

**ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE AND PUBLIC  
PERCEPTION OF MEDIA ROLE IN RESTORATION OF  
JUDICIARY IN PAKISTAN**

MS. Thesis

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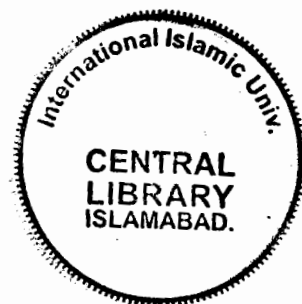
Research Scholar

**Ayesha Sadaf**

Reg No: 3-SS/MPHILCMC/F07

Supervisor

**Prof. Dr. Masrur Alam Khan**



Center for Media and Communication

**International Islamic University Islamabad**

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This thesis has been submitted as partial fulfillment of MS in media and communication studies to the Centre for Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University Islamabad.

**2009**

# Dedication

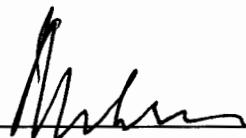
I dedicate this research to my mother Mrs. Rashida Shahid and my husband Mr. Adnan

Afzal for their countless support and encouragement.

### **Certification**

This is certified that the contents and form of the research report entitled "Analysis of Media Coverage and Public Perception of Media Role in Restoration of Judiciary" by Ayesha Sadaf has been found satisfactory and fulfills the requirement of the degree.

**Supervisor:**



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**Prof. Dr. Masrur Alam Khan**

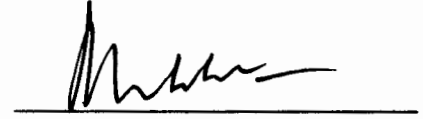
## Final Approval

It is certified that we have read this thesis submitted by Ayesha Sadaf. It is our judgment that this thesis is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the International Islamic University, Islamabad for MS in Media and Communication studies.

### Viva Voice Committee

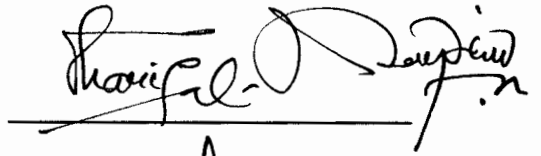
**Supervisor:**

Prof. Dr. Masrur Alam Khan



**External Examiner:**

Prof. Dr. Sharif Al Mujahid



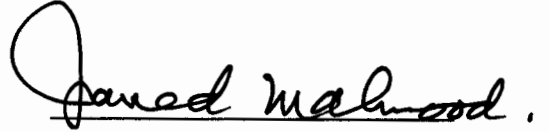
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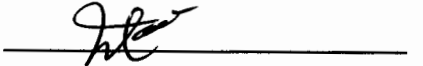
**Director CMC:**

Javed Mehmood Kasuri



**Dean FSS**

Prof. Dr. Nazrul-Islam



**RUKHSANA ASLAM**  
Head of Department  
Centre for Media & Communication Studies  
Women Campus, IIU, Islamabad

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## **Abstract**

Media, as fourth pillar of state always serves the public by not only playing its role of surveillance but also as knowledge and information provider. As a whole it is important because it makes people aware of all happenings around the world. Similarly people's perception sometimes plays a vital role in shaping how they perceive an issue.

Present study focuses on the public's perception of media's role specifically focusing on the Judicial Crisis that broke out in Pakistan in 2007. In this context all lawyers took a stand and major political parties joined hands together with them for judicial restoration. Media in Pakistan, being the important pillar of society, highlighted the issue and played a very constructive role in restoration of judiciary.

This study focused on the aspect of media's role i.e, to what extent media gave importance to the issue. This role has been investigated through public perception on the basis of perceptual theory. The problem statement was, did media play the same role as what people perceived about it through it's coverage of issue of judiciary restoration? The focal point of the study was Long March because this was the peak time when the issue got maximum coverage in media. This study was conducted on the basis of five objectives that are: to measure the amount of coverage on judicial restoration in national dailies during pre and post Long March, to determine the slant of news content, to find out media's role through its coverage, to find out the

relationship between issue's prominence in the newspapers and public perception and evaluate whether and to what extent men and women perceived judiciary crisis as a result of their media exposure. Two objectives clearly explain the newspapers coverage, whereas the other three objectives basically determine the public perception about the issue.

Four newspapers were selected on the basis of largest circulation including two English dailies and two Urdu dailies i.e. Dawn, The News, Daily Jang and Daily Express; for content analysis in order to evaluate the amount of coverage given by newspapers specifically to the issue of judiciary restoration. For content analysis the theoretical framework was used highlighting media construction of reality, which clearly theorized that how media shape different realities in society, and people start taking those realities as the social and important realities.

To know the public perception regarding newspaper's role on the basis of perceptual theories that how people make their perceptions about certain events and to what extent their perceptions have been matched with the coverage of newspapers, survey was conducted.

Sample was extracted through stratified sampling by selecting four federal universities and the data was collected than on the basis of simple random sampling by having two clusters of male and female. For present study social sciences faculty was taken as a sample from four Federal universities i.e. Allama Iqbal Open University, International Islamic University, National University of Modern Languages, and Quaid-e-Azam University, to determine perception of media role, instrument was developed and distributed among the sample.

At the end results were tabulated using SPSS and it was found out that Urdu newspapers gave much more space to the issue than English dailies, also newspapers covered the issue in a much better way during long march as compared to pre and post long march. Results shows that newspapers slant favored the judicial restoration and people considered newspapers role as positive in the favor of restoration during long march which influenced public perception to support judiciary.

On the basis of the findings, it is recommended that keeping in view the present scenario of judiciary and the Government it would predict that newspapers can play a vital role in guiding public opinion and making up perceptions towards certain dimension. Also the same study would be done on larger scale having equal participation of all groups of society.

Due to shortage of time and resources this study only catered the public perception of people working in different universities instead of cross section of society and only four national dailies had been taken for content analysis focusing only long march instead of whole period of crisis.

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Media as fourth pillar of state and an important agent of society serves for public by providing them basic knowledge and information on all aspects of a single issue or on various issues of national and international level. It not only provides information and updates on various issues and happenings but it also give a direction to public for making up their judgments and perceptions. Previously it was impossible to mold public opinion for certain issues through media and people living in different societies were unaware of the happenings of the world and of their concerned societies, but with the advent of technological revolution and development of journalism specifically made it possible to inform general public no matter where they are living and to whom they belong. Journalism has evolved as the major element of media to inform people living at every echelon of society which help them for making up certain perceptions regarding certain issues.

In the age of information revolution media exceeded the physical boundaries of the world's states and citizens of present world are now aware of all the happenings. Turning the whole world in to global village made it possible for people to have the information on each and every aspect and this is only possible through the media of present era, when there is no restriction on information accessibility on different issues

of importance, similarly people have access on all types of information of their choices.

At broader level media can be divided in two types, news media and non-news media including newspapers, television and internet, news media are all actively providing news and information on all happenings across the world, whereas non news media generally include the entertainment media responsible for providing entertainment to each and every echelon of society (Holbrook, Timothy 2005)

Media is the important element of society and every part of the specific society rely on media for information seeking. Media is actively performing its functions ranging from providing information to entertainment, but surveillance is one of its crucial roles. By informing general public, media has to play a vital function not only to inform but also to make consensus amongst public on certain issues. This is also the formation of public opinion and perception through media, thus media is providing information at one end and making public opinion and perception on the other hand by providing the complete information on any story.

While performing different kind of roles media promotes some policy or highlights some issues or puts some issues in background according to the importance and sensitivity.

Media is able to set its schema to produce desired effects with in the society or for the people living in that specific society. Whatever media present, what it intend to promote and making some issues as the important of all. According to Maxwell, media (mainly the news media) is not only successful in telling us what to think but

they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about (McCombs, Maxwell, 2005). Similar is the case in public perception, people to form perceptions according to what media present to them.

