

**ROLE OF MEDIA IN INFLUENCING PUBLIC POLICY: AN ANALYSIS OF PRINT,  
ELECTRONIC AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN PAKISTAN**



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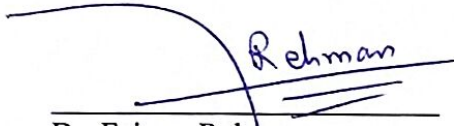
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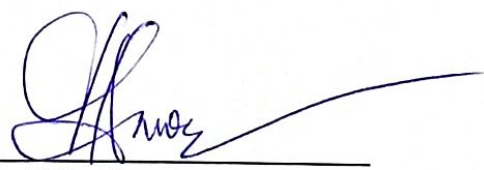
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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted for any other degree to any other university

## **DEDICATION**

This achievement is dedicated to my Parents for supporting me all the way, without whom none of my success would be possible.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

First, I would like to thank ALLAH ALMIGHTY for making me able to complete this task. Without HIS blessings, completion of this task would not have been possible.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
APP	Associated Press of Pakistan
APNS	All Pakistan Newspaper Society
CPNE	Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors
PTA	Pakistan telecommunication Authority
PFUJ	Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
CM	Chief minister
KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
CJ	Chief Justice
CJP	Chief justice of Pakistan
SC	Supreme Court
PM	Prime Minister
JIT	Joint Investigation Team
JC	Judicial Commission
IG	Investigative General
ATC	Anti-terrorism court
WAPDA	Water and Power Development Authority

## **Abstract**

Media has been considered as the fourth pillar of state due to its utmost importance in the life of general public, government, as well as whole society. This study is particularly concerned about role of media to influence public policy through analyzing print, electronic and social media in Pakistan. Triangulation technique was employed in this study, by the use of different methodologies and different data sources to validate the findings, to enhance the quality, and enlarge confidence on research findings. The methodologies applied in this study include; interviews from professionals having experience in the field of media and policy, analysis of three case studies which got high fame on media and a survey on media users. The experts of media and policy side are interviewed to get their view regarding media's impact on policy and to find the more accurate and in-depth information. A total of 18 professionals, including media advisors, media analysts, senators and academicians, are interviewed. Along with that, the case study analysis is also incorporated by content analyses of three cases. It was observed in case studies analysis the process of information flowing through media as input source to raise the issue so that in later steps the issue is considered by relevant authorities and some action would be taken. It was also observed that coverage of electronic media is complemented in traditional media. They all work side by side, some medium as originator of issue and others to validate/invalidate it. They are affecting and substantiating each other. The descriptive analysis of the perception survey conducted at general public or media users of Pakistan is done in order to check how they see the overall role of media in Pakistan as well as to see their view regarding Media-Policy relation. It was observed in the survey that most used medium in the country is Social media as well as the least reliable one. It is most popular among youth; people are now directing their attention to the Internet, respondents of age 18-35 have highest percentage of social media use. With respect to impacting public policy, Mainstream media is considered as the most important one. Findings of the study reveal that both, media coverage along with public's response, simultaneously urged the government to give response towards certain issue. The study findings indicate that media affects public policy making decisions to a certain extent and the role of different media types is on a case by case basis. It was explored in the study that how media has taken part on certain issues, how it has played its role, which led the government to take certain action. This is how the study examines the power and influence of media on public policy.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

*"When complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained, that wise men look for."—Milton*

In a democratic system, the role of the “Fourth Estate”, and that of a ‘watchdog’ over the government is assigned to the media (Haq, 2015). It serves as a medium between government and public. The role of media is considered really important because it transmits demands of general public as well as claims of political, economic and social movements to the relevant authorities and decision makers. Today a free media platform is an essential attribute of democracy because this source not only keeps the information flowing from one source to another but also helps in maintaining a constant dialogue between masses and policy makers. It has provided a venue to public and government to interact with each other and voice their opinions. The freedom of media is ensured in Article 19 of the “Constitution of Pakistan”. It states that:

*“Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defense of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, [commission of] or incitement to an offence” (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).*

In Pakistan, from the last few years, the media industry is growing rapidly, however, its potential benefits are still inconclusive. For instance, on the optimistic side it has been regarded as the most important tool in democratic processes, by creating awareness among the public about government

actions and inactions. While on the pessimistic end, it has been criticized for many reasons i.e. because of unethical practices used by media houses, sensational journalism, unprofessional behavior and race for ratings (Baig & Cheema, 2015). In today's world, the public policy is not the exclusive decision-making domain of policy makers and elected authorities. Other non-government actors also have their involvement in many areas of policymaking, policy change and regulation (Crozier, 2011), and media is one of them. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the role that media is playing in influencing Public Policy.

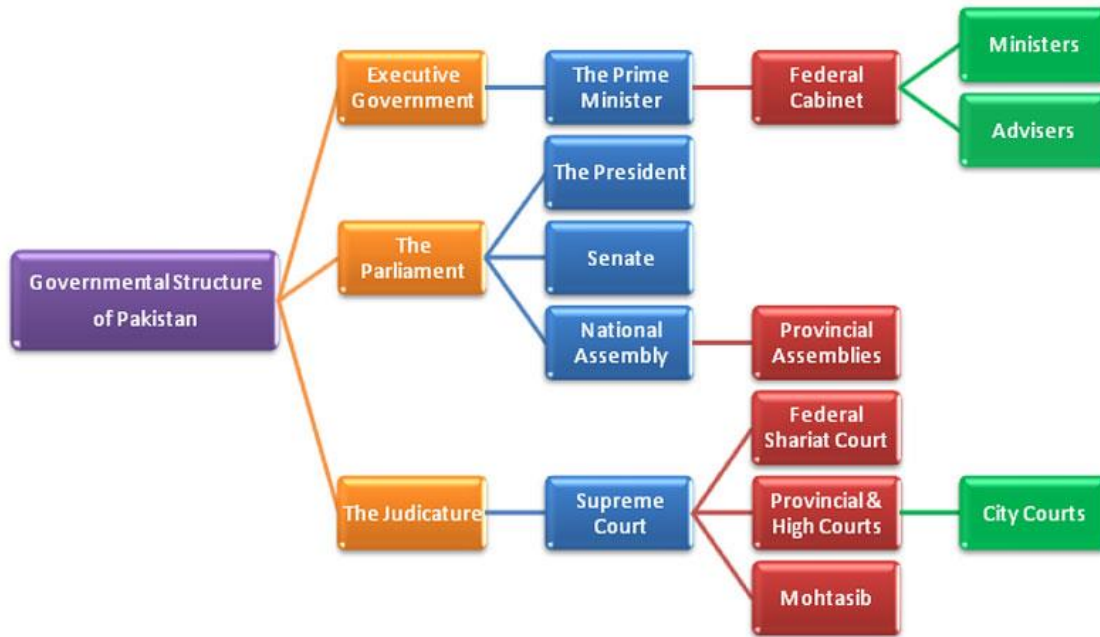
The definition of public policy that is used in this study is given by Thomas Dye, it is simple and best-known definition: "anything a government chooses to do or not to do" (Dye, 1972). What government does or does not do about a problem that comes before them for consideration and possible action is public policy (Birkland, 2001). It means all government actions and inactions, decisions to act or not to act are considered as public policy. Policies might take the form of laws, regulations, or the set of all the laws and regulations that address issues and problems of society.

The government means all the three branches i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary. According to the website of Government of Pakistan<sup>1</sup>, government consists of Prime Minister, President, Senate, National assembly, and Supreme Court of Pakistan.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.pakistan.gov.pk/>

Figure 1.1: Government Structure of Pakistan



Source: <http://www.democraticfoundation.com.pk/govt-structure-of-pakistan>

### 1.1. Background

General Musharraf in 2002 liberalized the media in Pakistan which led to an outburst of enormous number of television channels. The electronic media got unexpected freedom, so it started crossing its boundaries and government lost its controls on the media. In recent years, it results further in the immense competition among channels (Pintak & Nazir, 2013. ). According to the official website of PEMRA<sup>2</sup>, currently there are 89 TV channels which are licensed under PEMRA and 23 of them are News Channels. The remarkable growth of electronic media has brought the accountability culture in the society. Those who were considered unquestionable in the past are now answerable to public for their doings. In this way media act as “watchdog” and protect the interest of public by making powerful accountable. The public’s voice is now

<sup>2</sup> Pemra.gov.pk

strengthened. Public got awareness about complex governance issues and about their political and constitutional rights. Media coverage of parliamentary, constitutional, international and national affairs, along with that talk shows, special interviews and hourly news bulletins have improved the information flow in the public and it ultimately impact the policy making process in the country (Baig & Cheema, 2015).

Electronic media is significant in the United States. According to a report of Statista (2017)<sup>3</sup>, the statistics shows that spent time on laptop and desktop activities by US adults is 123 minutes per day while with media an average American spent about 721 minutes. It shows the importance of media in the lives of people.

In Pakistan, no compact policy of media has been formulated so far. The electronic media is governed by the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA), Social media is regulated by Pakistan telecommunication Authority (PTA) whereas Print media is regulated by Associated Press of Pakistan (APP).

## **1.2. Amalgamation of Media in Pakistan**

One motive/rationale behind analyzing all types of media in this research is the blend of media prevailing in Pakistan. Different media types often confirm each other's news and give reference of other media forms. They often complement one another and sometimes invalidate the fake news of other medium. In Pakistan, the culture of "Cross Media Ownership" is prevailing; it is a situation in which multiple type of media types are owned by a single entity. Therefore, one can't segregate these media types because one media entity has TV channel, Online streaming of

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<sup>3</sup> www.statista.com



these channel, newspaper, e-paper, as well as Facebook pages and other social networking mediums. This culture of getting ownership of more than one medium is widely spreading in Pakistan. At present, all leading newspapers have also started their online platforms. Along with online mechanism, they have also launched TV news channels. Whereas in most developed countries, Cross Media Ownership is not allowed.

Similarly, the rise of Mainstream on Social media forum is also extending day by day. This is explained by a report presented by research and analysis desk of Voice of Pakistan Forum (2017) in which they mentioned that during first half of 2017, more attention is given to the spread/extend of electronic media channels to social media cites. The top five news channels are ARY, followed by Express, then Samaa, Geo, and Dunya News respectively. Upon further segregation, ARY maintained 1<sup>st</sup> position on Facebook while express News was leading on twitter. According to people's engagement in posting, express news came on top in Facebook with 10 million people and Geo news on twitter. Other TV channels, Dawn News 92 News and Neo Tv, have increased its staff to effectively manage social media. Almost 250-350 updates are posted weekly on Facebook by pages of electronic media. The most tweeted channel was Geo news, Dawn news for blogs, Express for national and interesting news, Samaa for videos, Geo and ARY for political News coverage as well as for analysis of news. Javed Chaudhry's discussion, Orya Maqbool Jan, Sohail Waraich, Rauf Kalasra, Waseem Badami, Arshad Shareef, Iqrar ul Hasan and Kamran Khan were found most popular tv anchors on social media. ARY and Geo split the public opinions greatly<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup><http://www.asianjournalismnetwork.org/how-much-popularity-did-electronic-media-channels-get-on-social-media-during-the-1st-half-of-2017/>

### **1. 3. Problem Statement**

General public comprises of people related to different fields, who have diverse types of interest and expertise with respect to knowledge, skills and capabilities. Policies are made by government to facilitate the general public, help them in combating several issues and make better society. Public policies would be better formed when public and government are informed, having better knowledge about each other and have an opportunity to communicate their messages. Media function as a platform of discussion about different issues of public, their demands and opinions. It also makes government able to identify issues and to communicate their laws, policies and rules. Media can be used as a key tool for understanding the issues and problems of the public on practical grounds. Media supplies a lot of information to public which increase their thinking capabilities and develop their opinions. The availability of right data and information is imperative for policy making process and data analysis. Media points out and broadcasts various public issues and encourages people to raise their voice. Such public concern then is brought to the notice of policy makers, political and social agents. This brings change in policy or results in formulation of new public policy. There are different types of media that are informing policy makers about issues of the public interest and help them in formulating policies by acting as an input source. There is a need to check the influence of today's media on public policy in Pakistan. The role and power of different media types need to be specifically examined.

### **1. 4. Literature Gap**

In Pakistan's context, there are various studies which are concerned about media's role in different ways i.e. Media Inattention for Entrepreneurship in Pakistan (Ali, S. et al, 2012), The Role of Media in National Security (Hussain, N., & Sultan, M. (2008), Role of mass media in the dissemination of agricultural technologies among farmers (Irfan, M., et al 2006), The Role of

Media in Creating Values of Nationalism in Pakistan (Sabir, M., 2011), Correlation Between Newspapers' Agenda and Public Agenda on National Issues during General Elections 2013 in Pakistan (Hussain, M., et al 2013), Role of Media in Strengthening Democracy in Pakistan (Hanan, M, A., et al 2016), The Role of Private Electronic Media in Radicalising Pakistan (Hassan, K. (2014). As the literature review has shown, there isn't a comprehensive study in Pakistan that shows the direct effects of media on policy making, therefore, the most important aim of this empirical study is to bring together different theories and ideas spread across the literature about public policy and link them with media. For this purpose, the "System theory" of David Easton (1953) is conceptualized in this study. This theory is renowned for its application in the discipline of public policy, hence it is conceptualized here in order to check the process through which media take the issue to policy process and resulted in policy output.

Keeping in view the role of media, this study is devoted to investigating the different media types to influence Public Policy. The uniqueness of this research is that it covers the three major types of Media. In addition, the study is devoted to analyze profoundly the effectiveness of media (print, television or social media) by getting the perception of general public and experts.

### **1.5. Research Questions**

Following research questions should be addressed in this study.

1. How media is playing its role to influence Public Policy?
2. How public view the role of Media in Pakistan?
3. Which media type has more power to influence policy making?
4. Are there any cases which illustrate how media impact public policy in Pakistan?

## **1.6. Objectives**

The major aim of this study is to examine the role of media in affecting public policy in Pakistan. It is further divided into a number of objectives. So broadly the study aims to extend literature on the following.

- To investigate the comparative influence of different media in policy making of Pakistan.
- To get the perception of public about different types of media in Pakistan.
- To analyze the process through which media influences public policy
- To study cases that brought changes in relevant laws and public policies in Pakistan.

## **1.7. Significance of Study**

The key objective of this study is to find out the effect of different media types on public policy in Pakistan. The research findings will be significant to public, government as well as media administration. It will help public about how they can efficiently use media platform to influence government and their leaders and bring issues on the agenda. It will also ease policy makers to make effective use of media to get insightful information. The findings of study will guide policy makers about importance of media and the perception of public in this regard. For media administration, it will uncover the loopholes that are prevailing in the media system and suggest some policy recommendations to improve its functioning.

## **1.8. Organization of Study**

The chapter wise sketch of the study will be as follows. After introduction, second chapter discusses overview of media in Pakistan. Print, electronic and social media is described in full detail. Third chapter presents review of literature on the subject, which include different functions

of media, how it changes public opinion and policy makers' agenda, different case studies from the world related to media's impact on policy and role of interest groups. Chapter four presents methodology of the study that describes data collection methods, area of study, sample size, sampling technique and data analysis process are also discussed. Fifth chapter consists of data and analysis. All the three methodologies are described and analyzed. The study concludes with Chapter 6, that covers summary of the key findings and policy recommendations extract from study findings.

## **Chapter 2**

# **AN OVERVIEW OF PRINT, ELECTRONIC AND SOCIAL MEDIA IN PAKISTAN**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In Pakistani scenario, an amalgam of media sources is seen; newspapers have shifted their venues to online networks, now they are also seen as e-papers and have fan pages on Facebook. TV channels have launched their online streaming. With the rise of new communication technologies, new ways are generated to communicate messages, transfer information and interact with each other. This new medium, Social Media, have attracted the youth of country most. Along with social media, traditional media have its own value. With respect to impacting public policy, Mainstream media is considered as most important one. Similarly, Print media have its own significance as discovered in the expert's interview analysis that mostly experts use this source as well as considered it effective towards policy making. So summing up these, media itself is very important in all of its kinds and types. There is need to overview different media types.

### **2.2 Print media**

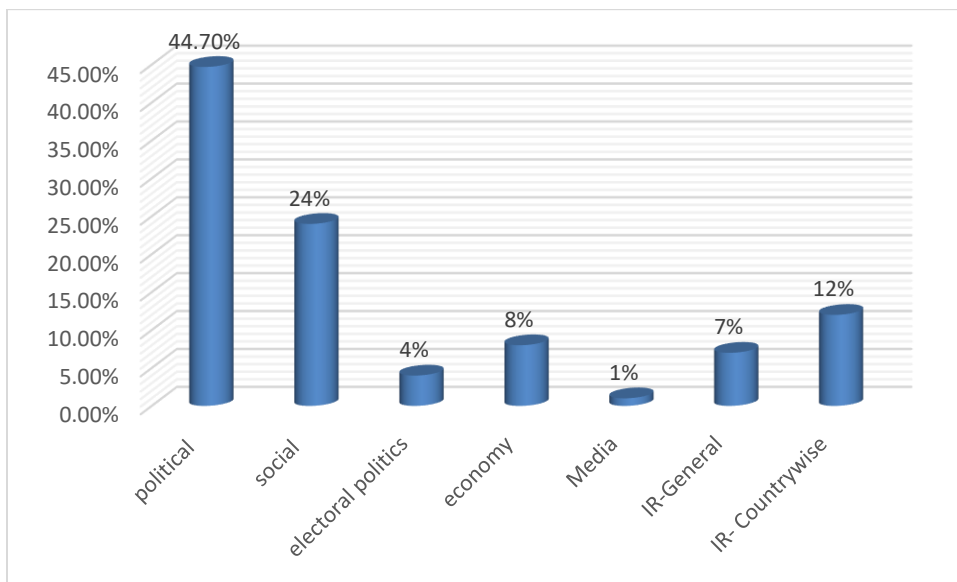
The oldest media is the print media in our country dated back to pre-independence. At that time, it is the only medium that took critical and independent stand towards authorities. This market has undergone different changes with the passage of time. According to a report "Between radicalisation and democratisation in an unfolding conflict: Media in Pakistan," 2009, during 90's era it is the most used medium, which remained the most central to public life by early 2000. Newspapers are published in English, Urdu as well as 11 other regional languages. The English

print media is more professional and more centric towards elitist class and urban areas. It is considered as more influential towards impacting the opinion makers, policy makers, different interest groups, business community and upper strata of society that have more part in determining the fate of society.

Urdu newspapers are more influential for common people. It is dominant in term of most read print media because of its broader reach than English press. Out of several challenges that press is facing today, the most prominent one is posed by the rise of digital and social media. There is a need for press to evolve itself to cope with challenges. The print media has always safeguarded the readers opinion for many decades but now there is a need of transition and evolving of those laws and tactics which fulfill the needs of future generation of this technological world.

In a survey conducted by Gallup and Gillani Pakistan 2016, the distribution of distinct categories in newspaper is recorded. It was found that the most news sections formed of Political News.

*Figure 2.1: Distribution of News items in Pakistani Newspapers*



*Source: Newspaper Content Analysis by Gallup and Gillani Pakistan Media Research Consultancy*

Gillani and Gallup Pakistan, a Media Research consultancy, carried out Newspaper Content Analysis in 2017. The report shows that politics is the most discussed area in newspapers of Pakistan. The following are the statistics of report; Political news cover 44% of news items, social 24%, International Relations-Country Wise 12%, General 7%, economy 8%, electoral politics 4% and Media 1% respectively. The most selling Urdu newspapers are Jang, Daily Express, Nawa-e-Waqt, Daily Dunya and Khbrain. Similarly the top five selling English Newspapers are Dawn, The News, Express Tribune, Business Recorder and Daily times.

### **2.2.1 Statistics**

According to an international portal for statistics “Statista”, the newspaper revenue in 2015 in Pakistan is estimated. It shows that print newspaper circulation revenue in 2015 amounted to 301 million U.S. dollars<sup>5</sup>.

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) 2016, reported that the number of newspapers in Pakistan is as follows: total 539 newspapers, with 308 dailies, 72 weeklies, 18 fortnightlies, 18 monthlies, 137 quarterlies, 3 and other 1 respectively. Pakistan Bureau of Statistics found that the number of newspapers and periodicals reduced from 1820 in 2007 to 539 in 2016. According to data by APNS, 378 out of 458 of its member newspapers are printed daily.

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<sup>5</sup><https://www.statista.com/statistics/566775/newspaper-revenue-pakistan/>



### **2.2.2 Regulations**

Currently, no public sector newspaper is publishing in Pakistan, however, the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) is working under government control. The main news agency in Pakistan is APP which started its operations in 1947. The Press Council of Pakistan (PCP) is a forum in print media with the stated purpose of accountability. It comprises of the representatives of CPNE, APNS, PFUJ, legislators and government officials. The major ordinances upon which regulations are based include:

- Associated Press of Pakistan Corporation Ordinance 2002
- Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Ordinance
- Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance 2002
- Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Books Registration Rules 2009

### **2.3 Electronic Media**

Electronic media started in Pakistan in 1964 with the launch of Pakistan Television (PTV). As information accessible to the public was very limited so it was decided by the government to start up private electronic media in the country. In this context in March 2002, a separate body Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) was set up to regulate the private sector growth of electronic media. According to the “Media Commission Report” released in April 2014, “89 licensed TV channels, including 29 news channels, are currently operating in Pakistan with access to 15 million households or about 75 million viewers”.

### **2.3.1. Statistics**

As of late 2017, 89 satellite TV licenses had been issued by PEMRA. There are 30 private TV channels broadcasting news and current affairs programs exclusively. Most common include Geo News, Dawn News, Aaj TV, ARY News, Capital TV, Samaa, Dunya News, and Express News. Like print media, almost all TV news channels also maintain their websites for live streaming and news.

According to Gallup survey, at the end of 2016, a TV viewer spent two hours a day watching TV on average. Many TV news channels in Pakistan face strong criticism for sensationalism and breaking news race. To increase their ratings at any cost, they do unprofessional things. Similarly, the political coverage often do not meet the moderating role criteria and lead to subjectivity and biased reporting. It was seen during election period that few channels are in support of one political party and thus try to report accordingly. So the policies or good points of that particular party were promoted.

The report submitted to Islamabad High Court by the chairman PEMRA Absar Aslam showed that 166 show because notices were given for violations of codes of ethics, 380 actions taken for airing unsuitable and unethical programs. The report also shows that from December 2015-april 2017 70 million Rupees fines were imposed to 50 channels (Pakistan Press Freedom).

