



University
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**Editorial Journalism and Human Development: An Analysis of
Editorial Contents of Mainstream Pakistani Newspapers**

a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Communication and Media Studies

by

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Abstract

Context: Despite being a nuclear power, Pakistan does not have satisfactory human development indicators. The 2019 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) ranking places it at 154 out of 189 countries, the lowest in the region after Afghanistan. Despite carrying strong potential to influence (1) public agenda; (2) internal news agenda; (3) external news media agenda; and (4) political or policy agenda, newspaper editorials have barely been studied before to advocate human development issues to eventually impact public policymaking process.

Purpose: This dissertation examines editorial journalism coverage of human development issues versus other issues in the mainstream Pakistani newspapers for two different time periods i.e., from 1st July 2015 to 30th June 2016; and from 19th August 2018 to 18th August 2019. The aims of study include 1) to investigate editorial agenda-setting priorities 2) to explore the change in editorial agenda with the change in policy agenda on human development issues; 3) to examine inter-media agenda differences between Urdu and English language newspapers on human development issues; 4) to explore correlation between editorial and readers' priorities of human development issues; and 5) to discuss the factors/influences behind the inadequate space given to them.

Methods: The hierarchy of influences model suggested by Shoemaker and Reese (2014), underpins this study because it allows to examine the factors/influences behind editorial coverage of different types of issues in Pakistan. The quantitative content analysis method is used to measure and compare the frequency of sample content in five major categories coupled with qualitative elite in-depth interviews with veteran journalists/academics/PR professionals to explain the factors that influence the editorial content. Editorial contents of six mainstream Urdu and English newspapers are selected for applying content analysis method, whereas 20 interview participants are probed to understand various influences behind Pakistani editorial journalism.

Findings: The data from quantitative content analysis reveal that at the cost of consuming precious editorial space to advocate voiceless factions' miseries and to eventually improve country's HDI value, editorial contents are dominated by the discourse produced by the mighty communication bureaucracies of powerful national and international establishments. For instance, non-human development issues' based policies of the state and political actors; and conflicts with India and Afghanistan with warmongering spirit are given considerably larger

coverage. Apart from giving due coverage to human development issues when such issues came on the policy agenda, editorialists also paid attention to highlight the issues of common people. Additionally, inter-media agenda differences on human development issues were detected between Urdu and English language newspapers, which can otherwise negatively impact the normative role of consensus building by the mass media. Finally, readers' reaction to editorial content through Facebook Likes and online readers comments indicates a clear difference between editorialists and readers' priorities. In-depth interviews inform this study that Pakistani editorialists have to face a variety of influences at individual-level, routine-level, organization-level, extra-media level and ideological level.

Study Implications: The communication aspects of development programmes should actively feed newspaper editorial boards regarding current global development agendas to ensure sufficient coverage of their advocacy. It is imperative to make the UNESCO-led syllabus Teaching Journalism for Sustainable Development an integral part of the country's journalism curriculum. 'Civic advocacy' groups can play a dynamic role in helping to plug gaps by 1) perusing scientific studies on human development related issues from the academic community; 2) communicating their findings to the media outlets particularly to the advocate-journalists; 3) organizing reporting and editorial staff training workshops on how to use such findings to effectively influence developmental policymaking process; 4) sharing with journalism academic community to ensure necessary amendments in relevant journalism course contents for future journalists, and, above all, 5) persuading editors to provide enough room for human development issues.

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List of Abbreviations

ADB Asian Development Bank

AFP Agency France Press

APNS All Pakistan Newspapers Society

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

CJP The Chief Justice of Pakistan

CNN Cable News Network

CPNE Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors

CSOs Civil society organizations

DC Development Communication

DGPR Directorate General Public Relations

DJ Development Journalism

FBL Facebook Likes

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

GCRI Global Climate Risk Index

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GHG Green house gases

HDI Human Development Index

HDR Human Development Report

IDO international donor organizations

IMF International Monetary Fund

IUCN International Union for the Conservation of Nature

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

MPI Multidimensional Poverty Index

NGO Non-government organization

NPT National Press Trust

ORCs Online readers comments

PID Press Information Department
PPF Propaganda and Press Fund
PPO Press and Publication Ordinance
PR Public Relations
PTI Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
SDGs Sustainable Development Goals
SAARC South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
RWB Reporters Without Borders
UN The United Nations
UNDP United Nations Development Program
UNESCO The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
US The United States
WB World Bank
WHO World Health Organization

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Chapter 1-Introduction

1. Chapter Structure

This chapter is divided into four sections. The *first one* gives an historical overview and background of communication aspects of human development. It further draws a distinction between development communication and development journalism. The *second section* elaborates various key term of the present study including human development, editorial and advocacy journalism. It further aims to develop the relationship between editorial and advocacy journalism. The *third section* sheds light on the newspaper industry in Pakistan. It begins with presenting the history of press in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, further explains as how ‘Advocate-Journalists’ have contributed in the independence movement of the country and ends up explaining different forms of newspaper ownership by giving a detailed summary of both Urdu and English language newspaper industry in tabulated form. The *last section* intends to rationalize the present study by giving a detailed view of media reports, national and international journal articles and student theses, written/published in the context of examining the media coverage of human development issues in Pakistan. This section identifies various gaps in the previous research and establishes a strong base for the present study. In the end, a detailed review of existing literature is presented in tabulated form.

1.1 Background (Section One)

The study of human development issues and their coverage in the mass media has been a fascinating field of development communication research since long. Historically speaking, the academic interest in this domain developed after the Second World War (Chu, 1994:34), when many remarkable studies recognized a strong link between communication via mass media and national development of a country. For instance, being influenced by the dominant development paradigm, the classic work of Lerner (1958), Klapper (1960), Rogers (1962) and Schramm (1964) emphasized that the mass media could play a game-changing role in the national development of a country by eradicating poverty around the globe and eventually help bridge the gap between developed and underdeveloped world. These founders of development domain of communication studies showed such strong trust in the mass media to help advance national development tasks of the then third world countries that the later researchers (belonging even to the eras of subsequent alternative paradigms of development) could not avoid following this relatively new trend in social research (Moemeka, 1994:4).

Kumar (2013:29) while summarizing the history of research culture in ‘post Lerner & Schramm period’ writes:

Since then, questions concerning the role of information in social change have been given increasing attention, and research in the field has expanded rapidly. Among the questions studied most extensively are 1. To what extent and how can the mass media contribute to national and local development?

As far back as 1974 the World Bank (as cited in Moemeka, 1994:5) posited that this newly acknowledged role of the mass media has had no positive impact on the lives of ordinary people in low-income countries. One well-identified reason behind this failure lies in the fact that—as being geared by dominant paradigm of development—the said scholarship saw economic growth as the ultimate goal of development and emphasized on using top-down mass media approach to achieve this one-dimensional goal in developing countries. The other reason was the lack of realization of the importance of development-oriented media messages with regard to the nature of their content among media practitioners (Moemeka, 1994:6).

Later, in order to make the deficient concept of ‘development’ manifold, the experts introduced and eventually adopted some more multidimensional and alternative approaches including Human Development in 1990, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. Concurrently, while focusing on the contents of media messages to respond effectively to these modern development approaches, communication experts have recommended many new themes including ‘advocacy journalism’ (Banda, 2015:125). While recommending this university level subject to equip future journalists with techniques to become ‘voice of the voiceless’, O’Donnell (2015:125) rationalized that it “explores advocacy journalism as part of a continuum of journalism practices that focus on building democratic communities”. Also, few experts emphasize on academia to give due attention to the subject of ‘development journalism’ to train future journalists as how to highlight the miseries of unprivileged in the society. Jamil (2018:274), defines and summarizes two popular models/paradigms of development journalism as:

The concept of development journalism is based on the assumption that journalists and, more broadly, mass media (including print, broadcast and the Internet) can act as intermediary actors or catalysts for facilitating the achievement of sustainable development goals in the public interest. In Third World countries, development journalism follows a twofold paradigm: one that focuses on the promotion of economic

growth, industrial expansion, reduction in poverty and generation of multiple revenue resources and employment opportunities (Müller et al. 2007), and another paradigm that focuses inclusively on social and environmental issues.

These new combinations look more feasible as contemporary human development initiatives have been primarily focused to benefit the ordinary people, which lack mouthpiece in commercial media organizations. So, advocacy and development journalism-based contents seem an effective approach that provides a platform to boost ordinary public voices in the news media lest the leadership overlook them in policy debate (Stillman et al., 2001).

According to Ogan (1982:3) the term ‘development communication’ involves all types of communication channels outside the traditional mass media outlets. It means such communications include different ways to convey messages such as face-to-face, visual arts, community interaction, focus group meetings and so on. Ogan conceptualizes development communication as “purposive, persuasive, goal-oriented, audience-oriented, and interventionist by nature” (1982:7). It is generally believed that development communication and development journalism are interchangeable terms. However, Ogan (1982:9) differentiates between the two terms as:

Firstly, development communication is a ‘communication process used only to serve the development goals of the government in power’. In this context, development journalism is defined to mean, the critical examination, evaluation, and report of the relevance, enactment, and impact of development programs, demands that the mass media be independent of government.

In a nutshell, development communication entails the communication component of a country’s development plan, whereas development journalism includes such journalistic content/critique undertaken to either provide basis to said development plan or help sustain it for the betterment of members of a social system.

1.2 Key Terms (Section Two)

This study defines and considers few important key terms in the following manner.

1.2.1 Human Development

As discussed earlier, the concept of human development emerged in the wake of global discussions on the association between economic growth and development during the second half of the 20th Century. At that particular time, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and economic growth were considered as major indicators of national development in many countries. However, owing to the failure of this ‘economic-wellbeing-centred approach’, by the early 1960s there were increasing consensus to overthrow GDP and, consequently:

In the 1970s and 80s development debate considered using alternative focuses to go beyond GDP, including putting greater emphasis on employment, followed by redistribution with growth, and then whether people had their basic needs met. These ideas helped pave the way for the human development approach, which is about expanding the richness of human life, rather than simply the richness of the economy in which human beings live. (“What is Human Development,” n.d., para. 2).

The first Human Development Report (HDR) issued by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 1990 included the basic definition of human development coined by Dr. Mahbub ul Haq¹ and his colleagues as it "is a process of enlarging people’s choices to live. The most critical ones [choices] are to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated and to enjoy a decent standard of living" (Alkire, 2010:4). From this definition, it can be inferred that more a country provides favourable environment to its populations 1) to spend long and healthy life, 2) to have better opportunities of being knowledgeable and 3) to enjoy a decent standard of life; better will be the state of human development in that country. Moreover, unlike the earlier notion that considered the economic growth as the ultimate goal of development, “the human development approach puts the improvement of people’s lives as the central objective of development” (Stewart, 2019:135). In UNDP’s own notion “human development focuses on improving the lives people lead rather than assuming that economic growth will lead, automatically, to greater wellbeing for all” (“About Human,” n.d., para. 2).

¹ Mahbub ul Haq (Urdu: مہجوب الحق; 24 February 1934 – 16 July 1998) was a Pakistani economist, politician and International development theorist who coined the concept of human development (“Mahbub ul Haq”, n.d.)

Every year UNDP publishes an annual HDR that exhibits Human Development Index (HDI) rankings of all member countries, which is a summary measure of average achievement of a country in abovementioned three key dimensions of human development in the given year.

1.2.2 Editorial Journalism

There are a number of journalistic forms that are opinion-based. Among them, for example, there are *columns*, *editorials* and *editorial cartoons*—that make no claim of objectivity. The Cambridge English online dictionary defines an *editorial* as “an article in a newspaper that expresses the editor's opinion on a subject of particular interest at the present time” (Cambridge, n.d.). According to Collins online dictionary “An editorial is an article in a newspaper which gives the opinion of the editor or owner on a topic or item of news (Collins, n.d., para.3)”. Marques et al. (2021:2817) states that “Editorials – defined as unsigned texts that display a media organization’s opinion (Firmstone, 2008) – contribute to the principle of keeping opinion apart from reporting facts”. From these definitions, it can be inferred that though an editorial is a subjective write-up, advocating a media organization’s stance on an issue, it is primarily based on some data and facts. While defining *editorials* as an essential and regular feature of contemporary newspaper journalism and giving a worldview of their existence/presence and highlighting some of their main objectives, Firmstone (2019:3) contends that:

The genre of editorial journalism is exclusive to newspapers and refers to the practice of writing editorial articles (editorials), sometimes known as *leaders* or *leading articles*. These articles make up the editorial column, an historical feature of the printed newspaper format worldwide although there are some places where editorials are not commonplace including Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Bulgaria. Editorials are published in the name of the newspaper rather than attributed to individual journalists (see below for exceptions), and are intended to represent the collective opinion or the public voice of a newspaper. Editorials allow newspapers to make allegiances known; support and oppose individuals; speak on behalf of their readers; speak to readers; and speak to politicians, parties, and other organizations.

For the sake of distinguishing editorials from other forms of opinion-based writings, Pimentel et al. (2021:3) asserts that “editorials have a noble place in the opinion section, which differentiates them from other genres, such as columns”. Few authors consider editorials as

the writings by a group of people as opposed to columns or letter to editors that are written by individual authors. Firmstone (2019:3,7) further highlighted this distinction and reported that:

Editorials differ from other opinion formats such as columns, commentary pages, letters to the editor, op-ed pages, or guest contributions. Formats vary but it is most common for editorials to be physically located toward the front or midway through the newspaper, and they are usually adjacent to the op-ed pages, cartoons, and letters to the editor... Editorials are the principal format for the expression of a newspaper's partisan views. In contrast, opinions in comment and analysis pieces represent the views of individual journalists or guest commentators and fulfil different objectives.

Editorials are usually published on a specifically devoted space on the editorial page of a newspaper; and are published without the name of the writer/s. On a given day, the number of published editorials in a newspaper may differ from country to country. While revealing different editorial writing practices across the globe, Firmstone (2019:3) added that:

Editorials are written by specialist journalists known as leader writers (in the United Kingdom) who occupy senior positions within newspapers and/or by members of the editorial board (in the United States), and by high profile named journalists (Greece). In the most common format in the United Kingdom, a daily leader column consists of three editorial articles, usually of diminishing length and with the first article indicating *prominence*. Editorials vary in length according to the traditional newspapers' formats (broadsheet/quality/tabloid) and are rarely over five hundred words.

Being as a former British colony, Pakistani editorial journalism seems strongly influenced by the British editorial writing model, i.e., by publishing daily three editorials of varying lengths with up to 500-600 hundred words and the first article, with the highest length, indicating *prominence* (Pakistani editorial writing practices have been further elaborated in the Method Section). Universally, the structure of a typical editorial resembles much like the one as described by Pimentel et al. (2021, para, 27):

In their first part, editorials briefly describe a particular event or issue so that it can be contextualized (and widely known events are more quickly presented than others). In the second part, the newspaper develops its opinion on the subject to evaluate what is good or bad, wrong or right, especially concerning the actions of the institutions or agents involved. In this same section, the principles, positions, and ideologies shaping the journalistic organization's opinion are put into action. The third and last part brings

the conclusions, embracing the explanations that form the basis of the editorial opinion and communicating a recommendation or a summon to take action.

The language style of an editorial is more like literary than the journalistic one. Right from the title to the last line, it is generally captivating. In Singh & Singh's (2006:15) words:

An editorial is traditionally written in a literary style. While it is difficult to define what a literary style is, let us say it is one in which thought is well clothed in language. So well that an editorial may make for a literary piece in literature, aside and apart from its factual or scientific content. However, having said that, it must be noted that an editorial is not only a literary piece. It must also express a firm and balanced opinion on something, an opinion that clarifies the muddle into which committed writers and researchers may lead the reader.

Previous research assigns a powerful role to editorial journalism in terms of having multi-pronged effects. Firmstone (2019:1) recognizes and enumerates few of them as:

Rooted in the effects tradition, researchers have attributed an important role to editorials in informing and shaping debate in the public sphere in four ways: (1) as an influence on readers, voters, and/or public opinion; (2) as an influence on the internal news agendas and coverage of newspapers; (3) as an influence on the agendas and coverage in other news media; and (4) as an influence on political or policy agendas.

Editorial journalism has been known for having an uneasy relationship with governments. In a bid to cite different cases where newspaper editorials were subject to influence/interrupt political actors and their agendas, Pimentel & Marques (2021:285) reported that:

Regarding the importance of opinion texts, Firmstone (2008) sustains that media professionals are aware that political authorities monitor editorials. Some decades ago, Oakes (1964) mentioned different occasions when former US presidents said they were uncomfortable with editorials' criticisms. In the Brazilian case, Mundim (2012) argues that the news and opinionated coverage influenced the presidential elections of 2002 and 2006. Miola (2012) and Mont'Alverne (2020), in turn, highlight the agenda power that *O Globo* has on the negotiations taking place in Congress.

However, despite carrying such strong significance and impact, newspaper editorials have historically been ignored by mass communication researchers while exploring different

newspaper content genres. Most of existing research has either examined news articles or other forms of opinionated journalism. To this perspective, Elyazale (2014:22) added that:

Editorials seem to be neglected in media discourse research compared to the abundant work conducted on other newspaper texts, especially the news. One of the important reasons for the necessity to consider editorials in research is based on their familiarity. According to Van Dijk (1996 in Greenburg 2000:520), they “*are probably the widest circulating forms of opinion discourse*”. Boeyink (1993:28) supports the aforementioned claim for newspaper editorials stating that research on editorials is often limited to identifying the topics and classifying the arguments as supporting or opposing a position. Also, Van Dijk (1996: 1) claims that “there are visually no book-length studies, and rather few substantial articles”.

Ansary and Babaii (2005:271) while further confirming the gap, stated that “print journalism opinion discourse has been and still is considered by many a neglected genre, especially if it is compared with the abundant existing work on other newspaper text types”. Similarly, Das (2019:65) reported that newspapers editorials have barely been studied before for advocating environmental issues across the globe. Elyazale (2014:22) further emphasizes on giving due consideration to editorials by media discourse researchers.

Given their rhetorical nature, newspaper editorials are distinguished by certain characteristics in terms of their structure, the types of opinions used and their positioning in the editorial, as well as the language used in them. Given these facts, and since newspaper editorials are directed to mass audiences with the aim to opinions, they deserve more consideration in media discourse research.

Editorial journalism has a close connection with two others widely known types of opinion journalism including advocacy and campaign journalism. In a bid to highlight some commonalities between editorial and advocacy journalism, Firmstone (2019:8) noted that:

Advocacy journalism encompasses “a broad church of subjective forms of reporting that promote social issues and causes, such as ‘muckraking’, ‘crusading’, ‘alternative’, ‘activist’, ‘peace journalism’, ‘civic’ advocacy journalism and ‘interpretive’ journalism” (Fisher, 2016, p. 714). Some definitions of advocacy journalism also include editorial comment (Anderson, Downie, Jr., & Schudson, 2016). Historical accounts of the development of advocacy journalism describe the introduction of editorials as a distinct format as a response to the need to keep advocacy journalism

away from objectivity-driven journalism (Waisbord, 2009). Although editorial journalism can be considered as a specific form of advocacy journalism, it is rarely theorized or empirically researched as such. Historically, editorial and advocacy journalism share an ethos for journalism that endeavours to effect social or political change.

Though Firmstone (2019:8) has underlined few differences between editorial and advocacy journalism as well, this study considers the ‘editorialists’ as ‘advocate-journalists’ because the term advocacy journalism is not as clearly defined in the scholarship as concepts such as gatekeeping or agenda-setting. Moreover, Pakistani editorialists have historically been known for taking the role of ‘advocate-journalists’ right from the period of Indian Independence movement (This notion has been further explicated in the subsequent text).

1.2.3 Advocacy Journalism

As per Merriam-Webster online dictionary definition, “journalism that advocates a cause or expresses a viewpoint” is called advocacy journalism (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Whereas, according to Bachmann (2019), it is a modern offshoot of journalism that intentionally integrates the reporting of a newsworthy incident with a non-objective viewpoint. In a more comprehensive way Journawiki (n.d.) defines it as it “is a genre of journalism that, unlike propaganda, is fact-based, but supports a specific point of view on an issue”. Similarly, Berney and Robie (2008), while further broadening its understanding argue that advocacy journalists not only highlight such issues in the news media, which are directly affecting the lives and living of ordinary people but they also take some position on those issues. In a bid to establish a causal relationship between advocacy journalism and its intended outcomes, Asemah et al., (2013:179) recognizes it “as an evidence-based genre of journalism, which identifies social issues, takes a stand on the identified issues and which promotes these issues with the objective of shaping public perception and building up social understanding”.

In a nutshell, advocacy journalism is “a broad church of subjective forms of reporting that promote social issues and causes” (Fischer, 2016:714) and is practiced to boost ordinary public voices in the news media lest the leadership overlook them in policy debate (Stillman et al., 2001); because “policy makers usually respond to popular appeal, to pressure groups, and to their own social network of policy- and decisionmakers” (Servaes, 2009:55).

While aptly illustrating its diverse aims and objectives Jensen (2008) mentions that advocacy journalism practices are mostly used to support a particular political or social cause. Besides,

some of its other areas of focus also include “stories dealing with corporate business practices, government policies, political corruption, and social issues” (Journawiki, n.d.). Traditionally speaking, advocacy journalism was limited to editorial and op-ed pages only (Waisbord, 2009:373). However, contemporarily it is being practiced in a variety of forms. Among these are the alternative media, corporate blogs, special interest magazines, advocacy journals, alternative publications and niche websites, to name a few (Haas, n.d.).

In an attempt to draw a distinction, Wallack (1994:422) asserts that unlike traditional media approaches that are used to fill the ‘knowledge gap’ media advocacy bridges the ‘power gap’. Arafat (2021:3) distinguishes between ‘advocacy journalism’ and ‘activist journalism’, and argues that:

While advocacy journalism might adopt a biased viewpoint to raise public awareness about certain causes or issues, it is still not the same as being an activist (Careless 2000). Activism involves taking direct action or intervention to achieve a political change through political campaigning, organizing protests, strikes, or boycotts, consulting politicians and bureaucrats, or conducting cyberattacks or hacktivism (Ginosar and Reich 2020; Hall 2018).

There are two popular models of advocacy journalism as explicated by Waisbord (2009:371). The classic one is the “advocate-journalist” model, which in Janowitz’s (1975) words is a form of advocacy journalism that “assigns journalists the role of active interpreters and participants who “speak on behalf” of certain groups, typically those groups who are denied “powerful spokesmen” (p. 619) in the media” (cited in Waisbord, 2009:371). From this perspective, professional journalists—being primarily the mouthpieces of certain economic and political interests—at times, are inclined to balance power inequalities in society. At this stage, “they are guided by a “reformist impulse” to promote perspectives that are typically under or misrepresented in the media” (Waisbord, 2009:371).

In this sense, the normative role of ‘advocate-journalists’ is to give due importance to the common people’s issues in the mainstream media; yet, in practice, this model is predominantly used to promote specific political interests in Global Southern countries. In these regions, ‘advocate-journalists’ have been and are known for giving overwhelming coverage and support to political and authoritarian rulers particularly in the majority world countries. Politicians and political movements have always been backed by the advocate-

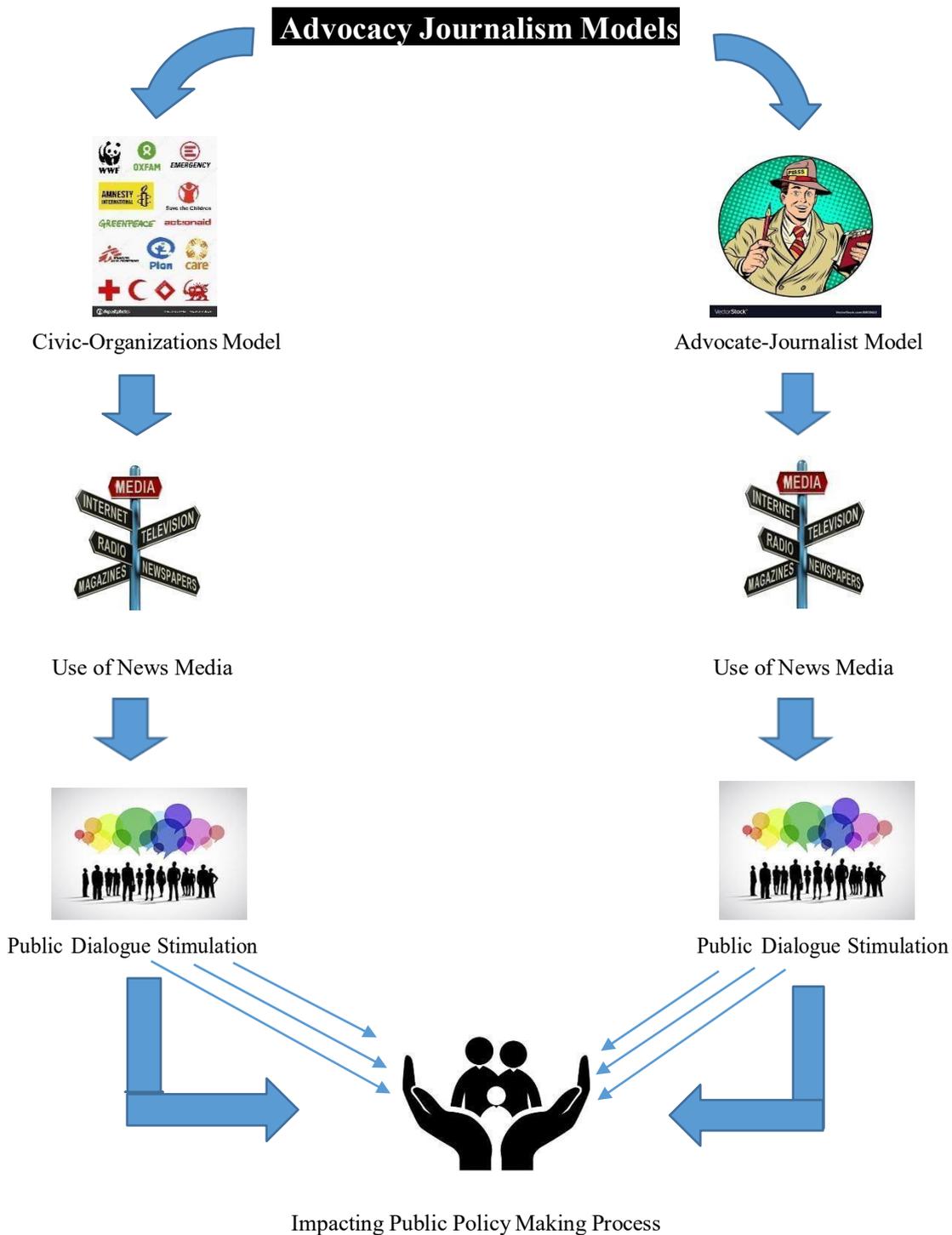


Figure 1. Models of advocacy journalism described by Waisbord (Own Visualization)

journalists. Historically speaking, in such societies, ‘advocate-journalists’ had used ‘the power of the pen’ against their colonial masters. Jensen (2008:1) while explaining this activism wrote that:

In developing nations that have become independent since World War II, journalism was typically part of freedom movements in support of liberation from colonialism.

Many independent publications retain the opposition to entrenched power, for example, the *Hindu* in India.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Hameed Nizami were few know ‘advocate-journalists’ who played an important role in the independence movement against the British Raj through their ‘one-man show’ type newspapers including *Urdu-i-Mualla*, *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, *Comrade*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Zamindar* respectively (Abbas, 2013; Fatima, 2015; Husain, 2012; Jalandhari, 2014; Kamboh, 2019:158; Parekh, 2018).

However, in the post-colonial times, advocacy journalism has started reflecting “the views of individual publishers and journalists allied with specific governments and other political interests” (Waisbord, 2009:374). While rationalizing this trend, Waisbord (2009:374) further noted that:

Reasons for the persistence of the “journalist” model of advocacy journalism are found in the political economy of the press. As long as governments and politicians continue to wield substantial power on press economies, news organizations are likely to act as vehicles for promoting their political interests.

He further contends that although globalization and market forces have largely reshaped the media systems in recent years,

government and personal funds are still the lifeblood of media finances in many countries across the globe. Access to government monies, party coffers, and individual fortunes are crucial to maintain news organizations running. Often, the weakness of market and public funding concedes tremendous power to government officials, politicians, and large business to affect news coverage. In such situations, it is unthinkable that journalism is anything but advocacy journalism. (p.374)

From a global perspective, owing to the prevalence of the journalistic ideal of ‘objectivity’ in the mainstream US press, this model has largely been restricted to the editorial and op-ed pages or alternative publications over there; whereas in Western European countries, “advocacy journalism traditionally found room in newspapers and publications that openly embraced partisan positions particularly in pluralist and corporatist media systems” (Waisbord, 2009:372). As a result—with a focus on serving partisan or official interests and following ‘sacred’ professional ideals—global ‘advocate-journalists’ find a very limited time

and space in the mainstream media to work as ‘social mobilizers’ to advocate social development issues and eventually become a voice for the voiceless factions of the society.

To conclude this debate, though advocacy journalism is specifically performed to promote both social or political causes (Jensen, 2008:1). But, in Waisbord’s conception, its ‘advocate-journalist’ model tends to be more inclined to safeguard the interests of official and political actors, while working in the mass media.

Due to these limitations of the classic “advocate-journalist” model, recently a new ‘civic form’ of advocacy journalism has emerged, which in Waisbord’s (2009) words is “driven by the notion that the news media should be a tool of social change” (p.375). In practical terms, it is referred “to organized groups that use the news media to influence reporting, and ultimately, affect public policies” (p. 371). Such groups are equally operative at both global North and South, usually, in the form of non-government, civil society, international donor organizations (NGOs, CSOs, IDOs) and journalists’ advocacy networks, which make the use of modern public relations tools and other unique communication ideas to get the appropriate media attention of their activities. In a bid to elucidate the working of ‘civic-advocacy journalism’ model, Waisbord states:

Across the South, a myriad of journalists’ organizations actively try to increase the volume of reporting and widening news perspectives on social issues. These organizations feed information to newsrooms, provide logistical support to facilitate coverage, bring journalists together through virtual networks, form alliances with news organizations, organize training workshops, produce articles and series for publication, and so on (p.380).

While highlighting the significance of ‘civic advocacy’ in public policymaking process, Safford and Brown (2019:681) suggests that “Non-profit organizations, industry groups, advocacy organizations and private-sector companies don’t implement public policy as such, but certainly shape the debate”.

Contemporarily, this model has been proved quite effective to influence news coverage on health issues (Freudenberg et al, 2009), tobacco control (Champagne et al., 2010), and environmental policies (Zeng et al., 2019) across the globe.

While highlighting a major difference between the two, Waisbord reports that “Unlike the “journalist” model which expresses the political interests of journalists, the “civic” model

represents advocacy efforts by civic groups that promote social change” (p.375). In another attempt, Banda (2015) concludes that “while in the journalist focused model the journalist stands-in-for or on-behalf-of disenfranchised groups, the civic model is one in which communities are empowered with and through media” (p.128).

While identifying a set of conditions, which support advocacy journalism at large, Waisbord (2009:381) contends that:

Despite substantial historical differences across press systems, contemporary advocacy journalism requires similar conditions: the absence of a consensus around journalistic norms and ideals, and media-savvy civic organizations. When these conditions prevail, it is more likely that journalists would openly act as advocates for specific causes, and that mobilized publics use mainstream media to influence news agenda and public opinion, and achieve policy goals. Both reporters and sources act as advocates, and at times, closely collaborate. Different scenarios are found when neither of these conditions exists.

1.3 Press in Pakistan: From Advocate-Journalists to Corporate Owners (Section Three)

Since the start of the twenty-first century, mass media have seen remarkable development in Pakistan (Gul et al., 2017:37). In a bid to review its structure, Ittefaq et al (2021:169) stated:

The media industry in Pakistan is diverse in nature. It provides information and entertainment and is a source of livelihood to more than 2.5 million people (Rehmat, 2019). Pakistan has more than 88 television channels, 209 radio stations, and around 1,800 newspapers in 8 different languages (Jamil, 2020a; Rehmat, 2019).

Particularly, owing to mushroom growth in print media and the publishing sector, most of daily, weekly or monthly newspapers are being published in English, Urdu, Sindhi, and numerous other local languages (Dickinson & Memon, 2012:623). However, mainstream newspapers are published either in Urdu or English languages. Urdu newspapers are popular among the poor, semi-literate and conservative factions of the society, whereas English dailies are read by the rich, highly educated and liberal-minded readers (Rahman & Eijaz, 2014:246). Urdu newspapers have far more readership than their English competitors, yet the later ones are considered more influential as being widely popular among the policymakers and diplomatic circles (Rahman & Eijaz, 2014:246; Siraj, 2009:45). As the state runs no newspaper, all mainstream dailies are privately owned (Hussain, 2012:57).

During the Indian Independence Movement, Urdu language ethnic newspapers with their advocate-journalist approach had greatly contributed to provoke resistance against the colonial authorities in local communities. Few English dailies also contributed to advocate the problems of local and global Muslim community, particularly in the first half of twentieth century. However, contemporary newspaper journalism has moved from the realms of 'advocate-journalist' model and entered into the dominion of 'corporate-ownership' in Pakistan. To understand this shift, it would be useful to have a historical overview of how the mainstream Pakistani Urdu newspapers have evolved into its present form by drawing reflections from the pre- and post-independence period.

1.3.1 Pre-Independence Urdu Newspapers

The pre-partition Indian subcontinent has a rich history of publishing newspapers in various languages such as English, Hindi, Persian, Urdu, and Bengali (Shahzad, 2019:39). However, the Urdu press played a more vital role in the freedom movement against the British Raj by inculcating a spirit of independence in the Indian Muslim community (Tahir & Baloch,

2009:29). Historically speaking, Urdu journalism in united India can be divided into two eras, i.e., before and after the War of Independence 1857. In a bid to differentiate between the two, Tahir and Baloch (2009:33) stated:

Prior to the War, all reformist movements of India were less political and more social in character and these movements were supported by the newspapers like those of Raja Ram Mohan Rai [an Indian social reformer]. The course of vernacular Indian press had changed drastically due to the events which took place in the country before, during and after the War. It turned more political and radical after the War of Independence.

The first Urdu language newspaper was Weekly *Jam-e-Jahan Numa*, founded in 1822 in Calcutta, nevertheless it could no longer attract an Urdu readership and soon was converted into Persian language (Masood, 2003:211).

A few years later, Maulvi Muhammad Baqar dared to publish the second Urdu newspaper from Delhi, namely *Dilli Urdu Akhbar* in 1836. This weekly newspaper, that initially had a careful tone, seemed completely changed once the actual war started and eventually became more popular (Tahir & Baloch, 2009:37). Owing to this fact, Maulvi Muhammad Baqar had to face the death penalty by the British rulers for being supportive of the mutineers (Rahman et al., 2019:76).

As the freedom movement started getting pace in various main cities of united India, the Urdu press saw unprecedented growth over there. While explaining this connection, Tahir and Baloch (2009:36) stated:

In this period, newspapers were brought out from 29 cities of India, but main centers were Delhi, Agra, Madras, Lahore, Lucknow, Banaras and Bombay. In other words, all those areas where freedom battle was fought also happened to be the main hubs of Urdu journalism, and hence this fact may help us in developing a causal relationship between the two.

Maulvi Muhammad Baqar's assassination acted as a catalyst and later many other Muslim scholars followed his footprints to start publishing Urdu newspapers (Masood, 2003:227). In fact, most pre-independence Urdu newspapers were inspired by the 'advocate-journalist' model (Janowitz, 1975), whose editors/publishers used newspapers as platforms to promote their specific political ideologies to awaken Muslims out of political lethargy. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulana Muhammad Ali Johar, Abdul Halim Sharar,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Hameed Nizami were few known ‘advocate-journalists’ who played a key role in the freedom struggle through their ‘one-man show’ type newspapers including *Urdu-i-Mualla*, *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, *Comrade*, *Muhazzab*, *Al-Hilal*, *Zamindar* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* respectively (Abbas, 2013; Chatterjee, 2011; Fatima, 2015; Hussain, 2012; Jalandhari, 2014; Kamboh, 2019; Parekh, 2018; Rao, 2018). As most early Urdu newspapers were owned by literary persons with revolutionary ideas, their contents had strong imprints of Urdu literature with an assertive tone (Chatterjee, 2011). The first ‘advocate-journalist, who deviated from this classic literary style in contents was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who published the Weekly *Al-Hilal* from Calcutta in 1912. According to Chatterjee (2011:14),

It was one of the first Urdu newspapers, which put equal importance on content and presentation including the layout and design. It was designed on the pattern of Egyptian newspapers. But its greatest asset was the content. It addressed the readers in a new language and style of expression.

1.3.2 Pre-Independence English Newspapers

Newspaper industry was introduced by the British people (e.g., employees of the East India Company) in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Therefore, the first locally published newspaper was in English language. In Shahzad’s (2019:39) words:

James Augustus Hickey, a printer by trade, has the distinction of launching the first newspaper in India. His “Bengal Gazette” alias “Calcutta General Advertiser”, more commonly known as “Hickey’s Gazette” came out in January 29, 1780 in Calcutta as a 2-sheet weekly, 12x8 in size. It declared itself as a “weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none.” It was described as a “Witty and Scurrilous” paper and soon earned the enmity of Warren Hastings, the Governor General and Chief Justice Elijah Impley. This paper barely lived 2 years.

By this time, a number of English newspapers were launched from Calcutta (Bengal province) because of being the headquarter of British East India Company. Most of such papers were owned by the individual publishers/editors. Some well-known include the *Indian Gazette* which appeared in November, 1780, at Calcutta; followed by the *Calcutta Gazette*, in February, 1784; the *Bengal Journal* in February, 1785; the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusement*, the first monthly in the sub-continent, in April 1785; and, lastly, the *Calcutta Chronicle* in January, 1786. Later, English newspapers had started publishing also from other

parts of the subcontinent. For instance, on October 12, 1785, appeared the *Madras Courier*, the first newspaper of the Madras Presidency. The weekly *Madras Gazette* on January, 1795 and the *Indian Herald* followed it on April 2, 1795. The Bombay Presidency saw the publication of its first newspaper, the *Bombay Herald*, in 1789 (Feroze, 2017, paras. 5,6). Next year was founded the Bombay Courier which is now represented by the *Times of India*. These facts provide sufficient ground to believe that newspapers were appearing from almost all parts of the British-occupied India by the end of the 18th century. Moreover, all these newspapers were being published from the areas where there were some British officials and highly educated local Indians were living.

The first English newspaper appearing in the regions which now comprise Pakistan was titled the *Lahore Chronicle* from the cultural city of Lahore by Syed Muhammad Azim, in 1849 and was known as a pro-government publication (Shahzad, 2019:40). The second oldest paper was the *Civil and Military Gazette*, launched from Karachi in the year 1872, which in the coming years played an important role in the development of English journalism in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (Feroze, 1957:156). The main policy of this paper was to cover the activities of the British government and it was the workplace of renowned British author and poet, Rudyard Kipling (Feroze, 2017, para.17). In the meanwhile, the first multilingual journal of India, *The Aligarh Institute Gazette* (in Urdu and English languages) was introduced and published in 1866 by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, which was read widely across the subcontinent (Kidwai, 2016, para.5). Unlike the other contemporary vernacular newspapers, the editorial policies of most of early English newspapers were British government friendly, therefore, the ‘Vernacular Press Act’ of 1878 (passed to curb “seditious writing” in “publications in oriental languages”) was not imposed on English-language publications (Iyengar, 2017, para.3).

However, in the first half of the twentieth century, some critical English newspapers were launched as a ‘mouthpiece of the Muslim community’ by or on behest of the Muslim leadership in the British-India. The first one was *The Comrade*, founded by Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar in 1911. It not only highlighted the miseries of the Muslim community living in the Indian subcontinent, but also went beyond to highlight the problems of the Muslim Ummah suffering abroad. While citing an example, Rao (2018, para.5) wrote:

When the World War I started Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar in an editorial in *The Comrade*, under the caption, “Choice of the Turks”, supported the cause of Turkey in

the Balkan war. It helped Muslims after 1857 to unite on a common objective. Soon after, The Comrade and its Urdu counterpart Hamdard was declared forfeited to the Government, however later, The Comrade once again started publishing but finally, it was permanently closed. In his farewell message, Maulana Muhammad Ali wrote: “we have lived because we have dared, and we shall still dare, and we shall still live.”

Upon feeling neglected by the Hindu-community-owned English newspapers in their editorial policies and content, All-Hindustan Muslim League established a Propaganda and Press Fund (PPF) in 1939. While justifying the establishment of this fund, Khan (2004, para.6) wrote:

The year 1937 was a turning point in the history of Indian politics. Elections were held in British India and Congress ministries were formed in seven provinces. Intoxicated by power the Congress [Hindu dominated party] adopted antagonistic attitude towards the Muslims, and rejected the proposal of co-operation and coalition offered by MA Jinnah. The Hindus press started misleading propaganda against the Muslim League and its leader projecting him a communal statesman, his statements were distorted, and news of his activities were either ignored or given little space. Under the circumstances the need of a first-class Muslim organ was badly felt. The existing Muslim press was insufficient to counteract the Congress propaganda. Realising the pressing problem, Jinnah issued an appeal for funds on June 7, 1937, stating that: " It is also necessary to have an Independent Press for giving advanced political views to Musalmans by publishing a weekly or daily paper both in English and Urdu, in order to counteract false and malicious propaganda which is carried on in different places by the prejudicial and interested parties in India."

With the support of this fund, an English newspaper, namely *Dawn* was founded by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan) in Delhi, on 26 October 1942. In his public appeal to the Muslim community to generously contribute to the ‘PPF’, Jinnah summed up the paper's purpose in these words:

"The Dawn will mirror faithfully the views of Hindustan's Muslims and the All-Hindustan Muslim League in all its activities: economic, educational and social and more particularly political, throughout the country fearlessly and independently and while its policy will be, no doubt, mainly to advocate and champion the cause of the Muslims and the policy and programme of the All-Hindustan Muslim League, it will

not neglect the cause and welfare of the peoples of this sub-continent generally" (Khan, 2004, para.9).

In the late 1940s, *The Star of India*, owned by the Isphani Family of Calcutta started propagating Jinnah's views in the Eastern part of the India. In his message to the editor dated November 13, 1938, Jinnah praised the paper stating that:

"Your paper has rendered the greatest service to the All-India Muslim League not only in the Bengal but in other Provinces for which I publicly thank you. In my opinion every educated Musalman who has the welfare of his community at heart should subscribe to your paper as it only gives the Muslim news of various provinces but in some of your leaders you have advocated and championed the cause of the Musalmans and upheld the policy and programme of the League in a masterly manner" (Khan, 2004,para.12).

In the meanwhile, another newspaper i.e., *Morning News*—launched from Calcutta in 1943 and owned by Khwaja Nooruddin, a member of Nawab of Dacca family—also supported and publicised the policies of All India Muslim League. The paper, in its write-ups, news and editorials aptly explained and expounded the ideology of Pakistan (Khan, 2004, para.16).

The above analysis suggests that the pre-independence pro-Muslim Urdu and English newspapers were predominantly owned by the 'advocate-journalists', who had opted for journalism as a mission and not as a business to earn money or personal recognition (Iqbal, 2010; Rizvi, 2014). Consequently, "the concept of non-aligned media was completely missing in the pre-independence period" (Mezzera & Sial, 2010:12). Particularly, print media was highly polarized. The main purpose of owning a newspaper was to highlight the suffering of Indian Muslims at the hands of British rulers and the Hindu majority; and to underline the problems of global Muslims in general. This was not only the case with 'advocate-journalists' of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, but in all other "developing nations that have become independent since World War II, journalism was typically part of freedom movements in support of liberation from colonialism" (Jensen, 2008:1).

1.3.3 Post-Independence Newspapers

After independence in 1947, apart from few others, Pakistan inherited two prominent Urdu newspapers i.e., *The Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* owned by two veteran journalists of the freedom movement, namely Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman and Hameed Nizami respectively and

one English daily *Dawn* founded by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (the founder of Pakistan). However, the country's first ever locally published Urdu newspaper was daily *Imroz* and English daily was *Pakistan Times*, both owned by Mian Iftikharuddin and issued in 1947 (Malik, 1967:657). In the early years, significantly more Urdu newspapers were started than Bengali, Sindhi and English language newspapers. One unique feature that made early newspapers more popular and economically viable was elaborated by Feldman (1956:93) as:

These are not composed and printed in the way with which we are all familiar today and which is used for other languages in Pakistan. Urdu newspapers are handwritten, in the flowing Persi-Arabic script, by calligraphists called katibs. The newspaper is then directly printed from the master-copy by a lithographic process. For this reason, the cost of production of Urdu newspapers is lower than of other newspapers.

The pre-partition 'advocate-journalist' model had still been intact and functional, as for instance owing to ideological conflict of the cold war, most of mainstream newspapers were either left or right oriented. Examples included on the liberal-left Mian Iftikharuddin and his daily *Imroz* and on the other side Hameed Nizami's liberal-right *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (Sheikh, 2014). During this volatile period, while finding conducive environment for advocacy journalism, different political parties (e.g., Muslim League, Jamat-e-Islami and Pakistan Peoples Parties) also launched their own Urdu newspapers to influence public opinion, 'but this experiment proved to be a failure' very soon (Zakariyya, 1992:9). In the late 1960s, when the state of Pakistan decided to join the American block during the Ayub Khan regime (Iqbal & Khalid, 2011:13), many progressive journalists and writers were detained and Mian Iftikharuddin's owned Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) and its publications including *The Pakistan Times* (English), daily *Imroz* (Urdu) and weekly *Lailo Nahar* (Urdu) were taken over by the military government (Niazi & Mustafa, 2010; Parveen & Bhatti, 2018:9) 'because of suspicions that their editors had socialist leanings' (Mezzera & Sial, 2010:13). Later, to further control the voices of dissent, in 1964, the National Press Trust (NPT) was established by the Ayub government and all the PPL papers along with 15 other newspapers including a popular Urdu daily *Mashriq* were given under its control (Siddiqi, 2015, para.5).

During the subsequent two military regimes (1969-1971; 1977-1988), all NPT owned newspapers continued to advance their mission as mouthpieces of the military rulers (Parveen & Bhatti, 2018:10). In fact, this indirect government ownership of newspapers was one of the 'methods by which the content of the press was influenced or controlled by the government'

(Williams, 1978:54). However, when democracy was revived in 1988, the new regime decided to take itself out of the media business. Eventually, the NPT was dissolved in 1989 and all government-owned publications were sooner or later privatised (Reporters Without Borders, n.d.). A pro-media ruler, Ms. Benazir Bhutto became the prime minister of Pakistan.

This privatisation policy encouraged private print media owners to expand their existing empires horizontally. For instance, ‘both *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* and *The Daily Jang* started their English language newspapers in quick succession’ (Reporters Without Borders, n.d.). It also stimulated corporate owners to plunge into the mass media market to allegedly safeguard ‘their other business interests’ (Mezzera & Sial, 2010:12). *Daily Express* is considered to be the pioneer corporate-owned newspaper in Pakistan. The contemporary Pakistani newspaper industry, predominantly owned by corporate owners, seems to be getting out of the ‘advocate-journalist’ era, free from any ideological or political influence. According to Hussain (2012:62), most corporate media “groups have a moderate political approach and apparently, they do not follow the line of any particular political party/group in the country, however their interests are more focused on commercialism”.

1.3.4 Contemporary Urdu and English Newspapers

Urdu and English are the two official and most influential languages in Pakistan. Owing to this language divisions, print media is also divided into two ideological domains. Both newspaper and magazine journalism are influenced by this divide. Rehman and Eijaz (2014:246-47), while highlighting this difference wrote that:

Before independence Urdu language was considered to be the language of the Muslims (R. Upadhyay, 2003) and the legacy still continues especially in Urdu press which is considered to be more interested in the issues of Muslim world as well as cultural and religious identity of Muslims. Urdu press is considered to be right of center or conservative (Ahmed, 2012; Shoeb, 2008; Syed, 2008). This could be because there has been a continuous policy of the government to use Urdu language as a tool for national identity to unify the country. However, English papers are considered to be left of center, and liberal in their opinions and are widely read by the policy makers and more educated in the society.

There exists no TV channel or radio station that is being run in English language, therefore this ideological and ethnic division is not found over there. Ejaz et al. (2021:7) have

comprehensively underlined few other differences between contemporary Urdu and English newspapers and reported that:

Pakistan's print media can be characterized as competitive and reflects ethnic, linguistic, and class division (Jamil 2020). On the one hand, Urdu print media is popular and enjoys a wide range of readership, especially in the lower middle class of society that has only primary to secondary levels of education. On the other hand, the English press is more liberal and targets policymakers, politicians, the elite class, civil and military bureaucracy, industrialists, professionals, and the educated class (Kamboh and Ittefaq 2019).

All mainstream newspapers are being published in broadsheet format in Pakistan. Print media ownership falls into two basic categories, including cross media and corporate ownership. The former is a type in which a single media mogul is owning multiple forms of mass media industry, including newspapers, TV channels, radio stations etc. For instance, the *Jang Media Group* has been horizontally expended from print to electronic media during the last two decades. Whereas corporate ownership is a type in which large enterprises with no journalism background are expanding their businesses into areas (e.g., mass media) that are different from their prime pursuits. For instance, the owners of *Dunya Media Group* have jumped into the media business from the private education sector.

Corporate media ownership has traditionally been accused of imposing 'a cultural hegemony' (Bourdieu, 2002) and promoting 'a profit-driven social order' (Herman & McChesney, 1997:117) across the globe. Whereas, in Pakistan, corporate owners are stigmatized to use their media groups 'as a protective cover for their other business interests' (Mezzera & Sial, 2010:12). Yet, it is likewise believed that one of the country's leading business conglomerates, i.e., Lakson Group²—after entering into the print journalism by launching *Daily Express* in 1998—has introduced corporate culture in the traditional Urdu and English language newspaper market and eventually helped transform it into an established industry. In practical terms, *Daily Express* has set a number of new trends with regard to embarking on novel ideas in content, design and layout, management, technology,

² The Lakson Group is one of the largest business conglomerates in Pakistan established in 1954. Currently, it owns a large number of companies in various sectors including agri-business, call centers, consumer non-durables, fast food, financial services, media, paper and board, printing and packaging, surgical instruments, technology (data-networking, BPO and software) and travel (<http://www.lakson.com.pk/lakson-group>).

circulation and staff hiring practices in the local newspaper industry. These trends have widely been followed by other competing newspapers to remain in the competition.

For instance, Before the launch of *Daily Express*, Pakistani print journalism was limited to Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta till the late 1990s. Most mainstream daily newspapers were printed only in these cities and then were dispatched to far-flung regions. The more distant a region was, the more the readers of that area had to miss the latest news. *Daily Express* catered to the needs of these regions, as it was eventually launched from eleven cities, now also Multan, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Sargodha, Rahim Yar Khan and Sukkur. These regional stations gave *Daily Express* a remarkable advantage over its competitors as happened in one famous case when a prominent Pakistani politician Nawabzadah Nasarullah Khan passed away late at night on 27 September 2003. Next day, only *Daily Express* printed the news of his death, whereas all other newspapers were carrying the story of his hospitalisation.

Additionally, being published earlier from larger cities, there was a metropolitan bias in their content as well (Dickinson & Memon, 2012:621). Newspaper publishers were accustomed to print multiple editions of a single station, four in most cases, and dispatched them to different cities. Local correspondents were used to send their news stories through regular postal services and a story would have taken about three days to find a place in the relevant newspaper. This would leave the readers of these areas with no choice but to read stale and outdated stories.

The novel initiative of regional journalism filled the gap of information and opened many job opportunities for local journalists. Prior to the expanded local publication of *Daily Express*, practical journalism was limited to correspondence only. Eventually, *Daily Express* established a complete organisational setup with well-equipped newsrooms in these smaller cities, where local journalists found a number of jobs as reporters, sub-editors and feature writers. Press machines were installed in these cities for the first time in history and readers could read the latest local, regional, national and international news in the local edition of their daily newspaper. The data in Table 1.3.4 reveals that the trend of regional journalism has largely been followed by both preceding (i.e., existing before the launch of *Daily Express*) and succeeding (i.e., published after the launch of *Daily Express*) Urdu newspapers. In fact, *Daily Express* preferred to publish from cities with larger populations, instead of publishing from provincial headquarters like the preceding Urdu newspapers were doing.

Table 1.3.4 Contemporary Urdu newspapers of Pakistan.

Newspaper	Founded	Ownership	Chief Editor	Stations
The Daily Jang	1939	Private	Mir Shakil-ur-Rehman	Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Multan, Quetta, London https://jang.com.pk/
Nawa-i-Waqt	1940	Private	Rameeza Majeed Nizami	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Multan, Quetta, <i>Gujranwala, Azad Kashmir</i> https://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/
Daily Khabrain	1992	Private	Imtinan Shahid	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Multan, <i>Muzaffarabad, Sukkur, Peshawar, Hyderabad</i> https://dailykhabrain.com.pk/
Daily Pakistan	1997	Private	Mujeeb-ur-Rehman Shami	Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi, Multan, Peshawar https://dailypakistan.com.pk
Daily Express	1998	Corporate (Lakson Group)	Sultan Ali Lakhani	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Multan, Gujranwala, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Rahim Yar Khan, Sukkur, Quetta, Peshawar https://www.express.com.pk/
Daily Dunya	2012	Corporate (Punjab Colleges)	Mian Amir Mahmood	Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Multan https://dunya.com.pk/
Daily Nai Baat	2011	Corporate (Superior Colleges)	Chaudhry Abdul Rehman	Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar, Karachi, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Quetta https://www.naibaat.pk/
Roznama 92 News	2015	Corporate (Madinah Group of Industries)	Muhammad Haider Amin	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Quetta, Faisalabad, Sargodha, Peshawar, Multan https://www.roznama92news.com/
Jehan Pakistan	2012	Corporate (University)	Awais Rauf	Lahore, Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Multan, Gujranwala, Karachi

		of Lahore)		http://www.jehanpakistan.com/
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Source. Reporters Without Borders (<https://pakistan.mom-rsf.org/en/owners/>)

For instance, for the first time ever, *Daily Express* was published from Faisalabad, Gujranwala and Sargodha, the third, fifth and twelfth most populous cities of the country. Later all succeeding Urdu dailies have followed this trend at the time of their launch. Even, the preceding *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* is now planning to publish its local editions from Gujranwala and Azad Kashmir, according to information on its website. *Daily Khabrain* long ago followed this pattern by issuing regional editions from Muzaffarabad and Peshawar in 2002, and from Sukkur and Hyderabad in 2004.

Table 1.3.5 Contemporary English newspapers of Pakistan.

Newspaper	Founded	Ownership	Chief Editor	Stations
Dawn	1942	Private	Hameed Haroon (CEO)	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad https://www.dawn.com/
Daily Business Recorder	1965	Private	Wamiq A. Zuberi	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad https://www.brecorder.com/
The News International	1991	Private	Mir Shakil-ur-Rehman	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, London https://www.thenews.com.pk/
The Nation	1986	Private	Rameeza Majeed Nizami	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Gwadar https://nation.com.pk/
Daily Times	2002	Corporate (F. Capital Securities)	Shehryar Taseer	Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi https://dailytimes.com.pk/
The Express Tribune	2010	Corporate (Lakson Group)	Bilal Ali Lakhani	Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad https://www.tribune.com.pk

Source. Reporters Without Borders (<https://pakistan.mom-rsf.org/en/owners/>)

1.4 Rationale of the Study (Section Four)

According to the year 2019 HDR, Pakistan's HDI value for 2018 is 0.560 (in the medium human development category), placing it at 152 out of 189 countries and territories and that ranks it lower than all other South Asian countries ("Human Development Index", 2019). This bad situation is constantly persisting, which is evident from the data in Table 1.4 that reveals that growth in HDI value for the country has almost stagnated over the last five years.

Table 1.4 Yearly Human Development Trends (Pakistan)

Year	HDI Value	Ranking	Category
2014	0.546	148 out of 188 countries	Low
2015	0.550	147 out of 188 countries	Medium
2016	0.556	149 out of 189 countries	Medium
2017	0.558	150 out of 189 countries	Medium
2018	0.560	152 out of 189 countries	Medium
2019	0.557	154 out of 189 countries	Medium

Note. Human Development Data (1990-2018), Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>

There are a number of development related issues being faced by the Pakistani citizens at present. Jamil (2020:271) has summarised few of them as:

Pakistan is currently facing severe challenges for sustainable development, including a lack of safety and governance, demographic issues, poverty, unemployment, food insecurity, gender violence and inequality, injustice, water shortage, energy crises, rapid increase in pollution and climate change. In addition, the country's progress towards development and adaptation strategies is quite slow.

1.4.1 Review of media reports

A number of research and media reports further give a clear insight into the dismal state of provision of healthcare, education and basic needs among the voiceless common people in the country. For instance, the esteemed medical journal 'The Lancet' discloses that Pakistan has the highest rate of stillbirths (i.e., a baby born dead) in the world— despite stillbirth is entirely a preventable phenomenon ("Stillbirth Rate," 2016). In the same way, the country holds the highest infant and maternal death rate in South Asia (Pasha et al., 2015). Besides, Pakistan is one of the two remaining countries in the world, which are not yet Polio free— with highest number of Polio cases reported during 2019 ("Global Polio Eradication

Initiative”, n.d). Waterborne diseases are playing a havoc with public health in Pakistan, for instance, water-related diarrhoea is causing 60% infant deaths annually, which is the highest ratio in Asia. The same report further reveals that around 30% of all diseases and 40% of all deaths are being occurred due to poor drinking water quality in the country (Daud et al., 2017). Contrary to this, Pakistan's per capita spending on healthcare stands at \$37, which is far lower than the World Health Organization’s (WHO) recommended minimum expenditure level required for necessary healthcare services (Ghani, 2017).

UN’s Global Education Monitoring Report 2016 reveals that Pakistan is more than 50 years behind in its primary, while more than 60 years behind in its secondary education targets compared to the contemporary world (“UN Report,” 2016). At present, Pakistan contains the world's second highest number of out of school children after Nigeria with 22.8 million children not accessing school at all. (UNICEF, 2019). A recent report of Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training illustrates that more than 42,000 public sector primary schools are deprived of clean drinking water and toilets (“Over 42,000”, 2015). Conversely, the federal government, in the year 2018-2019 budget allocated only 2.4% of the GDP for education sector— which is the lowest amount in the region (Amin, 2019).

Apart from crumbling health and education sectors, the other areas of social development are of no exception. For instance, Pakistan is ranked as the sixth most dangerous country in the world for women in 2018, with a rapid increase in the cases of sexualharassment and domestic violence (Khan, 2019). In this respect, a research report by Aurat Foundation reveals that nearly 1,000 Pakistani women are being murdered annually by their family members in the name of honour killing (“No Honour,” 2016). Additionally, womenare witnessing greater inequality in access to health and education, equal economic opportunities, political inclusion and decision-making participation (Lund, 2019). Regrettably, the governmental disinterest to improve women rights and equality in the country is evident from the Global Gender Gap Index Report 2020 released by the World Economic Forum, which ranked Pakistan at 151out of 153 countries, standing just before Iraqand Yemen in the list (Ahmed, 2019).