Perception plays very important role in making some issues important and some unimportant, this is due to many reasons; sometimes perceptions are affected by lots of other things. According to Severin (2001), different psychological factors influence perceptions and they include past experience, cultural expectations, motivations, moods, needs and attitudes.

This study included the important element of public perception; according to Lahlry, (1991) Perception has been defined as the process by which we interpret sensory data.

Chan (2007), described the role of media in guiding public opinion, he mentioned that guidance of public opinion is more indirect, flexible and subtle way of dealing with public opinion. He further elaborated that media's role in guiding public opinion is somewhat related to the concept of propaganda by shifting the focus on "what people think" to "what people think about".

This is the main hub of media, to give issues to public for what they think and act accordingly of the perceptions they have and in many cases what media give them direction to perceive and act on.

Societies are affected by the function of media for providing information, but this could vary from individual to individual. It can be related with the need for orientation which is a cognitive action of an individual about certain topic or issue.

Media could be strong enough through its surveillance function, and it can have a very strong impact through contemporary news media.

In modern-age, mass media has assumed the role of a guide in daily life of everybody. It is used as an instrument of policy and that policy always depends on the policy of newspapers. Its power, influence and impact know no bounds. The speed of information communication is surprising. The volume of output of print and electronic media is simply overwhelming. International electronic media brings us latest news of events, and developments instantly. Mass media continuously shapes and reshapes our opinions attitudes and perceptions. Being an agent of socio-political, economic and cultural change, media can disrupt a society or can stabilize and strengthen a society. It can lend decisive support to the stability of a country. (Abbas, 2006).

This could also define the role of mass media which is to provide information and education to target audience with a touch of entertainment. Media's functions also include socialization function which is to transfer specific culture among people of the society. A journalistic function of media is to provide information on each and every aspect of all issues of the globe at doorstep of the target audience. Due to this fact media can influence the public opinion and perceptions very easily, because in this era of technological revolution generally public rely on media for immediate and actual information of the surroundings, therefore public can easily be influenced from the content of media and it becomes very easy to mold and influence the general public opinion in a dimension and direction where media wants to. In present era media is a tool by which one could control the minds of people or could produce the climate of harmony. But sometimes media can produce conflict between different societal groups and the result would be in the shape of instability within the society or vice versa. This can relate to media construction of social reality, that how media is successful in



constructing some important aspects of reality out of no where, or sometimes from the facts and happenings that go unnoticed in society. Again this is very important role media to construct certain aspects on one issue or more than one issue and then to present in front of public to make certain perceptions accordingly whatever media constructed.

There are different roles of media including; providing education, entertainment, information in addition to the role of gate keeping which is to keep a check and balance that which information is passing by and which is not. This study is all about media's information role in the form of news to audience with special emphasis on the issue of judicial restoration. Present study specifically focuses on the extent in which media is successful in producing an impact regarding the judicial issue among the individuals of the society, in such a manner that individuals of society took up this issue and responded as media wanted them to respond. In short, this study has investigated how people perceived the issue and to what extent their perceptions match media's coverage of judicial crisis, either media covered the issue as people perceived or not; in addition to what role it had played specifically with the perspective of Judicial Restoration in Pakistan.

The present study also looks at the media construction of reality regarding judiciary restoration specifically focusing on the long March and what people perceived about the coverage of media specifically newspapers. That is how media especially newspapers covered the issue and to what extent public's perception match with the coverage given by newspapers during, pre and post long march.

In Pakistan; Judiciary as the main pillar of state has been suffering from time to time at the hands of political regimes in Pakistan. It has not been flourished in the country as it should have. This study will focus on the aspect of judicial crisis in 2007, when the former President General Pervez Musharraf took an independent decision to dismiss the judiciary on March 9<sup>th</sup>, 2007 and as result Justice. Javed Iqbal appointed as Chief Justice of Pakistan. According to Kumar (2007), "Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry of Pakistan has created history by defying the chief executive of a country in which judiciary was always suppressed by the chief executive, or else it played a subservient role of its own accord. And the game of suppression began much before the first military coup in 1958". (pg: 1)

For this specific issue all lawyers associations took a stand against the judicial dismissal through out the country, with the passage of time when political parties came into play and they joined hands together for the restoration of judiciary and the Chief Justice of Pakistan. In this specific scenario media played a vital role in covering the issue.

Therefore the focus of this study is about the media's role in producing a climate where people have better understanding of the issue or not. This study will focus the aspect that to what extent media is successful in producing an impact among individuals of the society, specifically for the purpose of Judicial restoration, and to see whether media played the same role that people perceived about it through it's coverage of judicial crisis.

Media acts according to the circumstances and situations, it likes to promote specific point of view, control the psychology of general public on some issues etc and this is

all done because media is the vigilant pillar of the state to provide basic and instant news coverage on all aspects.

Another focal point of the study is to evaluate the coverage of the newspapers, specifically for Long March for the reason of content analysis, which had been started out on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009 , according to the schedule it had to reach Islamabad on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009. This was the time when different political parties, lawyers and general public had been struggling together to restore the judiciary. As a result of it, Government announced the restoration on March 17<sup>th</sup>, 2009, whereas March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2009 was the date for actual reinstatement. This evaluation was conducted using the content analysis method.

### **1.1 Rationale of the Study:**

According to Silverblatt (2004) media is a social institution and “a social institution is an organization that is critical to the socialization process; it provides a support system for individuals as they struggle to become members of a larger social network”.

The reason to choose this dimension of study because much of work has been done on media, but the greater portion is related to media’s impact and its relation with election campaigns. This is timely study focusing the role of media in covering the judicial restoration typically related to long march, and how people perceived it. In fact this is about media’s activism; i.e, to what extent media specifically newspapers, were successful in covering the long march and what type of impact it had on public perceptions. Again this is related to the fact whether media always played the same role what people perceived in their minds regarding judiciary issue.

In addition, judiciary being the important pillar of state suffered for a specific period of time, and this study will explore the fact that how media is important in taking stands and reverting decisions on some important and critical issues of national concern. This study actually explored the power of media and communication in specific setting.

According to McCombs and Maxwell (2002), "The power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence". This is obvious that news media is immensely powerful in guiding public opinion towards specific direction or it could be like this to change the perception of people in some specific way so that people can start thinking or perceiving in a way media want to.

### **1.2 Problem Statement:**

The aim of the study is to investigate the content that appeared in media during, pre and post Long March, and to find out whether the media play the same role that people perceived about it during it's coverage of judicial restoration.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study:**

Following are the research objectives of the study.

1. To measure the amount of coverage on judicial restoration in national dailies during, pre and post Long March.
2. To determine the slant of news content of judicial issue either towards in favor, against or stayed neutral.
3. To find but media's role through its coverage.
4. To find out the relationship between issue's prominence in the newspapers and public perception.
5. To evaluate whether and to what extent men and women perceived judiciary crisis as a result of their media exposure.

### **1.4 Research Questions:**

1. What is the amount of coverage in different national newspapers during, pre and post Long march?
2. What is the slant of news content of judicial issue?
3. What people think about newspapers' role?
4. How the prominence of issue can change the public perception in favor of restoration?
5. How men and women understand judiciary crisis as a result of their media exposure?

### **1.5 Research Hypotheses:**

1. Newspapers gave much more coverage to judicial crisis during long march than other phases.
2. Newspapers slant favored the restoration of judiciary.
3. People considered newspapers role as positive during long march on judicial crisis.
4. Public perception was greatly influenced by the prominence given by the newspapers in favor of the restoration.
5. Men have greater understanding of judicial crisis as compared to women as a result of their media exposure.

### **1.6 Limitations:**

This study analyzed the content of newspapers only for 21 days, instead of whole time period of lawyer's movement which is spread over a time span of almost two years.

So the present study is just focusing the newspaper's coverage of long march instead of the whole time period of movement.