### **2.3.2. Regulations**

Electronic media in Pakistan is regulated mostly under the following laws:

- Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation Act 1972
- PEMRA Ordinance 2002

- PEMRA Rules 2009

## **2.4 Social Media**

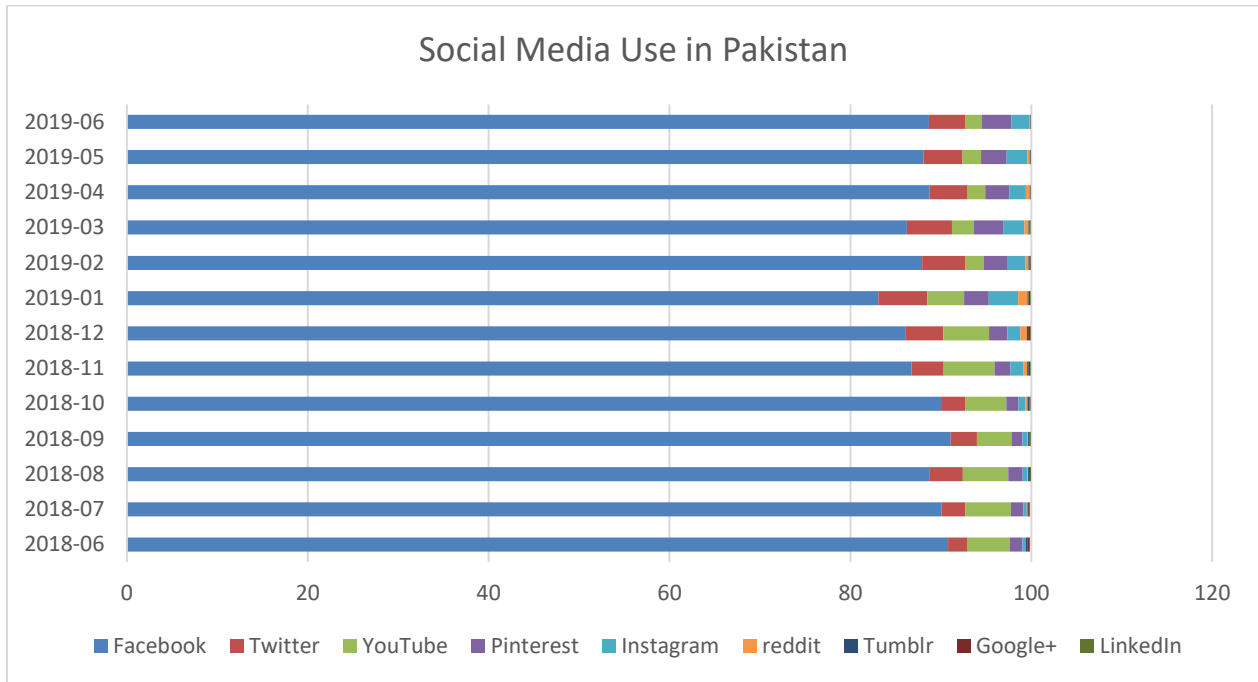
The rise of social media has increased the media's role in information flowing. This emergence of social media has altered the means of communication between government and people from the last decade by providing a wide range of public opinion directly about civil and political affairs. So, it is changing the political environment of a country through increased participation of the public. Through social media, everyone could take part in the process.

Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA), a government body is responsible for maintaining and controlling all communication technologies in the country including social media and Internet.

### **2.4.1. Statistics**

According to a report of the Pakistan Advertiser Society (2017), there are 35.1 million internet users in Pakistan, with 31.1 million active social media users. Facebook, YouTube and Twitter are the most popular social media websites of Pakistan. Whereas the current statistics of 2018 by Alphapro (2018) shows that there are 47.5 million internet users, 35 million active social media users, 44.6 million mobile internet users, 32 Million are accessing social network using mobile, Every day at least 58% of people make use of the Internet. Total number of active Facebook users is 35 million, out of which 23% are female and 77% male. 5 Million People are active on Twitter; ARY Digital Channel has the largest audience, crossing 1,412,531,392 views on YouTube.

Figure 2.2: Social Media Use in Pakistan



Source: Statcounter

This graph illustrates different social media platforms used in Pakistan from November 2017- November 2018. It shows Facebook as most used social media cite with 92.06%, YouTube 4.68%, twitter 1.50%, Pinterest 1.17% Instagram 0.18% respectively.

According to the statistics given by Stat counter, at the end of December 2018, 63.37 percent people are using mobile phones for using internet, 35.23 are using desktop and 1.4% people are using tablets to access to social media.

In January 2016, PTA submitted a report in Supreme court which shows that PTA had blocked 84000 websites which contain objectionable contents, blocked 937 Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) and 10 websites of banned organizations for abuse of social media and internet (Pakistan Telecommunication Authority, Annual Report 2017).

### **2.4.2. Regulations**

The parliament passed “Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA) 2016” on 11 August 2016 (Pakistan Press Freedom Report, 2016).

Prevention of Electronic Crimes Bill was passed on 13 April 2016 in National Assembly.

Pakistan Telecommunication (Re-Organization) Act, 1996 (with 2006 amendments)

Pakistan Telecom Rules, 2000

Access Promotion Contribution Rules, 2004

Mobile Device Identification, Registration & Blocking (Amendment) Regulations, 2018

## Chapter 3

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars analyzing the influence of media on policymaking often focus on the beginning of policy making process i.e. Agenda Setting (Cobb & Elder, 1981; Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer, 2010). In this study, the role of media attention at agenda setting stage and further on the stages of decision-making, policy making, and legislative processes will be discussed.

The increasing influence of media on society in general and on the behavior of politicians and the functioning of political and administrative institutions specifically, is defined as a process of ‘Mediatization’ (Strömback, 2008 ;Hajer, 2009). Media messages are not just injected to the masses, but the masses react to the messages. In today’s world, public also question the media message if it does not seem satisfactory.

This chapter contain details about Agenda Setting theory, where the link between Media Agenda, public Agenda and Policy agenda is being explained. It also contains the summarized previously available literature about media’s influence on public policy accompanied by some case studies. This discussion is followed by the evidence about the countries utilizing media properly to meet their objectives. At the end of the chapter, interest group’s impact on media is explained.

#### **3.1. Agenda Setting**

One important role that any media play with respect to policy making is “Agenda Setting”. It is the process in which government, media and citizens commonly influence one another. In Agenda Setting media tell people “what to think about” instead of “how to think”. Priming and Framing are two important aspects in this regard. When media draw attention of viewers to one

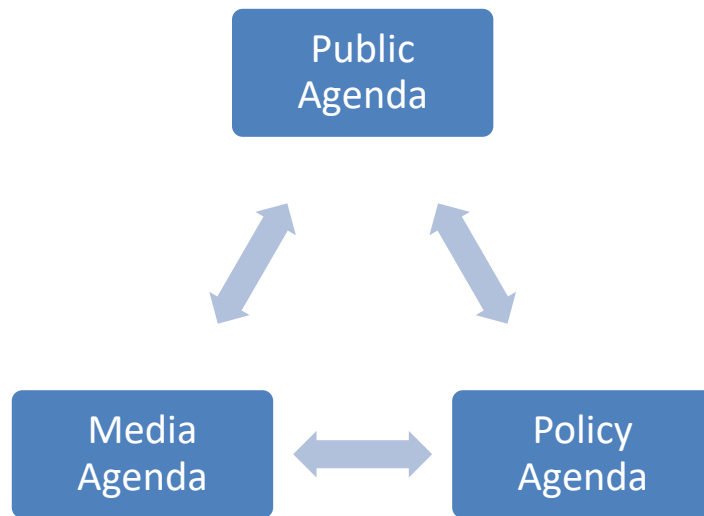
aspect at the expense of others, it is priming. Whereas in Framing, media put attention on certain issues and place it in the frame of specific meaning, thus creating specific opinion of public towards that. It entails “selecting some aspects of a perceived reality...in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993).

Agenda-Setting is a concept widely discuss in media policy coalition. It includes the explanation of why some issues and not others are available to public, why some issues are addressed by policy actions, and how the opinion of public is shaped in a democracy. Thus broadly it incorporates the social stability or social change (Lundgren, 1999). There were four concepts lies in agenda setting i.e, public agenda, policy agenda, media agenda, and interrelationship among these (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

Public agenda is generally measured by public opinion surveys whereas media agenda through the content analysis of the news media by determining the number of news stories about any issue. There is a number of variables, which should be considered while evaluating quantity and quality of media coverage. It is a matter of ownership, media’s superiority over other kind of media, priorities of channel, politics of news production, characteristics of issues, technical sources of information and role of advertisers. The third one i.e. policy agenda is measured by policy actions as the introduction of laws about an issue, the amount of time given to debate of an issue and by budget appropriations (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

Media agenda sets public agenda whereas public agenda have influence on policy agenda. Moreover, policy agenda can be influenced directly by media agenda and in turn policy agenda play as a powerful factor in setting media agenda. This is illustrated in a diagram;

Figure 3.1: Agenda Setting Theory



Source: Author's conceptualization of Agenda Setting Theory

Media, policy and public agendas are affected by real world indicators. The general view about media-public agenda relationship is that the media agenda sets the public agenda by issue framing and making public opinion about certain issue. It has been found even by the presence of some intervening variables (like interpersonal discussion of the issue and source credibility). Interpersonal communication can reinforce public agenda setting when such conversation concerns the same issue that the media had earlier emphasized (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). Windahl & Macquail theory (1993), suggests that individual's opinions are highly dependent upon what is perceived to be the "majority" view on any given issue. As this majority view is created by Media, so public opinion is highly influenced by media. Similarly, government also often uses the press to test public opinion by leaking proposals on the media. Media helps governments to circulate vital information about government accomplishments and public services.



### **3.2 Media's Influence on Policy Making:**

Media act as an important medium between public and government. It informs public regarding government policies and actions, and conveys public demands and preferences to government (Soroka, Lawlor, Farnsworth, & Young, 2013). The major role of media is to create awareness and act as watchdog to observe governance issues of government (Rehman, 2014). One important theory that relates media and policy making is "CNN Effect". According to Livingston (1997) the CNN effect can be broadened to three aspects: "(i) as a policy agenda-setting agent, (ii) an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and (iii) an accelerant to policy decision-making".

The impact of media on public policies depend on reliability of news source. When news comes from credible source and the issue gets proper coverage, there is more chance that it has impact on policy making either in the form of new laws or regulations or amendment in previous ones (Eilders 2000, 2001). So citizen engagement has vital role in bringing policy makers to their critical issues prevailing in society (Imurana, 2014).

The discourse around policy debates is changed through defining or framing of issues, using specific language that persuade or discourage the public from the issue. The nature of an issue, its causes and consequences are framed in such a way that it changes the policy solutions sought out for the problem (Jones & Wolfe, 2007). Frames also include values and emotions into the news.

Page and Shapiro (1983) studied the data about policy and public opinion from 1935 to 1979 for the United States. They find that there is large correspondence between changes in policies and public preferences. The issues which are more prominent in public have the strongest

influence on policies. Even when the activities of interest groups and political elites are considered, public opinion have its own significance (Page & Shapiro, 1983). Agenda setting models of the media mostly have focus towards correlation among media coverage and public opinion. However, in these studies there is a basic assumption that public opinions ultimately influence policy making (Jones & Wolfe, 2007). So in this way media has an indirect but substantial influence on policy making. Hence it is considered as a major player for shaping policies.(Page & Shapiro, 1983).

Media's effect on the policy process is seen not only in the agenda setting or in early stages, but throughout the process (Soroka *et al.*, 2013). In "agenda setting path", it is estimated that how media coverage about an issue influence the policy making activities in the subsequent period. At the same time, in "indexing path", it is estimated that the extent to which policy making activities influence the media coverage (Jones & Wolfe, 2007).

In the article "Pakistani Government–News Media Relationships" a survey of 375 journalists and educationists from Pakistan was conducted, in which they find out that media act as a platform for government advertisements. The economic concerns are most of the times are focal point of government–news media relationships. More investment from government for these advertisements results in more pro-government reporting and coverage (Akhtar & Pratt, 2017).

Television channels highlight the corruption scandals of well-known politicians and different cases of mismanagement of government officials. Thus, it brings attention of public towards poor performance of any government or party which ultimately impact elections. Hence media play its role as a key actor during elections. For instance in Pakistan, after the closing of polling in 2013 elections, Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan has paid tribute to media for informing public about importance of vote, acknowledging media for highest turnout (Yusuf &

Schoemaker, 2013). Mass media becomes a main source of information for voters, as it provides them political information. Media set different agendas for political campaigns thus influence the attitudes of the public towards political issues (Cobb, Ross, & Ross, 1976). The attraction of media groups towards profit and competition between these groups lead them to favor large groups who are financing more. Thus it creates news bias of mass media which change the political competition and translates into policy bias (Str, xf, & mberg, 2004).

The responsiveness and accountability of government towards public policy preferences is larger in the areas where coverage and reporting of news media is higher as compared to those where it is lower (Hukil, 2013). The possibility, that media's coverage impact the policy, increases when the news or issue is highlighted by many channels at the same time. Thus heightened coverage of an issue is also a driver for policy change (Soroka et al., 2013).

### **3.3 Some Case Studies**

Media is an important tool to disseminate scientific information, so it plays its role at the interface of policy and science. In the study of Canadian newspaper information about Blood Transmitted Disease (CJD), a model describes that how information produced by researchers is spread by the media which is ultimately picked by government officials, stakeholders and policy makers. In this study, one instance is identified in which reporting of a newspaper results in the development of policy. On July 11, 1995 an American hematologist reported in the newspaper that the next major threat could be CJD for the Canadian Blood System. Four out of six newspapers published this story by repeating the same statements with the headline as "new killer virus". This article of a newspaper had played a critical role in the policy development. In the following case,

the newspaper story accelerated the policy process and the mechanism used for this purpose was through raising awareness among people (Wilson et al., 2004).

On the incident of Delhi gang rape, in December 2012, the Indian media had brought to the forefront details of the issue. The media coverage of that particular issue results that it comes to the priority agenda of Indian policy makers. The new laws and regulations about safety and protection of females were formulated. So the news media is a vital contributor in government's policy making process (Hukil, 2013).

Similarly, the cases of different countries show the role of social media in policy making. Facebook was used in Canada for devising their transport policy. Input for policy was taken from general public (Gintova, 2017). In Finland, the ministry of environment had created a process "crowd sourcing" to lessen the overcrowding problem of traffic. For that purpose they had created online platform where people gave their feedback and proposed different strategies so that they can make a new law regarding this.

In Pakistan, the government of Punjab had launched its "Women Safety Smart Phone Application" on January 4, 2017 by the Punjab Safe Cities Authority (PSCA). It allows its users to send notifications to the "Police Integrated Command, Control and Communication (PPIC3)" if any incident of harassment happens, so that security forces will be send out to the location instantly. This application also allows its users to mark the unsafe locations and places which will help authorities in planning activities accordingly<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup><https://digitalrightsfoundation.pk/2017/02/>

### **3.4 Interest Group Impact**

Government officials also use media in order to develop public support on policies and to explain their policy and political actions. Similarly, interest groups and government elites have some sort of control of the timing and context of debates and different policy alternatives that news media is presenting (Jones & Wolfe, 2007). The media influence is embedded in the relationship that exists between influential players of policy field and media. The collaboration between these two is the real driver of policy making (McCallum & Waller, 2016).

## Chapter 4

### DATA AND METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1. Introduction

This study is designed to investigate the role of media in influencing public policies in Pakistan. To meet the objective, news media analysis is carried out through investigating the role of print, television and social media. Methodological triangulation is carried out in the study. It involves the use of different quantitative and/or qualitative methods to study the program. Similarly, Data Triangulation is the use of more than one method to collect data on the same topic (Brayman, 2016). It is a way to assure the validity of research by using a variety of methods to collect data. This involves use of different methods of data collection as well as different types of samples. Its purpose is to understand different dimensions of the same phenomenon, to increase the level of knowledge about something and to strengthen the researcher's standpoint from various aspects (Webb et al.1966).

The Methodologies used in this study includes interviews of Experts, case study analysis and perception survey of media users. In case studies analysis, Data Triangulation Technique is carried out. Different sources of media are used to collect data. Conceptual Framework of David Easton Theory of Political System (1953) is also incorporated to see the relationship between policy and media.

#### 4.2. Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework describes what relationships are existing based on theory, logic and experience (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The conceptual framework of this study is based on the “System Theory” of David Easton (1953). His theory gives a complete set of categories which

can be utilized for the analysis of any particular system. As his ‘theory’ is analytical, it is not attached to any particular ideology, system or culture. It was applied to many disciplines like political science, public administration, international relations, and public policy etc. (Evans, 1970). System Model is one of those models that are commonly used in public policy field. Public policy may also be seen as a political system’s response to demands arising from its environment (Anyebe, 2018). This theory conceived the political system as combining all activities through which social policy is formulated and executed thus we can say that the political system is the policy-making process. In the book “Introduction to Policy Process” by Birkland Thomas 2005, some sources are mentioned that work as input source in the process. Media coverage is one of them. In this study it is applied to check the inter relation among media and public policy.

This model provides a comprehensive, systematic and consistent framework for analysis of any policy. Those who are related to policy field accepted that it has provided a useful alternative to the historical-institutional approach which had dominated the field. Through this he has opened up a systematic approach for public policy (Evans 1970).

Easton’s political system is a complex set of interactions and certain processes which transforms some inputs into outputs as decisions, or policies. This conversion of input into output takes place in some environment. Demands could be taken as provision for certain things, solutions to particular problems, or provision of some services etc. A system is not always in a position to convert every demand into outputs. It looks into several aspects like quantity, source, nature of contents, intensity, volume, its kind etc. Only a few demands reach the output stage. There is very important role by media in bringing those demands to the agenda of authorities. Through the use

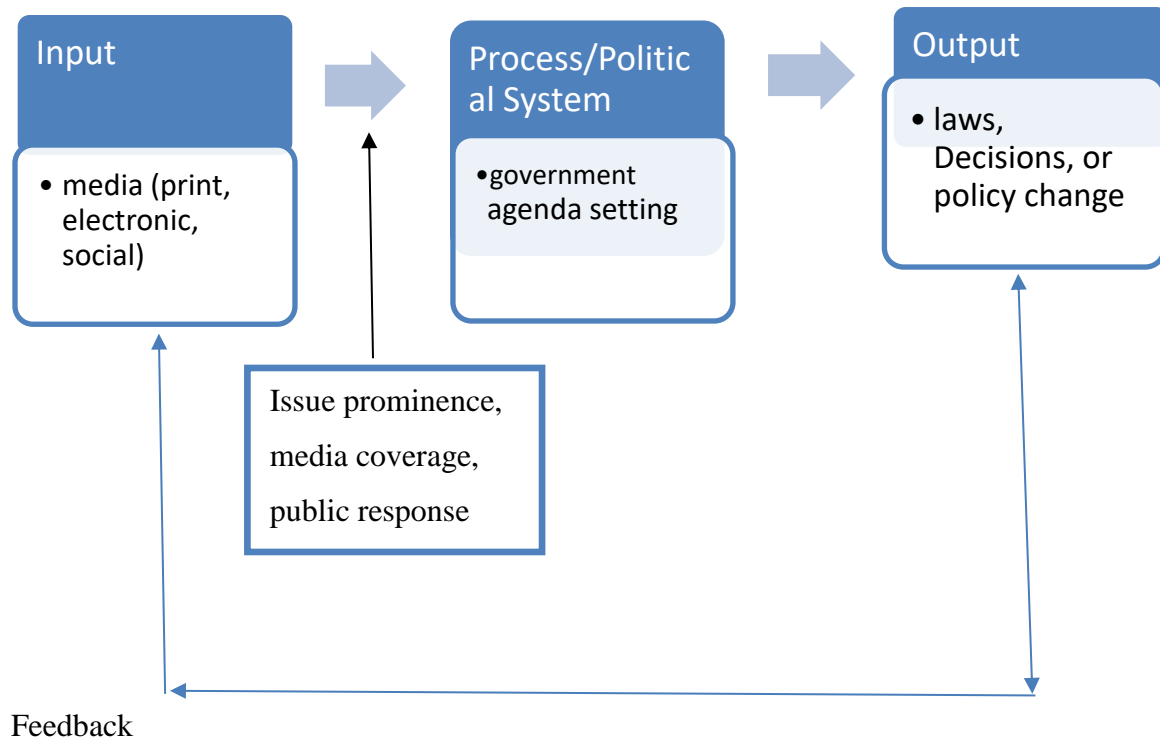
of TV, press, and other media sources demands may be strengthened or removed or weekend to a considerable extent.

The message transmitted through media is perceived differently by different individuals depending on nature of problem, how it is presented in media, to whom it address, how it is framed, do it directly or indirectly effect someone, if the message is of special interest to public, someone's personal experience to that problem and interpersonal communication on that. Media involvement in the policy process is complex but it mainly comprises of twofold i.e. in decision making it acts as an input source and secondly it serves as an environment which is considered by leader while communicate their decisions to public (Naveh, 2002). Media is the part of that environment in which issues are constructed and to address those problems, policy solutions are developed (McCallum & Waller, 2016). When there is extensive participation of public in policy process it will lead to more democratic decisions. When the issues are discussed and highlighted by the masses, they reach to policy makers and they will set on their agenda's accordingly, thus resulting into policy change. Sometimes this change occurs in the form of new policies or laws and sometimes amendment in the existing ones. This change depends on the nature of the problem. A successful policy involves quality input from public. Thus here the role of media is very significant because through media this input is transmitted to relevant authorities (Birkland, 2015).



Following diagram shows the reaction of government as a response to media coverage of the issue.

*Figure 0.1: Conceptual Framework*



*Source: Author's conceptualization of David Easton Model*

In this framework, Media highlight the issues and demands of public and convey them to government.

#### **4.2.1. Input**

They are given by the public and Media to policy makers as what is needed to be done. Issues and Demands of public in the environment are transmitted to the political system through media.

#### **4.2.2. Political Process**

Issue/Demand come on the agenda, considered by authorities (the familiar legislative, executive, judicial, and bureaucratic branches of government) for further proceedings. The process stage is considered as the Political System. Here government sets its agenda and inputs are translated into outputs. There are many other variables that play a role as a mediator, for instance the type of coverage media has given to the issues like tone (aggressive, emotional etc.), language, visuals, or photos etc. The response of public on certain issue or their opinion is also a crucial factor that affects the government agenda.

#### **4.2.3. Output**

After process, the government decision comes in the form of laws, regulations or policies. Easton's notion of outputs is concerned with "the consequences flowing from the behavior of the members of the system". Easton specifies these outputs as the decisions and actions of the authorities. Outputs come as policy statements and implementing actions. Policy statements include legislative laws, executive orders, administrative rules and regulations, and judicial decisions, as well as informal policy pronouncements. Implementing actions are those activities undertaken by administrators and other political actors to carry out the policy statement.

#### **4.2.4. Feedback/Outcome**

The implementation of policy output goes back as feedback. The feedback of this output goes back to the environment through evaluation of these changes by public and media, that is again taken into account and the cycle keep going on. The impacts of policy are sometimes desirable and sometimes may be adverse or unintended. such impacts are perceived and then injected back into the political system as *feedback*.

### **4.3. Case Study Analysis**

To meet objectives of this study, Case Study Method is used. Three cases of different time periods are selected. These cases include Mashal Khan Case, Zainab Murder Case, and Water Shortage Issue. These cases have got high fame on media thus they are selected for analysis in this study. The qualitative case study is an approach that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context by using a number of data sources. This is termed as triangulation technique. This make sure that the issue is not explored through one lens only, but through a variety of lenses which allow the multiple facets of the phenomenon to be understood and revealed (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The steps that are encounter in case study analysis are incorporated in the study. As the first step is to make Research Questions, hence firstly, we developed the research questions. In the second stage, cases are selected that the study is going to analyze. In third step, Data Analysis is carried out that includes analysis of themes. Finally, assertion is carried out which includes making interpretation of meaning of case data or themes. The case study of this research is the “Collective/ Multiple Case Study” because more than one case is analyzed. Multiple cases strengthen the results by replicating the pattern-matching, thus increasing confidence in the robustness of the theory (Tellis, 1997). These are selected because of their wide coverage on media and popularity among public.

#### **4.3.1. Data Collection Instruments**

The data about cases are collected through newspaper articles, TV news bulletins, talk shows, facebook and twitter.

### **4.3.2. Data Analysis Technique**

Media Content Analysis of qualitative nature is done. Qualitative Content Analysis is probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents. It comprises a searching out of underlying themes in the materials being analyzed (Beharrell,1993; Aitken1998).

This qualitative approach involves detailed analysis of key explanatory themes. The qualitative content analysis study is based on the model of David Easton. The themes are selected from that model. Procedure was based on watching of TV programs, Facebook and Twitter assessment and attentive reading of newspaper headlines and articles. The aim of this study is to find out the relationship between different variables presented in conceptual framework and to meet the objectives described in first chapter. We categorize the items, present in the model, into themes of this study and then examine the cycle in the media's perspective. The dependence of policy outcomes on media's coverage is presented by analyzing subthemes.