According to a recent United Nations (UN) report, air pollution caused the world’s highest number of deaths in Pakistan during the year 2015, while identifying transport, industry and agriculture/livestock sectors as the main contributors to the deteriorating air quality in the country (“FAO Report,” 2019). Conversely, an investigative news story by

Washington Post reveals that contrary to India's 23 percent forest cover, rapid deforestation in Pakistan has terrifyingly lowered that number to below 2 percent, fixing timber and land developer mafia as the main culprits ("Pakistan's Plan," 2016). Similarly, if on the one hand, the findings of many empirical studies reported that increasing population and poverty rate has a significant contribution to environmental degradation in Pakistan (Alam, 2010; Zaman et al., 2011, Mallick & Ghani, 2005). On the other hand, absurdly, the provincial government of Baluchistan is motivating its resident couples to enhance child birth rate ("Outrageous Solution," 2015). Likewise, being included in the 'red list' of endangered species by International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the hunting of Houbara Bustards is prohibited in Pakistan. But every year the country's foreign office grants special hunting licenses to please Royal Gulf hunters as the "cornerstone of its foreign policy" ("Houbara Bustards," 2016). Moreover, despite having the second highest share of agriculture and livestock sector (44.8%) in the national GHG emissions (Mir et al., 2017), the present government has announced giving top priority to dairy and poultry industry in its national development plan ("Government Committed", 2019). Consequently, the recent Global Climate Risk Index (GCRI) report reveals that Pakistan is included among the world's top tenmost disaster-affected countries because of rapid climatic changes (Eckstein et al., 2019). A number of environmentalists while indicating climate change as the biggest security threat to Pakistan—not the terrorism—are dissatisfied with the government actions to cope with this alarming situation ("Climate Change," 2015).

According to an Asian Development Bank (ADB) report the economic growth rate of Pakistan would stand at 2.8% during the fiscal year 2019-20 (i.e., the lowest in South Asia), eventually causing more unemployment and the inflation rate (i.e., 12%)—the highest percentage compared to all of its neighbouring states (Rana, 2019). To deal with these challenges, the government has grossly increased taxes on public utility items and signed another bailout deal worth \$6 billion with IMF (Shams, 2019), instead of expanding its tax collection network. As per MPI (Multidimensional Poverty Index)—the country's latest official poverty measuring tool—almost 40 % Pakistanis live below poverty line with 54.6% of the rural population lives in acute poverty, stressing the need to make rural-centric economic policies ("40% Pakistanis," 2016). Sadly enough, the government has no fresh ideas to tackle poverty in rural hubs except cheapening the cost of agricultural inputs to increase economic growth ("Rediscovering The Poor," 2016), instead of introducing any reforms in the agri-sector.

Amid all this grim situation—as a befitting solution — the role of media advocacy looks inevitable because abovementioned facts indicate that decision makers are free from any public pressure while devising policies for the common people. When compared with this imperative support, Pakistani print media does not seem imposing its influence to improve the state of human development in the country. For instance, there is a general perception that human development issues are getting marginalized coverage by mainstream newspapers, which is evident from the fact that almost all print media outlets have devoted most of the space every day for political, business, sports, showbiz and crime issues and such content is being produced by relevant desks/forums specially developed for this purpose. However, there is no other newspaper having its development desk except *The Daily Jang*, which occasionally publishes content on development issues. In a similar way, discouragingly enough, unlike other news reporting beats with plenty of reporting staff, the media executives don't assign 'development' beat to their reporters to exclusively cover development issues- based news stories (Kamboh, 2019, p.162).

1.4.2 Review of local research journal articles

While exploring the requisite print media normative role for national development, a panoramic view of the recent articles published in local research journals report that giving enough coverage to development issues has not been the prime focus of Pakistani newspapers. For instance, taking in view the recent spread of HIV/AIDS in Pakistan, Kiran (2019) investigated the newspaper coverage of HIV/AIDS cases in the local dailies (*Jang & Dawn*) and eventually found the inappropriate space being given to advocate HIV/AIDS issues in the hard news. Additionally, she noticed that the reporting language was grossly violating the HIV/AIDS guidelines recommended by UNESCO.

In a similar attempt, Ali et al., (2017) noted that the issues concerning primary and higher education sectors in the country received rare attention by both the reporting and editorial rooms of mainstream English newspapers (*Dawn & The News*).

In another study, a content analysis conducted by Ali (2010) revealed that religious minorities are being scantily covered and mostly on inner pages by elite English newspapers (*Dawn & The Nation*); followed by intensive interviews with Christian, Hindu and Sikh community leaders, who stressed on giving enough newspaper space to their rituals and festivals to promote interfaith dialogue among various religious communities and eventually to reduce religious intolerance in the country.

On a similar note, Riaz (2015) found that owing to its urban-centric readership, the mainstream press neither adequately cover agriculture sector problems nor give sufficient coverage to the issues of rural population, particularly the plight of rural women community.

Likewise, Ullah et al. (2016) concluded that women are underrepresented in the mainstream Pakistani newspapers (*The News, Dawn, Daily Express & The Daily Jang*). Their findings reveal that the male characters had received eight times more pictorial coverage than the female characters, who, besides were mainly portrayed in stereotypical gender-specific roles. English newspapers comparatively gave more coverage than their Urdu competitors.

Similarly, Hingorjo & Memon (2019), while analysing the print media coverage of environmental degradation and climate change issues found Urdu and English newspapers (*The Daily Jang, The Express Tribune*) downplayed the significance of such issues by publishing them on inner pages and by giving them little coverage on editorial pages.

A comparative analysis of development related news stories between English daily *Dawn* and Urdu *The Daily Jang* by Shah et al., (2020) revealed that the selected newspapers gave least coverage to development issues particularly on the front pages of the newspapers. It was found that the English press provided more space to development news than Urdu newspapers. However, the former types of newspapers covered such issues on inner pages.

In a comparative study of three neighbouring countries, published in a local journal, Taimur-ul-Hassan et al., (2018) attempted to measure and compare the frequency and prominence aspects of development news in Pakistani, Chinese and Indian mainstream newspapers. Their result revealed that:

While the Indian newspaper covered development related issues most frequently, China's newspaper gave high prominence to development issues as compared to Pakistani and Indian newspapers. Pakistani press lacked both in frequency, prominence and lack of information related to development sphere.

Although, all of these studies give a clear insight into the dismal state of print media coverage of different dimensions of human development issues (Table 1.4.1). A closer look to this literature, however, reveals a number of gaps and shortcomings. For instance, there is a dire need to explore the coverage patterns of all these dimensions in a single comprehensive study to figure out the role of mainstream newspapers in improving human development landscape of the country. Similarly, instead of studying the coverage patterns of more influential Urdu

language newspapers (Siraj, 2009), majority of them mainly focused to explore English newspapers only. Moreover, no prior studies have examined the role of print media in advocating many other aspects of human development that could further help enlarge people's choices to live in the country. Among these are unemployment, population planning, increasing inflation, malnutrition, food safety, and social injustice, to name a few.

1.4.3 Review of student theses

By focusing only on certain aspects of development issues and eventually finding insufficient coverage, all of the above-mentioned studies overlooked the deeper problem of what is then actually being covered in lieu of human development issues? Fortunately, few of the empirical evidence is available to resolve this mystery. For instance, two of the previous student theses found that the journalistic content in both Urdu and English language dailies ignored the issues of the voiceless factions in society. In reality, the newspapers devote most of their space to content about local politicians' propaganda statements against their political opponents, conflicts with regional countries, embedded journalism accounts, and scandalous news stories concerning crime, showbiz and sports events (Hussain, 2000; Umber, 1999).

However, both of these studies otherwise lacked some important information needed to get a comprehensive picture. For example, Umber (1999) while examining the editorial coverage of two English dailies—Dawn and The Nation— in her unpublished M.Phil. thesis found insufficient coverage given to women and child related development issues versus other non-development issues. But this scientific attempt ignored to study Urdu dailies, which—being Urdu as the national language of Pakistan—have far more readership than their English counterparts (Siraj, 2009). Moreover, this study focused on development issues pertinent to child and women's fraternities only, which further identifies a gap to explore the newspaper advocacy role for many other voiceless factions of the society.

In a similar study, Hussain (2000) in her unpublished M.Phil. research work, analysed the hard news coverage of a set of development issues in two English and two Urdu dailies—*The News, The Nation; The Daily Jang & Nawa-i-Waqt*. She found imbalanced 'amount' and 'space' devoted to development news stories as against extravagant coverage given to sports, crime, showbiz and political happenings. However, this study did not compare the amount of coverage between Urdu and English dailies. It is pertinent to mention here that any such comparison can help understand whether Urdu newspapers—as being far more influential than English newspapers—advocated more human development issues or vice versa.

Despite everything, this worthwhile academic exploration supported the assumption that mainstream Pakistani newspapers have been engaged in setting public agenda on such issues which has little to do with improving HDI value of the country. Since both of these theses were conducted before the launch of MDGs and SDGs and as both of these global development plans strongly called for media support for creating their better understanding among the stakeholders. So, it would be meaningful to explore that contemporarily how much editorial space is being given to advocate human development versus other non-development issues? Moreover, by considering newspapers' editorial space a valuable platform for setting both public and policy agenda on development issues, such exploration would help to judge the agenda setting priorities of Pakistani press.

1.4.4 Review of international research journal articles

In international academic journals, very little research work has sought to explore the coverage patterns of human development issues in mainstream Pakistani newspapers. In a recent study, Belal (2018), while measuring and comparing the amount of development news stories in two of the leading English newspapers of Bangladesh (daily Star) and Pakistan (Dawn) concluded that the selected newspapers are not used to cover development news items on front or back pages, instead they rarely opt to publish such content, and mostly on metropolitan or inner pages. However, this work has only focused on analysing 'news stories', and therefore overlooked the advocacy journalism potential of newspaper editorials. Additionally, it does not seem appropriate to generalize such findings, which are based on the study of just a single English language newspaper of Pakistan that has a small readership.

Along similar lines, Kamboh and Yousaf (2020), while analysing the editorial coverage of a set of fifteen human development issues in four mainstream Urdu and English language newspapers (*The Daily Jang, Daily Express, The Nation and Dawn*) found that at the cost of consuming precious editorial space to advocate voiceless factions' miseries and to improve country's HDI value eventually, editorial contents are dominated by the discourse produced by the mighty communication bureaucracies of powerful national and international establishments. For instance, non-human development issues-based policies of the state and political actors; and conflicts with India and Afghanistan with warmongering spirit are given considerably larger coverage. Additionally, readers' reaction to editorial content through Facebook Likes indicates a clear difference between editorial and readers' priority agenda. Although this study provides ample evidence to clarify that Pakistani editorialists are devoid

of performing ‘advocate-journalist’ role during the selected time period, yet it seems lacking some longitudinal data to verify the consistency in this editorial ineptitude.

To consider the sufficient coverage of human development issues as a yardstick, let us review here the findings of two recently conducted worldwide studies that have aptly presented an international comparison of mainstream newspaper coverage of climate change issues. In their Inquiry, Barkemeyer et al. (2017) found that selected Chinese, Nepali, Filipino, Thai and Pakistani newspapers scarcely published an average number of 1.01, 0.31, 0.20, 0.54 and 0.16 articles per newspaper issue on climate-related issues respectively. Contrary to this coverage, selected Australian, Canadian, German, Spanish and British newspapers accorded a healthy average of 3.90, 2.24, 1.58, 2.19 and 3.0 articles per newspaper issue respectively during the year 2008. Although data from Pakistan was not included in another study by Schmidt et al. (2013), but it included data from many other Global Southern countries. This interesting meta-analysis by Schmidt and his colleagues found that the newspapers of selected Global Southern countries such as Algeria, Yemen, Jordan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Thailand, which are least responsible for climate change but are bearing its worst consequences, just gave a mere news coverage of 0.36 %, 0.07%, 0.07%, 1.64%, 1.15%, 0.39% and 1.85% respectively. In contrast, the news dailies of those countries that are blamed for more GHG emissions including Australia, Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States gave 15.40%, 5.66%, 8.39%, 14.74% and 11.02% similar coverage respectively.

To make a long story short, the findings of all of the previous studies add weight to the argument that giving sufficient coverage to human development issues is not in Pakistani mainstream newspapers’ priorities (Table 1.4.1). However, there are many key questions and notions that are still not discussed in the available local development journalism literature.

For instance, majority of prior studies explored the contents of a limited number of newspapers, selected a short period of time and with a focus on hard news coverage only by overlooking to analyse the editorial journalism practices. As discussed earlier, advocacy journalism via newspaper editorials carries an enormous potential to stimulate democratic dialogue among the public audience particularly around human development issues that could eventually push leadership to make public friendly policies.

Although, two of the earlier studies (Hussain, 2000; Umber, 1999) have already examined the difference in coverage amount between development and non-development

issues- based news and editorial content. But being as somehow older studies, a new exploration is nevertheless needed to verify any presumed change in coverage amount in the wake of the latest development agendas (MDGs, SDGs).

Similarly, there exist no previous longitudinal study on human development issues— i.e., a study analysing the same data sample during two different political regimes—for measuring presumed change in media agenda with the change in policy agenda.

Also, there exist no prior study helping to judge the difference between readers and editorialists’ ‘issue selection’ tendencies. Therefore, it would be meaningful to explore that to what extent readers posted Facebook Likes (FBL) on editorials published on human development issues versus other issues. This effort would eventually help to measure the association between editorial agenda and readers’ agenda on various published issues.

Table 1.4.4 Review of Existing Literature

Author/s (Year)	Issues Selected	Newspapers (Urdu, English)	Content Type	Time Period	Findings
Kiran (2019)*	Health	Jang, Dawn	News	6 Months	Insufficient
Ali et al.(2017)*	Education	Dawn, News	News	4 Months	Insufficient
Ali (2010)*	Religious	Dawn, Nation	News	1 Year	Insufficient
Riaz (2015)*	Rural	-	-	-	Insufficient
Ullah et al. (2016)*	Gender	Jang, Express News, Dawn	Pictorial	2 Months	Insufficient
Hingorjo et al. (2019)*	Environmental	Jang, Kawish Express Tribune	News	1 Year	Insufficient
Taimur et al. (2018)*	Development	Dawn	News, Editorials	3 Months	Insufficient
Hussain (2000)**	Development	Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt News, Nation	News	9 Months	Insufficient
Umber (1999)**	Gender/Children	Dawn, Nation	News	1 Year	Insufficient
Belal (2018)***	Development	Dawn	News	6 Months	Insufficient
Kamboh et al. (2020)***	Development	Jang, Express	Editorials	1 Year	Insufficient
Shah et al. (2020) *	Development	Jang, Dawn	News	2 Months	Insufficient

*Local Journal Article, **Student Thesis, ***International Journal Article

Likewise, none of the previous study did attempt to explore the association between inter- press editorial agenda differences and its impact on mass media’s consensus-building function. Keeping in view the heterogeneous nature of Pakistani society, it would be

worthwhile to explore that to what extent the Urdu and English newspapers' editorial agenda contain similarities and contrasts in terms of covering sensitive development issues to generate consensus among Pakistani readers and vice versa?

Lastly, the existing research has many problems in representing any reasons (influences) behind exposed journalistic inadequacy to sufficiently cover development issues. Although research has illuminated a variety of factors influencing development news production in the Indian context (Shah, 1990), no study to date has examined such prevailing conditions in Pakistani journalism.

Chapter 2-Literature Review

2. Chapter Structure

This chapter aims at synthesizing different studies conducted to critically analyze the ‘advocate-journalists’ (e.g., editorialists) role in highlighting human development issues. Taking due account of the study objectives as set before (see Methods chapter), this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides available literature to rationalize the relationship between media advocacy and agenda-setting function. It explains as how editorialists can help set the public agenda by giving adequate coverage to human development issues. The second section explicates the factors that contribute in agenda- building of the mass media. It includes case studies from the US (where most of early research on agenda-building function has been conducted) and describes how prominent newssources influence media agenda through their public relations and communication paraphernalia. The third section sheds light on the mass media consensus building function. It provides literature revealing how greater exposure to news media corresponded to greater consensus on community issues. The last section helps understand the interrelationship between mass media agenda versus online readers agenda. It further explains that how digital newspapers (through their FBL and Online Readers Comments (ORCs) features) have facilitated to measure the correlation between editorialists’ and readers’ priority agenda and thus provided an alternative to survey research.

2.1 Media Advocacy and Agenda-Setting Priorities (Section One)

The interplay between mass media and human development has been one of the most significant areas of development communication (DC) since the inception of this modern offshoot of communication studies. With an aim to positively impact the bleak state of human development in various bad HDI carrying countries in the world, DC experts put a strong emphasis on the strategic use of mass media. Some of them consider such usage cost- effective while others believe media advocacy a vital factor to influence public; and eventually policy agenda.

Hornik (1989:9), for instance, acknowledges media as a powerful tool that could act as a “low cost loud speaker” for developing countries because in the absence of enough budget to hire a number of professionals to educate common people, mass media can well substitute the experts' voice.

Similarly, in Khemchand's (2000:19) conception the human development landscape of a country can be improved by giving special attention to the 'capacity building' and 'development issues-centered agenda-setting' aspects of the local mass media. He further emphasized on the need of

intensive training for both editorial and technical personnel of both print media and radio/TV networks, to enable them to perform their functions with increased professionalism; and increased attention of the media to development-oriented issues, such as population, environment, health care and urbanization, which directly affect millions of people in every developing country in Asia.

While establishing a causal relationship among the amount of media coverage, public and policy agenda, Barkemeyer et al. (2017:952) contended that

Media coverage can be expected to influence levels of public attention, which in turn has the potential to shape policy agenda. Levels of media coverage are therefore an important precondition for policy activity (Crow et al., 2016; Yusuf et al., 2015).

There has been a long debate about which particular genre of the media coverage is more useful in impacting the policy agenda around development issues? In this regard, both Servaes (2009) and Waisbord (2009) suggest to use the enormous potential of advocacy journalism by using it to initially influencing the public agenda. In former's opinion, "policymakers usually respond to popular appeal, to pressure groups, and to their own social network of policy- and decision makers" (p.55). While clarifying the role of media advocacy in shaping public and policy agenda, Servaes (2009:55) states:

The communication media are critical in creating awareness, generating public interest and demand, and placing the issue on the public agenda and building social support. They can play two kinds of advocacy roles: (a) they can support development initiatives by the dissemination of messages that encourage the public to support development-oriented projects; and (b) they can provide decision makers with the information and feedback needed to reach a decision.

In a bid to relate media advocacy with agenda-setting function, Wallack (1994) asserts that:

media advocacy uses the media to place attention on an issue by bringing it to light. This is the process of agenda-setting. Substantial evidence suggests that the media

agenda determines the public agenda: what's on people's minds reflects what's in the media. (p.425)

To further explicate this correlation, Stillman et al (2001:137) contends that “The primary goal of media advocacy is to use the media to shape what [first level of agenda-setting], and how [second level of agenda-setting], people think about an issue”.

This ability of the mass media (through media advocacy, for instance) to determine audience priority list of issues is what McCombs and Shaw (1972) called the agenda-setting function, which works at two levels. The first-level illustrates the transfer of object (e.g., issues, organizations, and political candidates) salience from the media agenda to the public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In a later study, Coleman et al. (2009:147) tried to define this level more precisely as “the process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others”. They further asserted the use of first level agenda-setting a deliberate attempt from the media executives, who know that “the more coverage an issue receives, the more important it is to people” (p. 147). Along the same line, Cheng (2014:6) states that—at the first level—the mass media pointedly start giving extravagant coverage to a particular issue because the agenda setters are well aware of the fact that “the amount of news coverage of an issue would largely determine the perceived importance of that issue by the audience”.

In fact, the seminal work of McCombs and Shaw (1972)—the developers of agenda-setting theory—firstly documented the so-called first level agenda-setting effects. While systematically studying the agenda-setting effects of the mass media on undecided voters in Chapel Hill city of North Carolina state during the presidential campaign of 1967 US elections, they hypothesized that the mass media set the voters agenda for a given election campaign. In this quest, they interviewed 100 voters together with conducting a content analysis of the local media (whom those voters were exposed to) including five newspapers, two newsmagazines and two TV network evening news bulletins. Interviewees were asked to identify the major problems in the country, which were later coded into 15 categories. Meanwhile, the selected news media content was also sorted into 15 issue categories. Eventually, their findings strongly supported an agenda-setting effect as the correlation between emphasis in the media on a campaign issue and voter judgment of that issue as important was +.965 on average. This hallmark study acted as a trendsetter—as its pattern

was later followed by hundreds of other similar research attempts, making agenda-setting as one of the most investigated concepts in media effect research (McCombs, 2005). A large part of this early exploration was aimed at examining the first level agenda-setting effects.

Wanta and Ghanem (2000) while undertaking a meta-analysis of 90 agenda setting studies noted a mean correlation of +.53 between the salient news issues covered in the mass media and the public agenda. These findings suggest a strong correlation between the emphasis put on different issues by the mass media and the audience perception of considering those issues as important.

From the above discussion, it can be inferred that the higher an issue receives media attention, the stronger it would be in public consciousness. In this regard, a review of global literature found it a popular trend among DC researchers, who intend to compare the amount of news coverage given to development issues versus other issues. One reason for making such comparison is to examine whether enough news coverage is being given to engender first level of agenda-setting effect around either development or other issues? In that context, an increasing number of such studies found little amount of coverage given to development issues compared to extravagant coverage given to crime, politics, showbiz, accidents, agitation, strikes, wars and sports related issues in respective local mainstream press of many developing countries with a poor state of human development (Asante, 1999; Banjade, 2002 ;Chala, 2012; Chaudhry & Dayal, 2018; Diedong, 2013; Jwadder & Hazarika, 2012 ; Kamboh& Yousaf, 2020; Kayode & Jimoh, 2009; Murthy, 2000; Murthy et al., 2010 ; Popoola, 2014 ; Shah & Gayatri, 1994; Singh, 2011; Tshabangu, 2013; Tuurosong & Kendie, 2014).

A thorough review of the majority of prior research—exploring the print media coverage of various forms of development (human, sustainable, rural, social)—reveal that most of such studies were conducted in Global Southern countries. For instance, Murthy (2000:24) examined the amount of coverage (news, editorials and letter to the editors) given to developmental issues in four mainstream Indian dailies (*The Hindu, Indian Express, Andhra Jyothi Eenadu*). He concluded that such “coverage was neither significant nor encouraging” during the year 1995.

In a later study, Singh (2011:5-6) while analyzing the news coverage trends in a Hindi language newspaper (*Hindustan Hindi*) found that development issues were lacking in both ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ aspects i.e., they were neither given appropriate space nor covered on front pages.

In a more recent study, Chaudhry and Dayal (2018) detected a similar low news coverage pattern both in a Hindi (*Dainik Jagran*) and a mainstream English newspaper (*The Hindu*). In a comparative study of examining development news coverage between two Indian (*Times of India*, *Daily Sahafat*) and two Pakistani newspapers (*Dawn*, *The Daily Jang*), Hussain and Shabbir (2019:247) concluded that both countries' selected newspapers equally ignored to give a sufficient and prominent news coverage to development issues. Interestingly, both countries' Urdu language newspapers gave more space to development news stories than their selected English language counterparts.

Shah and Gayatri (1994:418) thoroughly analyzed the contents of development news stories printed in one elite (*Kornpus*) and one non-elite (*Poskotu*) Indonesian newspapers published between 1st May 1991 to 31st August 1991. They found somehow a satisfactory amount of news stories, yet most of such stories were not thoroughly reported and rated to be of weak quality with language mistakes and insufficient facts.

From African continent, Chala (2012:19) conducted a similar content analysis in Ethiopian context and further compared the amount of news coverage given to development issues by a state-owned (*The Ethiopian Herald*) and a privately owned (*The Reporter*) newspaper. Although the former newspaper accorded more coverage than of the latter, yet overall coverage was still insufficient.

Diedong (2013:13) analyzed the news contents of four mainstream Ghanaian newspapers (*Daily Graphic*, *Ghanaian Times*, *Ghanaian Chronicle*, *Daily Guide*) over a period of one year and eventually found that the selected newspapers extravagantly covered the political issues and "had failed to focus on other equally important issues including health, education, environment and agriculture".

Popoola (2014:76) while examining the news contents of four leading Nigerian newspapers (*Nigerian Tribune*, *The Punch*, *The Guardian*, *The Sun*) found very little attention given to rural development issues and hence recommended that "every newspaper house should create rural development desk just as there are foreign, sports, business and other desks" in every selected newspaper news room.

Tshabangu (2013:318) examined the news contents of a leading Zimbabwean newspaper (*The Chronicle*) for the year 2010 and eventually concluded that around 90% of its coverage was about non-development issues including politics, entertainment, sports, foreign affairs and international news stories.

In a broader study conducted on global scale, Barkemeyer et al. (2013:716) content analyzed a sample of 115 mainstream national newspapers from 41 countries around the world. Their analysis found “typically no homogeneous global trends” as the distribution of sustainable development issues’ coverage was highly unequal among the global Northern and Southern countries. For instance, unlike the latter group of countries that preferred to cover poverty and financial corruption, the former countries gave more coverage to climate change and HIV/AIDS related issues.

The above-mentioned review indicates some noticeable gaps in existing literature on print media coverage of development issues in an international context. In the first place, most of such studies measured the extent of hard news only. Editorials or op-ed contents—which perform media advocacy (Waisbord, 2009:372) for development issues—were not the focus of any major study. It is argued here that human development issues can be best advocated by newspaper editorialists, because such issues are usually underrepresented in the mainstream media and need either adequate news coverage or some special journalistic treatment to have a better influence on public policy debates (Kamboh & Yousaf, 2020:657). In this regard, due to its distinctive format and being a prime genre of ‘advocate-journalist’ model, newspaper editorials (Anderson et al., 2016:113; Waisbord, 2009:372) are aptly capable of constructing debate in the

public sphere in four ways: (1) as an influence on readers, and/or public opinion; (2) as an influence on the internal news agendas and coverage of newspapers; (3) as an influence on the agendas and coverage in other news media; and (4) as an influence on political or policy agendas (Firmstone, 2019:2).

However, despite being a specific form of advocacy journalism, newspaper editorials are “rarely theorized or empirically researched as such” (Firmstone, 2019:8), and have barely been studied before for advocating developmental issues (Das, 2019:65).

Secondly, prior research has been lacking in two major aspects of modern development approaches: the development issues examined were neither selected from the latest global development agendas (MDGs, SDGs) nor explored with an editorial/advocacy journalism focus. It is important to note that the UN recommends media executives to prefer and use advocacy journalism practices to create a better understanding of current development agendas (Banda, 2015)

Thirdly, most of previous studies analyzed the newspapers contents for a single period of time, hence leaving a gap for a longitudinal study to have a more in-depth view of newspaper policies during two different periods of time.

Lastly, all of the afore-mentioned studies are ‘media-centric’ as none of them had attempted to measure the audience response (of any kind) to media messages (This point is further described in section 2.4 of this chapter).

Unfortunately, despite being carrying a poor HDI value of the country, the mainstream Pakistani press has also been known for setting audience agenda on non- development issues. Previous comprehensive studies (of doctoral level) in this domain concluded that mainstream newspapers had devoted most of the space every day for content about local politician’s statements against their political opponents, civil-military relations, conflicts with regional countries, embedded journalism accounts, scandalous news stories concerning crime, showbiz and sports incidents. Umber (1999), while examining editorial coverage of two English dailies—*Dawn* and *The Nation*— for one year found insufficient coverage of women and child related issues compared to excessive coverage given to non- development issues. However, this scientific attempt ignored to study Urdu language newspapers, which have far more readership than their English counterparts. Moreover, this study focused on development issues pertinent to child and women fraternities only that further identify a gap regarding a number of other missing dimension of human development.

In a similar attempt, Hussain (2000) analyzed the hard news coverage of development issues in two English and two Urdu dailies i.e. *The News*, *The Nation*; *The Daily Jang* & *daily Nawa-i-Waqt* for a period of eighteen months. She also found inadequate ‘amount’ of development news stories compared to extravagant coverage given to sports, crime, showbiz and political happenings. However, this study did not make any comparison between Urdu and English language newspapers’ coverage. It is pertinent to mention here that such comparison can be helpful to understand whether Urdu newspapers, as being far more popular than the English dailies, gave more coverage to human development issues or vice versa. Moreover, both Umber (1999) and Hussain (2000) were limited to measure the ‘frequency’ only and did not consider to check the ‘prominence’ characteristic of the selected content. Iyengar and Kinder (2010:34) argued that position of a story or an editorial does matter; for instance, lead stories or leader (leading editorial) have a greater agenda-setting impact than the inner-page stories or editorial notes.

Although, this exploration supported the assumption that Pakistani press has been engaged in setting public agenda on such issues which has little to do with improving HDI value of the country. Yet, both of these studies were conducted before the launch of MDGs and SDGs and as both of these global development plans strongly called for media support for creating their better understanding among the stakeholders. So, it would be meaningful to explore that contemporarily how much editorial space is being spent to advocate human development versus other non-development issues. In fact—by considering newspapers’ editorial space as an advocacy platform for setting both public and policy agenda on development issues—such exploration would help to judge the agenda setting priorities of Pakistani mainstream newspapers.

RQ1: Was there a difference between editorial coverage of human development issues and other issues among Pakistani newspapers during the selected time periods?

2.2 Media Agenda Building (Section Two)

Once the mass media agenda-setting effects on the public consciousness had been well-established after receiving a large amount of empirical support, the media scholars started raising new questions, particularly ‘who sets the agenda for the agenda setters?’ (Kiousis et al., 2006:266). For example, Lang and Lang (1981:448) while pointing out a grey area of agenda-setting research argued that “the whole issue of how issues originate is sidestepped, nor is there any recognition of the process through which agendas are built...”. Likewise, Gandy (1982:266) asserted that “I suggest we go beyond agenda-setting to determine who sets the media agenda, how and for what purpose it is set, and with what impact on the distribution of power and values in society”. These questions seemed quite relevant because in an earlier study, Funkhouser (1973:75) had revealed that the mass media agenda fairly deviates from the reality. He indicates the existence of few other factors that have a significant influence on the media agenda. He concludes “The news media are believed by many people (including many policymakers) to be reliable information sources, but the data presented here indicate that this is not necessarily the case”.

These envisioned ‘media-agenda determining factors’ were later explicated in a new term called ‘agenda-building’. In the first place, Lang and Lang (1981) reported that “The broader concept of agenda building is useful for addressing such questions in that it conceptualizes the process of salience formation as one of mutual influence among policymakers, media, and the public” (Cited in Kiousis et al., 267). In a later study, Lang and Lang’s (1983:58-59) defined the concept of, “agenda-building—a more apt term than agenda-setting— [as] a collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another”. Nisbet’s (2008:78) definition brings this interesting concept close to the concept of media gatekeeping. He states, “Agenda building refers to the process by which news organizations and journalists feature, emphasize, and/or select certain events, issues, or sources to cover over others”.

Since most of the initial agenda-setting studies were conducted in the US context, so it was assumed that the US president (being the chief executive of the state) is the ‘number one’ agenda-builder for the mass media (Severin & Tankard, 1997:233). To test this hypothesis, McCombs et al. (1982) conducted a study to explore the possible impact of the President Richard Nixon’s 1970 State of the Union address on the media agenda. They conducted a content analysis of Nixon’s speech and eventually jotted down a set of 15 issues,

whose salience was then examined in the coverage of two mainstream newspapers and three TV channels for the four weeks before and four weeks after the address. The findings strongly supported the original hypothesis of presidential agenda-setting i.e. the correlation between the president's agenda and the post-speech media agenda were stronger than the correlation between the presidential agenda and the pre-speech media agenda.

In a later study, Weaver and Elliot (1985:94) while exploring a study of local agenda-building found that how a local newspaper 'mirrored' the agenda of a small city council of the US Indiana state. They concluded that any prominent news source (irrespective of the fact that whether it is of national or local stature) do have an agenda-building ability. They deduced that:

With regard to media agenda-building, then, this limited study of news source and media agendas suggests that a prominent news source can have a major influence on the subsequent media agenda, but the selective processes and news judgments of journalists also play a significant part in shaping this agenda.

Berkowitz (1987:513) while pursuing local and national TV news coverage, found that more than 70% of TV news presented information gathered from press releases and from official sources. This study concluded that:

The findings of this study can, however, serve as indicators of the agenda-building process. They imply that sources play a large part in the building of television news agenda, and ultimately, in shaping information from which people unconsciously build their images of the world.

Although there are many factors that eventually shape the media agenda; for example, journalistic routines, news values, organizational culture, media ownership, financial constraints, ideological values in media etc. (Shoemaker & Reese, 1995), yet public relations (PR) activities are considered dominant in influencing the media agenda in general (Berger, 2001; Curtin, 1999). In this connection, agenda-building research has been focused on analyzing the potential of both social and mass media PR tools (e.g., Facebook pages, Tweets, YouTube videos, press releases, press conferences, political ads etc.) to influence media coverage (Parmelee, 2014; p.434). Kioussis et al. (2006) estimated that "public relations impact anywhere from 25% to 80% of news content (Cameron, Sallot, & Curtin, 1997; Lee & Solomon, 1990)" (p.267). In their landmark study, Kioussis et al. (2006) attempted to explore the role of candidate news releases, media content, and public opinion in

shaping the salience of political issues and candidate images during the elections of a US state in 2002. They content analyzed a total of 77 news releases, 654 newspaper stories, and public opinion data from a statewide survey of 572 respondents. Their findings strongly supported a significant correlation between both first- and second-level agenda-building and agenda-setting effects.

Based on the above discussion, it can be safely remarked that ‘PR tactics’ and ‘status of a news source’ are the most influential factors determining a media organization’s news agenda. In a nutshell, higher a news source has a political status or greater access to PR facilities stronger it would have an agenda-building impact.

On 19th August 2018, Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) Mr. Imran Khan took the oath of new Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan after winning general elections in July, 2018. Throughout his political career and during his election campaign, he has been reaffirmed his firm commitment to improve country’s human development indicators (Malik, 2018; Rashid, 2018). In his inaugural televised address to the nation as country’s chief executive, he gave his road map to his vision of “New Pakistan” and highlighted the dismal state of human development in the country. He said that:

Pakistan’s Human Development Index reveals that the country is among the five nations in the world with the highest child mortality rate below the age of five and stunted growth for children. Every second Pakistani child is malnourished. We need to change our mindset and think about the children who are out of school. (“EitherCountry Will,” 2018)

Later in a media talk, he hoped to spend more on human development than weapons. He said:

Pakistan is looking for any kind of mediation [to resolve conflicts between India and Pakistan], because Pakistan believes that progress comes with peace. When you have tensions with your neighbors, it detracts from resources that could be spent on human beings. They end up getting spent on unproductive things like arms. (“Pakistan Wants To,” 2019)

As soon as he formally assumed the office of the country’s chief executive, he started launching many human development initiatives in the country; to name a few, ‘BillionTsunami Tree Project’ to mitigate the climate change impact, ‘Ehsaas Program’ to alleviate poverty and reduce inequality, ‘Sehat Insaaf Card’ to provide comprehensive financial cover

to needy patients, ‘Panahgah’ to provide shelter homes to homeless people. All these initiatives and their launching ceremonies received high media attention.

In the meantime, his ‘development agenda’ had also been started getting support from the head of another pillar of the state i.e., Chief Justice of Pakistan (CJP). Mr. Justice Saqib Nisar, who, throughout his tenure as CJP (i.e., from 2016 to 2019), has been known for taking suo-motu notices, organizing conferences, paying surprise visits, delivering public speeches on issues highlighting bad state of human development in the country; particularly water security, population explosion, health and education sector problems received much of his concern (Dagia, 2019; “Only PM can,” 2018). Yahya and Malik (2019, para, 11) reports that:

Perhaps it was first time in the judicial history of Pakistan that a CJP heard cases also on weekends. Water, health, education and population control were his main priorities. Likewise, the CJP conducted unique proceedings in public interest matters at the Lahore Registry.

Although he had been criticized for carrying a hidden populist agenda (“Change in order,” 2019), yet it is a matter of fact that his judicial activism made him a potential news ‘agenda builder’ of the social and mass media.

All of the above-mentioned agenda-building studies were conducted in Western context. So, it would be interesting to explore that to what extent the presence of two top agenda-builders of a developing country with their strong affinity for improving local human development landscape have impacted the editorial coverage of development issues?

The newly-elected PTI government has been unfortunate in a sense that, right from the beginning of its tenure, it could not be able to control increasing inflation rate owing to recurrent local currency depreciation and repeated oil price hikes in the international market. In fact, the inflation rate for consumer prices in Pakistan is directly linked with the crude oil prices and the US Dollar exchange rate i.e., higher the oil prices and/or Dollar exchange rate increasing will be the inflation rate in the country and vice versa (Malik, 2016, Choudhri & Khan, 2002). Consequently, in the beginning of 2019, an inflation rate of 9.41% was calculated that was highest in the last five years. The fiscal year 2019-2020 had been even the worst year of the country’s economic history as the local residents were witnessing the highest inflation in the world (Iqbal, 2020). This failure of the PTI government to control inflation had received much political and media criticism followed by public protests and strikes (Shams, 2019). Parallel to this, the unemployment rate that was 5.8% at the beginning

of PTI tenure had eventually jumped to 8.53% by the end of the fiscal year 2019-20, worst during the last ten years (Rana, 2020).

Contrary to both of above-mentioned omnipotent agenda-building factors (i.e., PR tactics and ‘status of a news source’), there exist Waisbord’s (2009) coined “advocate-journalist” model, which in Janowitz (1975) words is a form of advocacy journalism that “assigns journalists the role of active interpreters and participants who “speak on behalf” of certain groups, typically those groups who are denied “powerful spokesmen” (p. 619) in the media” (cited in Waisbord, 2009:371). It is a matter of fact that—being agents of certain economic and political interests— Journalists, at times are inclined to balance power inequalities in the society. At this stage, “they are guided by a “reformist impulse” to promote perspectives that are typically under or misrepresented in the media” (Waisbord, 2009:371).

Finding no previous study in this domain, it would be interesting to determine all those influences (official and non-official) that shape the editorial agenda on development issues in Pakistan. In other words, it would be worthwhile that in the presence of official agenda-building factors (i.e., governmental PR machinery and ‘status of a news source’) working to improve human development issues coverage, to what extent the non-official agenda-building factors (i.e., advocate-journalists) contributed to earn editorial space for advocating voiceless factions’ issues, for instance, growing inflation rate or rising unemployment issues in the country?

RQ2: Was there any difference in editorial agenda with the change in policy agenda on human development issues?

2.3 Inter-Press Editorial Agenda Differences and Consensus Building (Section Three)

Keeping in view the dismal state of human development in Pakistan—with its power to determine public's everyday agenda of issues (McCombs, 1972)—mass media can not only set its audience priority list of selected issues but can also bridge the communal gaps through consensus building process (McCombs, 1997). Pakistan is somewhat a newly independent developing country and a perfect example of a heterogeneous society, where the sociocultural and socioeconomic divide have been quite vivid since its independence from British rule in 1947. This division does sharply exist among its media consumers as well. The rich, highly educated and liberal-minded readers prefer to read English language newspapers contrary to the poor, semi-literate and conservative-minded readers, who are interested to read Urdu dailies only (Ejaz et al. 2021; Jamil, 2020; Kamboh & Yousaf, 2020; Rahman & Eijaz, 2014; Siraj, 2009). Amid this environment, the probability of a news item to be published or not and with what tone is largely determined by the said ideological split (Bukhari, 2015).

However, despite being a segmented society, contemporary Pakistan is gradually striving for undergoing the nation-building process. And for such societies, media scholars assign mass media a key role in nation building by maintaining communal harmony through group consensus building (Lakra, 2016; Prasad, 2016). McCombs (1997:433) while elaborating this role states that the “achievement of consensus among the members of a public is the focal point of the agenda-setting theory”, which delegates mass media a prime responsibility to integrate the heterogeneous audience by presenting a uniform view of issues/problems. By following this agenda-setting tradition, most of the studies in this domain primarily examined the transfer of salience of the selected issues or their attributes from mass media to the public and eventually found consensus building effect. For instance, many of such studies revealed that when audience members increased their mass media consumption routine, the level of agreement among them on important issues had also increased irrespective of their demographic differences and ideological gaps (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995, Higgins, 2009).

In a landmark study, McCombs (1997:433) emphasized on the significance of media consensus-building in a society. He further puts it as:

Achievement of consensus among the members of a public is the focal point of agenda-setting theory, a social science perspective that attributes significant influence to the news media in the process of achieving community consensus about the most important

problems and tasks of the day. Through their day-by-day selection and display of the news, the editors of our newspapers and the news directors of our television stations exert a powerful influence on public attention to the issues, problems, and opportunities that confront each community. Over time, the priorities reflected in the patterns of news coverage become to a considerable degree the priorities of the public agenda. This influence of the news agenda on the focus of public opinion is called the agenda-setting role of mass communication (McCombs & Bell, 1996; McCombs & Evatt, 1995).

In an earlier study, Shaw and Martin (1992:903) argued that the press may do something more important (i.e., provide a platform to engage diverse groups of people in dialogue) than simply setting the agenda. They concluded that higher exposure to the news media corresponded to a greater consensus on the public agenda of issues among different demographic subgroups. Their statewide study—consisting of North Carolina’s citizens—examined five selected demographic subgroups (e.g., gender, age, race, income, and education) to measure the consensus of agenda among them and their media usage incidence. They eventually found that the increased daily newspaper reading routines corresponded to the consensus between different subgroups for the issues being faced by the community. In a nutshell, they concluded that newspapers can help to abridge demographic gaps by providing a dialogical platform to the community. This idea was explained by them as:

We argue that the news media, incidentally and indirectly function to provide just enough agreement on public issues to provide at least dialogue between, for example, men and women, blacks and whites, old and young more educated and less educated and rich and poor. In our social system (The US)—indeed in all “developed” social systems—the press, whether “free” or “controlled,” functions to pull together divergent parts of the collective social system.

In the same study, Shaw and Martin (1992:904-5) further gave a figurative representation of how different key “groups” in society come to agree on important social issues as a consequence of being exposed to the news media.

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate how we believe that people become “closer” in the social system as an artifact of exposure to the mass media although agreement on key social

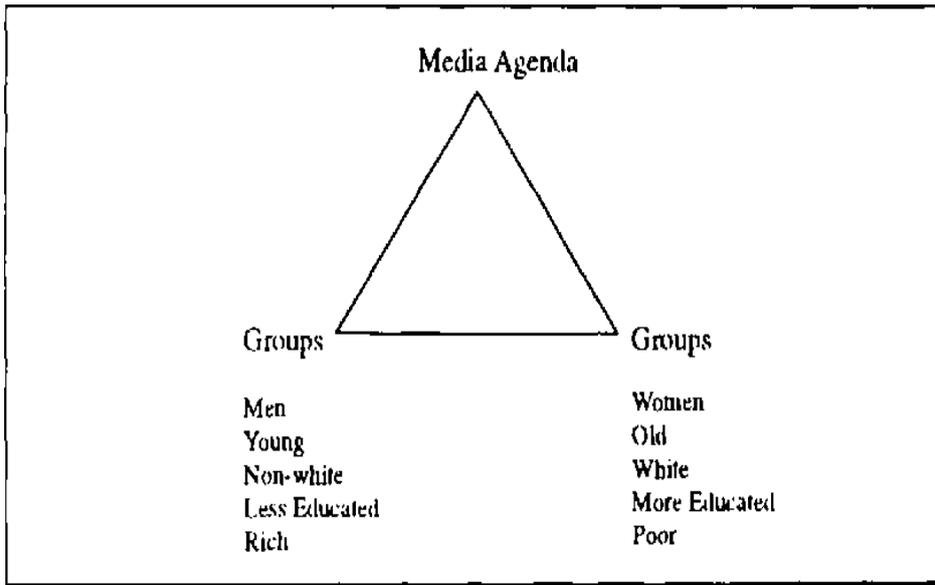


FIGURE 1
Low Media Users

issues does not mean all would favour the same solution. The figures suggest that groups of people will be further apart cognitively if they do not “share” a common media agenda, and will become closer together in issue agreement as a result of media exposure. We argue here that demographically divergent groups tend to cognitively converge when they share news media.

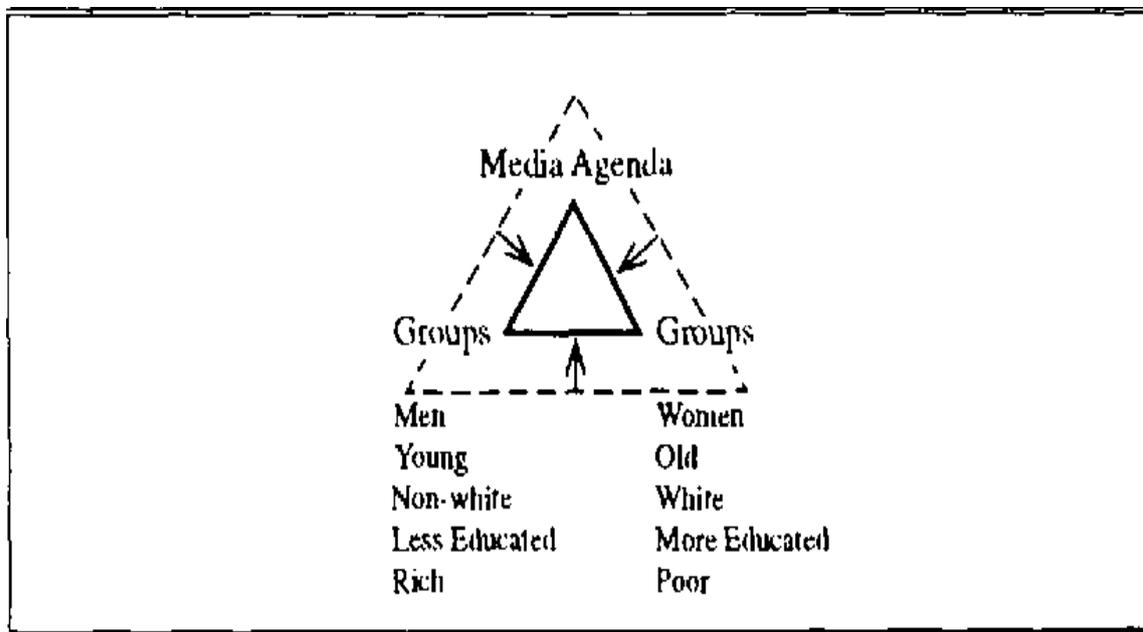


FIGURE 2 *High Media Users*

Outside the US, this consensus building function of the news media was supported in another study conducted on Taiwan’s 1992 legislative election where Chiang (1995) found that

greater exposure to news media corresponded to greater consensus on community issues among the demographic subgroups. Yousaf (2018:96) reported the results of this study as:

Her study considered gender, education, and income subgroups and excluded age and race which were examined in the Shaw and Martin's pioneer study. Rather she included the geographic groups of Taiwanese and Mainlanders. Her study also found that increased exposure to news media, that is to say, television, in this case, showed an increased consensus among gender, education, and income demographic subgroups about the issues considered to be important in the community. However, consensus effects for TV viewers were not found among Taiwanese and Mainlanders demographic subgroups. This study also like the previous study found consensus building function of the television with increased exposure among different demographics groups *via-a-vis* what to think about. In this study, only television consensus building effect was measured, and there is a television effect.

While highlighting the similarities and differences between Shaw and Martin's (1992) and Chiang's (1995) studies, Yousaf (2018:97) reported that:

In brief, Shaw and Martin (1992) examined the consensus building function at the first level of agenda-setting both for the newspaper and television, Chiang (1995) documented this consensus building role for television in Taiwan (China). These studies, thus, found that news media is able, by spotlighting public issues over a period of time to help diversified segments of the population to form a "social consensus" on the agenda of public issues. Importantly, both studies have a different setting, that is to say, election and non-elections, cultural, and political diversity, yet they found the identical role of news media among demographic groups in the society.

In their study of bridging group differences and creating consensus on the important issues in Spanish community, Lopez-Escobar et al. (1998) found that greater exposure to the news media corresponded to a greater consensus on the public agenda of issues among different groups of the community. Their study explored the news media consensus building function at both first and second levels of agenda-setting. Their study sample was comprised of gender, age, education and ideology factors, excluding two demographic variables—i.e., income and race—previously examined by Shaw and Martin (1992). The ultimate results revealed that as the frequency of media exposure of different issues increased, it positively corresponded to the increased consensus among selected sample subgroups. Interestingly,

when agenda of issues [first level agenda setting] and agenda of attributes [second level of agenda setting] were compared, they found more support for the agenda of attributes. Among the demographic subgroups, the strongest consensus building tendency was found among ideology and education subgroups; whereas, gender showed moderate evidence and the weakest was observed among age subgroups.

Another benchmark study on the news media's role in bridging communal gaps among various segments of the population was undertaken by Higgins (2009). Yousaf (2018:98) has aptly summarized the findings of this study as:

She examined the role of both national and transnational media in building consensus among several European communities regarding the attributes of terrorism issue and the Muslim and Arab communities living in European countries after the 9/11 attacks on the US soil. The sample of her study consisted of 15 European countries and was divided according to demographic subgroups namely gender, age, education, and locality. This study disclosed that different demographic groups who reported using national media showed the tendency of consensus about the agenda of attributes of an issue and attributes of a community. It also revealed that among newspapers, television, and radio; television was more influential in creating consensus among the four demographic groups. Furthermore, at the second-level agenda-setting, when the level of attributes was taken into consideration, this study found more support for an increased consensus on the substantive dimension for those who reported the use of national and transnational media than for the affective dimension among the same respondents.

Though, all of the above-mentioned studies attest to the fact that mass media carry a strong consensus building potential. However, none of them did focus on the nature of the media—whom the audience members are exposed to—particularly, in terms of inter-media ideological differences. This missing link in turn points out towards a significant gap in the existing literature. It is particular to mention here that this missing link has a greater significance in a heterogeneous society like Pakistan, where majority of the population possess hybridized identities with grave socio-cultural differences.

Against this background, the present-day Pakistan strongly needs an advocacy and agenda-setting support from its mainstream press to meet the prime national requirement of consensus building. Particularly, both Urdu and English language newspapers are desired to present and establish a unified view of many sensitive development issues—including

religious intolerance, social inequalities, family planning and women issues—to bring harmony among the diversified factions of the populace. As a rule of thumb, this role can be better played by giving an equal amount of coverage with a similar tone to the said issues by both language newspapers. While finding no previous study in this domain, it would be worthwhile to explore that to what extent the Urdu and English press editorial agendas do contain similarities in terms of covering sensitive development issues to generate consensus among Pakistani readers and vice versa?

RQ3: Keeping in view the consensus-building function of mass media, what similarities or contrasts did exist between Urdu and English language newspapers' editorial agenda on different issues of human development?

2.4 Editorial Agenda versus Readers' Agenda (Section Four)

As mentioned before, all of the previous studies conducted in the context of exploring the first level of agenda-setting for development issues (Asante, 1999; Banjade, 2002; Jwadder & Hazarika, 2012; Kayode & Jimoh, 2009; Murthy et al., 2010; Popoola, 2014; Singh, 2011; Tuurosong & Kendie, 2014) were source-oriented, i.e., they focused on exploring what editorial writers wanted to publish but not what readers wanted to read. In other words, none was aimed at finding the association between the source (editorial) and receivers' (readers) priorities. In fact, it is a popular research trend in media agenda-setting theory to test the correlation between the media and the public agenda on a country's national issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Historically, content analysis and survey (oral or written) methods are combined to study this association. However, in the present digital age, we have more valid options for measuring public opinion on issues than relying merely on oral or written surveys. For instance, Hampton et al. (2014) argued that the proponents of social media anticipate a new role for social media platforms to evaluate public opinion trends on various issues. They assume that users may feel free to contribute to the daily conversation of political issues by adding their 'social-fear-free' diversified views on Facebook, Twitter accounts or online newspaper webpages. Likewise, Kornfield et al. (2015) find such platforms valuable for the online editions of newspapers, which have made them a regular feature of their entire content to ensure active public participation and sharing.

Facebook Likes (FBL) and online readers comments (ORCs) options, given at the beginning or end of every online newspaper's editorial are similar genres, which readers freely use to show their personal opinion on various issues. According to Khan (2017:238) an FBL "represent a form of user vote or an expression of appreciation of content. The number of likes indicates the popularity of content"; whereas ORCs "may vary in length and are an expression of text-based communication to express opinions about a topic".

Owing to the increased use of digital technology in the contemporary newspaper industry, "the interplay of online news, social media and users' participatory practices has become increasingly salient on newspaper sites" (Almgren & Olsson, 2016:67). Commenting, sharing and tweeting news has become an integral feature of contemporary online journalism and has strongly impacted on the 'audience-journalist relationship' by virtually enhancing readers-participation in online news media (Engelke, 2019:33). Research suggests that user-generated comments, particularly anonymous ones given at the end of an

online newspaper story or article, called online readers' comments (ORCs), offer a remarkable opportunity to understand readers' genuine and authentic feedback to certain issues of importance (Ittefaq et al., 2021:482; Rosen et al., 2019:245) and act as an indicator for perceiving public opinion (Friemel & Dötsch, 2015:151). While defining and explaining the characteristics of ORCs, Strandberg and Berg, (2013:134) states:

Readers' online commenting is an interactive format allowing readers of an online newspaper to express their views and discuss published articles. Usually, readers are able to post their comments directly in attachment to the article, often in a comment- field beneath the text. The characteristics of such reader comments – immediate publishing, large amounts of space and minimal censorship – open up possibilities for readers to participate in a way letter to the editor or the public section never can due to limited space in print newspapers. Reader comments enable citizens to discuss topics in context since the article they are connected to marks the subject of discussion (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009).

Additionally, ORCs are a useful source of sensing readers' instant response on the quality of various online newspapers contents (Strandberg & Berg, 2013).

As a new trend in the Pakistani context, it would be meaningful to explore that to what extent readers posted FBL and ORCs on editorials published on human development issues versus other issues. Exploration of this trend would help to measure the association between the newspapers' editorial and readers' priorities on various issues or, more precisely, it would help to assess the difference between their respective tendencies regarding 'issue selection'. Previous studies on agenda-setting testified that the public agenda is often different from the one that media selects. In Manaf's (2017:23) opinion, it is because "people in a society tend to regard issues that directly affect their personal lives as important". If this study finds any negative relationship, it would further help suggest newspapers' editorial boards to improve their existing approach to issue selection.

RQ4: Was there any association between editorialists and readers' priorities of published issues?

Chapter 3-Theoretical Framework

3. Chapter Structure

This chapter of the dissertation presents the theoretical framework of the study and is further divided into three sections. It begins with unfolding the classic *hierarchy of influence model*, which identify five broad types of influence that eventually shape media content across the globe; and further relating this model (i.e., the set of influences) to the present study to analyze its applicability to Pakistani media landscape. The next section (two) sheds light on *advocacy journalism models* and *propaganda model*, which eventually underpin this study as well and provide basis to analyze and explain the final results. The last section (three) borrows few useful concepts from *agenda-setting theory* including *first level of agenda- setting*, *media agenda building* and *consensus building function* to inform and organize the further procedures of this study.

3.1 Hierarchy of Influence Model (Section One)

This section presents the theoretical framework of the study. According to Paracha (1999:13) one purpose of searching a theoretical framework for a piece of research is to “find out a safer place where a researcher can put his or her work so that it does not look strayed in the mass body of knowledge”; and can proclaim that his or her work is grounded in established ideas. According to Vinz (2020), an appropriately constructed theoretical framework of a dissertation lays the foundations that will support analysis, help in interpreting results and eventually make broader generalizations.

In Paracha’s (1999:13) conception:

it is not compulsory that every research would be having a specific kind of its theoretical framework; nevertheless, it may happen that it touches the boundaries of one and more theories. Or only a part of a theory may be related to the research work.

Based on these guidelines; while primarily working within the framework of ‘critical approach theories/models’ including Shoemaker and Reese’s (2014) coined *hierarchy of influence model* (HOI), Herman and Chomsky’s (1988) conceived *propaganda model*, Waisbord’s (2009) assumed *advocacy journalism models*; and McCombs and Shaw’s (1972) given *agenda-setting theory* provide a strong theoretical basis for this study. This arrangement was made to help organize research questions, data collection procedures and enriching discussion part with generalizations for informing policy and practice.

This study is primarily informed by the “hierarchy of influence model”, which identify five broad types of influence that eventually shape media content from the relevant media organization’s viewpoint. Ejaz et al. (2021:3) has aptly explained this model as:

The hierarchy of influences model (HOI) is a theoretical framework developed by Shoemaker and Reese (2014) for studying how media content gets created and influenced (Takahashi et al. 2017). Popular among communication scholars who focus on journalism (Figuroa 2020), it offers a categorization of five levels of the micro (*individual, routine*), meso (*organization*), and macro (*social institution and social system*) factors that influence news media production.

On the other hand, Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2020:94) traces this model’s roots back to the seminal work of Shoemaker and Rees (1996) undertaken to identify various factors influencing the news media content production process:

Hierarchy of Influences Model has been propounded by Shoemaker and Reese in 1996. It describes the various factors that affect news content and it organizes the factors into a continuum from individual to social levels (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Reese, 2019; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). This continuum entails five levels namely individual, routine, organizational, social-institutional and social systems levels of influence (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Reese, 2019, 2007; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, 1996). As one of the key concepts in journalism studies (Franklin et al., 2005), the model identifies the “diverse streams of influence” on media content and organizes them “into a more comprehensive framework” (Reese, 2019, p. 1).

At the most micro level, the *individual level* of influence presumes that media content is affected by the individual workers’ personal characteristics and traits including their educational and professional background, their motivation level, the news values they adhere to, their personal attitudes, values and beliefs towards mass media discourse, and their demographic features (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996:59–99).

It is generally believed that while reporting a newsworthy event, professional journalists are primarily influenced by the notion of ‘objectivity’. To maintain objectivity in journalism, journalists have to present the facts whether or not they like or agree with those facts. Despite having this view, Reese and Shoemaker (2016:398) justify the role of individual level characteristics in shaping the media content by contending that:

In spite of the traditional notion of professional “objective” detachment, we assume these characteristics affect their work. Journalists make decisions based on psychological-level attributes, but they operate within a web of constraints.

In a recent study, Reese (2019, p.2) has more explicitly advocated the presence of individual level characteristics in these words:

At the core of the hierarchy of influences, presented visually as a set of concentric circles [Figure, 2.2.1], is the individual level, characteristics of individual communicators, with the presumption that these traits are consequential—although the U.S. professional tradition has been more likely to assume that the individual can hold some of those traits (e.g., partisanship) in abeyance in the pursuit of objective detachment. The numerous surveys of journalists conducted by both sociologists and journalism researchers (e.g., Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007) proceed with the assumption that personal characteristics matter, and that they matter to the health of the larger profession.

