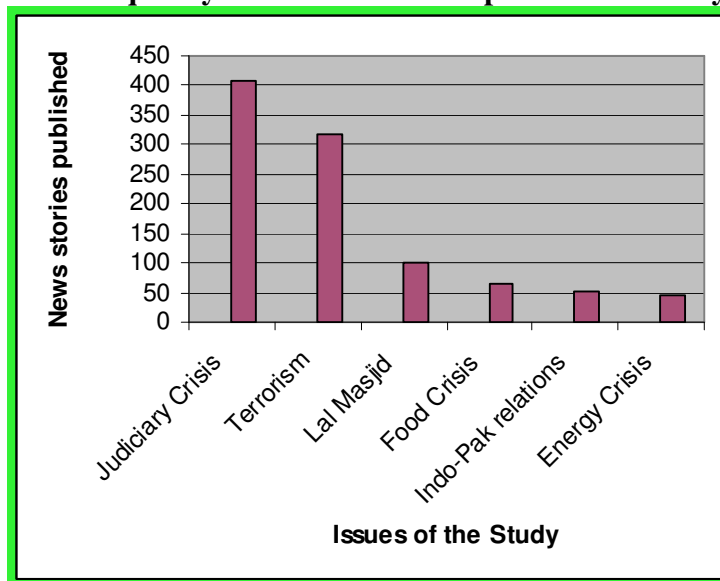
6.1 Frequency of the News Stories published on the Issues

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. 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.

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.

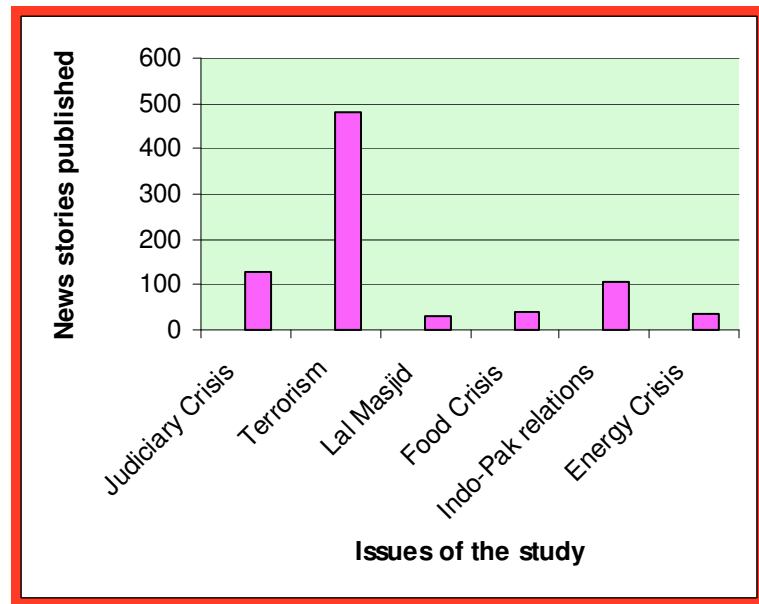
Figure 1: Frequency of the news stories published in daily Jang



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 2: Frequency of the news stories published in daily Dawn



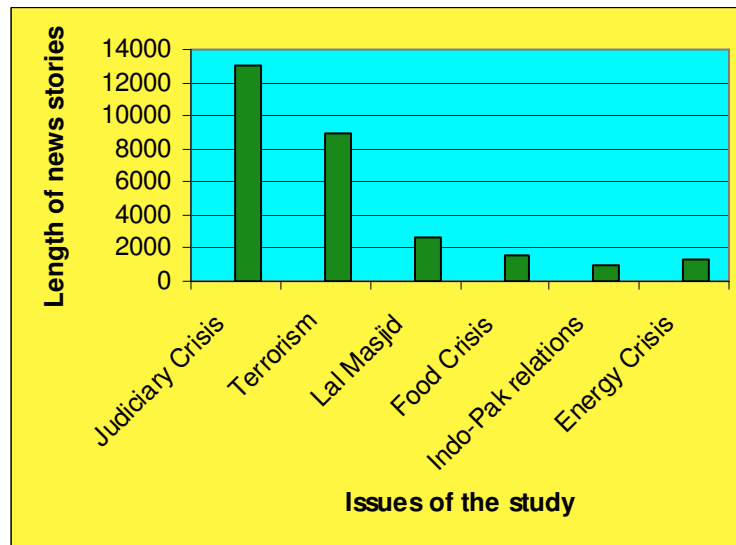
The issue of judiciary crisis got first position in daily Jang while it remained on number two in the daily Dawn. On the other hand, the issue of terrorism got the maximum coverage in the daily Dawn but it remained on number two in the daily Jang. The issue of the Lal mosque remained on third position 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.