As earlier mentioned that the core purpose of this empirical study is to find out the relationship between media and public policy in Pakistan through focusing on these case studies and how they were debated or dealt by the government by analyzing the response government had given on these cases. The cases will be analyzed based on description of different variables.

*Table 0.1: Themes and Subthemes of Case Study Analysis*

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>	<b>Categories</b>
<b>Input</b>	Media Agenda	Issues come on Print Media, News TV Channels, Facebook, and Twitter
	Media Coverage	Language, Similes and Metaphors, Tone, Pictures, Visuals, Issue Prominence, Framing of Issue, Placement of issue
	Public Demand	Demands for action. Public response or opinion about issue
<b>Process</b>	Policy/Government Setting	Agenda Issues considered by Government
<b>Output</b>	Government action	laws, Decisions, Regulations, or policy change
<b>Impact</b>	Feedback	In support or against policy, impact of policy

#### **4.3.2.1. Media Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a method of research defined, in brief, as “the systematic assignment of communication content to categorize according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories” (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005). The ‘content’ refers to language, meanings, tone, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. To study mass media,

Harold Lasswell (1927) has introduced Media content analysis. It was initially formed as a systematic process to study Propaganda. His statement, published in 1948, which concisely describe media content analysis is: “Who says what through which channel to whom with what effect”(Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In media content analysis, media contents are open to different interpretations thus the analysis cannot be objective.

#### **4.4. Questionnaire Survey**

As one of the objectives of this study is to get the perception of public regarding media, so the study has carried out survey of the general public to get their perception about media and its role. The area of study is Rawalpindi and Islamabad. Data from public is collected by using simple random sampling. The purpose of collecting data from general public is to seek news media habit in Pakistanis and their general perception about current situation of Media in the country, their behavior towards media use, and how effective media is considered by them.

Data is collected from the targeted sample through a questionnaire. Different types of questions are asked. Questions related to above mentioned cases are also asked. To get the output of questionnaire, SPSS is used. SPSS conduct a range of tests and analysis tools, but for my study the focus is on descriptive statistics, for that purpose frequency analysis and cross-tabulation is used. Graphs are formed and then analyzed accordingly. So initially the data was entered into SPSS by defining variables and their values, then frequency tables are formed which provides the number counts and their percentages. In order to check the relation between two variables, cross-tabulation is used. Microsoft Excel is used to graphical presentation of results.

The comparison of question statements with demographic factors provides some interesting insights about the prevailing media trends. The segmentation of groups into education, age and usage of media give the idea of media use among common people.

#### **4.4.1. Sample Size for Survey**

According to David Royse (2008), “the use of 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error is a common standard in the social sciences”. Considering these two and the population of Rawalpindi and Islamabad, the sample size is calculated by using sample size calculator. The total sample obtained for this study is 385 (Raosoft. Inc. 2004). In this context, a total of 386 respondent’s data is collected in this survey. Out of the 386 respondents, 239 respondents were male, and 147 respondents were female. As simple random sampling is used, so it was not possible to take equal number of both genders. However enough effort was made to get the data from reasonable number of males and females. So the percentage of respondents is 62% of males and 38% females. Data is collected from Rawalpindi and Islamabad; 235 respondents were from Rawalpindi and 151 from Islamabad i.e. 61% and 39% respectively.

#### **4.5. In-depth Interviews**

The survey from experts has sought input from diverse experts, including academicians, Parliamentarians, journalist representative bodies, Government Media Advisors and other Media Analysts. The criterion for selection includes their relevance to policy, media or both and their experience in the field and knowledge etc.

##### **4.5.1. Sampling Technique of Interviews**

The sampling technique used here is Purposive Sampling i.e. non probability sampling. It is regarded as best approach for qualitative studies. In purposive sampling, the selection is done on

the basis of criteria (Patton, 2002; Mason, 2002), not randomly (Bryman, 2016). Purposive sampling approach is that type in which sampling is conducted with reference to the goals of the research. To contextualize the discussion, units of analysis are selected in terms of criteria that will allow the research questions to be answered. Very often, the researcher will want to sample to ensure that there is a good deal of variety in the resulting sample, so that sample members differ from each other in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question. In purposive sampling people are selected because of their relevance to the research questions (Bryman, 2014).

#### **4.5.2. Sample Size of Interviews**

Small sample size is normally taken, because the Saturation point, diminishing return occurs after a reasonable number. Saturation is used as a criterion for deciding on the adequacy of the sample. (Bryman, 2014). It is a useful principle for making decisions about sample size. The new respondents add very less and you start getting the same responses (Ritche & Lewis, 2003). As it is difficult to handle and manipulate huge information collected through open ended questions, so researchers prefer smaller sample of respondents. Instead of quantity, quality is the major focus of study. If very large numbers of respondents are interviewed the data is not handled in better way as compared to small number. (Ritche & Lewis, 2003) There is a rule of thumb that in qualitative study sample lies under 50. Mason (2010) refers to a study that reviewed 50 grounded theory-based research articles, which found sample sizes to vary between 5 and 350. Crouch and McKenzie (2006) make a virtue of small sample sizes by arguing that samples of fewer than twenty increase the qualitative researcher's chances of getting close involvement with their participants in interview-based studies.



## Chapter 5

### ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

#### 5.1 Case Studies Analysis

It is worthwhile to revisit that in response to certain issue how media has played its role, how it has reported and portrayed the case and how media coverage resulted in some useful outcome.

In our content analyses, the text is break down to identify the major subject areas which are pursued in the news, and then examined the conceptual framework. This qualitative approach involves detailed analysis of key explanatory themes, language of news program, newspaper articles and social media sites. The preference given to some arguments are examined, those which are highlighted by journalists or are repeatedly used or referred to across news reports. The content analysis done in this study has investigate every aspect of the case that media has reported. For print media, newspapers' reports, pictures, articles, headlines were examined. When news is significant, its placement on the newspaper is very prominent. On the front page, the most pertinent stories get a space. The newspapers which were included in study are Jang and Express (Urdu dailies). In electronic media, five mainstream news channels were observed; it includes Geo News, ARY, Samaa, 92 News, Dunya News. Headlines, breaking news, news bulletins and talk shows are examined. Similarly, for the content analysis of social media, tweets and Facebook posts are examined. The hashtags used, the language, pictures videos were observed to see how the cases is taken on that media or how it is reported. The language of reporting is far more important than what is reported.

## 5.1.1 Mashal Khan Case

### 5.1.1.1. Overview of Case

From the start of year 2017, blasphemy was discussed on some way in media. In March 2017, 5 bloggers were missed because of allegations of blasphemy. News told that on December 3, 2016 a senate committee has decided to start discussion on blasphemy law in the light of 1991's report related to this law. Senator Farhat Ullah Babar said that reexamining of section 295-C was needed (express tribune). On 12<sup>th</sup>, January 2017, a senate committee is set for the prevention of misuse of Blasphemy Law in Pakistan. Senator told the media that debate will be based upon 24 years old report's recommendations to stop unfair application of this law. Before filing a case, the committee would make it a binding to ensure genuine blasphemy and investigate the complaints very carefully (Express Tribune)<sup>7</sup>. On 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2017 LHC took up a petition in which government was refrained from holding a debate on blasphemy or to amend it (Express Tribune)<sup>8</sup>.

In the situation where blasphemy talk was on the scene, the case of Mashal Khan appeared on the scene. In that situation the role played by media is worth notable.

On April 13, 2017 a case appeared on the media in which a student named Mashal Khan student of Abdul Wali Khan University was killed by a violent mob. He was 23 years old and a student of journalism at that university. The dreadful killing of Mashal Khan has shocked the whole nation. He was shot in chest and head and his dead body was brutally dishonored by a mob comprises of fellow students and university administration. People accused him on blasphemy.

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<sup>7</sup><https://tribune.com.pk/story/1293370/human-rights-committee-senate-panel-debate-prevent-misuse-laws/>

<sup>8</sup> <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1304895/blasphemy-laws-notices-sent-senator-law-secretary/>

The videos came on social media showed that his body was dragged in hallway and on campus road. The people who were involved in his murder blame him of committing Blasphemy. They accused him that he had committed blasphemy in live discussion at university as well as on Facebook pages (Farhan, 2017). It was told by his friend that administration was against him because in a TV interview he openly criticized over the irregularities of university, so staff has also incited students against him. The incident gained enormous protests from public. People have recorded their protest via social media posts as well as on roads. Members of civil society also came on the roads to demand justice for him. On Sep 27, 2017, Trial court hears this case. On January 4<sup>th</sup>, 2018, out of 61 suspects, 58 were arrested.

#### **5.1.1.2. Input: Media Coverage**

##### **Social Media**

Videos went viral on media showing the mob killing him. The videos shared on facebook with their statistics are as follows: video shared by a page PRENRA got 61173 views, “Nadeem khattak – The humanist” with 151897 views, title “Promote hashtag justice for Mashal khan” have viewership of 79165. On the page “Justics for Mashal Khan”, a video is shared in which people involved in the case are taking oath for not declaring the name of shooter, it got 203070 views and 6208 shares. On twitter, Justice for Mashal khan becomes top trend at that time. The hashtags #MashalKhan, #JusticeforMashal, #Blasphemy is the most prominent one.

##### **Electronic Media**

All channels have given coverage throughout the case, the updates of the case are presented in the form of breaking news and top headlines on daily bulletins. In a talk show,

AjShahzebKhanzada k Sath, on Geo News, the anchor has discussed in detail that what happened before incident. He had talked about whole story behind the case. To make it catchy he used the term “**Androoni Kahani**” (**inside story**) as the tag line of show of 14<sup>th</sup> April, 2017. Imam E Kaaba was also interviewed in talk show to take his opinion in this issue of false blasphemy allegations. Talk shows of 8-9 and 10-11 have discussed this incident and government was asked to take strict measures to stop this type of incidents in future.

### **Print Media**

Newspapers have played relatively less role in this case. On 14<sup>th</sup> April, only a small news item about case comes on front page of Jang and no news on express about this incident. After the issue becomes much famous on social media and then on electronic media, after that on the 4<sup>th</sup> day of incident i.e. on 16 April, the issue comes as major headline of front page as PM and his daughter has condemned the murder. Again on 17<sup>th</sup> April, the interview taken on TV from Imam e Kaaba, “*toheen e Rislaat ki tohmat lgany walon sy sakhti sy nimta jay*” (who accused others on false blasphemy allegations must be strictly dealt), was the top news of front page. The number of news items on front page from 14 to 20<sup>th</sup> April is in Appendix section.

#### **5.1.1.3 Public’s Demand:**

Social media platform was used by public in solidarity with him. A powerful move initiated by public on social media showed their demand and opinion about case, thousands of views and comments are proof of it. Pictures and quotes were posted for demand of justice because allegations have not proved against him.

#### 5.1.1.4. Process: Government Agenda

A number of Member of National Assembly tweeted about this brutal murder of a student. Imran Khan tweeted in which he said that *Law of the jungle can't prevail*. Other politicians who condemned the murder include Asif Zardari, Shams ul Mulk, Shireen Mazari, Asad Umar, Khawahja Asif. CM KP spoke to assembly on the next day of incident declaring that no evidence found against Mashal, he demanded to form judicial commission (Dawn.com, 2017). The PM Nawaz Shareef had first taken wait and see policy because of sensitivity of issue and then condemn with strong-worded statement. He tweeted as “*The state will never tolerate those who take the law in their own hands*”. On last month PM declared the blasphemy as “unpardonable crime”, this could be one reason to clear his stance on blasphemy, but after the case went viral on media and media has created the situation in which he was proved innocent then he condemn the murder. The interior minister praises the efforts of IG KPK on his efforts to bring criminals to book. He termed the murder as “coldblooded murder”<sup>9</sup> (Express tribune). Imran Khan gave his message through twitter after visiting his home.

The opposition demanded resolution in NA to stop the misuse of law by inserting certain clauses in the law to avoid its misuse. CM KP signed a summary for forming Judicial Commission to probe this event of brutal murder.

Unanimous resolution was passed in NA in response to this incident. This house unanimously condemns the barbaric and cold-blooded murder of Mashal Khan and determined to ensure that strong safeguards may be inserted into the blasphemy law to prevent its abuse through

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<sup>9</sup><https://tribune.com.pk/story/1384738/cjp-takes-suo-motu-action-mardan-lynching/>

such atrocities<sup>10</sup>. The house demand to incorporate some safeguards in the law for avoiding these incidents (Samaa TV, 2017).

#### **5.1.1.5 Output: Government Action**

On April 14, 2017 the CJP took the notice of Mardan Incident. CJP took suo moto notice and ordered the IG KPK to submit report within 36 hours. After two days, on April 17 in a press conference of IG KPK, which is aired on all the news channels as breaking news, he said that no evidence of blasphemy found in this case.

On 4<sup>th</sup> June, 2017 JIT report came in which it was proved that this murder was pre planned by a student federation and administration of university because Mashal often criticize and talks about the irregularities and wrongdoings that are prevailing in the university (24 News).

On 7<sup>th</sup> February 2018 finally, the decision came in which death penalty was given to one person, 5 were given life imprisonment and 3 years jail to 25 people.

#### **5.1.1.6. Outcome**

In this case, the justice is served in just 10 months. In Pakistan, the cases which involve murder often took decades to resolve and to dispense justice. So this verdict is an achievement in Pakistan's judicial history for trial completion and verdict announcement. For the first time in the Pakistan's history, 31 people were convicted on charges of false blasphemy accusations and mob lynching. The much-awaited example was set; the much-needed deterrence was created.

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<sup>10</sup>[https://epaper.dawn.com/DetailImage.php?StoryImage=19\\_04\\_2017\\_003\\_007](https://epaper.dawn.com/DetailImage.php?StoryImage=19_04_2017_003_007)

### 5.1.1.7 Critical Analysis of Case Study:

The topic of Blasphemy in Pakistan is untouchable and talking about this subject is like risking one's life. The fear is so much that the Prime Minister who was supposed to be the first ones to condemn the heinous crime, comment on the case after 2 days. It was the Media and common citizens of Pakistan whose widespread outcry and protests didn't let the incident die and led to Suomoto action by the SCP.

It is failure of our society that people are considered guilty before they are proved guilty. Mashal was accused of committing blasphemy but on his social media page, no blasphemous content was found. Here in this case, social media has the most important role, before and after the case. He was accused because of allegation of blasphemous posts on his facebook page, later the videos of his brutal murder also came very first on social media and then traditional media also start supporting this move of social media to demand justice for him. In an article published in The News on 17<sup>th</sup> April, 2018 with the title Mashal's Murder, Syed Talat Hussain has appreciated the social and electronic media for spreading the videos in response to which action was taken against the culprits.

A same sort of case appeared in which a student, Qutub Rind, based in Lahore was allegedly killed over blasphemy<sup>11</sup>. As media has not highlighted it so it goes unsolved. This shows that media has most significant role to play in these cases.

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<sup>11</sup><https://dailytimes.com.pk/279820/how-social-media-is-helping-qutub-rinds-killers/>

## 5.1.2. Zainab Case

### 5.1.2.1 Overview of Case:

On 4<sup>th</sup> of January 2018 a girl Zainab of seven years age was missed in kasur. After four days i.e. on 9<sup>th</sup> January 2018 her dead body was found from garbage heap. The post-mortem report found that she had been raped and then killed. JIT (Joint Investigation Team) was formed for this case, whose head was changed on the request of father of minor. Words such as **nanhi kali** (little bud) **Masoom** (innocent) zainab, **nanhipari** (little fairy) etc are used in all types of media. The picture of victim in pink dress and the dead body placed on the dump had raised the emotions of public. The case gained more attraction after her pictures were used. CCTV footage of criminal taking her was shown for hours on every channel.

In a press conference<sup>12</sup> on January 23, 2018, CM Punjab Shahbaz shareef confirmed that murderer Imran, a serial killer of 24 years of age and resident of Kasur, has been caught. A polygraph test was conducted after his DNA matched the sample and he admitted to his crimes. CM Punjab visited the lab and had it done in front of him to see 100% match of DNA. He said that even if they had to amend some laws, they will do it to give severe punishment to killer because he was involved in the rape and murder of seven minor girls earlier in this area. The killer was familiar with her family and resident of the same area. He was interrogated for five days which confirmed that he was the perpetrator.

On 1<sup>st</sup> March 2018, another turn came in the case and the focus of the media moved towards that. A famous TV Anchor Dr. Shahid Masood declared that the criminal was linked with an

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<sup>12</sup><https://www.geo.tv/latest/178248-zainabs-murderer-caught-is-a-serial-killer-confirms-cm-shehbaz>



international group and had several bank accounts. He had said in his show that murderer Imran Ali was member of pornographic gang and he has 37 foreign accounts. Report submitted in SC regarding TV anchor Shahid Masood's claim regarding killer of Zainab, the report found that all revelation made by him were baseless and false. State bank has also rejected that no international bank account exist in his name. A separate JIT was formed to check his allegations<sup>13</sup> (Dawn.com).

### **5.1.2.2. Input: Media Coverage**

#### **Social Media**

On social media pictures and videos are showed that are too emotional, *Pari ko qabar mn utarny sy pehly ki nayab tasveer* (rare picture of fairy before her burial), *shaheed zainab ki video app ronay par majboor ho jayngy* (video of shaheedzainab which make you cry).

On twitter JusticeforZainab become the top trend in those days. The hashtags used by social media activists in response to a demand of justice for the innocent girl of Qasur includes #JusticeForZainab, #Justice4Zainab and #Zainab, #Zainabzindahai, #ZainabMurderCase. Different celebrities and famous people also tweeted about her which got thousands of likes and retweets. Tweet by @AnjumiqbalPti got 2.3K retweets, 2.7K likes, @Malala got 15K retweets and 37K likes, @officialDGISPR 18.3K likes and 8000 retweets, @Ihtishamulhaq got 13.2K likes and 9000 retweets.

#### **Electronic Media**

Despite of a sensitive topic and issue, still most of the news items in electronic media are based on sensationalism. It has played with emotions of audience. The use of sorrow music, pictures language and increased frequency of reporting are major parts of this case. To catch the

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<sup>13</sup><https://www.dawn.com/news/1392507/jit-declares-shahid-masoods-claims-about-zainabs-murderer-false>

audience, even for minor news it is labeled as breaking news in red loud sensational tone and flashy headlines. The useless packages with sad music was played in the background.

Television has played the most prominent role in this case. The headlines and breaking news were full of emotional language to catch the audience and attention of higher authorities toward the issue. “*Qasoor masoom qalliun ka maqtal ban gya*”(Qasoor turns into slaughter house for little girls). A news anchor Kiran Naaz on Samaa tv brought her little daughter and aired the show with her. *Janaza jitna chota hota hy utna e bhari hotahy. aesa e nanha janaza aj qasoor ki sarkon pr rakha hua hy idr maa baap apni laadli k liye khilonay khreed rhy thy udr aik wehshi isy kutchray k dhair pe phenk raha tha.* The CCTV footage of minor in which she was going with the murderer was titled as *Qatil k sath galliun main phirti rae (walking through the streets with killer).*

Geo News has played a positive role in this situation. In the news bulletin 12 January 2018 simple everyday actions are taught that help to prevent child abuse. Preventing tips, “*Bachon ko jinsi istehsal sy kesay bachayn*” (how to protect children from physical exploitation) is the main title of program. Visuals are shown in which children are playing and enjoying free from any fear. Similarly, on the same channel coverage of a school is shown, in which teacher is teaching children about good and bad touch. When children are asked that whether they have any prior knowledge about this, then most of them replied as NO.

On 13 January 2018, Geo news talk show, “Aj Shahzeb Khanzada k Sath” has mentioned the situation about case with main headlines as *Kasheedgi jari, muzahiray, taleemi idaray band bazaar band, awam k ghm o gussay main kami nahi aa rae, 36 ghnton ki mohlat.* (tensions

continue, protests, educational institutions, markets are closed, Public's grief and anger don't subside, 36 hours deadline is given)

He raised the questioned that before Zainab case, 7 cases were reported with same DNA, why police has not taken any action even when DNA was match. He told that after this few cases were identified in Karachi in which children told their parents when they have doubt about someone. A little girl told that her school guard has tried to touch her. After this the residents of that area came to school and then give him in the custody of rangers. *Hifazti iqdammat zaruri hain* (preventive measures are necessary), *bachon ki tarbiyat zaroori hy* (training of children is essential), *parents bachon sy baat kren is topic pe* (parents should talk with their children about this topic), *buchy khud apna difaa kesay Karen* (how children could defend themselves), *wo konsy isahary hain jin par inhain mohtaata hona chahiye* (which are those actions upon which children should alert themselves). Good and bad touch must be included in syllabus. Ahang NGO is willing to work on this topic, government must cooperate with them. On request of zainab's father the chairman JIT was changed because he was Ahmadi. The anchorperson argued that instead of belief of anyone, the compatibility/capability of that person should be seen.

On 14 January, ARY, in the program "Sawal Ye Hy" the Role of police and government is discussed that how should they have to take action in such situation. On 17 January, Aj Shahzeb Khanzada K Sath, *Supreme court ki deadline dead ho gye* (supreme court's deadline becomes dead) the anchor discussed that High court can't take suo moto action. It is not under its jurisdiction to take suo moto notice. Supreme court's 3 bench has stop the proceedings in LHC.

23 January 2018, on all media channels, Press conference of CM Punjab Shahbaz Shareef, 40 mints long was aired. He explains about whole case proceedings. Franzik report was presented in detail on the media. DNA and profile of all the previous cases in which the suspect was involved

were presented, 16 chromosomes, all are unique. They explain that what the meaning of chromosome match is.

### **Print Media**

In the newspapers, most of the news find space of front page, and on the inside opinion pages. On 11<sup>th</sup> January Jang newspaper, 7 news items on the front page are about this incident. On 12<sup>th</sup> January, again 7 news items with almost quarter page advertisement was on front page. The last home work that she did “*main aik larki hun*” ( I am a girl) is also part of front page news. Urdu newspapers have used the similies and methaphors like kali, nanhi, farista for her. The pictures of her funeral were also present on front page with caption *walid phool daalty beti zainab ki qabar par shidat e gham sy gir gay.*

### **5.1.2.3. Public Response:**

Tv channels have given full time coverage to protestors in Kasur that just demand justice for Zainab. This mass coverage showed that people were out of control on this incident. On 10 January, 2018, the crowd gathered outside the DC office, turned violent and attempted to attack the office, police fire over the protestors, two killed few injured<sup>14</sup>. This leads to even more protestors outside. Now this time they are armed with batons, and sticks, they blocked almost every channel in the city.

The Zainab case has impacted the public’s imagination more than other events. When news came out social media was in turmoil. On this dilemma of child abuse people have started raising

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<sup>14</sup>[https://tribune.com.pk/story/1604880/1-minor-girl-raped-killed-kasur/?fbclid=IwAR3F-IhlvtAeIRK8rXA\\_7ToUYqSBlnWsH3ZKP8FurIMLamK5BgDrS4\\_N7yk](https://tribune.com.pk/story/1604880/1-minor-girl-raped-killed-kasur/?fbclid=IwAR3F-IhlvtAeIRK8rXA_7ToUYqSBlnWsH3ZKP8FurIMLamK5BgDrS4_N7yk)

their voice on social media with official hashtag #justiceforZainab. Public's response shows horror, disgust, sympathy, and compassion.

#### **5.1.2.4 Process-Government Agenda**

CJP and CJLHC took suo moto action of case, he stated that no ignorance will be tolerated for this case; report should be presented within 36 hours. The Army Chief also reacts on the situation in which he said that army should also cooperate with civilians in finding the murderer.

All political and famous personalities have condemned the incident with grief and sorrow. In NA, the major talk was about this case on the next day of case. Maryum Aurangzeb said that it must be included in the curriculum of children that how to protect themselves, Khurshhed Shah said that it must be beyond just passing a resolution and doing condolence to the family.

The Senator Raza Rabbani stated that Parliament must also take some serious actions...why the legislation on child's protection is not done so far, and that done why work is not started on national commission. CM Punjab said "*Jesay zainab qoum ki beti hai aesay hmari beti hy*".