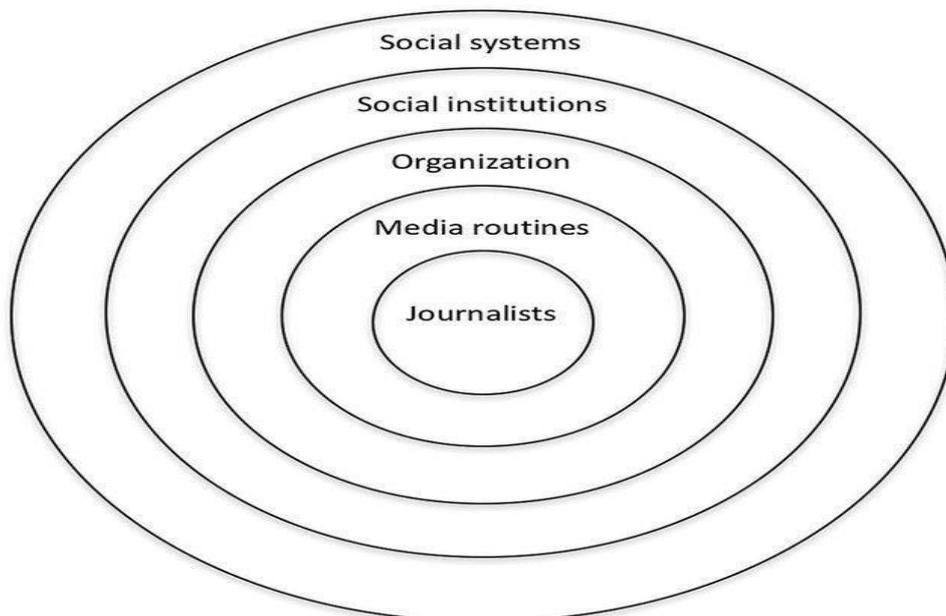


Figure 2.2.1 *Concentric Circles of Hierarchy of influence Model*

In a bid to give a better understanding of various factors at the individual level and associated theoretical issues, Shoemaker and Reese (2014:210) stated that:

To more clearly lay out these theoretical issues, we consider how factors at the individual level can best be understood and examined. We can draw a conceptual distinction between four factors, stable and more or less fixed: *personal demographic*

characteristics, backgrounds and experiences of the communicator (e.g., gender, ethnicity, education, sexual orientation); *current attitudes, values, and beliefs of the communicator*; *background factors, roles, and experiences associated with the professional context of the communicator*; and *the relative power of the communicator within the organization*. We propose a model that outlines these factors, and [Figure 2.2.2] shows their interrelationships. The communicators’ personal background and experience are logically prior to their specific attitudes, values, and beliefs, and they also precede specific professional roles and ethical norms. Thus, personal background works through two paths: professional and personal. In one path these factors affect specifically professional background and experiences (e.g., whether to attend journalism school), and in turn professional roles and the ethical norms that guide those roles. In the other path, personal background shapes personal attitudes, values and beliefs, which can directly affect media content.

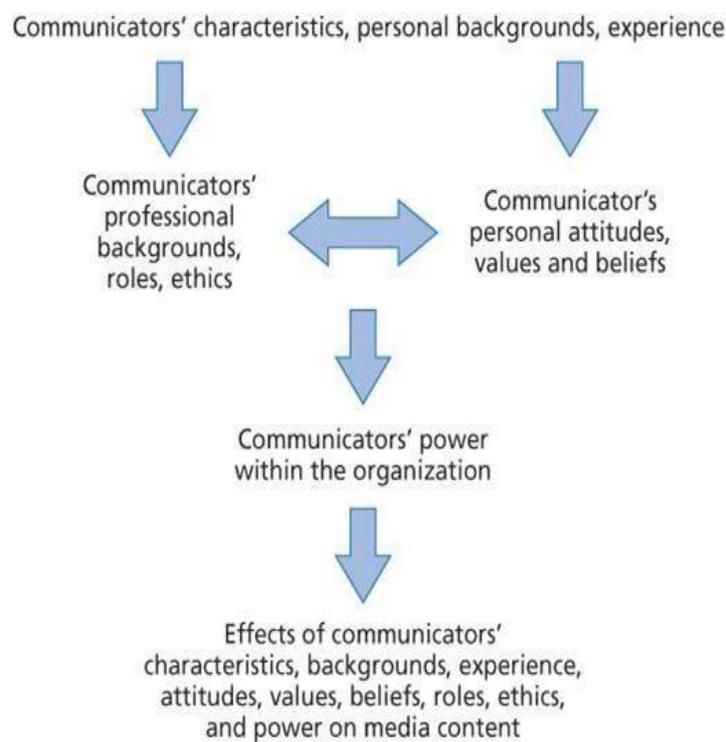


Figure 2.2.2 *How factors intrinsic to the communicator may influence media content*

At the second level, media content is influenced by the daily work *routines* within the journalistic organizations, i.e., “the routine practices of communication work, rules—mostly unwritten—that give the media worker guidance” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p.164). Some common routines include priority given to news, gatekeeping, selection patterns of more profit-oriented content, audience appeal etc. (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 100–132).

According to Ejaz et al. (2021, p.3) “The routine level concerns the editorial policies, practices, and newsroom structures that impact the content-production process”. These routines were previously defined by Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.105) as “patterned, routinized, repeated practices, and forms that media workers use to do their jobs”. While highlighting their application, Wheatley (2020, p.278) outlines “how journalistic routines facilitate the pragmatic balance between actions and ideals as they speak to functional and symbolic needs of the profession”. Recently, while citing a number of studies from around the globe, Tandoc and Duffy (2019) have aptly summarized five comprehensive types of journalistic routines practiced at different stages of news construction, namely: (1) beat system and journalists’ sourcing patterns, (2) news values, (3) news structuring practices, (4) live coverage and use of social media to disseminate news and (5) the tracking and monitoring of audience feedback. While drawing attention to a gap in contemporary *news sourcing routines* of Global Southern media practices, Kamboh et al. (2021, para.6) revealed:

A wide spectrum of researchers has reported that, owing to the weak science journalism culture, most South Asian and African newspapers do not produce their own local content and merely translate science news from Global Northern media sources (Dutt and Garg 2012; Shanahan 2006).

News values carry huge potential and influence in converting an event/incident into a news item and are one of the basic news routines being practiced in all media houses across the globe. Kamboh et al. (2021, Para 10) have aptly summarized few significant of them as:

Unexpectedness: If an event is unexpected, it is more likely to be considered newsworthy. *Negativity*: An event with a negative outcome is more likely to be reported than one with a positive outcome. *Reference to elite nations*. Events that involve elite nations/regions are more likely to be reported. *Threshold*: The larger the event, the more people it affects, the more likely it is to be reported. *Reference to elite persons*: The actions of elite people, who will usually be famous, may be seen by news selectors as having more consequence than the actions of others. Also, readers may identify with them. *Currency*: More value is attributed to stories pertaining to issues that are in the spotlight of public concern.

With the object of highlighting the influence of ‘profit-oriented content’ and ‘powerful news sources’ in defining the *media routines*, Shoemaker and Reese (2014:164) reported that:

Organizations want to increase income and decrease expenses—to make a profit. This leads them to create processes that make the work of the organization more efficient. Thus there is gatekeeping, ways of making decisions, and the centralization of work around events. And then there are the external suppliers of content—sources who control the information given to the media. They either facilitate or constrain the flow of information, a description that fits the public relations industry. Because most news comes from the government and other complex organizations, journalists arrange their work around bureaucratic schedules, with officials and experts making up the majority of people talked about.

The media decision makers have an influential role in determining which contents are to publish. Shoemaker and Reese (1996:100) have summed up their routinized duty as:

This term [gatekeepers] bridges the inner core and the outer ring of our model in [Figure 2.2.1] and helps remind us that the individual is filling a role and serving a function within a larger system of gates. Whether in news or entertainment industries, the media gatekeeper must winnow down a larger number of potential messages to a few. The book publisher chooses from many possible titles; the network programmer selects from among several ideas for sitcoms, serials, and dramas to compose a prime-time schedule; and the newspaper editor must decide on a handful of stories to run on the front page. These decisions directly affect the media content that reaches the audience.

The *organizational* level of influence refers specifically to the policies and economic imperatives of a media organization (Reese 2019:2). Organizational influences include the prime importance of financial goals and the owners' political and personal interests (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 133–165). More precisely, Shoemaker and Reese (2014, p.130) stated that:

A media organization creates, modifies, produces, and distributes content to many receivers. Thus, we can look at influences on content from variables such as the ownership of the organization, policies, goals, actions, rules, membership, interactions with other organizations, bureaucratic structure, economic viability, and its stability.

Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2020, p.94) further added to this perspective and reported that:

The organizational level of influence pertains to the “policies and economic imperatives” of the media organization as a business entity (Reese, 2019, p. 2). This level focuses on organizational policies and how they are implemented to balance commercial and professional concerns to meet the goals of ownership (Hanitzsch et al., 2010; Shoemaker & Vos, 2005).

Reese (2019, p.2), have also highlighted the same points but in an extended way:

The organizational level recognizes that news is produced within entities that have their own policies and economic imperatives. Organizations must balance commercial with professional concerns, reflecting the goals of the ownership. The enforcement of policy through the chain of command, signified by roles within the organization chart, can be identified through ethnographic observation, but these concerns are often the purview of media economics, with related issues of ownership concentration, cross-ownership, and conflicting imperatives among news, entertainment, and non-media components of the larger firm (e.g., purchase by Amazon owner Jeff Bezos of The Washington Post).

In their pioneer work, Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.148) have aptly described how do various organizational factors, for instance, ‘inter-departmental’ influence and ‘conglomerate’ structure may affect the element of objectivity in the journalistic content:

From the organizational perspective, we may ask how the producers of content are affected by other parts of a media organization. How does the business department of a newspaper, for example, affect the editorial side? How do other subsidiaries of a conglomerate affect that firm's media organizations? The wave of media mergers, takeovers, and shakeups in the 1980s focused attention on the impact of organizational structure on the media product. Particularly in news, the tradition is such that media scholars have been concerned with organizational influences on journalists that may distort their ability to objectively describe the world.

According to Reese and Shoemaker (2016, p.400),

The key question at this level is still “How does it work?” In that respect, the early analysis of Breed (1955) of social control in the newsroom continues to be relevant today in considering how the different parts of the organization work together to maintain itself and accomplish its goals.

Recent studies suggest that “news is an organizational product that had to be socially constructed, not simply transmitted to the audience” Reese and Shoemaker (2016, p.400).

At the macro *social-institution* level, the focus is on those influences that exist outside the boundaries of media themselves. Such external factors include the journalist–source relationship, public relations, the concerns of advertisers and other funding sources; and state laws and government actions (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 166–211). In their early work, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) used the term ‘*extramedia*’ set of influences, which they later

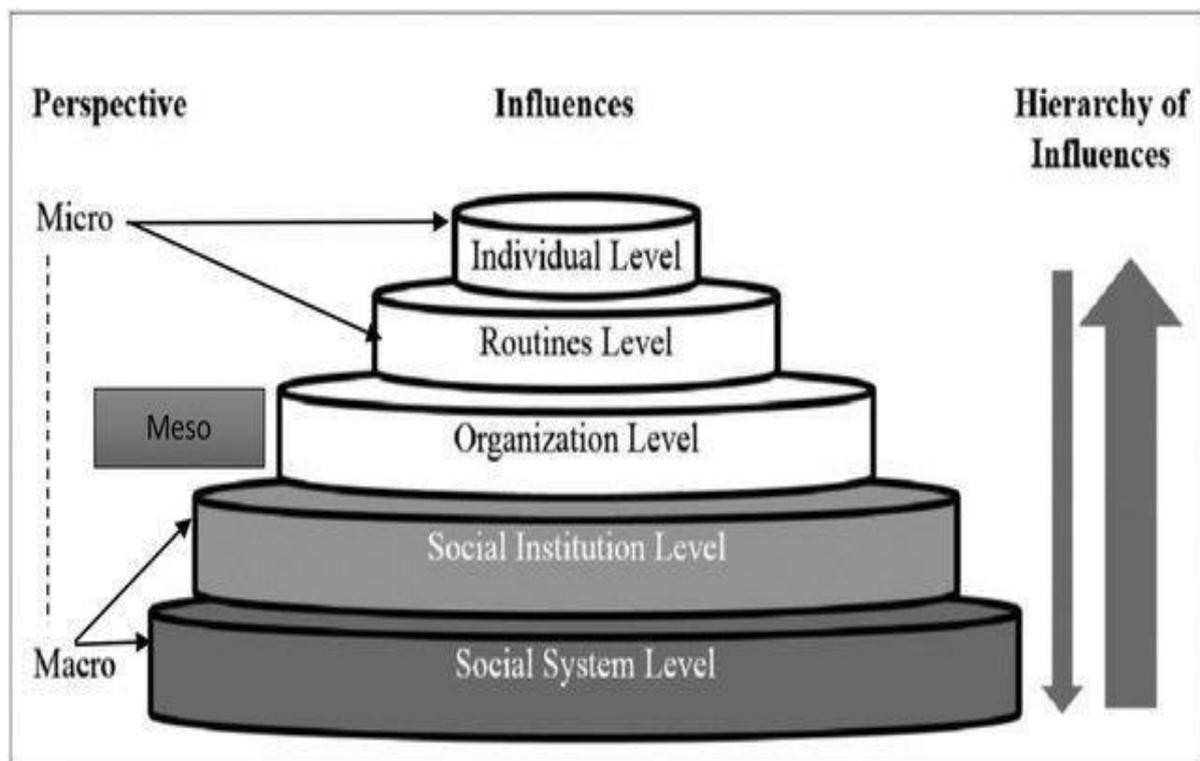


Figure 2.2.3 *Hierarchy of influences model as the framework of this study (Reese, 2016).*

revisited as the ‘*social-institution*’ factors. To rationalize this revision, Reese and Shoemaker (2016, p.402) wrote that:

In previous versions of our work, we referred to this next level as “extramedia,” meaning everything “outside of” media organizational boundary. This could include everything from audiences, powerful sources, public relations, or even technological forces. We have refined that conceptualization as the social institution level, making it clear that we are referring to the concerns beyond any single organization—to the “inter-organizational field.” Here we consider how the various organizations doing media work cohere into a larger institution. The media institution in turn is affected by

the way in which it enters into structured dependency relationships with other major systemic players: including the state, public relations, and advertising.

To cite an example of this ‘structured dependency relationships’, Reese (2019, p.3) stated:

When *The New York Times*, for example, published what became known as the Pentagon Papers, it acted as an organization, but when joined by *The Washington Post* and a number of other news organizations around the country, they were acting institutionally, facing similar legal threats from the courts and political institution, represented by the administration of Richard Nixon.

Governmental control over the local mass media can be multifaceted, depending upon the nature of the media system of a country. In Shoemaker and Reese’s (1996, p.190) conception,

There is little doubt that governments of all countries exert control over the massmedia. In countries where the media are largely privately owned, controls are exerted through laws, regulations, licenses, and taxes. In countries where the media are primarily government-owned, government control is exerted through media financing.

Across the globe, different countries have developed such organs that basically act as the tools to extend any government’s rule through publicity, propaganda and PR campaigns. In this regard, Shoemaker and Reese’s (1996, p.190) discussed the case of the US as:

Sometimes government influence on the mass media operates outside of formal laws and regulations. There are more than 3,000 U.S. government workers who primarily produce public information that is designed to give an impression of governmental competence and efficiency. "At every level of government, in every agency, there are information specialists whose responsibility it is to ensure that the nation's public media carry the desired message forward" (Gandy, 1982, p. 74). A less overt influence on media content comes in the form of news leaks, backgrounders, or off-the-record interviews; and these can be used very effectively to set the agenda for the news media—something that U.S. presidents do not fail to attempt. Gandy (1982) says that the executive branch spends more money on publicity than do the legislative and judicial branches combined.

As far the audience influence on media content is concerned, there are a number of cases available in the literature. Shoemaker and Reese’s (1996, p.204) has cited an example as:

Connections between reader preferences and newspaper content are not new. In their analysis of letters to the editor from 1948 to 1978, Pritchard and Berkowitz (1991) found that editorials seemed to be more influenced by readers' concerns with crime than were news stories.

While citing few other cases of community relations, Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) stated:

Some publishers of newspapers in small towns say that it is important that they be "community boosters," helping to promote economic development of the town. Jack Fishman, publisher of the *Citizen Tribune*, Morristown, Tennessee, justifies his involvement: "If you've ever tried to publish a newspaper where there's no economic activity, it's pretty difficult" (Case, 1993, p. 15). After a lot of businesses began closing, publisher Diane Everson's paper, the *Edgerton Reporter*, ran stories about the skilled, but currently unemployed, work force in Edgerton, Wisconsin. (p.203)

To explore what audience really want to read out, newspaper chains have historically been used to use a number of methods across the globe. In the American context, Shoemaker and Reese's (1996, p.204) wrote that:

The Gannett newspaper chain now requires its publishers and editors to become more aware of community issues and to change newspaper content to better serve the reader—what has become called "the reader-driven newspaper" (Underwood, 1993, p. 42). Gannett calls this the News 2000 program. How do the 82 Gannett daily newspapers find out what the audience wants? One particularly successful newspaper in the News 2000 program is the *Olympian*, a 35,000-circulation paper in Olympia, Washington. This newspaper ran coupons for readers to send in their ideas, editors held public forums, reader focus groups discussed the newspaper, and reporters surveyed shopping mall customers to find out what they wanted to see in the newspaper.

Lastly, the *social system* or *ideology* has a significant impact on shaping the mass media discourse. According to Ejaz et al. (2021, p.3) "At the macro *social system* level, journalists may face influences from social systems as a whole, for instance, ideological process, norms, and cultural values, that affect both their work and media content (Duan and Takahashi 2017)". In a bid to explicate the term ideology and how do mass media transmit various ideological themes Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.213) revealed that:

An ideology is an integrated set of frames of reference through which each of us sees the world and to which all of us adjust our actions (Becker, 1984, p. 69). Media transmission of ideology works as it does by drawing on familiar cultural themes that resonate with audiences. These themes, however, are selectively chosen and constructed into a coherent structure.

Shoemaker and Reese (2014, p.65) further illustrated that how do social, economic and political forces propagate such ideas via media content, which in turn help them retain their hegemony in the society or to maintain social status quo. In their words, at this level:

we look at the powerful in society and at how that power is played out through the media. We assume that ideas have links to interests and power and that the power to create symbols in media content is not a neutral force. Not only is news about the powerful, but also the news paradigm structures stories so that events are interpreted from the perspective of powerful interests. Castells (2007) notes “throughout history communication and information have been fundamental sources of power and counter-power, of domination and social change. This is because the fundamental battle being fought in society is the battle over the minds of the people” (p. 238).

In terms of research on development journalism, previous studies have extensively used the ‘hierarchy of influence’ model both in the Western (e.g., Anderson 2017; Comfort et al.2020; Duan & Takahashi 2017) and non-Western contexts (Jamil & Appiah-Adjei, 2020; Kamboh & Yousaf, 2020; Nassanga et al. 2017; Siyao and Sife 2021), founding its suitability for exploring and assessing how different level influences impact development-related journalistic content. In order to conform with the prior research, this study argue that the HOI framework, particularly at the micro level, will help understand to what extent *personal characteristics* and traits of ‘advocate-journalists’ including their educational and professional background, the news values they adhere to, their personal attitudes, motivations, values and beliefs towards mass media discourse; and their demographic features (e.g., gender, race, class) influence the content of Pakistani editorial journalism. Exploration of the meso level influences will provide a better understanding of the *journalistic routines* (e.g., what routine challenges do editorialists face while writing on human development issues?); and *organizational issues* (e.g., How organizational rules, policies and resources affect producing development-related content?) being faced by the Pakistani ‘advocate-journalists’. And, at the macro level, the HOI model helps explore how

social institutions and extra-media forces (e.g., government officials, advertisers, audience, public relations); and *social system* (e.g., how ideological forces, especially cultural and religious, influence journalists' reporting and capacity to handle sensitive development related issues including population planning and women emancipation) as a whole, might affect development journalism in Pakistan.

3.2 Herman and Chomsky's Propaganda Model (Section Two)

This study is also informed by the “Herman and Chomsky propaganda model” (1988) which explains five exclusive filters through which mass media content has to pass before being made public. These filters include (1) ownership; (2) funding sources; (3) official news sources; (4) the power of entities capable of producing “flak” that refers to negative responses (e.g., threatening letters, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches and bills before parliament) to a mass media statement or program; and (5) the influence of “anti-ideologies” as a control mechanism. Robinson (2015, p.77) has aptly summarized this model in the following way:

In essence, their provocatively titled propaganda model argued that mainstream US media output were being driven by corporate business interests and reliance upon advertising as a source of profit, while being constrained by over-reliance upon official sources, bullying right-wing think tanks, and Cold War ideological imperatives. As a consequence, US news output presented a truncated and fundamentally distorted view of the world, and one that served the interests of US political and economic elites.

Contrary to Herman and Chomsky's “analysis of mainstream US news media and its role as a propagator of elite interests” (Robinson, 2015, p.77), this study intends to de-westernize this useful model and test its applicability in the Pakistani print media context.

Advocacy Journalism Models

Both ‘journalist’ and ‘civic’ advocacy journalism models (explained in Chapter 1) are also important for this study, particularly, it is imperative to test the advocate-journalist model's assumption that it is more inclined to safeguard the political interests of power elites than to appropriately covering the issues of voiceless common people in the countries of the Global South (Waisbord, 2009). For carrying it out, this study aims to explore and compare the editorial coverage of human development issues with other issues. The resultant findings could determine the functioning or non-functioning of the ‘advocate-journalist’ model for such issues, hence providing empirical support to the ‘civic-organizations’ model to bridge the gap in the latter case.

3.3 First level of Agenda-Setting, Agenda-Building and Consensus Building (Section Three)

This study is further informed by few valuable concepts from agenda-setting theory. Even though this theory has discovered new frontiers in the milieu of latest new media intrusions (Aruguete, 2017), many of its classic postulates are widely applicable to the print media landscape of many such countries, where newspapers are still among the most effective mode of public and policy agenda-setting (Cushion et al., 2016). Three main concepts of this theory including *first level of agenda-setting*, *agenda-building* and *consensus building* function provided a strong basis to establish an argument. For instance, the first concept, which suggests that *at first level of agenda-setting*, the mass media start giving extensive media coverage to an issue because how important the public finds an issue depends at large on the amount of coverage given to that matter. In the light of this concept, one part of this study intends to explore that to what extent Pakistani advocacy journalism give coverage to human development issues compared with other issues?

Similarly, the concept of *media agenda-building* that seeks to answer the question of who sets the media agenda (Kioussis et al., 2006) guided a part of this study to probe that was there a change in media-agenda with the change in policy-agenda on development issues? Lastly, *mass media consensus-building function*, which reveals that one key function of mass media is to boost group consensus within the diverse social system by imposing its agenda setting ability (Shaw & Martin, 1992) informed this study to explore various similarities or contrasts that exist between Urdu and English language news dailies editorial agenda regarding different issues of human development? All these three concepts have adequately been described in the literature review chapter of this study.

Chapter 4-Methodology

4. Chapter Structure

This chapter is divided into sections. The first one begins with revealing various study objectives followed by a set of potential research questions to explore the research problem at hand. It further gives insight into research design and methodology chosen for this study. It ends up giving a step-by-step details of content analysis method. The second section sheds light on the in-depth interview method. Based on quantitative content analysis data, qualitative in-depth interviews were intended to undertake with key/elite participants from media, public relations, academia and development sectors to answer various questions.

4.1 Objectives of the Study

In the first place, based on the theory and literature reviewed in the preceding chapter, following broad study objectives were set.

- 1) To compare the editorial coverage of human development issues versus other issues.
- 2) To measure the presumed change in media agenda with the change in policy agenda.
- 3) To explore the inter-press editorial agenda differences on development issues and its impact on mass media's consensus building function.
- 4) To evaluate the association between editorial and readers' priorities of issues.
- 5) To identify a variety of influences on the editorial contents of selected newspapers.

4.2 Research Questions

In order to meet above stated objectives, following five main research questions were constructed. For the purpose of formulating the contributory questions of the main research Q1 and Q2, this study was informed by the criteria laid by Andrews (2003) who states that "contributory questions work toward the answering of the main question - and therefore should be answered before the answering of the main question" (p.45). In the light of this guideline, three contributory questions were developed to eventually answer the main research questions 1 and 2.

RQ1: Was there a difference between editorial coverage of human development issues and other issues among Pakistani newspapers during the selected time periods?

RQ1(a). To what extent were external world issues (category B) advocated in editorials compared to the internal development issues (category A) in Pakistan?

RQ2: Was there any difference in editorial agenda with the change in policy agenda on human development issues?

RQ2(a). Did the official agenda-building factors (i.e., PR tactics and ‘status of a news source’) contribute in improving the editorial coverage of human development issues?

RQ2(b). Did the non-official agenda-building factors (i.e., editorialists as advocate-journalists) contribute in improving the editorial coverage of increasing inflation or unemployment rate in the country?

RQ3: Keeping in view the consensus-building function of mass media, what similarities or contrasts did exist between Urdu and English language newspapers’ editorial agenda on different issues of human development?

RQ4: Was there any association between editorialists and readers’ priorities of published issues?

RQ5: What were different influences on the editorial contents of selected newspapers?

4.3 Research Design and Methodology

Kerlinger (1973) defines research design as "the plan and structure of investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions" (p.279). The above-stated research questions needed to be answered by using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Therefore, a mixed methods research methodology was selected and used as a research design for this study. This arrangement was made to enable an exhaustive exploration of editorial contents of mainstream Pakistani newspapers and reveal various factors that may influence such contents. According to Wisdom and Creswell’s (2013)

The term “mixed methods” refers to an emergent methodology of research that advances the systematic integration, or “mixing,” of quantitative and qualitative data within a single investigation or sustained program of inquiry. The basic premise of this methodology is that such integration permits a more

complete and synergistic utilization of data than do separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. (p.1)

The quantitative content analysis was conducted using a concurrent mixed-methods design, followed by qualitative interviews giving context to the quantitative results. While the content analysis method was applied to critically analyse the editorial coverage of a set of issues, the in-depth interviews were used to investigate different factors behind such coverage. The synthesis of the two parts of the study was carried out at the time of interpretation of the results in discussion chapter. The two parts of the study were further planned as follows:

- a) a longitudinal content analysis (two time points over a period of 4 years: baseline, 12 months each) to segregate human development issues from other types of issues. This part of the study provided the quantitative results;
- b) twenty in-depth interviews with veteran journalists/academics to explain the factors that influence the editorial content. This part of the study generated the qualitative data.

While following Ratan et al.'s (2019) direction, which argues that a well-constructed research question "identifies the problem to be studied and guides to the methodology" (p.15), this section further proceeds by thoroughly discussing different methods used in this thesis.

4.4 Content Analysis (First Section)

The first part of this study was designed to address RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3 respectively. These questions were answered by applying the quantitative content analysis method, which is one of the most widely used methods for measuring and analyzing media texts for the purpose of quantifying variables (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003; Hansen et al., 1998; Neuman, 2005; Severin, 1991; Smith, 1988; Kerlinger, 1973). Wimmer & Dominick (2003), while putting together its several definitions in one place, writes:

Walizer and Wienir (1978) define it as any systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information; Krippendorf (1980) defines it as a research technique for making replicable and valid references from data to their context. Kerlinger's (2000) definition is fairly typical: Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables. (p.140.141)

The present study used this method because it intended to analyse the editorial contents of mainstream Pakistani newspapers and quantitative content analysis methods is the oldest method being used to serve this purpose, rather “in fact [it] grew out of quantitative newspaper analysis in the USA in the 1920s” (Sjøvaag & Stavelin, 2012; p.217).

Furthermore, as the present study was designed to be a longitudinal study (RQ2), the quantitative content analysis is best suited to a research design that repeatedly observe and examine the same variables (here editorial contents) to detect any changes that might occur over a period of time. In Wimmer and Dominick’s (2003) words:

One of the advantages of content analysis is its potential to identify trends over long periods of time. For example, changing public opinion on various controversial issues could be gauged with a longitudinal study of letters to the editor or newspaper editorials. (p.142)

Similarly, this dissertation was primarily intended to measure the ‘frequency’ characteristic of editorial contents (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3), whereas content analysis is a suitable choice in this regard as it is widely used to measure ‘frequency’, ‘direction’ and ‘nature’ characteristics of the sample content (Kerlinger, 1973; Neuman, 2005). In Neuman's (2005) words "Frequency simply means counting whether or not something occurs and, if it occurs, how often" (p. 294). Therefore, first three research questions of this study were intended to be answered by applying the quantitative content analysis to measure and compare the frequency of the editorial content from selected mainstream Pakistani newspapers. For this purpose, while using content analysis method, this study followed Wimmer and Dominick’s (2003, p.145) defined procedures as under.

4.4.1 Formulating a research question

Three main research questions (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3) and three contributory research questions (RQ1a, RQ2a and RQ2b) were developed to measure and compare the editorial coverage given to all types of issues published in selected mainstream Pakistani newspapers. Editorial coverage was further operationalized in terms of measuring ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ given to any issue from all of the constructed categories. Significance was measured by calculating the frequency of editorial coverage given to an issue, while prominence was evaluated by measuring the frequency of ‘main editorials/leaders’ as against the ‘editorial notes’ published on an issue. The difference between ‘*main editorials/leaders*’ and ‘*editorial notes*’ is elaborated under the subheading 4.4.3 in the subsequent text of this chapter.

4.4.2 Defining the universe

This step was required “to specify the boundaries of the body of content to be considered” (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003; p.145). For this reason, to critically analyze the advocacy journalism practices of mainstream Pakistani newspapers to highlight human development issues, this longitudinal study considered all types of advocacy journalism contents published in leading Urdu and English language newspapers of the country after the introduction of sustainable development goals (SDGs) in 2015 and onward as the universe/population. It is important to mention here that mainstream Pakistani press is comprised of English and Urdu language newspapers, where the later have much more readership than the former ones. As far as the readership is concerned, the rich, highly educated and liberal-minded readers prefer to read English language newspapers contrary to the poor, semi-literate and conservative-minded readers, who are interested to read Urdu dailies only (Ejaz et al., 2021; Siraj, 2009; Rahman & Eijaz, 2014).

4.4.3 Selecting an appropriate sample from the population

Kerlinger (1973) states that "sampling is taking any portion of a population or universe as representative of that population or universe" (p.110). Therefore, an appropriate sample was extracted from abovementioned universe by using the purposive sampling method. It included the editorial contents of three Urdu language dailies (*The Daily Jang*³ *Daily Express*⁴ and *Daily Dunya*⁵) and three English language dailies (*Daily Dawn*⁶,

³ *The Daily Jang* is the largest Urdu language newspaper owned by the country's biggest media group i.e., Jang Group of Newspapers (Editor-in-Chief: Mr. Mir Shakil-ur-Rehman), which also owns the oldest and most popular private TV channel *Geo News*, a part of Geo Television Network. Jang Group also publishes an English daily *The News International*, a weekly Urdu magazine *Akhbar-e-Jahan* and a weekly English fashion magazine *Mag*. <https://jang.com.pk/>

⁴ *Daily Express* is another most widely circulated Urdu-language newspaper, published simultaneously from the highest number of cities in the country and is a part of a big media conglomerate i.e. Century Publication (a subsidiary of Lakson Group), which also owns an English daily i.e. *The Express Tribune*, a Sindhi language newspaper i.e., *daily Sindh Express* and a television network that runs *Express News* and *Express Entertainment*. Mr. Sultan Ali Lakhani is the Editor-in-Chief of this private media house. <https://www.express.com.pk/>

⁵ *Daily Dunya* is a popular mainstream Urdu language newspaper owned by an influential politician, businessman and educationalist i.e., Mr. Mian Amir Mahmood (CEO: Punjab Group of Colleges), who is also the owner of private TV channels *Dunya News* and *Lahore News HD*. *Daily Dunya* is simultaneously published from six big cities of the country

*The News International*⁷ and *The Nation*⁸) published from 1st July 2015 to 30th June 2016; and 19th August 2018 to 18th August 2019. The rationale behind this selection is given as under:

a) From several types of advocacy and opinion journalism contents, editorials were selected because being subjective in nature, editorials play a strong advocacy role (Waisbord, 2009; p.372) and shape the opinions of serious and active readers on various issues (Chaudhry & Ashraf, 2012:275). Additionally, newspaper editorials are aptly capable of

constructing debate in the public sphere in four ways: (1) as an influence on readers, and/or public opinion; (2) as an influence on the internal news agendas and coverage of newspapers; (3) as an influence on the agendas and coverage in other news media; and (4) as an influence on political or policy agendas. (Firmstone, 2019; p.2)

However, despite being a specific form of advocacy journalism, newspaper editorials are “rarely theorized or empirically researched as such” (Firmstone, 2019; p.8), and have barely been studied before for advocating development-related issues (Das, 2019, p.65). In Pakistan, editorials are typically published on a specifically devoted page, called the editorial page; and are published without the name of the writer. While shedding light on the editorial writing practices and routines of mainstream Pakistani newspapers, S. Warraich⁹ argued:

Editorials are usually written by the most experienced journalist/s of the newspaper and approved by the concerned editorial board before publication. Although the chief

including Lahore, Islamabad, Karachi, Faisalabad, Multan and Gujranwala.

<https://dunya.com.pk/>

⁶ *Dawn* is the largest and oldest English-language newspaper of the country, which also contributed in Pakistan independence movement. It is a part of a large media group i.e. Dawn Media Group, which also owns an advertising and marketing magazine *Aurora*, an Urdu language TV channel *Dawn News* and an FM radio *City FM 89*. <https://www.dawn.com/>

⁷ *The News International* is a flagship English newspaper of Jang Group of Newspapers and is being published daily from Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. To cater the Pakistani community in the UK, an overseas edition is also being published from London. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/>

⁸ *The Nation* is a widely published English-language newspaper owned by the country’s oldest media conglomerate i.e., Nawa-i-Waqt Group, whose founding Editor Mr. Hameed Nizami is known for his active contribution in Pakistan independence movement. This group also owns the Urdu daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* and an Urdu language TV channel i.e. *Waqt News*. <https://nation.com.pk/>

⁹ **Mr. Suhail Warraich** is the senior editor of *The Daily Jang*

editors often don't write the editorial themselves, yet they own any oversight and retain responsibility. (Personal communication, S. Warraich, March 10, 2017)

While explaining the structure of a typical Pakistani newspaper editorial, Ghani¹⁰ added that:

An editorial is mostly written in the context of reviewing an existing governmental or state policy. It has roughly a news story like structure with an intro, body, and conclusion; except the fact that it is predominantly a subjective piece of writing. For instance, being based on a news event, it starts by revealing important details from a published news story or report, followed by a comprehensive note by the editorialist/s, who critically evaluate the relevant state or governmental policy or action. Mostly, it ends up providing some tangible suggestions to the policymakers or decision takers. (Personal communication, S. Ghani, March 10, 2017)

It is important to mention here that there are two types of editorials being published by both Urdu and English language mainstream Pakistani newspapers.

One longer write-up is published every day on the most important issue of the day and is called a *leader* or *main editorial*. The importance of the issue is decided by either the editorial board or the owner (chief editor) of the newspaper. A main editorial is mostly written to address the national and international policies of the country. (Personal communication, S. Warraich, March 10, 2017)

Leader is followed by one to three shorter accounts, called *editorial notes*. They encompass many other dimensions of social and developmental issues, or sometimes written on some local issue of a city or province. (Personal communication, S. Warraich, March 10, 2017)

Keeping in view the scope of this study, both *main editorials/leaders* and *editorial notes* were considered as sample content.

Table 4.4.3 Number of words being published by selected newspapers during both time periods

Newspaper	Main Editorial/Leader	Editorial Notes	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	01 (500 Words)	02 (1 st : 400 Words, 2 nd : 325 Words)	(03) 1,225 Words*
<i>The Nation</i>	01 (400 Words)	02 (1 st : 375 Words, 2 nd : 300 Words)	(03) 1,075 Words
<i>The News</i>	01 (600 Words)	01 (500 Words)	(02) 1,100 Words
<i>Jang</i>	01 (550 Words)	02 (1 st : 275 Words, 2 nd : 250 Words)	(03) 1,075 Words

¹⁰ **Mr. Salman Ghani** is the Group Executive Editor of *Daily Dunya*

<i>Express</i>	01 (500 Words)	02 (1 st : 300 Words, 2 nd : 275 Words)	(03) 1,075 Words
<i>Dunya</i>	01 (700 Words)	01 (500 Words)	(02) 1,200 Words

**This is an approximate measure of the words. However, the given value might have been changed from time to time during T1 and T2.*

Above description of an editorial by S. Warraich and S. Ghani reveals that Pakistani editorial writing practices quite resemble to international standards as explained by Pimentel et al. (2021, para, 27) and Firmstone (2019, p.3).

b) Over other mass media, newspapers were given preference, because in Pakistan, majority of the mainstream newspapers have both print and online editions; and despite TV has reduced their advertising incomes, there is little sign of decrease in their publication and circulation (“Digital Newspapers,” 2016).

c) The selected dailies comprehensively represent most of the popular and influential publishing houses of the country with vast circulations, credibility among readers and independent editorial policies (Chaudhry & Ashraf, 2012:275; Kamboh & Yousaf, 2020:652; “Pakistan profile,” 2017). Likewise, a recent public survey reveals the same; for instance, among the Urdu language newspapers, *The Daily Jang* was the most widely read newspaper, followed by *Daily Dunya*, *Daily Express* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*; whereas among English language newspapers, *Daily Dawn* was the most widely read newspaper, followed by *The News International*, *The Nation* and *The Express Tribune* (Yousaf, 2018:147).

d) The *first time period* (1st July 2015 to 30th June 2016) was selected because 1) 2015 was a crucial year in terms of the conclusion and inception of both UN-led global development approaches, the MDGs and SDGs respectively. 2) Pakistan faced the highest death toll in the world due to air pollution in 2015 (“FAO Report,” 2019); 3) its largest city, Karachi was hit by the worst-ever heat wave killing around 1300 people (“Deadliest,” 2015) ; 4) a new climate-change phenomenon i.e. transboundary winter smog across India and Pakistan had started making human living miserable on both sides; 5) To overcome prevailing energy crisis, Pakistan started installing dirty energy plants with Chinese and Qatari support (“A BadMix”, 2016); 6) brutal incidents of religious intolerance were on the rise in 2014 onwards, taking lives of many innocent people (Curtis, 2016); 7) the country had suffered from a fifth connective year’s disastrous flood since 2010 doing serious damage to agriculture sector; 8) In the name of infrastructural development, the big cities were started to be turned into concrete jungles by removing trees (“Lahore Without,” 2016); 9) The Punjab Protection of

Women Against Violence Act was enacted in 2015 (Khan, 2016); and 10) UN Climate Change Conference (COP 21) was held in 2015.

The *second time period* (19th August 2018 to 18th August 2019) was chosen because 1) on 19th August 2018, Mr. Imran Khan took the oath of new Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan, who has been known for his firm commitment to improve country's human development indicators (Malik, 2018; Rashid, 2018). 2) In the meantime, the then Chief Justice of Pakistan (CJP) Mr. Justice Saqib Nisar, was taking frequent Suo motu notices, organizing conferences, paying surprise visits to hospitals and courts, delivering public speeches on issues highlighting bad state of human development in the country; particularly water security, population explosion, social injustice, health and education sector problems received much of his concern (Dagia, 2019; "Only PM can," 2018).

4.4.4 *Select and define a unit of analysis*

Wimmer and Dominick (2003:467) defines the unit of analysis as "the smallest element of a content analysis; the thing [an editorial] that is counted whenever it is encountered". In the light of this guideline, "one entire write-up" from editorial page contents—including both "*main editorials/Leaders*" and "*editorial notes*"— were considered as the unit of analysis for this study. The electronic versions of the selected newspapers were accessed to collect the required data (unit of analysis). In total, 11,453 editorials were collected (5,712 for the first time period and 5,741 for the second time period) from English dailies *Dawn* (N=1077+1071=2,148), *The Nation* (N=1,077+1,068=2,145), *The News* (N=773+765=1,538); and from Urdu dailies *The Daily Jang* (N=1,030+1,053=2,083), *Express* (N=1,036+906=1,942), *Dunya* (N=719+878=1,597) (See copies of all 11,453 editorials as Annex II-VII).

4.4.5 *Construct the categories of content to be analysed*

Wimmer and Dominick (2003) considers the category system as the most significant part of any content analysis, which is used to place media contents into the relevant categories.

In order to answer RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 and all four contributory questions, following five major categories and seven subcategories were constructed to measure and compare the frequency of sample content from selected newspapers.

A: Human development issues

A1: Long and healthy life

A2: Knowledge

A3: Decent standard of living

A4: Miscellaneous

B: International relations and issues

B1: Conflicts with India and Afghanistan

B2: External Issues

B3: Others

C: Security operations issues

D: State and political parties' policy issues

E: Miscellaneous

Major 'category A' can be distinguished from other categories on more than one criterion. For instance, in Janowitz's (1975) notion of the "advocate-journalist", sometimes "advocacy journalism assigns journalists the role of active interpreters and participants who "speak on behalf" of certain groups, typically those groups who are denied "powerful spokesmen" (p. 619) in the media" (cited in Waisbord, 2009:371). Thus, editorialists being motivated by a reformist impulse, at times publish such content regarding human development issues, which is primarily aimed at benefitting the general public at large, who are either ignorant or passive about their own issues that directly affect them or who lack a mouthpiece in the commercial media organizations. Based on this criterion, the major 'category A' includes all those advocacy journalism write-ups—i.e., editorials from selected newspapers—which represent the development issues of all overlooked, voiceless and under-represented factions of the society. In contrast, the editorial content of categories B, C, D and E is typically based on the discourse produced by the powerful local, national and international establishments and is being put amid the media centre-stage by the mighty 'communication bureaucracies' of those establishments, usually to maintain social and political status-quo.

In UNDP's HDR (1990) procedures, a country's state of human development is calculated by measuring the extent of choices it offers to its inhabitants in three dimensions including *long and healthy life*, *access to knowledge* and *resources for decent standards of living* (p.10). The more a country extends choices in these three areas to its citizens in a given year the higher it has its human development index (HDI) value and vice versa. So, 'category A' was exclusively developed to measure the amount of editorial coverage given to HDI

issues and to compare it with the coverage given to the categories B, C, D & E issues. The contrasts thus emerged, helped this study to stimulate discussion about selected newspapers' policy priorities and choices. Placement of sample content in categories A, B, C, D & E helped to answer RQ1. However, major 'category A' and 'category B' were further divided into seven key subcategories to answer RQ2. The aforementioned categories and subcategories were further required to be operationalized. In view of Sarantakos (1998:130):

Operationalization is the process of converting the concepts into their empirical measurements, or of quantifying variables for the purpose of measuring their occurrence, strength and frequency. It is employed when concepts are vague, unclear or abstract, thus involving a process of translating abstract concepts into synonymous empirical referents.

Under this view, all major categories and subcategories were later operationalized as:

A: Human development issues

With an aim to operationalize the abstract and multidimensional concept of human development, this category was further divided into three subcategories *A1*, *A2* and *A3*. The aim was to place relevant types of issues on *long and healthy life, access to knowledge and resources for decent standards of living* dimensions of HDI respectively into each of them. Additionally, a fourth subcategory (*A4*) was also included, to contain editorials which broadly discussed many issues from subcategories *A1*, *A2* and *A3* together. To give major "category A" and its sub-categories more depth, a total of 15 comprehensive types of issue from the UN's 17 SDGs and from its 169 broad targets were extracted by applying the purposive sampling method. Only relevant types of issue were selected, which were judged as needing to be immediately advocated by the mass media to meet national development needs and as involving social sectors that lack official spokespersons in diverse mass media organizations. The issues extracted were then further operationalized and merged into the above-mentioned key dimensions of human development, which helped us create a comprehensive instrument with four sub-categories encompassing 15 relevant priority areas that needed to be articulated by newspapers to accelerate the pace of human development in the country. This instrument then eventually served as the coding sheet¹¹ for "category A" and its subcategories.

¹¹ Please see coding sheet as Annex I

A1: Long and healthy life

Includes editorials published on topics that guarantee a long and healthy life, including (1) *public health*; (2) *environment*; (3) *religious tolerance*; (4) *drinking water*; (5) *food safety*; and (6) *malnutrition-related issues*.

(1) *Public health issues*: Such editorials were labelled as ‘public health issues’ which were advocating the leadership the bleak state of public health sector or content aimed at educating masses on various diseases or any other aspect pertinent to public health at large.

(2) *Environmental issues*: Editorials highlighting various threats to life on the entire planet in the form of climate change, pollution, biodiversity loss, dirty energy projects and deforestation in the country were labelled as environmental issues.

(3) *Religious intolerance issues*: Editorials, which emphasized to curb hate speech and inequalities that incite violence against sectarian and religious minorities were labelled as religious intolerance issues.

(4) *Water issues*: Editorials advocating rapidly emerging water threats in the country—including clean water scarcity and its contamination causing water-borne diseases and eventually death—were labelled as drinking water issues.

(5) *Food safety issues*: Editorials advocating hygiene conditions at eateries and food processing industries and risks of food adulteration to humans were considered as food safety issues.

(6) *Malnutrition related issues*: Editorials, written for the victims of malnutrition in vulnerable situations, particularly the infants, who need to be provided with healthy and sufficient food throughout the year and highlighting food security as a major cause of malnutrition were labelled as malnutrition related issues.

A2: Knowledge

Sample content published on (7) *Education and research related issues* in the country for advocacy purpose is placed in this subcategory.

(7) *Education and research related issues*: Such editorials, which are highlighting issues adhered to the formal education sector or discussing obstacles in promoting research and technology development culture in the country were placed in this subcategory.

A3: Decent standard of living

This sub-category includes such sample content, which emphasized both the material and social well-being of the common people. Eight types of issues including (8) *Poverty*; (9)

Unemployment; (10) Increasing inflation rate; (11) Energy; (12) Population planning; (13) Gender; (14) Social injustice; and (15) Agriculture sector issues were placed in this subcategory.

(8) *Poverty issues*: Editorials aimed at advocating miseries of the people living under the poverty line or the need for government' efforts for poverty eradication were considered as poverty issues.

(9) *Unemployment Issues*: Editorials drawing attention to the lack of employment opportunities or provision of decent work to all or underemployment by owners were labelled as unemployment issues.

(10) *Increasing inflation rate issues*: Editorials headlining the sufferings of ordinary people caused due to increasing inflation rate, or need to exert a price control mechanism on the products of everyday use were labelled as increasing inflation rate related issues.

(11) *Energy issues*: Editorials featuring issues pertinent to the instant availability of sufficient, affordable & clean energy to all were regarded as energy issues.

(12) *Population planning issues*: This subcategory included all such editorials cautioning the evolving threats of overpopulation or the worth of family planning measures to the stakeholders.

(13) *Gender issues*: Editorials underlining the significance of women empowerment and equality while discouraging various forms of violence against women were considered as gender issues.

(14) *Social injustice issues*: Editorials, pointing out lacunas in state judicial system, which prohibit swift and equal access to justice to all were labelled as social injustice issues.

(15) *Agriculture sector issues*: Editorials advocating challenges—being faced by small-scale farmers and overall agriculture sector—to the relevant authorities were labelled as agriculture sector issues.

A4: Miscellaneous

(16) A sample editorial, which generally advocated many human development issues from subcategories *A1, A2 and A3* in one write-up was placed in this subcategory.

B: International relations and issues

It contains editorials relating to issues concerning Pakistan's foreign policy, including conflicts and agreements with other countries. It also includes editorials that referred to such issues in other countries having either no direct relevance to, or suggesting an indirect lesson

for Pakistan. To answer RQ 2, this major category was further divided this into three subcategories:

B1: Conflicts with India and Afghanistan

This subcategory includes sample content on Pakistan’s chronic or recent conflicts with India and Afghanistan.

B2: External World Issues

It includes editorials which are pertinent to the issues of other countries—having no direct or indirect relevance to Pakistan (For instance, China, Korean and Japan conflict, Cuban elections, Rwandan genocide, Brazilian elections etc.).

B3: Others

Editorials which cannot fit into subcategory *B1* and *B2* were placed in it. It generally includes editorials written in the context of foreign affairs and international relations of Pakistan with other countries (Except India and Afghanistan). It also includes editorials highlighting such incidents and events having some relevance to Pakistan e.g., Saudi-Iran conflict, European migration crisis etc.

C: Security operations issues

It contains editorials advocating Pakistan military-led counter security operations/measures being carried out as per The National Action Plan of 2015 (NAP), to eradicate terrorism, militancy and insurgency from various parts of the country (NAP, n.d.).

D: State and political parties’ policy issues

This major category includes editorials published on the policy issues of state institutions and political parties (except the issues of categories A, B and C) advocating institutional reforms, good governance issues, constitutional, civil and democratic supremacy to keep the state/government/democracy/parties moving smoothly.

E: Miscellaneous

Editorials of a general nature including showbiz, sports etc., which could not fit in any of the above-mentioned categories were categorized as ‘miscellaneous.

4.4.6 Establishing a quantification system

According to Wimmer and Dominick (2003:151):

Quantification in content analysis can involve any of the four levels of data measurement, although usually only nominal, interval, and ratio data is used. At the nominal level, researchers simply count the frequency of occurrence of the units in each category.

Kerlinger (1973:481) confirms the same, as for nominal data "the quantification would be the counting of the number of themes [unit of analysis] in each of the categories".

Keeping in view the requirement of this study, only nominal level data was sufficient to answer first three main and related four contributory research questions. Because the quantitative content analysis only requires the frequency of sample content to discuss research questions, which means how often (frequency of occurrence) a variable (unit) is present in a category and is required to be communicated in numbers, so nominal level data was precise enough in reporting the results for RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3 in numbers. This nominal level data was further analysed by applying Chi-square test of independence to explore any difference among various constructed categories and subcategories.

4.4.7 Training Coders and doing a Pilot Study:

Based on the quantification system, a standard coding sheet was developed (See Annex-1). To ensure intercoder reliability, two research associates (one Masters level and one M.Phil. level university students) were trained as coders who placed the sample content into relevant categories. They initially did a pilot study and data thus generated was tested by applying Scott's pi to measure intercoder reliability for time period (T1) and time period (T2). For the T1, a coding of 100 editorials produced Scott's pi of between .78 and .89, with the following ranges: human development issues (between .79 and .88); international relations and issues (between .77 and .82); Security operations issues (between .76 and .80), State and political parties' policy issues (between .77 and .82), and miscellaneous (between .77 and .83). Similarly, for the T2, a coding of the same number of editorials produced Scott's pi of between .77 and .90, with the following ranges: human development issues (between .84 and .90); international relations and issues (between .76 and .81); Security operations issues (between .78 and .83), State and political parties' policy issues (between .79 and .84), and miscellaneous (between .78 and .85).

4.4.8 Coding the content

After doing a pilot study, the actual content coding step was undertaken, which is a process of "placing a unit of analysis into already established content category" (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003:152). It has two types including latent and manifest coding. Keeping in view the requirement of this study, only *manifest coding* was conducted. According to Neuman (2005) putting the observable, countable surface data of the sample content into a relevant category is called *manifest coding*. In the light of this guideline, only such unit of analysis was placed into a relevant category or subcategory having 'sentences' or 'paragraphs' about that category. To measure the frequency of editorial coverage of human development issues, total number of units of analysis from major 'category A' and subcategories *A1*, *A2* and *A3* were eventually counted and communicated in numbers having sentences or paragraphs about the operationalized content. For example, an editorial having at least one written paragraph on need to control the population explosion in the country was placed in the major 'category A' and subcategory *A3*. Eventually, all such sample content from other major categories and subcategories was also counted and resultant numerical value, by applying statistical test, helped answer the main research questions RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3.

4.4.9 Analyse the collected data

The collected data was presented and analysed by applying statistical formulas (frequency, percentage, average) and the resultant quantitative data helped answer the all major and first contributory research question (RQ1a) of this study. Remaining contributory research questions (i.e., RQ2a and RQ2b) were answered by in-depth interviews method (explained in second part of the methodology chapter). Later on, both descriptive and correlation analyses were conducted to attain the results for RQ3. To answer RQ3—i.e., to identify similarities or contrasts between Urdu and English language newspapers' editorial agenda on different issues of human development—descriptive analysis was individually performed to organize the ranking of issues for both Urdu and English language newspapers. The salience of editorial agenda was determined by measuring the frequency of the published editorials on selected issues. An issue, which received the highest number of editorials was ranked first and vice versa. Additionally, correlation analysis was also used by applying Spearman's rho (ρ) formula on the grounds that majority of agenda-setting studies employ it to calculate the level of agreement between different agendas (Higgins, 2009). It was performed at two different points in this study. On the one hand, it was carried out to explore the association

between two ranked variables i.e., the editorial agendas of both Urdu and English language newspapers (RQ3). While, on the other hand, it was conducted to test the correlation between the editorial agenda and readers agenda on human development issues (RQ4). To analyse the sample content, SPSS software (version 27) was applied and data was later shifted to Microsoft Excel sheets (see Annex-IX).

4.4.10 Draw conclusions

At last step, conclusions were derived from findings of the quantitative data.

To answer RQ4 (i.e., to explore any association between editorialists' and readers' priorities of published issues), the editorials of daily *Dawn* were selected for analysis. This selection was made because required online data (i.e., Facebook Likes and Online Readers Comments) was only available for this newspaper. Though 'online readers comments' (ORCs) were available for both of the time periods, Facebook Likes (FBL) were only available for the first complete time period (i.e., from 1st July 2015 to 30th June 2016) and for first two months of the second time period (i.e., from 19th August 2018 to 18th October 2018). From 19th October 2018, daily *Dawn* has discontinued to mention the number of FBL on its online available editorials and news stories. As has been mentioned before, in a given day, daily *Dawn* publishes three editorials, and from 19th October 2018, FBL have been mentioned on just one editorial and not the other two. To make the data more representative/meaningful, editorials published up to 18th august 2019 were only considered for FBL based correlation analysis.

Fortunately, ORCs were available for the whole two years. Therefore, ORCs based correlation analysis was made for both of the time periods, i.e., from 1st July 2015 to 30th June 2016; and from 19 August 2018 to 18 August 2019. It is important to mention here that while making ORCs based correlation analysis, the data for Category B (i.e., International Relations and Issues) was excluded because on an editorial of this category, a large number of comments were posted from outside the Pakistan. For instance, under an editorial published in the context of some issue/conflict between India and Pakistan, a large number of comments were posted by the Indian readers. Therefore, to exclusively understand the online comments trends of Pakistani readers, ORCs based correlation analysis was made for four categories (i.e., Categories A, C, D and E). To measure the association between the editorial agenda and readers' agenda regarding their choice of issues, both descriptive and correlation analyses were carried out. Initially, the descriptive analysis was performed to identify the rankings of both published editorials in selected categories, followed by readers' average

FBL/ORCs on those editorials. Afterwards, correlation analysis was accomplished by applying Spearman's rho (ρ) formula to evaluate this association.

4.5 In-depth Interviews (Section Two)

The results attained through quantitative content analysis, generated many worth-responding questions. Based on them, qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 key/elite participants (see Table 1 and 2). Sarantakos (1998) defines this interview type as

it involves elites, that is, well-known personalities, prominent and influential people, as respondents. It therefore aims to collect information that is exclusive and unique to these informants. That information is very valuable because of the special position of the respondents. For this reason, elite interviewing is a very useful technique of data collection. (p.123)

Only those journalists were selected as interview participants, who are or have been the part of editorial board of some selected mainstream Urdu or English newspapers of Pakistan. Phase-I interviews were conducted in face-to-face settings in Pakistan. Owing to COVID-19 pandemic, Phase-II interviews were conducted via telephone calls from Germany. Phase -I interview questions mainly covered how did the participants view the difference in amount of editorial coverage among major categories, what factors are responsible for hindering the mainstream press to cover human development issues adequately, why human development issues were being ignored by editorialists, why irrelevant external world issues were preferred over more relevant local development issues and why local Indian and Pakistani press were geared with war journalism instead of peace journalism spirit while covering conflicts between both of the rival countries? After the completion of interviews, all 20 audio clips were transcribed verbatim and analysed through a qualitative textual analysis. To ensure privacy of interviewees and data protection purposes, all interview participants were anonymized in the final text i.e., their names were replaced by numbers (between 1 and 20).

Table 3.5 In-Depth Interview Participants (Phase-I)

Name	Gender	Work Distinction	Date of Interview
Interviewee 1	Male	Chief Editor (Urdu daily)	March 10, 2017
Interviewee 2	Male	Resident Editor (English daily)	March 10, 2017
Interviewee 3	Male	Executive Editor (Urdu daily)	March 10, 2017
Interviewee 4	Male	English Newspaper's Journalist	March 02, 2017

Interviewee 5	Male	English Newspaper's Journalist	March 02, 2017
Interviewee 6	Female	Urdu Journalist/TV Host	March 02, 2017
Interviewee 7	Male	Urdu Newspaper's Columnist	March 03, 2017
Interviewee 8	Male	Media Academician	March 10,2017
Interviewee 9	Male	Media Academician/ Development Expert	March 03, 2017
Interviewee 10	Male	Development Expert/English Journalist	March 03, 2017

For the second time period, In-depth phone interviews were conducted with 08 editors of mainstream English and Urdu newspapers, 02 public relations experts in Pakistan. In an ethnicity-based selection, there may be a possibility of linguistic and cultural bias. To avoid this flaw, this study selected almost equal number of editorialists lists from each ethnicity (English and Urdu) for a fair representation of editorialists' views.

WhatsApp phone calls were used to have conversations with this selected sample. The interviewed editors were purposively selected because it allows representing the sample for particular reasons. In the present case, the reasons for purposive sampling were (a) to include only those editors who have been or are part of editorial teams, and (b) to ensure that the editors equally represent Pakistan's mainstream Urdu and English newspapers. The respondents of this study range between 45 and 65 years old. They belong to big media houses such as DunyaNews, Dawn group, and The Jang and Express Group.

Majority of selected editors were male, which also shows the lack of gender diversity in newsrooms, writing staff, and editorial teams in the media industry in Pakistan (Ejaz et al., 2021; Jamil, 2020) particularly at key positions, which eventually involve editorial decision-making powers. Interviews were conducted in Urdu language and then were translated into English. Each interview took 25–45 minutes. During the second time period, interview questions mainly covered which factors were responsible in enhancing the editorial coverage of human development issues after the oath taking of PTI government, do journalists take any help/data from articles published in research journals, to what extent editorialists are provided with development issues related information by the civil advocacy groups?

After the interviews, this researcher transcribed and axial-coded the raw data and collated it into overarching themes concerning hierarchal influences and agenda building function of

mass media on various issues including gender issues, religious intolerance, unemployment, inflation, importance of audience feedback, and media agenda builders in Pakistan. After interview recoding, phase-II interviews were also transcribed into English language. Transcriptions were stored and analysed in a password protected computer. Dedoose software was used to manage and analysed qualitative interviews. All interviews were analysed into two primary categories: 1) editors' viewpoint on variety of issues to understand different level of influences on newspapers editorials and 2) to document major agenda builders for Pakistani mainstream newspapers.