6.2 Length of 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.

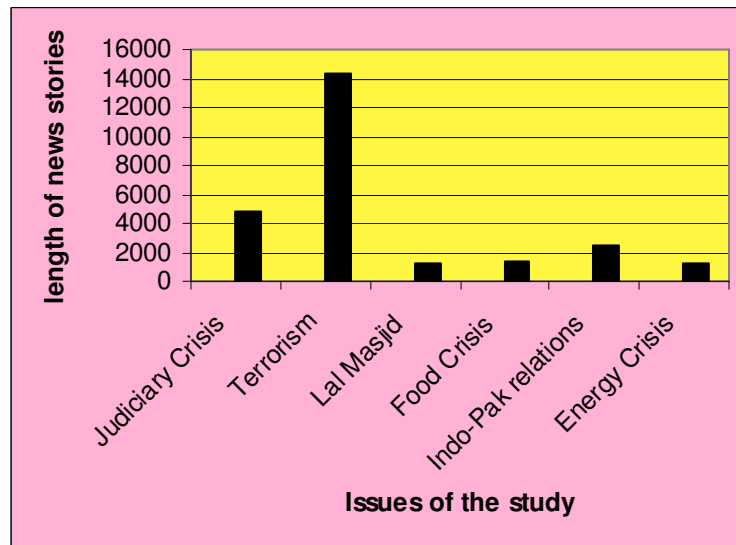
The daily Jang donated a space of 13017 centimeters column to the number one issue of judiciary crisis while it gave 8921 centimeters column to the issue of terrorism. The third issue of the Lal Masjid received coverage of 2637 centimeters while the fourth issue of the food crisis got coverage of 1620 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



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.

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

6.3 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. The table 1 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.

Table 1: Slant of the news stories published in the newspapers

Daily Jang			Daily Dawn			
Issues	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

Slant for the issue of Terrorism

The Dawn donated 48 percent news coverage favorable for the US about 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. 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 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.

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

Regarding 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.

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

Although the people of Pakistan were suffering from a great shortage of food at the time of the study, the national newspapers of Pakistan followed the official line of the government and they did not take any care of the real problems faced by the people. 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 launched by the people of Pakistan and 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.

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 issue of the Lal Masjid 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.

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.

7. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY RESEARCH

Survey research was an integral part of this research project. First of all the most important question was asked about the ranking position of the issues under study. Then the opinion of the respondents was measured about the issues of the study. . The findings of the survey research are being presented in the coming lines.

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 2 elaborates the public agenda of the readers of the daily

Dawn and the table 3 explains the public agenda of the readers of the Jang.

7.1 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). As evident from the table 2, 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 3, the majority of the readers of the daily Jang (63 percent) declared the issue of the judiciary crisis as the most important issue.

Table 2: Ranking Order of the Public Agenda of the readers of the daily Dawn

Issues	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th
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%

Table 3: 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%

7.2 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).

7.3 The Third Most Important Issue

As obvious from the table 2 and 3, 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.

7.4 The Fourth Most Important Issue

As the table 2 and 3 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.

7.5 The Fifth Most Important Issue

As evident from the tables 2 and 3, 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.

7.6 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 2, 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 3, 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).

8. OPINIONS OF NEWSPAPERS' READERS ABOUT 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 7 describes the responses of the respondents in this regard.

8.1 Public Opinion on the issue of Terrorism

As evident from the table 4, 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.

Table 4: Opinion of the Newspaper Readers about the issues of the study**Readers of Dawn****Readers of Jang**

Issues	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%

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. 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.

8.2 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).

8.3 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.

8.4 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. 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.

8.5 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 4, 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.

8.6 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, 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 correlation was found between the slant of the issue and the public opinion of the newspaper readers (+.67).

9. 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. To a greater extent the findings support the hypothesis of the study. 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 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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