#### **5.1.2.5. Policy Output**

Sample is collected on 20<sup>th</sup> January; from 21-22 processing's of case and date of completion is 22 January.

More than 1100 people's DNA was checked, The killer is given 4 times capital punishment. When the murderer was given punishment TV channels have breaking news with title "*Kasoor mn kutchli jany wali nanhi pariun ko insaf mil gya*". Geo news, 1<sup>st</sup> 4 headlines were about zainab

*Adalti nazam ka taiz tareen trial, 56 gawahon, 1100 DNA. Kamsan zainab, nanhi zainab, nanhi pari* words are used for her.

In surroundings of Zainab murder case, a report constituted by Federal Ombudsman to diagnose issues of child abuse titled “Mapping of Issues & Response to Sexual Violence Against Children” recently submitted before the Steering committee on ‘Kasur Tragedy & Redressal of systematic issues’. It has proposed 11-point remedial measures to prevent and control the rising cases of shameful acts with children in different parts of the country, especially Kasur. Long and short-term steps are recommended, enactment of new laws and some amendments in existing laws to ensure psycho-social, legal and medical support. The legal time-frame of such cases must be reduced to six months. Talking to APP, Commissioner for Children and Advisor of Federal Ombudsman SyedaViqar-un-Nisa Hashmi said the report is now with the President of Pakistan and consultation on child abused issue with parliamentarians are scheduled in the coming days<sup>15</sup>.

#### **5.1.2.6. Outcome**

The case has put vast impact on the agenda of next government. In the 100 days agenda of PTI, the government has given the priority to this issue, the bills passed include many bills related to child abuse. It includes Anti-Torture bill, Juvenile Justice System, Kasur Report, ICT Child protection bill, Street Children Report (ICT), Zainab Alert Bill.

Zainab Alert Act 2018 is an Act against kidnapping, abduction, rape of children which are increasing day by day in the country. Its name showed that this case has vast impact on government.

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<sup>15</sup><https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/10/28/report-on-child-abuse-depicts-horrific-picture-suggests-measures/>

To end child abuse, the ministry of Human Rights drafted action plan. This plan has been made to ensure the rights of minors under United Nations Convention on Rights of child (UNCRC) ratified in 1990 by Pakistan. Ministry plans to conduct multimedia campaigns and workshops for raising awareness. In addition, community mobilization is also planned to develop protection system and establishment of school protection committees. Effective implementation of Juvenile Justice System (JJS), publicity of laws, training of law enforcement agencies, child friendly courts, monitoring of trafficking mafias and special measures against child pornography is under discussion. Rehabilitation and recovery of child abuse victims through special trainers and child protection committess in hospitals, the working of National Commission for Child Welfare and Development (NCCWD) will be strengthened<sup>16</sup>.

While talking to All Pakistan Press, human Right Minister said that ministry is going to lunch media campaign for awareness of child protection. Effective implementation of laws is needed<sup>17</sup>. An NGO Sahil has launched its report on 30<sup>th</sup> august. The program officer of this Sahil said that it was because of Zainab's case that gives courage to families of victim to speak rather than hiding it. So zainab case leads to drastic change in behavior of society<sup>18</sup>.

#### **5.1.2.7. Critical review of findings**

The top stories remained the updates about case, and how politicians and other authorities have commented on case, demand of strict and quick action from government and judiciary. Intense reaction from public, fueled by wide media coverage seep into the consciousness of public

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<sup>16</sup><https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/11/07/ministry-of-human-rights-prepares-action-plan-to-end-child-abuse/>

<sup>17</sup><https://www.pakistanpressfoundation.org/hr-ministry-to-start-media-campaign-for-child-protection/>

<sup>18</sup><https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/361889-increase-in-child-abuse-cases-reported-in-first-six-months-of-2018>

representatives, thus have wide effect on case and resulted into the state's ability to be an impartial adjudicator. The speedy trial has not only made a difference in this case, perhaps it has set the benchmark for criminal proceedings of the future. The incorporation of latest and scientific methods of investigation like DNA fingerprints could help in better combating and reaching the suspects. The media has played its role in getting the attention of higher authorities regarding this incident and matter of child abuse. In this case, the most important role is played by Electronic media.

Zainab was the 12<sup>th</sup> victim in just two kilometers in one year, why none of the cases brought to the court. It is the public's response brought on the front by media that lead this case to the end. If social and mainstream media had not created a public uproar and widely reporting of the case, then results could be the same as of last 12 and many other cases in the country that are not being reported.

Content related to prevention of these incidents, legislation on this issue, education of parents and children to protect children from child abuse was also discussed but its frequency is low related to its importance. The electronic media has greater share in this type of reporting than other media types.

There are several rules and regulations which don't allow to reveal the face and identity of victim and his/her family. It is clearly stated in PEMRA's code of conduct 2015 as:

*"The licensee shall ensure that ... [the] identity of any victim of rape, sexual abuse, terrorism or kidnapping or such victim's family shall not be revealed without prior permission of the victim or victim's guardian where victim is a minor."*



A Gender-Sensitive Media Code of Ethics (CoE): It pertains to six main areas: Right to Privacy; Pictorial Depiction of Women; Balanced Representation of Women; Projection of Gender Roles in Advertisements; Quality Coverage of Women's Issues and Maintaining Professional Standards. Why media is not fulfilling these conducts is a big question mark. All these codes related to revelation of identity and gender sensitive code were violated in this case. Even media termed the case as Zainab Qatal Case. The first code of ethics for media is about 'Right to Privacy'. By revealing her name, age, identity, parents and residence this code is violated.

### **5.1.3. Water Shortage Case**

#### **5.1.3.1 Overview of Case:**

On August 11, 2017 an article was published in **The News** by Shakildurrani in which he has highlighted that unbuilt mega projects of dams, including diamer bhasha and mundamohmand dam costs billions of dollars annually. Governments are responsible of this delay which he termed as "sins of omission". In another article published in **The News**, the author has pointed out the severe environmental disorders that our country will face due to climate change. Pakistan is one of the top countries which are severely affected by this situation. Along with other extreme conditions the most frightening environmental stress that our country will face is water shortage. The situation is projected to be adverse in next few years. Chairman WAPDA Muzammil Hussian alerted that there is less than 1-million-acre ft water remaining in country.

According to a report of UN<sup>19</sup>, Pakistan is the most water stressed country of the region. Pakistan has touched this water stress line back in 1990, crossed water scarcity line in 2005, if present condition prevails, it will dry till 2025 and become the 23<sup>rd</sup> country water-stressed country in the world. Pakistan is facing severe water scarcity in spite of being blessed with many rivers.

Official estimates of UN demonstrate that by 2025, Pakistan will face “absolute scarcity”. The water available per person will be less than 500 cubic meters which is one third of the available water in parched Somalia. Building infrastructure for overcoming this crisis is very essential. (Geo Tv)<sup>20</sup>.

Viewing this water shortage in the country, the government has announced the construction of ‘Mohmand and Diamer-Bhasha Dam. A fund is established for this purpose after the instructions from the Supreme Court. Building of dams would be much helpful to overcome the issue throughout the country.

### **5.1.3.2. Input: Media Coverage**

#### **Social Media**

On social media severe threatening messages and posts were shared to have aware the public and government about this crisis situation of country. It include posts like “*Shaded garmi ki waja sy adha mulk rehny k qabil ni rhy ga, Dam banao darakht ugao warna qayamat sy pehly qayamat anay wali hy*”(because of the intense heat half of the country will become dry. Build the Dams, plant trees). Pani documentaries were posted on youtube and face book which shows that there is water scarcity in country and situation goes worse in next few years. At the time of

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<sup>19</sup> [www.un.org.pk/water-insecurity](http://www.un.org.pk/water-insecurity)

<sup>20</sup><https://www.geo.tv/latest/209531-plant-for-pakistan-drive-kicks-off-across-country>

elections, this movement “*Pakistan Pani-ittehad. Iqtadar k pyasay ko nahi pani k pasban ko vote dou*” (vote for water not for those who are in thirst of power), started on facebook to alert the public and attentive the political parties about this issue.

Martin Kobler’s pictures on Rawal lake went viral on social media and work like a fuel on fire. He made a tweet in which he said that it is looking more like a dessert than lake. For him the situation of water in Pakistan is very shocking.

Photos were shown depicting man and women carrying water containers in their hands, many people filling their buckets from one tank, barren land etc. Pictures were posted on Facebook that showed the children drinking dirty water. People were alerted by pictures that if we don’t act immediately this could be Lahore, Karachi, Gujranwala or Islamabad. Pictures of different countries that are going through severe drought and water scarcity were used to make people attentive of the severe condition that our country could face if dams are not constructed at once.

Tweeter is also used as platform to raise awareness for water shortage and dams construction. The most used hashtags include #Wakeup #HeatWave #nodamsnolife #damsordie #Weneeddams, #bulddamssavePakistan, #SavewaterforPak, #SaveWaterDemandStorage, #Pakistanwatercrisis. Most used hashtags after the initiative of dams fund are#DamsforPakistan, #DonateforDams, #Bhasha. @HamidMirPak...water shortage is becoming biggest national security threat but we are concerned about others

@Imrankhanpti...4K retweets 14Klikes. Pakistan has only 2 large dams whereas India has 5000 and china 8400. We need to avert looming water crisis confronting Pakistan.

## **Electronic Media**

On 11-march-2017, Dunya news talk show, Aj Kamran Khan K Sath, with 1.9K views on internet explain that there is need to impose water emergency in the country. He presents different national and international reports. UNDP warn Pakistan that after terrorism the next big challenge for Pakistan is water shortage.

6-Dec-2017, on ARY News, Nadeem Chan shed light on this crisis and upcoming situation that Pakistan would face in next few years. On 22 March 2018, 24 News programs on world water day, the water issue in Pakistan is thoroughly discussed. It was told in the program that in 2005 we had crossed the scarcity level. After 1975 no major dam is made in Pakistan. 74-75% water goes waste in summer. *Awam ko pani fraham krna kiski zimmedari hy?* (who is responsible for providing public with water). This is how they have raised question and make the viewers to think about issue. Similarly, on 13-May-2018, 92 news talk show “breaking news with malik” enlighten that Pakistan council of research and water resources alert the public about severe water shortage in upcoming years. In 2025 Pakistan will approach severe water scarcity. IMF report that the key factor for water wastage is agriculture sector. there is need to pay attention towards water management. Expert shams ul mulk said that Indian lobbies are very strong in Pakistan which is a big hurdle for dams. It refrains the Pakistan from construction of dams *Agar aabi emergency na lgai tou Pakistan ka kya ho ga*, (what will happen to Pakistan if water emergency is not imposed) question is raised in the program to make public alert.

On 7<sup>th</sup> June 2018-Capital TV, In News Bulletin the Report of weather department is presented in which experts views are taken. Management issue and agriculture waste at national level is major cause of water crisis. *Where we had done mistakes that lead us to this situation...Water scarcity is not to come about but it actually comes in the country.*

On 7 June-2018, breaking news on different channels come. The water level in dams of rwp/isb goes 150 ft down. There is need to tackle the situation on emergency basis. ***Khatray ki ghanti bajj gye (alarming situation)...Islamabad Rawalpindi dams main pani ki shaded kami (severe water shortage in dams of Rawalpindi and Islamabad..zameen banjar honay lgi (the earth began to barren)..mehkama mosmiyat ki janib sy alert jari kardiya (Weather Alert issued by the Meteorological Department)...Global warming, badtareen khushksaali, banjarpan, khatray ki ghanti bajj chuki hy...dams sy pani khtrnaak had tk kam ho chukka hy.***

8-july-2018, ARY News, news come as water crisis is about to increase as the water level in Tarbella Dam hits to its dead level. On 9-July-2018 Geo News morning program “Geo Pakistan” was also about Dams construction and water crisis in the country. They pointed out that dams are becoming dry, monsoon season is there but still Tarbella is dry, in Manglla dam there is storage capacity of 73 lac acre ft but only 8 lac acre ft water is present at the moment. Total water generate in Pakistan is 140-million-acre ft, we are having capacity of storing only 14-million-acre ft, which shows that only 10% water we store. ***Kya wajahy k dams nahi hain (What is the reason that we are not building dams)***, question asked by host as point to ponder.

According to a report of Samaa tv<sup>21</sup>, on 19 August 2018, one of the five major challenges that PTI government will face, includes water shortage.

1 Sep 2018..ARY ...ARY digital network aired live telethon for alerting the public and bringing awareness about diamer bhasha and mohmand dam. ***Khushk saali ni zarkhezi..dam banengy tou khushhali aayge..***

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<sup>21</sup><https://www.samaa.tv/news/2018/08/five-major-challenges-facing-imran-khans-government/>

1-oct-2018, on Express New's Fb page video with 346K views, using 3D visuals and graphics the complete detail of dams were described. PC 1 of Diamer bhasha dam was formed in 2009. The estimated cost for dam was 894 Arab, now in 2018 it raises upto 1400 Arab. It will have capacity of 81 lac 10thousand acre ft. *km laagat mahool dost Bijli peda ki ja sky ge (less costly and environment friendly electricity would be generated).*

### **Print Media**

The role of Print Media in this case is also very vital, especially English newspapers published highly effective columns concerning not only water crisis in the country but also shed light on its major causes and solutions to overcome this shortage situation. Different reports that are discussed mainly on print media includes Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources (PCRWR) alerted that till 2025, Pakistan will run out of water if no action is taken.

#### **5.1.3.3. Public's Response**

The response of public received for this fundraising campaign is encouraging. According to the website of State Bank of Pakistan, Until May 7, 2019 Rs. 10,423,736,401 has been collected for these dams which is a good sum. On twitter the demand by public for dam's construction was much popular, as mentioned in previous section the hashtags that were most commonly used by public to record their demand for solving water crisis in the country.

#### **5.1.3.4. Government Agenda**

On 25-june-2018, CJP take notice of country wide water crisis. CJP took suo moto in response to increase in water shortage across country. Water insufficiency issue in federal capital

would also be considered by him. He stated that this case would be the top priority case of SC<sup>22</sup>. SC was informed that construction of Bhasha dam could have commenced in 2001 but due to the lobby of kalabagh dam, it is not let to happen. The CJ said that it is the duty of court to ensure fundamental rights of people, so this matter is of serious concern. So, court decided to focus on this crisis situation and after eid ul fitr law and justice commission would hold seminars to get suggestions to deal with problem<sup>23</sup>.

The minister shah Mehmood Qureshi said that government will address the water crisis, as it is a serious matter for country. He said that all provinces are agreed on diamer bhasha dam construction<sup>24</sup>. On 10<sup>th</sup> September, 2018..Geo New headlines..PM meet Chairman WAPDA, emphasized on urgency of building dams. He said “the largest problem is water issue in Pakistan”. It is crucial to build dams as soon as possible. 14-dec-2018 (ARY) 1<sup>st</sup> headline, To address water scarcity issue of Peshawar mahmand dam is vital, said by PM Imran Khan.

#### **5.1.3.5. Output**

The government and SC jointly initiated this derive which is the first of its kind in our country for funding of multi billion project. For the construction of dams, a bank account was opened in the name of registrar SC to deposit donations<sup>25</sup>. A massive campaign is seen on media in which donations are appealed for the future of our country, future of our children and salvation in hereafter. This shows that dam fund is on the list of priorities of government.

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<sup>22</sup><https://arynews.tv/en/pakistan-chief-justice-suo-motu-notice-water-shortage-all-over-the-country/>

<sup>23</sup><https://www.dawn.com/news/1413067>

<sup>24</sup><https://arynews.tv/en/pti-govt-address-water-issues-shah-mehmood/>

<sup>25</sup><https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/337476-sc-orders-immediate-construction-of-bhasha-mohmand-dams>

Similarly, a Water Policy was formed in April 2018. PML-N took full credit for the country's first National Water Policy, rolled out in April, barely a month before its tenure ended

#### **5.1.3.6. Outcome/Response**

The media has highlighted it very frequently that's why this move got much popularity and importance among public. Theme songs are broadcasted on TV as a Public service message in which people are requested to participate in the dam fund as much as they can. So in this way government conveys its message to public in effective way.

In an article published in dawn, it was mentioned that court is told by attorney general that our media (PEMRA) will give donations in the fund in the form of 13billion free airtime<sup>26</sup>. CJP is also seen on different television programs and marathons asking for donations in the dam fund. Meanwhile PEMRA also advises TV channels to go for telethons for fundraising for dams, and to allocate ad-spots. A notification was issued on 8 Aug, 2018 in which all channels are advised to dedicate one minute in every hour of prime time broadcast 7pm to 12 am and in morning shows for public service announcements PSA's to appeal from public to donate for dams construction. The directives of this notification were issued by supreme court order (11 july 2018). The attorney general has also asked for live telethons in which celebrities will be invited to appeal the general public for donations of this noble cause<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup><https://www.dawn.com/news/1458849?fbclid=IwAR3tgCHOG6ac6gFRPnvK81Yx1A3kIFirSLjNNb-gwTyIQyQMV1ViZZvGVI>

<sup>27</sup><https://www.dawn.com/news/1425959>



The construction is all set to start in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of year 2019. The total approved cost for this work is Rs. 883 billion (dawn.com)<sup>28</sup>

#### **5.1.3.7. Critical Analysis of Findings**

The most common reasons of water scarcity enlighten on media include water wastage, unnecessary use and lack of dams to store water. And the solutions given to tackle these problems include immediate construction of new water reservoirs and dams. But only talk about dam fund is not the solution, there is need to give public awareness about water use, water wastage which is more necessary. The role of print media is most significant for raising awareness. The articles published in English dailies are worth reading. It includes data of different reports as well as different ways to save water and stop its wastage. The initiative of dams construction is good for improving water security but we also have to adapt such planning which reduce water wastage (Sathar, Bongaarts 2018)

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<sup>28</sup><https://www.dawn.com/news/1437767>

## **5.2. Field Survey**

A survey has been conducted to analyze the impact of media on public policy through checking the behavior, knowledge and perception of general public by participating in this study. The usability of different media types, generally as well as to get the news. The key objective of the survey was to study media's influence on the society, on public opinion as well as public policy. Data is collected from the population of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

### **5.2.1. Pilot Study:**

Before this survey, a pilot study was conducted in order to check the response of public. This pretesting of questionnaire was done on 20 respondents having different age and education level. Few amendments were made in the questionnaire after conducting the study. As the respondents of this study comprises of general public of any education level and age so initially the questionnaire was developed in Urdu and English languages to make it easy for common people or the people with less education level to fill it easily. But during pilot study it was experienced that these people were not easy in filling the questionnaire by themselves. Some of them refused to fill and some said they can not fill the form themselves but can provide their view if they are verbally asked the question. So I preferred to skip urdu version of questionnaire and relied on a single format. During the survey, I collected the data from more aged people and people with Matric or below qualification in the form of interview, by personally asking each question. Moreover mostly people left the open ended questions blank, so open ended questions were changed to close ended except for one.

The term public policy was initially used in different questions, but some people did not understand what it literally mean. To make it easy and understandable, the term government action

is added along with public policy. Instead of direct questions about public policy, questions were asked in other terms which people could understand easily.

## 5.2.2. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

### 5.2.2.1. Age

The sample of this survey consisted of different age groups that range from 18 to 56 and above. The response was collected randomly. The basic aim of this study is to get the perception of general public so it includes people from every age group. Moreover, it has tried to find out the behavior of different age groups regarding media use, difference of opinion and the choice of media. There were total 386 respondents of Rawalpindi and Islamabad from which data was gathered, out of which the highest response rate was between 18-25 and 26-35 i.e. 44% and 36% respectively. The number of people between age 18-25 were 170 and 26-35 are 137. 39 respondents belong to the age group 36-45 and 24 belong to 46-55. There were only 16 respondents who were above 56. This can be seen in the figure 1.

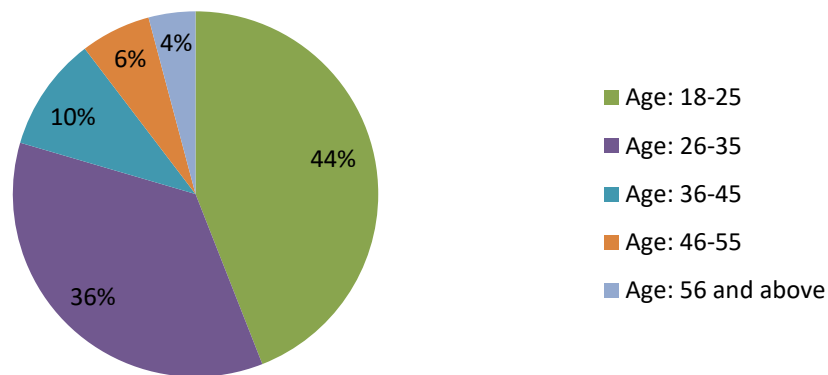
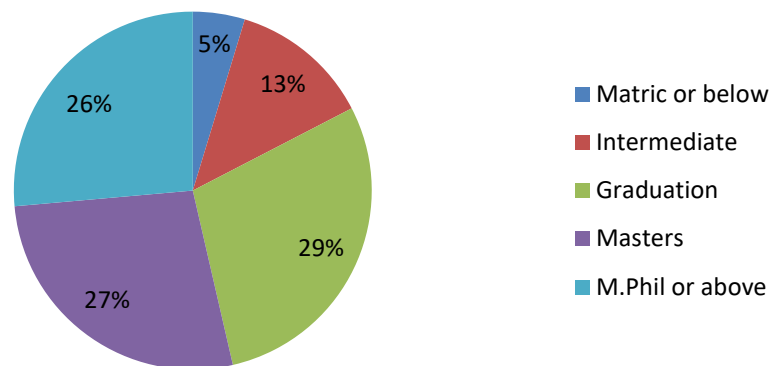


Figure 5.1: Age of Respondents

### 5.2.2.2. Education

The sample of this study comprised of people with different educational background. Out of the total sample 18 respondents hold Matric and below education, 49 people have intermediate education, 112 bachelors, 105 Masters and 102 having MPhil or above qualification. The higher response rate came from people having Graduation or above education. Following figure shows the percentages of these respondents.



*Figure 5.2: Education Level of Respondents*

### 5.2.2.3. Occupation

The sample data was not restricted to any specific field. The response was taken from people from different occupations. As people from all backgrounds are media users so effort is made to take response from students as well as from employed persons having different occupations. Total 172 questionnaires were filled by the students, 39 from Government employees,

107 from private sector Employees, 16 from Businessman and 52 belongs to other category. The percentage of these occupations is shown in figure.

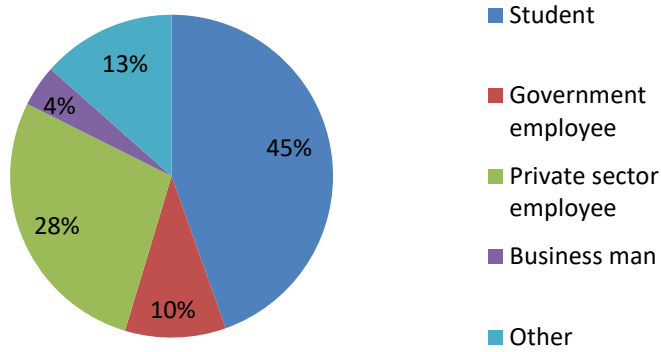


Figure 5.3: Distribution by Occupation of Respondents

### 5.2.3. Preference of Media Sources

The questionnaire starts with getting the perception of public about three media types.