Unlike the phase-I interviews, being conducted online, phase-II interviews were quite problematic and exhausting. Though, online interviews facilitated the data collection procedures of this study while staying remotely and particularly when it is impossible to carry-out interviews in face-to-face settings during the COVID-19 pandemic. Nevertheless, it has some limitations as well. For instance, the quality of domestic internet connection is not good in Pakistan. Particularly, during the lockdown period in 2021, when majority of interview participants were staying at home, interviews were kept on facing disruptions and arbitrary 'on and off' problems. Additionally, being aged persons and being not enough technology-friendly, many interview participants felt uncomfortable during online interviews due to technical issues with their head phones and internet connection. And eventually audio recording procedures were also affected. Even few of the participants left the interview being reluctant of technical issues and therefore, the interviews had to be rescheduled again with them. Like phase-I interviews, to ensure the confidentiality and personal safety of interviewees (because few questions were potentially threatening e.g., blasphemy laws, Asia Bibi eviction and exile, family planning laws), all interviewed journalists have been quoted using numbers (ranging between 1 to 10). In addition to designing an interview guide, a significant amount of time preparing was spent with interviews online. Therefore, sometimes, conversations went beyond the interview guide to create in-depth discussions with the participants. This process produced detailed information and editorialists' insight on a number of challenges they continue to face while writing on human development issues. (See transcribed interviews as Annex-VIII).

Table 3.5a In-Depth Interview Participants (Phase-II)

Name	Gender	Work Distinction	Date of Interview
Interviewee 1	Male	Chief Editor (Urdu daily)	August 11, 2021
Interviewee 2	Male	Resident Editor (English daily)	July 27, 2021
Interviewee 3	Male	Executive Editor (Urdu daily)	March 19, 2021
Interviewee 11	Male	Resident Editor (English daily)	August 27, 2021
Interviewee 12	Male	Group Editor (Urdu daily)	June 19, 2021
Interviewee 13	Female	Editor (English daily)	August 12, 2021
Interviewee 14	Male	Senior Editor (Urdu daily)	July 22, 2021
Interviewee 15	Female	News Editor (English daily)	March 01, 2021
Interviewee 16	Female	Public Relations Expert	August 27, 2021
Interviewee 17	Male	Public Relations Expert	December 10, 21

In the beginning of each interview, interviewees were sensitized about the operationalized definition of human development and the set of related issues. For understanding each level of influence, editorialists/journalists have been asked questions using an interview guide that carries key questions related to:

Individual level: What types of problems they face while writing/reporting on human development issues. Are there any challenges that they face related to 1) their awareness of science journalism and human development issues (e.g., health, malnutrition, agriculture and environmental issues); 2) training how to write/report adequately on human development issues; and 3) other gender, class, professional background and age-specific impediments?

Routine level: How journalistic routines (sourcing, news values, gatekeeping, selection patterns of more profit-oriented content and audience appeal) impede their passion to write or report for voiceless factions of the society.

Organizational level: How organizational policies and resources affect their reporting/writing on human development issues? To what extent owners' political and personal interests and economic imperatives of their respective media house help or hinder them to report on human development issues?

Social-institutional level: How extra-media influences (e.g., the journalist–source relationship, public relations, the concerns of advertisers and other funding sources; and state laws, government actions and censorship) affect their capacity to write or report on human development issues.

Social system level: How ideological forces, particularly cultural and religious, influence their capacity to write or report on sensitive human development issues (e.g., population planning, religious intolerance, women emancipation).

Public relations experts were asked to rank the media agenda builders in Pakistan and to what extent PR practices influence news and editorial content on policy agenda. Media academicians and development sector experts were asked to evaluate the role of Pakistani editorial journalism in terms of advocating human development issues.

Being in-depth interviews, each interviewee has also been asked follow-up questions to establish a better understanding of each of the aforementioned HOI-related theme.

Chapter 5-Data Analysis and Interpretation

5. Chapter Structure

This chapter was further divided into five sections. The data in first two sections was intended to arrange answering RQ1 and RQ1(a); in section three, four and five to answer RQ2, RQ3 and RQ4 respectively. The first section presents the data that eventually reveals the ‘significance’ of all major content categories’ issues during both the first and second time period. It further shows the comparison of ‘significance’ between English and Urdu language newspapers’ content categories. It also makes comparison between the major content categories of individual English and Urdu dailies at both aggregate and individual-levels. The second section is identical to section one, except the difference that it entails data that highlights ‘prominence’ aspect of all of the selected content categories. The third section includes data that measures ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ aspects of only human development category (A) issues to answer RQ2. The data in fourth section highlights the difference between English and Urdu language editorial journalism by measuring the correlation between both language newspapers’ editorial agenda for both of the time periods. This arrangement was made to answer RQ3. The data in last section of this chapter is presented to measure correlation between editorialists and readers priority agenda by studying data of Facebook Likes (FBL) and Online readers comments (ORCs) of daily Dawn.

5.1 Measurement of Significance (Section One)

This study analysed a total of 11,453 editorials to explore first three research questions. As stated in previous chapter, RQ1 and RQ2 were set to determine the amount of editorial coverage given to human development issues’ category (A) compared to the issues of all other four categories. Whereas, RQ3 was posed to compare the editorial coverage of only category A issues; to eventually identify the difference between Urdu and English language newspapers’ editorial agenda on human development issues. Editorial coverage was further operationalized in terms of measuring the extent of ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ given to any issue of all of the constructed categories. Significance was measured by calculating the percentage of editorial coverage given to an issue, while prominence was evaluated by comparing the percentage of ‘*main editorials/leaders*’¹² as against the ‘*editorial notes*’¹³

¹² A longer write-up published on the most important issue of the day is called a *leader* or *main editorial* and is mostly related to the national and international policies of the country.

¹³ Leader is followed by one to three comparatively shorter accounts, called *editorial notes* and are usually written on some local issues of a city or province.

published on an issue. The higher an issue received coverage percentage, the more significant that issue was; whereas the higher an issue was advocated via ‘main editorials/ leaders’, the more prominent it was.

5.1.1 Significance of all major content categories’ issues during the first time period (T1)

Being a longitudinal study, initially 5,712 editorials were analyzed for the first time period (T1); and later, 5,741 for the second time period (T2). This study used the Pearson’s chi- square test (χ^2 test) to determine whether there exists any statistically significant difference among constructed content categories. The χ^2 test value for T1—i.e., χ^2 (20, N=5,712) =108.94, $p < .000$; Cramer’s V=.069, $p < .000$ —shows that there is a significant difference

Table 5.1.1 Comparison between the editorial coverage of issues of major content categories for T1 (N=5,712)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	206 (3.6%)	264 (4.6%)	124 (2.2%)	468 (8.2%)	15 (0.3%)	1,077 (18.9%)
<i>The Nation</i>	218 (3.8%)	284 (5%)	112 (2%)	450 (7.9%)	13 (0.2%)	1,077 (18.9%)
<i>The News</i>	149 (2.6%)	213 (3.7%)	101 (1.8%)	295 (5.1%)	15 (0.3%)	773 (13.5%)
<i>Jang</i>	180 (3.2%)	327 (5.7%)	123 (2.1%)	388 (6.8%)	12 (0.2%)	1,030 (18%)
<i>Express</i>	157 (2.7%)	403 (7.1%)	138 (2.4%)	311 (5.4%)	27 (0.5%)	1,036 (18.1%)
<i>Dunya</i>	142 (2.5%)	203 (3.6%)	111 (1.9%)	255 (4.5%)	08 (0.1%)	719 (12.6%)
Total	1,052 (18.4%)	1,694 (29.7%)	709 (12.4%)	2,167 (37.9%)	90 (1.6%)	5,712 (100%)

χ^2 (20, N=5,712) =108.94, $p < .000$; Cramer’s V=.069, $p < .000$.

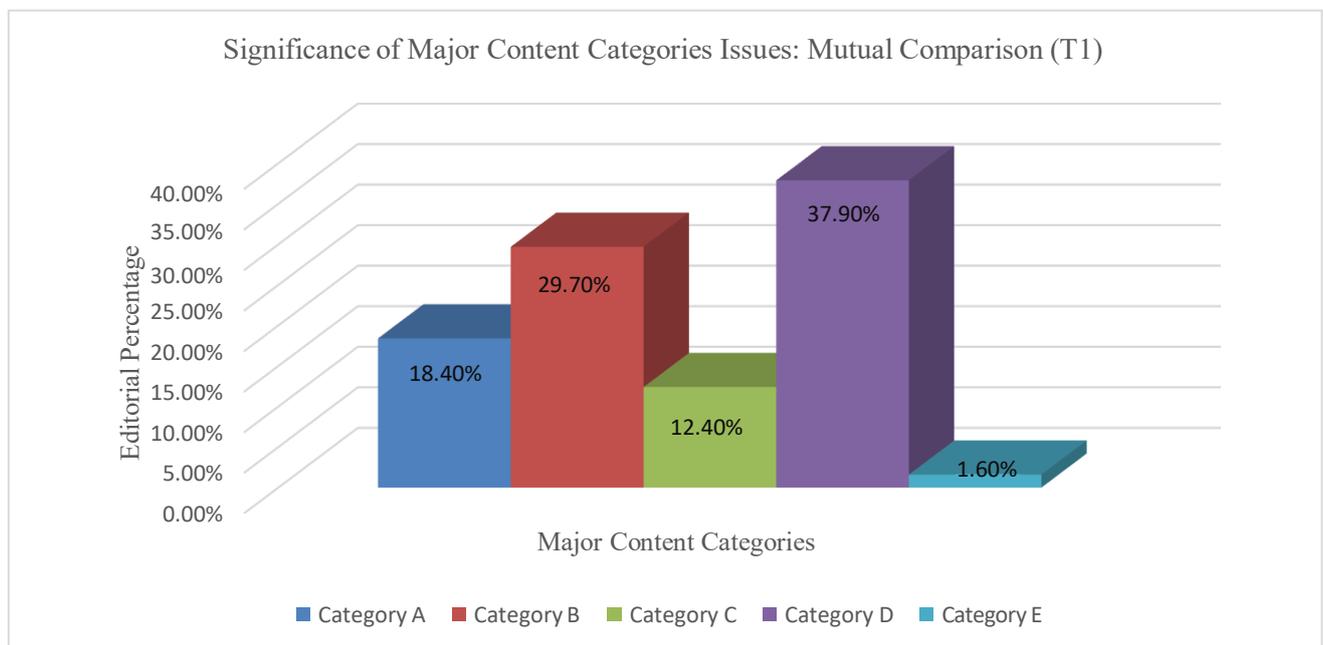


Figure 5.1.1 Comparison between the issues of major content categories in all selected newspapers (T1)¹⁴

¹⁴ All of the bar charts presented in this chapter displays the content categories on the graph's x-axis, while editorial percentage on the y-axis.

among all five content categories. The data in table (5.1.1) reveals that out of the total 5,712 editorials published during T1, only 1,052 (18.4%) were devoted to advocate category A issues. It eventually reflects that human development issues were still of minor significance for the editorialists despite the launch of SDGs in 2015 and even with dismal growth in HDI value for the country over the last five years (Table 1.4). Among 4,660 (82.8%) editorials published on other four categories' issues, the highest number—2,167 (37.9%)—were on state and political parties' policy issues (category D); followed by international relations and issues (category B), which received 1,694 (29.7%); then security operations issues (category C) with 709 (12.4%); and the miscellaneous category with 90 (1.6%) editorials (Fig. 5.1.1).

5.1.2 Comparison of significance between English and Urdu dailies' content categories (T1)

A comparison of Urdu and English newspapers shows that both language newspapers almost equally ignored to address category A issues, with an exception of English newspapers that gave a slightly higher coverage with 573 (10%) editorials than their Urdu counterparts with 479 (8.40%) editorials during T1 (Table, Fig. 5.1.2). Owing to ongoing military operations in the country, both Urdu and English newspapers gave an equal and fair coverage to security operations issues (category C) by publishing 372 (6.40%) and 337 (6.00%) editorials respectively. However, both language newspapers remained inconsistent while covering category B and category D issues. Interestingly, Urdu newspapers with poor, semi-literate and conservative-minded readership (Siraj, 2009; Rahman & Eijaz, 2014) gave higher coverage to international relations and issues (category B) with 933 (16.40%) editorials compared to English newspapers with 761 (13.30%) editorials. Conversely, English dailies remained more focused to advocate country's internal issues by publishing 1,213 (21.20%) editorials on state and political parties' policy issues (category D) compared to Urdu language newspapers that published comparatively lesser editorials i.e., 954 (16.70%) on such issues. On the whole, English newspapers dedicated more editorial space to country's internal issues (both category A and category D issues) than the Urdu language newspapers during the first time period (see Fig. 5.1.2).

Table 5.1.2 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers' content categories for T1 (N=5,712)

Dailies	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
English	573 (10.00%)	761 (13.30%)	337 (6.00%)	1,213 (21.20%)	43 (0.80%)	2,927(51.3%)
Urdu	479 (08.40%)	933 (16.40%)	372 (6.40%)	954(16.70%)	47 (0.80%)	2,785 (48.7%)
Total	1,052 (18.40%)	1,694 (29.70%)	709 (12.40%)	2,167 (37.90%)	90 (1.60%)	5,712 (100%)

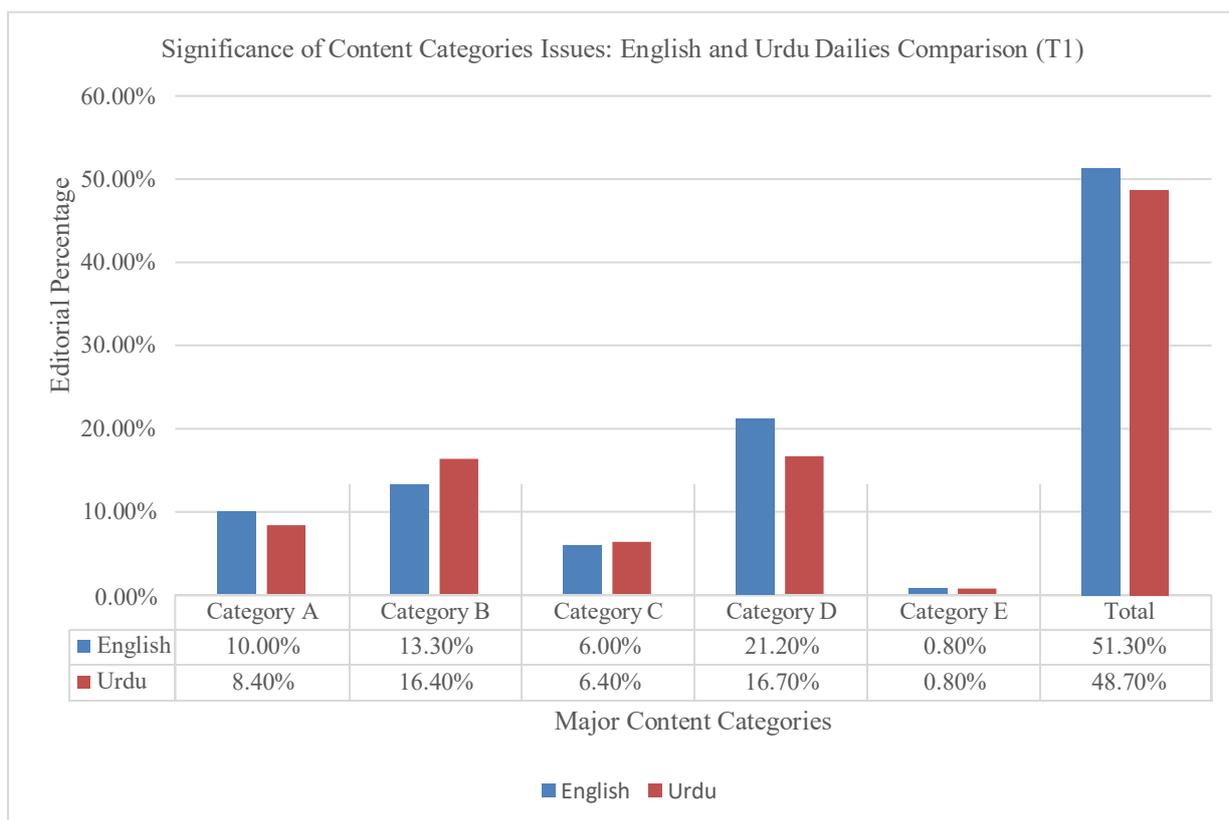


Figure 5.1.2 Comparison between the English and Urdu newspapers' content categories (T1)

5.1.3 Comparison of significance by individual English dailies at aggregate level (T1)

To measure 'significance' given to major content categories' issues by individual English and Urdu newspapers, all editorials were analysed at both aggregate level (percentage coverage out of the **total** published English/Urdu newspapers' editorials) and at individual level (percentage coverage out of the **individual** English/Urdu newspapers' editorials). This was done due to uneven number of editorials being published by individual English/Urdu dailies during both first and second time periods (see Table 4.4.3). Each selected newspaper publishes fixed one longer *main editorial/leader* and two to three smaller *editorial notes* every day. Main editorial is written on the most important issue of the day having national or international significance, whereas editorial notes are written on some local or regional issue.

Among English newspapers, at aggregate level, *The Nation* published more editorials on human development issues (category A) i.e., 218 (7.4%) than daily *Dawn* and *The News*, which published 206 (7.0%) and 149 (5.1%) editorials respectively (Table 5.1.3). Figure 5.1.3 shows that both *The Nation* and *Dawn* published almost equal number of editorials on all major categories' issues; and higher than *The News*, which comparatively published lesser number of editorials on all issues i.e., 773 (13.5%).

Table 5.1.3 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at aggregate-level (T1)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	206 (7.0%)	264 (9.0%)	124 (4.2%)	468 (16.0%)	15 (0.5%)	1,077 (36.8%)
<i>The Nation</i>	218 (7.4%)	284 (9.7%)	112 (3.8%)	450 (15.4%)	13 (0.5%)	1,077 (36.8%)
<i>The News</i>	149 (5.1%)	213 (7.3%)	101 (3.5%)	295 (10.1%)	15 (0.5%)	773 (26.4%)
Total	573 (19.5%)	761 (26%)	337 (11.5%)	1,213(41.5%)	43 (1.5%)	2,927 (17.1%)

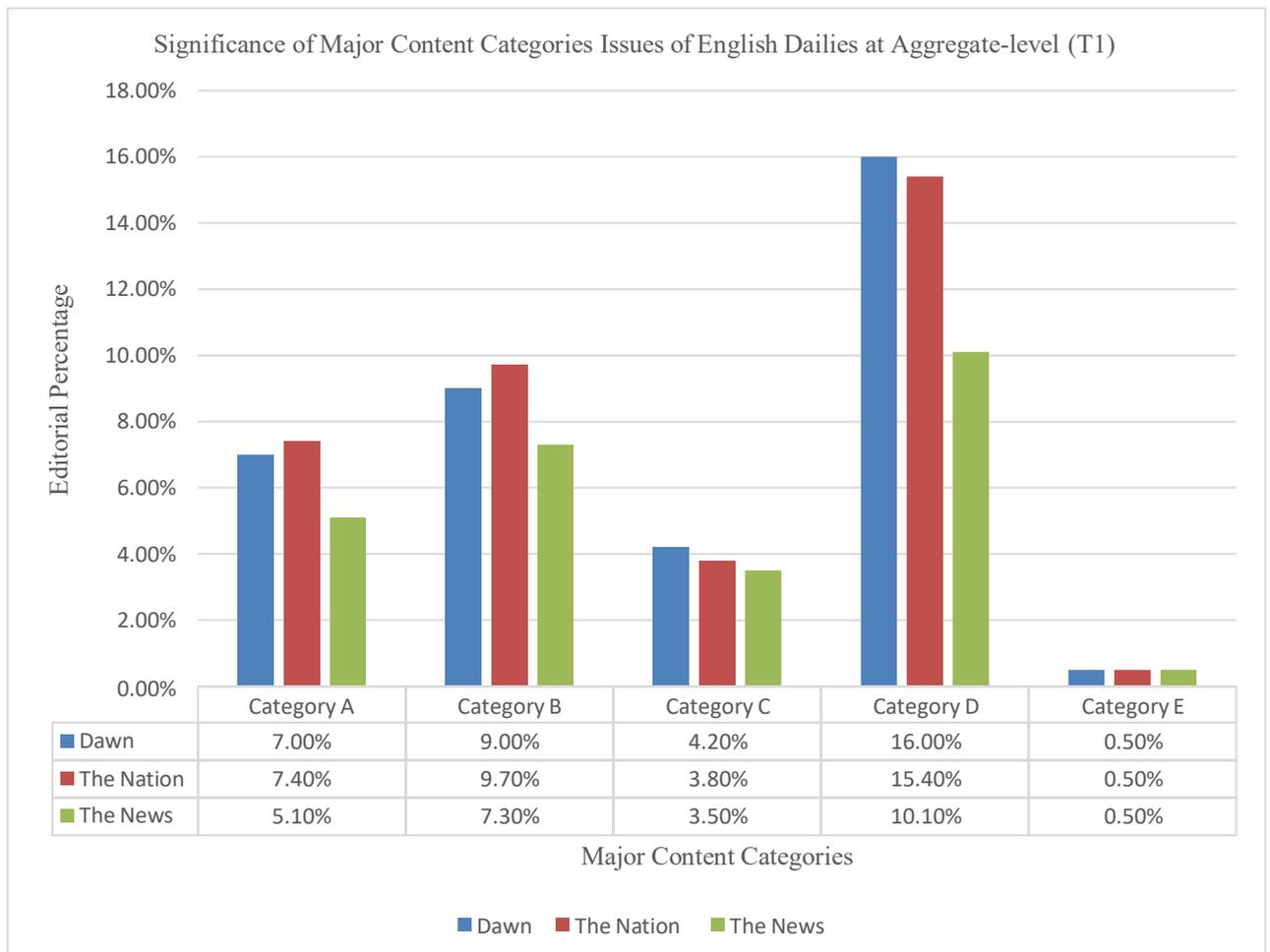


Figure 5.1.3 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at aggregate-level (T1)

5.1.4 Comparison of significance by individual English dailies at individual level (T1)

It is important to mention here that all newspapers used nearly equal number of words while publishing their daily editorials during selected time periods; with fixed one *main editorial/leader* per day, but the number of *editorial notes* varied by one to three in a given day (Table 4.4.3). Keeping in view this fact, all editorials were also analysed at individual level to measure ‘significance’ aspect of the coverage. Therefore, an analysis of English newspaper editorials at individual-level (percentage coverage out of the individual English/Urdu newspapers’ editorials) suggests that *The Nation* published the highest number

of editorials on human development issues (category A) i.e., 218 (20.2%); followed by *The News* with 149 (19.3%) and *Dawn* with 206 (19.1%) editorials during T1 (Table, Fig. 5.1.4). This simply implies that—at either aggregate or individual level—*The Nation* was leading both of its English competitors in advocating more human development issues during T1.

Table 5.1.4 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at individual-level (T1)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	206 (19.1%)	264 (24.5%)	124 (11.5%)	468 (43.5%)	15 (1.4%)	1,077 (100%)
<i>The Nation</i>	218 (20.2%)	284 (26.4%)	112 (10.4%)	450 (41.8%)	13 (1.2%)	1,077 (100%)
<i>The News</i>	149 (19.3%)	213 (27.5%)	101 (13.1%)	295 (38.2%)	15 (1.9%)	773 (100%)
Total (Mean)	573 (19.5%)	761 (26.1%)	337 (11.7%)	1,213(41.2%)	43 (1.5%)	2,927 (100%)

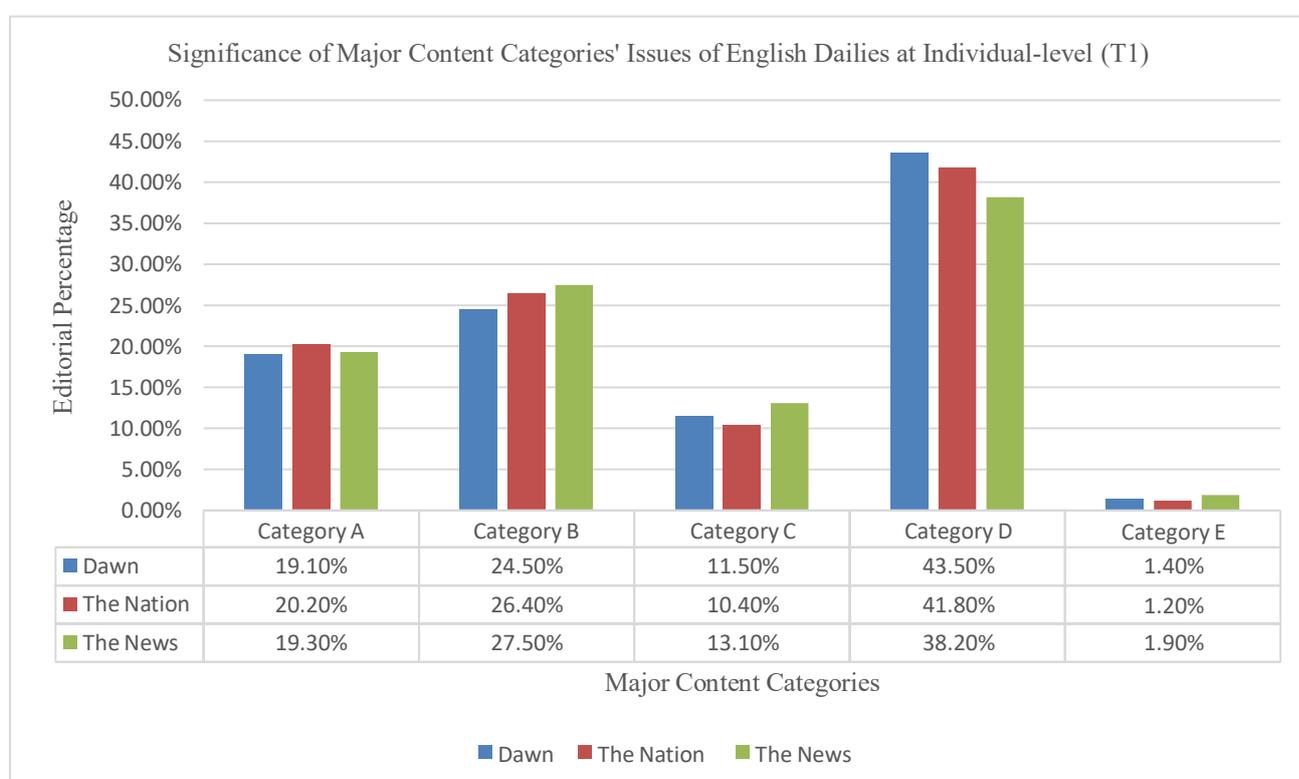


Figure 5.1.4 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at individual-level (T1)

5.1.5 Comparison of significance by individual Urdu dailies at aggregate level (T1)

On the other hand, among Urdu newspapers, at aggregate-level, *The Daily Jang* gave the highest coverage to human development issues (category A) by publishing 180 (6.5%) editorials followed by *Daily Express* and *Daily Dunya*, which published 157 (5.6%) and 142 (5.1%) editorials respectively (Table, Fig. 5.1.5).

Table 5.1.5 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu dailies at aggregate-level (T1)

Dailies	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Jang</i>	180 (6.5%)	327 (11.7%)	123 (4.4%)	388 (13.9%)	12 (0.4%)	1,030 (36.9%)
<i>Express</i>	157 (5.6%)	403 (14.5%)	138 (5.0%)	311 (11.2%)	27 (1.0%)	1,036 (37.3%)
<i>Dunya</i>	142 (5.1%)	203 (07.3%)	111 (4.0%)	255 (09.1%)	08 (0.3%)	719 (25.8%)
Total	479 (17.2%)	933 (33.5%)	372 (13.4%)	954 (34.2%)	47 (1.7%)	2,785 (100%)

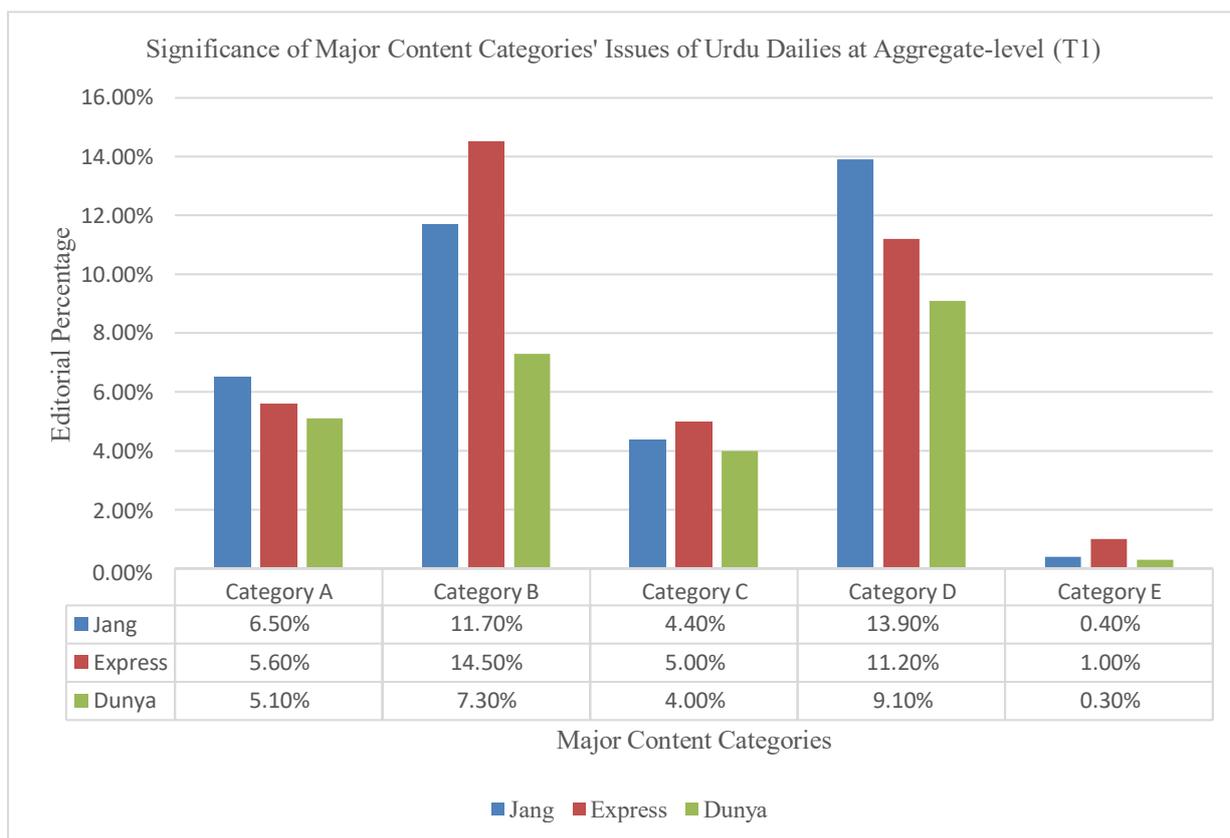


Figure 5.1.5 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu dailies at aggregate-level (T1)

5.1.6 Comparison of significance by individual Urdu dailies at individual level (T1)

Conversely, at individual-level *Daily Dunya* published the highest number of editorials i.e., 142 (19.8%) on category A issues, followed by *The Daily Jang* with 180 (17.5%) and *Daily Express* with 157 (15.1%) editorials during the first time period (Table, Fig. 5.1.6). This

Table 5.1.6 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu dailies at individual-level (T1)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Jang</i>	180 (17.5%)	327 (31.7%)	123 (11.9%)	388 (37.7%)	12 (1.2%)	1,030 (100%)
<i>Express</i>	157 (15.1%)	403 (38.9%)	138 (13.3%)	311 (30.1%)	27 (2.6%)	1,036 (100%)
<i>Dunya</i>	142 (19.8%)	203 (28.2%)	111 (15.4%)	255 (35.5%)	08 (1.1%)	719 (100%)
Total (Mean)	479 (17.5%)	933 (33.0%)	372 (13.5%)	954 (34.4%)	47 (1.6%)	2,785 (100%)

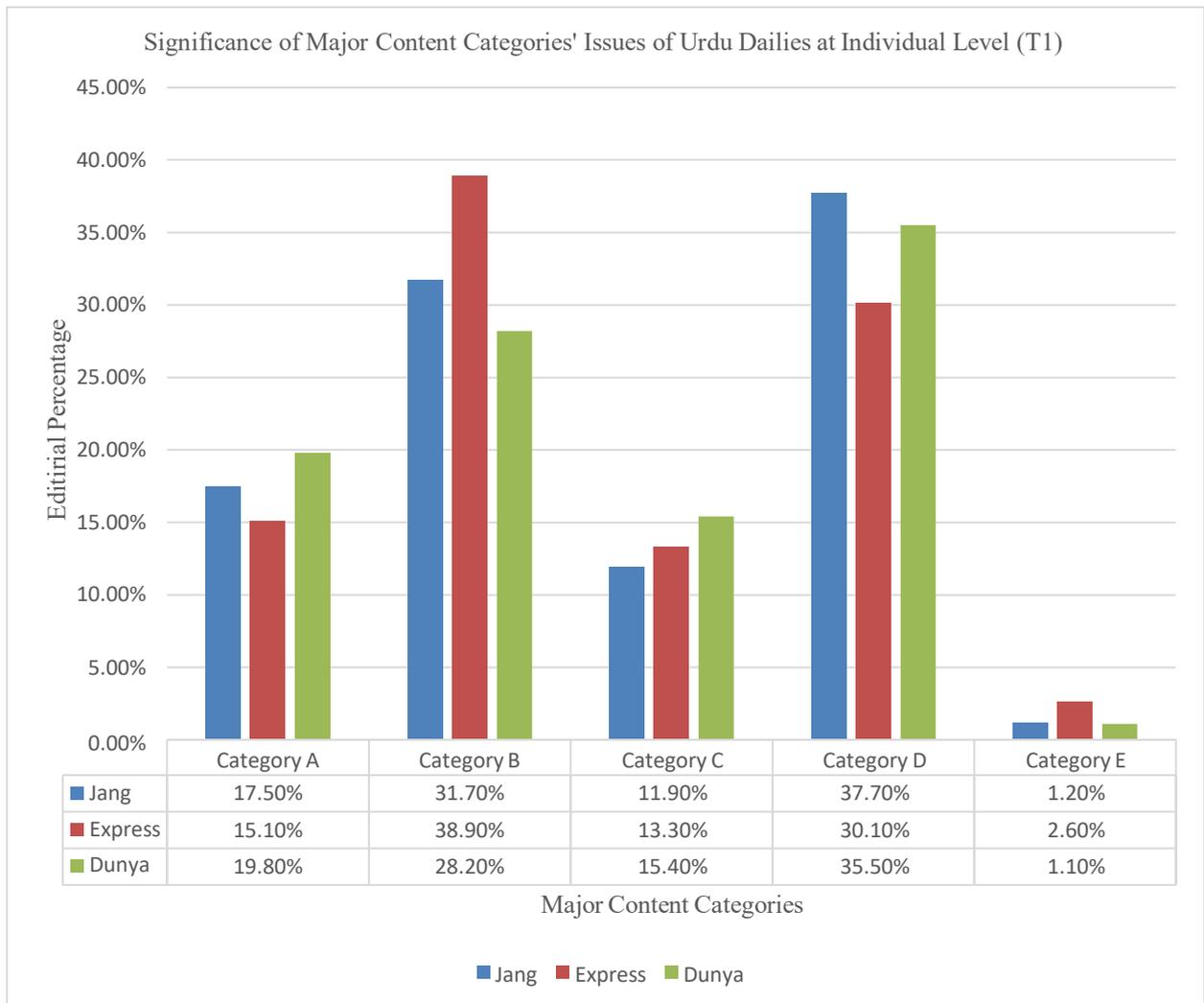


Figure 5.1.6 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu dailies at individual-level (T1)

individual-level analysis suggests that the editorial writers of *Daily Dunya*—despite publishing lesser number of total editorials (719) than *The Daily Jang* (1,030) and *Daily Express* (1,036)—comparatively published a higher percentage of editorial content on human development issues.

5.1.7 Significance of all major content categories' issues during the second time period (T2)

For the second period (T2), a total of 5,741 editorials were analyzed to answer both RQ1 and RQ2. In the beginning, the Pearson Chi-Square test (χ^2) was repeated to determine whether there exists any statistically significant difference among all major content categories. The value of Chi-Square test for independence indicated a significant difference among the constructed categories, i.e. $\chi^2 (20, N=5,741) = 358.99, p < .000$; Cramer's $V = .125, p < .000$. The Chi-Square test compared the proportion of editorials in the assigned categories. Table and Fig. 5.1.7 aptly explain that during T2, on the whole, most of the editorials were again

Table 5.1.7 Comparison between the issues of major content categories for time period 2 (N=5,741)

Dailies	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	335 (5.8%)	227 (4.0%)	64 (1.1%)	433 (7.5%)	12 (0.2%)	1,071 (18.6%)
<i>The Nation</i>	244 (4.2%)	256 (4.5%)	40 (0.7%)	521 (9.1%)	07 (0.1%)	1,068 (18.6%)
<i>The News</i>	284 (4.9%)	177 (3.1%)	31 (0.5%)	264 (4.6%)	09 (0.2%)	765 (13.3%)
<i>Jang</i>	302 (5.3%)	231 (4.0%)	44 (0.8%)	466 (8.1%)	10 (0.2%)	1,053 (18.4%)
<i>Express</i>	205 (3.6%)	388 (6.8%)	57 (1.0%)	236 (4.1%)	20 (0.3%)	906 (15.8%)
<i>Dunya</i>	326 (5.7%)	117 (2.0%)	23 (0.4%)	406 (7.1%)	06 (0.1%)	878 (15.3%)
Total	1,696 (29.5%)	1,396 (24.4%)	259 (4.5%)	2,326 (40.5%)	64 (1.1%)	5,741 (100%)

χ^2 (20, N=5,741) = 358.99, $p < .000$; Cramer's $V = .125$, $p < .000$.

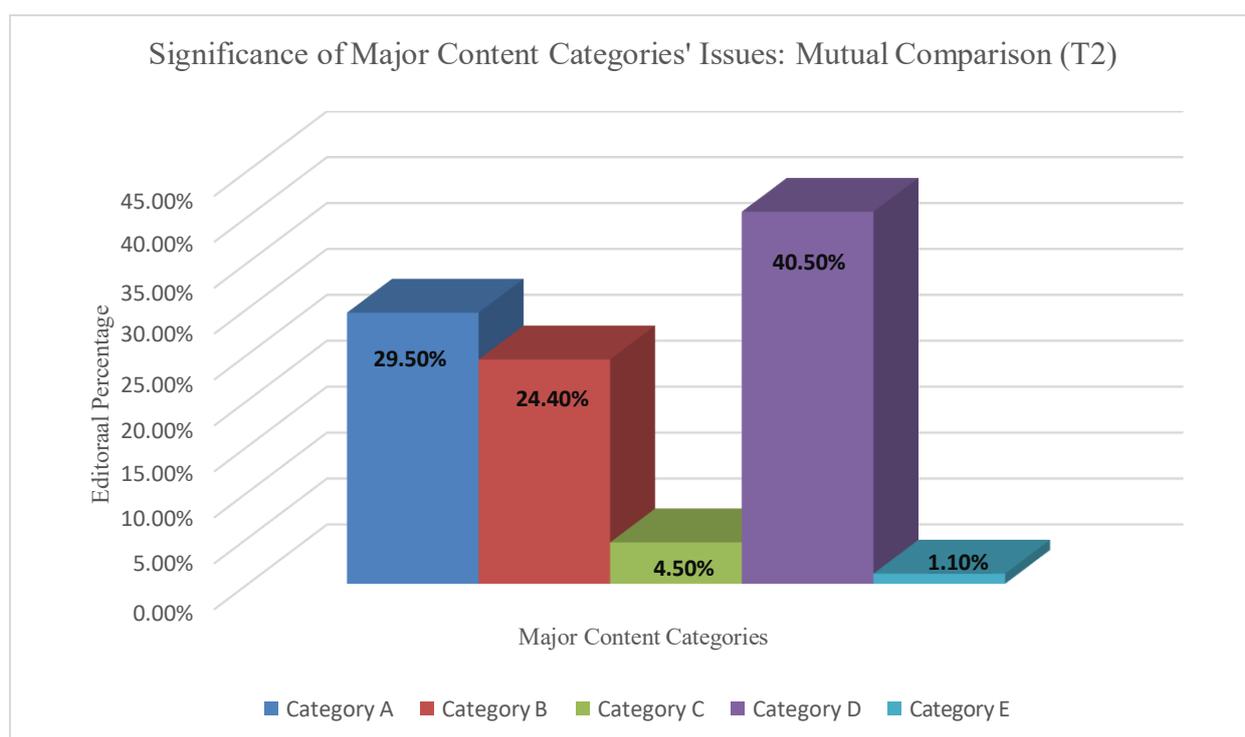


Figure 5.1.7 Comparison between the issues of major content categories in all selected newspapers (T2)

contributed to categories D, B and C issues; for instance, on state and political parties' policy issues a total of 2,326 (40.5%) editorials were published, followed by 1,396 (24.4%) on international relations and issues, and 259 (4.5%) on security operations issues. In other words, 70.5 percent of editorials were published on non-human development issues; whereas 29.5 percent of editorials were devoted to human development issues.

5.1.8 Comparison of significance between English and Urdu dailies' content categories (T2)

As far as the difference of coverage between English and Urdu language newspapers is concerned, the data further reveals somewhat similar trends as of T1. For instance, English newspapers again gave a slightly higher coverage to human development issues by publishing

863 (15.03%) editorials compared to Urdu newspapers that published 833 (14.51%) editorials during T2. Similarly, like T1, Urdu newspapers gave more coverage to international relations and issues (category B) with 736 (12.82%) editorials compared to English newspapers with 660 (11.50%) editorials. In a similar manner as T1, English dailies preferred to publish more editorials on category D issues by publishing 1,218 (21.22%) editorials in comparison with Urdu newspapers that published 1,108 (19.30%) editorials during T2 (Table, Fig 5.1.8).

Table 5.1.8 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers’ content categories for T2 (N=5,741)

Dailies	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
English	863 (15.03%)	660 (11.50%)	135 (2.35%)	1,218 (21.22%)	28 (0.49%)	2,904(50.6%)
Urdu	833 (14.51%)	736 (12.82%)	124 (2.16%)	1,108(19.30%)	36 (0.63%)	2,837 (49.4%)
Total	1,696 (29.5%)	1,396 (24.4%)	259 (4.5%)	2,326 (40.5%)	64 (1.1%)	5,741 (100%)

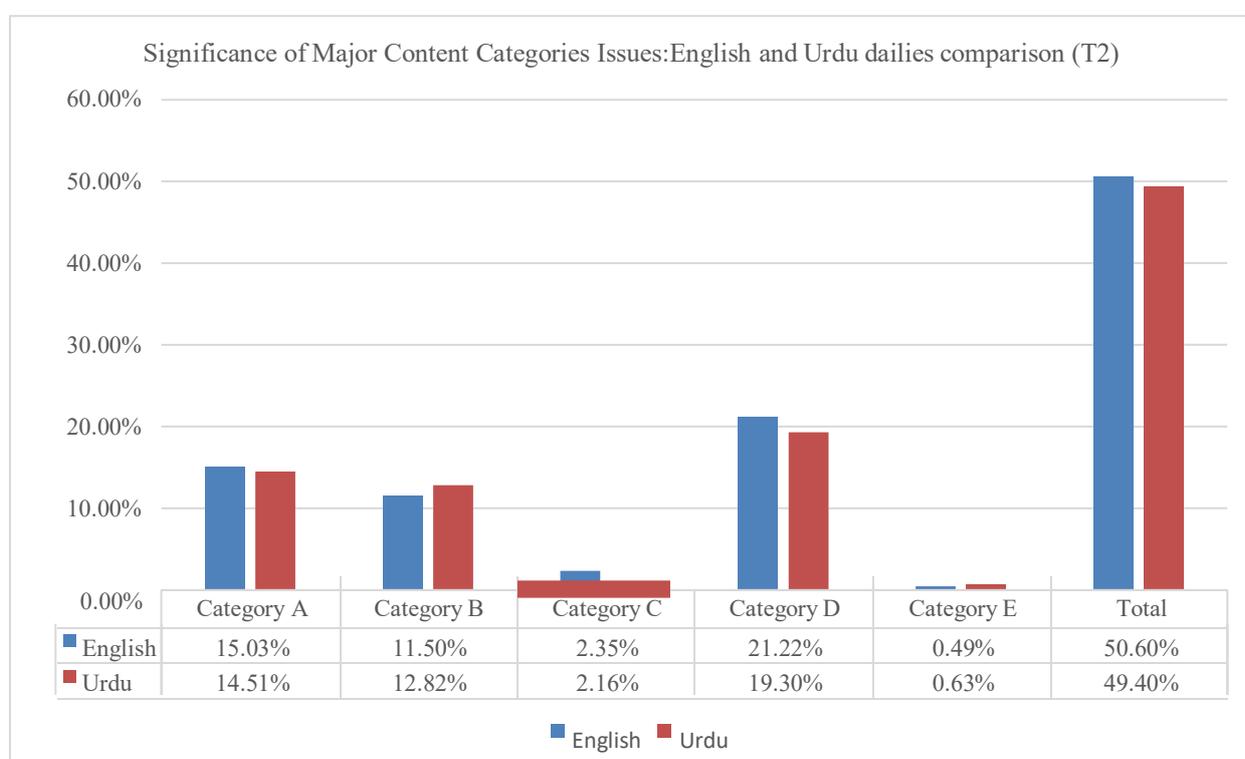


Figure 5.1.8 Comparison between the English and Urdu newspapers’ content categories for T2

5.1.9 Comparison of significance by individual English dailies at aggregate level (T2)

However, a comparison of individual English newspapers, at aggregate level, suggests a different pattern of coverage during the second time period. For instance, contrary to T1, at aggregate-level, *The Nation* gave least preference to human development issues (category A) by publishing 244 (08.4%) editorials during T2; while daily *Dawn* gave the highest coverage

to similar set of issues by publishing 335 (11.5%) editorials, followed by *The News* which published 284 (09.8%) editorials in the meanwhile (Table, Fig. 5.1.9).

Table 5.1.9 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at aggregate-level (T2)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	335 (11.5%)	227 (7.8%)	64 (2.2%)	433 (15.0%)	12 (0.4%)	1,071 (36.8%)
<i>The Nation</i>	244 (08.4%)	256 (8.8%)	40 (1.4%)	521 (18.0%)	07 (0.2%)	1,068 (36.8%)
<i>The News</i>	284 (09.8%)	177 (6.1%)	31 (1.0%)	264 (09.1%)	09 (0.3%)	765 (26.4%)
Total	863 (29.7%)	660 (22.7%)	135 (4.6%)	1,218 (42.1%)	28 (0.9%)	2,904 (100%)

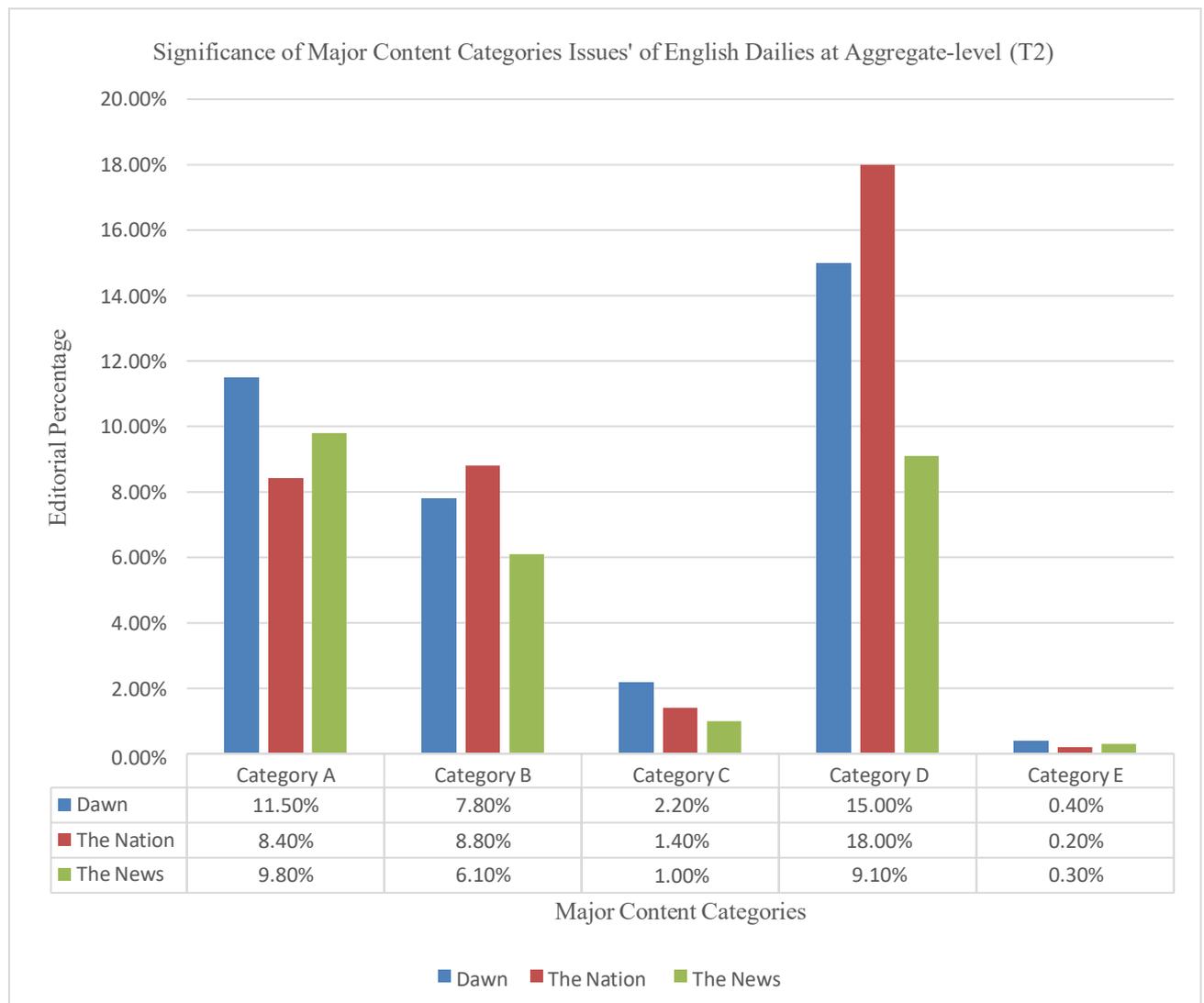


Figure 5.1.9 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at aggregate-level (T2)

5.1.10 Comparison of significance by individual English dailies at individual level (T2)

To overcome the uneven number of editorials disorder among selected dailies, the individual-level analysis was also performed. Consequently, the same situation seemed persisting in case of individual-level analysis, for instance, *The Nation* published least number of editorials on

Table 5.1.10 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at individual-level (T2)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Dawn</i>	335 (31.3%)	227 (21.2%)	64 (06.0%)	433 (40.4%)	12 (1.1%)	1,071 (100%)
<i>The Nation</i>	244 (22.8%)	256 (24.0%)	40 (03.7%)	521 (48.8%)	07 (0.7%)	1,068 (100%)
<i>The News</i>	284 (37.1%)	177 (23.1%)	31 (04.1%)	264 (34.5%)	09 (1.2%)	765 (100%)
Total (Mean)	863 (30.4%)	660 (22.8%)	135 (4.6%)	1,218 (41.2%)	28 (1.0%)	2,904 (100%)

category A issues i.e., 244 (22.8%), followed by daily *Dawn* with 335 (31.3%) editorials (Table, Fig. 5.1.10). It is interesting to note that contrary to T1, *The News* gave highest coverage to human development issues with 284 (37.1%) editorials during T2. This variation in coverage patterns indicates that individual English newspapers' policies keep on changing with respect to publishing various types of issues over the period of time.

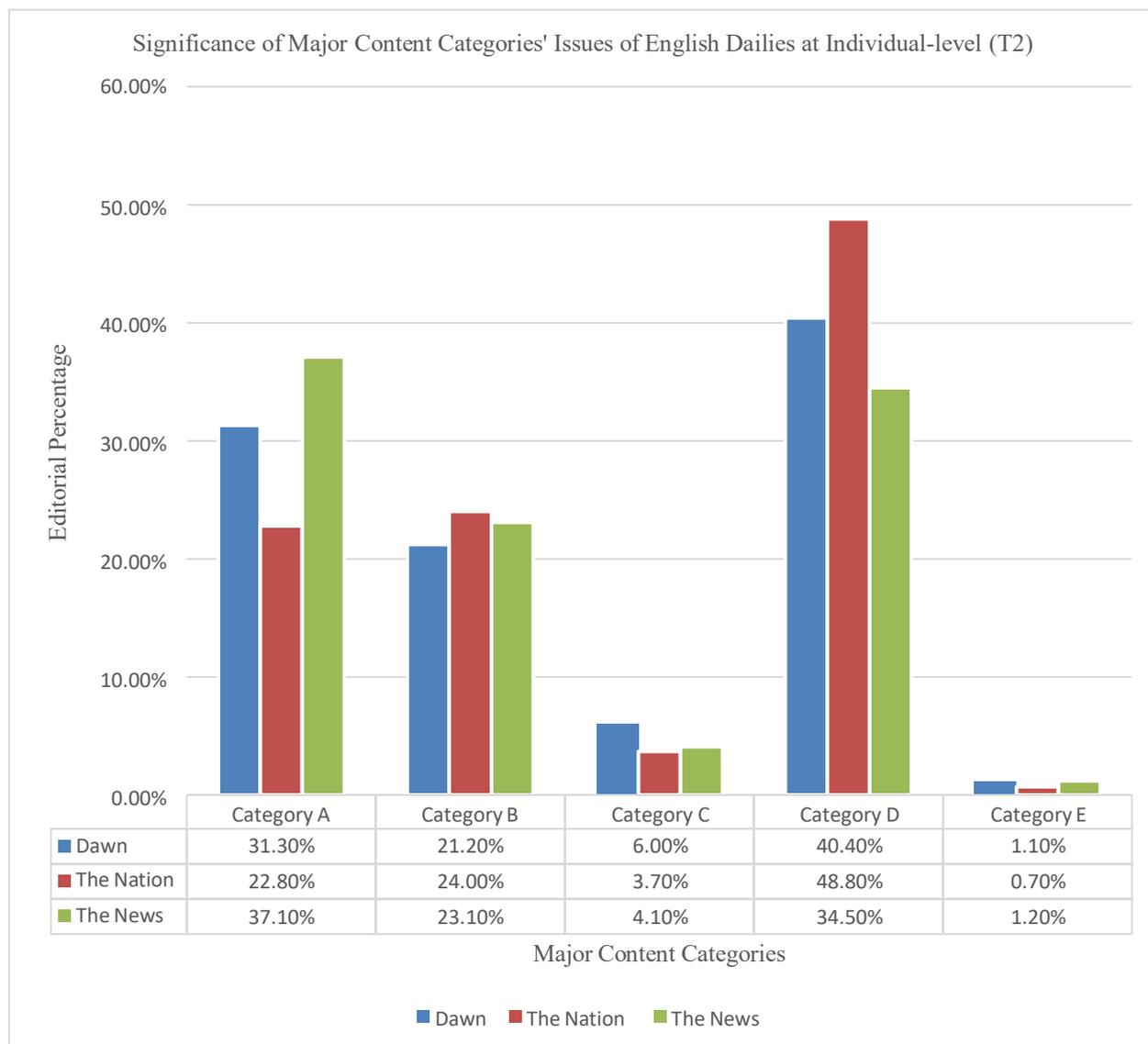


Figure 5.1.10 Comparison between the major content categories of English dailies at individual-level (T2)

5.1.11 Comparison of significance by individual Urdu dailies at aggregate level (T2)

On the other hand, among Urdu newspapers, contrary to TI, *Daily Dunya* gave far more significance to category A issues—at aggregate-level—by publishing 326 (11.5%) editorials, followed by *The Daily Jang* with 302 (10.6%) and *Daily Express* with 205

Table 5.1.11 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu newspapers at aggregate-level (T2)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Jang</i>	302 (10.6%)	231 (08.2%)	44 (1.6%)	466 (16.4%)	10 (0.4%)	1,053 (18.4%)
<i>Express</i>	205 (07.2%)	388 (13.7%)	57 (2.0%)	236 (08.3%)	20 (0.7%)	906 (15.8%)
<i>Dunya</i>	326 (11.5%)	117 (04.1%)	23 (0.8%)	406 (14.3%)	06 (0.2%)	878 (15.3%)
Total	833 (29.3%)	736 (26.0%)	124 (4.4%)	1,108 (39.0%)	36 (1.3%)	2,837 (100%)

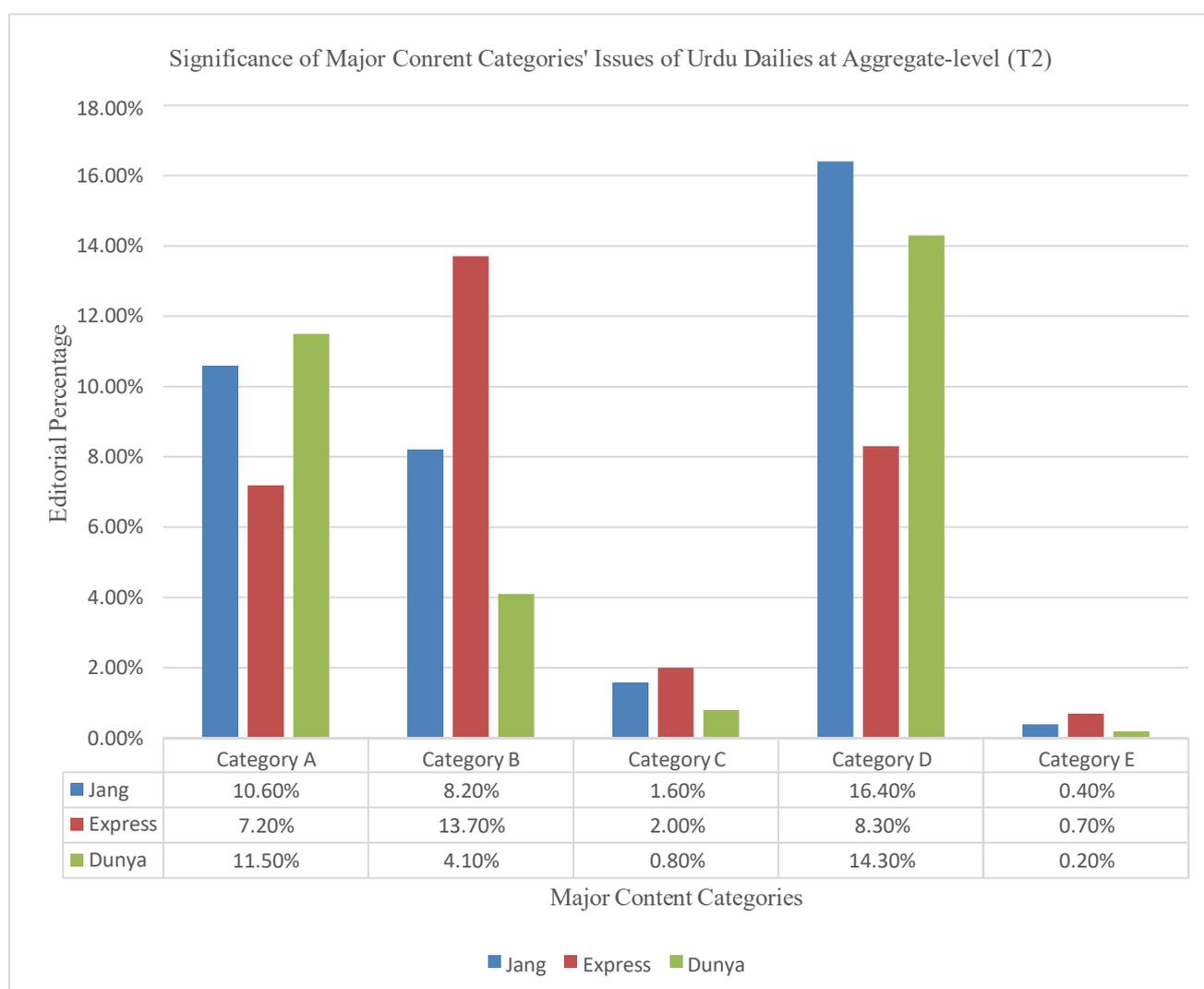


Figure 5.1.11 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu dailies at aggregate-level (T2)

(7.02%) editorials during T2 (Table, Fig. 5.1.11). On other categories' issues, *Daily Express* gave the highest coverage to international relations and issues (category B) with 388 (13.7%),

while *The Daily Jang* published the highest number of editorials on state and political parties' issues (category D) by publishing 466 (16.4%) editorials during T2.