The major limitation of the study is that it catered the public perception only for the people working in different universities as faculty, and a cross section of society was not included in respondents due to shortage of time and resources.

Another limitation of the study was that the content analysis has been done on the basis of four national newspapers instead of taking the whole of content of whole print media.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study:**

Significance of any research depends upon the notion that how significant would be a study towards society, discipline, in making policies, to improve methodologies etc.

### **1.8 Contribution towards discipline and society:**

In Pakistan this kind of research has not been done yet, however different scholars studied the impact of media with different angles, more specifically the previous researches conducted are in close relation with election campaigns with close connection to newspapers coverage.

The present study will focus on the aspect that how people get influenced by media's content and further how that content is helpful in shaping up their judgments and perceptions and to what extent their perceptions about the issue matched to the coverage.

In the discipline of Media and Mass Communication, this study is of unique kind focusing the aspect of newspapers role in the form of coverage and than to link that coverage with the perceptions of people that either to what extent perceptions are same or different from what newspapers presented to public in the form of coverage of long march. Basically this study has two aspects and by working on two different methodologies it has two dimensions, one is the pure content analysis of newspapers of four leading newspapers of Pakistan including two Urdu and two English. Content analysis was done just to determine the fact that how much space has been given to the news items related to judicial crisis, and what was the role played by newspapers in the form of slant.

Another methodology that was opted for study was survey analysis, by dividing sample size in four strata depending upon the universities taken as population, 50 % sample size has been extracted working as faculty in social science. According to this methodology the another second dimension of study was based on the perception of sample that to what extent they think that their perception were same or different which is again based on the coverage of newspapers.

Another significance of the study includes that the future research can be on the dimension of having discourse analysis of the issue, in addition to the contemporary situation of judiciary in Pakistan, it can predict that role of media is important in guiding public opinion and making up their perceptions.

### **1.9 Contribution towards theorizing:**

This study is actual notion of going towards theorizing, because this study would help in developing a news dimension in the world of theories that how media construct reality and how people associate themselves according to that reality and making up their perceptions. Another dimension could be that how perceptions can be determined through media construction of reality, this study basically followed two theories, perceptual theory and construction of reality. These two theories have no link among themselves but this study linked these two important aspects, that how media construct reality and here this reality was in the form of constructing very productive, positive and heroic image of judiciary and then how people perceived this reality. But people's perception in this study was not made by the coverage of newspapers, it was in fact



already made perceptions about judiciary and then how they linked those perceptions whatever media specifically newspapers covered or presented to themselves.

In short, this study leads towards a new dimension of theory by having the two important aspects of media construction of reality and its linkage with people's perception.

#### **1.10 Contribution towards making Policies:**

This study would help in making policies in the sense that how newspapers could play an important role in guiding public opinion and shaping up their judgments or making their perceptions in a way authorities want to. Policy makers can make or improve their policies how they can benefit by media and its role to improve the social structure of society in addition to spread awareness on serious and critical issues of national concern.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Theoretical Framework

The focus of this study was to determine the public perception in relation to coverage given by media on judicial crisis in Pakistan. As media is the important element to influence public opinion in all aspects and then to generate their own judgments, but this study is related to the fact that how public has developed their perception about judiciary restoration and finally to what extent their perceptions has been according to the coverage given by newspapers. In other words, this study is about that how people think that media specifically newspapers covered this issue in accordance to their perceptions.

The main theoretical frameworks in this context are "*Perceptual Theory*" and "*Media Constructivism of Social Reality*".

#### 2.2 Perceptual Theories

Perception comes from Latin word, *Perception, Perception*; meaning receiving, collecting, action of taking possession, apprehension with the mind on senses. In some books it is written that perception is from Latin word *capere*, meaning *to take*.

According to Feldman (1999), "Perception is the sorting out, interpretation, analysis and integration of stimuli involving our sense organs and brain".

Whereas Social Perception means that how we make sense of social world, this is related to phenomenon that how we make impressions of and make inferences about other people.

According to Lahlary (1991) p 73, "Perception has been defined as the process by which we interpret sensory data".

Severin (2001) believes that there are two types of influences on our perception; they are Structural influences and Functional Influences. "*Structural influences* come from the physical aspects of the stimuli to which we are being exposed. *Functional influences* are the psychological factors that influence perception, and therefore introduce some subjectivity into the process".

In this study the analysis is directly linked with structural and functional influences of the respondents, i.e. public has structural influences on perception, because they are directly exposed to media and therefore they are in direct or indirect connection with media and their impacts in terms of developing their opinion and perceptions. Similarly public had functional influences, because psychological factors include need, response to the specific event, assumptions based on past experience, cultural expectations, moods, attitudes and of course the need to know the information about judicial issue.

Severin (2001) further suggests that different people react to same message in a very different way, and this is all related to the process of decoding; that how people process specific information.

According to Toch and Maclean (1962), *transactional view of perception* is abstract and philosophical and it states that both perceiver and the world are active participants of making perceptions.

The transactional view of perception can be linked with this study that public developed their perceptions according to the world around them and whatever they have perceived about judiciary restoration is not only depends on their personal opinions and judgments but outside world is equally important to make up their perceptions in favor or against the issue, and it includes interpersonal ties, cultural expectation (that how cultural proximity want them to respond and shaping up their perceptions), past experience and most of the important was information they had in judicial issue.

### **2.2.1 Assumptions of Perceptions**

Severin (2001) has mentioned five assumptions important for Perceptions, and they are

- Cultural expectations and Perceptions
- Motivation and Perception
- Mood and Perception
- Attitude and Perception
- Perception and Mass Communication

Cultural expectations are all about that how cultural background affects the perceptions of people, which generally include the norms, values, attitudes, response rate etc.

Perception is largely affected by the motivation people have, if this were to linked with the present study then this would be like that to what extent public had motivation to restore the judiciary to its previous position and how this motivation affects their perception to make decision in favor or against judiciary.

According to Severin (2001) Perception is greatly affected by three types of moods and they are *happy, critical and anxious*.

Attitude again has some serious and drastic effects on perception, sometimes attitude formation is linked with perception whereas sometimes perception is largely depends on attitudes.

Another important factor in this context is Perception and Mass Communication, people respond to mass communication's messages according to the perceptions they have, but on the other side the messages on media affects the perceptions of the people to make them respond accordingly how media want them to. In this study mass communication's messages do not have impact on the perception of people, instead the focus of the study that how people respond to messages given by media specifically newspapers and this was according to the perceptions they already they had.

Therefore, this is all about that how people linked their perceptions to the coverage of newspapers to make sense that either newspaper covered the issue according to the perceptions and opinions people had or was their something different between the two.

### 2.2.2. Selective Processes

Severin (2001) further explains that there are three selective processes affects the perception, and they are as follows

- Selective Exposure
- Selective attention
- Selective retention

According to Turner and West (2007), Selective exposure “is a method for reducing dissonance by seeking information that is consonant with current beliefs and actions”.

This is all related to how an individual exposes himself in a communication process to seek information that is in relation to previous context to avoid feeling of discomfort and to achieve the level of comfort though seeking information by exposing himself to selected media and information.

Turner and West (2007) further explain that “selective attention is a method for reducing dissonance by paying attention to information that is consonant with current beliefs and actions”. Whereas Severin (2001) explains the phenomenon that, “Selective attention is the tendency for individuals to pay attention to those parts of a message that are consonant with strongly held attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors and to avoid those parts of message that go against strongly held attitudes, beliefs or behaviors”.

“A method for reducing dissonance by remembering information that is consonant with current beliefs and action” Turner and West (2007). In other words, selective retention is the recall of information that is according to individuals previous contexts related to the experience and attitudes etc.