#### 5.2.3.1. Most Used Media

To get the information about most used media in Pakistan, question was asked that on which media type they spend most of their time. The results show that a large number of people are using social media. 274 out of 386 people are spending most of their time on social media, 88 people said Electronic Media and only 24 people spent most of time on newspapers, both print and online newspapers. The percentage of social media users is 71%, followed by electronic media as 22.8% and least used form is newspapers i.e. 6.2%. It shows the diminishing trend of print media and very high usage of Social media in Pakistan

### **5.2.3.2. Most Used News Media**

Next question is specific to News media. In order to get the news about what is happening in the country, which Media type they used the most. The results show that first priority medium for public is social media. 184 respondents go for Social media Option, 163 Electronic media and 39 for Newspaper. Out of this sample 48% people answer Social media. It is followed by electronic media i.e.42% and least used media is newspaper 10%. This shows the increased use of social media among public to get the latest news.

### **5.2.3.3. Most Reliable Media Source**

In terms of reliability, public is considering mainstream media on the top with 43%, and their second priority with respect to reliable source is print media i.e. 39%. Here the results are totally opposite to the previous results. The most used medium, social media is the last source in terms of authenticity or reliability. 166 of the respondents replied in favor of Mainstream media, 151 to Newspaper and 69 to social media. It shows that people are using it mainly, but they do not rely upon it. Fake news often comes to social media than TV or newspaper, so people have trust issue to social media. Therefore, government should pay more attention towards this source so that people have trust on the source which is widely used by them. It has been proved from case studies analysis in previous section that news of social media came to other media types. So this shows that when the news of social media come to other media types then people consider it authentic

### **5.2.3.4. Most Responsible News Source**

Again, the findings show opposite results for this question. Here the question is asked about which source presents the issues of public responsibly. The results show that 152, 40% of people

consider that newspaper presents their issues in better and responsible way. On 2<sup>nd</sup> number comes the mainstream media with 137 respondents and at last social media come with 97 replies. It shows that print media is the most trustworthy and responsible media source to public. The most used medium, Social Media, is not working responsibly. Its credibility and responsiveness must be enhanced.

Its irresponsible behavior is evident from this one case that On March 21, 2018, Dr. Rana Safdar (National Coordinator for Polio Eradication) told dawn that social media is a hurdle to eradicate polio. Campaigns started on social media which resist people towards vaccination. The PTA is contacted to address the issue but whatsapp is the big challenge. He further reported that electronic and print media is supporting the campaigns. The old videos which were refuted many times again uploaded on social media. These videos showed this misconception that children were killed by this vaccine. It is difficult to stop circulation of videos on whatsapp<sup>29</sup>.

#### **5.2.3.5. Most Influential Media Source to Impact Public Policy**

Last question of section A is to find out the view of public about the media source they consider as most influential in terms of impacting public policy. Here to make the term public policy clear to public, it is also termed as government action so that public could easily understand what public policy denotes here. The result shows that public perceives mainstream media as most important contributor to influence government. 211 people respond for mainstream media, 130 for Social media and 45 for Newspaper. The issues and cases which get priority on television and TV channels frame the issues as important then it will get into notice of government. So, there is high

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<sup>29</sup>**‘Social media poses new challenge for anti-polio campaigns’**

possibility that the issue gets the attention of higher authorities and it will be addressed by respective authorities.

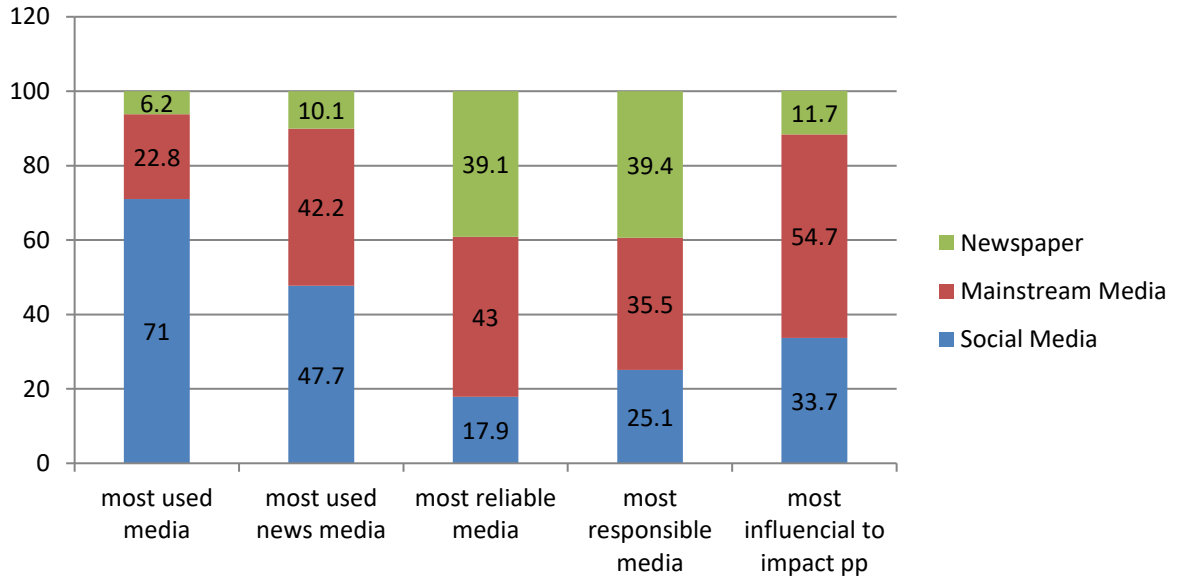


Figure 5.4: Preference of Media Sources

#### 5.2.4. General Perception about Pakistani Media

In this section, public’s view and perception about media is analyzed i.e. what they think about media in Pakistan and particularly news media. Out of 386 people, 246 (64%) watch news on regular basis. This shows that now public keep themselves aware of the current issues and they have much interest in keeping themselves updated about what is happening around apart from entertainment.

##### 5.2.4.1 Responsible Reporting of Media

While answering to the question that media is reporting responsibly in Pakistan or not, 60% people 232 out of 386 consider that media is not responsibly reporting. The increased sensationalism, unethical practices and hype created by media leads it to this situation where public



don't consider it as a responsible reporting medium. In Pakistan most Media groups are working as a business entity, so the race for getting high rating makes them less responsible.

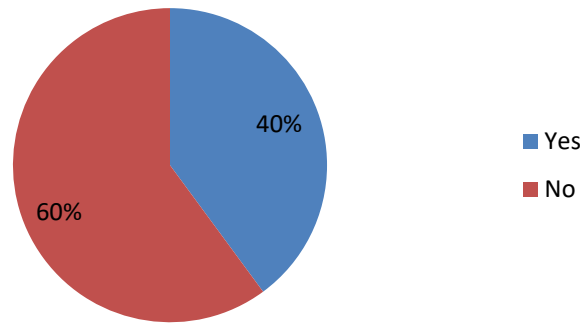


Figure 5.5: Respondents who think media is responsibly reporting

#### 5.2.4.2. Media provides different perspectives which help general public to understand issues

In the next question 259 respondents are of the view that due to media they get different perceptives about issues which ultimately leads them to think about the issue and understand what is going on. When public get awareness about different issues, it is valuable for both society and country.

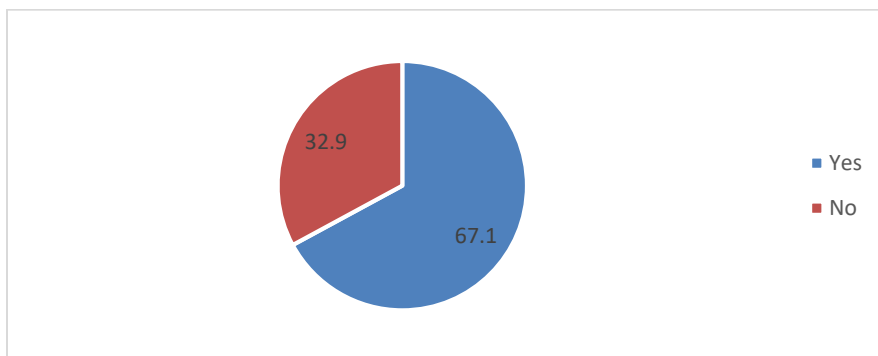
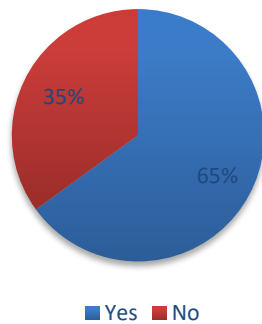


Figure 5.6: Respondents Perception Towards Media's Provision of Different Perspectives to Think and Understand the Issue

### 5.2.4.3. Role of Media in changing Public Opinion on a Political Issue

Public opinion is one of the most important factors in agenda setting of different political parties and eventually to the elections. Politics is the most discussed topic in Pakistani media now a day. As mentioned in chapter 2, the highest percentage of the topic discussed on news media is politics and political news. On political issues media provide different perspectives which could lead to opinion making of general public or media users. The results of this questions show that 65% of people (251) told that media has changed their opinion on political issues. 135 (35%) said no, their opinion about politics does not change because of media.



*Figure 5.7: Respondent's Behavior Towards Role of Media In Changing Public Opinion On Political Issues*

### 5.2.4.4. Media Regulation

When public is asked about government's role in regulating media, 242 i.e. 63% people are of view that media is not effectively regulated by government. 144 are considering government regulation adequate. This shows that there is more part needed from government's side to check and monitor media and manage the shortcomings that are prevailing. This most important medium between public and government should be managed in more effective way to make it an informative entity giving awareness to public.

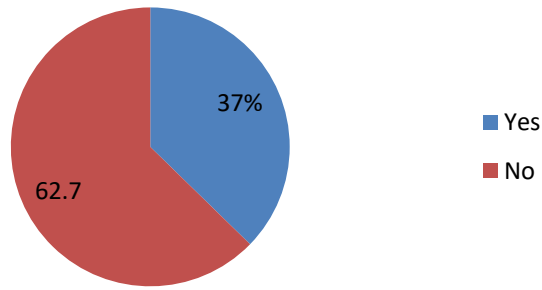


Figure 5.8: Respondents perspective about regulation of media

#### 5.2.4.5. Media as a tool to hold the government accountable

Results shows that media has the ability to check and monitor the government by constantly looking at the actions taken by it. Media could exert the pressure to government and held answerable to its people. 300 respondents out of 386 (78%) consider the media as a most important tool through which government could be held accountable. When media effectively play its role as a watch dog, then it serves as a tool to hold the government accountable for their doings. Public's view about role of media to make the government accountable is checked.

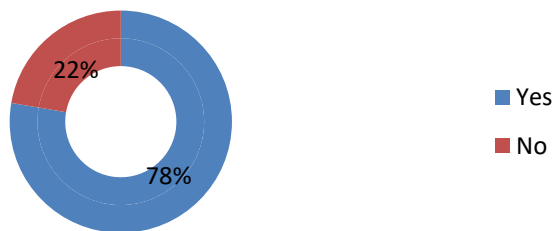


Figure 5.9: Respondent's Response Towards Media as A Tool To Hold The Government Accountable

#### 5.2.4.6. Independent working of Media

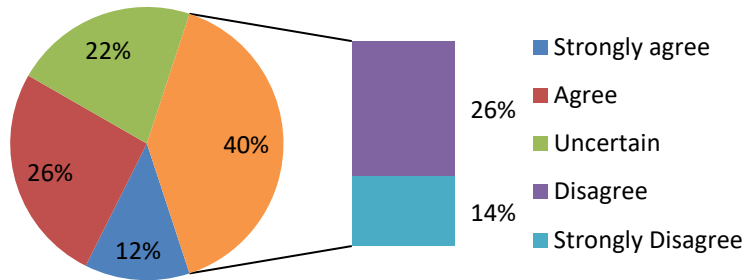


Figure 5.10: Response over media working independently

To check the response of public about media working as independent entity five Likert scale was used. The result demonstrates that the number of people who thinks media working independently are almost equal to those who disagree with this statement. By combining the respondents who marked strongly agree and agree we get 38% people, while combining those who disagree or strongly disagree counts about 40% of population. Hence, we can say that there is mixed perception found among public about media's independence. 22% are uncertain about this statement, they neither agree nor disagree.

#### 5.2.4.7. Media's Influence on Public Policy

While relating media with public policy, question is asked to check whether public think about media as an influencing factor to impact government actions inactions or public policy. 317 people 82% of general public think that media has influence on government decisions while only 69 respondents 18% don't think media has any influence on government actions.

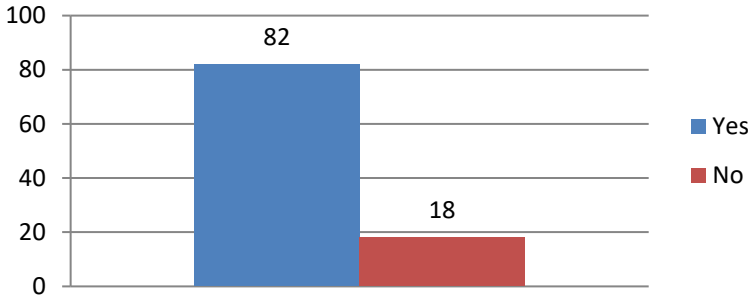


Figure 5.11: Respondents Who Think Media Is Impacting Public Policy

#### 5.2.4.8. Role of Media in development of Society

In next portion, 5 Likert scale is used to check the public view about media's role in Pakistan. Development of society depends on many factors and media could be one of them. The perception of public in this regard is checked in this question, that whether they consider media as a factor that play role in development of society. The results show that 85 people marked strongly agree and 172 mark agree. This shows that most of the people view media as a important factor to develop the society through disseminating information and knowledge. 67 people marked they are uncertain about this, 47 disagree while only 15 strongly disagree with this.

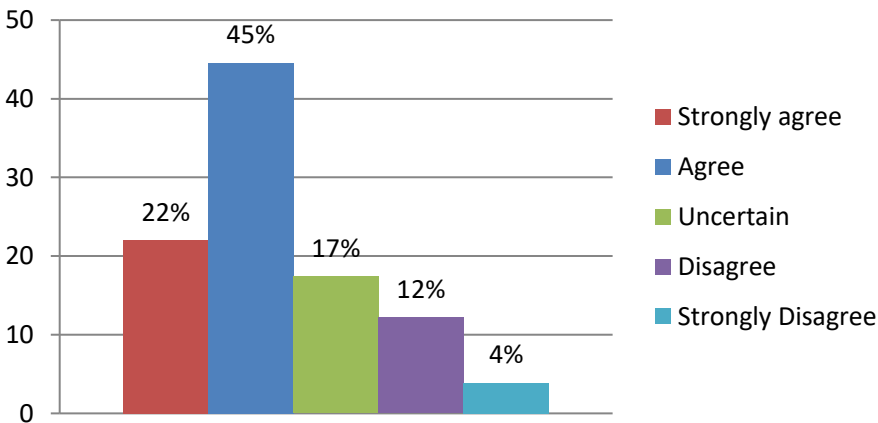


Figure 5.12: Respondent's Behavior Towards Media's Role in Development Of Society

#### 5.2.4.9. Role of Social Media to bring Change

While analyzing the role of most used medium of present time, social media, in comparison with traditional one, the results shows that most of the people believe that it has much more impact than that of TV or Print media. The statistics are as follows: 115 respondents strongly agree, agree 168, 73 are uncertain about it, 27 disagree and only 3 respondents strongly disagree with this statement. The role of social media in bringing change is evident from the Egypt revolution and several other countries. When public have the opportunity to fully engage themselves in the affairs related to them and express their choice rather than suppressed by ruler's decisions then it let the change happen. In Pakistan also, the emerging platform of social media make available a platform for public to express themselves.

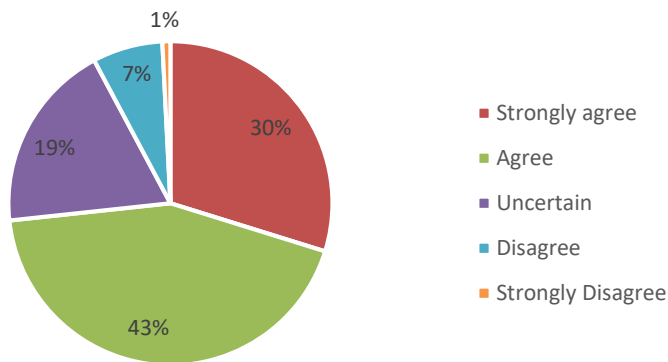


Figure 5.13: Social Media Role To Bring Change Than Traditional Media

#### 5.2.4.10. Media's utilization than involving in a campaign

Again, the same type of question is asked to analyze the power/influence of media use rather than directly involved in a drive or movement. The question is asked Do you think proper use of media is more influential than directly getting involved in a campaign? The results show

that more people think media as a more effective medium to raise their voices than recording their protests on the roads. The results are as follow: 24.6% strongly agree with this statement, 47.2% agree, 17.1% are uncertain, 10.1% disagree and only 1% people strongly disagree with this statement.

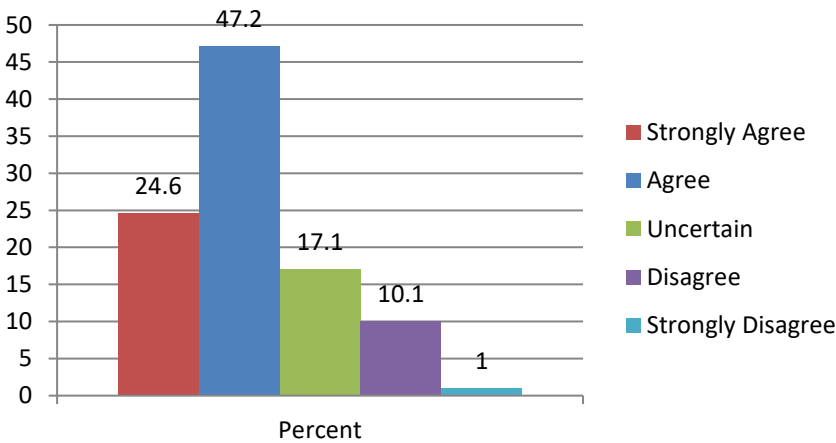


Figure 5.14: Media’s Utilization Than Involving In A Campaign

#### 5.2.4.11. Media’s comparison with Voting

Through voting people elect their representatives and thus could bring change in a country. With reference to this content, people were asked to compare the more effectual mode of change, voting or media. The result shows that people consider media as more of use than voting. 20.5% strongly agree, 43.3% agree, 18.4% are uncertain about this, and 17.9% disagree and strongly disagree with this statement. The result of election now a day is also affected by the media. It is more evident in current era that during elections the role of media is very prominent. Media influence the voting behavior of masses. Through advertisement of certain political parties and bringing agenda of them prominently to public have thus impact of the votes given to them. Thus, media act as more influential actor to bring change through voting as well as separately.

Media is considered as lifeblood of elections in Pakistan. In last two elections in the country, it was seen that some media groups have find it hard to conduct journalism in its true sense, rather they had presented themselves as the supporter of certain party. Mostly programs include the content of biasness and hate and unfair projection of one party than others<sup>30</sup>. As media perceptions have large influence on public behavior and opinion making, by considering this view their role in elections should be of a necessary information provider that helps general public to make informed opinions and thus have meaningful electoral choice. In this era of social media, every person acts as a journalist by sharing, disseminating and processing information. So, it is therefore proved that media has a dominant position over elections thus it is more powerful.

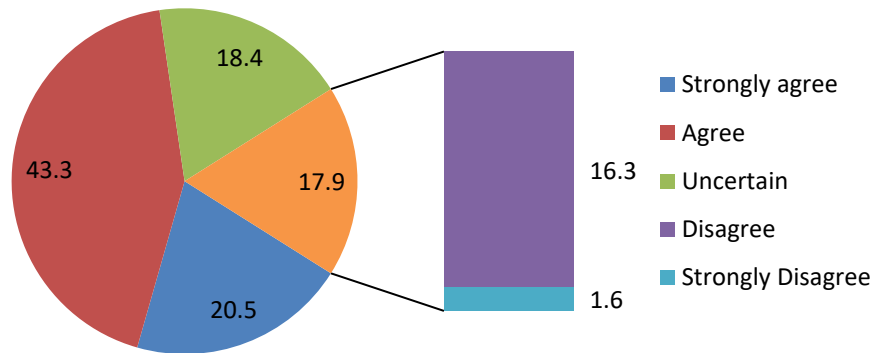


Figure 5.15: Media’s Comparison with Voting

#### 5.2.4.12. Social media’s role in Shaping News

A statement is given “social media has little or no influence in shaping news”, in answer of this only 117 people marked Yes to this statement, rest of them 269 replied as NO. In our previous section of case studies, it was observed that in current era mostly news originates from

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<sup>30</sup>How pressuring the media is risking the quality of our democracy



social media platform and then followed or reported in traditional media. Hence it has very vast impact on shaping the news.

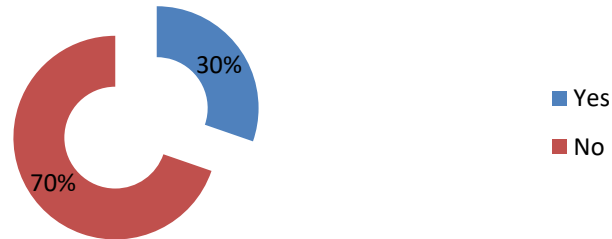


Figure 5.16: Frequency of Users Who Think Social Media Has Little Effect On Shaping News

### 5.2.4.13. Most Unethical Media Practice

In next question five most common media practices were mentioned which are mostly prevailing in Pakistani media. They were asked to tick the option they think as most unethical and irresponsible practice. The results find that 130 people consider biased reporting as most unethical practice, 106 marked on taking a video of people without their permission, 67 marked interviewing rape victims, 42 interviewing people facing trauma, and 40 marked receiving external funding.

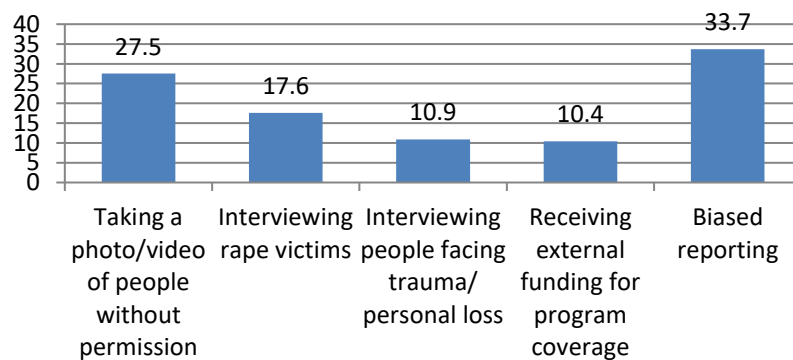


Figure 5.17: Most Unethical Media Practice by Survey Respondents

#### 5.2.4.14. Media's Impact on Public Opinion

Media is an actor which shapes public opinion as well as political opinion. In our survey the question was asked to check media's role on making opinion of public about any issue. The result shows more people agree that their opinion is affected by the stance of media on certain situation or issue. 55 people marked they have very strong impact on their opinion, 180 agree that media have strong impact, 104 have weak, 23 very weak, and only 24 said that they have no impact.