5.1.12 Comparison of significance by individual Urdu dailies at individual level (T2)

The data in the table and figure 5.1.12 further reveals that—at individual-level too and like the TI—*Daily Dunya* gave the highest coverage to human development issues (category A) by publishing 326 (37.1%) editorials, followed by *The Daily Jang* with 302 (28.7%) and *Daily Express* with 205 (22.6%) editorials during T2. On other categories' issues, once again

Table 5.1.12 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu newspapers at individual-level (T2)

Newspapers	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
<i>Jang</i>	302 (28.7%)	231 (22.0%)	44 (4.2%)	466 (44.2%)	10 (0.9%)	1,053 (100%)
<i>Express</i>	205 (22.6%)	388 (42.8%)	57 (6.3%)	236 (26.1%)	20 (2.2%)	906 (100%)
<i>Dunya</i>	326 (37.1%)	117 (13.3%)	23 (2.7%)	406 (46.2%)	06 (0.7%)	878 (100%)
Total (Mean)	833 (29.4%)	736 (26.0%)	124 (4.4%)	1,108 (38.9%)	36 (1.3%)	2,837 (100%)

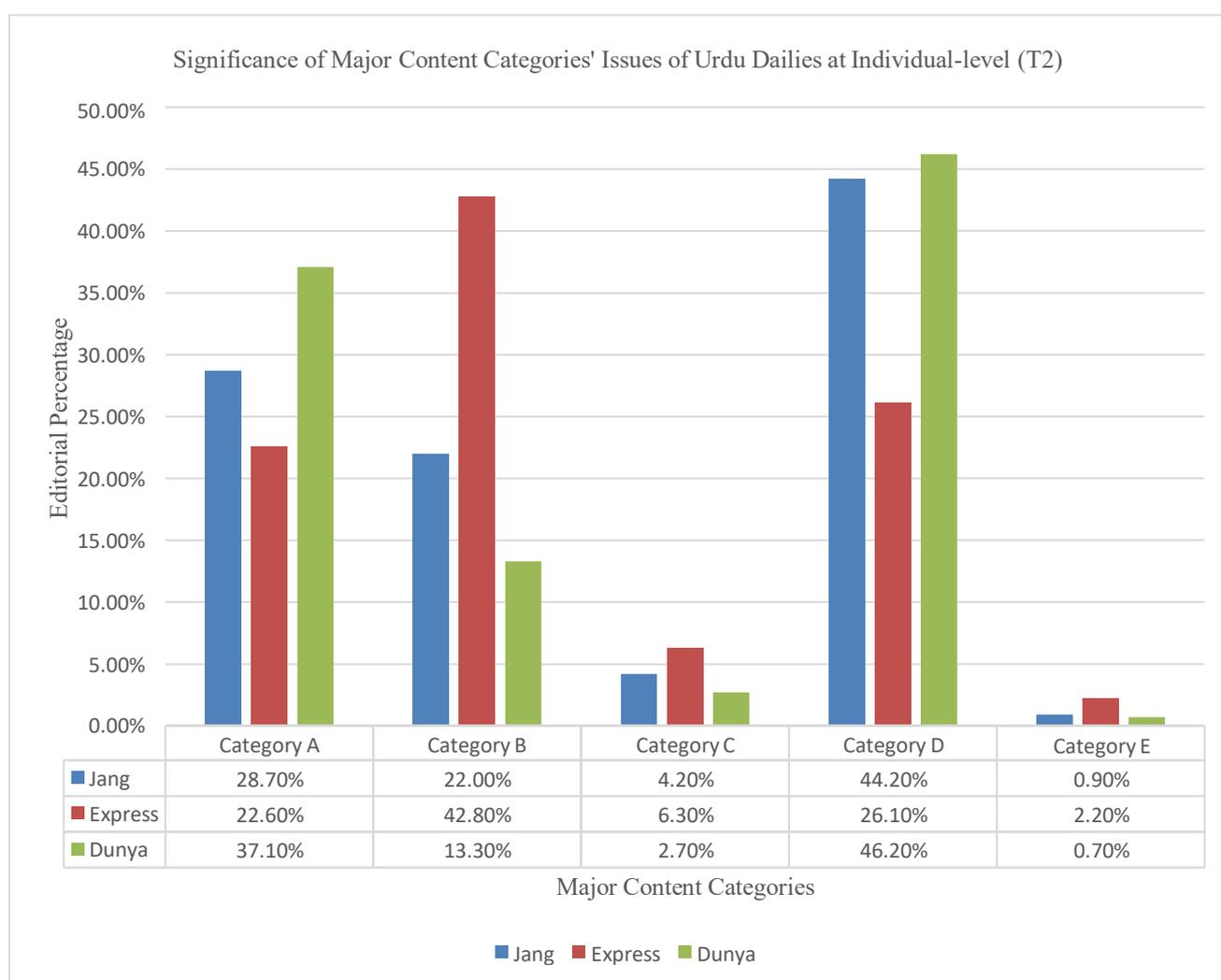


Figure 5.1.12 Comparison between the major content categories of Urdu dailies at individual-level (T2)

Daily Express gave the highest coverage to international relations and issues (category B) with 388 (42.8%), while *Daily Dunya* published the highest number of editorials on state and political parties' issues (category D) by publishing 406 (46.2%) editorials.

5.1.13 Significance of all major content categories' issues for both time periods (T1 and T2)

Later, to get a broader view of 'significance' given to major content categories, all 11,453 editorials were analysed for both time periods. In the beginning, once again the Pearson Chi-Square test (χ^2) was used, whose results indicated a significant difference between the all five major categories and the content published by six newspapers during the two time periods, i.e. $\chi^2 (4, N=11,453) = 398.80, p < .000$; Cramer's $V=.187, p < .000$. The data in Table and fig. 4.1.13 present the comparison of the two time periods. What is interesting about this table and graph, the significance given to human development issues (category A) has tangibly

Table 5.1.13 Comparison between the issues of major content categories for T1 and T2 (N=11,453)

Time Periods	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Time Period 1	1,052 (18.4%)	1,694 (29.7%)	709 (12.4%)	2,167 (37.9%)	90 (1.6%)	5,712 (100%)
Time Period 2	1,696 (29.5%)	1,396 (24.4%)	259 (4.5%)	2,326 (40.5%)	64 (1.1%)	5,741 (100%)
Total (Mean)	2,748 (23.9%)	3,090 (27.0%)	968 (8.6%)	4,493 (39.2%)	154 (1.3%)	11,453(100%)

Note: $\chi^2 (4, N=11,453) = 398.80, p < .000$; Cramer's $V=.187, p < .000$.

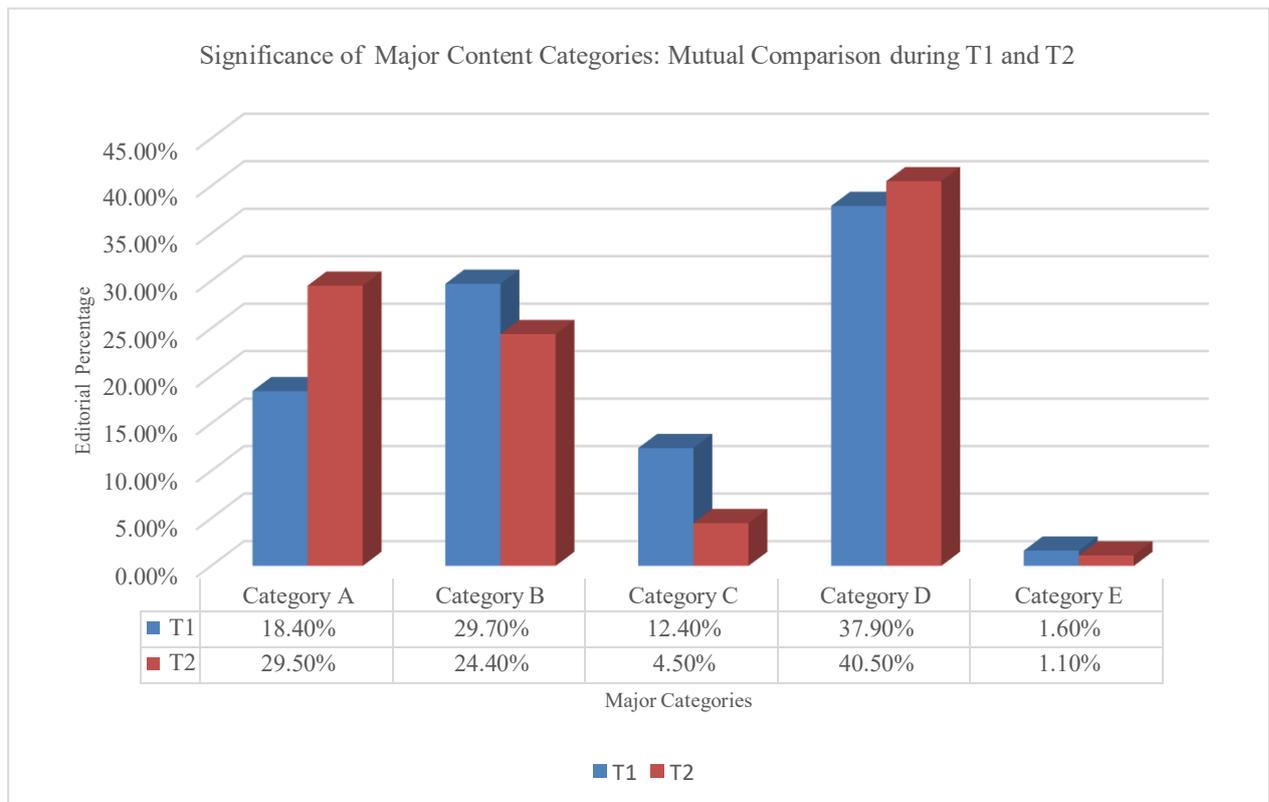


Figure 5.1.13 Comparison of the major content categories between time periods 1 (T1) and 2 (T2)

increased during T2 compared to T1. In numeric terms, T2 saw an increase of 11.1 percent in editorials on human development issues compared to T1. Moreover, during the second time period (T2), category A (human development issues) received the second highest number of editorials as against the T1, when it received the third highest priority by the editorialists. Contrarily, the number of editorials on categories B and C issues were decreased during T2. For instance, unlike T1, owing to partial but growing success of various security operations in the country, all selected dailies reduced to advocate category C issues during T2. Similarly, probably owing to the relatively peaceful relations with India and Afghanistan during T2, the number of editorials in category B issues saw a falling trend too. It further entails that a decrease in categories B and C issues coverage have eventually helped in increasing the number of editorials on human development issues (Fig. 5.1.13).

The data in Table 5.1.13 and Fig. 5.1.13a further shows the overall picture of the amount of editorial coverage (significance) given to all major content categories' issues during both time periods. The total coverage of 23.95 % given to human development issues still seems inadequate when it comes to comparing with the category B and D issues with 27.05% and 39.20% coverage respectively, particularly against the backdrop of carrying bad human development indicators for the last many years.

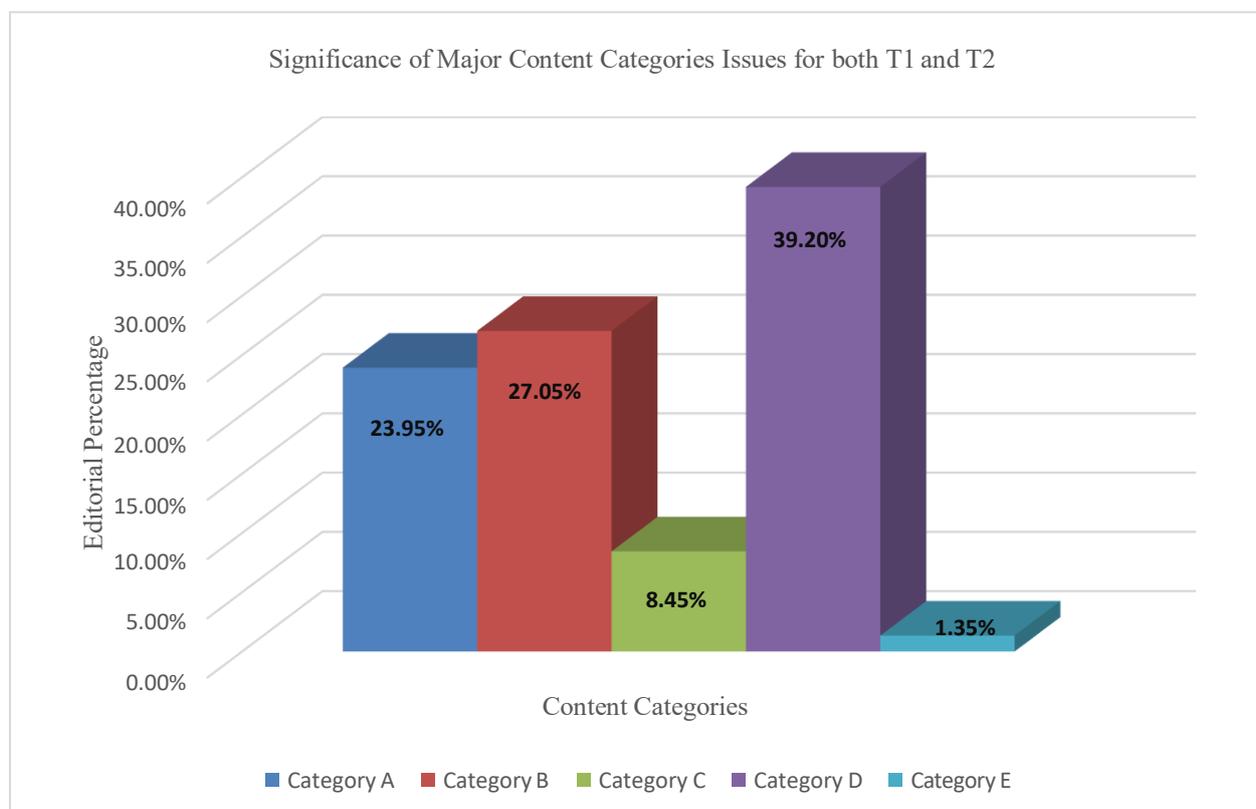


Fig 5.1.13a Comparison between the issues of major content categories for both time periods 1 and 2

5.1.14 Comparison of significance between the issues of major categories A and B during T1

While answering the first contributory question of the main research question 1 [i.e., RQ1(a)¹⁵], Table and figure 5.1.14 data reveals that selected newspapers gave significant priority to *category B issues* over *category A*—by publishing 1,694 (29.7%) and 1,052 (18.4%) editorials for each of the major categories respectively during the first time period. Interestingly, selected newspapers published nearly equal editorials on just one type of category B issues, i.e., *sub-category B1: conflicts with India and Afghanistan* (17.8%)—than all sixteen types of the entire major *category A issues* (18.4%) and far more than the editorials published to advocate individual internal development-related issues including *malnutrition* (0.4%), *poverty* (0.3%), *unemployment* (0.1%) and *population planning* (0.1%) (Fig.5.1.14). Ironically, the least prioritized type of category B issues, i.e., *sub-category B2: external issues* (3.4%) still received more editorial coverage than any of the *category A issues*, even more than the most covered type of category A issues i.e., *energy issues* (3.0%).

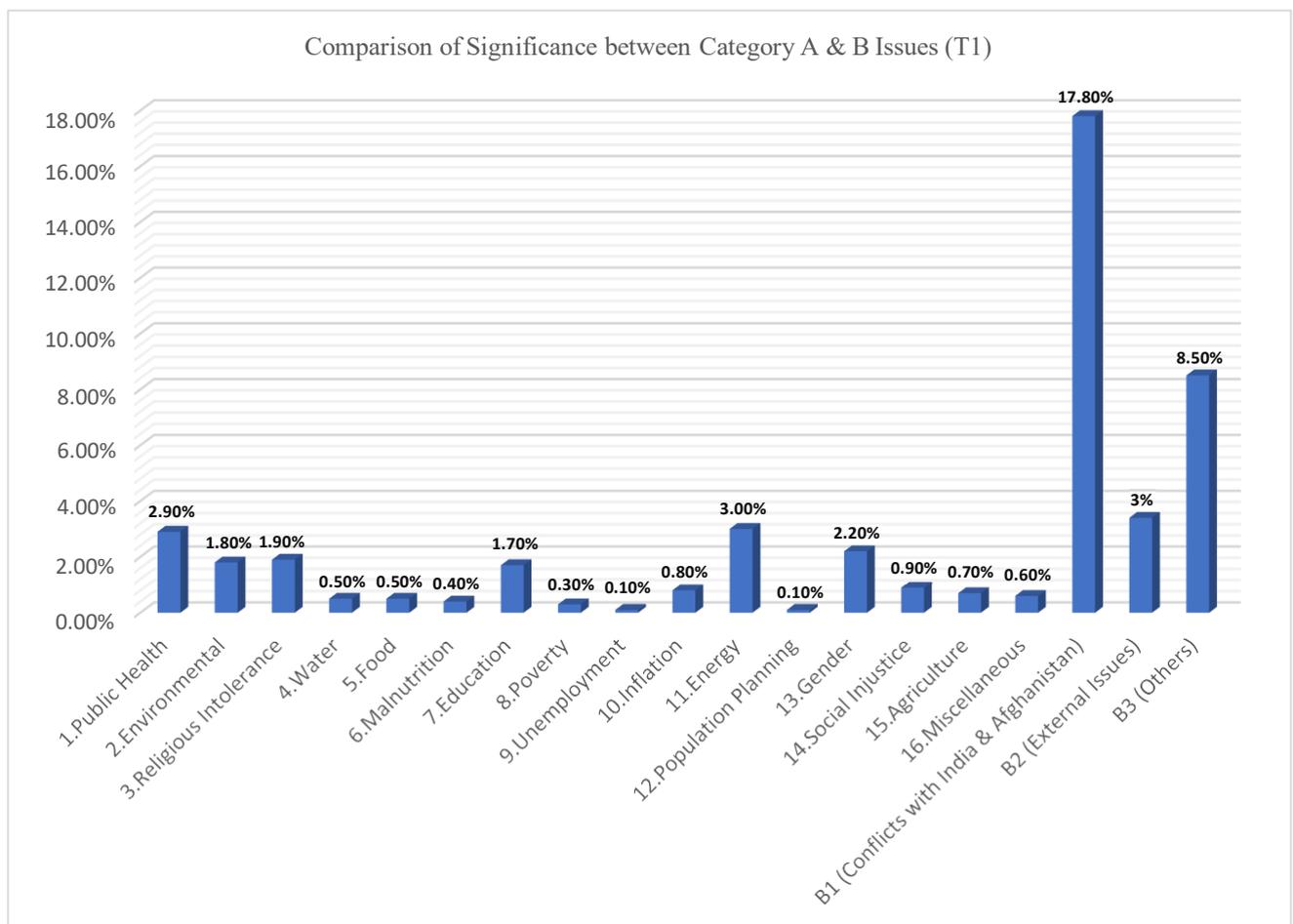


Fig 5.1.14 Comparison between the issues of major content categories A and B for T1

¹⁵ To what extent were external world issues (category B) advocated in editorials compared to the internal development issues (category A) in Pakistan?

Table 5.1.14 Comparison between the issues of major categories A and B for T1 (N=5,712)

Category A Issues (n1=1,052) (18.4%)																Category B Issues (n2=1,694) (29.7%)			
Issue Type	*1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	**1	2	3
Editorials	168	103	106	26	27	23	99	17	08	48	171	07	125	54	37	33	1,017	191	486
Overall %age	2.9	1.8	1.9	0.5	0.5	0.4	1.7	0.3	0.1	0.8	3.0	0.1	2.2	0.9	0.7	0.6	17.8	3.4	8.5

*1, Public health; 2, Environmental; 3, Religious Intolerance; 4, Water; 5, Food Safety; 6, Malnutrition; 7, Education; 8, Poverty; 9, Unemployment; 10, Inflation; 11, Energy; 12, Population; 13, Gender; 14, Social Injustice; 15, Agriculture; 16, Miscellaneous
 **1, Conflicts with India & Afghanistan; 2, External World; 3, Others

5.1.15 Comparison of significance between the issues of major categories A and B during T2

However, the data in Table 5.1.15 shows that, this coverage pattern changed to a greater

Table 5.1.15 Comparison between the issues of major categories A and B for T2 (N=5,741)

Category A Issues (n1=1,696) (29.5%)																Category B Issues (n2=1,396) (24.4%)			
Issue Type	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1	2	3
Editorials	284	160	130	94	32	43	144	53	23	214	161	27	146	87	45	53	754	227	415
Overall %age	4.9	2.8	2.3	1.6	0.6	0.7	2.5	0.9	0.4	3.7	2.8	0.5	2.6	1.5	0.8	0.9	13.2	4.0	7.2

*1, Public health; 2, Environmental; 3, Religious Intolerance; 4, Water; 5, Food Safety; 6, Malnutrition; 7, Education; 8, Poverty; 9, Unemployment; 10, Inflation; 11, Energy; 12, Population; 13, Gender; 14, Social Injustice; 15, Agriculture; 16, Miscellaneous
 **1, Conflicts with India & Afghanistan; 2, External World; 3, Others

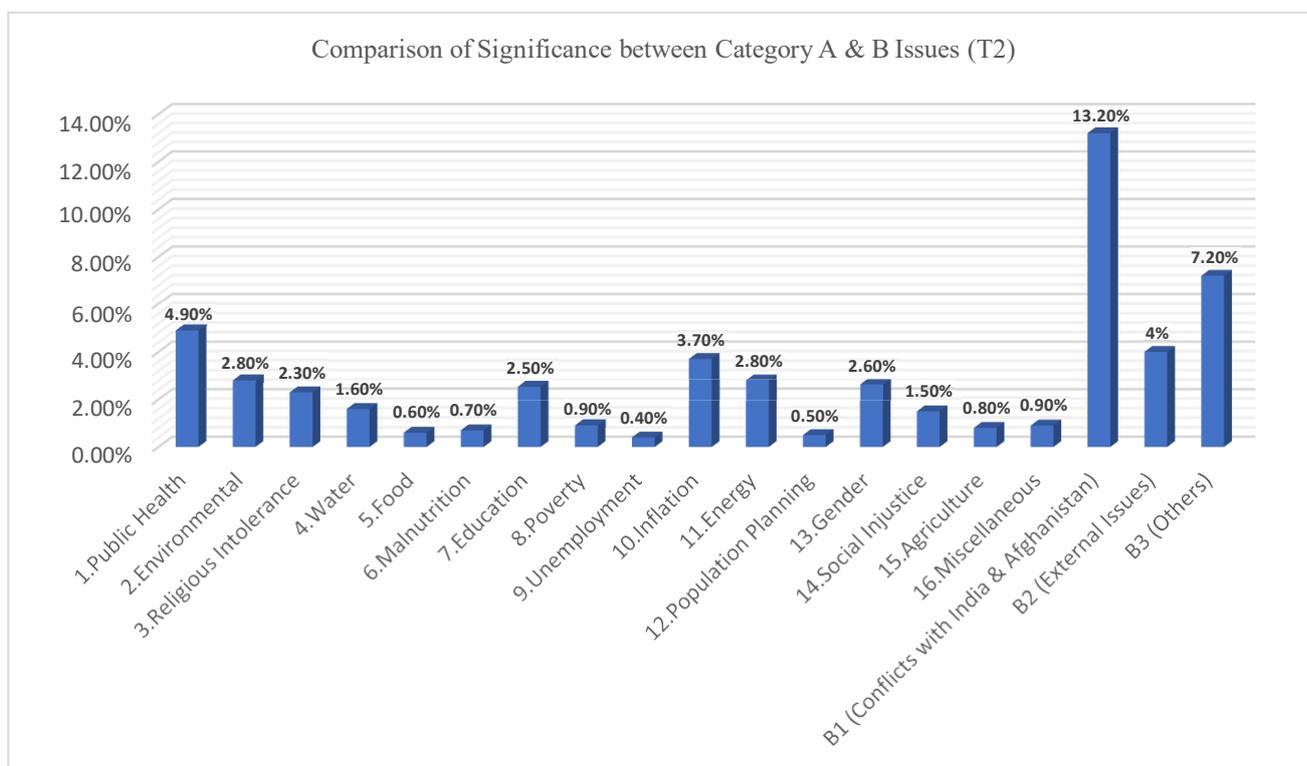


Fig 5.1.15 Comparison between the issues of major content categories A and B for T2

extent during the second time period, when *category A issues* received 11.1% (29.5%-18.4%) more content than the first time period probably due to the fact that a government with an apparent human development agenda came into power in the meanwhile (Malik, 2018; Rashid, 2018). Likewise, category B issues saw a decrease of 5.3% (29.7%-24.4%) compared to the first time period. Particularly, *sub-category B1 issues* (i.e., *conflicts with India and Afghanistan*) received 4.6% (17.8%-13.2%) lesser coverage, probably owing to the relatively peaceful relations with India and Afghanistan during T2. However, this sub-category's issues still received much more coverage than any type of the *category A* sixteen selected issues. Conversely, the least prioritized type of category B issues (i.e., *sub-category B2: external issues*) saw an increase of 0.6% (4.0%- 3.4%) than T1 and still received more editorial coverage than any type of the *category A issues* except *public health issues*, which received 4.9% coverage (Fig. 5.1.15).

5.1.16 Comparison of significance between English and Urdu dailies' categories A & B (T1)

A comparison between English and Urdu language newspapers shows that the former type of dailies gave more 'significance' to *human development issues* than *conflicts with India and Afghanistan* (*subcategory B1 issues*) by publishing 5.8% (19.6%-13.8%) more editorials on *category A issues* during the first time period (Table, Fig. 5.1.16). Contrarily, Urdu newspapers published 4.9% (22.1%-17.2%) more editorials on *subcategory B1 issues* compared to *category A issues*. Interestingly, English language newspapers published almost

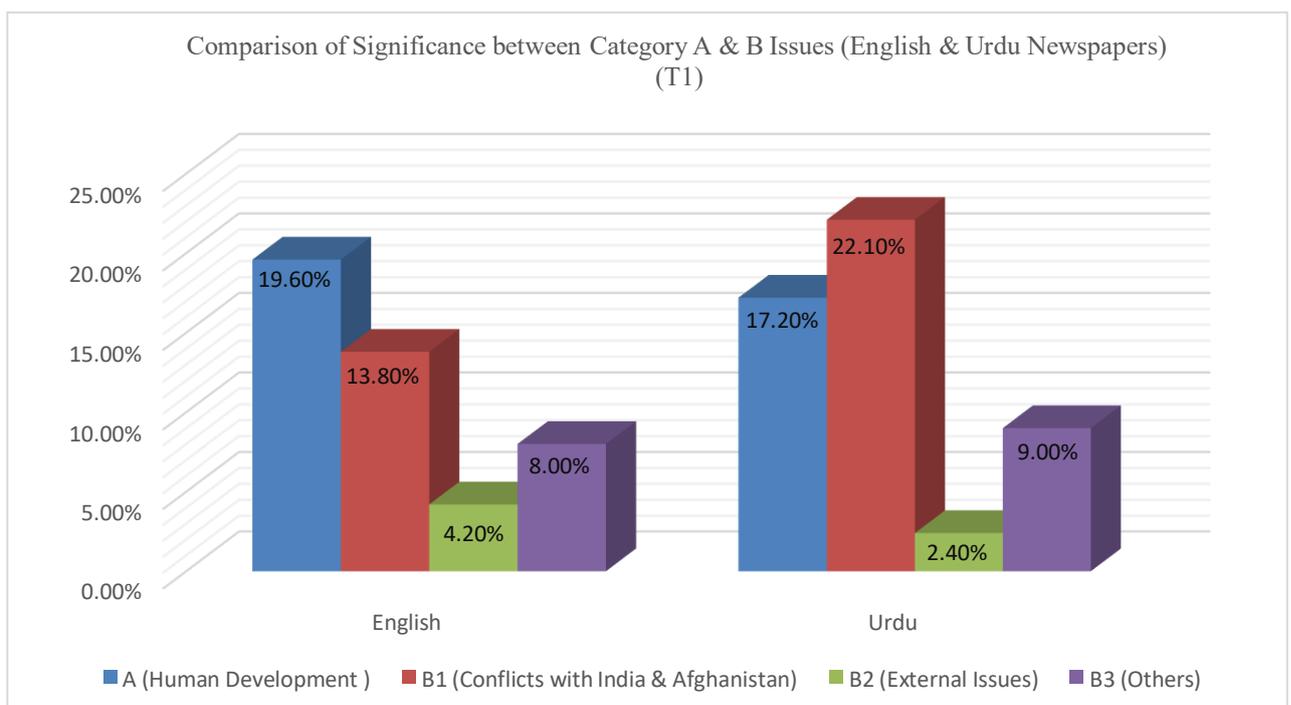


Fig 5.1.16 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers' content categories A & B (T1)

Table 5.1.16 Comparison of significance between English and Urdu newspapers’ categories A & B (T1)

Newspapers	A (Human Development)	B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan)	B2 (External Issues)	B3 (Others)
English (2,927) *	573 (19.6%)	403 (13.8%)	124 (4.2%)	234 (8.0%)
Urdu (2,785)	479 (17.2%)	614 (22.1%)	67 (2.4%)	252 (9.0%)
Total	1,052 (36.8%)	1,017 (35.9%)	191 (6.6%)	486 (17.0%)

twice as many editorials on *subcategory B2 issues* (i.e., 4.2%) than their Urdu competitors that published only 2.4% editorials. Both language newspapers gave nearly equal coverage to *subcategory B3 issues* by publishing 8% and 9% editorials respectively.

5.1.17 Comparison of significance between English and Urdu dailies’ categories A & B (T2)

The data in Table 5.1.17 indicates that, like T1, the prioritization coverage pattern by English language newspapers remained almost unchanged during the second time period as well, when *category A issues* were given 17.6% (29.7%-12.1%) more ‘significance’ than the

Table 5.1.17 Comparison of significance between English and Urdu newspapers’ categories A & B (T2)

Newspapers	A (Human Development)	B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan)	B2 (External Issues)	B3 (Others)
English (2,904) *	863 (29.7%)	350 (12.1%)	117 (4.1%)	193 (6.6%)
Urdu (2,837)	833 (29.4%)	404 (14.2%)	110 (3.9%)	222 (7.8%)
Total	1,696 (59.1%)	754 (26.3%)	227 (8.0%)	415 (14.4%)

*Total Editorials

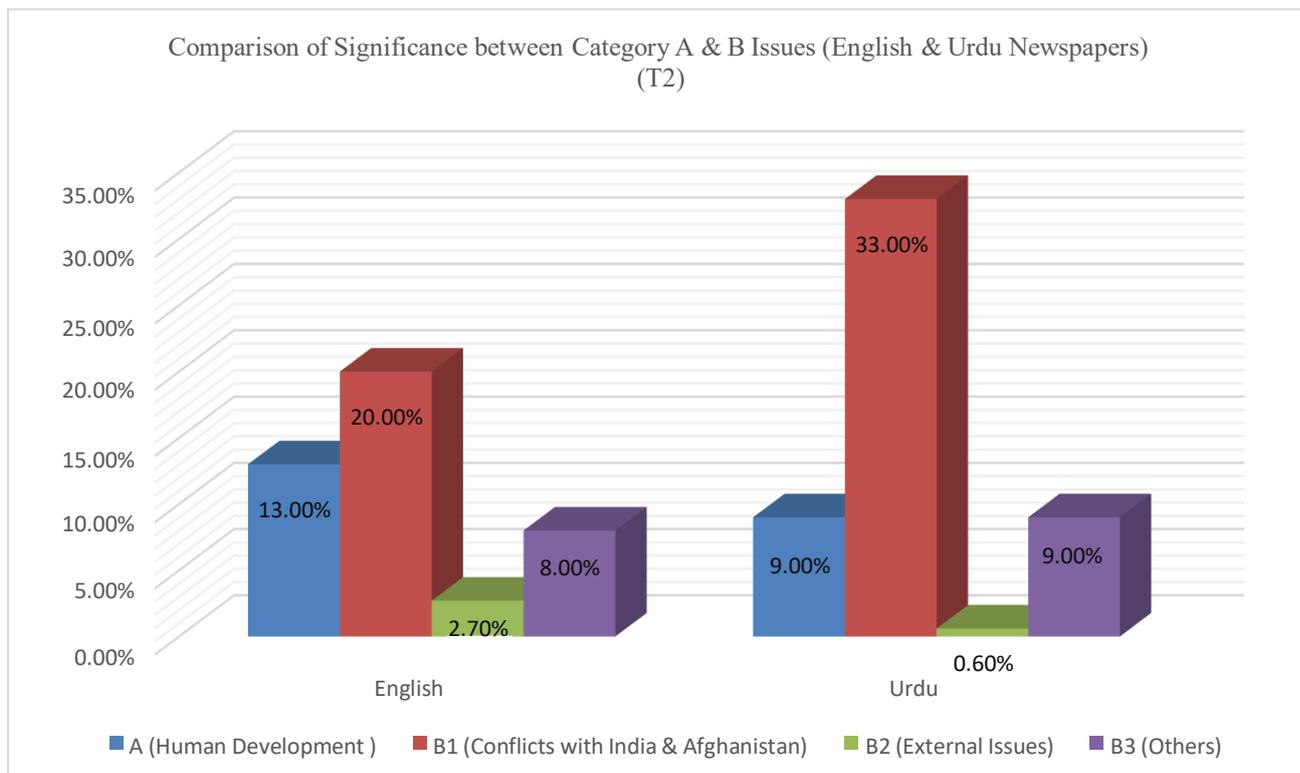


Fig 5.1.17 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers’ content categories A & B (T2)

subcategory B1 issues, even three times higher than the first time period (e.g., 17.6%-5.8%). Interestingly, unlike T1, Urdu language newspapers significantly increased covering *category A issues* than the *subcategory B1 issues* by publishing 15.2% (29.4%-14.2%) more editorials on human development issues during T2. Similarly, like T1, *subcategory B2 issues* were again covered more by English dailies compared to their Urdu counterparts during T2, however this time the coverage difference was almost negligible i.e., 0.2% (4.1%-3.91%).

5.1.18 Comparison of significance among English newspapers' categories A & B (T1)

A comparison among English language newspapers in terms of how much 'significance' each of them gave to categories A and B issues shows that though all selected dailies provided more coverage to *human development issues (category A)* than *conflicts with India and*

Table 5.1.18 Comparison of content categories A & B among English newspapers (T1) (N=2,927)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Dawn</i> (1,077)**	206 (19.13%)	132 (12.26%)	54 (5.01%)	78 (7.24%)
<i>The Nation</i> (1,077)	218 (20.24%)	165 (15.32%)	27 (2.51%)	92 (8.54%)
<i>The News</i> (773)	149 (19.27%)	106 (13.71%)	43 (5.56%)	64 (8.28%)
Total (Mean)	573 (19.56%)	403 (13.76%)	124 (4.36%)	234 (8.02%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others); **Total Editorials

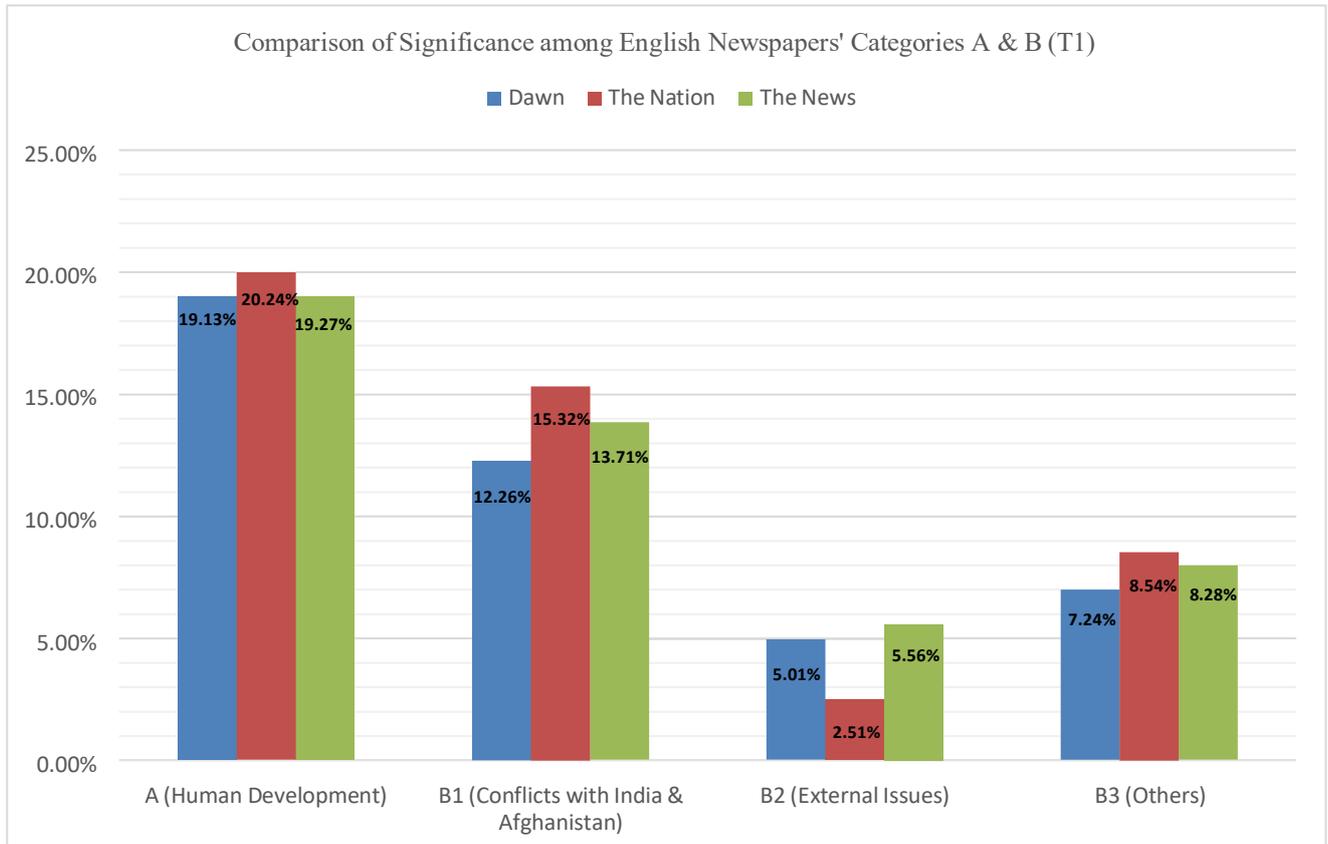


Fig 5.1.18 Comparison of content categories A and B among English newspapers (T1) (N=2,927)

Afghanistan (subcategory B1), *The Nation* published highest number of editorials on *subcategory B1 issues* (i.e., 15.32%); followed by *The News* with 13.71% and *Dawn* with 12.26% editorials during the first time period. Interestingly, both *The News* and *Dawn* gave more than two times higher coverage to *subcategory B2 (External issues)* by publishing 5.56% and 5.01% editorials than *The Nation* with 2.51% editorials only (Table, Fig. 5.1.18).

5.1.19 Comparison of significance among English newspapers' categories A & B (T2)

The data in Table 5.1.19 reveals that this coverage pattern by English language newspapers remained unchanged during the second time period as well. For instance, like T1, all selected newspapers preferred to publish more editorials on *category A issues* than on *subcategory B1 issues*. Likewise, *The Nation* carried on publishing the highest number of editorials on *conflicts with India and Afghanistan* (i.e., 13.11%) compared to *The News* and *Dawn* with 12.42% and 10.74% editorials respectively. Similarly, *The News* and *Dawn* continued to cover more *external issues (subcategory B2)* by publishing 5.23% and 4.20% editorials respectively than *The Nation* with only 2.99% content on the said issues (Fig. 5.1.19). This more inward-looking coverage pattern (i.e., giving more coverage to *conflicts with India and*

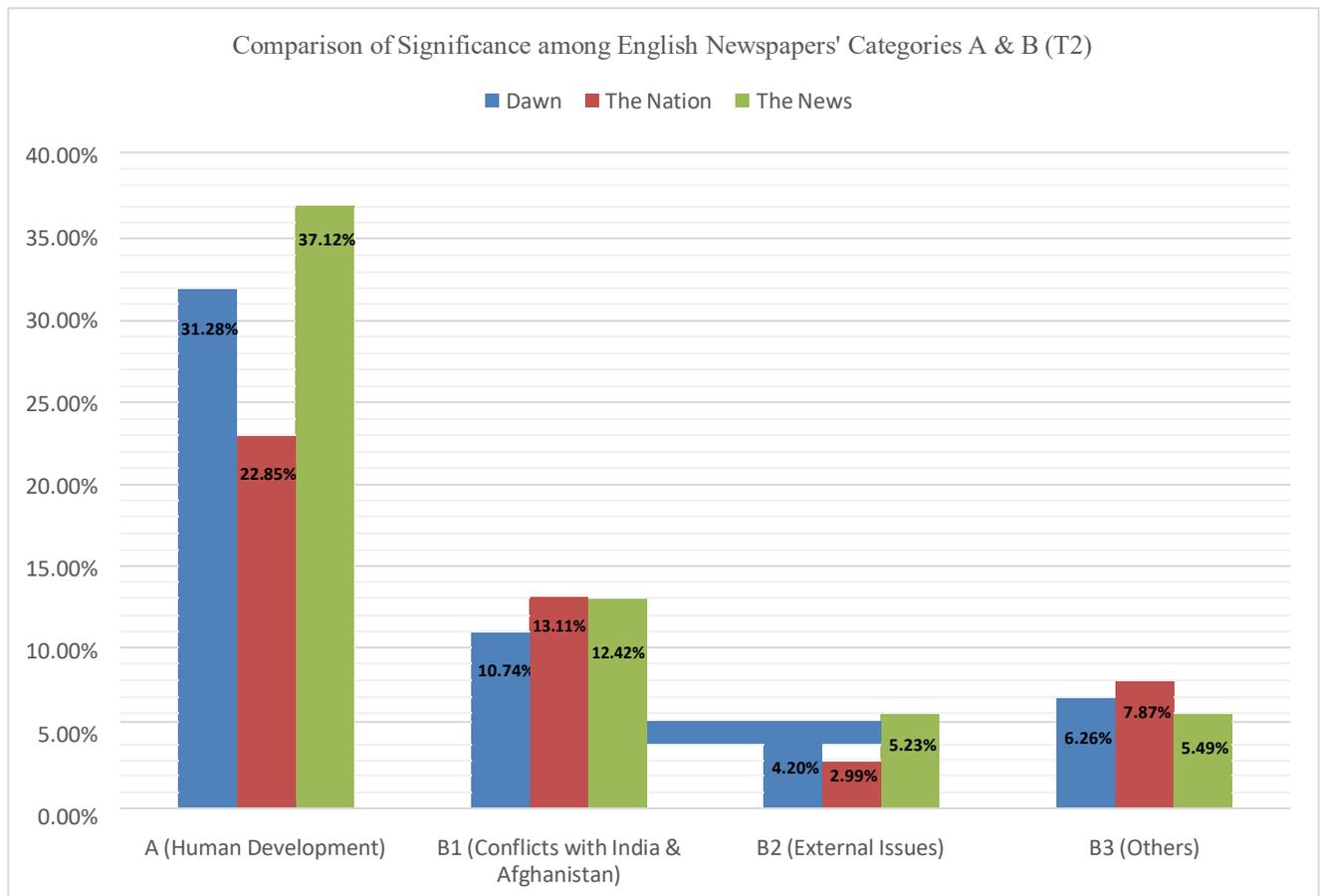


Fig 5.1.19 Comparison of content categories A and B among English newspapers (T2) (N=2,904)

Table 5.1.19 Comparison of content categories A & B among English newspapers (T2) (N=2,904)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Dawn</i> (1,071)**	335 (31.28%)	115 (10.74%)	45 (4.20%)	67 (6.26%)
<i>The Nation</i> (1,068)	244 (22.85%)	140 (13.11%)	32 (2.99%)	84 (7.87%)
<i>The News</i> (765)	284 (37.12%)	95 (12.42%)	40 (5.23%)	42 (5.49%)
Total (Mean)	863 (30.41%)	350 (12.09%)	117 (4.14%)	193 (6.54%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others); **Total Editorials

Afghanistan and less coverage to *external world issues*) by *The Nation* (a subsidiary of Nawa-i-Waqt Media Group) is understandable owing to its owners' policies towards promoting the ideology of Pakistan (Gilani, 2010) and 'two nation theory' (Wasim, 2020). Moreover, it seems as *The News* (also called The News International) and *Dawn* preferred to gratify the needs of their diverse readers (both global and Pakistani diaspora) by publishing more editorials on *external world issues*.

5.1.20 Comparison of significance among Urdu newspapers' categories A & B (T1)

A comparison among Urdu newspapers regarding how much significance each of them had given to categories A and B issues during T1 shows such trends that seem somewhat opposite to English language newspapers (Table, Fig. 5.1.20). For instance, all selected dailies preferred to publish more editorials on *conflicts with India and Afghanistan* (subcategory B1) compared to *human development issues* (category A). Interestingly, except *daily Express* that

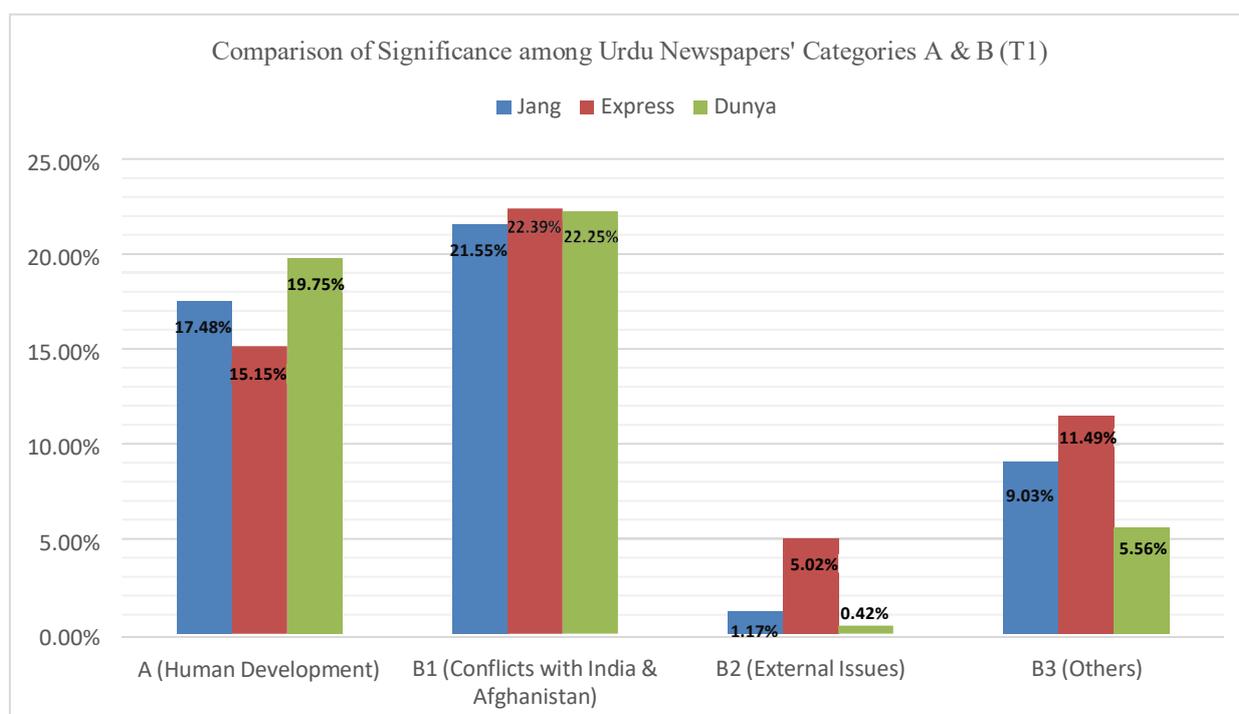


Fig 5.1.20 Comparison of content categories A and B among Urdu newspapers (T1) (N=2,785)

Table 5.1.20 Comparison of content categories A and B among Urdu newspapers (T1) (N=2,785)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Jang</i> (1,030)**	180 (17.48%)	222 (21.55%)	12 (1.17%)	93 (9.03%)
<i>Express</i> (1,036)	157 (15.15%)	232 (22.39%)	52 (5.02%)	119 (11.49%)
<i>Dunya</i> (719)	142 (19.75%)	160 (22.25%)	03 (0.42%)	40 (5.56%)
Total (Mean)	479 (17.46%)	614 (22.06%)	67 (2.20%)	252 (8.69%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others); **Total Editorials

published 5.02% content on *external issues*, *The Daily Jang* and *Dunya* almost ignored to cover this subcategory issues by publishing only 1.17% 0.42% editorials.

5.1.21 Comparison of significance among Urdu newspapers' categories A & B (T2)

However, this coverage pattern was changed a bit during the second time period. For instance, owing to the fact that a pro-human development agenda party got into power and tensions along the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and between Pakistan and India were reduced during the second time period, the data in Table, Fig. 5.1.21 shows that all selected Urdu newspapers resumed to give tangibly more coverage to *category A issues* than *subcategory B1 issues* accordingly. Interestingly, during both T1 and T2, daily *Express*

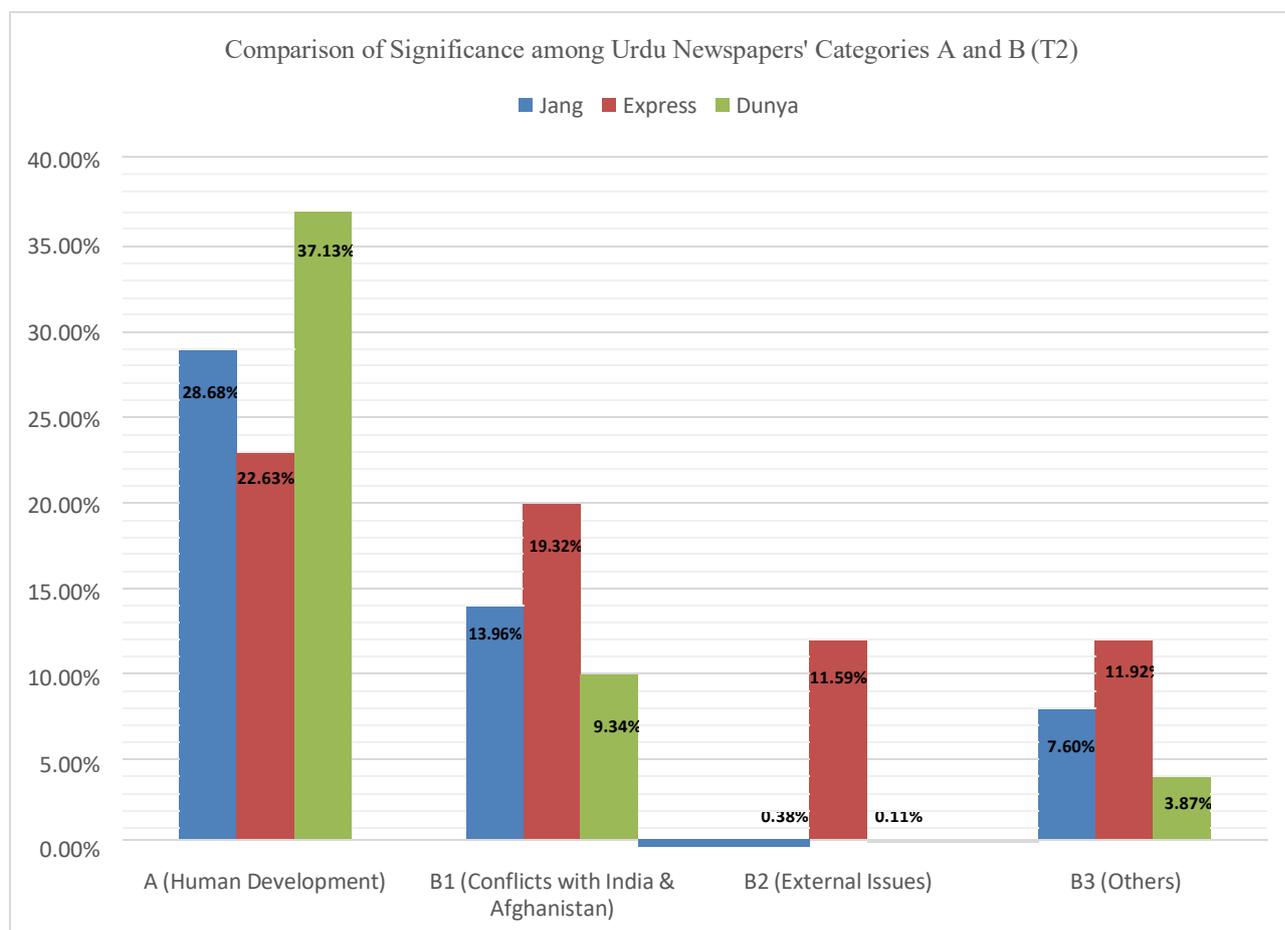


Fig 5.1.21 Comparison of content categories A and B among Urdu newspapers (T2) (N=2,837)

Table 5.1.21 Comparison of content categories A and B among Urdu newspapers (T2) (N=2,837)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Jang</i> (1,053)**	302 (28.68%)	147 (13.96%)	04 (0.38%)	80 (7.60%)
<i>Express</i> (906)	205 (22.63%)	175 (19.32%)	105 (11.59%)	108 (11.92%)
<i>Dunya</i> (878)	326 (37.13%)	82 (09.34%)	01 (0.11%)	34 (3.87%)
Total (Mean)	833 (29.48%)	404 (14.21%)	110 (4.03%)	222 (7.80%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others); **Total Editorials

comparatively gave more coverage to *subcategory B1* issues by publishing 22.39% and 19.32% editorials respectively. Likewise, like T1, daily *Dunya* and *The Daily Jang* almost ignored to cover *subcategory B2* issues with 0.11% and 0.38% editorials respectively than daily *Express* that had increased its coverage of such issues more than twofold i.e., 6.57 (11.59%-5.02%).

5.2 Measurement of Prominence (Section Two)

5.2.1 Prominence of the editorial contents published on all major categories' issues (T1)

After measuring the extent of 'significance' given to different major content categories issues, 'prominence' aspect of editorial coverage was also examined. As stated before, prominence was calculated by comparing the percentage of 'main editorials/leaders' as against the 'editorial notes' published on an issue; and accordingly, the higher an issue was advocated via 'main editorials/leaders', the more prominent considered it was. In this connection, data reveals that during T1, the highest prominence was given to security operations issues (category C) in terms of granting the highest mean *main editorials/leaders* percentage i.e., 52%; followed by international relations and issues (category B), which received 48.0%; then state and political parties' policy issues (category D) with 35.2%; and lastly, the least 'prominence' was accorded to human development issues (category A) with 23.3% mean *main editorials/leaders* percentage (Table, Fig. 5.2.1). The 'prominence' given to category B and category C issues is logically comprehensible because during the first time period, a number of security operations were in full swing in different parts of the country and relations with India and Afghanistan were under immense strain. However, despite the launch of SDGs in 2015 and even with dismal growth in HDI value for the country over the last five years, the least prominence given to human development issues seem unintelligible.