### 2.2.3. Schema Theory:

Another important factor of Perception is *Schema* that how people process information which they usually get from media. According to Severin (2001) “Schema is a cognitive structure consisting of organized knowledge about situations and individuals that has been abstracted from prior experiences. It is used for processing new information and retrieving stored information”. Schema theory is all about that how people process information for which they usually rely on mass media.

Doris Graber (1988) explored that people use schema to process news stories from newspapers, further she discussed that people processed news stories from different kinds of strategies, and these include

- Matching of a news story to a Schema
- Processing through inference
- Multiple integration of a story with schema dimensions

In above three different strategies, people used to draw conclusion from, like matching of a news story to a Schema is the interpretation of a current event with a past one, processing through inference is to link an event with another similar event, whereas multiple integration tend to link the story with many dimensions of similar event.

Severin (2001) states that “Schema is an attempt to match the information in a news story to some existing schema through a number of different matching strategies, and a match can be found, some part of the information or inferences from the information is likely to be stored in the form of modified schema or if a match cannot be found, the information is likely to pass by without being assimilated”.

#### **2.2.4. Perception of Pictures:**

Pictorial analysis is one of the main and important elements of this study, that how newspapers used pictures in covering the issue of judicial restoration and then to what extent people perceived that pictures helpful in determining the importance of issue. Pictures highlight the issue and its importance in a way that people can perceive the issue or news as the important one.

Scott (1994) defined the *Theory of Visual Rhetoric*, which explains that how people process pictures, this theory is actually related to Advertising, but it is all about either pictures shown in media are the true representative of reality or this just is to convey an emotional appeal. Further Scott state that pictures may represent third dimension to act as symbols or to construct rhetorical arguments. Emphasizing the importance of pictures, she states that pictures are capable of representing concepts, abstractions, actions, metaphors and modifiers.

In one of the article Scott says that pictures are to be taken in three ways, like;

- As transparent representations of reality,
- As conveyors of affective or emotional appeal, and
- As complex combinations of symbols put together to make rhetorical arguments.

Further she argues that different types of pictures are used in mass media, like news photos are used greatly for transparent representation of reality than the pictures in advertisements, on the other hand pictures in advertisements used for rhetorical



arguments than news photos. But both types of image or pictorial representation are used to convey the effective and emotional appeal to target audience.

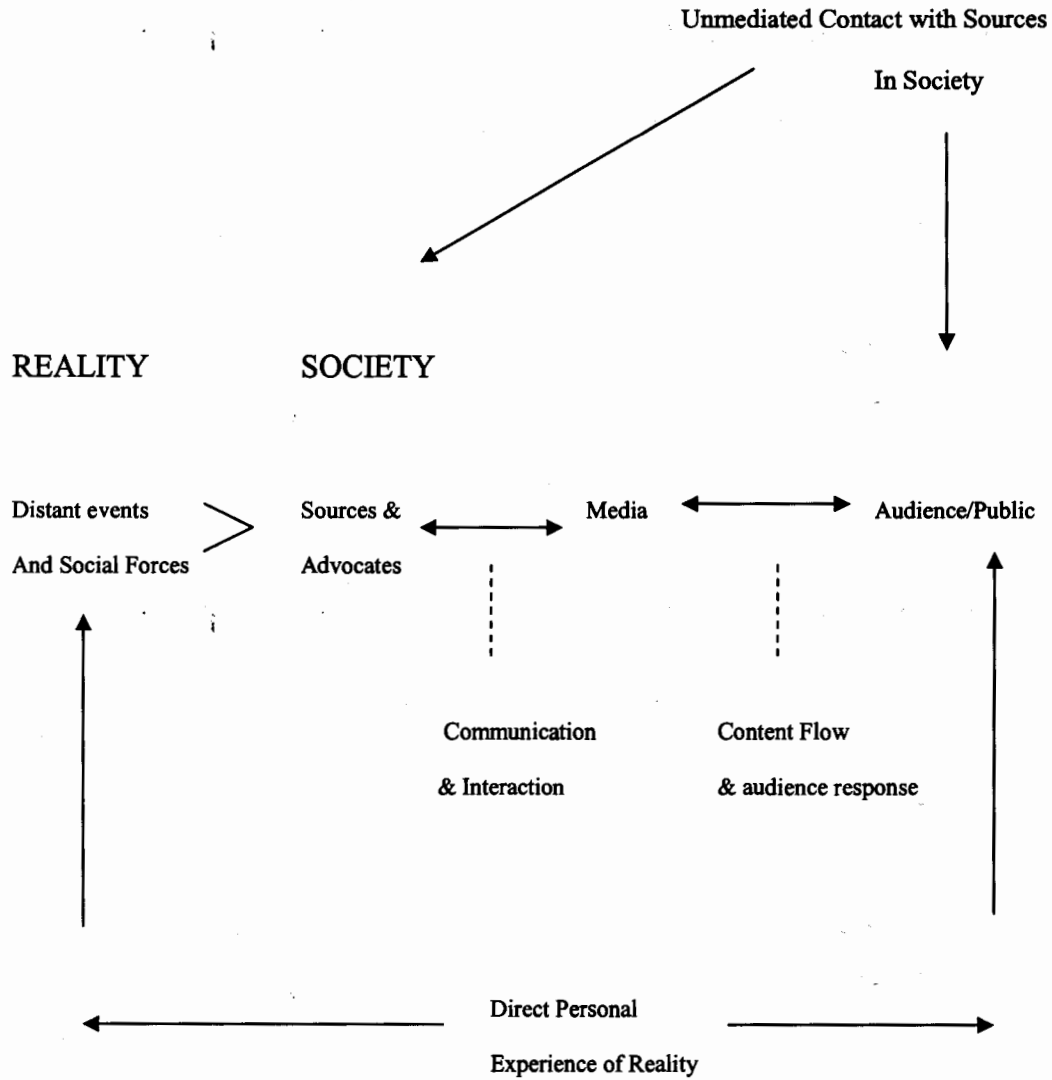
### **2.3. Media and Social Construction of Reality:**

According to Westley and McLean model (1957), which explain communication in a transmission model, states that communication is fixed information in which mass communication is involved in a new communication role between society and audience. But further McQuail (2005) says that media is actually for the conveying of specific and chosen perspectives to its audience.

According to McQuail (2005), "the media provide with their audience with a supply of information, images, stories and impressions, sometimes according to anticipated needs, sometimes guided by their own purposes, and sometimes following the motives of other social institutions (e.g., advertising, making propaganda, projecting favorable images, sending information). Given this diversity of underlying motivation in the *selection and flow of the images of reality*", we can see that mediation is likely to be purely neutral process. The reality is always be to some extent selected and constructed and there will be certain consistent biases".

Media is the important element to construct a reality in society by selecting certain images and news stories which highlight only some aspects and specific dimensions of an event or of an issue.

Following figure can explain the phenomenon.



**2.1: Figure:** A frame of reference for theory information about media and society: media interpose between personal experience and more distant events and social forces (based on Westley and McLean, 1957).

Source: Denis McQuail (2007), pg85

To explain role of media in society *Media-Society Theory of Social Constructionism* is the appropriate one. This theory is based on the work of Luckman's Social Construction of Reality. According to McQuail (2007) "social reality has to be made and given meaning (interpreted) by human actors". Further McQuail says that "Social construction refers to the processes by which events, persons, values and ideas are first defined or interpreted in a certain way and given value, and priority and largely by mass media, leading to personal construction of larger pictures of reality".

McQuail (2007) further explains that "in respect of news, picture of reality that news claims to provide cannot help but be a selective construct made up of fragments of factual information and observation that are bound together and given meaning by a particular frame, angle of vision or perspective".

McQuail mentioned five different postulates in his book of *Mass Communication Theory*, (pg 102); these postulates are as follows;

- "Society is a construct rather than a fixed reality.
- Media provide the material for reality construction.
- Meanings are offered by media, but can be negotiated or rejected.
- Media selectively reproduce certain meanings.
- Media cannot objectively report on social reality (all facts are interpretations)".