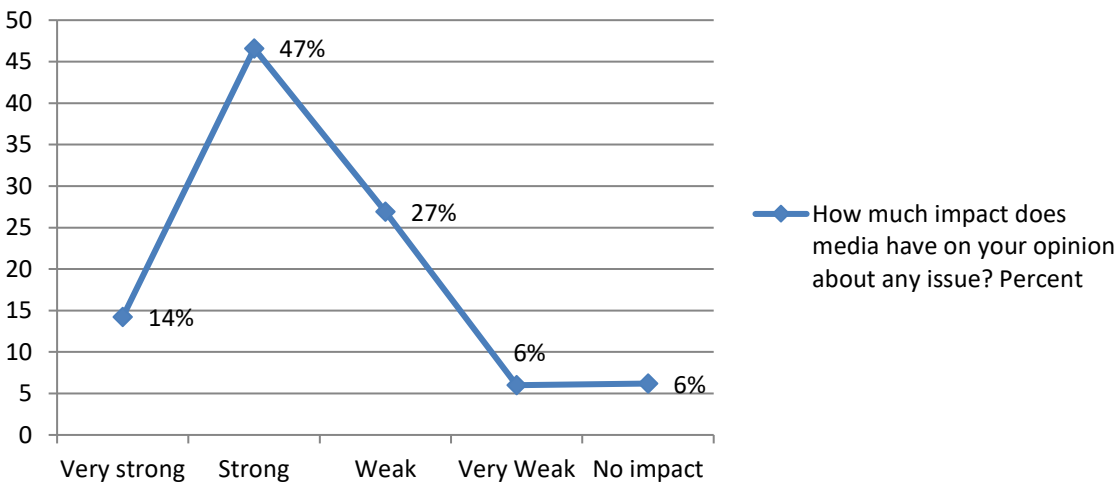


Figure 5.18: Respondents Behavior Towards Media's Impact On Their Opinion

#### 5.2.5. Cases Examination

Three case studies were analyzed in this study. Questions were asked about these from public to see how much they are familiar with these famous cases that come on media. Mashal khan case occurred about three years back from collection of this data. Still the results show that 349 respondents are fully aware about the case and only 37 said No they are not fully aware about this case. Still the number is quite adequate to show that people remember the things that went viral on media. The second case was Zainab Murder case, 376 people said Yes, they are fully

aware and only 10 said No. the third case is Water shortage or water crisis prevailing in the country, 364 said yes, 22 said No.

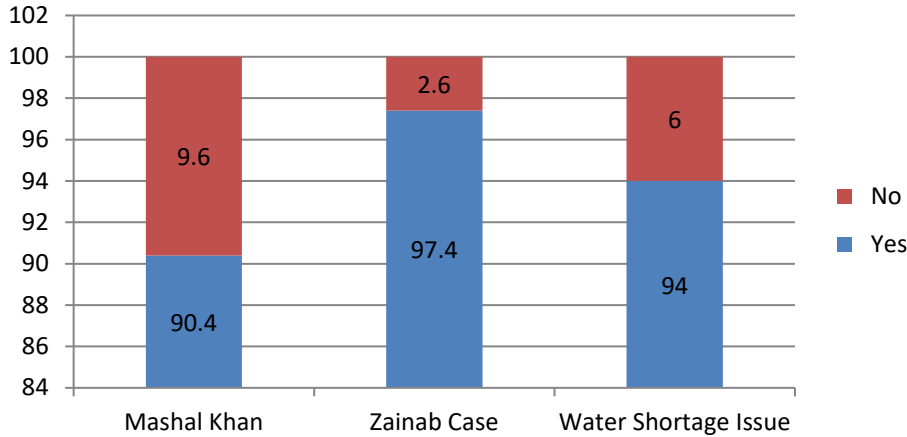


Figure 5.19: Respondents Who Are Aware Of The Cases

#### 5.2.5.1. Media Source to know about case

When people are inquired about the media source they used to first know about these cases, the different responses are drawn. These results are almost similar to the results we have drawn in the previous section of analysis of case studies. It was observed in content analysis that in mashal khan case the role of social media was more imperative than other media sources and role of print media is very minimal. Here in this survey too, the highest percentage of the response is for social media with 49%, followed by mainstream Media 37%. friends and family got 7% while the lowest rank is given to newspaper as 3%. In Zainab case, again the results are same as that of Case Study findings. In this case the role of mainstream media is much more than other media types. Mainstream media got 50% response, than social media 44%, newspapers 3.6% while friends and family got 1,6% response. In water shortage case the again the mainstream media succeed the social media with 47% responses. Social media got 37% with second number. Here in this case the response of print media is 10%, higher than previous two cases with 3% only. Friends and

family stood at last with 4%. The reason for adding friends and family option is to check the behavior of society in terms of connection rather than through media. The results show that people mostly get informed through media than talking the issues with each other.

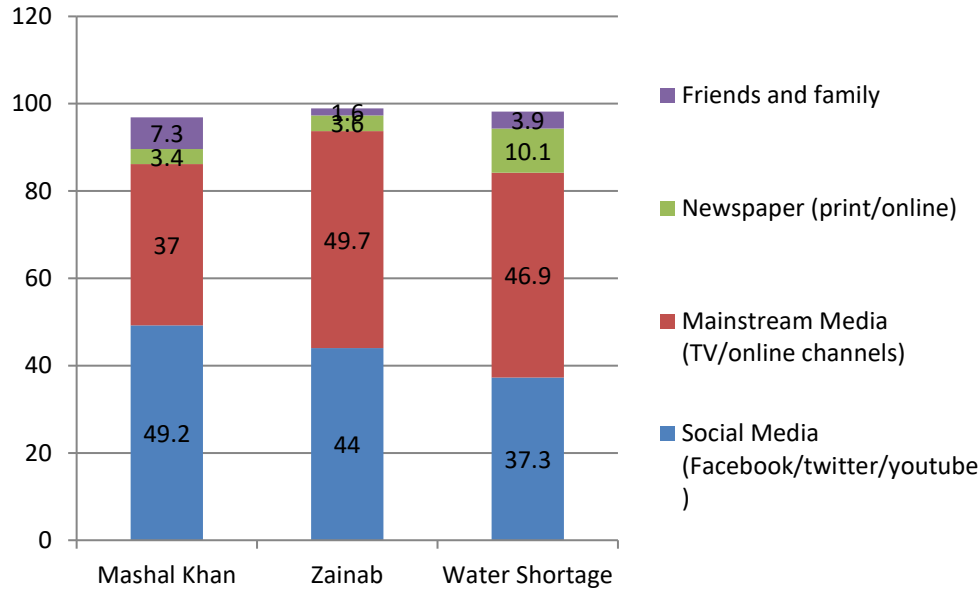


Figure 5.20: Source to Get To Know About Case

### 5.2.5.2. Media Source to get updated about Cases

In next question they were asked about how they had kept themselves updated. In this question, the different media platforms are further classified into small platforms to see which medium they used within three broad media types. In Mashal Khan Case, the social media platforms i.e. Facebook twitter YouTube is the highest platform through which people had updated themselves about this case. One thing notifiable in this question is that online sources are mostly used to get the news rather than traditional sources, online TV and Online Newspaper got more percentage. If we combine the television sources together it will equal the same percent as noticed in the previous question. Overall both questions carry approximately same percentage with very few points' difference. The further results are showed in figure 23.

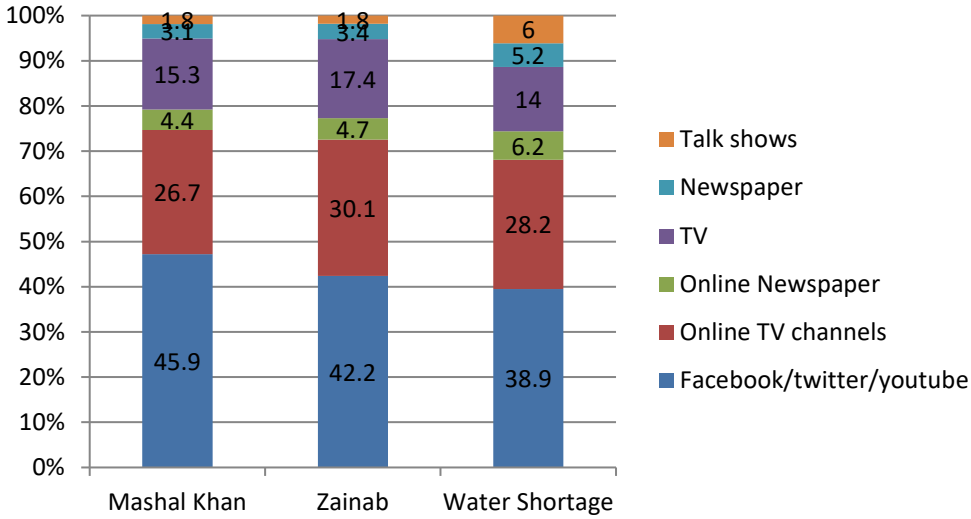


Figure 5.21: Media Source To Keep Updated About Cases

### 5.2.5.3. Media’s Discussion Leads to Government Response

This question is directly related with the influence of media on government action. With respect to three cases the question has inquired that it is due to discussion of media about these cases that led government to give response. The result demonstrates that in all cases the number of respondents who strongly agree and agree with this statement were more than those who disagree.

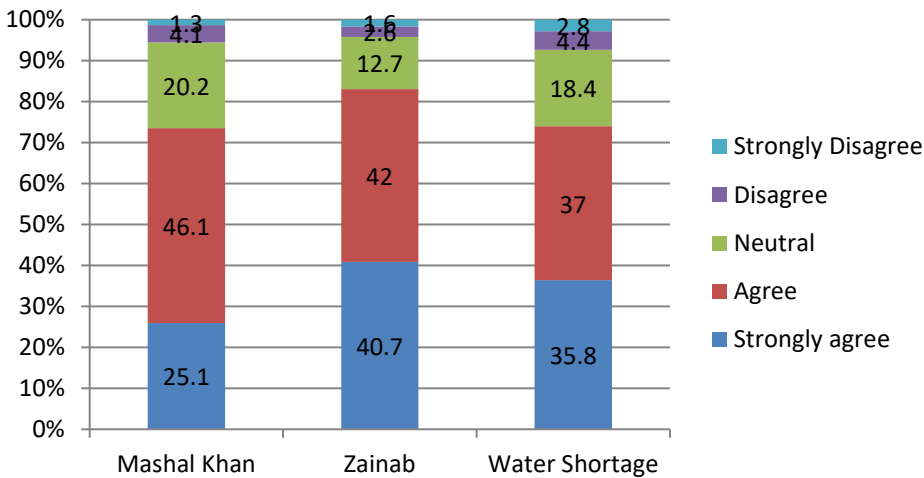


Figure 5.22: Government Action Due To Media

#### 5.2.5.4. Government response in the absence of Media Coverage

In next question the respondents were inquired that if these cases were not viral on media and if media do not give them coverage as it did, would the government respond in the same way as it did. In mashal khan case, the number of respondents who respond as yes are 92 only while 282 people believe that the government's response would not be same if media do not highlight them. in zainab case, 92 people said yes while 291 respond No, in 3<sup>rd</sup> case, 130 said yes and 250 said No. it shows that the role of media in 1<sup>st</sup> two cases is more than 3<sup>rd</sup> according to public's perception.

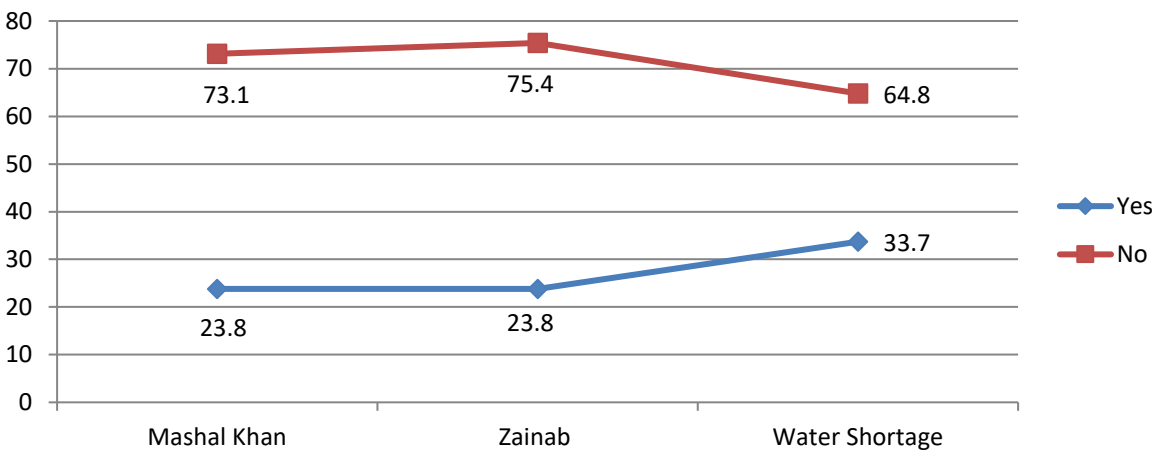


Figure 5.23: Respondent's Behavior Towards Government Response In The Absence Of Media Coverage

#### 5.2.6. Open Ended Question

The last question of this survey is open ended in which the public is asked about any case or issue that they think went viral on media and due to which government has responded to it by taking action. By analyzing the responses, it was found out that a lot of issues were prominent by respondents. The issue that is highlighted by the majority people are Panama case, namoos e Rislal

case, APS attack, Dharna of Tehreek labbaik Pakistan, tayyaba tashdud case, Sahazaib Qatal case, Naqeeb Ullah Mahsood case.

### 5.2.7. Cross examination

In this section the responses are analyzed with respect to different age groups and different education level.

#### 5.2.7.1 Cross examination of respondent’s education level with their priority medium to get news

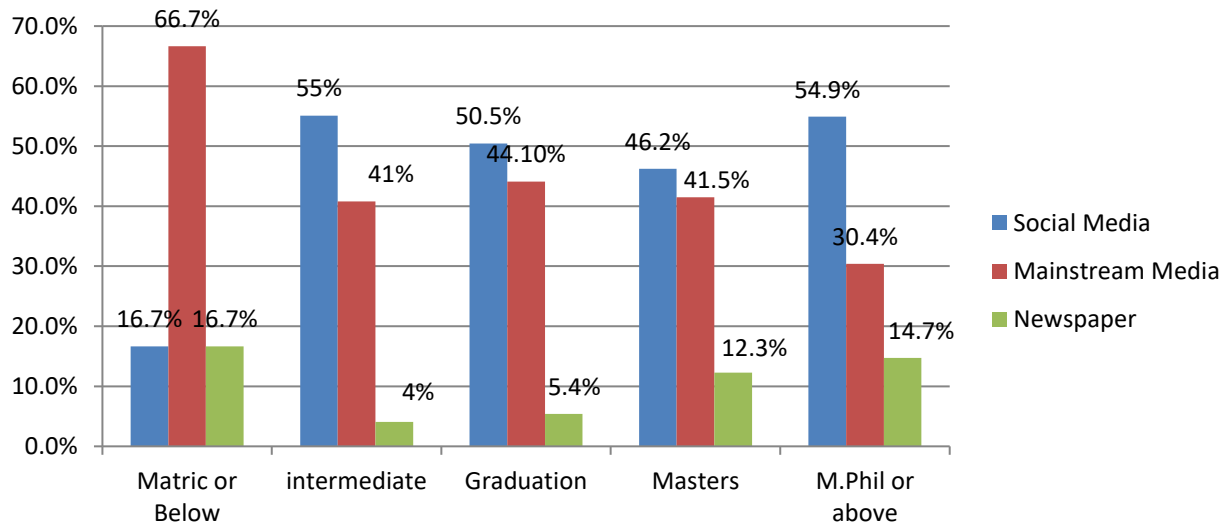


Figure 5.24: Response with Respect to Education and Priority Media to Get News

By analyzing this chart, one could predict the use of different media types in comparison to the education level they have. The respondents of Matric or below mostly use Mainstream Media 66.7% to get the news. The usage of social media and newspaper is same i.e. 16.7% respectively. For the people with intermediate level education, the most used medium to get news is social media with 55%. On second number comes the mainstream media with 41% and least used media is Newspaper with only 4%. Graduation level respondents prioritize

mainstream media as their first priority with 50.5%, next comes the social media with 44.1% and in the end comes the newspapers with just 5.4% respondents. The education level with masters again use social media with highest response 46.2%, mainstream media 41.5% and at last comes the newspaper with 12.3%. final level is MPhil or above, here again the sequence is same social media as most used medium to get news with 54.9%, mainstream media 30.4% and newspapers 14.7%. one thing notifiable in this chart is that from intermediate onwards, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> used medium is same with just change in percentage. Social media is less used by people with low education background for getting news while Newspaper's use is high in matric level. Among the respondents with matric qualification, most were seemed to be of upper age group. Reading Urdu newspaper is commonly practiced by aged people. While going from intermediate to MPhil level the percentage of newspapers use is continuously increasing which shows that among people with higher education the use of newspaper is still in practice.



### 5.2.7.2. The most used media with respondent's age

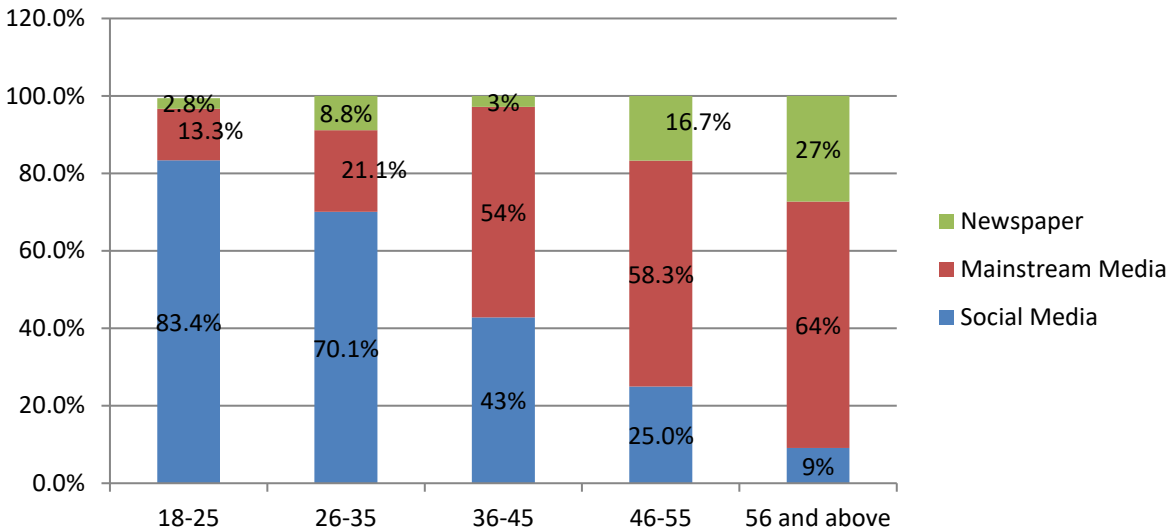


Figure 5.25: Respondent's Age And Most Used Media

When compared the age of respondents with on which media type do you spend most of your time, the trend drawn from data shows that among people with lowest age group 18-25, the use of social media is tremendously high i.e. 83.4%. Mainstream media accounts for 13.3% and newspaper only 2.8%. In the age group 26-35, again the sequence is same with percentage change. Here the use of social media is 70.1% less than the 18-25 groups' percentage. Mainstream and newspaper's percentage is increased than previous, mainstream media comes with 21.1% and newspaper 8.8%. in the respondent's group of age 36-45, 54 % claimed they consume more time on mainstream media, followed by social media with 43%, and they consume very less time on newspapers with 3%. People of age group 46-55 consume more time on mainstream media 58.3%. The use of social media is decreasing; here 25% people say they use more time on social media and 16.7%-mark newspaper. In the last age group with people of 56 or above, 64%-mark

mainstream media on which they spent most time, then come newspaper with 27% and at last come the social media with 9% only.

The trend observed for social media users is continuously decreasing with age of respondents. It is highest in age group 18-25 and lowest in 56 and above. Contrary to this, we have observed that with age the percentage of Mainstream media as most used medium is increasing. Same is the case with newspaper except for the age group 36-45. The newspaper use is least in lower age group 2.8% and most in upper age group 27% respectively.

**5.2.7.3. Relationship between education and most contributing media to influence public policy or government action**

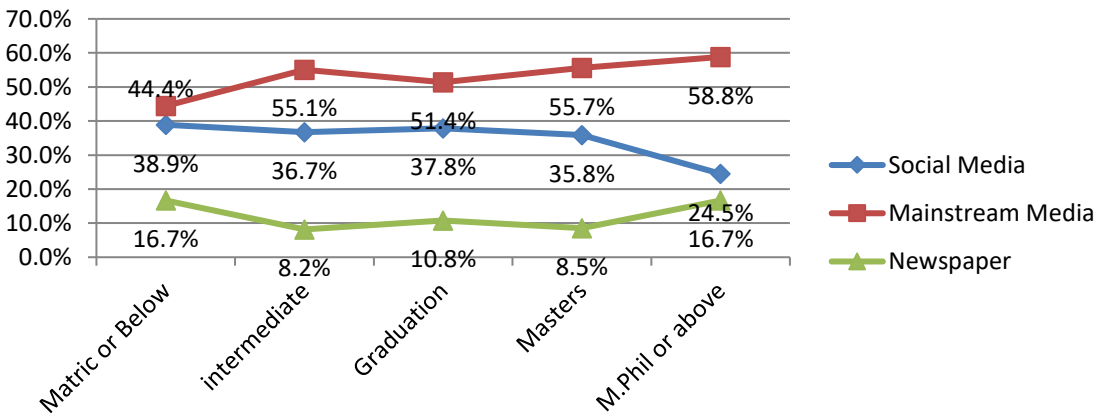


Figure 5.26: Examination Of Education Level And Most Contributing Media Towards Public Policy

While comparing these two, the results shows that respondents from all education level consider mainstream media as most influential in terms of impacting public policy. the people with MPhil or above education has claimed highest response towards mainstream media with 58.8%. the percentage is increasing except for graduation level. social media comes on 2<sup>nd</sup>

level for people with all education backgrounds. It has decreasing trend with increase in education level. It has highest percentage at matric level and lowest at MPhil or above. Newspaper is on the lowest level, in all five categories.

#### 5.2.7.4. Relationship between ‘Education Level of respondents’ and their response to media’s impact on government action’

By examining the education level with the view that media is impacting public policy, it is observed that the people with highest level of education are more of the view that media has influence over public policy. The trend is slight declining by going towards lower level. The highest percentage is of M.Phil or above level respondents i.e. 86.3%. the lowest level is at Matric or below with percentage of 72.2 respectively. Even still the percentage of people who go for option Yes is quiet high at this level. Thus we can say that mostly people consider the media as a mean to influence government actions.

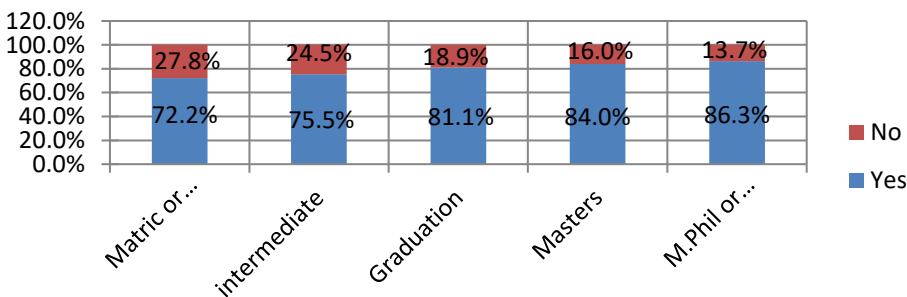


Figure 5.27: Examination Of Education And Response Towards Media’s Impact On Public Policy

### 5.2.7.5. Examination of ‘Regular News Media users’ with ‘Media’s impact on their Opinion’

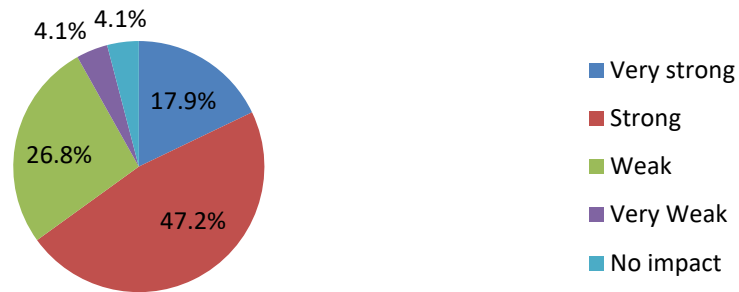


Figure 5.28: Cross Examination Of Regular Media Users With Media’s Impact On Opinion

When relating the people who respond themselves as regular media users with the impact of Media on their opinion, the result shows that a lot of people get influenced by media coverage. The number of people who said that there is very strong impact of media on their opinion making is 17.9%, while 47.2% said there is strong impact on them. 26.8% people marked weak impact, 4.1% very weak and only 4.1% go for No impact.