Table 5.2.1 Comparison of prominence among the issues of major content categories for T1 (N=5,712)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Jang	TE*	180	327	123	388	12	1,030
	ME (%)**	37 (21%)	137 (42%)	48 (39%)	132 (34%)	00 (00%)	354 (34%)
	EN (%)***	143 (79%)	190 (58%)	75 (61%)	256 (66%)	12 (100%)	676 (66%)
Express	TE	157	403	138	311	27	1,036
	ME (%)	32 (20%)	182 (45%)	71 (51%)	75 (24%)	00 (00%)	360 (35%)
	EN (%)	125 (80%)	221 (55%)	67 (49%)	236 (76%)	27 (100%)	676 (65%)
Dunya	TE	142	203	111	255	08	719
	ME (%)	31 (22%)	133 (65%)	85 (77%)	111 (44%)	00 (00%)	360 (50%)
	EN (%)	111 (78%)	70 (35%)	26 (23%)	144 (56%)	08 (100%)	359 (50%)
Dawn	TE	206	264	124	468	15	1,077
	ME (%)	35 (17%)	120 (45%)	65 (52%)	140 (30%)	00 (00%)	360 (33%)
	EN (%)	171 (83%)	144 (55%)	59 (48%)	328 (70%)	15 (100%)	717 (67%)
The Nation	TE	218	284	112	450	13	1,077
	ME (%)	57 (26%)	105 (37%)	47 (42%)	150 (33%)	01 (08%)	360 (33%)
	EN (%)	161 (74%)	179 (63%)	65 (58%)	300 (67%)	12 (92%)	717 (71%)
The News	TE	149	213	101	295	15	773
	ME (%)	50 (34%)	114 (54%)	52 (51%)	137 (46%)	05 (33%)	358 (46%)
	EN (%)	99 (66%)	99 (46%)	49 (49%)	158 (54%)	10 (67%)	415 (54%)
Mean ME (%)		23.3 %	48.0%	52.0%	35.2%	6.7%	38.5%

*Total Editorials, **Main Editorials (percentage), *** Editorials Notes (percentage)

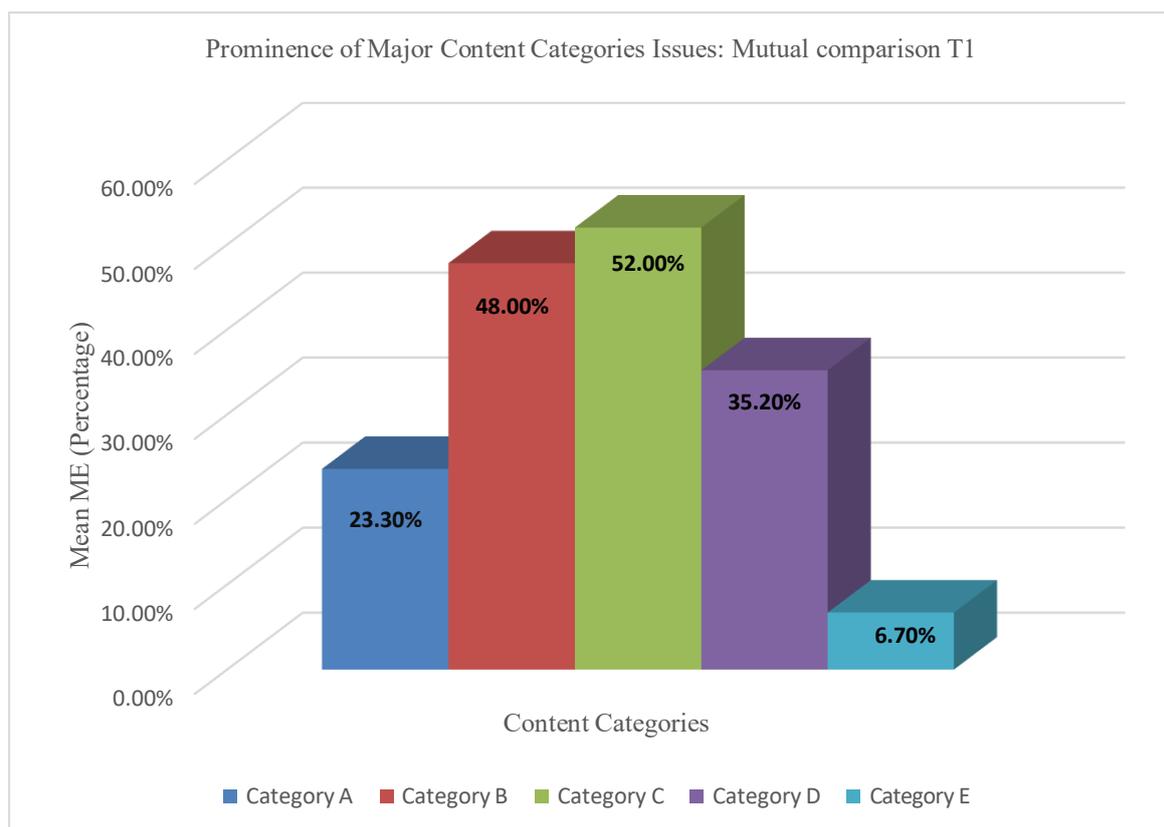


Figure 5.2.1 Comparison among the issues of major content categories in all selected newspapers (T1)

5.2.2 Comparison of prominence between English and Urdu dailies' content categories (T1)

A comparison of English and Urdu language newspapers shows somehow similar trends as were in the case of 'significance' aspect of the editorial coverage, for instance, the former type of newspapers gave more prominence to human development issues by publishing 4% (i.e., 25%-21%) more *main editorials/leaders* than the later ones (Table, Fig. 5.2.2). In the same way, category B and category C issues were more prominently advocated by Urdu newspapers compared to their English language competitors by publishing 3% and 6% more *main editorials/leaders* respectively on both categories' issues. Data further reveals that—like the 'significance' aspect of editorial coverage (see Table, Fig 5.1.1)—English newspapers gave more prominence to country's internal issues (both category A and category

Table 5.2.2 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers' content categories for T1

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
English	TE*	573	761	337	1,213	43	2,927
	ME (%)**	142 (25%)	339 (45%)	164 (49%)	427 (35%)	06 (14%)	1,078 (37%)
	EN (%)***	431 (75%)	422 (55%)	173 (51%)	786 (65%)	37 (86%)	1,849 (63%)
Urdu	TE	479	933	372	954	47	2,785
	ME (%)	100 (21%)	452 (48%)	204 (55%)	318 (33%)	00 (00%)	1,074 (39%)
	EN (%)	379 (79%)	481 (52%)	168 (45%)	636 (66%)	47 (100%)	1,711 (61%)

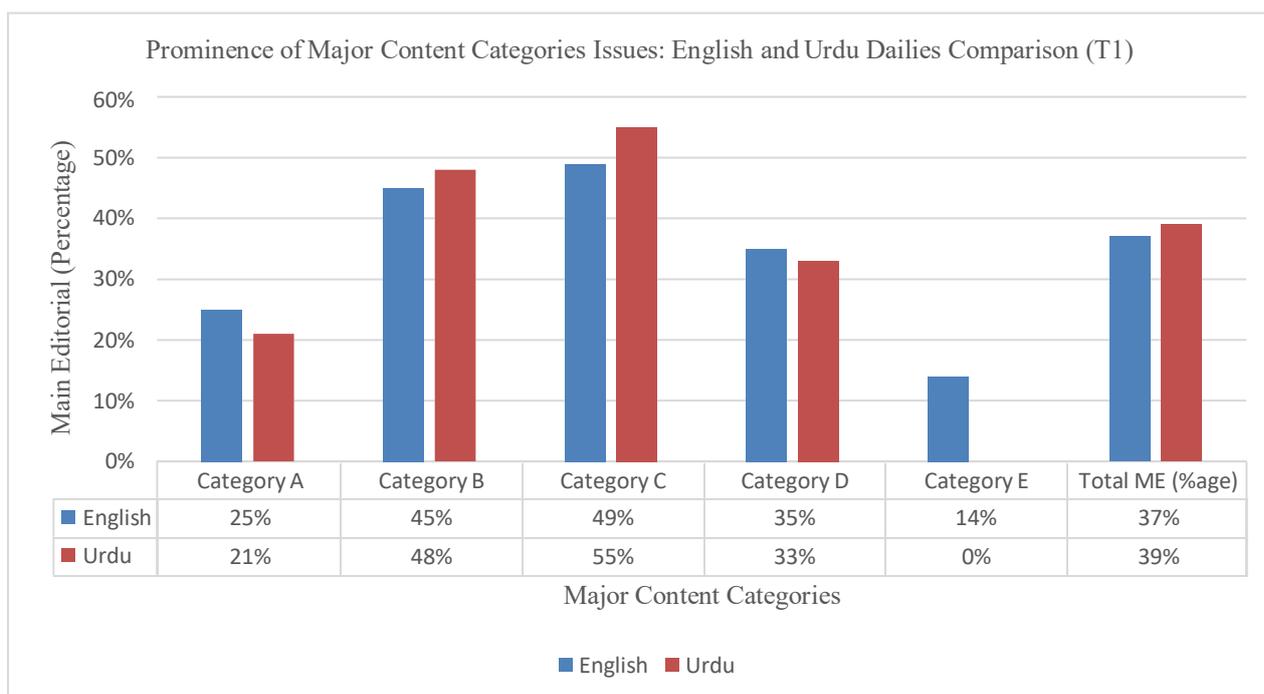


Figure 5.2.2 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories issues (T1)

D issues) than the Urdu language newspapers, in terms of publishing more *main editorials/leaders* than the *editorial notes* during T1.

5.2.3 Comparison of prominence among selected English dailies' content categories (T1)

It is noteworthy to mention here that an equal number of *main editorials/leaders* were published by all selected English and Urdu newspapers (i.e., 360¹⁶) on major content categories issues during T1. Data (Table, Fig. 5.2.3) reveals that among selected English dailies, *The News* gave the highest prominence to category (A) issues by publishing 34%

Table 5.2.3 Comparison of prominence among selected English dailies (T1)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Dawn	TE	206	264	124	468	15	1,077
	ME (%)	35 (17%)	120 (45%)	65 (52%)	140 (30%)	00 (00%)	360 (33%)
	EN (%)	171 (83%)	144 (55%)	59 (48%)	328 (70%)	15 (100%)	717 (67%)
The Nation	TE	218	284	112	450	13	1,077
	ME (%)	57 (26%)	105 (37%)	47 (42%)	150 (33%)	01 (08%)	360 (33%)
	EN (%)	161 (74%)	179 (63%)	65 (58%)	300 (67%)	12 (92%)	717 (67%)
The News	TE	149	213	101	295	15	773
	ME (%)	50 (34%)	114 (54%)	52 (51%)	137 (46%)	05 (33%)	358 (46%)
	EN (%)	99 (66%)	99 (46%)	49 (49%)	158 (54%)	10 (67%)	415 (54%)

¹⁶ The News and The Daily Jang also published 360 main editorials/leaders during T1, however few of them were not available on their official online webpages.

main editorials/leaders, followed by *The Nation* that published 26%, whereas *Dawn* accorded the least prominence by publishing just 17% *main editorials/leaders*. Data further shows that selected English dailies gave much higher prominence to all other three categories issues (For instance, daily *Dawn* published 45%, 52% and 30% *main editorials/leaders* on categories B, C and D issues) compared to human development category (A) issues.

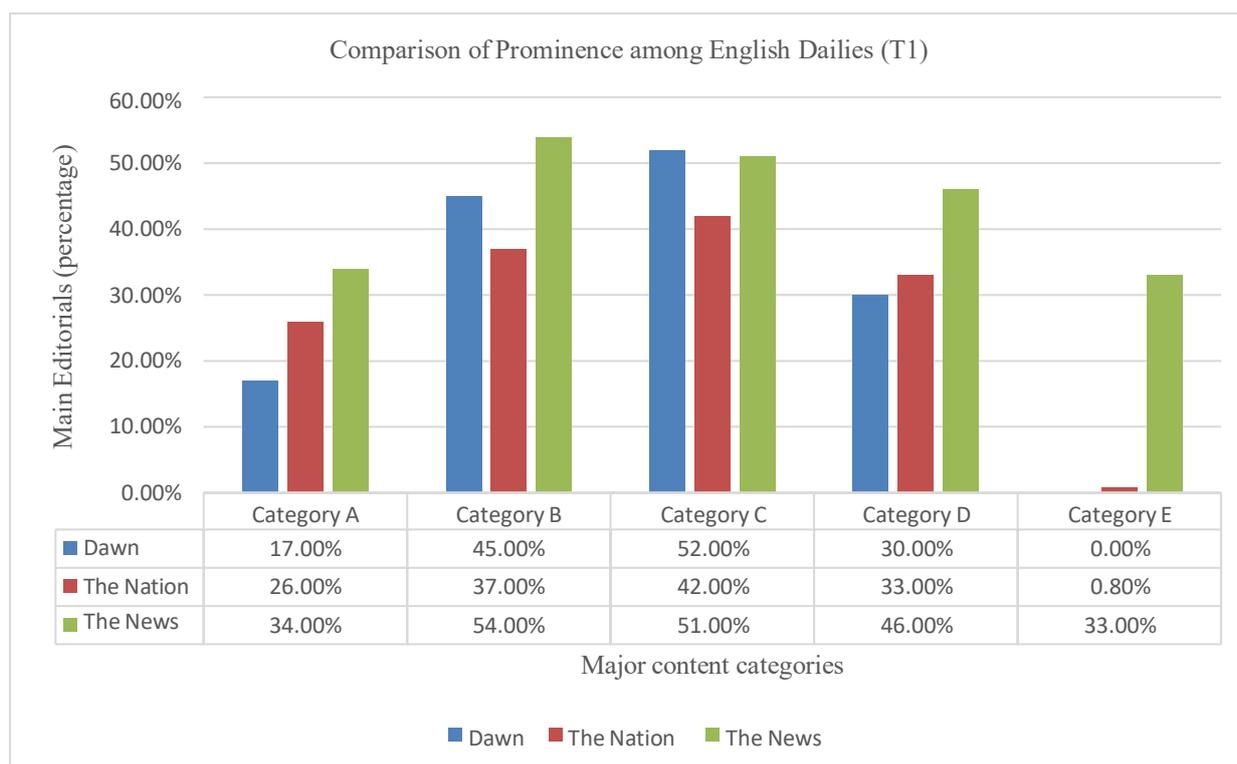


Figure 5.2.3 Comparison among English language newspapers in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories issues (T1)

5.2.4 Comparison of prominence among selected Urdu dailies' content categories (T1)

The same situation persists in the case of selected Urdu newspapers. In this regard, data (Table, Fig. 5.2.4) shows that all three dailies published a much higher number of *main editorials/leaders* on categories B, C and D issues compared to category A issues (For instance, *The Daily Jang* published 42%, 39% and 34% *main editorials/leaders* on categories B, C and D issues respectively, compared to category A issues that received a mere 21% *main editorials/leaders* during the same time period T1). Data further reveals that unlike English newspapers, all selected Urdu dailies gave nearly equal prominence to human development issues, for instance *Daily Dunya* published 22%, *The Daily Jang* published 21% and *Daily Express* published 20% *main editorials/leaders* on category (A) issues.

Table 5.2.4 Comparison of prominence among selected Urdu dailies (T1)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Jang	TE*	180	327	123	388	12	1,030
	ME (%)**	37 (21%)	137 (42%)	48 (39%)	132 (34%)	00 (00%)	354 (34%)
	EN (%)***	143 (79%)	190 (58%)	75 (61%)	256 (66%)	12 (100%)	676 (66%)
Express	TE	157	403	138	311	27	1,036
	ME (%)	32 (20%)	182 (45%)	71 (51%)	75 (24%)	00 (00%)	360 (35%)
	EN (%)	125 (80%)	221 (55%)	67 (49%)	236 (76%)	27 (100%)	676 (65%)
Dunya	TE	142	203	111	255	08	719
	ME (%)	31 (22%)	133 (65%)	85 (77%)	111 (44%)	00 (00%)	360 (50%)
	EN (%)	111 (78%)	70 (35%)	26 (23%)	144 (56%)	08 (100%)	359 (50%)

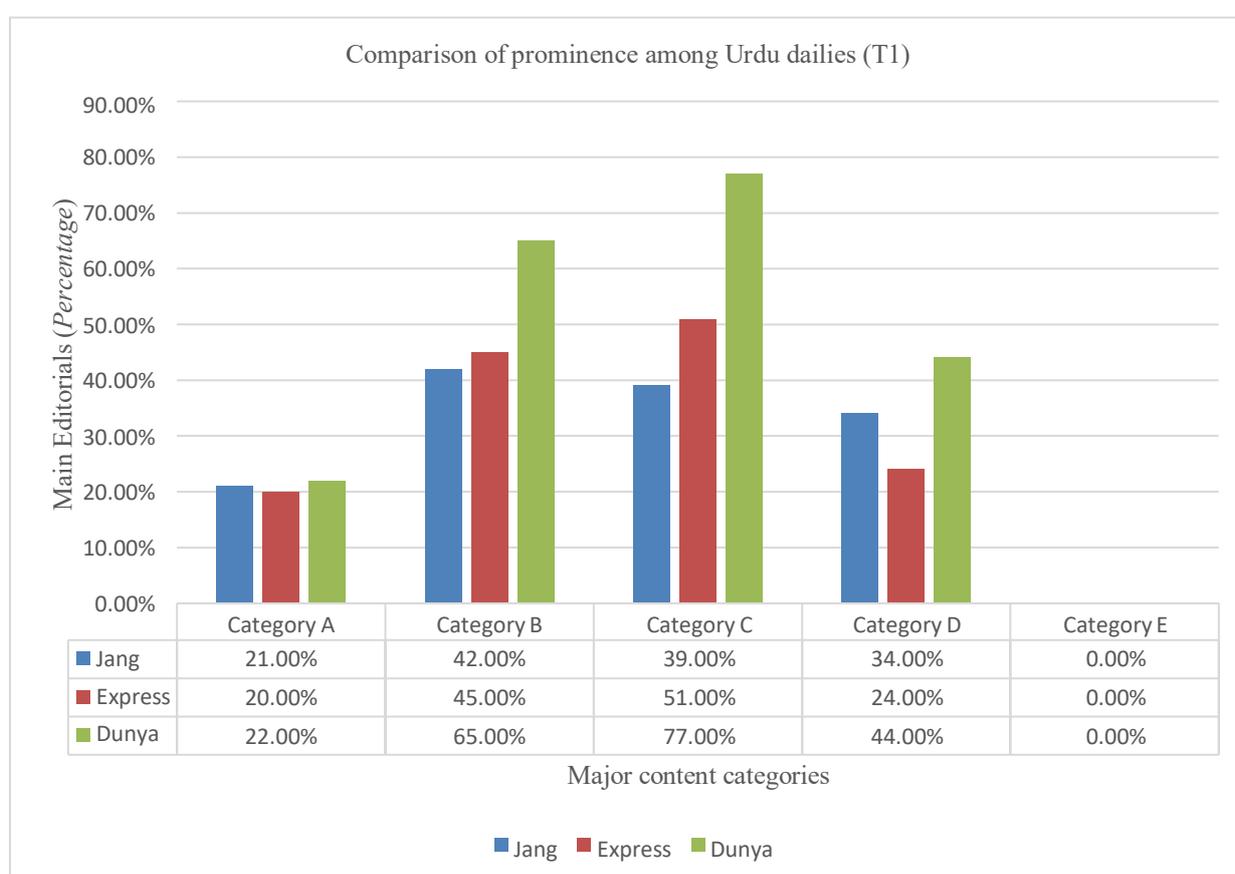


Figure 5.2.4 Comparison among Urdu language newspapers in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories issues (T1)

5.2.5 Prominence of the editorial contents published on all major categories’ issues (T2)

A measure of ‘prominence’ during the second time period reveals that unlike the rising ‘significance’ trend during T2 (see Table, Fig. 5.1.3), human development issues (category A) maintained to receive the least prominence (28%), as against the categories B, C and D issues, which received 50.3%, 46.3% and 40.6% mean *main editorial/leader* coverage

respectively (Table, Fig. 5.2.5). It further implies that though editorial writers enhanced the number of editorials on category A issues (i.e., enhanced to give them more ‘significance’) compared to other categories issues from T1 to T2, but they had not yet increased to cover the

Table 5.2.5 Comparison of prominence among the issues of major content categories for T2 (N=5,741)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Jang	TE*	302	231	44	466	10	1,053
	ME (%)**	53 (18%)	132 (57%)	08 (18%)	163 (35%)	01 (10%)	357 (34%)
	EN (%)***	249 (82%)	99 (43%)	36 (82%)	303 (65%)	09 (90%)	696 (66%)
Express	TE	205	388	57	236	20	906
	ME (%)	67 (33%)	144 (37%)	30 (53%)	114 (48%)	02 (10%)	357 (39%)
	EN (%)	138 (67%)	244 (63%)	27 (47%)	122 (52%)	18 (90%)	549 (61%)
Dunya	TE	326	117	23	406	06	878
	ME (%)	78 (24%)	81 (69%)	14 (61%)	181 (45%)	03 (50%)	357 (41%)
	EN (%)	248 (76%)	36 (31%)	09 (39%)	225 (55%)	03 (50%)	359 (59%)
Dawn	TE	335	227	64	433	12	1,071
	ME (%)	76 (23%)	105 (46%)	26 (41%)	150 (35%)	00 (00%)	357 (33%)
	EN (%)	259 (77%)	122 (54%)	38 (59%)	283 (65%)	12 (100%)	714 (67%)
The Nation	TE	244	256	40	521	07	1,068
	ME (%)	81 (33%)	94 (37%)	19 (47%)	161 (31%)	01 (14%)	356 (33%)
	EN (%)	163 (67%)	162 (63%)	21 (53%)	360 (69%)	06 (86%)	712 (67%)
The News	TE	284	177	31	264	09	765
	ME (%)	104 (37%)	100 (56%)	18 (58%)	132 (50%)	03 (33%)	357 (47%)
	EN (%)	180 (63%)	77 (44%)	13 (42%)	132 (50%)	06 (67%)	408 (53%)
Mean ME (%)		28 %	50.3%	46.3%	40.6%	19.5%	37.8%

*Total Editorials, **Main Editorials (percentage), *** Editorials Notes (percentage)

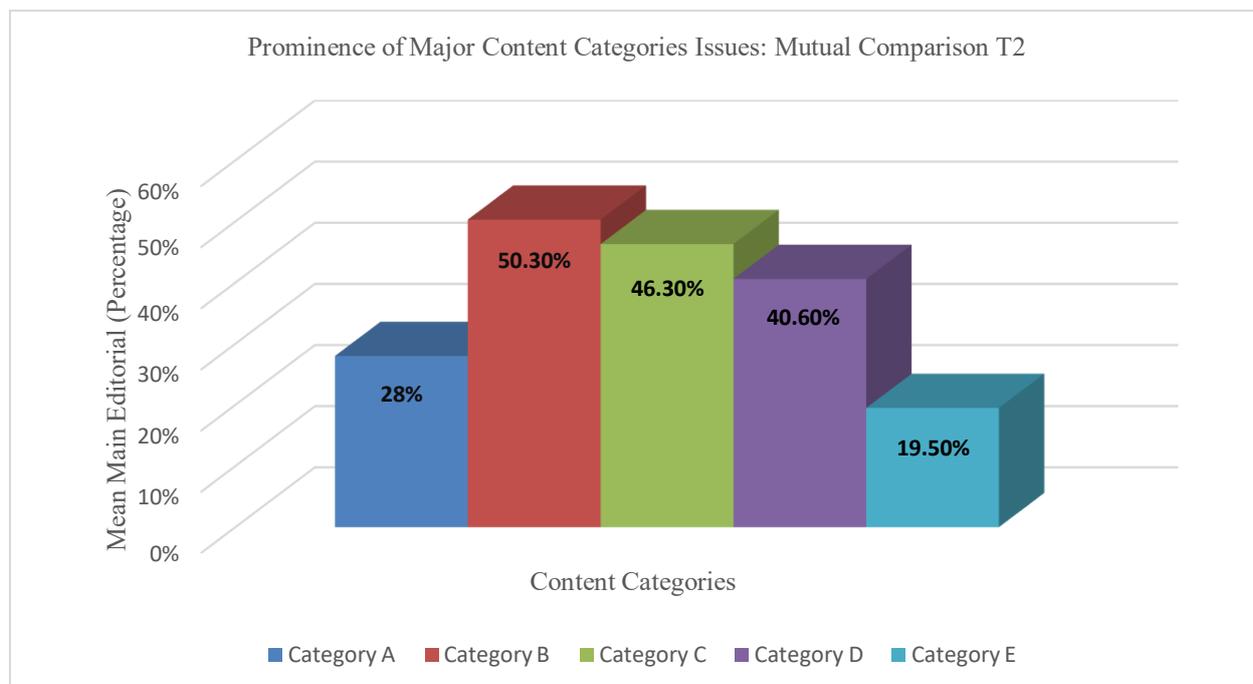


Figure 5.2.5 Comparison between the issues of major content categories in all selected newspapers (T2)

human development issues in main editorials/leaders compared to other categories issues. In simple words, non-human development categories issues (i.e., B, C and D) continued to receive more ‘prominence’ even in second time period compared to human development category (A) issues.

5.2.6 Comparison of prominence between English and Urdu dailies’ content categories (T2)

A comparison of prominence between English and Urdu newspapers during T2 testifies the previously explored trends, for instance, the former type of newspapers gave more prominence to human development issues compared to latter type, by publishing 30% and 24% *main editorials/leaders* respectively. Similarly, Urdu newspapers, as previously noted during T1, published more *main editorials/leaders* on category B issues (48%) compared to their English competitors that gave 45% coverage to such issues in *main editorials/leaders*. However, unlike T1, during T2 Urdu newspapers gave a slightly higher prominence to category D issues (41%) as against their English counterparts, which covered 36% such issues in *main editorials/leaders*. On the whole, English newspapers dedicated more *main*

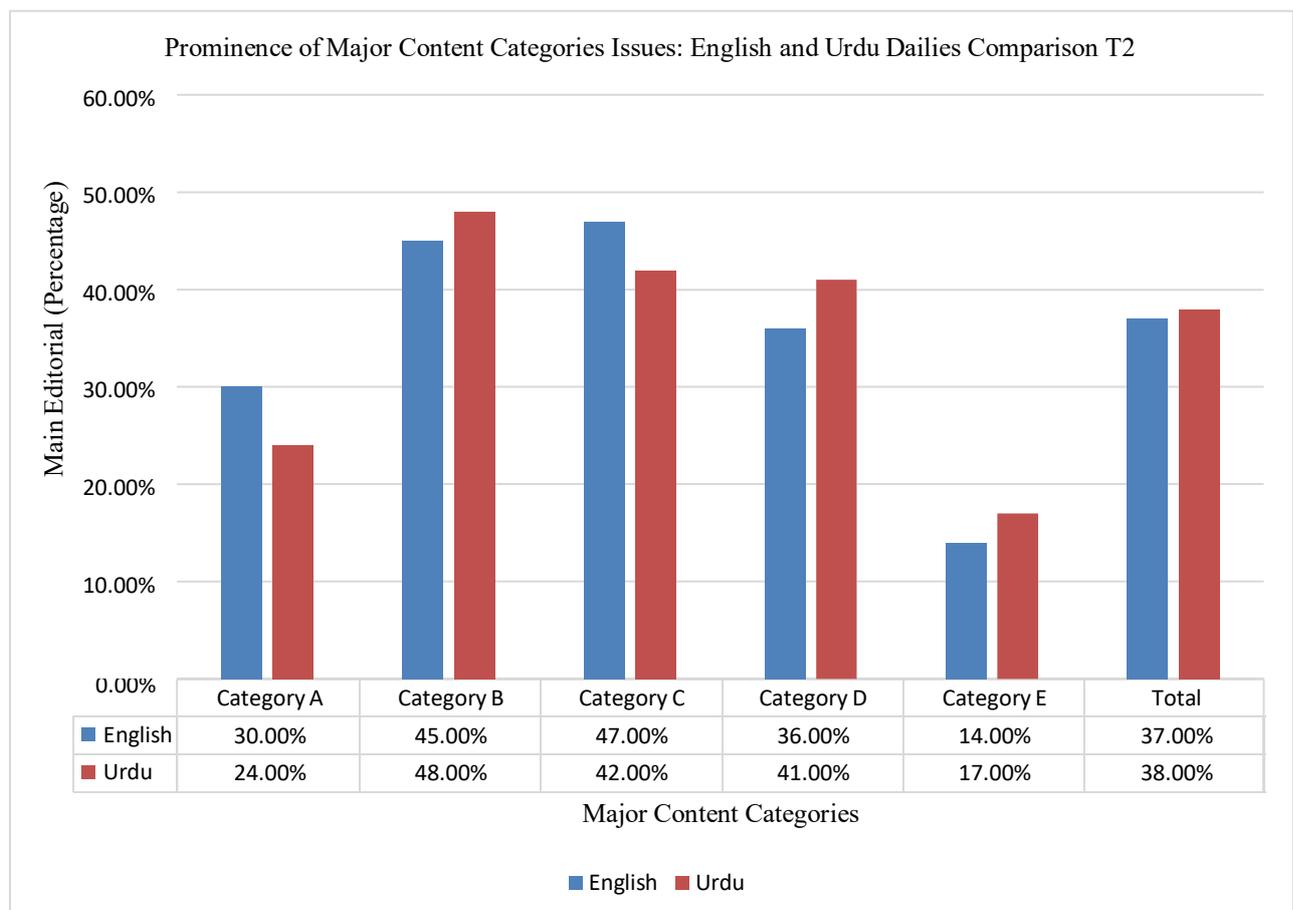


Figure 5.2.6 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories issues (T2)

Table 5.2.6 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers' content categories for T2 (N=5,741)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
English	TE*	863	660	135	1,218	28	2,904
	ME (%)**	261 (30%)	299 (45%)	63 (47%)	443 (36%)	04 (14%)	1,070 (37%)
	EN (%)***	602 (70%)	361 (55%)	72 (53%)	775 (64%)	24 (86%)	1,834 (63%)
Urdu	TE	833	736	124	1,108	36	2,837
	ME (%)	198 (24%)	357 (48%)	52 (42%)	458 (41%)	06 (17%)	1,071 (38%)
	EN (%)	635 (76%)	379 (52%)	72 (58%)	650 (59%)	30 (83%)	1,766 (62%)

editorial/leader space to country's internal issues (e.g., category A and category C issues) than the Urdu language newspapers (Figure 5.2.6).

5.2.7 Comparison of prominence among selected English dailies' content categories (T2)

In the same way as T1, an equal number of *main editorials/leaders* were published by all selected English and Urdu newspapers (i.e., 357¹⁷) on major content categories issues during the second time period (T2). The editorial coverage patterns relating to giving prominence to various issues also remained somewhat similar to T1, i.e., *The News* was again leading in publishing the highest number of *main editorials/leaders* on human development category (A) issues (i.e., 37%), followed by *The Nation* that published 33% and again the least by daily *Dawn* with 23% *main editorials/leaders*. The data in the table and figure 5.2.7 further shows that selected English newspapers gave much higher prominence to all other three categories issues (For instance, daily *Dawn* published 46%, 41% and 35% *main editorials/leaders* on categories B, C and D issues respectively) compared to human development category (A) issues.

Table 5.2.7 Comparison of prominence between English dailies (T2)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Dawn	TE	335	227	64	433	12	1,071
	ME (%)	76 (23%)	105 (46%)	26 (41%)	150 (35%)	00 (00%)	357 (33%)
	EN (%)	259 (77%)	122 (54%)	38 (59%)	283 (65%)	12 (100%)	714 (67%)
The Nation	TE	244	256	40	521	07	1,068
	ME (%)	81 (33%)	94 (37%)	19 (47%)	161 (31%)	01 (14%)	356 (33%)
	EN (%)	163 (67%)	162 (63%)	21 (53%)	360 (69%)	06 (86%)	712 (67%)
The News	TE	284	177	31	264	09	765
	ME (%)	104 (37%)	100 (56%)	18 (58%)	132 (50%)	03 (33%)	357 (47%)
	EN (%)	180 (63%)	77 (44%)	13 (42%)	132 (50%)	06 (67%)	408 (53%)

¹⁷ The Nation also published 357 *main editorials/leaders* during T2, however one of them was not available on its official online webpage.

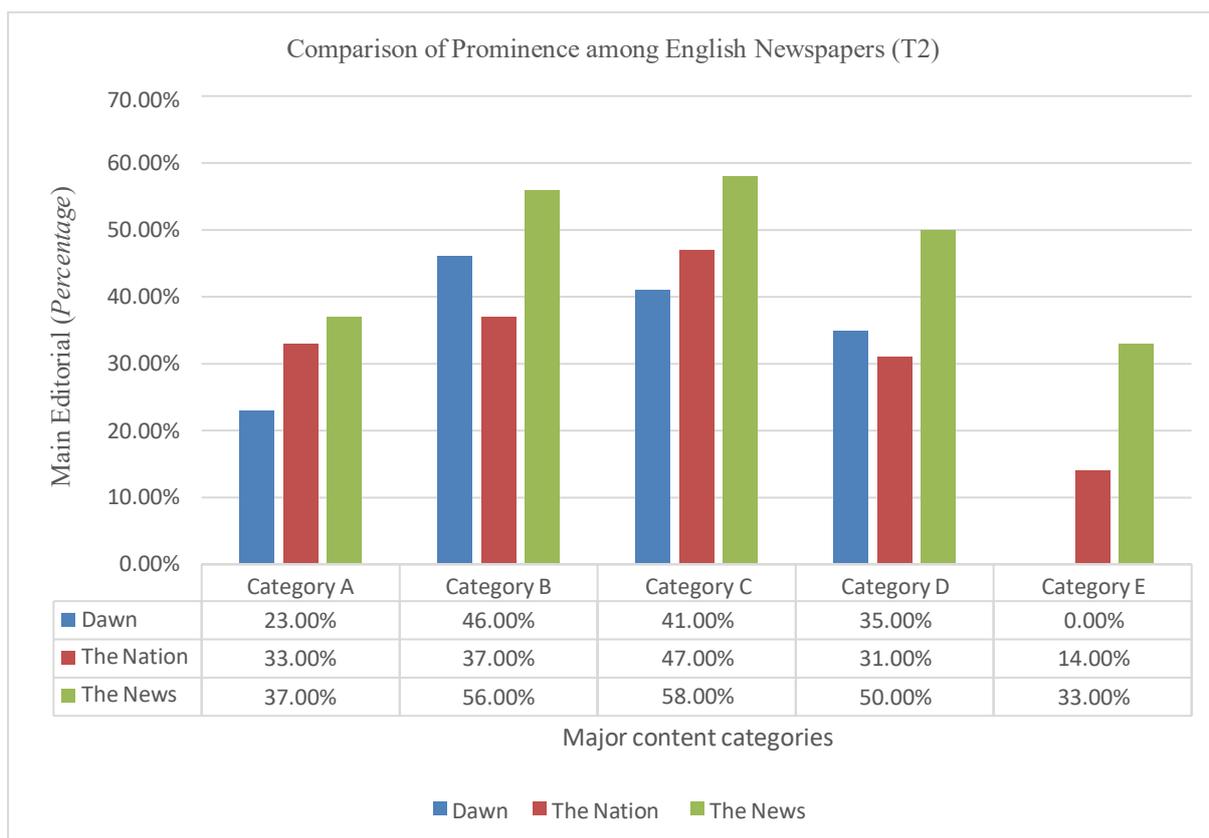


Figure 5.2.7 Comparison among English language newspapers in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories issues (T2)

5.2.8 Comparison of prominence among selected Urdu dailies' content categories (T2)

Among Urdu newspapers, unlike T1, all three newspapers gave varied prominence to category (A) issues, for instance, *Daily Express* published way more main editorials/leaders (i.e., 33%) than *Daily Dunya* and *The Daily Jang*, which published 24% and 18% similar content. However, exactly like T1, all three Urdu newspapers published a much highernumber of main editorials/leaders on categories B, C and D issues compared to category A issues (For instance, *Daily Dunya* published 69%, 61% and 45% main editorials/leaders on

Table 5.2.8 Comparison of prominence between Urdu dailies (T2)

Newspapers		Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Total
Jang	TE*	302	231	44	466	10	1,053
	ME (%)**	53 (18%)	132 (57%)	08 (18%)	163 (35%)	01 (10%)	357 (34%)
	EN (%)***	249 (82%)	99 (43%)	36 (82%)	303 (65%)	09 (90%)	696 (66%)
Express	TE	205	388	57	236	20	906
	ME (%)	67 (33%)	144 (37%)	30 (53%)	114 (48%)	02 (10%)	357 (39%)
	EN (%)	138 (67%)	244 (63%)	27 (47%)	122 (52%)	18 (90%)	549 (61%)
Dunya	TE	326	117	23	406	06	878
	ME (%)	78 (24%)	81 (69%)	14 (61%)	181 (45%)	03 (50%)	357 (41%)
	EN (%)	248 (76%)	36 (31%)	09 (39%)	225 (55%)	03 (50%)	359 (59%)

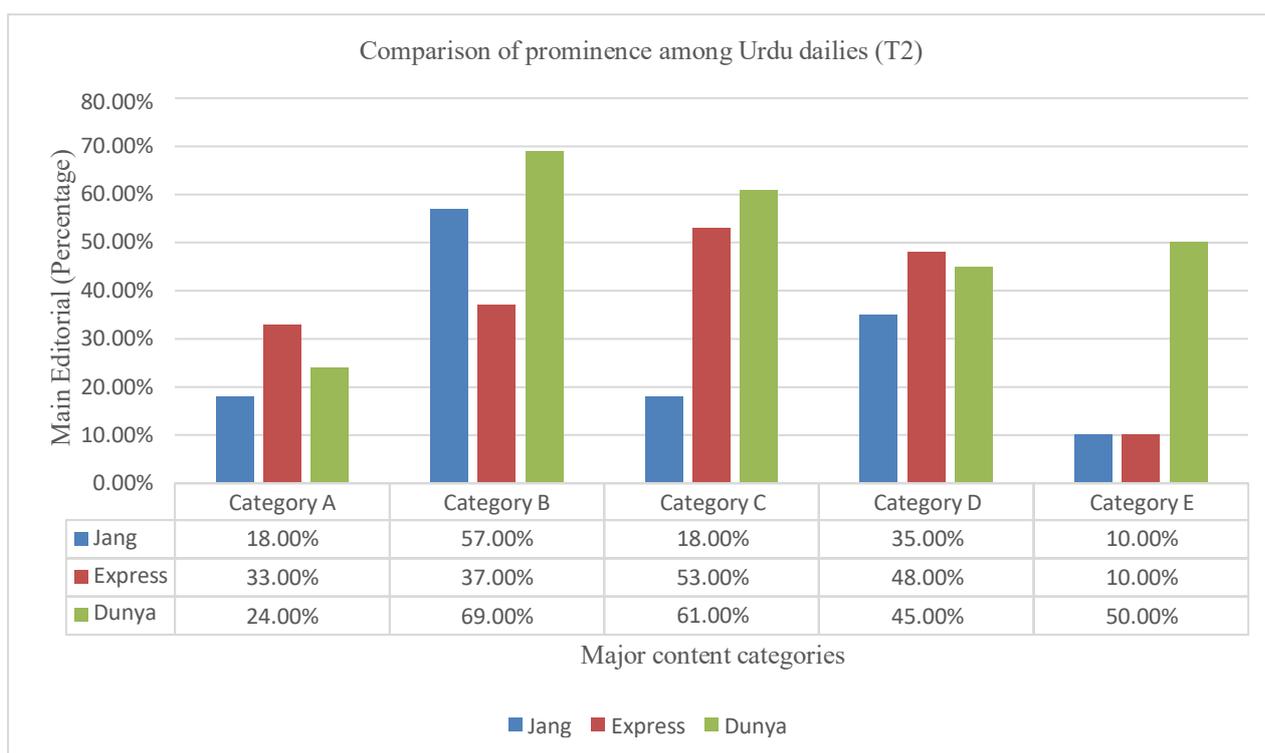


Figure 5.2.8 Comparison among Urdu language newspapers in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories issues (T2)

categories B, C and D issues respectively, compared to category A issues that received a mere 24% main editorials/leaders during the same time period (T2).

5.2.9 Prominence of all major content categories' issues for both time periods (T1 and T2)

A comparison of 'prominence' given to various content categories issues between both time periods reveals that though coverage of human development category (A) issues were slightly increased (from 23.3% to 28% mean main editorial percentage) from T1 to T2, yet compared to a higher increase in 'significance' during the same periods of time, this increase looks insignificant (Table, Fig. 5.2.9). Contrarily, despite a major drop in the 'significance' of category C issues i.e., from 12.4% to 4.5% (see Table, Fig. 5.1.13), the 'prominence' aspect

Table 5.2.9 Comparison of Mean Main Editorials/Leaders Percentage for T1 and T2 (N=11,453)

Time Periods	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Category E	Mean ME
Time Period 1	23.3 %	48.0%	52.0%	35.2%	6.7%	38.5%
Time Period 2	28 %	50.3%	46.3%	40.6%	19.5%	37.8%

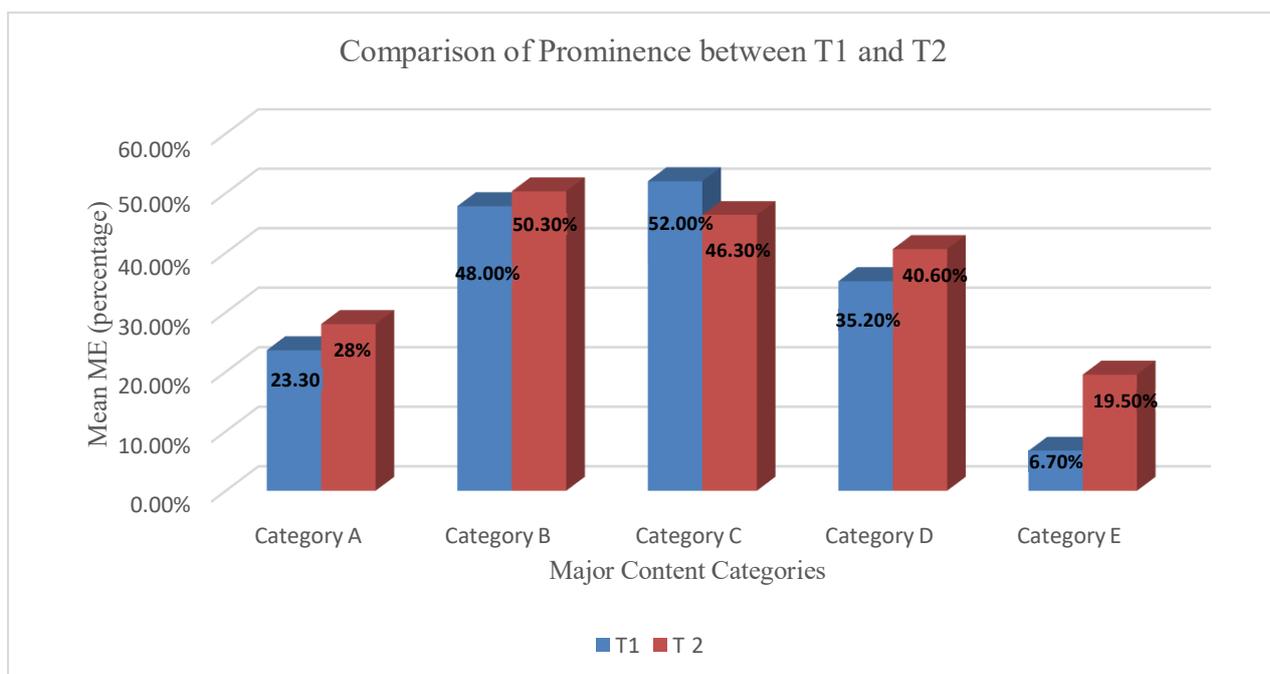


Figure 5.2.9 Comparison between first and second time periods in relation to giving prominence to various major content categories

given to this category remained somewhat unchanged (from 52% to 46.3%). Similarly, Editorial writers had increased to cover category B and D issues in the form of *main editorials/leaders* (from 48.0% to 50.3% and from 35.2% to 40.6% respectively).

5.2.10 Comparison of prominence between the issues of major categories A and B during T1

A comparison of ‘prominence’ between the category A and B issues reveals that country’s human development issues were of a minor concern compared to the international relations and foreign issues for the editorialists during the first time period. In this regard, the data in

Table 5.2.10 Comparison between the issues of major categories A and B during T1 (N=5,712)

Category A Issues (n1=1,052) (18.4%)																Category B Issues (n2=1,694) (29.7%)			
Issue Type	1*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1**	2	3
Total Editorials	168	103	106	26	27	23	99	17	08	48	171	07	125	54	37	33	1,017	191	486
Main Editorials	22	23	46	04	01	01	20	10	01	11	30	01	28	16	13	15	572	35	184
Editorial Notes	146	79	60	22	26	22	79	07	07	37	141	06	97	38	24	18	445	156	302
ME (Percentage)	13	22	43	15	04	04	20		13	23	18	14	22	30	35	45	56	18	38

*1, Public health; 2, Environmental; 3, Religious Intolerance; 4, Water; 5, Food Safety; 6, Malnutrition; 7, Education; 8, Poverty; 9, Unemployment; 10, Inflation; 11, Energy; 12, Population; 13, Gender; 14, Social Injustice; 15, Agriculture; 16, Miscellaneous **1, Conflicts with India & Afghanistan; 2, External World; 3, Others

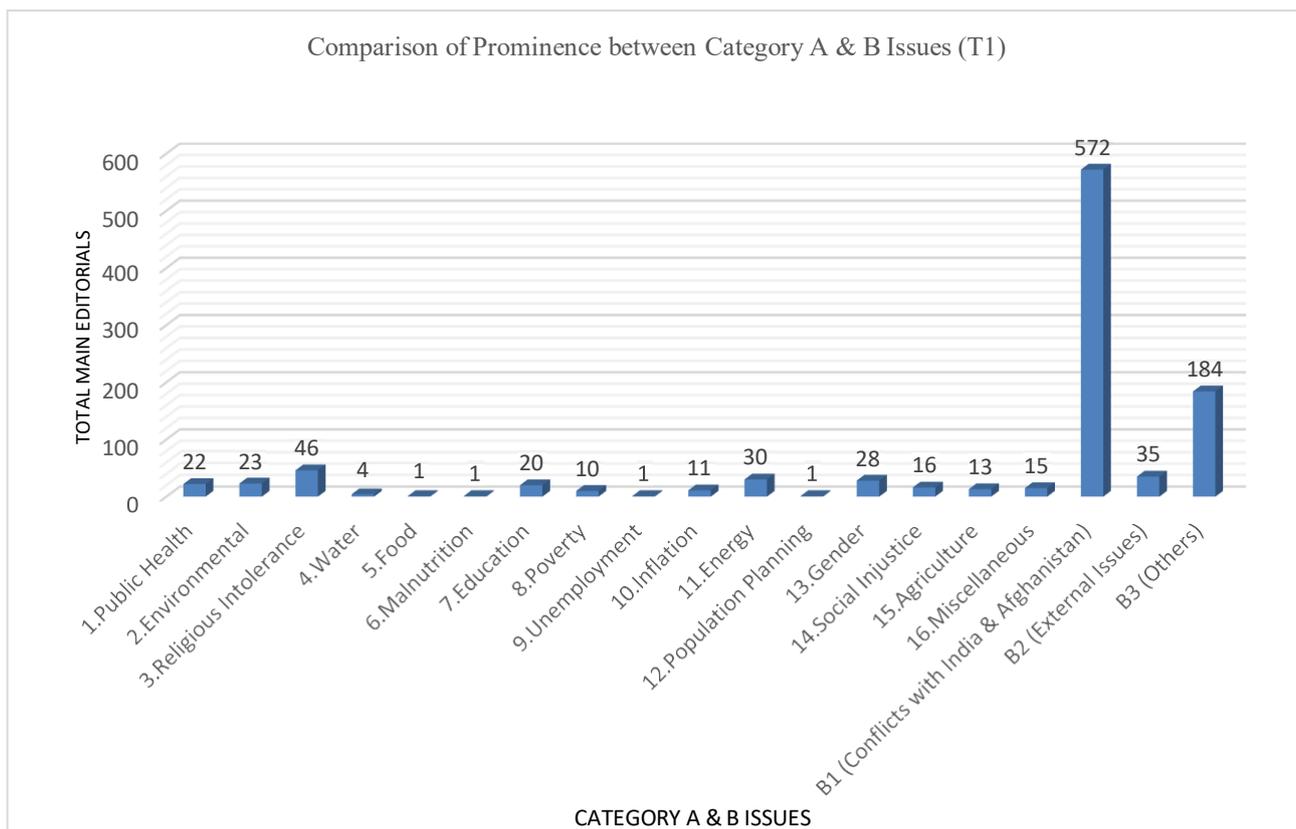


Fig 5.2.10 Comparison between the issues of major category A and subcategories of B during T1

Table and Figure 5.2.10 shows that *subcategory B1 issues (i.e., conflicts with India and Afghanistan)* were given extravagant ‘prominence’ with 572 main editorials/leaders compared to any type of the issues in *category A*, where, for instance, the highest number of main editorials/leaders were published on *religious intolerance issues* with only 46 main editorials/leaders (Fig. 5.2.10). Interestingly, even irrelevant external world issues (i.e., *subcategory B2 issues*) received more prominence (with 35 main editorials/leaders) than all types of *category A issues* except *religious intolerance issue* with 46 main editorials/leaders.

5.2.11 Comparison of prominence between the issues of major categories A and B during T2

This coverage pattern—i.e., giving extravagant ‘prominence’ to *subcategory B1 issues* compared to *category A issues*—has insignificantly changed during the second time period, despite the fact that when human development issues received a tangibly higher ‘significance’ than the first time period (see Table 5.1.15). For instance, *subcategory B1 issues* still received far more ‘prominence’ with 449 main editorials/leaders than the most prominently covered type of *category A issue* i.e., *inflation* with only 97 main editorials/leaders. Ironically, irrelevant external world issues (i.e., *subcategory B2 issues*)

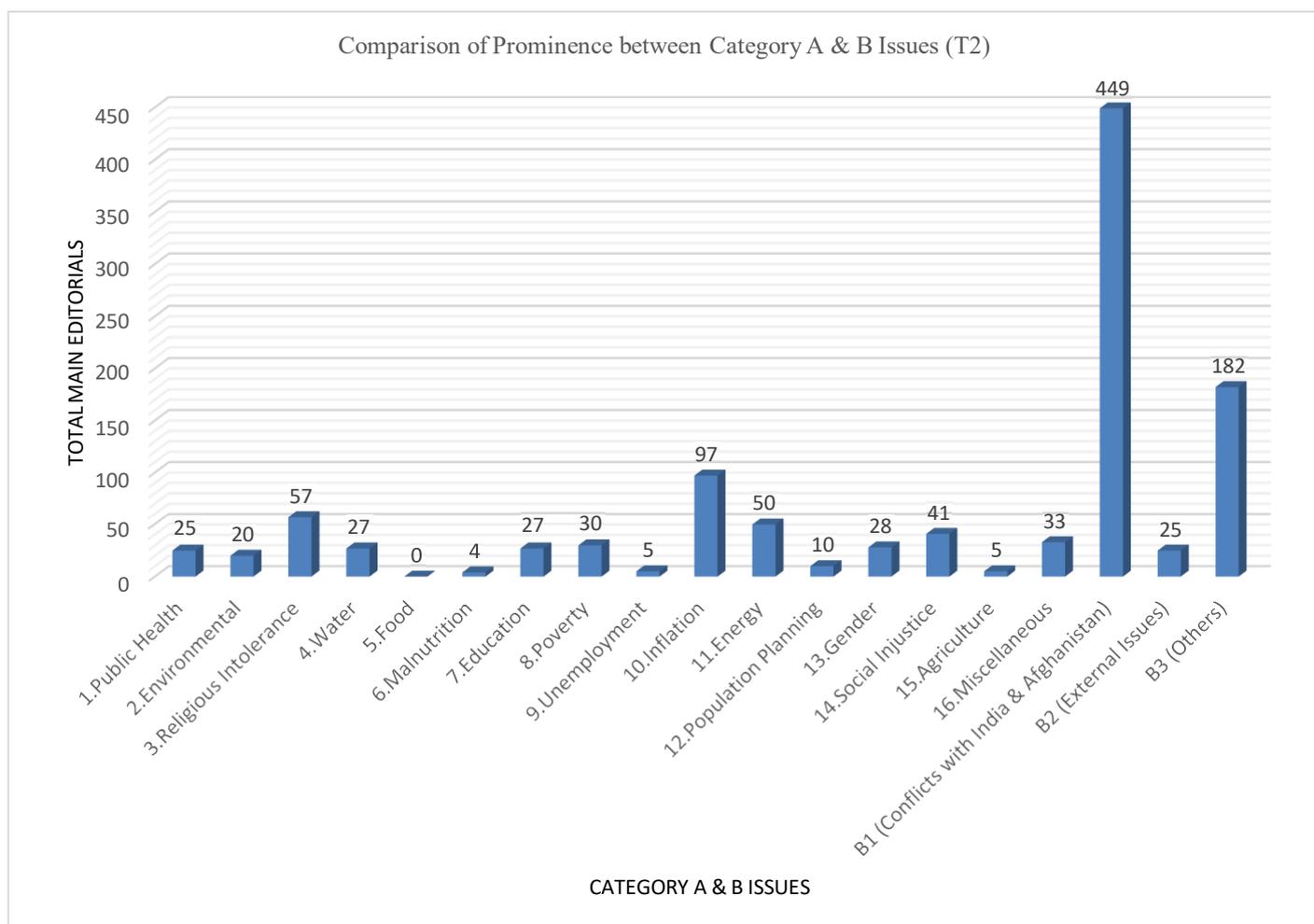


Fig 5.2.11 Comparison between the issues of major category A and subcategories of B during T2

received more prominence (with 25 main editorials/leaders) than many types of *category A* issues including *environmental, food security, malnutrition, unemployment, population planning* and *agriculture sector* issues with 20, 0, 4, 5, 10 and 5 main editorials/leaders respectively (Table, Fig. 5.2.11).

Table 5.2.11 Comparison between the issues of major categories A and B during T2 (N=5,712)

Issue Type	Category A Issues (n1=1,696) (29.5%)																Category B Issues (n2=1,396) (24.4%)		
	1*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	1**	2	3
Total Editorials	284	160	130	94	32	43	144	53	23	214	161	27	146	87	45	53	754	227	415
Main Editorials	25	20	57	27	00	04	27	30	05	97	50	10	28	41	05	33	449	25	182
Editorial Notes	259	140	73	67	32	39	117	23	18	117	111	17	118	46	40	20	305	202	233
ME (Percentage)	09	12	44	29	00	09	19	57	22	45	31	27	19	47	11	62	60	11	44

*1, *Public health*; 2, *Environmental*; 3, *Religious Intolerance*; 4, *Water*; 5, *Food Safety*; 6, *Malnutrition*; 7, *Education*; 8, *Poverty*; 9, *Unemployment*; 10, *Inflation*; 11, *Energy*; 12, *Population*; 13, *Gender*; 14, *Social Injustice*; 15, *Agriculture*; 16, *Miscellaneous*

**1, *Conflicts with India & Afghanistan*; 2, *External World*; 3, *Others*

5.2.12 Comparison of prominence between English and Urdu dailies' categories A & B (T1)

A comparison between English and Urdu newspapers in terms of giving more 'prominence' to either category A or B issues shows that although both language newspapers gave more 'prominence' to *subcategory B1 issues* over *category A issues* during the first time period, the coverage difference for English dailies was quite low i.e., 7% (20%-13%=7%) than Urdu newspapers with 24% (33%-9%=24%) similar difference (Table, Fig. 5.2.12). In other words, Urdu newspapers comparatively published far more main editorials/leaders on *conflicts with India and Afghanistan* than *human development issues*. Interestingly, English newspapers published almost five times as many main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B2 issues* (i.e., 2.7%) compared to their Urdu competitors that gave only 0.6% similar coverage. Both language newspapers published almost equal number of main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B3 issues* (i.e., English, 8%; Urdu, 9%).

Table 5.2.12 Comparison of prominence between English and Urdu newspapers' categories A & B (T1)

Newspapers	A (Human Development)	B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan)	B2 (External Issues)	B3 (Others)
English (1,078) *	142 (13%)**	221 (20%)	29 (2.7%)	89 (08%)
Urdu (1,070)	100 (09%)	351 (33%)	06 (0.6%)	95 (09%)
Total	242 (22%)	572 (53%)	35 (3.3%)	184 (17%)

*Total main editorials/leaders, **Main editorials (Percentage)

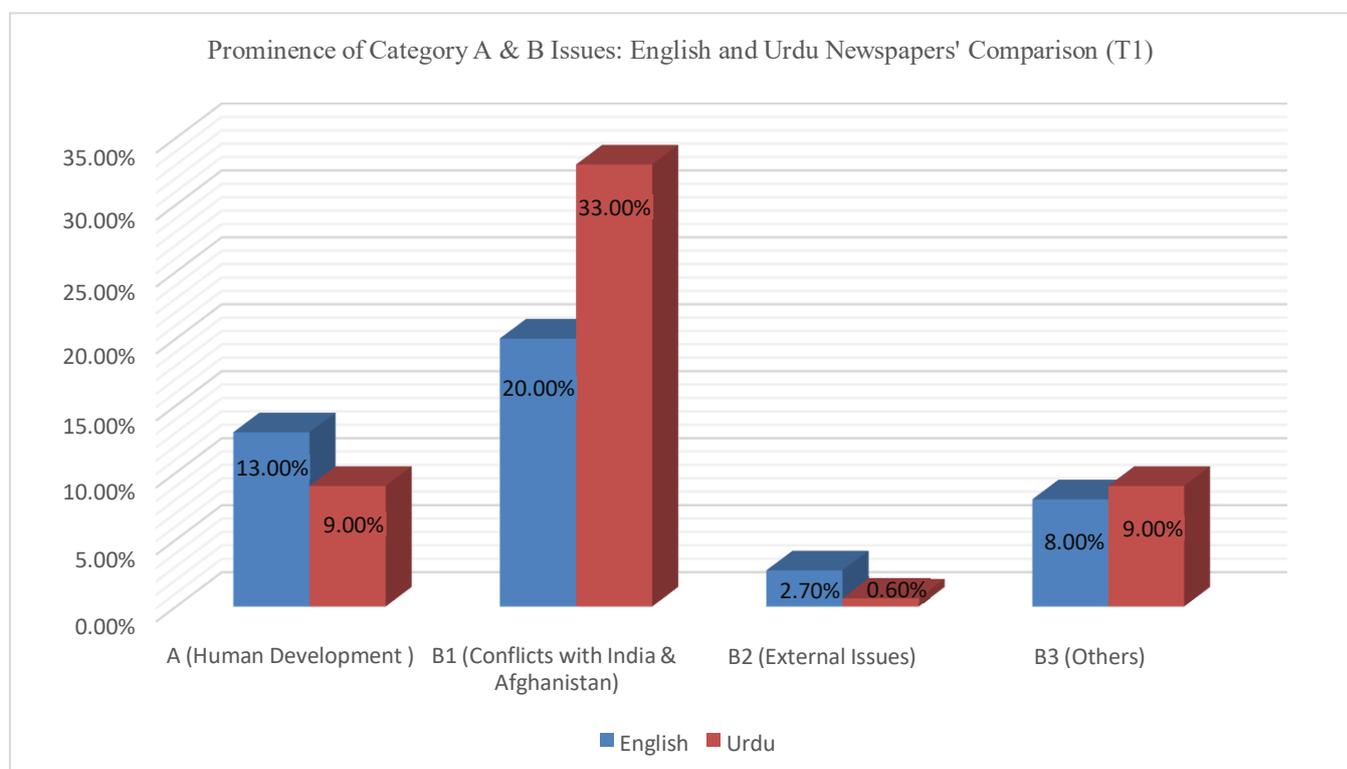


Fig 5.2.12 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers' content categories A & B (T1)

5.2.13 Comparison of prominence between English and Urdu dailies' categories A & B (T2)

The data in Table 5.2.13 indicates that this prioritization coverage pattern by English language newspapers was a bit changed during the second time period, as unlike T1, category A issues were given 06% (24%-18%) more 'prominence' compared to subcategory B1 issues probably owing to the fact that a government with strong human development agenda had come into power in the meantime. On the contrary, like T1, Urdu language newspapers carried on giving extravagant 'prominence' to subcategory B1 issues compared to human development issues by publishing 07% (25%-18%) more main editorials/leaders on conflicts with India and Afghanistan despite the fact that country's relations were not that tensed with both of the neighbors as had been during the first time period. It is interesting to note herethat Urdu language newspapers gave extravagant 'significance' to category A issues over the subcategory B1 issues during T2 (see Table, Fig. 5.1.17), yet such coverage was largely

Table 5.2.13 Comparison of prominence between English and Urdu newspapers' categories A & B (T2)

Newspapers	A (Human Development)	B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan)	B2 (External Issues)	B3 (Others)
English (1,070) *	261 (24%)**	191 (18%)	22 (2.1%)	86 (08%)
Urdu (1,071)	198 (18%)	258 (25%)	03 (0.3%)	96 (09%)
Total	459 (42%)	449 (43%)	35 (2.4%)	184 (17%)

*Total main editorials/leaders, **Main editorials (Percentage)

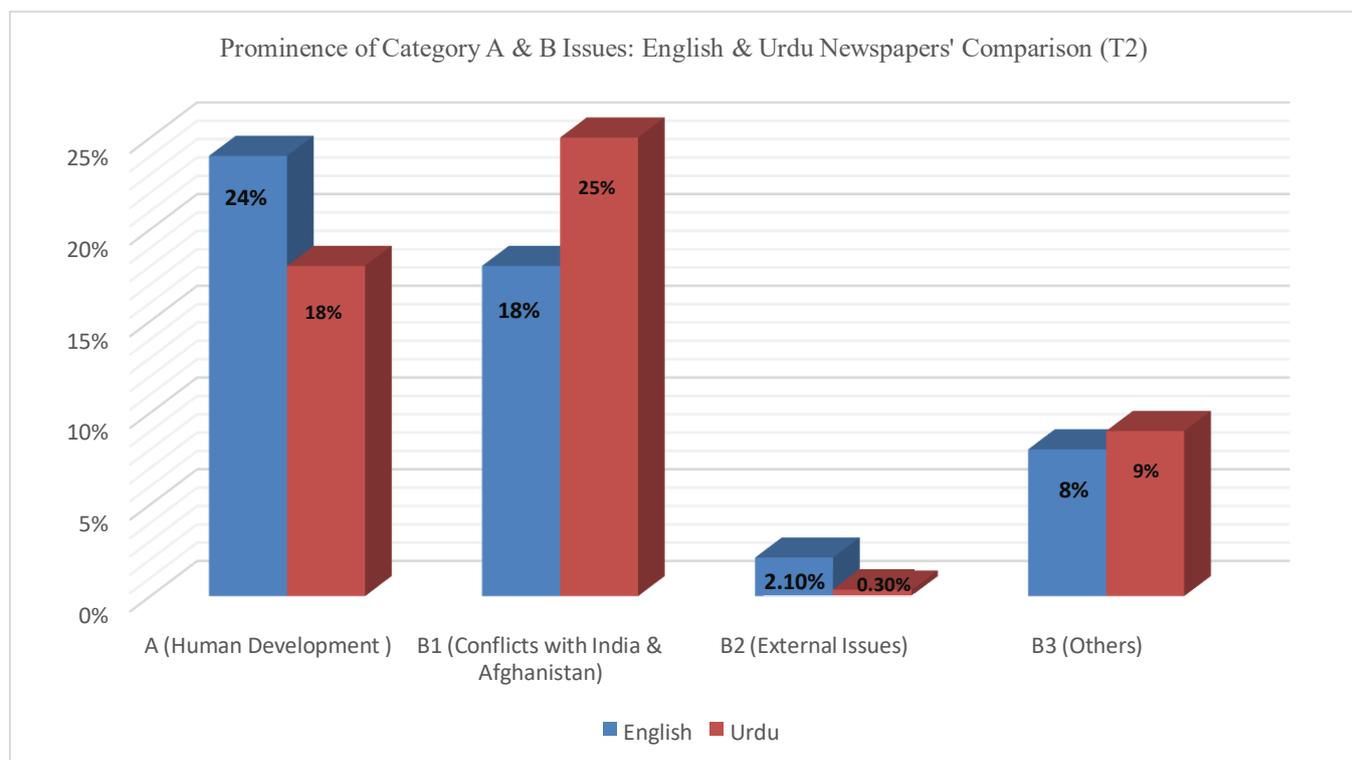


Fig 5.2.13 Comparison between English and Urdu newspapers' content categories A & B (T2)

given in the form of ‘editorial notes’ as data in Table 5.2.13 reveals that latter type of issues (i.e., *conflicts with India and Afghanistan*) received 07% more main editorials/leaders than the former type of issues. Similarly, like T1, *subcategory B2 issues* were again given more ‘prominence’ by English language dailies (i.e., 2.1%) than their Urdu counterparts with only 0.6% similar coverage. Like T1, both language newspapers published almost equal number of main editorials/leaders on subcategory B3 issues (i.e., English, 8%; Urdu, 9%). In conclusion, in major category B, the decisive issues which create any coverage difference between Urdu and English dailies are *conflicts with India and Afghanistan (subcategory B1)* and *external issues (subcategory B2)*.