#### **2.4 Conceptual Frame Work:**

The main variables of the study are *Media Activism and Public Perception*, and a number of researches have been conducted on role of media during election campaigns which show the importance and the role media played during these periods.

Media as stated before, the fourth pillar of society performing its role in a better way for providing information and news to the target audiences whatever the situation could be. Researchers have done lots of researches on the role of media.

Gunther and Moghan (2000) While discussing the role of media state “media functions as the connective tissue linking the government to its citizens can affect the nature of politics, the accountability of politicians to the public, and the quality of democracy”. This is very obvious that media’s main role is to link different societal groups together it could either be government, political parties, civic organizations etc. Similarly the pictorial representation is another important factor of the study which is the main aspect of journalism called photo journalism. According to Alho (2004) “Today, photographs are an extremely important part of journalism. Photographs are visual forms of knowledge, and knowledge is related to centers of social and political power. A picture connected to a written piece of news confirms that the matter has really occurred. It also confirms that this particular matter is important, since the photo has been published”. Further the author states in research that “photographs have the potential to create far greater impact than words”.

Present study explores the fact that how media is responsible in creating social realities out of no where, and how media creates a reality for general public. Because in today’s world media is successful in making realities after getting people to accept media realities as the social realities, therefore media reality becomes the social reality and then society respond in a way that media want to. This is related to the Luckman’s theory of Social construction of reality.

“Berger and Luckmann discussed the Social construction of reality with connection to everyday knowledge and that knowledge comes to established as reality. They further explained that reality is always be socially constructed, which has to transmit from one individual to another with a strong sense of reality of this world. People use different objects to communicate like language, signs and material objects to externalize their inner impressions about reality. This process is externalization and societies are produced as a result of collection of all these impressions from the members of community. And when society becomes an objective reality is called objectivation, when individual absorb the constructed reality in a process of internalization and then becomes a product of social interaction. Basically there are three basic moments in the process of reality construction; *Externalization, Objectivation, and Internalization*”.<sup>1</sup>

As discussed that there are two major variables of the study, Media Activism and Public Perception. Media activism has been further breakdown into media coverage and role of media. Basically the two important variables are under the umbrella of one variable called Media Activism.

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1. Social Construction of Reality and emancipation theory: A comparative Analysis

<http://www.freepublic.com/focus/f-news/1738894/posts>

retrieval data Sep 23, 09

#### 2.4.1. Media Activism:

According to Hackett and Carroll (2006), Media Activism is “organized ‘grassroots’ efforts directed to creating or influencing media practices and strategies, whether as a primary objective, or as a by-product of other campaigns (for example, efforts to change public opinion on environmental issues).

Media activism is all about the vigilance of media that how active media is in reporting timely issues, covering and presenting the whole picture of an event or of an issue of surrounding, national or international level.

According to Curran, et.all. (2003) , New Media Power and Global Activism says that “Adding to the theoretical challenge of generalizing about patterns of media power is the core question of just what we mean by media these days. With the fragmentation of mass media channels and audiences, and the proliferation of new digital communication formats, it is difficult to draw sharp boundaries around discrete media spheres. As various media become interactively connected, information flows more easily across technological, social, and geographical boundaries”. Further he states that, “When networks are not decisively controlled by particular organizational centers, they embody the Internet’s potential as a relatively open public sphere in which the ideas and plans of protest can be exchanged with relative ease, speed, and global scope –all without having to depend on mass media channels for information or (at least, to some extent) for recognition”.

In his chapter Bennet elaborate that it is difficult to make a long-term picture of news media but the gate keeping standards are now on continuous change to produce a material that is only due to the fact of having interactive content produced by

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audience. This could be one of the main reason that now there is more interactive patterns of communication between media and its audience.

Hackett and Carroll (2006) did research on media activism on two important aspects, one from the angle of Social Movement theory and then on Democratic Media Activism in Anglo-American liberal democracies. They interviewed 54 media activists from US, Canada and UK and explored that whether media activism points to blind spot and potential new directions for social movement theory. For interviews researchers focused were on what kind of sociological theories of social movements have to contribute to an understanding of DMA (Democratic Media Activism). Researchers argue that, "Media reform and activism can be politically conservative or reactionary, in the sense of reinforcing patterns of hierarchy and exclusion. Examples include campaigns by fundamentalist religious groups against gay-positive representations or policies". This article is typically based on the fact that media activism is democratic and progressive by sharing political, cultural, informational, economic and social resources. And therefore this kind of DMA is a driving force of media democratization in civil societies which consist of efforts to change media messages, practices, institutions and contexts in that way which could improve democratic values and equal participation in public discourse and societal-decision making. Concluding the results and while compiling discussions researchers concluded that "Yet media activism cannot be said to have simply carved a niche for itself within the ecology of contemporary movements. On the one hand, its strategic focus – on communication itself – and its action repertoire –culture jamming, media monitoring, internet activism and the like – are sufficiently novel to have transformed

the strategy of protest movements in general, rendering collective action more reflexive. a good deal of media activism presents not *just* a 'symbolic challenge' to elites but a challenge to the *system of symbolic production* – a critique of the political economy of mass communication and an effort to build democratic alternatives”.

#### **2.4.2. Media Coverage:**

Coverage as the name implies, something to cover and bring it in front to present for the audience or readers, whereas media coverage is all about giving importance to some issues and stories and highlight in any kind of media including print or electronic to make audience or readers aware of it. Sometimes media coverage is to uncover the truth, sometimes to highlight the important and neglected aspects of a story, sometimes to make public opinion favorable or against, sometimes to make perceptions, sometimes media cover because some forces like pressure groups including public or private sector to foreign influence, want them to cover.

Gamson (2001) observes that media coverage of collective action movements even varies considerably from issue to issue

Bero and Colleagues (2000) in their article *Coverage by the news media of the benefits and risks of medications* studied the patterns of coverage on media specifically on medications and its impact on society. They studied that news media are important source of information about new medical treatments but that coverage may be inaccurate and sometimes useful for public. The coverage analyzed by researchers in this article stated that some of the coverage given by media especially newspapers was overwhelmingly enthusiastic. Researchers took sample of 180 newspapers articles



through systematic random sampling out which 60 articles were on each drug on cholesterol lowering drug for the prevention of cardio vascular disease, alendronate, a bisphosphonate for the treatment and prevention of osteoporosis, and aspirin for the prevention of cardio vascular disease. Whereas they have examined 27 television reports that appeared between 1994 and 1998. Sample was taken from U.S news media, during analysis researchers found out that the coverage in news media about the medications may include incomplete information about the benefits, risks, and costs of the drugs as well as the financial ties between study groups or experts and pharmaceutical manufacturers.

Gunther (1992) in his article Biased Press or Biased Public: Attitudes towards media coverage of social groups, argues that mostly people gives credibility to media because of media coverage and quality of message given by media. Researcher in this article says that trust in media can be better understood by the audience response, proposing that distrust is more likely to be a situational response, stemming from involvement with issues and groups.

#### **2.4.3. Newspapers Role:**

Role of newspapers is determined with what coverage it is giving to people, it include entertainment, information, and education but with social responsibility. Sometimes role can be positive or negative, or it can be in favor or against an issue.

Wakefield, et.all. (2003) conducted a research on the ways through which youth affiliate themselves through the advertising and product placement in movies and television through which they become attracted towards smoking. According to

researchers, "Television and radio are the media to which most teenagers are exposed, but newspapers frequently set the agenda for what is reported later in the day on television, so that the synergy between print and electronic news is important, and newspapers serve as an accessible proxy for all news reporting". Researchers have used knowledge-gap hypothesis which shows that an increasing flow of information in to a society is more likely to benefit group of higher economic status than those of lower socio-economic status. They have also mentioned the role of cultivation analysis which media use to cultivate its messages in the minds of target audience. At the end of article researchers conclude some results, that: media shape and reflect social values, media provide information, media is a source of observational learning, and Exposure to media messages provides direct reinforcement.