### 5.2.7.6. Relation between ‘Age’ and ‘impact of media on public opinion’

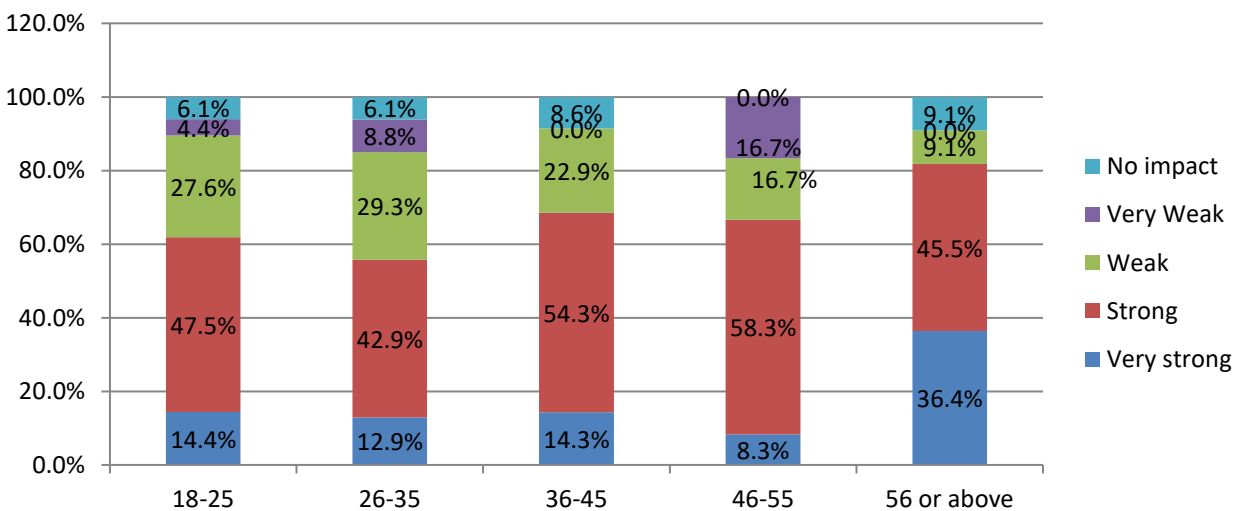
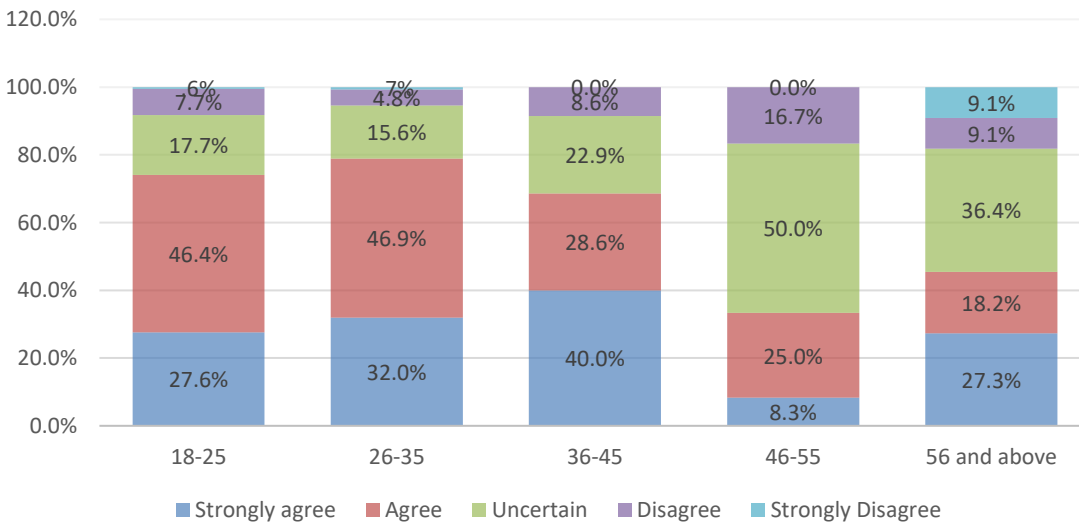


Figure 5.29: Age And Media’s Impact On Public Opinion

When the relation between age and impact of media on public opinion is examined, it was observed that people of all age groups have strong impact of media on their opinion. People who go for very strong option mostly belong to age group 56 and above. Whereas in all the age groups, weak and no impact is very little. This shows that public opinion is greatly impacted without any age difference however very strong impact is large on elder people than young. Thus, we conclude that how public perceive any issue depends largely on how media portray that issue.

**5.2.7.7. Relation between Respondent’s ‘age’ and view about ‘social media’s effectiveness to bring change in society than traditional media’**

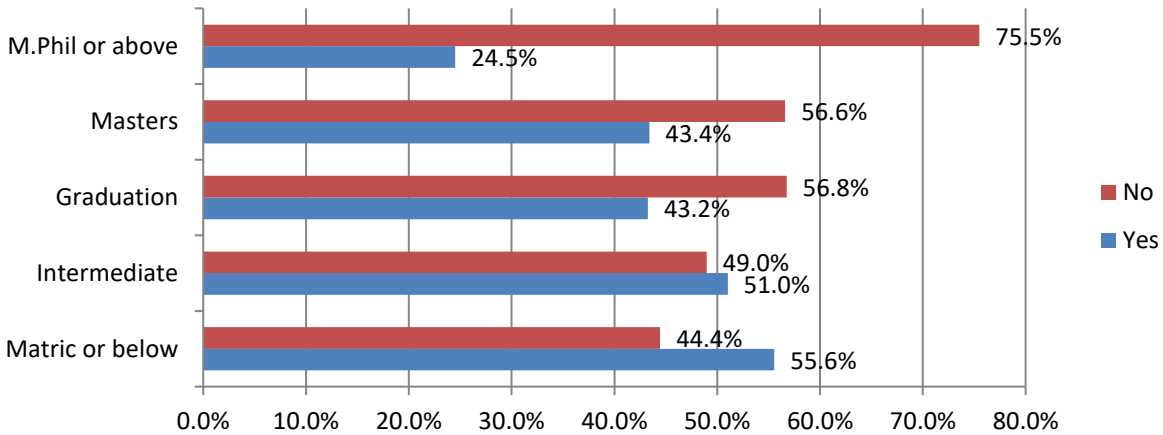


*Figure 5.30: Age And Social Media’s Effectiveness To Bring Change*

While examining the relation between age of respondents and their view about social media’s effectiveness to bring change in society as compared to traditional media, the results shows that people of age group 18-25 and 26-35 are more agree to this phenomenon. Whereas the more aged people are mostly uncertain about this. Similarly, the percentage of disagree and strongly disagree is also seen higher at upper age groups than lower. This gives us

the idea about popularity of social media in youth. They consider social media as more effective medium to bring change. While aged people of Pakistan still lack their interest in social media and they don't consider social media to be more effective than traditional one.

**5.2.7.8. Relation of Education with Media's Responsible Reporting in Pakistan**



*Figure 5.31: Relation Of Education With Media Responsible Reporting*

While relating the question media is reporting responsibly with the education of respondents, it is found that the more educated people consider that media is not functioning responsibly in Pakistan. People with highest education level MPhil or above have 75.5% respondents who said that that Pakistani media is not responsibly reporting and only 24.5% said yes. The respondents with Graduation ad master's degree almost accounts for equal percentages with gradual decrease in intermediate. At the lowest level i.e. Matric or below, more people are of the view that media is reporting responsibly in Pakistan. Here 44.4% said No while 55.6% people thinks media is working responsibly.

### 5.2.7.9. Examination of Respondent's Age and Media's Ability to Influence Public Policy

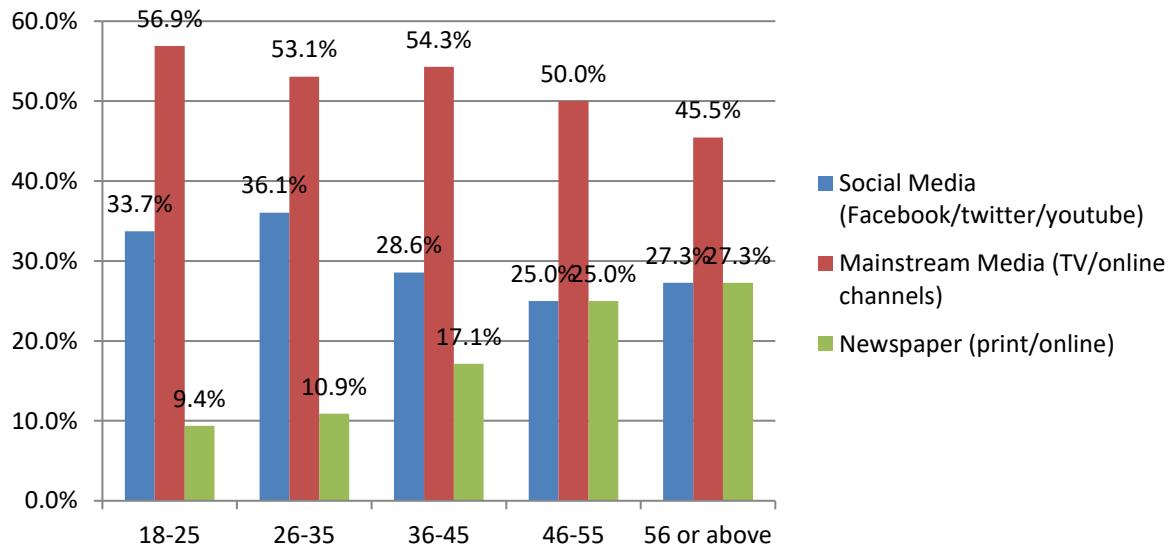


Figure 5.32: Relation Between Age And Media Ability To Influence Public Policy

When inquired from the public about type of Media which contributes more to influence government action or public policy, different respondents answered differently. By checking the behavior of different age groups, it was observed that respondents of all age groups give highest percentage to mainstream media in terms of impacting Public Policy or drawing the attention of government towards any issue. For the people with age 18-45, social media comes at 2<sup>nd</sup> level and then newspaper but for the aged people of 46 and above the newspaper's percentage increased significantly. This shows that aged people trust more on Newspapers in terms of its effectiveness and usefulness. Respondents of age 18-25 have highest percentage i.e. 56.9% of Mainstream Media, followed by Social media 33.7% and on 3<sup>rd</sup> point Newspaper with 9.4% respectively. The results of age group 26-35 are almost same of the previous age group. 56 and above give 27.3% people think that newspapers have more contribution towards impacting public policy and getting the attention of higher authorities.

### **5.2.8. Study Findings**

Result of this survey reveal that Pakistani Media in general plays a significant role in bringing the government notice about core issues that rotate for action. Similarly, the impact of media on general public is also worth noting, it makes the public opinion regarding their issues as well as matters related to their representatives. Government agenda is somehow influenced by media agenda which is an important step in public policy. It is apparent by the case studies investigated in this research, as well as those mentioned by respondents in the survey and interviews that media's coverage resulted in getting some policy outcomes that otherwise would not be possible if not highlighted in media. Also the case studies which are covered in literature review serves as evidence that government could make use of media as a tool to reach masses and to involve them in policy process, to heard their complaints and give some response to resolve their issues. In this way, a democratic society could flourish when the will of public is recognized and regarded.

One thing evident from this study that the popularity of Mainstream media (TV) still exist irrespective of the rise of social media to a great extent.

The statistics of social media users illustrate that its reach to common people is increasing day by day. Its ability to interact with audience, political participation and public discussion could make it the most effective one if monitored carefully.

Most of the people are using social media at a very high rate, but they are unaware of its role in public policy. The role of mainstream media is acknowledged in effecting public policy. This shows that when things appear on mainstream media, it throws some effect. We have seen through our analysis that mainstream media often take the stories of social media, by referring to



those sites and further clarifying the things. In this way mainstream media substantiate the stories and make the public and government believe in it.

Irrespective of other things, newspaper or print media is the most reliable, credible and responsible source of news in Pakistan. The most used medium needs the most correctness and regulation. The belief of public and experts coincide in this matter.

The power of media in public policy is significant. Most of the times the issue is originated at social media and then it is complemented by TV and Print media. Similarly, the fake news that spread on social media is mostly rejected at traditional media. hence, we can say that even the fake news are pointed out by some media type and in the end public is somehow able to find the truth irrespective of different shortcoming. Government and policy makers should acknowledge this actor in making and implementing of different decisions, rules, laws and policies. Media could be utilized as an important tool for achieving good governance in the country.

Up to some extent rise of social media has replaced traditional media, but this study has found that instead of replacing, they mostly complement each other. So, we can say that social media is the source of news and other media types then analyze that news. Government is aware of the rising power of this actor hence proper regulation, monitoring and evaluation is essentially required. Significant difference is found between different age groups and different education level responses.

### **5.3. Interview Analysis**

After doing case studies analysis and public's perception survey, the next part of this research comprises of taking the view of experts about media and policy matrix in Pakistan, in order to see more rigorous results. In this context, individuals are selected on the basis of certain criteria. The basic aim is to select those intellectuals who have some expertise over media or policy area, by whom we would get relevant and appropriate information regarding theme and objective of study. In this study, interviews are taken from 18 intellectuals, both media and policy experts.

#### **5.3.1. Sampling Criteria**

In selecting the sample, it is essential to ensure some particular characteristics that respondent must hold, so that the information collected by him is helpful for the study and its finding result. In-depth interviews are conducted to collect information from those who are either involved in media or have some expertise over public policy. It is noteworthy that different studies have showed that these interviews should be between 15-35 respondents respectively (Pact, 2014). To collect the data, a questionnaire is developed which inquires about their demographics as well as their view regarding role of media in Pakistan, particularly with reference to public policy. This questionnaire is considered as beneficial because it helped to conduct interview in a systematic flow and get detail information about profile, opinions and perceptions of interviewees.

#### **5.3.2. Data Analysis**

Data analysis is a process to emphasize on valuable information for generating outputs and suggesting some useful recommendations for better outcomes. For analyzing these interviews, "Thematic Analysis" is used. The goal of a thematic analysis is to identify themes, i.e. patterns in the data that are important or interesting and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

The data about current situation of media in Pakistan and its role in to influence government decisions is analyzed. To ensure the validity of case studies, questions about these cases are also asked from experts to further strengthen the results. Some close ended questions are also asked to make valid inference from these observations. For the recording of interview, permission was granted from interviewee. If he/she has allowed for voice recording then it had taken, for the rest of them field notes were taken. The observations, views, experiences, and perceptions are assimilated, then transcribed and finally themes are selected for analysis.

### **5.3.3. Themes**

#### **5.3.3.1. Public Policy Making in Pakistan and Importance of Media**

The government in Pakistan is composed of three branches: legislature, executive and judiciary. The legislative branch is divided into National Assembly (lower house) and Senate (upper House). Combining these two is called Parliament. Parliament is the law-making body of country. Executive branch composed of PM its cabinet. All the administrative bodies working at federal, provincial and local level are part of executive branch. The third one is judicial branch, which is composed of Supreme Court, High Court and District courts. These branches of government are the real drivers of public policy in Pakistan.

Besides these formal branches of government, there exist an informal authority, Media, which is considered as fourth pillar of government and have also some influence over public policies. It was inquired from the experts that what are the important factors that impact public policy. In response to this several factors are highlighted which include Charisma, Social and Religious Groups, Economic Conditions, Pressure Influential Groups, INGOs, World Authorities, public opinion, several interest groups and pressure groups, public sentiments, beurocracy and

stakeholders. Media is also one of them with very vast impact. The special focus is given by many respondents to media which has very vast impact. Without media these interest groups are less effective, public opinion is also formed by media. Thus we can say that media impact all these factors in some way or other and vice versa.

***“ media is an important factor-but, while media itself is directed from some institutions, these institutions are key factors”***

Senators view the role of media as most crucial in policy making because policies are made for public so these Policies should be designed in best interest of public, and without media it is not possible. Hence along with several other factors, several interest groups and pressure groups, media is one of them with very vast impact.

Why media is important for public and government with respect to its role in Public policy is analyzed in this study. Different views are evaluated which shows that experts view Media as one of the key element to control the minds of masses as well as of politicians and policy makers. In this regard the views of senators are very important because they are the real policy makers of country, involve in legislation process.

***“We aim to create ease and facilities for the public which is not possible without critically knowing about their issues. Media provide means to let us know about major problems and concerns of the masses. Hence, media is important as the policies are meant for the public”***

***(Response by a Senator).***

Another senator has highlighted the importance of media in this way:

***“media awam ki ankhen b hain kaan b hain aur awam ko direction b detay hain agahi shaaor b detay hain chahy wo samaji ho society k hawaly sy ho maashi ho education ho in sb pe wo aik behtr idea detay hain” (Response by a Senator)***

Media serves as a watch dog over the government. It has increased accountability culture in the society. Experts view that due to biased media the accountability of government is not done fairly. It is working according to their own interests and purpose rather than being fair. it is running as a business entity, so they are focusing towards their stakes with government. Like if GEO Tv is reporting pro government they have their own stakes with this. The matter of efficacy and trust is declining with the time. But still there are many cases which shows that media has brought accountability culture in the country and especially in the politics. An expert view it as:

***In past, politicians did not fear accountability for their actions but now due to wide media coverage they remain careful and vigilant.***

### **5.3.3.2. Media’s Influence on Public Policy**

This thesis was developed to address the question of whether Pakistani media has an influence on public policy making decisions. Experts have viewed the relation between media and public policy as very strong. Some viewed its influence larger than others but overall it is proved that media play its role in setting the government agenda. The director of media department-Senate has expressed some insightful comments regarding this:

***“There is a vast impact of media on public policy. In Pakistan most of the policies are made as firefighting function. We don’t do things by thought process but what comes on the media we do the things on the basis of that. In the parliament, the answer of any policy questions must be***

*given on the floor. But public representatives instead of answering on the floor give their answers to media. In many cases we have seen this thing that before speaking at assembly, the parliamentarians talk with media personnel's before coming to assembly. Similarly, majority of the questions that are raised on the floor of Parliament are mostly those which are discussed on the media. It's not only about politicians' other institutions too are doing this practice.”*

Most people view that media has influence in the early stages of policy making i.e. at the agenda setting stage. Problem identification is the first step in policy process, here at this stage media is playing major role. Along with this, some people have also mentioned other stages at which media has major part to play and is playing to some extent. These include policy evaluation stage, policy formulation stage through critical analysis as well as propagation.

*Issue comes on govt agenda due to media. Media help govt prioritize things. Media is not much familiar with evaluation.*

Most of things happening in the country are because of media. One expert while referring to his thesis explained that in his thesis he had examining suo moto actions taken in the dump period, i.e. before Saqib Nisar and after Iftikhar Chaudhry's tenure (2010-14) and the questions raised on parliament floor for discussion during certain period. The result shows that out of 14 suo moto's that were taken by SC, 12 are on the issues that are highlighted on media. Same is the case with the questions that are raised in the parliament. Most of them are on those issues which got famed on media.

*“In my thesis I have Mentioned this thing that all of our institutions are not ready to work in their restricted domains, rather they want to do things that they would show to media or public”*

Some of them also perceived the media as having limited influence on public policy or policy maker's decision. In spite of the many strong statements clearly saying that electronic media does influence public policy some also think of this influence as very minimal.

*“All these media theories are more relevant to the countries where institutions are working. A country where institutions are not working properly and regulations doesn't exist it cannot be said that govt agenda is being set by media. Things bubble out through media but govt does not rely/depend much on it because policies are not formulated just after something appears on media. Things usually become unpopular on media till policy cycle completed and policies are formulated”*

### **5.3.3.3. Examining Different Media Types Usage and Effectiveness**

In today's world, it is apparently seen that social media is the most used medium. The statistics also shows that social media is mostly preferred in the country in terms of its usage. But the results of this interview analysis show that experts or professionals mostly prefer Mainstream Media (TV) and Newspapers rather than social media. They considered TV and Print media as more authentic and more suitable medium to get news and to make them updated with the latest news. Social media is effective but at the same time it is also spreading misconceptions to great extent.

*“On social media, reaction came abruptly but things do not last for long there. So, in the long run mainstream media is the most effective one”*

The response towards the usage of print media is much greater as compared to response from general public. Most experts considered print media as the most authentic media. One respondent expressed his views as:

*One can read the newspaper in peace. Moreover, a report can be read more than once. 24 hour news events can be found at the same place.*

The views of different experts shows that issues related to authenticity of news are depleting with the passage of time. Even if fake news come, they are highlighted and corrected by other media types or channels. Traditional media sources are more authentic as they come under some regulation. The absence of any filter to monitor or screen social media is the main reason behind less reliability of social media. They view that we are not having such expertise to monitor social media news effectively.

#### **5.3.3.4. Evident Cases**

Several cases appear on Pakistani media that gained wide attraction and have taken the attention of public and government towards them. Experts have highlighted several issues that they think come on media and in response government had taken any step. One case that is highlighted by many interviewees' is Zainab Murder Case. The other issues that are mentioned are almost same to those which are pointed out by general public in last question of survey. These include *issues of child abuse, atif mian removal from PM Advisory National Economic Council, Transgenders, Mukhtaran Mai, Namooos e rislat amendment Act, Azamswati resignation, asia bibi, , Shahzeb qatal case, suomoto cases of supreme court in human rights under article 184, cases of violence against children, corruption cases*



While talking to Deputy Director Media of Senate, the case of amendment in the CSS exam was mentioned in very detail.

*“The result of CSS was not satisfactory from last few years. Around 2016, it came on the media that the age of candidates should be increased so that more people get the chance to be appeared for the exam and also those who started their studies late should be able to apply. After the issue raised on media, several public petitions were received. In these petitions many people have also given the reference of media reports and ask the senate to take some decision regarding this matter. In response to this, Senate has done some exercises in which people of FPSC were also invited and in a meeting, it was decided to increase the age limit from 28 to 30 years. So, by coming the issue on media along with public petitions, the senate has taken up the matter, government agreed on that and age limit is increased. The main driving force behind this decision is the Media Reports (Deputy Director, Media Department- Senate)”.*

These cases indicate that media is one of the most important factors to influence some policy action, not wholly but to a great extent. We could relate these cases with the importance of media and necessity to examine and study its influence in Pakistani political system and on the society.

#### **5.3.3.5. Examining the Role of Media on the Three Case Studies**

It was inquired from these experts about 3 cases so that along with content analysis and public perception, expert’s opinion is also collected which further strengthen the analysis.

In the case of Mashal Khan, different views are gathered. Most of them believe that media has played significant role, it was the media that has proved the innocence of mashal. Media has played

very impressive role to remove the false allegations of Toheen e Risalat from him. As told by Senator;

***“Manfitaasur jo us k bary main tha wo door kia media ny”***

Another respondent has highlighted this case as

***“If mashal khan case was not highlighted on media, it could not get the support from international agencies. Many of people involved in the case were affiliated with political parties. Action against them was taken after media highlighted the case (Director, Media Department Senate).***

***“We have no idea that on daily basis, how much incidents took place in our country and due to no reporting culprits are not caught and set free. In this incident, the matter is timely reported, then media has alive the matter for some time, perused the case and then civil society, Parliament, all the governments’ administrative forums had also taken up the case. The investigative role of media has definitely a positive part in this case (Deputy Director, Media Senate)”.***

Views about Zainab case are almost same. These views represent the important and positive role played by media on this case, no one has denied the positive role played by media. Irrespective of dramatization and hype created by media, still the best part played by media in this case is far more than this. A Media Expert has expressed her views as:

***“Ball was in media's court, played well which helped the culprit get punishment”.***

Both, the role of media along with the people of Qasoor region is important because once the people had started wide protests then media has taken up the matter seriously. An Expert's view about this is;

***“Media has played an effective role, but major role played by people of that area through protests”***

Overall the Media is given credit of speedy trial of this case. A Media Expert has expressed this as:

***“It was media due to which speedy trial take place otherwise these cases took several years to decide”.***

The third case is water shortage issue and the decision of construction of Dams in response to that crisis. In this issue, different sorts of views are reflected, some argued that it is because of Judiciary not media that issue come on agenda. They believe that influence and power of media has little to do with it, the major influencer is CJP, who had played major role regarding this issue. However, some has considered the role of media in terms of raising awareness about water crisis in the country while some has considered it as CJP's own effort without the influence of Media. An expert said:

***“To some extent media has effective role. Media highlighted the upcoming severe water crisis in the country due to which CJP took suo moto”***

Some view that water crisis is the most severe upcoming issue of Pakistan and it is most ignored subject in the media. Media is not paying the required attention to this. A policy expert has also shared the same views with the suggestion to have effective role of media in this regard.