5.2.14 Comparison of prominence among English newspapers’ categories A & B (T1)

A comparison among English newspapers regarding which of them gave more ‘prominence’ to category A or B issues during the first time period reveals that daily *Dawn* gave the highest priority to *subcategory B1 issues* over *category A* issues by publishing 13.9% (23.6%-9.7%) more main editorials/leaders on *conflicts with India and Afghanistan* (Table, Fig. 5.2.14). Although, *The Nation* and *The News* also gave comparatively more ‘prominence’ to *subcategory B1 issues* over *category A* issues, yet the coverage difference was not that high (i.e., 19.7%-15.8%=3.9% and 18.2%-14%=4.2% respectively). Data further reveals that Daily *The News* published the most main editorials/leaders on *external issues (subcategory B2)*, followed by *The Nation* and daily *Dawn* that both gave 1.7% ‘prominence’ each to the said subcategory’s issues. All three dailies published almost an equal number of main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B3 issues*.

Table 5.2.14 Comparison of prominence among English dailies categories A & B (T1) (N=1,078)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Dawn</i> (360)**	35 (09.7%)	85 (23.6%)	06 (1.7%)	29 (8.1%)
<i>The Nation</i> (360)	57 (15.8%)	71 (19.7%)	06 (1.7%)	28 (7.8%)
<i>The News</i> (358)	50 (14.0%)	65 (18.2%)	17 (4.7%)	32 (8.9%)
Total (Mean %age)	142 (13.2%)	221 (20.5%)	29 (2.7%)	89 (8.3%)

A* (*Human Development*), B1 (*Conflicts with India & Afghanistan*), B2 (*External Issues*), B3 (*Others*);

***Total Main Editorials*

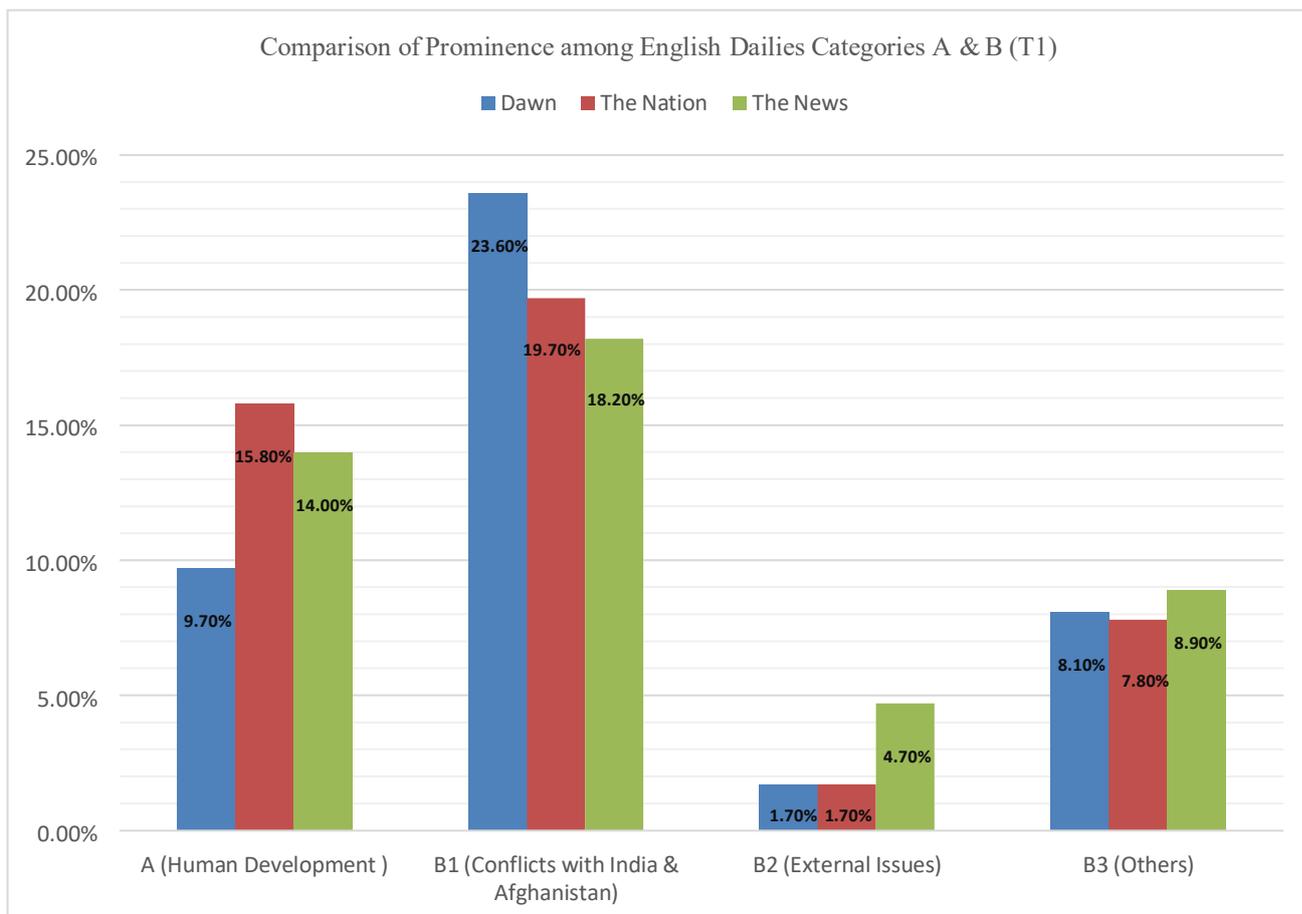


Fig 5.2.14 Comparison of categories A and B issues among English newspapers (T1)

5.2.15 Comparison of prominence among English newspapers; categories A & B (T2)

This coverage pattern by all selected English dailies was changed during the second time period when *category A* issues were given more ‘prominence’ than *conflicts with India and Afghanistan* probably due to the fact that a government with an apparent human development agenda came into power and relations with both neighbours were a bit relaxed in the meanwhile (Malik, 2018; Rashid, 2018). However, like T1, daily *Dawn* comparatively gave the highest prominence to *subcategory B1* issues over *category A* issues with only 1.1% (21.3%-20.2%) coverage difference followed by *The Nation* with 7.9% (22.8%-14.9%) and *The News* with 10.6% (29.1%-18.5%) healthier coverage difference. This trend eventually shows that daily *Dawn* has an inclination to give preference to *subcategory B1* issues over *category A* issues in main editorials/leaders. Similarly, *The Nation* gave the highest ‘prominence’ to *subcategory B2* issues by publishing 3.4% more main editorials/leaders followed by *The News* with 2.0% and daily *Dawn* with the least i.e., 0.8% similar coverage. All selected dailies published almost an equal number of main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B3* issues (Table, Fig. 5.2.15).

Table 5.2.15 Comparison of prominence among English dailies categories A & B (T2) (N=1,070)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Dawn</i> (357)**	76 (21.3%)	72 (20.2%)	03 (0.8%)	30 (8.4%)
<i>The Nation</i> (356)	81 (22.8%)	53 (14.9%)	12 (3.4%)	29 (8.1%)
<i>The News</i> (357)	104 (29.1%)	66 (18.5%)	07 (2.0%)	27 (7.6%)
Total (Mean)	261 (24.4%)	191 (17.9%)	22 (2.1%)	89 (8.1%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others);

**Total Main Editorials

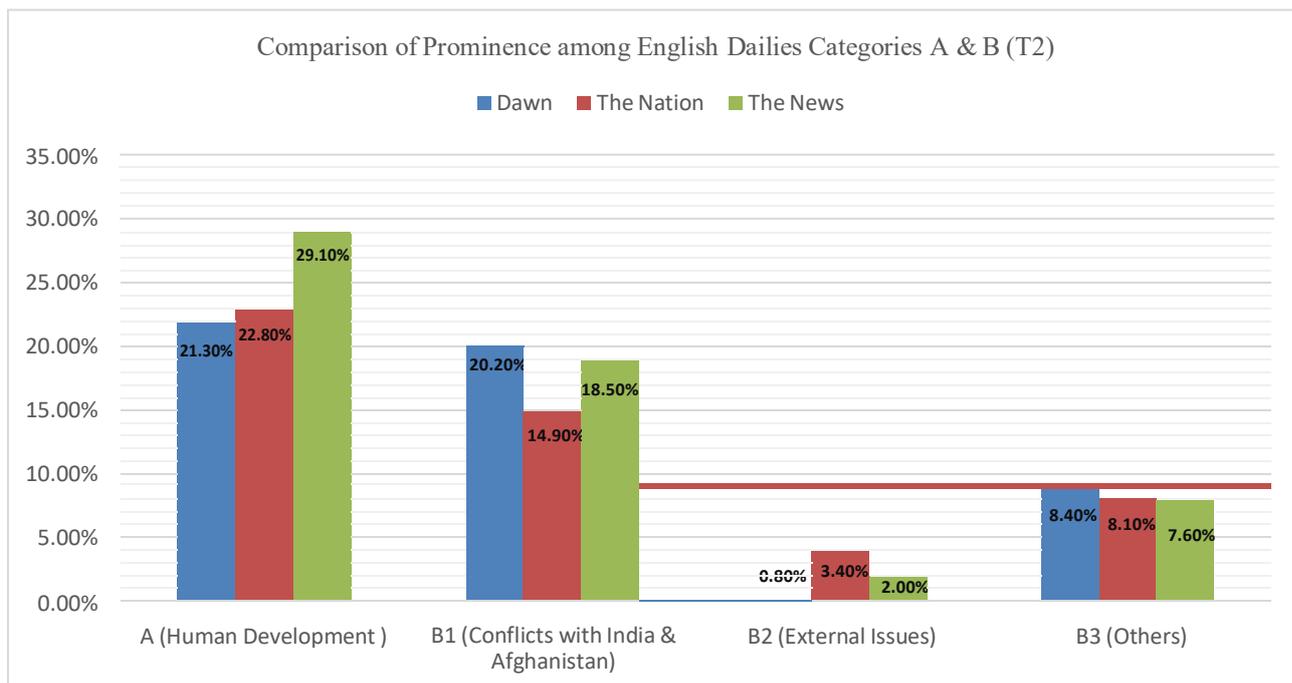


Fig 5.2.15 Comparison of categories A and B issues among English newspapers (T1)

5.2.16 Comparison of prominence among Urdu newspapers' categories A & B (T1)

A comparison among Urdu newspapers regarding how much 'prominence' each of them had accorded to categories A and B issues during T1 shows that all selected dailies had extravagantly published more main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B1 issues* compared to *human development issues* (Table, Fig. 5.2.16). The highest coverage difference between both types of issues was 29.2% (38.1%-8.9%) given by *Daily Express*, followed by 21.7% (30.3%-8.6%) by *Daily Dunya* and the least i.e., 19.2% (29.7%-10.5%) by *The Daily Jang*.

Interestingly, all three newspapers equally ignored to publish main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B2 issues*, for instance, *Daily Express* had given 0.8%, followed by *Daily Dunya* with 0.6% and *The Daily Jang* with only 0.3% 'prominence' to such issues.

Table 5.2.16 Comparison of prominence among Urdu newspapers categories' A & B (T1) (N=1,074)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Jang</i> (354)**	37 (10.5%)	105 (29.7%)	01 (0.3%)	31 (08.8%)
<i>Express</i> (360)	32 (08.9%)	137 (38.1%)	03 (0.8%)	42 (11.7%)
<i>Dunya</i> (360)	31 (08.6%)	109 (30.3%)	02 (0.6%)	22 (06.1%)
Total (Mean)	100 (09.3%)	351 (32.7%)	29 (0.6%)	89 (08.9%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others);

**Total Main Editorials

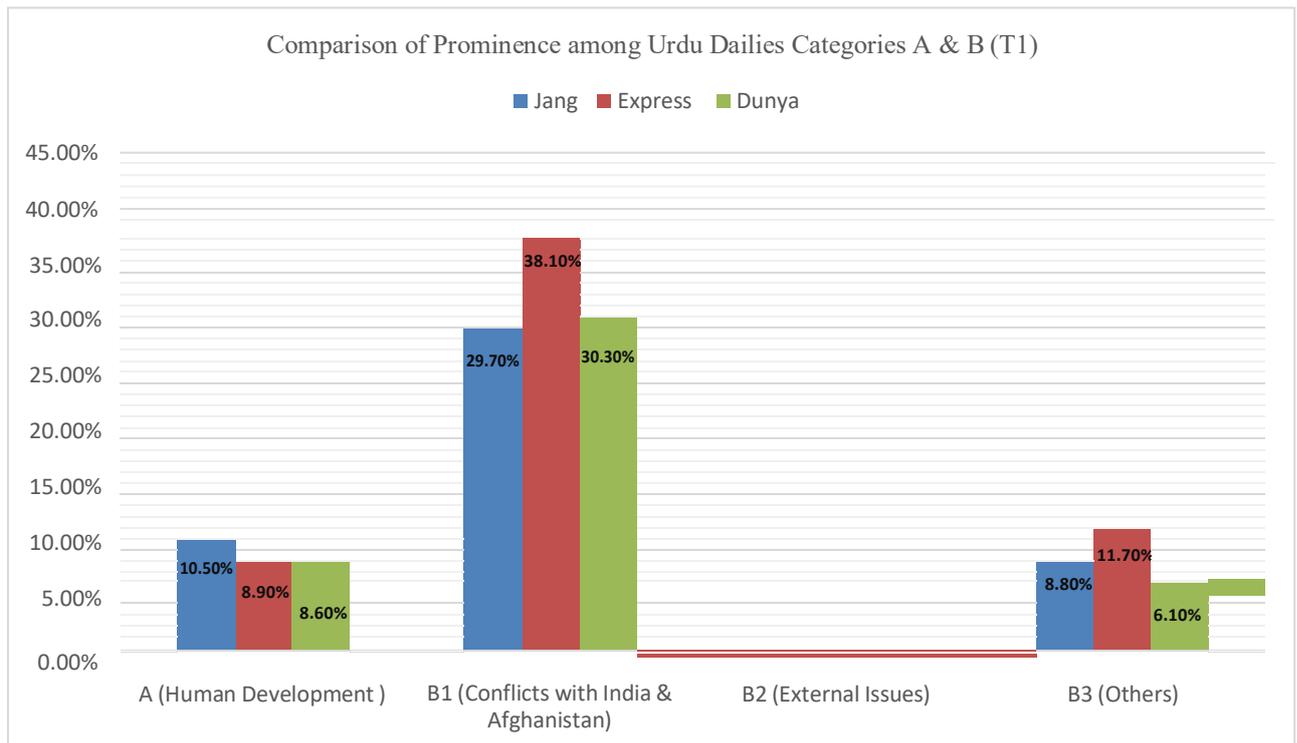


Fig 5.2.16 Comparison of categories A and B issues among Urdu newspapers (T1)

5.2.17 Comparison of prominence among Urdu newspapers' categories A & B (T2)

This coverage prioritization pattern remained nearly unchanged during the second time period except for *Daily Dunya*, that contrary to T1, published 5.8% (21.8%-16%) more main editorials/leaders on *human development* issues than *subcategory B1* issues (Table, Fig.5.2.17). The highest coverage difference between both types of issues did exist for *The Daily Jang* i.e., 11.5% (26.3%-14.8%) and for *Daily Express* i.e., 11.2% (30%-18.8%). Once again, like T1, all selected Urdu newspapers equally ignored to publish main editorials/leaders on *subcategory B2* issues, for instance, *Daily Express* published 0.6%, followed by *The Daily Jang* with 0.3% and *Daily Dunya* with 0.0% main editorials/leaders on such issues. In the final analysis, it can be concluded that despite being owned by the corporate owners, this trend of giving more 'significance' and 'prominence' to *subcategory B1* issues shows that

Pakistani newspaper journalism is still under the strong influence of ‘advocate-journalist’ model of the pre-independence movement.

Table 5.2.17 Comparison of prominence among Urdu newspapers’ categories A & B (T2) (N=1,071)

Newspapers	A*	B1	B2	B3
<i>Jang</i> (357)**	53 (14.8%)	94 (26.3%)	01 (0.3%)	37 (10.4%)
<i>Express</i> (357)	67 (18.8%)	107 (30.0%)	02 (0.6%)	35 (09.8%)
<i>Dunya</i> (357)	78 (21.8%)	57 (16.0%)	00 (0.0%)	24 (06.7%)
Total (Mean)	198 (18.5%)	258 (24.2%)	22 (0.3%)	89 (09.0%)

A* (Human Development), B1 (Conflicts with India & Afghanistan), B2 (External Issues), B3 (Others);

**Total Main Editorials

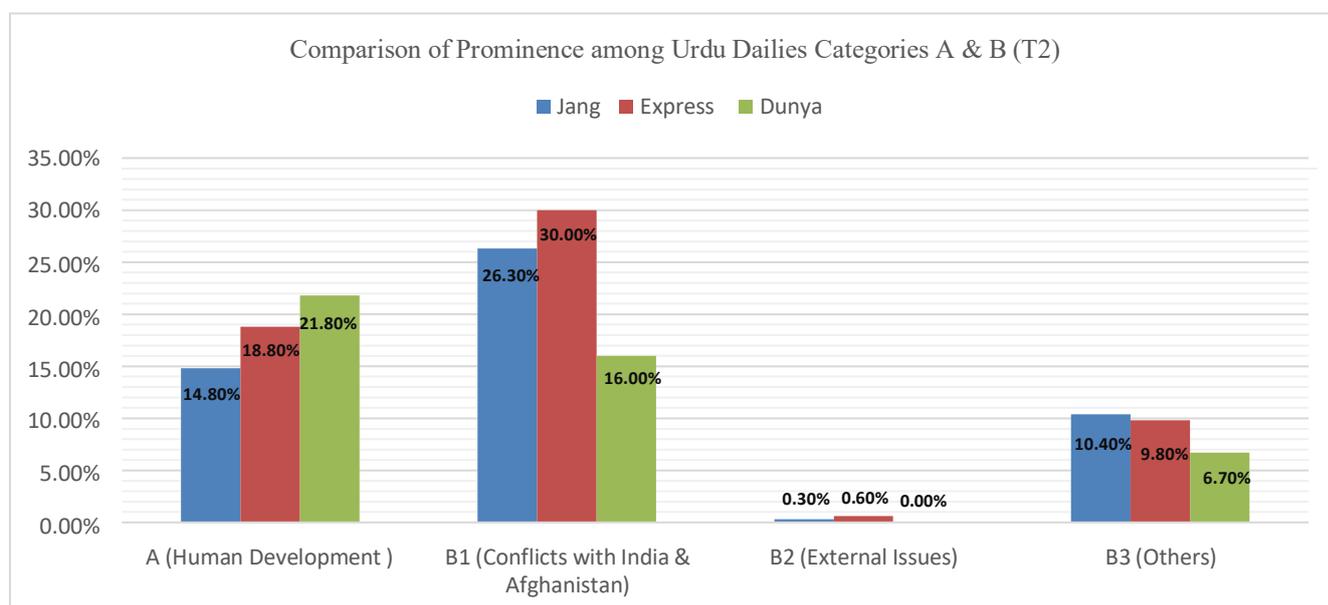


Fig 5.2.17 Comparison of categories A and B issues among Urdu newspapers (T2)

5.3 Measurement of ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ of category A issues (Third Section)

5.3.1 Comparison of ‘significance’ of human development category A issues

To answer RQ2¹⁸, category A issues were individually analysed and compared for both time periods. The data in the table and figure 5.3.1 shows that, except *energy issues*, all other human development (category A) issues were given a tangibly higher ‘significance’ (with positive coverage difference) by selected newspapers’ editorialists during the second time period. Particularly those issues, which were commonly found in the policy agenda (both in the speeches of the Prime Minister and the then Chief Justice of Pakistan), received more editorial attention. For instance, the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th highest number of editorials were published on *public health, water, environmental* and *education* issues with +2.0, +1.1, +1.0 and +0.8 coverage difference respectively. Since the newly elected Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan, in his speeches during the second time period of this study, emphasized on improving country’s human development landscape (“Either Country Will,” 2018), concurrently an upward ‘significance’ trend is found in almost every type of human development issue with a positive coverage difference. Alongside, the Chief Justice of Pakistan established a ‘dam

Table 5.3.1 Comparison of significance of category A issues for both time periods

Human Development Issues Types	Total Editorials (T1) (n1=5,712)	Total Editorials (T2) (n2=5,741)	Coverage Difference
Public Health	168 (2.9%)	284 (4.9%)	+2.0% ↑
Environmental	103 (1.8%)	160 (2.8%)	+1.0% ↑
Religious Intolerance	106 (1.9%)	130 (2.3%)	+0.4% ↑
Water Issues	26 (0.5%)	94 (1.6%)	+1.1% ↑
Food Safety	27 (0.5%)	32 (0.6%)	+0.1% ↑
Malnutrition	23 (0.4%)	43 (0.7%)	+0.3% ↑
Education	99 (1.7%)	144 (2.5%)	+0.8% ↑
Poverty	17 (0.3%)	53 (0.9%)	+0.6% ↑
Unemployment	08 (0.1%)	23 (0.4%)	+0.3% ↑
Inflation	48 (0.8%)	214 (3.7%)	+2.9% ↑
Energy	171 (3.0%)	161 (2.8%)	-0.2% ↓
Population	07 (0.1%)	27 (0.5%)	+0.4% ↑
Gender	125 (2.2%)	146 (2.6%)	+0.4% ↑
Social injustice	54 (0.9%)	87 (1.5%)	+0.6% ↑
Agriculture	37 (0.7%)	45 (0.8%)	+0.1% ↑
Miscellaneous	33 (0.6%)	53 (0.9%)	+0.3% ↑
Total	1,052 (18.4%)	1,696 (29.5%)	

¹⁸ Was there any difference in editorial agenda with the change in policy agenda on human development issues?

fund' calling *water* shortages a major national threat (Singh, 2018, para 1) and frequently advocated for the provision of *social justice* to everybody by reforming the country's judicial system ("Chief Justice urges," 2018). He also addressed with many conferences/seminars on the *population* explosion in the country (Noor, 2019; "Only PM," 2018), therefore all these issues saw an upward coverage trend with +1.1% +0.6% and +0.4% coverage difference.

Coincidentally, during the second time period, the estimated average inflation rate in Pakistan increased to about 3.1% (6.94%-3.93%) compared to the previous year (O'Neill, 2021, para 1). In experts view, poor governance and government policies were responsible for the crisis ("Crushed by inflation," 2021). Owing to this ever-sharper hike compared to four years earlier (O'Neill, 2021, para 1), the editorialists published the highest number of

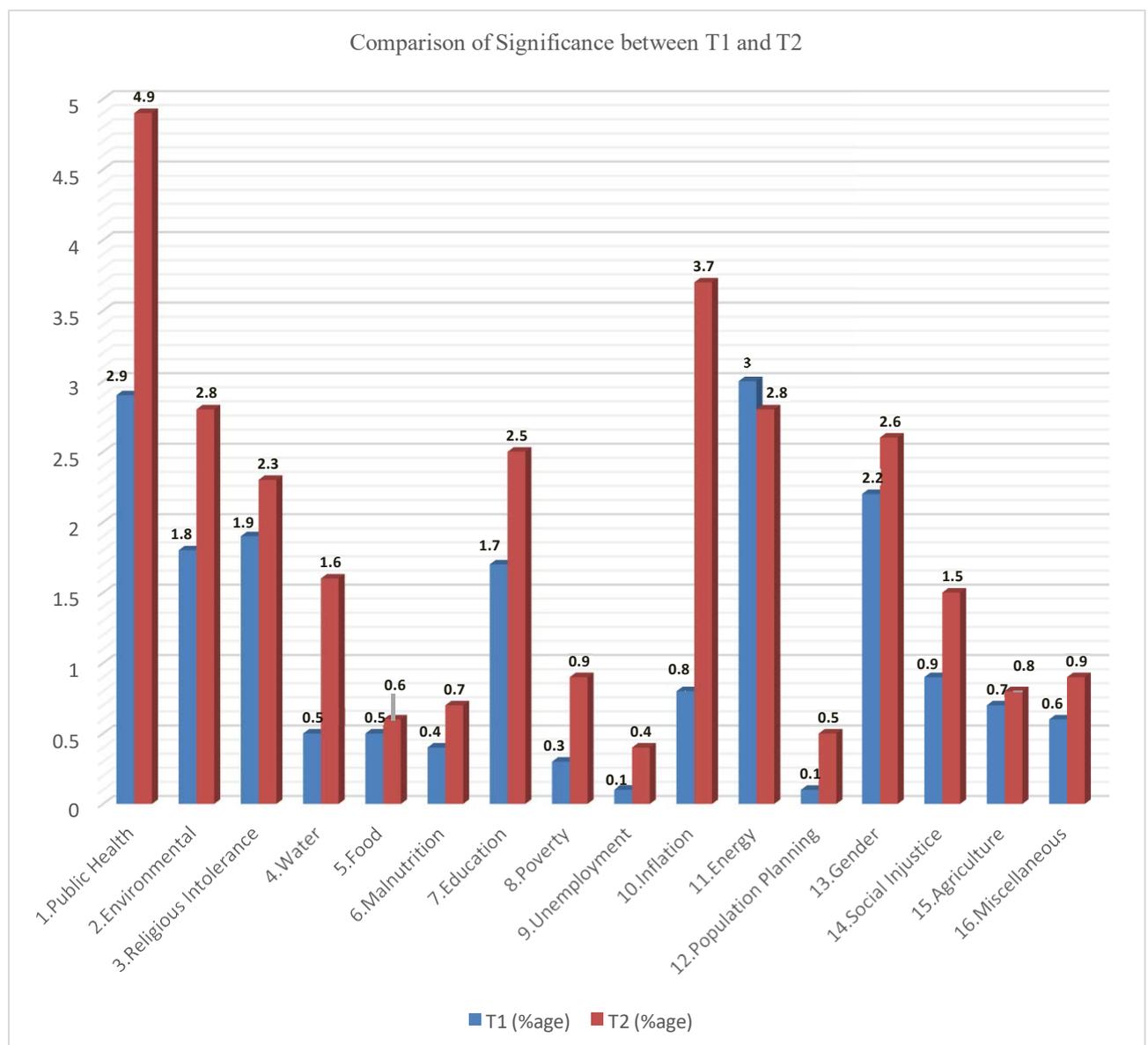


Figure 5.3.1 Comparison of significance of category A issues for both time periods

editorials on *increasing inflation rate* in the country during T2 with the highest coverage difference of +2.9%. This trend of becoming the ‘voice for the voiceless factions of the society’ shows that Pakistani editorialists not only followed the ‘policy agenda’ but also, they paid some heed to the ‘public agenda’ as well. It further suggests some amendment in the Waisbord’s referred ‘advocate-journalist’ model, which reveals that “as long as [the Global Southern] governments and politicians continue to wield substantial power on press economies, news organizations are likely to act as vehicles for promoting their political interests” instead of following the notion of “journalists as social mobilizers” (p.374). This sharp upward trend in the coverage of *inflation issues* proves that apart from being ‘vehicles for promoting certain political interests’, at times, Pakistani newspapers’ editorialists also become ‘the mouthpiece of oppressed people’ who could not get their voices heard in the political process, and eventually seem to be performing their normative role of ‘advocate-journalists’. Contrarily, *energy issues* were the only ones that saw a downward ‘significance’ trend with -0.2% coverage difference. The reason for this declining coverage tendency lies in the fact that energy shortfall in the country was quite resolved during the second time period, though energy price hikes in the country were still a big challenge.

5.3.2 Comparison of ‘prominence’ of human development category A issues

A comparison of ‘prominence’ between the two time periods in terms of publishing more main editorials/leaders on *human development category (A) issues* reveals that, contrary to a general increase in the ‘significance’ aspect during T2, many of the selected issues saw a downward ‘prominence’ trend in the meanwhile (Table, Fig. 5.3.2). For instance, *environmental issues* were accorded the fourth highest ‘significance’ during the second time period with +1.0% coverage difference (see Table 4.3.1), however, unlike T1, such issues received a lesser number of main editorials/leaders during T2 with a negative coverage difference of -0.13%. Similarly, *agriculture issues* and *food safety issues* also saw a downward ‘prominence’ trend with -0.37% and -0.05% coverage difference, whereas *gender issues* received an equal number of main editorials/leaders with $\pm 0.00\%$ coverage difference. Interestingly, *inflation issues*, which noticed the highest upward ‘significance’ trend, also saw the highest upward ‘prominence’ trend (i.e., in the form of receiving the highest number of main editorials/leaders) with a healthy +4.02% coverage difference. These ascending ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ tendencies for *inflation issues* suggest that the Pakistani editorialists, apart from following the policy agenda on human development issues, also advocated the miseries of voiceless common people and eventually proved that Global

Table 5.3.2 Comparison of prominence of category A issues for both time periods

Human Development Issues Types	Main Editorials (T1) (n1=2,152)	Main Editorials (T2) (n2=2,141)	Coverage Difference
Public Health	22 (1.02%)	25 (1.17%)	+0.15% ↑
Environmental	23 (1.06%)	20 (0.93%)	-0.13% ↑
Religious Intolerance	46 (2.14%)	57 (2.66%)	+0.52% ↑
Water Issues	04 (0.19%)	27 (1.26%)	+1.07% ↑
Food Safety	01 (0.05%)	00 (0.00%)	-0.05% ↑
Malnutrition	01 (0.05%)	04 (0.18%)	+0.13% ↑
Education	20 (0.93%)	27 (1.26%)	+0.33% ↑
Poverty	10 (0.46%)	30 (1.40%)	+0.94% ↑
Unemployment	01 (0.05%)	05 (0.23%)	+0.18% ↑
Inflation	11 (0.51%)	97 (4.53%)	+4.02% ↑
Energy	30 (1.39%)	50(2.33%)	+0.94% ↓
Population	01 (0.05%)	10 (0.47%)	+0.42% ↑
Gender	28 (1.30%)	28 (1.30%)	±0.00% ↑
Social injustice	16 (0.74%)	41 (1.91%)	+0.17% ↑
Agriculture	13 (0.60%)	05 (0.23%)	-0.37% ↑
Miscellaneous	15 (0.70%)	33 (1.54%)	+0.84% ↑
Total	242 (18.4%)	459 (29.5%)	

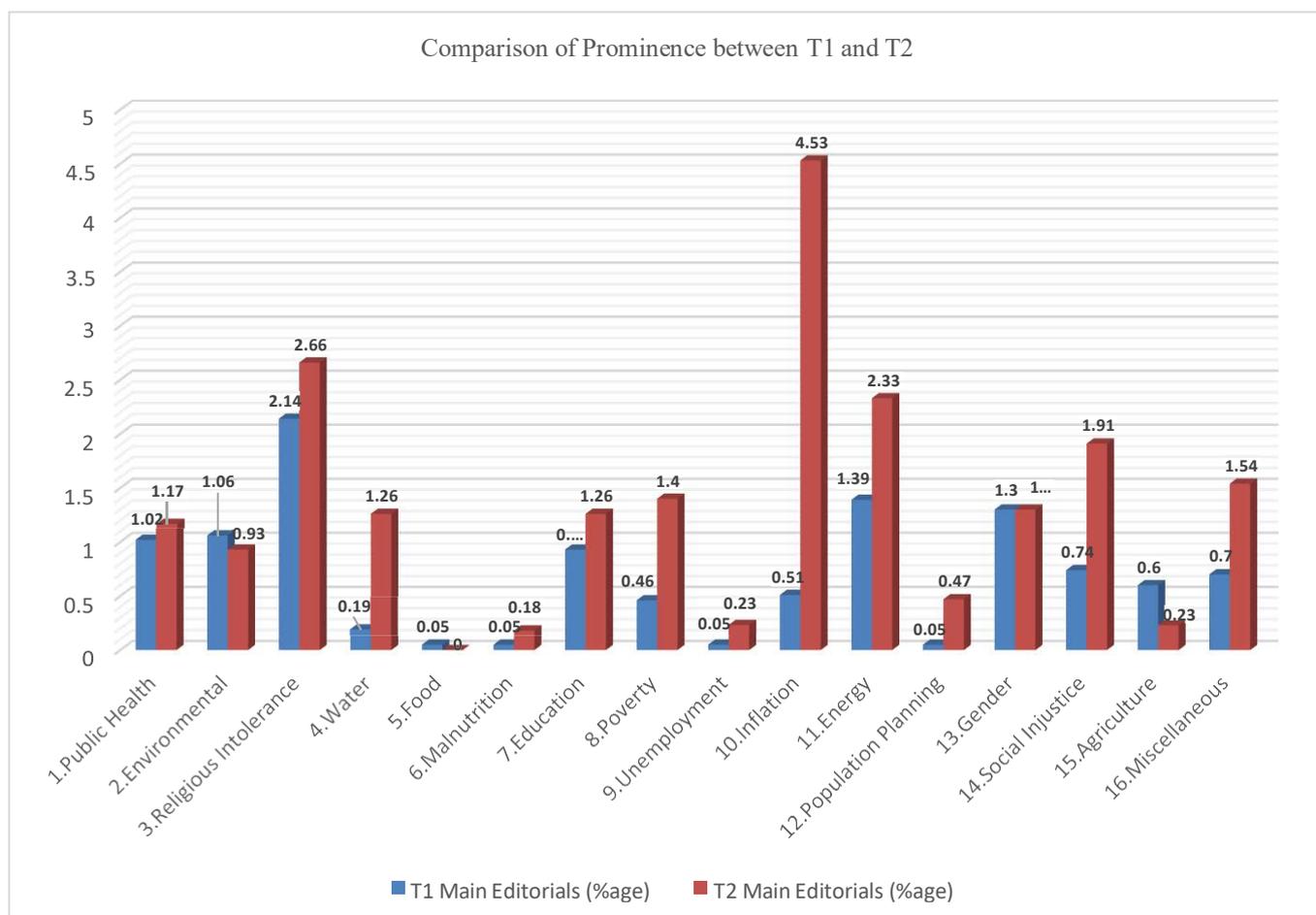


Figure 5.3.2 Comparison of prominence of category A issues for both time periods

Southern advocate-journalists are not only subject to following policy agenda (owing to the political economy of the media) but also perform their normative role of ‘social mobilizers’ or positioned themselves as the ‘common people's mouthpiece’. Interestingly, unlike T1 when energy issues saw a downward ‘significance’ trend (i.e., -0.2%), such issues noticed an upward ‘prominence’ trend during the second time period ($+0.94\%$). The reason lies in the fact that, though energy shortfall in the country was quite settled during the second time period, high energy prices were still a big problem and had a major impact on core inflation itself (Haider, 2014, p.491).

In short, though data in the table 5.3.1 reveals that there was a tangible increase in the ‘significance’ aspect of the editorial coverage of human development issues with the change in policy agenda during the second time period, many of such issues didn’t receive that much ‘prominence’ in the meantime.

5.4 Measurement of Correlation between Urdu and English Newspapers Editorial

Agenda (Section Four)

5.4.1 Correlation between Urdu and English newspapers' editorial agenda for T1

To answer RQ3—i.e., to identify similarities or contrasts between Urdu and English language newspapers' editorial agenda on different issues of human development—a total of 1,052 editorials, published on category (A) issues during the first time period, were further analysed. The data in the Table 5.4.1 shows that Urdu newspapers published 479 (45.6%), while English newspapers published 573 (54.4%) editorials on the selected human development issues in the meanwhile. Out of the total 1,052 editorials, 1,019 were written to individually advocate any one of the selected fifteen human development issues in one entire editorial. Whereas, 33 editorials of *miscellaneous issues* type were found covering more than one selected issue in one entire write-up. The findings indicate that both English and Urdu newspapers commonly considered *health, education and energy issues* as highly important because these three remained in the top five most covered issues of the selected newspapers' editorial agenda of development issues (Fig. 5.4.1). In contrast, three other types of issues including *religious intolerance, inflation, and gender* issues received a dissimilar editorial attention by each of the two language newspapers. For instance, selected English dailies accorded the 1st and 3rd highest significance to *religious intolerance* and *gender issues* by publishing 9.3% and 9.0%

Table 5.4.1 Correlation between Urdu and English press editorial agenda on category A issues (T1)

Human Development Issues Types	Total Urdu (n1=479)	Ranking Urdu	Total English (n2=573)	Ranking English	Grand Total
Public Health	72 (6.8%)	2	96 (9.1%)	2	168 (15.9%)
Environment	51 (4.8%)	3	52 (4.9%)	6	103 (9.8%)
Religious Intolerance	8 (0.8%)	14	98 (9.3%)	1	106 (10.0%)
Water	14 (1.3%)	11	12 (1.1%)	9	26 (2.5%)
Food safety	18 (1.7%)	10	9 (0.9%)	13	27 (2.6%)
Malnutrition	11 (1.0%)	12	12 (1.1%)	10	23 (2.2%)
Education	33 (3.1%)	5	66 (6.3%)	4	99 (9.4%)
Poverty	8 (0.8%)	13	9 (0.9%)	12	17 (1.6%)
Unemployment	7 (0.7%)	15	1 (0.1%)	16	08 (0.8%)
Inflation	44 (4.2%)	4	4 (0.4%)	15	48 (4.6%)
Energy	107 (10.2%)	1	64 (6.1%)	5	171 (16.3%)
Population	1 (0.1%)	16	6 (0.6%)	14	07 (0.7%)
Gender	30 (2.9%)	6	95 (9.0%)	3	125 (11.9%)
Social injustice	29 (2.8%)	7	25 (2.4%)	7	54 (5.1%)
Agriculture	24 (2.3%)	8	13 (1.2%)	8	37 (3.5%)
Miscellaneous	22 (2.1%)	9	11 (1.0%)	11	33 (3.1%)
Total	479 (45.6%)		573 (54.4%)		1,052 (100%)

(N=1,052), $\rho = 1 - (6 * \text{SUM} (d_i^2)) / (n * (n^2 - 1)) = 0.48235 < 0.5$, p (2-tailed) = 0.05846.

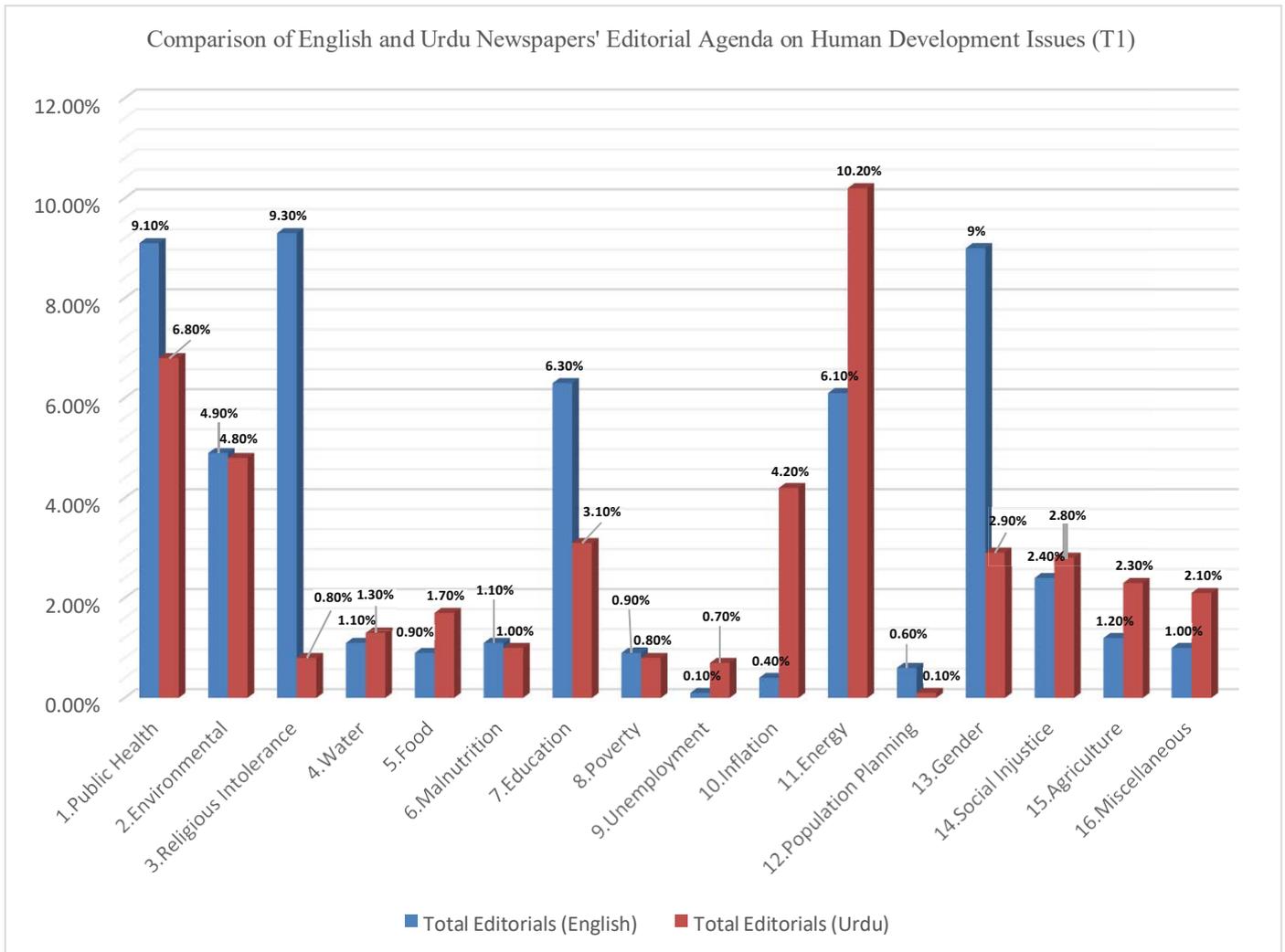


Figure 5.4.1 Comparison between English and Urdu dailies editorial agenda on category A issues for T1

editorial content respectively. Contrarily, Urdu language newspapers equally ignored both of these issues by only publishing 0.8% and 2.9% editorials on each of them respectively. Similarly, *inflation issues* received a healthy 4.2% ‘significance’ by Urdu newspapers, which conversely received a mere 0.4% significance by English language dailies. The rest of other issues— such as *water, food safety, malnutrition, poverty, unemployment, population, social injustice* and *agriculture issues*— were equally ignored and found almost in the same rank in both language dailies’ editorial agenda. The Spearman rho value $\rho=0.48$ and the two-tailed value of $p=0.058$ further illustrate that both language newspapers’ editorial agendas—being moderately interrelated—are not much aligned with each other. By normal standards, the association between the two variables would not be considered statistically significant.

5.4.2 Correlation between Urdu and English newspapers’ editorial agenda for T2

This coverage pattern remained almost unchanged during the second time period as well. The data in the table and figure 5.4.2 indicates that, like T1, both language newspapers almost

equally gave the highest significance to *public health, environment, education and energy issues*. Whereas, like T1, *religious intolerance, inflation, gender and agriculture issues* again received a dissimilar amount of coverage. For instance, *gender and religious intolerance issues* were ranked as the 2nd and 3rd most covered issues for English dailies, which contrarily received the lowest significance and ranked at the bottom of the scale at 15th and 16th positions respectively for Urdu language newspapers. Similarly, *inflation and agriculture issues* received more significance by Urdu newspaper editorialists and eventually ranked at the 1st and 8th most covered issues respectively, which otherwise were overlooked by the

Table 5.4.2 Correlation between Urdu and English press editorial agenda on category A issues (T2)

Human Development Issues Types	Total (Urdu) (n1=833)	Ranking Urdu	Total English (n2=863)	Ranking English	Grand Total
Public Health	145 (8.5%)	2	139 (8.2%)	1	284 (16.7%)
Environment	69 (4.1%)	5	91 (5.4%)	4	160 (9.4%)
Religious Intolerance	9 (0.5%)	16	121 (7.1%)	3	130 (7.7%)
Water	53 (3.1%)	6	41 (2.4%)	9	94 (5.5%)
Food safety	27 (1.6%)	11	5 (0.3%)	15	32 (1.9%)
Malnutrition	21 (1.2%)	12	22 (1.3%)	11	43 (2.5%)
Education	76 (4.5%)	4	68 (4.1%)	6	144 (8.5%)
Poverty	33 (1.9%)	9	20 (1.2%)	12	53 (3.1%)
Unemployment	20 (1.2%)	13	3 (0.2%)	16	23 (1.4%)
Inflation	164 (9.7%)	1	50 (3.0%)	7	214 (12.6%)
Energy	89 (5.2%)	3	72 (4.2%)	5	162 (9.6%)
Population	10 (0.6%)	14	17 (1.0%)	13	27 (1.6%)
Gender	9 (0.5%)	15	137 (8.1%)	2	146 (8.6%)
Social injustice	44 (2.6%)	7	43 (2.5%)	8	87 (5.1%)
Agriculture	36 (2.1%)	8	9 (0.5%)	14	45 (2.7%)
Miscellaneous	28 (1.7%)	10	25 (1.5%)	10	53 (3.1%)
Total	833 (49.0%)		863 (51.0%)		1,696 (100%)

$$(N=1,696), \rho = 1 - (6 * \text{SUM} (d_i^2)) / (n * (n^2 - 1)) = 0.31471 < 0.4, p (2\text{-tailed}) = 0.23516.$$

English press editorialists and eventually ranked at the 7th and 14th positions respectively. Likewise, like T1, *water, food safety, malnutrition, poverty, unemployment, population and social injustice issues* received an equal and medium-to-low coverage by both language newspapers. To understand the relationship between Urdu and English newspapers' editorial agenda, Spearman's rank correlation coefficient formula was again applied (Table 5.4.2). As a result, in comparison to T1, a bit more contradicting correlation values for Urdu and English newspapers (i.e., rho value $\rho=0.31$ and the two-tailed value of $p=0.235$) were noticed, which eventually indicates a non-significant relationship between both language newspapers.

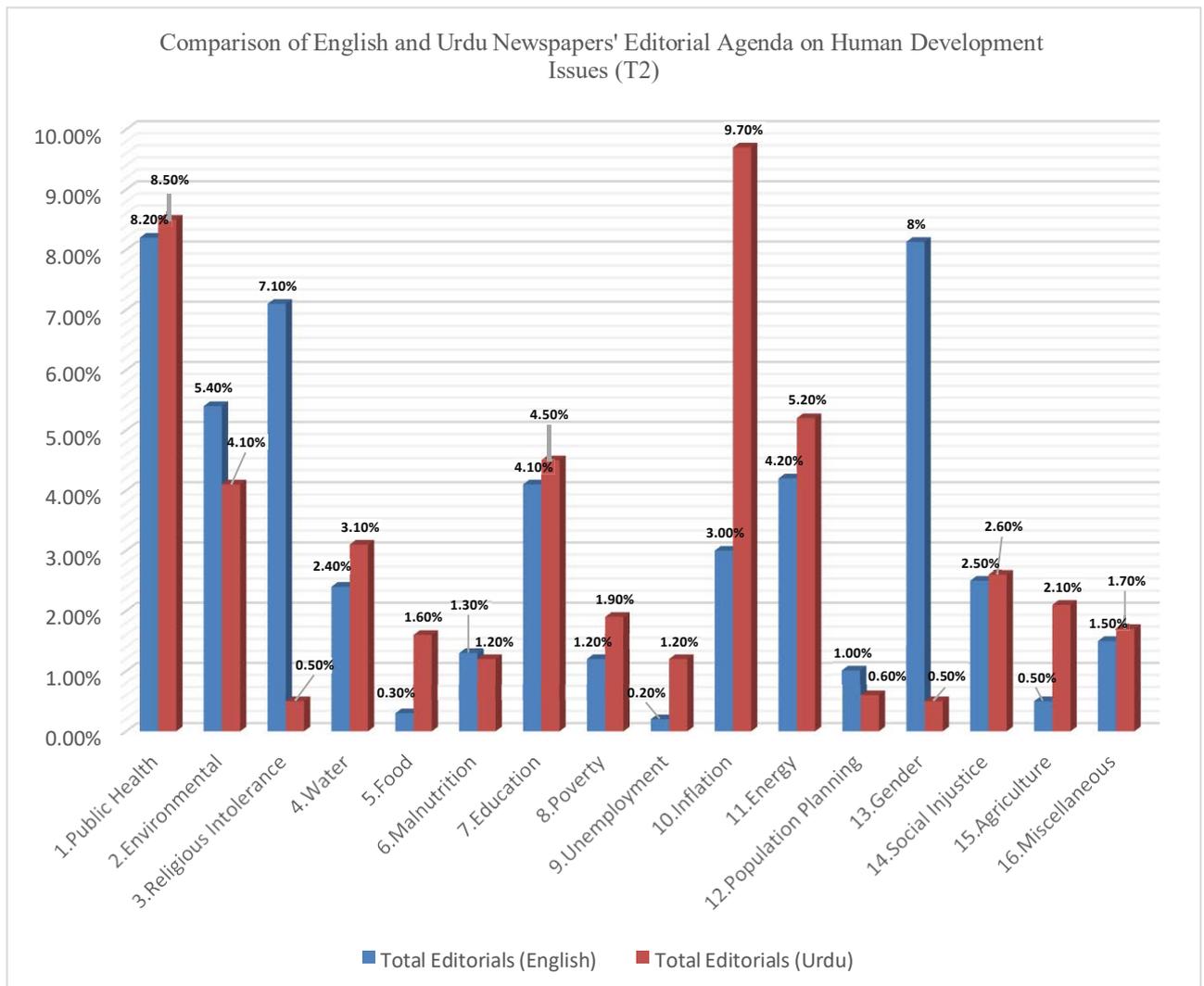


Figure 5.4.2 Comparison between English and Urdu dailies editorial agenda on category A issues for T2

5.4.3 Correlation between Urdu and English newspapers' editorial agenda for both time periods

The data in the table and figure 5.4.3 shows a consolidated picture of the amount of editorial coverage (significance) given to all types of human development category (A) issues during both time periods. The data further reveals that the rank-order correlation between coverage and importance datasets contains some striking but astonishing results with regard to many types of issues for both language newspapers. For example, *public health*, *environment*, *education* and *energy* issues were found to receive almost an equal but the highest coverage by both language newspapers. As shown in the table, *public health* and *environment* issues remained at 1st and 4th rank in both language newspapers editorial agenda, whereas *energy* and *education* issues obtained 3rd and 5th rank in Urdu, and 5th and 6th rank in English newspapers' editorial agenda. Interestingly, *gender* and *religious intolerance* issues were ranked in the top five (at 2nd and 3rd place) in English dailies, but conversely were placed on

the bottom five (at 12th and 15th rank) in Urdu newspapers' editorial agenda. On the other hand, Urdu newspapers' editorialists gave a higher priority to *inflation* and *agriculture issues* that eventually obtained 2nd and 8th rank, while largely ignored by English dailies and ranked at 8th and 14th positions respectively. Results of the Pearson correlation indicated that there is a non-significant medium positive relationship between X and Y, ($\rho = .456$, $p = .076$).

Table 5.4.3 Correlation between Urdu and English press editorial agenda on category A issues (T1+T2)

Human Development Issues Types	Total Urdu (n1=1,312)	Ranking Urdu	Total English (n2=1,436)	Ranking English	Grand Total
Public Health	217 (7.9%)	1	235 (8.6%)	1	452 (16.4%)
Environment	120 (4.4%)	4	143 (5.2%)	4	263 (9.6%)
Religious Intolerance	17 (0.6%)	15	219 (8.0%)	3	236 (8.6%)
Water	67 (2.4%)	7	53 (1.9%)	9	120 (4.4%)
Food safety	45 (1.6%)	10	14 (0.5%)	15	59 (2.2%)
Malnutrition	32 (1.2%)	13	34 (1.2%)	11	66 (2.4%)
Education	109 (4.0%)	5	134 (4.9%)	6	243 (8.8%)
Poverty	41 (1.5%)	11	29 (1.1%)	12	70 (2.6%)
Unemployment	27 (1.0%)	14	4 (0.1%)	16	31 (1.1%)
Inflation	208 (7.6%)	2	54 (2.0%)	8	262 (9.5%)
Energy	196 (7.1%)	3	136 (4.9%)	5	332 (12.1%)
Population	11 (0.4%)	16	23 (0.8%)	13	34 (1.2%)
Gender	39 (1.4%)	12	232 (8.4%)	2	271 (9.9%)
Social injustice	73 (2.7%)	6	68 (2.5%)	7	141 (5.1%)
Agriculture	60 (2.2%)	8	22 (0.8%)	14	82 (3.0%)
Miscellaneous	50 (1.8%)	9	36 (1.3%)	11	86 (3.1%)
Total	1,312 (47.8%)		1,436 (52.2%)		2,748 (100%)

($N=2,748$), $\rho = 1 - (6 * \text{SUM}(d_i^2)) / (n * (n^2 - 1)) = 0.45588 < 0.5$, p (2-tailed) = 0.07595

To conclude, the findings generally indicate that the overall editorial agenda of mainstream Pakistani newspapers have varied approaches—with noticeable contrasts—in terms of influencing the public agenda on human development issues.

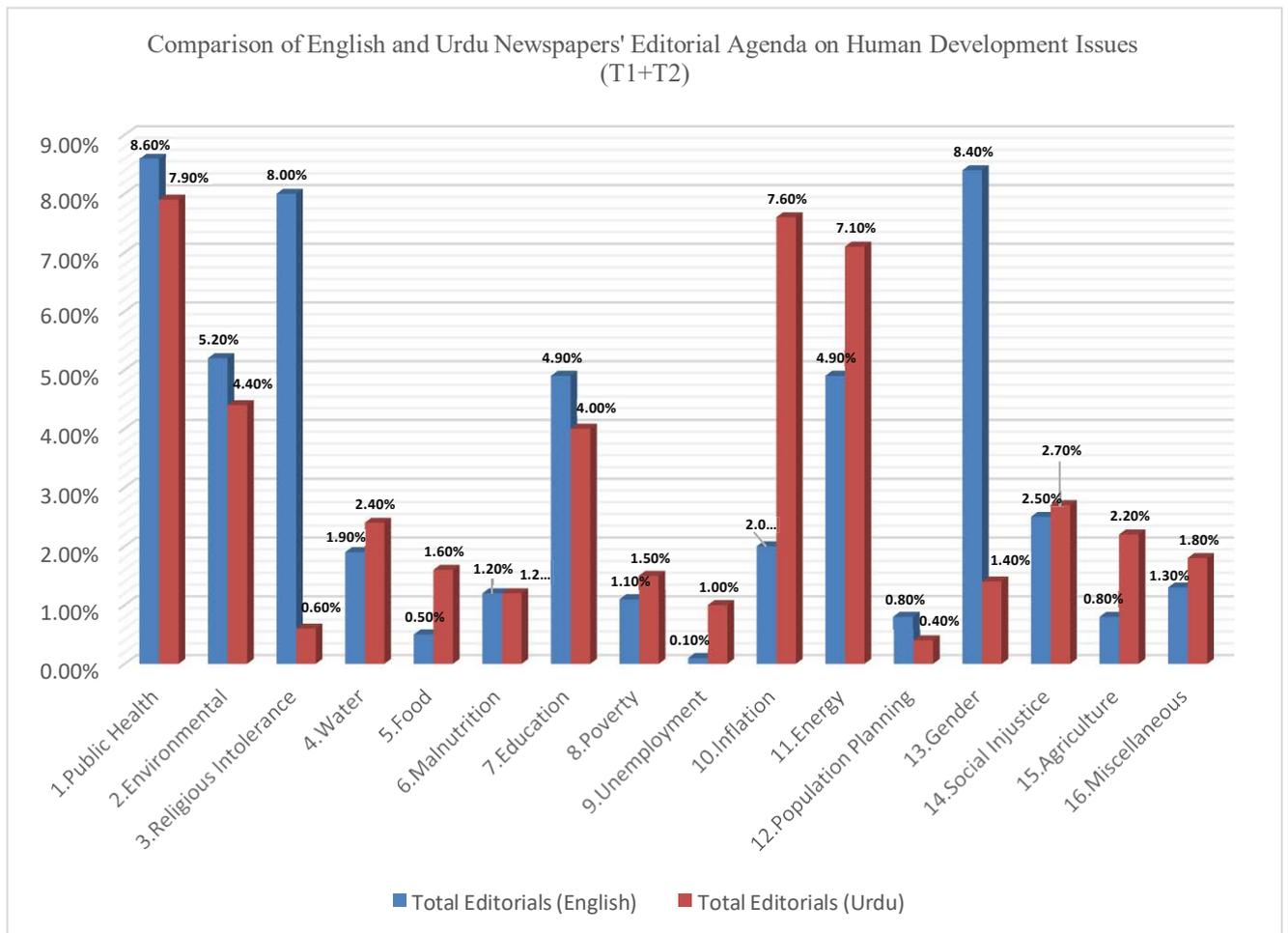


Figure 5.4.3 Comparison between English and Urdu dailies editorial agenda on category A issues for both time periods.