According to Gerald & Stephen (1997), media's role as watch dog is the important of all, but with the erosion of public's faith in mass media has initiated the debate that still people think media role as watch dog or not?

With the press role of today's world the media's role of watch dog is really questionable because it not only requires keeping a check on information flow only but it also requires the responsibility of media coverage with proper ethics to be followed.

This study "Media and attitudes towards peace" is about the role of media in peace building and reconciliation process, by analyzing the influence of news media on the support among Israelis and Palestinians. Researcher actually studied the role of media through content analysis and by having public opinion; finally researcher found out

that the destructive effects of negative media coverage on the public support for peace are considerably stronger than the positive effects of supportive information.

Media's role is mainly important in not only providing information to general public but also in making or bridging up a gap between two different ends of an issue. What media is presenting is not important, but the angle with which it is covering and through which perspective it is performing its role is important.

#### **2.4.4. Public Perception:**

Public Perception is what people perceive about certain event, issue, organization, state, or anything in a ray of knowledge, information, cultural background or past experience they have.

Diana (1989) in *The influence of Perception of Media influence* discussed the role of perception in making public opinion and this is related to the perceptions of the others which help and influence public opinion formation. In this article the researcher has used third party effect and spiral of silence as theoretical framework and states that, "the third person effect hypothesis predicts that people exposed to a potentially persuasive communication will expect the message to have a greater effect on others than on themselves". Researcher has done survey analysis of the people of Stanford community of faculty, staff and students through random sampling, and they were asked to respond a question of divestment of Stanford's financial interest in South Africa.

Finally the results reveal that Perceptions of the opinions of others are likely to play an important role in influencing the public expression of opinions. The results of this

study also suggest that perceptions of change in opinion trends and the future outlook for one's viewpoint are especially important in determining the nature of public debate.

Vallon, Rose & Lepper (1985), studied the biasness of media coverage on two sides by taking and by taking and analyzing the equal sample of both pro-Israeli and pro-Arab partisans. In this study they have clearly stated that media is responsible in making out of certain perceptions that could be either in favor or against, and this is explored in this study by analyzing the video tapes of two different partisans.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Research Design:

Present study was conducted by using two methodologies; content analysis and survey from the people working as faculty in public sector universities to know the perceptions about the media coverage of judicial issue, there were two main variables; media activism and public perception.

Media activism was determined through *content analysis* of national newspapers to explore the dimensions and nature of the media coverage and newspapers role. *Content analysis* of the newspapers had been done to examine the fact that how much coverage was given to judicial crisis by newspapers during, pre and post long march. For this reason a coding sheet was developed including placement of news item, slant, pictorial representation, font sizes, and actual measurement of news items related to judicial crisis. Four national newspapers, including two Urdu and two English dailies, were selected on the basis of the largest circulation in Pakistan and they were: Dawn, The News, Daily Jang and Daily Express. Content analysis was based on the analysis of space given to the issue, slanting of the news or point of view included in content analysis of the newspapers which explained the positive, negative and of neutral type of news coverage, analysis is also on the basis of source, placement of the news.

Placement included the actual placement of the news item and also the space given to the news story, pictorial support was another dimension of the content analysis.

In short the methodology of research i.e. content analysis and survey analysis included following major aspects.

### **3.2. Population:**

- For content analysis of the newspapers, four newspapers on the basis of largest circulation were selected, *Dawn, The News, Daily Jang and Daily Express*. These include two English and two Urdu dailies. Whereas the figures for the circulation of these newspapers were taken from the related websites of newspapers.
- Population for survey included the Social Sciences faculty of the universities based in Capital (Islamabad), *International Islamic University, Quaid-e-Azam, National University of Science and Technology, National University of Modern Languages*. The Reason for selecting these Universities as sample, because they are all Federal chartered and federal based Public Sector Universities. Where as taken social sciences faculty as sample for survey analysis, because they have better understanding of media and media related issues.

### **3.3. Technique for Content Analysis:**

Media prominence of the issue has been assigned to the actual news coverage of the judicial issue in four different newspapers, this was actually the content analysis which

has been categorized in different dimensions to analyze that what place newspapers have given to the issue.

This variable had several significant dimensions which included placement, point of view, font, headlines, deck, kicker, slug, jump story, and folio line. Some of the dimensions had further categories or sub-dimensions like placement which was categorized as placement of news item, pictorial support, space given to the news story, and column size. Similarly, a dimension "slant" normally called point of view was divided in to two sub-categories like source and news agency. Source and news agency affect the level of slant in the form of favored, against and neutral. Source was further divided in to different categories on coding sheet for the news stories related to judiciary and they were like, reporters, news agencies, city news, news desk, and correspondent etc.

- Placement
  - i. Placement of news item
  - ii. Pictorial Support
  - iii. Space given to the news story
  - iv. Columns Size
- Point of view (Slant)
  - i. Source
  - ii. News Agency / Wire Agency
- Font ,Headline, Deck, Kicker, Slug, Jump Story, Folio Line, Reverse

Therefore according to the above mentioned coding technique, the news stories were analyzed.

Where as, a survey was conducted for evaluating perception of people about role of media during long march, and the survey was conducted from the Social Sciences faculty working in four selected universities of Islamabad: *International Islamic university, Quaid-e-Azam University, National University of Science and Technology, National university of Modern Languages* to explore the public perception towards media coverage.

#### **3.4. Sample:**

Sample for content analysis and survey analysis are as follows.

##### **Sample for Content Analysis:**

Newspapers have been analyzed from March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2009 to March 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009. It makes the analysis of total 21 days. Another focal point of the study is to cater the coverage of the newspapers specifically for Long March for the reason of content analysis, which had been started out on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009, according to the schedule it had to reach Islamabad on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009. This was the time when different political parties, lawyers and general public joined hands together to restore the judiciary. As a result of it, Government announced the restoration on March 17<sup>th</sup>, 2009, whereas March 21<sup>st</sup>, 2009 was the date for actual reinstate. Therefore according to the schedule of Long March which was supposed to hold on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009; the newspapers were taken for the dates catering coverage of during, pre and post long march. As the actual date was March 16<sup>th</sup>, therefore newspapers coverage have been analyzed ten days pre long march and ten days post long march.



- This was the peak time when Government took a decision to restore the judiciary as results of joined efforts of lawyers, media and public. Also it included the period of during the long march, pre and post long march.

#### **Survey Analysis:**

Sample was selected using non probability sampling method and the observed method was stratified convenient sampling, because four universities have made the four strata and the sample was extracted from the population by having the convenient sampling technique and every 2<sup>nd</sup> number of the population was selected to participate in the survey.

- 50 % sample was taken from each stratum on the basis of *convenient sampling* and this had been extracted from four federal universities on the basis of four strata.
- Actual number of the faculty working at four different universities were taken form the related websites of the universities.
- There were two *clusters, Male and Female*, on the basis of which data was analyzed. For this study total questionnaires were received as follows form the social sciences faculty of four public sector universities.
- International Islamic University: Total Social Sciences faculty – 44, actual questionnaires received were 22 which makes exactly 50 %.
- Allama Iqbal Open University: Total Social Sciences faculty – 64, actual questionnaires received were 32 which makes 50% of the respective university.

- National University of Modern Languages: Total Social Sciences faculty – 36, actual questionnaires received were 18 and this is of 50 % of the faculty members.
- Quaid-e-Azam University: Total Social Sciences faculty – 60, but the response rate was less from QAU and the questionnaires received were 21 instead of 30 which make only 31% of the sample from QAU, and this is due to the reason that most of the faculty at QAU were on summer break for 2009.