*“to some extent media has role, however in order to improve its positive contribution, political talk shows need to be restricted”.*

One expert from media department of senate has given very valuable comments regarding this matter. She states that media has role in this case but not very much. Because it is mentioned in PEMRA’s ordinance (PEMRA’s Ordinance is mentioned in the Appendix C) and it is an obligation to all channels to give public service messages to a specific percentage and these messages of Dam funds and water savings are part of that obligation that they need to fulfil. Media need to give more focus on these public service messages. After Supreme Court has taken up the matter and government has owned the construction of dams than media has started promoting this case. We flow with the tide, when media has seen that this issue is being promoted then they have taken up it.

*“There should be more talk on media about this issue because media has the capability to influence public to great extent. We are wasting water too much. Media can play better role to overcome this issue and inform public to save water and avoid water wastage”*

#### **5.3.3.6. Media Policy in Pakistan -Need Assessment**

In Pakistan, there is no compact media policy formed till now. The presence of media is vital for the running of any field. As the study has found most of the things are happening because of media but still we are not having a media policy. In Pakistan we are having health, water, education, environment, trade, labor, youth policy, in fact policy for each and everything but there is no media policy. One Senator give his views about the importance of media policy as follows:

*Jis ki waja sy log mar rahy hun, zinda hoo rahy hun policy tou ban 'ni chahiye us pe*

Everything should be defined in the policy that how media has to play role, how much they have freedom and if they do anything against the code or rule then what should be the reaction. The policy should ensure how much freedom and flexibility they have. In Pakistan the media regulation is weak. The element of objectivity is observed missing. All media organizations are running as commercial entities rather than social institutions. So there is a dire need of media policy. Media create so much hype which needs to be controlled by forming a policy.

*“Policy should be there. In Pakistan is is often said that you are curbing the freedom of media through regulations but if you see the developed countries like US or Britain they have regulatory frameworks as well as policy for media. When you could do legislations for everything then why not for media”*

#### **5.3.3.7. Suggestion for Improvement in Media**

Media holds inherent power in Pakistan, sometimes media enjoys freedom while it face restrictions the other time. It should be set completely free of all restrictions and under better regulations. In this regard, the respondents are also asked to give their valuable comments or suggestions about how media could be made better in Pakistan. Some of them view that media is not responsibly working in Pakistan.

*“media needs to be responsible and must analyse the impact of words spoken and content shown. They are mostly creating more unrest and confusion in an already confused society”*

The role of media is to stay neutral and deliver to public the issues, news and knowledge. Viewers are there to analyze these. But Pakistani media deliver the news in such a way as they give biased view, analyze the things themselves and implementing their views in the minds of public. As it has been seen before elections, geo news is pro government channel and is totally working against PTI. Same as the case with ARY, which is antigovernment and favoring the opposition parties. So, they suggest that media should play neutral role without any biases and instead of conveying and spreading negativity, media should play a positive role which prove to be in favour of the nation. There is need to develop consensus about what you want to do. A respondent's view:

***“It is proved that the attacks on Afghanistan and on Iraq for weapons of mass destruction are not meant for that purpose, as they do not find the weapons of mass destruction over there. So issue is solved. Has anyone ever questioned them about it? No one asked. The reason behind this is that they have national narrative and their nation is cleared about things what they have to do. When you see the CNN or BBC, you might notice disagreement on terms but you have never find opponent views regarding state affairs. This should be settled in Pakistan too”***

In the present situation of media, the harm media is doing to the society is less than that it is doing to itself. They have highlighted that as a practitioner they have witnessed the time period in which when a single news item appearing on the inside pages had an influence but now even the leading news headline don't have that much impact. Media is killing itself. Pakistan is the country where cross media ownership exists. It means that CNN can't own a newspaper, but Geo can. A respondent has criticized over this practice, that we are not making policies by proper mechanism.

***We don't look at the precautionary measures, we don't see the reparations that what things might go wrong, we have just allowed everything, now your regulator is very weak to control***

*it. Although in the world this practice of Cross Media Ownership is present but we don't have potential.*

*“Specially, problems of less developed areas should be focused and reported. Underdeveloped areas are main victim of problems like poverty, unemployment, diseases, illiteracy and terrorism. So, media should share and rise voice for such problems, but that's what media is not doing”*

#### **5.3.4. Summary of Findings:**

In spite of the variance in the viewpoints expressed, many of the experts perceive and acknowledge the role of media in the Pakistani society. Although some viewed its influence greater than others, nevertheless, there is mutual agreement that media does play a role. Whether it is a positive or negative role, it is perceived to be playing an influential role in the policy process. The results show that social media come into play and threaten policy makers when it is authenticated or used by the mainstream media because mostly experts or professionals rely on mainstream media.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion and Recommendations

#### 6.1 Conclusion

Media is considered as a source of information and it has the potential to reach the masses. It has provided a venue to public and government to interact with each other and voice their opinions. With the rise of new communication technologies, new ways are generated to communicate messages, transfer information and interact with each other. Media is often the first point of information for institutions that can correct a wrongdoing, shed light on an unjust system or even record crucial evidence necessary for accountability.

This new medium has attracted the youth of country most. It was observed in the survey that most used medium in the country is Social media and it is most popular among youth. People of age 18-35 have highest percentage of social media use. Social media represent citizen preferences in a real time, unfiltered and direct way. Whereas traditional media constitute a stable and well-known information landscape for policy makers. With respect to impacting public policy, Mainstream media is considered as most important one. Similarly, Print media have its own significance as a reliable and authentic source of information. In terms of responsible role, it was illustrated from this analysis that print media is playing its role in more effective way. But electronic media or TV is more effective in terms of attracting its audience. The use of sensationalism makes the people attentive towards issue. So, summing up these, media itself is very important in all of its kinds and types. Hence its study is of great concern to public and policy makers.



In Pakistani scenario, an amalgam of media sources is seen, newspapers have shifted their venues to online networks, now they are also seen as e-papers and have fan pages on Facebook. TV channels have launched their online streaming. It was observed in case studies analysis that coverage of electronic media is also complemented in traditional media. They all work side by side, some medium as originator of issue and others to complement it. Most of the news items on newspaper are giving references of TV programs that are aired on their own group channel. The issues that are discussed in talk shows and other programs are part of newspapers reports. This shows that things come first on Social media, then followed by TV and then Print Media.

The crux of case studies analysis proved that because of media, the cases have sparked national outrage and scrutiny. On one side it has accelerated the trial process and has thus impacted public policy, but on the other side there are some serious concerns regarding its misuse. During analyzing the content of media for this study, many things are observed that could be called as black side of media. If we talk about Zainab Case, massive protests from the public of that area and Media coverage lead the case as high profile case and ultimately lead to successful completion.

There are few things that media needs to discuss. About precautions, remedies, root causes and preventive measures of occurrence of issues. These things are of utmost importance but still lack coverage on mainstream media. Only small columns and editorials talk about these and they left without discussion and out of watch. These things are not much visible on media.

All this analysis comes to an end that when an incident happens, or crime is committed then it is wiser to first reach the media. The entrance of media on the scene and taking upon themselves the responsibility to rouse emotions ultimately push the case towards its conclusion. But media's noise is most of the time comes to the end at this stage; its role should be same on the next stages as well. On the legislation side, there must be more voice of media. Like in Zainab's

case more voice should be raised for child rights legislation, and child protection. Media lose its interest on that side. Media has informed and educates the viewers to some extent in this case through airing the programs on good and bad touch.

Thus, this study concluded that mass media function more in relay information, through this way they have influence over public policy. Those issues which are frequently and excessively highlighted by media get the attention of government.

## **6.2 Future Implication**

For future study, this research could be replicated on different case studies or different issues. This can also be done by viewing few compact policies and studying the role of media on the formation of those policies. Like for example, climate change policy or water policy, how it developed, what is the role of media in its development, has media highlighted its importance, has media critically analyzed the policy etc. Future study can be done on larger sample. There are several cases that are mentioned by public and experts in this study. These cases are of utmost importance if further studied to see the government response. Several political, social, societal issues are there which could be addressed in further study.

## **6.3. Recommendations**

### **6.3.1. Media Policy**

The study finds a very sensitive, essential and significant role of media towards public policy. Media have large impact on the political system, economy, society, citizens, their opinion, in the system designing and public policy designing. This impact could be of positive or negative nature, so it should be handled with great care. The presence of Media Policy is imperative in the country, so there should be a Compact Media policy in the Pakistan. It would cover all branches of media, as advised by the experts of study. The government should initiate a dialogue with all major stakeholders for making of an effective media policy. It should be made in consultation with all those who have major stake and role in media. It should include all the rules and regulations that they have to follow and then make separate bodies to act according to policy. Instead of focusing only to complaint-based approach, these authorities must be transformed with such a system that it should have a regular check on all the programs and news.

The policy should direct the Media platforms to play an active role to highlight the real issues of general public rather than artificially created problems that seems important shortsightedly but actually public has much more issues that need to be addressed and reach to the top authorities. The major consumer of media is general public so their interest should be represented in better way. There is a need to focus not just on the issues but on the solutions too. More space should be given to possible solutions to public problems, public service messages and awareness programs.

### **6.3.2. Improvement in Mainstream Media**

While analyzing the result, mainstream media was found to be the most significant source in impacting public policy. Being the most significant medium, electronic media's working needs to

be improved in many ways to have a better role. There are some irregularities seen among media groups which require proper action in order to become more effective and professional medium.

- Each media house should have their own executive board to maintain and approve the standards of the house.
- Each media house should be accompanied by an investigation team and a research wing to enquire the issues properly, to check the validity of news items and to give proper facts and figures, henceforth eradicating the culture of presenting unimportant things on media as well as fake news. Investigative journalism should be more promoted to produce actual facts and figures with in depth and balanced stories so that real matters are incorporated. Improved quality and less sensationalism, more radical opinion and less propaganda result in better outcome.
- Similarly, there must be a standard parameter for selection of journalists, anchors. Their selection should be done by the executive board, based on their competency, qualification and knowledge. Journalists should be trained by promoting skills and reporting pattern. Through this way actual and positive role of media will be seen.
- Professional journalism is an organized act, focusing on public interest, governed by rules and principles. Being educative and informative, it should prove itself as advantageous for the society and citizens. So there is a need of professional media with all the positive things it delivered rather than just a corporate entity.

### **6.3.3. Social Media**

Our study finds that Social Media is the most used medium in the country as well as the most unreliable one, so special focus is required to make the most used medium trustful and reliable. The framework for social media should be finalized after involving all stakeholders. The consultation of IT industry, social media activists, bloggers and Social media analysts should be incorporated to ensure a democratic and responsible social media which allows public to express their thoughts but in a very responsible way, not to spread anarchy in the society. Social media is now the most important tool which could be used to bring change in the society as well as it has the capacity to destabilize societies which was evident from examples of different countries in which social media is used as well as misused to get power or change. Only 30 members were present at the time of passing of bill, Prevention of Electronic Crimes, on April 13, 2016 which shows that legislators lack their interest on this issue. More focus should be given to this medium.

### **6.3.4. Print Media**

According to my study result, print media is the most reliable and trustworthy medium of information, considered by general public as well as experts. The study also finds that experts are mostly using print media in order to get news. While addressing the Pakistan Media Convention under CPNE on 19 January 2019, the President of Pakistan, Dr.Arif Alvi highlighted that policy makers of Pakistan still rely mostly on print media<sup>31</sup>. However, its use among general public is declining with the passage of time.

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<sup>31</sup><https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/420719-media-playing-role-in-strengthening-democratic-culture-president>,

When people read newspaper, they have full attention towards what they are reading, unlike the TV or Social media in which people are less attentive and often they are busy in other things too. So print media could be used more effectively to communicate messages and successfully influence public as people have trust on it.

### **6.3.5. Regulatory Authorities**

Media has major share in creating a viable democracy. Media is not personal identity; it is working in public domain, so it is a sort of public property. In today's world, there is more tilt toward specialization rather than generalization. So, regulating each media separately is more beneficial as all of three are different from each other and require special and focused ways to be monitored. The current government has decided to merge the three media regulatory authorities i.e. PEMRA, PTA and Press Council of Pakistan into a single regulatory body i.e. Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority PMRA. It seems very difficult to cater the requirement of three different branches having three different dynamics under one umbrella. So, it is viable to make one policy for all media types, having detailed rules and regulations for all of them and these authorities have to act according to that.

### **6.3.6. Self-Regulation**

As too much government control as well as unaccountable freedom both could result in dreadful consequences, so there should be a medium way to ensure a secure and effective environment for media institutions. There is more need of self-regulation of media rather than strict government regulation. The pressure that came from powerful sources sometimes is a hurdle for media houses to stay professional, so the policy should ensure the freedom from all these pressures.

Internal accountability mechanism should be broadened so that the media house or cell itself attends the complaints of viewers and readers and itself take note of any alleged violations rather than waiting for authorities to take action. There is need to functional this complaint mechanism. Self-regulation mechanism could be enhanced by giving proper education and training to journalists, media workers, media associations and other staff. The presence/invention of self-regulation and self-accountability within industry could be an effective way out.

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**PREFERENCE OF MEDIA SOURCES:**

Which Media source you prefer the most for the following questions.

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Social Media (Facebook / twitter/ youtube)</b>	<b>Mainstream Media (TV/Online Channel)</b>	<b>Newspaper (print/online)</b>
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On which media type do you spend most of your time?	1	2	3
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How you get most NEWS about what’s happening in the country?	1	2	3
--	---	---	---

According to your opinion, in Pakistan which news source is more authentic?	1	2	3
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Which news media present the public issues in better and responsible way?	1	2	3
---	---	---	---

Which media contributes more to influence government action/public policy?	1	2	3
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## GENERAL PERCEPTION ABOUT PAKISTANI MEDIA

Mark 1 for Yes, 2 for No

Statement	Yes	No
Do you watch news regularly?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you think media is reporting responsibly in Pakistan?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you agree that Media provides different perspectives which help general public to think and understand the issues?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Has media ever changed your opinion on a political issue?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you feel that government is effectively regulating media in Pakistan?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can media be used as most important tool to hold the government accountable for their actions?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do you think media is influencing public policy or it has impact on government action?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Are you aware of any media law in Pakistan?

1	2
---	---

**Please follow the following scheme while filling the questionnaire.**

1=strongly agree    2=agree    3=uncertain    4=disagree    5=strongly disagree

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Strongly agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Uncertain</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly disagree</b>
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Is media playing a vital role in the development of society?

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Do you think media is working independently in Pakistan?

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Do you believe media has a greater impact on bringing about change than voting?

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Do you think that proper use of media is more influential than directly getting involved in a campaign?

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Do you believe social media has a greater impact on bringing about change

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---



	<b>Social Media (Facebook / twitter/ youtube)</b>	<b>Mainstream Media (TV/Online Channel)</b>	<b>Newspaper (print/online)</b>	<b>Friends and Family</b>
Mashal Khan Case	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Zainab Rape Case	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Water shortage issue	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

**9. How you keep yourself updated about these issues?**

	<b>Facebook / twitter/ youtube</b>	<b>Online T.V channel</b>	<b>Online newspapers</b>	<b>T.V</b>	<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Talk shows</b>
Mashal Khan Case	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
Zainab Rape Case	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>



Water  
shortage  
issue

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**10. Do you think media discussion on these topics have driven the government action?**

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
Mashal Khan Case					
Zainab Rape Case					
Watershortage issue					

**11. Do you think Government has sufficiently responded to these issues?**

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
Mashal Khan Case					
Zainab Rape Case					
Watershortage issue					

**12. In your opinion if these issues were not went viral on media, do the Government perceive and responded to them similarly.**

	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
Mashal Khan Case	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Zainab Rape Case	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Water shortage issue	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**13. Mention any other case/issue, which you think went viral on media and government had responded to it respectively or which had influenced public policy in Pakistan.**

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## **QUESTIONNAIRE (for Experts)**

### **Role of Media in Influencing Public Policy: An Analysis of Print, Electronic and Social Media in Pakistan**

*School of Public Policy,*

*Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad*

I am a student of M.Phil Public Policy in Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad. I am conducting my M.Phil research on Role of Media in Influencing Public Policy. This questionnaire is a part of my research, based on role of media in Pakistan and its influence on public policy. This questionnaire intends to capture the perception of experts so your input is very important for this study. I ensure you that the information provided by you will be kept confidential and will be used for academic purpose only. I need a few minutes of your precious time to complete this questionnaire. I shall observe high standards of research ethics and respect your privacy. I will be thankful for your participation.

This questionnaire is divided into two Sections: **Section A** comprises of close ended questions and **Section B** comprises of open ended questions.

## General Information of Respondent

Name (optional) : .....

Email: .....

Contact Number (optional): .....

Gender: .....

Attributes	Categories	Choose the relevant category
<b>Education</b>	Masters	
	M.Phil	
	PhD	
<b>Professional Expertise</b> (More than one answer Possible)	Policy expert	
	Media expert	
	Publication of Research on Media or Public Policy	
	Academician	
	Others please specify-----	
<b>Years of experience:</b>		
<b>Affiliation</b> (More than one answer Possible)	Academic Institution -Name:	
	Research organization – Name:	
	Government Organization - Organization name:	
	Media House - Name of channel-(Optional) :	
	Other please specify:	
<b>Specialization</b> Please mention your specialization by education and experience.		

## Section A

1. What are important factors which have impact on Public Policy?

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2. “Media serves as a platform for reporting, debating and influencing policy”, do you agree with this statement?

a. Yes                      b. No                      c. Uncertain

3. Do you think government decisions are influenced by the media coverage and stance?

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4. Which media source is mostly preferred by you to get the latest news?

Social Media (Facebook / twitter/ youtube)	Mainstream Media (TV/Online Channel)	Newspaper (print/online)
--	--------------------------------------	--------------------------

5. In your opinion, which is most effective media source in Pakistan?(Rank according to your preference)

Social Media (Facebook / twitter/ youtube)	Mainstream Media (TV/Online Channel)	Newspaper (print/online)
--	--------------------------------------	--------------------------

6. In your opinion, which is most reliable media source in Pakistan? (Rank according to your preference)

Social Media (Facebook / twitter/ youtube)	Mainstream Media (TV/Online Channel)	Newspaper (print/online)
--	--------------------------------------	--------------------------

7. Do you think media is reporting responsibly in Pakistan?

a. Yes                      b. No                      c. Uncertain

8. Most of the people believe that rise of media has increased government accountability. Is our media doing a good job in this regard?

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9. Politicians' actions are highly affected due to media. Is it true?

- a. Yes                      b. Noc. To some extent

10. To what extent our media coverage results in achieving any useful outcome or policy actions?

- (1)A lot      (2) To some extent      (3) Less effective      (4) No effect      (5) Don't know

11. Do you agree with this statement: certain policies were adopted or dropped or changed particularly due to the fact that either the media highlighted its negative consequences and therefore alerting policymakers to the need to change, or because a media outlet advocate for a certain policy to be adopted.

- a. Yes                      b. Noc. Uncertain

12. Which statement is correct according to your opinion?

**a. Media play role in setting the government agenda**

**b. Government operates according to its own agenda**

13. Out of the following possible roles a media can play, what roles are being best played by Pakistani Media?

a. Informative Role

b. Adversarial Role (Media as Watch dog)

c. Media as a platform (for government and public to communicate messages)

d. Advocacy Role

e. Media as a Hype Creator

f. Investigative Role (to discover/uncover public issues)

14. Below are mentioned the six stages of policy making process. In your opinion, on which stages do media have the greater impact? (tick all that apply)

a. Problem identification - Agenda Setting

b. Policy Formulation

c. Policy Adoption

d. Policy Implementation

e. Policy Evaluation

f. Policy Maintenance, Succession or Termination

g. None of above

15. Media can accelerate/decelerate the policy process. Is it true?

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## Section B

16. Can you mention any issue or case that went viral on media and had thus influenced government action?

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17. In Mashal Khan Murder Case, how you see the role played by our Media?

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18. What is your viewpoint regarding Media's role in Zainab Rape Case?

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19. What is the role of media in raising and alerting the public about water shortage in the country? Do you think the Construction of Diamer Bhasha Dam and Mahmand Dam come on the agenda as the response to media's stance on water issue?

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20. Is there any need of compact Media Policy in Pakistan? (which cover print, mainstream and social media).

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21. Please provide some suggestion(s) on what kind of role should be played by media in our country.

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PAKISTAN ELECTRONIC MEDIA  
REGULATORY AUTHORITY  
ISLAMABAD

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F. No. 2(05)/PR-2018/1

Islamabad: February 27, 2019

### PRESS RELEASE

#### Clarification with regard to Public Service Messages aired on Diamer-Bhasha & Mohmand Dams Fund

This is with reference to fake news/ propaganda being aired on several news channels by different politicians, anchors and analysts on Public Service Messages, developed to create awareness on water-scarce resources, construction of dams and raising funds on the initiative taken by the Honorable Supreme Court of Pakistan in the Public Interest.

Some politicians, anchors and analysts have uttered fake statements about the advertisements / public service messages aired on majority of satellite TV channels, as if, funds amounting to rupees 13 billion have been spent by the Supreme Court of Pakistan and public money collected through Dam-Funds was spent on such advertisements/ campaigns.

It is clarified that all the satellite TV channels licensed under PEMRA Ordinance 2002 as amended by PEMRA (Amendment) Act 2007, under Section 20 (e) are obliged to dedicate/ allocated their air time for public service messages. The same is reproduced as under:

***Section 20 (e) of PEMRA Ordinance 2002.***

***A person who is issued a licence under this Ordinance shall:- broadcast, if permissible under the terms of its licence, programmes in the public interest specified by the Federal Government or the Authority in the manner indicated by the Government or, as the case may be, the Authority, provided that the duration of such mandatory programmes do not exceed ten percent of the total duration of broadcast or operation by a station in twenty-four hours except if, by its own volition, a station chooses to broadcast such content for a longer duration.***

Therefore, public service messages aired on satellite TV channels on Diamer-Bhasha & Mohmand Dams have been aired **FREE OF COST** in compliance of Section 20 (e) of PEMRA Ordinance 2002 as Amended by PEMRA Amendment Act 2007 and no payment has been made by the Supreme Court of Pakistan or Government of Pakistan or any other authority.

  
(Muhammad Tahir)  
General Manager Media & PR

## No. of News Items on Front page of Print Media

### Zainab Case

From 5<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> January...No News

Date	Jang	Express
11 January 2018	7 news columns on front page	11
12 January 2018	7 on front page (Quarter page advertisement about Zainab case suspect)	9
13 January 2018	6	1 (main Headline)
14 January 2018	3	2
15 January 2018	3	1
16 January 2018	3	1

### Mashal Khan

Date	Jang	Express
14 April 2017	1	No news
15 April 2017	2	2
16 April 2017	Main Headline	2
17 April 2017	Main Headlines (interview of Imam e Kaaba)	1
18 April 2017	2	2
19 April 2017	2	4
20 April 2017	1	1