5.5 Measurement of Correlation between Editorialists' and Readers' Priority Agenda (Section Five)

5.5.1 Correlation between daily Dawn's editorialists' and readers' priority issues (FBL)

To answer research question 4, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient formula was applied (Table 5.5.1). This was used to test the association between the two ranked variables: *editorialists* and *readers'* priorities of published issues via Facebook Likes. Consequently, the rho (ρ) value=0.2 and the two-tailed value of $p=0.74706$ was attained. By normal standards, this association between the pairs of variables would not be considered statistically significant. Furthermore, the rank-order correlation between published editorials and readers' average FBL datasets indicated a clear difference of selection of issues between both the editorialists and the readers. For instance, human development issues (category A) received the highest number of average FBL, contrary to the highest number of editorials published on state and political parties' policy issues (category D). Similarly, editorialists gave second priority to international relations and issues (category B); conversely, security operations- related issues (category C) were the second most liked by the readers. These trends further pointed out that editorialists preferred to write on the issues serving the interests of proponents of the status quo (i.e., state machinery, political parties etc.), while readers preferred editorial content directly relevant to them and their security (i.e., human development and human security).

Table 5.5.1 Correlation between editorialists' and readers' priority issues (Facebook Likes)

Category	Editorials published (%)	Ranking editorials	Facebook Likes received (average)	Ranking Facebook Likes
A	268 (21%)	3	14,281 (53.3)	1
B	307 (25%)	2	10,507 (34.2)	4
C	133 (11%)	4	5,895 (44.3)	2
D	527 (42%)	1	18,163 (34.5)	3
E	16 (1%)	5	148 (9.3)	5
Total	1,251 (100%)		48,994 (39.2)	

Note: (N=1,251), $\rho=0.2$, $p=0.74706$.

5.5.2 Correlation between daily Dawn's editorialists' and readers' priority issues (ORCs) T1

To answer research question 4, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient formula was again applied (Table 5.5.2). This time, it was used to test the association between the two ranked variables: *editorialists* and *readers'* priorities of published issues via ORCs during the

first time period. Consequently, the rho (ρ) value=0.2 and the two-tailed value of $p=0.8$ was attained. By normal standards, this association between the pairs of variables would not be considered statistically significant. Furthermore, the data in Table 5.5.2a shows that human development category (A) issues were highly discussed by the online readers during the first time period that received an average number of 10.1 comments per editorial (though editorialists preferred to write on category D issues with 58% content) followed by the category D and E issues that received 9.7 and 6.0 similar comments respectively. Interestingly, Category C issues were the most discussed issues among the readers with an average number of 13.1 comments per editorial owing to the fact that large-scale security (military) operations were going on to eradicate terrorism militancy and insurgency from various parts of the country during the first time period. Data further shows that Category D issues, despite receiving the highest editorialists' attention received second lowest comments from the daily *Dawn's* online readers.

Table 5.5.2 Correlation between editorialists' and readers' priority issues during T1 (ORCs)

Category	Editorials published (%)	Ranking editorials	ORCs received (average)	Ranking Facebook Likes
A	206 (25%)	2	2,080 (10.1)	2
C	124 (15%)	3	1,630 (13.1)	1
D	468 (58%)	1	4,523 (9.7)	3
E	15 (2%)	4	90 (6.0)	4
Total	813 (100%)		8,323 (10.2)	

Note: (N=813), $\rho=0.2$, $p(2\text{-tailed}) = 0.8$.

Table 5.5.2a Comparison among selected categories in terms of receiving ORCs during (T1).

Category	Total Editorials	Percentage	ORCs Received	Avg. Comments/ Editorial
A	206	25%	2,080	10.1
C	124	15%	1,630	13.1
D	468	58%	4,523	9.7
E	15	2%	90	6.0
Total	813	100%	8,323	10.2

5.5.3 Correlation between daily *Dawn's* editorialists' and readers' priority issues (ORCs) T2

Later, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient formula was once again applied to test the association between the two ranked variables: *editorialists* and *readers'* priorities of published issues via ORCs during the second time period. The rho (ρ) value=0.6 and the two-

tailed value of $p=0.4$ in Table 5.5.2 indicates that the correlation between the pairs of variables (i.e., editorialists and readers priority issues) would not be considered statistically significant. Additionally, Table 5.5.3a reveals that, contrary to T1, category C issues received the least attention by the online receivers (with an average number of 6.5 comments per editorial) during the second time period. This sharp decline in ORCs is comprehensible because most of the security operations were completed in the meanwhile and to a large extent law and order situation had significantly been improved in different parts of the country during T2. Interestingly, human development category (A) issues received the highest number of average comments per editorial i.e., 11.8, followed by category D and E issues that received 11.4 and 10.5 similar comments. This increase in ORCs on category A issues is due to the fact that during T2, human development issues came on ‘policy agenda’ and from there on the ‘media agenda’ that eventually sparked readers’ interest, who increased posting comments on editorials written in the context of human development issues.

Table 5.5.3 Correlation between editorialists’ and readers’ priority issues during T2 (ORCs)

Category	Editorials published (%)	Ranking editorials	ORCs received (average)	Ranking Facebook Likes
A	335 (25%)	2	3,964 (11.8)	1
C	64 (15%)	3	418 (6.5)	4
D	433 (58%)	1	4,949 (11.4)	2
E	12 (2%)	4	126 (10.5)	3
Total	844 (100%)		9,457 (11.2)	

Note: (N=844), $\rho=0.6$, $p(2\text{-tailed})=0.4$.

Table 5.5.3a Comparison among selected categories in terms of receiving ORCs during (T2).

Category	Total Editorials	Percentage	ORCs Received	Avg. Comments/ Editorial
A	335	40%	3,964	11.8
C	64	8%	418	6.5
D	433	51%	4,949	11.4
E	12	1%	126	10.5
Total	844	100%	9,457	11.2

5.5.4 Correlation between daily Dawn’s editorialists’ and readers’ priority issues (ORCs)

To get a comprehensive view of both time periods (T1 and T2), the Spearman’s correlation coefficient formula was again applied to test the association between editorialists and readers priorities of published issues. Accordingly, the rho (ρ) value=0.4 and the two-tailed value of

p=0.6 indicates that the association between the pairs of variables would not be considered statistically significant (Table 5.5.4). Furthermore, the rank-order correlation between published editorials and readers' average ORCs datasets indicated a clear difference of selection of issues between both the editorialists and the readers. For instance, human development issues (category A) received the highest number of average ORCs (11.2), contrary to the highest number of editorials published on state and political parties' policy (D) issues, i.e., 54%. Interestingly, the cumulative results of both time periods show an interesting fact that the online readers discussed human development category (A) issues the most by posting an average number of 11.2 comments per editorial, followed by 10.9 on category C and 10.5 on category D issues. These trends further pointed out that editorialists' write-ups were predominantly elites-cantered, contrary to the readers preferences, who preferred to comment on the issues which were directly relevant to them and their security (i.e., human development and human security).

Table 5.5.4 Correlation between editorialists' and readers' priority issues during T1+T2 (ORCs)

Category	Editorials published (%)	Ranking editorials	ORCs received (average)	Ranking Facebook Likes
A	541 (33%)	2	6,044 (11.2)	1
C	188 (11%)	3	2,048 (10.9)	2
D	901 (54%)	1	9,472 (10.5)	3
E	27 (2%)	4	216 (8.0)	4
Total	844 (100%)		17,780 (10.7)	

Note: (N=844), $\rho=0.4$, $p(2\text{-tailed})=0.6$.

Table 5.5.4a Comparison among selected categories in terms of receiving ORCs during (T1+T2).

Category	Total Editorials	Percentage	ORCs Received	Avg. Comments/ Editorial
A	541	33%	6,044	11.2
C	188	11%	2,048	10.9
D	901	54%	9,472	10.5
E	27	2%	216	8.0
Total	1657	100%	17,780	10.7

Chapter 6-Conclusion and Discussion

6. Chapter Structure

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first one sheds light on the study results, which are normally referred to direct answers to the research questions that have been generated from the data. The next section unfolds discussion on the study results, i.e., it relates the findings to previous studies/theories/models; and eventually contextualizes the contribution of this study in the existing scholarship in the Pakistani context.

6.1 Conclusion (Section One)

6.1.1 Flawed Editorial Agenda-Setting Priorities

In the first place, this study through RQ1 aimed primarily to compare five major content categories to explore the difference in editorial coverage between human development issues and other issues. The ultimate findings are in line with those of other studies conducted in the context of developing countries (Asante, 1999; Banjade, 2002; Hussain, 2000; Jwadder & Hazarika, 2012; Kayode & Jimoh, 2009; Murthy et al., 2010; Popoola, 2014; Singh, 2011; Tuurosang & Kendie, 2014; Umber, 1999), which concluded that newspaper editorialists gave marginal coverage to development issues compared to other issues.

During the first time period, the human development category (A) issues were among those which received the least attention (both in terms of ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’) from the editorial boards of mainstream Pakistani newspapers. The highest number of editorials were published on state and political parties’ policy issues (category D); followed by international relations and issues (category B) issues.

Although, the editorial writers started publishing more content on human development issues during the second time period, the overall coverage of human development issues (the mean of both time periods) still seems inadequate. Particularly, when it comes to comparing with the category B and D issues coverage (both in terms of ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’) and against the backdrop of carrying bad human development indicators for the last many years.

As far as giving ‘significance’ to human development issues is concerned, it was noticeably increased from the first time period to second time period. However, such issues did not see significant increase in ‘prominence’ aspect in the meantime. In simple words, the editorial writers had significantly increased publishing the number of editorials on human

development category (A) issues during the second time period, but most of such content was being published in the form of *editorial notes*. Main editorials/leaders—which possess more advocacy potential—were still largely being used for advocating category B, C and D issues.

A comparison of Urdu and English newspapers in terms of giving ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ to various content categories shows that both language newspapers almost equally ignored to address human development issues, with an exception of English newspapers that gave a slightly higher ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ to such issues than their Urdu counterparts. Contrarily, both Urdu and English newspapers gave an equal and fair coverage to security operations issues, particularly during the first time period. It looks as despite carrying the persistently bad HDI value (which is evident from the data in Table 1.4) and being a major recipient of the negative repercussions of global climate change (Eckstein et al., 2019), Pakistani advocate-journalists (editorial writers) still consider terrorism and associated issues a much bigger threat to the existence of the country. Interestingly, English newspapers dedicated more editorial space to country’s internal issues (i.e., on category A, category C and category D issues) than the Urdu language newspapers, which conversely gave more ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ to external world issues (i.e., category B issues).

As far as English newspapers’ editorial policies are concerned, category A issues coverage patterns (both in terms of ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’) were kept on changing periodically, yet on the whole, *The News* gave more coverage to human development issues than *The Nation* and daily *Dawn*.

Among Urdu language newspapers, *Daily Dunya* comparatively gave the highest ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ to human development issues than *Daily Express* and *The Daily Jang*, which conversely published more editorials on ‘International Relations and Issues’ (category B) and ‘Security Operations’ issues respectively.

While answering the first contributory question (RQ1a)¹⁹, it was noted that English language newspapers comparatively gave more coverage (both in terms of ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’) to irrelevant external world issues (Subcategory B2), probably to gratify the needs of their foreign readers.

Similarly, during both time periods, in comparison to English dailies, Urdu language newspapers gave more ‘significance’ and ‘prominence’ to Pakistan’s long-standing conflicts

¹⁹To what extent were external world issues (category B) advocated in editorials compared to the internal development issues (category A) in Pakistan?

with India and Afghanistan compared to human development issues. It shows that despite being owned by the corporate owners, Pakistani editorial journalism is still under the strong influence of ‘advocate-journalist’ model of the pre-independence movement.

In summary, the aforementioned analysis suggests a flawed approach of Pakistani editorial writers, who instead of giving adequate coverage to human development issues to eventually influence public policymaking process and become voice of the voiceless factions of the society, seem writing on issues of elites’ interest and forces of status quo in the country.

6.1.2 Pro-human development media agenda builders

Secondly, this study was aimed at finding the change in editorial agenda with the change in policy agenda. Eventually, the data reveal that both language newspapers have increased editorial content on human development issues with the arrival of influential agenda-builders in power. Additionally, the data further shows that the decrease in the editorial content on category C issues (owing to the end of military operations) and category B issues (owing to relatively smoother relations with the neighbours) during the second time period also contributed in improving coverage on human development category (A) issues.

The ‘significance’ given to human development issues (category A) has tangibly increased during the second time period. The number of editorials on human development issues were grossly increased when pro-human development agenda-builders (The Prime Minister and Chief Justice of Pakistan) took the oath of their offices and in their public speeches and media appearances started talking on many human development issues. Both Urdu and English newspapers’ editorialists gave more ‘significance’ to such category A issues that were on the agenda of the agenda-builders of Pakistan.

A comparison of ‘prominence’ given to different content categories issues between both time periods reveals that though coverage of human development category (A) issues were adequately increased from T1 to T2, yet compared to a higher increase in ‘significance’ during the same periods of time, this increase looks insignificant. This trend further indicates that both language newspapers’ editorialists appeared to primarily cover the human development issues in *editorial notes*. Main editorials/Leaders were still being used for covering category B or D issues.

Moreover, while responding to RQ2a²⁰ and RQ2b²¹, data further reveal that apart from the agenda of powerful state officials, editorialists also published the issues of common people (Inflation and unemployment issues). This trend indicates that though Pakistani advocate-journalists give due attention to rulers and state officials of the country, at times they become voice of the voiceless factions of the society as well. It further indicates the dual influence of audience appeal and the powerful sources on the media content.

6.1.3 Inter-media agenda differences as a barrier to consensus building function

Thirdly, this study was focused to find a correlation between Urdu and English newspapers' editorial agenda regarding their selection of various issues of human development. In this quest, a moderate relationship was eventually observed because of having more contrasts and fewer similarities in Urdu and English newspapers' editorial priorities. The data further reveal that the association between the two variables (Urdu and English newspapers' editorial agenda) would not be considered statistically significant.

To understand a dissimilar number of editorials regarding many similar issues between both language newspapers, one needs to understand the socioeconomic and sociocultural background of each language newspapers' readers. Pertaining to the literature—which reveals that unlike the elite class English subscribers, Urdu dailies are popular among low-income readers (Ejaz et al. 2021, p.7; Siraj, 2009)—the data indicates that editorial boards of each language newspaper kept in view this socioeconomic milieu of its readers, while selecting any issue of human development. For example, the majority of common people in Pakistan belong to the low-income class, who are directly affected by increasing inflation and energy shortage. Being popular among common people, Urdu editorials advocated these issues far more than the elite-oriented English press. Particularly, Urdu editorialists emphasized on lowering the prices of 'food basket items' which is not an issue for the wealthy upper class of English press. Similarly, Urdu editorialists stressed more on an immediate solution of electricity and gas shortfall, and on cheaper prices as well because unlike the elite class readers, ordinary people can't afford alternative sources of energy.

²⁰ RQ2(a). Did the official agenda-building factors (i.e., PR tactics and 'status of a news source') contribute in improving the editorial coverage of human development issues?

²¹ RQ2(b). Did the non-official agenda-building factors (i.e., editorialists as advocate-journalists) contribute in improving the editorial coverage of increasing inflation or unemployment rate in the country?

Moreover, due to this Urdu-English split (Abbas, 2007), mass media also seem to be divided into two ideological domains (Rahman & Eijaz, 2014). While supporting this notion, the data of the present study reveals that unlike the internationally inspired local English press, the Urdu editorial journalism does not include much coverage on *religious intolerance* in Pakistan during both of the time periods of this study.

In fact, during the first time period, the state of Pakistan took a U-turn on country's security policies. The violent religious narratives and elements, which had once been patronized during Afghan Jihad by the then President General Zia's led security establishment (Shah, 2012)—were being eliminated on account of following National Action Plan in the year 2015. Jamil (2014:12) aptly revealed General Zia's Islamization policy as:

The Pakistani military has played a decisive role in the infusion of Islam as the national ideology (Zirker, 2008, p. 327). Pakistan underwent a massive process of Islamisation that promoted religious groups in the country during General Zia's regime (1977-88). Consequently, today Pakistan is facing the challenges of religious extremism and violence... The overwhelming influence of Islam on Pakistani society contradicts the secular vision of Mohammad Ali Jinnah (country's founder) because he envisaged a modern, socially progressive and democratic Pakistan.

This reversal of state policy encouraged liberal left wing's representative English press to vibrantly advocate all those motivating factors which had been involved in spreading religious intolerance in the country and establishing a fundamentalist state image abroad. In fact, editorial treatment of issues including revising Blasphemy Laws, ensuring Madrasah Reforms, voicing for violence against religious Ahmadi community, Asia Bibi and for secular activists by English press seem helpful to promote a tolerant society inside, and a liberal and soft image of the country abroad. Finding Pakistani society in a state of flux, English press seems daring enough to advocate such issues which were once considered taboo subjects in the country. Contrarily, finding the right-wing ideas on a recessive node, Urdu press preferred to remain somehow passive on aforesaid religious issues. While rationalizing this editorial ineptitude of Urdu newspapers in terms of not covering the sensitive religious issues, Khan and Aziz (2017, para, 18) enumerated various 'influences' behind:

There are communication researchers who believe that the establishment – especially its military component – follows different sets of policies for Urdu and English newspapers in the country. Issues commonly discussed with relative ease in English

newspapers bring in their wake immense pressure when discussed in Urdu papers. This pressure comes not just from the establishment; political and religious parties, banned outfits and various pressure groups are all in the fray.

This tug of war between liberal and conventional ideologies in the country is further visible from the *gender issues*' editorial coverage results as well. Urdu press gave three times less editorial attention to gender issues than its English counterpart. In fact, Urdu newspapers—being popular among conservative mind-set of the country—seemed reluctant to advocate issues, which can challenge the patriarchal nature of Pakistani society. While English press editorials—being charged with the recently improved realization of women rights in the society (Hassan, 2010) and to gratify their cosmopolitan liberal readers' needs—advocated all those possible aspects, which can enhance gender equality and help to end violence against women in the country. This tangible difference of coverage between Urdu and English press to '*religious intolerance*' and '*gender issues*' eventually indicate the influence of religious and cultural 'ideologies' in shaping up the journalistic content in the country.

Conversely, few similar topical tendencies between Urdu and English language newspapers are also evident from the data. For example, both language newspapers somehow equally ignored to advocate *population planning* issues. In prima facie, it seems as English press is deliberately overlooking this issue owing to the fact that its progressive readers are already enlightened and motivated enough to keep their family size small. While, Urdu press editorialists also seem intentionally ignoring this sensitive issue—finding it contradictory to existing beliefs of their right-wing conservative religious minded readers.

Besides that, during the first time period, English press gave negligible coverage to *unemployment, inflation, water, food safety and malnutrition issues*—considering all of them non-issues for its wealthy, upper-class readers. Urdu newspapers are, however, unjustifiable to give such meagre editorial attention during the first time period, despite the fact that their lower class and semi-literate readership is the main victim of all these issues. Few possible reasons behind this neglect a) can be a passive role being played by advocacy groups—who can effectively feed and use Urdu newspapers' platform to generate required political will around these issues b) such issues were absent on the policy agenda. The second reason seems more acceptable because—during second time period—when *water issues, food safety and malnutrition issues* came on the 'policy agenda', consequently they came on the 'editorial agenda' as well on both Urdu and English language newspapers. It further shows

the influence of ‘extra-media’ factor (see HOI Model in Chapter 2) on media content

On these Urdu and English dailies issue selection inclinations—theoretically speaking— it can be remarked that both language newspapers in Pakistan tried to gratify the communication needs of their respective readership. Moreover, the tendency of avoidance by Urdu press to advocate certain contemporary socially sensitive issues—including women emancipation, revisiting Blasphemy Laws, violence against Ahmadi and other religious minorities, family planning etc.—can be further understood by viewing it through cognitive dissonance theory perspective. As per this theory—audience tend to avoid information and situations that might increase the dissonance (mental discomfort) to them (Donsbach, 2009:142). So, Urdu newspapers’ editorial boards deliberately avoided to discuss such issues either to reduce cognitive dissonance for their readers or to avoid selective exposure- response²² from the readers (Sears & Freedman, 1967:196). This avoidance further shows the influence of ‘ideology’ factor (see HOI Model in Chapter 2) on media content.

Though literature reveals that one key function of mass media is to boost group consensus within the diverse social system by imposing its agenda setting ability (Shaw & Martin, 1992). Yet, instead of serving to unify the readers as one nation through consensus building, the contemporary Pakistani Urdu and English press editorials—through their choice and treatment of certain human development issues—seem to broaden the communal gaps between both language readerships. This study suggests such ‘contrasting treatment’ of certain human development issues as *inter media agenda differences*. It further recommends that a unified understanding of human development issues is needed to be developed by the both language newspapers to transform the diversified factions of hybrid and hodgepodge Pakistani society into one nation.

Moreover, this study adds on an important aspect in the existing scholarship on ‘media consensus building function’ that largely emphasizes on media’s normative role to present adequate and uniform pictures of the issues to reach maximum agreement among the members of a social system (Shaw & Martin, 1992; Chiang, 1995, Higgins, 2009). However, none of the previous study has documented *inter-media agenda differences*, which can otherwise negatively impact this normative role of consensus building by the mass media.

From the de-westernization of media theory’s perspective (Waisbord & Mellado,

²² “People tend to see and hear communications that are favourable or congenial to their predispositions; they are more likely to see and hear congenial communications than neutral or hostile ones.” (Sears & Freedman, 1967:196)

2014:361), these findings further confirm the need to expand the existing theoretical and conceptual frameworks of communication studies beyond the dominant Western world-based scholarship. Because the existing Eurocentric and Western communication studies on ‘media consensus building function’ has primarily focused to reveal how different key “groups” in society come to agree on important social issues as a consequence of being exposed to the news media. Exploring *inter-media agenda differences*, whom abovementioned key “groups” are exposed to, have barely been studied before in the Western world contexts. The findings of the present study (concerning *inter-media agenda differences*) support the notion of de-westernization of communication theory to make the existing scholarship more inclusive and representative.

6.1.4 *Conflicting editorial and readers agendas*

During the retrieval of editorials from the online editions of selected newspapers, this study came across some valuable data to assess readers priority trends. In this connection, initially, FBL were counted that each of the sample editorials of the daily Dawn had received from readers until August 30, 2016 and from August 19, 2018 to October 18, 2018. Similarly, ORCs were gathered and eventually counted, that were posted during both of the time periods of this study. Afterwards, the collected data was consolidated that to calculate average FBL and ORCs per editorial. Although human development issues were among those, which received the least editorial coverage by the editorial board of daily *Dawn*. Interestingly, however, such issues got the highest response from ordinary readers in the form of average FBL and ORCs per editorial. This dichotomy reveals that readers are much more interested in issues that have a direct impact on their daily life than issues pushed by forces that seek to maintain the status quo. To conclude, it was found that the overall editorial agenda did not have a significant relationship with the overall readers’ agenda, which further supported a weak association between both of the ranked variables. Consequently, the findings are in line with the assumption that the overall media agenda failed to influence the overall readers’ agenda.

6.2 Discussion (Section Two)

The findings of present study reveal that contemporary Pakistani editorial journalism trends (i.e., in terms of not adequately covering human development issues unless such issues come on the policy agenda, not giving due attention to readers priorities by editorialists and with their inter-media agenda differences between Urdu and English newspapers) seem under the influence of a number of factors. Let us discuss those factors in the light of hierarchy of influence model and other relevant existing theory and literature.

6.2.1 Individual-level influences

At the most micro level, the *individual level* assumes that news content is affected by the individual workers' personal characteristics and traits including their *educational and professional background*, their *motivation level*, *the news values they adhere to*, their *personal attitudes, values and beliefs* towards mass media discourse, and their *demographic features* (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996:59–99).

While responding to the questions concerning individual-level influences on editorial content, interviewees 1, 3, 4 and 14 pointed out the shortcomings in existing journalism syllabuses, which lack content and professional training modules aimed at the accurate and adequate reporting of development issues. Interviewee 4 stressed:

Enriching the journalism curricula with such courses that can equip journalists/editorialists with new techniques of covering development issues through bottom-up reporting to raise the voices of the voiceless groups of people.

While quoting a working journalist's views, Jamil (2020, p.281) reported a similar observation in her study:

Journalists' knowledge about issues of development is very important. Higher Education Commission of Pakistan (HEC)²³ and major public-sector universities (like Karachi, Punjab and Peshawar Universities) do not pay attention to revise their curriculum regularly. Consequently, the courses on Development Communication that are taught to journalism students in these universities are not enough to train them for reporting on complex issues in an understandable manner for their readers or audience.

²³ The Higher Education Commission (colloquially known as HEC) is a statutory body formed by the government of Pakistan which was established in 2002 and its main functions are funding, overseeing, regulating and accrediting the higher education institutions in the country.

In a bid to answer the question as why Urdu newspapers ignore gender issues in both their news and editorial coverage, interviewee 8 added an interesting point:

It is due to the personal background and demographic features of the Urdu media journalists. Unlike English newspapers, where there are a lot of women working even at editor's-level; in Urdu journalism, there are very few female practicing journalists and hardly any of them are working in the editorial board or even at executive level. Therefore, this male dominated world of Urdu journalism has very little interest or realization of the miseries of other genders. Additionally, in journalism schools, future journalists are hardly taught any courses on gender studies or issues.

Regarding a question about the lack of fact check stories and data-based journalistic content on development issues, interviewee 2, 6 and 12 considered the journalism schools responsible. Interviewee 12 added an interesting point in this notion:

There exist strong rival relations among journalism academia in almost every university department in the country. The teacher groups are mostly engaged in doing politics and conspiracies against each other, the whole time. Amid all this rift and conflict, the major sufferers are the future journalists (students). They don't get enough attention and training and eventually join the practical journalism without any skills on how to undertake data journalism or other modern reporting skills.

Carpentier (2015:211-12), while testifying the strong conflicts within academia, reported that:

Academia has a long history of division. As one of the social fields, embedded in national contexts and their political realities, academia has not been untouched by these divisions (p.212). The different types of conflict that exist within academia include political and paradigmatic conflict, struggles between critical and administrative research, as well as linguistic, cultural, organizational, personal, resource-driven and competition-driven conflicts (p.211).

In the Pakistani context, a number of existing studies also reveal that media content production process has to face many challenges from journalists' individual level background, demographics, traits and characteristics. In this regard, Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2020: 98-99) highlighted an important aspect of gender difference as:

gender plays a crucial role in deciding challenges related to the journalistic practice in Pakistan, and specifically to combat with the problem of reporting reliable information

to the public amid pandemic. When talking about how journalists' gender influence their ability to deal with disinfodemic, a female journalist highlights: In Pakistan, there is a major problem of women's and girls' access to accurate information, which is often restricted in the country's rural and tribal areas. There is a huge dominance of male journalists in the Pakistani news media, which deprives female journalists to come forward to communicate pandemic-related information and preventive measures to women, and to keep them away from false cures and unreliable information.

While revealing the role of journalists' educational background, Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2020: 99) stated that:

In addition to gender, this study finds that a lack of journalists' education into science journalism and their training to filter reliable information is depriving Pakistani people to access verified information about COVID-19 disease. "We do not have science journalists in Pakistan. Journalists are not trained to handle infodemic and disinfodemic in the country. Unintentionally, they may share inaccurate facts", states a news producer from a private television news channel.

In this perspective, Ejaz et al. (2021:10) further added the lack of science-oriented knowledge background of Pakistani journalists in negatively impacting the journalistic content on environmental issues in Pakistan as:

At an individual level, this study finds that except for a few respondents (5), most journalists consider themselves lacking the domain-specific knowledge required for covering the complex issue of climate change. It could be because all participants in this study have qualifications related to journalism, whereas none has educational background concerning climate and environment sciences. Hence, this lack of relevant expertise significantly influences the news content on environmental issues in Pakistan.

Ejaz et al. (2021:11) found the role of individual journalist's heightened motivation level in media content production as a key factor, despite having limited domain-specific knowledge and lack of training to report some development-related issues:

In terms of personal motivation, 20 respondents have expressed that they began covering climate issues owing to their interest, whereas one was assigned to report on environmental stories. Thus, their affective affiliation to the issue has often influenced their content in various ways, including their choice of medium, news format, and time

they are willing to spend on each story. One veteran journalist narrated his reason as: I belong to the Thar desert (a rural and economically less developed area in Sindh province) and bear witness to the actual consequences of climate change because it has made my family migrate three times in the last few years. This personal experience has shaped my identity as a climate journalist, which reflects in my coverage.

In this connection, Ittefaq et al. (2021:9) added few other journalists concerns, for instance:

the lack of resources for training to integrate media convergence into the industry in Pakistan. Journalists explained that a lack of training has made their jobs difficult because of the extra pressure of self-learning they feel is required to be able to produce content for different and distinct media platforms. However, despite voicing all of these concerns, the journalists recognized they continue to work under such conditions because the alternative to compliance is the scary thought of unemployment.

6.2.2 Routine-Level influences

Journalistic routines are defined as “patterned, routinized, repeated practices, and forms that media workers use to do their jobs” (Shoemaker and Reese, 1995:105) and include, for example, *news sourcing practices, news values, priority given to news, gatekeeping, selection patterns of more profit-oriented content, audience appeal* and many others (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 100–132; Tandoc and Duffy, 2019).

Most of the interview participants were of the view that *audience appeal* has a strong influence in shaping up the media content. In this regard, for instance, interviewee 1 revealed:

Each language newspapers have a specific readership. For example, English newspapers have highly educated, cosmopolitan subscribers, therefore their editor have to keep in mind the choice and taste of their readers while selecting and publishing various issues. Contrarily, Urdu newspapers’ readership is mostly based in rural areas (keep here in mind that around 70 percent population of Pakistan lives in rural areas) with a lower-middle class, conservative minded background. Consequently, Urdu dailies’ editors prefer publishing such content that appeal their particular readership.

In this connection, Interviewees 1,4 and 9 added an interesting point, which reveals that owing to urban-rural and social class-based split in the Pakistani society, English language editorialists prefer to highlight the issues of their upper class, liberal minded readership

(women issues, religious intolerance), whereas Urdu Editorialists are bent to advocate the issues of their lower class, rural-based readership (inflation, unemployment issues).

As stated before, audience appeal is an influential journalistic routine. According to Shoemaker and Reese (2014:169-70) “Unlike news producers, movie studios can even try out different endings with preview audiences; an editor, however, cannot consult audience members before making news selections”. Therefore, newspapers keep a close eye on circulation figures as a popular routine to judge readers’ needs and demands. In response to a question as how do Pakistani editorialists get to know that what are readers’ demands regarding their issues/problems, each participant added a new routine. Few of them interact with the common people at social gatherings, others take the help of their reporting staff via ‘road shows’, ‘public surveys’ and ‘interaction with the lower staff’. Keeping in view the reasons behind increased editorial coverage of inflation and unemployment issues, Interviewee 11 added an interesting point:

For the last three years, every second ‘letter to editor’ that reaches my offices is either about increasing inflation or unemployment rate in the country. This trend is quite unprecedented. The tone of such letters makes me feel the miseries of the common people and eventually compels me and my editorial board colleagues to exclusively write on the aforementioned issues.

News values are not only a key ‘news determinant’ in Pakistan, but editorialists also keep them in mind while deciding the topic of an editorial in a given day. In the opinion of interviewees 1, 3 and 7, we need to understand that editorials are based on significant news stories. And since most of the stories on a given day are in line with the interests of powerful factions of society, we find very few editorials on human development issues. In this context, interviewee 9 further pointed out the role of Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) list of “news values”:

While selecting topics for writing daily editorials, the gatekeepers are still under the strong influence of traditional news values including “prominence,” “conflict,” “reference to elite persons” and “reference to elite nations,” which eventually yields excessive editorial content pertinent to “power elites.”

While giving their impression on why conflicts with India and Afghanistan are given more coverage, interviewees 1, 7 and 10 shared somewhat common view. Interviewee 10, for instance, stated that:

It is because of the news worthiness element in such events. In fact, there are three important 'news values' involved in the events associated to 'Conflicts with India and Afghanistan' including 'proximity', 'threshold' and 'conflict'. Editors and editorial boards of mainstream newspapers pay more attention to such values while deciding what to publish or what to not.

While extending this debate, interviewee 10 added an interesting point:

Keeping in view the limited space of a news daily, it is difficult for an editor to give preference to a development story over a news story coming from the "power corridors" of the country. It can annoy the influential source, who can feed some exclusive story to your competitor next time by completely ignoring you.

Findings of the previous studies undertaken in the Pakistani context also reveal that news routines have a strong impact on local news content. While quoting an example of selecting more profit-oriented content, a commonly practiced news routines in Pakistan that eventually affect the work of local environmental journalists, Ejaz et al. (2021:11) revealed that:

climate reporting is very resource and time-intensive beat. Therefore, the restriction of both does not allow them to pursue stories in-depth and in non-urban areas, e.g., in the remote Hindu Kush Mountain range where climate change is rapidly changing the landscape (Mayewski et al. 2020) or the rural areas of Punjab that once had abundant water but now is experiencing frequent droughts (Ali et al. 2020).

In this connection, Kamboh et al., (2021: para 8) presented a case from local health settings, where journalists routinely prefer to pick and translate stories from Western media houses due to Pakistani media owners' ineptitude to produce any local content:

This analysis of weaker local science journalism culture looks quite relevant because instead of generating local content on various ongoing clinical trials of Chinese COVID-19 vaccines and current national rollout in Pakistan with regard to their safety, efficacy and side effects; or including insight of local vaccine experts on incidents of adverse effects abroad, Urdu language newspapers are merely preferring to pick, translate and report such content from foreign sources.

In this perspective, Nguyen and Tran (2019:979) further added that:

Research in Asia and Africa has found over the years that science related topics are allocated comparatively little space and often used as space/time fillers, rarely as

leading news items, and occasionally left out to give the space for last-minute paid advertisements (Dutt and Garg, 2012; Ekanem, 2003; Michael and Binta, 2013; Schanne et al., 2009). In that climate, not surprisingly, dedicated science teams and sections are a ‘luxury’ in newsrooms. In Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Central America, the media see regular ups and downs, with continuous launches and closures of science sections and shows due to the lack of a professional will and/or financial support (Ahmed, 2005; Massarani, 2014; Patariya, 2007).

Ejaz et al.’s (2021:11), while interviewing local journalists further added that due to absence of new ideas and climate experts in Pakistan, working journalists have left with no options but to deliberately follow the Western news sources and style of climate journalism:

I, like many others, have various subscriptions of international climate organizations, news services, and environmental blogs, which I go through daily and when something piques my interest, I begin working on it but in the Pakistani context that later get published. While working on a story often we feel that there is a dearth of Pakistani experts on an issue, or we have the same climate experts who are also being quoted by all the journalists. Consequently, we have to seek the opinion from international experts or read their work which often give new ideas to work on. This indicates that the climate journalism process in Pakistan relies on elite (experts and international) sources, Western-style journalism, and prescribed limitations regarding reporter’s routine influence its coverage while reducing climate change to a very few areas and experts and limiting the public understanding of this very expansive issue.

6.2.3 Organizational influences

The *organizational* level of influences is referred to the policies and economic imperatives of a media organization (Reese 2019:2) and include such factors, for instance, *the prime importance of financial goals, organizational policies and the owners’ political and personal interests* (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 133–165).

Most of the interview participants were of the view that the media content is highly influenced by the owners’ financial interest in Pakistan. In this regard, Interviewee 2, 8, 9, 10 and 12 shared this common impression that the non-professional media owners, most of them from the corporate sector, do not consider articles about development to be appealing to readers, and hence revenue-generating, compared to political drama, sensational coverage of terrorist acts, or sport and showbusiness scandals. Other issues are seen by owners and their

editors as attracting more public attention, which ultimately helps generate more advertising revenue. Interviewee 10 further pointed out another financial benefit of media content from the corridors of power:

News stories from Presidency, Prime Minister Secretariat, ISPR²⁴ or media cells of political, religious or banned outfits are sent to the journalists directly—without bothering any resource of media outlets. Whereas, to cover human development issues, news organizations need to spend their own resources, which does not seem cost-effective to the corporate sector media owners.

Due to this so-called financial interest, Pakistani media houses are arbitrarily used to enforce ‘media convergence’ and ‘employees downsizing’ policies that increase work pressure and job insecurity among the working journalists and that eventually influence the final product (news, editorials, documentaries). Concerning downsizing policies, interviewee 4 told that:

Although revenue from government ads have decreased during the last few years, but despite that such ‘large-scale dismissal’ policies are incomprehensible as earnings of the cross-media owners have almost doubled from their entertainment channels in the meanwhile. Economic security is perhaps the biggest challenge being faced by the journalists in Pakistan. Multiple large-scale terminations (particularly in the year 2019) have already harassed the industry workers at large. The greater threat of unemployment remains an additional underlying pressure affecting journalists’ work, independence and rights.

A recent study testifies the above stated doubts of interviewee 4. While examining the effects of job insecurity on media professionals of Pakistan, Ashraf et al. (2020: para,1) concluded that “job insecurity has a positive relationship with perceived stress whereas a negative relationship with organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and work engagement”.

Pakistani journalist fraternity has many concerns regarding media convergence policies of local cross media owners. In this connection, Ittefaq et al. (2021:9) has aptly summarised the hazards of current media convergence model of Pakistan.

By specifying the augmented expectation to submit a publish-ready news story simultaneously for different mediums, our interviewees noted that it has caused serious

²⁴ Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) is the official public relations department of Pakistan Army

pressures and even forced many to quit the profession. A reporter from The News stated: ‘management has used convergence as a cost-cutting tool rather than bringing innovation and quality to journalism’. Such perceptions mirror the findings of Hanitzsch et al. (2010) who argued organizational policies are implemented to balance commercial and professional concerns and accordingly satisfy ownership and financial goals.

While highlighting the role of organizational policies on the editorial content of Urdu and English newspapers, interviewee 11 stated that:

Though, Urdu newspaper industry has been established quite earlier than their English counterparts in Pakistan. Their editors/owners could not change their pre-independence period’s rigid tone and campaign style journalism and eventually failed to improve the quality of their editorial content. Owing to their liberal policies, contrarily, English newspapers have grossly enriched their content with modern ideas and has been successful in making it compatible with international standards.

In this regard, Interviewees 1 and 10 partially put the responsibility of contemporary rigid and intolerant nature of Pakistani society on the Urdu newspapers’ editorial policies. Khan and Aziz (2017: para,7) also verified that Urdu newspapers have not been able to bring any change in their content and journalism style since the existence of Pakistan.

It is not without reason that Urdu journalism is blamed for its campaign-style, hero-driven narratives on history, politics and society. This is critical because, regardless of what it does and how, Urdu journalism remains central in setting the tone of public discourse on issues of significance in Pakistan.

For inadequate development issues coverage, interviewee 9 holds media organizations policies responsible for not allocating ‘development reporting’ and ‘science reporting’ beats to their correspondents. This apprehension seems justified when compared with Nguyen and Tran (2019, p. 979) observation, who noted that:

Research in Asia and Africa has found over the years that science related topics are allocated comparatively little space and often used as space/time fillers, rarely as leading news items, and occasionally left out to give the space for last-minute paid advertisements (Dutt and Garg, 2012; Ekanem, 2003; Michael and Binta, 2013; Schanne et al., 2009). In that climate, not surprisingly, dedicated science teams and sections are a ‘luxury’ in newsrooms. In Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Central

America, the media see regular ups and downs, with continuous launches and closures of science sections and shows due to the lack of a professional will and/or financial support (Ahmed, 2005; Massarani, 2014; Patairiya, 2007).

6.2.4 Social Institution or Extra-media Influences

The macro *social-institution* level entails such influences that exist outside the boundaries of the media system including *journalist–source relationship, public relations, the concerns of advertisers* and other *funding sources*; and *state laws and government actions* (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 166–211).

Regarding the role of official PR departments in bringing human development issues on the media agenda (during the second time period of this study), Interviewee 16 said that:

Being as office bearers of a government PR department, one of our prime duties is to support every official campaign and new move through editorial content. Whatever issues are on the state official’s agenda, we are supposed to help them reach the general public through every available means of communication.

Concerning the extent of influence of government’s PR departments (DGPR²⁵, PID²⁶) on the local mass media, Rehmat (2019) revealed that both print and broadcast media are heavily reliant on government ads, whose frequency and distribution is primarily decided by the relevant government’s PR department. In other words, DGPRs and PID are one of the main ‘content determinants’ of Pakistani news media.

In this debate, interviewee 17 added an interesting point:

State public relations machinery play an essential contributory role in media agenda-building around issues/activities being initiated, particularly by the prime minister. But at times, he himself takes the lead for getting direct mass media coverage by tweeting about issues of public interest. Traditional PR practices are now being replaced by new media techniques.

²⁵ The Directorate General of Public Relations (DGPR), Punjab is the main communication wing and publicity arm of Government of the Punjab working to ensure rapid dissemination of information about government plans, policies and initiatives. In Pakistan all four provinces have similar DGPRs located in the provincial headquarters. <https://dgpr.punjab.gov.pk/overview>

²⁶ Press Information Department is the principal department of Ministry of Information & Broadcasting and it aims to publicize the federal government policies and also to apprise the Government about the impact of its policies. <http://pid.gov.pk/about>

Another factor to influence the sample content, on which all of the participants agreed – was media funding sources (social institution or extra-media set of influences). In their assessment, the major source of revenue for a daily newspaper is official and business advertisements followed by trivial earnings through readers' subscriptions. In 7th interviewee's conception, consequently the newspapers have to prefer the agenda of political regimes and economic class of the country:

Governments, real estate tycoons and industrialists, being as essential finance controllers, do possess a lot of potential to keep the non-development nature of mainstream media content. They do it by tacitly hindering such content on the need to control price hike in the housing sector, environmental challenges, rapid urbanization, declining food items standards, expensive private education etc.

According to Ejaz et al. (2021), national and international companies, corporations, and advertisers have the most significant influence on the media content in Pakistan. While quoting the interview of a female journalist, Ejaz et al. (2021:12) explained that “multi-national companies have often impacted climate journalists either through by not giving their comment and data on a particular environment-related issue or by threatening to stop giving ads to the respective platform, and they do this with impunity”. While citing the interview with another journalist, Ejaz (2021:13)

whenever we work on a story where we have to highlight the environmental degradation caused by any company operating within the populated area, we face an uphill challenge to complete such a news story, and often we just give up – because the owners of these companies use all the known tricks, e.g., pressurizing us through our management, withholding important information, barring officials to talk to us, and even threatening local residents to stay quiet on the matter, to prevent us from publishing such news, and unfortunately they succeed most of the time.

Jamil and Appiah-Adjei (2020:102) believes that the production of human development related content needs free speech and free access to information. However, in the Pakistani context, the situation is not satisfactory. In this connection, they cited the interview of a male journalist, who condemned the government actions as:

The current Pakistan's government has been in power for two years now. It has employed a strong agenda to restrain free speech and pressurize media at the political level that affects the journalists' rights to freedom of expression and access to

information. The Covid-19 situation has simply provided the government an opportunity to further limit journalists' access to information on the pretext of controlling panic and fear among public. (Interviewee number 21)

6.2.5 Social System or Ideological Influences

The *social system* or *ideology* has a significant impact on shaping the media content. According to Ejaz et al. (2021, p.3) "At the macro *social system* level, journalists may face influences from social systems as a whole, for instance, ideological process, norms, and cultural values, that affect both their work and media content (Duan and Takahashi 2017)".

While commenting on editorial priorities regarding major categories, all of the interview participants substantiated what Jamil (2014) and Sethna (2015) had revealed in their research. Jamil (2014, p.204), for instance, while mentioning the influence of various powerful forces and ideological factors on Pakistani journalism reported that:

the nature of the government's influence and military interventions has changed in recent times. Earlier, government or *military* used to intervene in the journalists' work mainly through suppressive media laws; controlled advertisements and censorship. However, as stated by interviewee number 15, "current difficulties are challenging and risky both. We receive life threats." The pervasiveness of pressure groups and non-state actors, cultural taboos, religious extremism, ethnic and sectarian conflicts and volatile political situation all together have aggravated the working situation for journalists in Pakistan.

On the other hand, Sethna (2015, p.9) concluded that contemporary Pakistani journalism is primarily under the influence of five power hunters: "the state, its security apparatus, political parties, militant organizations (the Pakistani Taliban) and religious right Islamist groups". Adding to this notion, among our participants, 4, 7 and 12 pointed out that, right from the independence of Pakistan, successive rulers, political leaders, state and non-state actors have continued to use the sacred symbols, religion and tools of statecraft for the propagation of their ideologies. For this purpose, they dominate the mass media to influence public opinion. Interviewee 7 further expanded this debate by holding political leadership accountable for occupying newspaper space with non-issues:

In order to hide their non-deliverance on common man problems, politicians avoid talking about human development issues. Instead, in their statements and speeches, they

mainly engage media and public on such non-issues (e.g., pertaining to religion, cultural and social values) which help them extend their rule or maintain status quo.

Similarly, the results of present study revealed that many editorials were written in the context of Pakistan's continuing conflicts with its two neighbouring countries, India and Afghanistan. Interviewee 3 rationalized this trend by giving one possible reason:

Being as the primary agenda setters, the politicians and military establishments of all these three countries induce hatred (around religious ideologies) among the respective country's public against each other for their own political or strategic motives. Media has no other option but to toe the state and political agenda in this regard.

Interviewees 1, 5, 7 and 13 indicated that the long-running conflict between two giants of the global "Nuclear South"—India and Pakistan—underpins the ongoing high ratio of sabre rattling and hatemongering editorial content.

Unfortunately, none of the press in the region advocates peacebuilding. For instance, mainstream newspapers of India and Pakistan comply with the policies of their country's security establishment. A study of Kashmir by Zia and Syedah (2015) concluded that newspapers in India and Pakistan are not playing any role in seeking conflict resolution; rather, their stances are responsible for increasing the intensity of the chronic conflicts. Their study concludes that the editorial attitudes towards major ideological conflicts between the two countries is jingoistic, with little heed paid to voices of peace (Zia & Syedah, 2015, p. 176). Now, at least from the Pakistani press, present study provides substantial data, which illustrates that only fractional editorial coverage is being given to advocate the country's real-time issues—including poverty, unemployment, malnutrition, safe drinking water and the population explosion—versus excessive coverage given to conflicts.

So, when the relevant empirical evidence from these studies was shared with the interview participants, interviewee 3 remarked:

It is quite unfortunate that at the cost of giving sufficient space to advocate human miseries, excessive editorials are being published to highlight conflicts. By doing so, the mainstream newspapers of both of the countries seem to do twofold damages to either society. Besides the excessive warmongering content is inciting hatred among the citizens of each of the country, such widespread hatred eventually justifies the rulers to enhance its military expenditure instead of spending on human beings.

The Atlantic Council's report also supports 3rd interviewee's view, pointing out that both rival countries are increasing their military expenditures steadily at the expense of those living in poverty (Iqbal, 2014). It is pertinent to mention here that India and Pakistan have the world's largest concentration of poor people, with almost 40% of the population living below the poverty line (Real Challenge, 2016). Interviewees 3 and 13 feel that the governments of India and Pakistan have emphasized war mania to obscure their failures to address human development. While condemning this situation, interviewee 1 added:

A nexus between military establishment and political leadership of each side has successfully used the respective country's mass media to instil "war craze" as a top item on its citizens' day to day agenda. The success of this strategy can be sensed from the fact that both crazy nations are ready to forgive their state's non-deliverance of basic necessities of life to them, but never ready to accept any pardon or favour being given by their leadership to the opponent state.

Interviewees 4,6, and 12 pointed out that both countries' establishments have nurtured "non-state actor religious groups," which are frequently used to keep the media in line with the so-called supreme national interest of each.

To conclude this debate, the editorial priority agenda in Nuclear South Asia is perceptible if considered in the light of Shoemaker and Reese's theoretical approaches of how media content is influenced by multiple factors. Adopting a Marxist perspective, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) concluded that media content is shaped by a range of forces and dominant ideologies, working both inside and outside media organizations. In Pakistan, such forces, i.e., the power hunters, have managed to influence media content to consolidate their control over society and even to enhance their influence in the region. For instance, the powerful official information sources of various pillars of the state—the Press Information Department (PID), Directorate General of Public Relations (DGPR) and Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) are the official public relations departments of federal government, provincial governments and the Pakistan Army respectively to disseminate and manage news and information to the mass and social media, the role of the Foreign Office is also significant— exert a lot of influence over news and editorial content. Moreover, resourceful media cells and skilled spokespersons of political parties and religious groups have deep-rooted connections within the media organizations to ensure sufficient and favourable coverage.

Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model (1988) is also useful in this context, suggesting

how the mass media is bound to give undue coverage to the official line because of the media's ultimate dependence on powerful information sources for advertising revenues, the latest information and because of the fear of "flak" to avoid official pressure to decline some stories, malicious social media campaigns, physical violence, abductions and legal harassment on bogus charges, particularly treason (Diminishing freedom, 2019). Moreover, the dominance of the ruling class agenda in media content fits Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). By applying this notion, we can see that the mainstream Pakistani press complies with the status quo, which in turn limits the presence of issues concerning subordinate classes in media discourse.

During the coding process for this study, many editorials were found on international issues with direct or indirect repercussions in Pakistan, e.g., Saudi Hajj accidents, IS terrorist attacks around the world, Brexit beyond Britain, executions in Bangladesh, UAE labour reforms, etc. However, the number of editorials dedicated to any of these events is proportionate and justifiable. But still plenty of editorials were detected written on external world issues (sub-category B2), which had no direct relevance or significance to Pakistan, e.g., Trilateral Conflicts among China–South Korea and Japan; 2015 Japanese military legislation; current African civil wars; Golan Heights sovereignty; Turkish elections; US–Cuba relations; Myanmar elections, etc. Interviewee 1 linked this seemingly irrelevant editorial trend to the readers' preferences:

Pakistani readers remain vigilant and keep a watchful eye on the latest updates on global issues because of two reasons. At first, the forefathers of many of them had served in British Army during the World Wars or some of them had physically participated in Khilafat Movement (1919–1924), Communist Movement, Pan-Islamic Movement during the last century. Secondly, Pakistani readers have a deep interest in the internal and external affairs of US and China owing to the fact that their country had been a US ally during Cold War and still a front-line ally in so-called War on Terror and being a major stakeholder in Chinese Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC) with China.

However, interview participants were generally of the view that editorial writers should highlight local development issues instead of rendering precious editorial space to international issues that have no relevance to Pakistan. Interviewees 1, 3 and 11 suggested leader writers should not give up covering the conflicts involving India, Afghanistan and Pakistan, but adopt a "peace-mongering" approach advocating for the need for an arbitration

process to calm tensions between these neighbouring countries. Interviewee 1 put it thus:

Once longstanding conflicts are settled and human survival is ensured in this region, editorial attention will ultimately be shifted to development issues.

Chapter 7-Recommendations and Future Agenda

7. Chapter Structure

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first one suggests some practical implications to various stakeholders regarding how to improve the coverage of development issues in the mainstream Pakistani newspapers. The second section identifies gaps and limitations of the present study and eventually suggests future agenda to both local and global media scholars.

7.1 Recommendations (Section One)

Based on the aforementioned discussion, this study presents some practical recommendations and implications for the state institutions' communication departments, civic advocacy groups and members of editorial boards of mainstream newspapers in Pakistan.

For instance, issues concerning population control, endemic diseases, deforestation, the installation of “dirty energy” plants, food and water contamination, etc. can be best addressed by increasing general public awareness and by feeding the editorial boards of mainstream newspapers with up-to-date information to ensure adequate coverage. In this connection, there is a dire need for the relevant communication departments of government agencies and non-governmental organizations to feed and use the Urdu press for public education and participation purposes.

Pakistani newspapers should be more domestically oriented, prioritizing content relating to local communities' concerns, with a balance of editorials on foreign affairs which directly affect Pakistan. The mainstream newspapers editorialists should try to advocate the significance of peaceful relations with India and Afghanistan, instead of publishing content with war mongering spirit. They should highlight how the peaceful relations would indirectly help improve the state of human development in each of the rival country.

Instead of picking and translating science and development related stories from foreign media sources, Pakistani newspapers should establish ‘science’ and ‘development’ desks in their respective news rooms where reporters should be assigned science and development news beats to produce local contents on such issues. Once the local news coverage on science and development related issues is improved, editorial writers would have enough content and topics to practice media advocacy around and eventually influence the public policymaking process in the country.

The latest development journalism courses, including advocacy journalism, development reporting and above all UNESCO's recommendations on teaching journalism for sustainable development (UNESCO, 2015), should be incorporated into existing media studies syllabuses to address emerging national development needs. Press clubs and journalism training institutes should organize professional training for editorial staff to sensitize them as to how to effectively use newspaper space for advocating development issues and how to remain alert to readers' priorities and allocate them their due space.

Besides being a matter of political economy and selective exposure, the inadequate coverage of human development issues equally looks like a case of editorial inattention and incapability. While reviewing the literature for present study, I came across a bulk of research suggesting different eco-friendly energy solutions, various existing and approaching threats to the local environment of Pakistan, population-environmental degradation nexus, suggested smart agriculture technologies for Pakistan, and many other remarkable studies on human development related issues in the Pakistani context. However, the findings of such scientific studies are missing in the contemporary editorial contents of mainstream Pakistani newspapers. In Shanahan's (2006) conception:

Journalists in the developing world face challenges that would keep many of their counterparts in the West from even trying. They are often untrained in both science and journalism, lack support and resources, and have an uneasy relationship with the scientists and officials on whom they rely for news and comment (p.392).

For strengthening the capacities of 'advocate-journalists', Waisbord (2009) further draws attention to civic-advocacy journalism model:

Across the South, a myriad of journalists' organizations actively try to increase the volume of reporting and widening news perspectives on social issues. These organizations feed information to newsrooms, provide logistical support to facilitate coverage, bring journalists together through virtual networks, form alliances with news organizations, organize training workshops, produce articles and series for publication, and so on (p.380).

In Pakistan, such 'civic advocacy' groups can play a dynamic role in helping to plug gaps by 1) perusing scientific studies on human development related issues from the academic community; 2) communicating their findings to the media outlets particularly to the advocate-journalists; 3) organizing reporting and editorial staff training workshops on how to use such

findings to effectively influence environmental policymaking process; 4) sharing with journalism academic community to ensure necessary amendments in relevant journalism course contents for future journalists (Kamboh, 2019), and, above all, 5) persuading editors to provide enough room for climate change issues.

To curb sensitive human development related misinformation in developing countries (for instance, antivaxxer's propaganda against polio and COVID-19 vaccination), concerned governments should develop tailored communication strategies that ensure that the common people have an easy access to accurate information. Journalists should be provided with accurate and updated information. In this connection, Jamil (2018:288)

highlights three key reasons for journalists' inability to cover sustainable development issues in a balanced proportion, namely: (i) media owners' commercial interests and their pursuit for commercially popular and politically paid content, (ii) lack of training relevant to sustainable development issues to most journalists, (iii) lack of journalists' rights to freedom of expression, access to information and reliable statistics.

Moreover, existing literature informs that majority of the past studies have been exploring the news coverage patterns of development related issues (Ejaz et al., 2021; Schmidt, 2013) and editorial journalism has rarely been studied in this context (Das, 2019). This study not only fills this void in the literature but also extends an understanding that editorial journalism practices are not different from other forms of journalistic content when it comes to giving adequate attention to development issues in the majority world countries.

Last but not least, individual journalists and editorial writers must take up an educational role to prioritize all sustainable development issues. Jamil (2018:288) while adding to this notion contended that "Pakistani journalists have a responsibility to inform their audience about existing sustainable development issues and projects in an understandable manner, explaining how these issues are relevant and matter to people in their everyday lives".

7.2 Limitations of this study (Section Two)

This study attempted to provide a comprehensive analysis of editorial journalism coverage of different issues with a focus on human development issues in Pakistan. Yet, the study underwent few limitations. For instance, it did not examine the ‘news content’ and other ‘opinionated journalism texts’ (columns, letter to editors, editorial cartoons). Therefore, the focus of this study was limited to editorial journalism only. Future researchers may replicate the findings of this study by exploring other journalistic genres to further add on the existing scholarship on development journalism.

Keeping in view the time and resource constraints, this study examined the editorial contents of only six mainstream English and Urdu newspapers. Future studies may analyse the contents of many other popular mainstream Pakistani newspapers (e.g., The Express Tribune, Daily Times, Daily Nai Baat, Daily Khabrain, Daily Pakistan), digital news platforms (Urdu Point, Daily Pakistan, Social Pakistan) and local online news platforms of international media houses (BBC Urdu.com, DW Urdu, VOA Urdu, Independent Urdu) to expand and add on the existing development journalism scholarship in Pakistan.

Moreover, this study was focused to jot down different types/levels of influences on Pakistani newspaper editorial journalism, particularly in terms of covering human development issues. Being an under-researched domain, though exploring editorial journalism for human development issues has been a rigorous approach. Future scholars should also explore the presumed levels of influences on TV and radio content while covering human development issues.

This study used two different quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection including content analysis and elite in-depth interviews. However, this study largely overlooked the potential of ‘experimental design’ and ‘observation method’ to investigate how various journalistic practices can influence the coverage of human development issues in Pakistan. Due to geographical constraint (as it was conducted in Germany), this study employed two novel methods (FBL and ORCs) to measure Pakistani readers agenda, however future studies may use the already well-established survey methods including questionnaires or telephone survey.

This study analysed the media coverage of a set of 15 human development issues extracted from the UN led SDGs. But it is a matter of fact that the UN has developed 17

SDGs with 169 targets. Therefore, many other aspects of SDGs and related targets (in the Pakistani context) can also be examined, arising from the possible gaps in this study.

Similarly, being focused on just a single Global Southern country, the findings of this study are needed to be replicated in other developing countries as well to gain more insight into the effectivity of editorial journalism practices in covering human development issues and associated set of influences. De-westernization of development communication studies, particularly in Global Southern countries would help generate local knowledge for the benefit of both policymakers and development sector organizations.

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Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass die vorliegende Arbeit ohne unerlaubte Hilfe angefertigt wurde. Es wurden keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt. Die den benutzten Werken wörtlich oder inhaltlich entnommenen Stellen wurden als solche kenntlich gemacht.

Bremen, den 14.01.2022

Shafiq Ahmad