### **3.5. Instrument/Questionnaire:**

- For content analysis of newspapers, a coding sheet was developed to explore the fact that how much importance has been given to the news related to Judiciary restoration. The content analysis was based on two important variables *Media Activism*, because role of media and coverage given by newspapers have been analyzed under the umbrella of media activism. And the content that has been analyzed was based on the period of long march only; media activism has been further deconstructed in to media coverage and newspaper role.
- Questionnaire was comprised of closed ended questions to know the *Public Perception*, which is an important variable of study and it was further breakdown for data analysis. A pilot study was conducted with a sample of 20 faculty members of different universities, and with minor changes in the instrument a final questionnaire was developed by having 22 questions in all

along with demographic information just to know that to which level people tend to read newspapers. First five questions were based on the fact to know that for many days people read newspapers, which section they read preferably in newspapers, how much time they spend, which newspaper they read and which source of news they prefer most.

Next six questions are all related to that which news story they prefer to read and where the respondents like to read the newspapers, i.e. either at home, library or office.

Then total 22 questions were asked to respondents typically based on *Public Perception* including demographics, rest of 11 questions have been divided in to three main categories of time frame, these are *Prior to Long march, Long March, After / Post Long March*. 11 questions which were asked were than further distributed in the upper mentioned three divisions on the basis of further break down of main variable of *Public Perception* in to four sub-variables: *Public Perception on Media Coverage / Issue Salience, Public Perception on News Paper slant, Educational role of Press on Judiciary Restoration, and Media role as Savior*.

### **3.6. Data Analysis:**

Total 93 questionnaires were received from four universities, the data was then fed in to SPSS format and different test were used to analyze the data, firstly frequencies were find out and then results were tabulated from Chi-Square and through Co-relation.

### **3.7. Variables:**

Important variables of the study are Media Activism and Public Perception. These two important variables were further broken down into different variables, which are given below.

#### **3.7.1. Media Activism**

- *Media Coverage*
- *Newspaper Role*

Media coverage was determined through the quantum of news content and Issue Prominence in different National Dailies.

Whereas Newspapers Role was determined through Slant of the news items related to judicial issue.

#### **3.7.2. Public Perception**

- *Public Perception on Media Coverage / Issue Salience*
- *Public Perception on Newspapers Slant*
- Educational role of Newspapers
- Media role as a Savior

Furthermore, all above mentioned variables were divided into three time frames, which are as follows;

- *Prior to Long March*
- *During Long March*
- *Post Long March*

### **3.8. Operational Definition of key variables:**

Following can be defined as follows.

- ***Media Activism***

Media Activism is the main variables of the study and this is dependent variable, this is all about the coverage of newspapers. In this study media activism was found out through the coverage given by newspapers and the focus of the coverage on long march. This important variable was measured in the study by conducting the content analysis of four selected newspapers in the basis of the fact that how much coverage was given and to what extent newspapers gave importance to the issue. This was measured through the first two hypotheses of the research.

#### ***3.8.1. Media Coverage***

Media coverage is the sub-variable of media activism and this was measured through the content analysis that how much space was given in each newspaper for the issue and to what extent newspapers vigilantly reported the issue.

#### ***3.8.2. Newspaper Role***

Newspaper role is one of the important sub-variables of the issue and it was determined through content analysis by exploring the newspaper slant that how much positive, negative or neutral role was played by the newspapers during, pre and post long march.

#### ***3.8.3. Constructive Coverage***

Constructive coverage is another important dimension of the study, which explains the coverage of judicial issue in favor of judiciary restoration. It was determined through

the survey analysis that whether people think that newspapers covered the issue in a positive way which was beneficial to mobilize people in favor of judiciary.

### ***3.8.3. Public Perception***

Perception is determined through interpretation of data and it depends on receiving and collecting information. Whereas public perception is that how public perceive certain issues on the basis of information that is already present. Public Perception is the dependent variable and the important variable of the study; this was measured through third and fourth hypotheses of the study, and through the survey analysis. This variable was further broke down in to *Public Perception of Issue Salince* (importance of media coverage), *Public Perception on Newspaper Slant*, *Educational role of Newspaper*, and *Media role as Savior*.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS & DATA ANALYSIS

A survey was conducted to evaluate the public's perception about coverage given by newspapers in three phases, i.e; pre-long march, during long march, and post long march. Main variable of the survey included Public Perception; this variable was further broken down in to *Public Perception of Issue Salience* (importance of media coverage); *Public Perception on Newspaper Slant*, *Educational role of Newspaper*, and *Media role as Savior*. The questionnaire was developed which included questions related to all these variables mentioned above, and after getting responses from respondents of four selected Universities; results were tabulated using SPSS.

Reliability of the instrument was determined through statistics involved in SPSS, Case processing summary shows that there were total 93 respondents and there were total 11 questions and they were all related to public perception, it did not include the demographics and reading habits of the respondents. Reliability statistics showed that Cronbach's alpha is 0.704, as the minimum value of reliability is 0.7, therefore the instrument on the basis of which data was collected and results were tabulated falls within the criteria of reliability.

Frequencies were determined for each and every question to know the extent that how much respondents were in favor or against of the statements, there were total 25 questions including demographics in questionnaire. Total respondents from four

selected capital based federal government universities were 93. And they were from Social Sciences faculty. The descriptive statistical table is given below.

Table 4.1:  
Mean, Mode, Median, Standard deviations, Variance and Range

	Variable	N	Mean	Median	Mode	St. Dev	Variance	Range
1	Position	93	3.77	4.00	4	0.534	0.285	3
2	University	93	2.39	2.00	2	1.074	1.153	3
3	Age	93	1.77	1.00	1	1.023	1.046	4
4	Gender	93	1.60	2.00	2	0.492	0.242	1
5	Frequent Reading	93	2.02	1.00	1	1.391	1.934	4
6	Time Spent	93	1.43	1.00	1	1.184	1.1402	5
7	Section	93	1.43	1.00	1	0.728	0.530	3
8	Newspaper Reading	93	1.95	2.00	1	0.925	0.856	3
9	News Source	93	1.73	1.00	1	0.991	0.981	3
10	Political News	93	0.66	1.00	0	1.016	1.032	4
11	Economic News	93	-1.3	0.00	0	1.055	1.114	4
12	Education News	93	0.70	1.00	1	1.071	1.147	4
13	Np at Office	93	0.55	1.00	2	1.449	2.098	4
14	Np at home	93	0.67	1.00	1	1.097	1.203	4
15	Np at library	93	-7.2	-1.00	0	1.126	1.269	4
16	Pictorial Representation	93	1.13	1.00	1	0.755	0.570	4
17	Constructive Coverage	93	0.91	1.00	1	0.761	0.579	4
18	News support to Govt.	93	0.51	1.00	1	0.985	0.970	4
19	Better reporting to LM	93	0.96	1.00	1	0.871	0.759	3
20	Epic image	93	0.87	1.00	1	0.863	0.744	4
21	N.P credit for restoration	93	0.63	1.00	1	1.030	1.061	4
22	Opinion about your N.P for reporting	93	0.97	1.00	1	0.800	0.640	3
23	Neutral reporting	93	-0.8	0.00	-1a	1.045	1.092	4
24	Public awareness by N.P	93	1.05	1.00	1	0.852	0.725	3
25	N.P role in mobilizing people	93	0.91	1.00	1	1.070	1.145	4
26	Informed people L.M	93	0.89	1.00	1	0.914	0.836	3



Whereas the frequencies and the percentages of each and every respondent were determined for the questions developed as tool.

Respondents participated in survey had different levels of working ranged from professor to lecturer, out of 100% total 1.1 % was related to Professors participated in the survey, 2.2 % were at the position of Associate Professor, whereas 15.1 % were Assistant Professor and finally 81.7 % were lecturers.

The frequency of the respondents from each university was tabulated according to SPSS criteria and there were total 23.7 % respondents participated from International Islamic University, 35.5 % from Allama Iqbal Open University, 19.4 % from National University of Modern Languages, whereas 21.5 % were respondents were from Quadi-i-Azam University and this is according to the criteria of selecting sample size from four universities on the basis of having 50 % sample of each stratum and that purely depend on the number of faculty members have in the faculty of Social Sciences for each university.

Respondents participated in survey were from different age groups, 55.9 % were from the age group of 25-30, 19.4 % were from the age group of 31-35, 17.2 % were from 36-40, 6.5% were from the age group of 41-45, and only 1.1 % respondents were from the age group of 51 & above. This shows the number of young faculty working in different universities but they are all lecturers.

Gender is one of the important variable of the study on the basis of which responses can be compared between females and males, as the sample size was not selected on the basis of gender but to know that how much number was participated in survey

percentage was determined and out of 93 respondents, 39.8 % were males and 60.2 % were females, this shows that greater proportion was from female population.

Newspaper reading is one of the important factor which is essential to know the public perception and then to compare with coverage given by newspapers. Therefore a question was being asked to know the reading habits of respondents and according to the results total 53.8 % people read newspapers daily, 20.4 % people read newspapers twice a week, 6.5 % people read newspapers read newspapers thrice a week, while 8.6 % people read newspapers four times a week, whereas 10.8 % people read newspapers on weekends only. Total time spent in reading newspapers were categorized, and mostly respondents i.e, 41.9 % or 39 respondents usually spent 10-15 min in reading newspapers, whereas 33.3 % or 31 respondents read newspapers for 16-20 minutes, 17.2 % or 16 respondents spent 21-30 minutes for reading newspapers, only 2.2 or 2 respondents marked the option of spending time having 40-46 minutes, whereas 3.2 % or 3 respondents spent more than an hour for reading newspapers.

Question pertaining to which section of the newspapers respondents usually read, the results were tabulated and finally it was explored that 67.7 % respondents usually read news content, 24.7 % respondents read editorials, and 4.3 % respondents showed interest in reading letters to editors.

Survey explored different newspapers read by respondents because they were given with multiple options. It was determined that 40.9 % respondents reading Daily Dawn, 28.0 % respondents read The News, 26.9 % respondents read Daily Jang, whereas only 4.3 % or just 4 respondents read Daily Express.

According to the survey, respondents marked different options for news sources which they prefer most to rely on, and it illustrated that 52.7 % respondents prioritize television as news source, while 34.4 % respondents marked newspapers as source, while only 12.9 % respondents rely on internet as news source. In a question, total five options were asked and respondents only marked three sources, those five included television, radio, internet, newspapers, or one option of any other.

Reading political news is one of the main elements which showed interest respondents in political arena or current affairs. According to the statistics, 6.5 % respondents read political news very often in the newspapers of their choice, 3.2 respondents did not read political news in news papers where as 35.5 % respondents read political news to some extent. 31.2 % respondents greatly read the political news, and finally there were 23.7 % respondents read political news very greatly in news papers of their choice.

Respondents were also asked that how much they read economics news in newspaper, 22.6 % said that they read often, 10.8 % do not read economics news, 43.0 % said that they read political news to some extent in newspapers, 16.1 % respondents said that they read economics news greatly, whereas only 7.5 % respondents said that they read economics news in newspapers very greatly.

According to the data collected at the end of survey, 8.6 % respondents said that they read educational news very often, 4.3 % said that they do not read any kind of economics news, 24.7 % respondents said that they read educational news very greatly.

In a question regarding the reading habits in their offices, this was a negative statement and 25.8 % respondents said that they read newspapers in offices, 7.5 %

respondents read very greatly newspapers in offices, 14.0 % respondents marked the option that they read newspapers at their offices to some extent, whereas 43.0 % respondents said that they do not read newspapers in their offices which proves the negative statement that mostly respondents prefer to read newspapers at other places instead at office.

Whereas 18.3 % respondents said that very often they read newspapers at home, 2.2 % said that they do not newspapers at home, whereas 14.0 % said that to some extent they prefer to read newspapers at home, and 41.9 % respondents greatly prefer read newspapers at home, and 23.7 % respondents said that they very greatly they read newspapers at home.

Overall, if we just add the responses of greatly and very greatly then it shows that 55.9 % respondents used to read newspapers at home.

A question was asked to know that how much sample read newspapers at library, according to the statistics 17.2 % respondents said that they often read newspapers in library, while 34.4 % respondents said that do not read newspapers in library, 38.7 % said to some extent that they usually read newspapers in library. 5.4 % respondents greatly read newspapers in library, whereas only 4.3 % respondents marked the option of very greatly read newspapers in library.

Placement of pictorial representation related to judiciary restoration also determines the importance of issue. Pictorial representation is one of the main attribute which highlight the importance of any issue or of news. A question pertaining to pictorial representation was asked and the importance of issue in newspapers, respondents were provided with five options of likert scale to answer the question. Only 1.1 %

respondents were disagree from the statement, similarly 1.1 % respondents strongly disagree from the statement, 12.9 % respondents were neutral while filling the questionnaire, 53.8 % respondents were agree to the statement and 31.2 % respondents said that they strongly agree. Collectively if the responses of strongly agree and agree would be combined then the cumulative number is 85 % responses are in the favor of statement.

Coverage is the important variable of this study; therefore to know the perception of sample respondents were asked to mark options ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. According to the results 3.2 % respondents were disagree form the statement, 1.1 were strongly disagree, 17.2 % were neutral, a big proportion of 60.2 % respondents were agree with the statement while 18.3 % respondents were strongly disagree. The 4.3 % is the cumulative percentage of respondents, who are not in the favor of statement, whereas 78 % respondents are in favor of the statement that coverage of newspapers was constructive towards the judiciary restoration.

A question was asked to know that whether news treatment was in support to government during the issue of judiciary or not, in fact this was a negative statement and mostly respondents gave the same answer which was according to the desired criteria of present research. 17.2 % respondents agreed, only 1.1 respondents said that they strongly agree with the coverage in support to government during judicial crisis, whereas 26.9 % respondents stayed neutral. 39.8 % said that they were disagreed and 15.1 % respondents were strongly disagreed with the statement. In total 55.9 % respondents were against the statement which proved that mostly respondents believed that coverage was not supportive to government.

The statistics showed that percentage of the question being asked about that whether newspaper reported and highlighted the issue better during long march. Statistics showed that 8.6 % were disagreeing, there was none of the respondents who actually strongly disagreed with the statement, whereas 14.0 % stayed neutral, 50.5 % agreed and 26.9 % strongly agreed. Overall 77.4 % respondents were in favor that newspapers highlight and reported the issue in a much better way during long march.

Giving epic image in the newspapers is in fact giving the heroic position to specific figure, so a question was being asked about the epic image of judiciary as presented by newspapers and according to the results tabulated 5.4 % respondents were disagreed with the statement, only 1.1% were strongly disagreed, 21.5 % stayed neutral, 49.5 % respondents agreed while 22.6 % respondents said that they strongly agreed with the statement. Therefore statistics showed that total 72.1 % respondents were in favor of the statement that newspapers gave the epic image of judiciary.

Results showed the data of question being asked regarding the credit given to newspapers for restoration of judiciary, 6.5 % respondents were not in the favor of statement, only 4.3 % strongly disagreed, 32.3 % stayed neutral, 35.5 % agreed and 21.5 % respondents strongly agreed with the statement that much of the credit goes to newspapers for restoration of judiciary. Therefore overall 57.0 % respondents believed that judiciary restoration was because of newspapers coverage.

A question was asked directly related to public opinion about the newspapers usually and frequently read by respondents, statistics show that 3.2 % disagreed, 23.7 % stayed neutral, 46.2 % agreed and finally 26.9% strongly agreed and they believed that newspapers are responsible in molding public opinion successfully towards

judiciary restoration. Overall, 73.1 % were in favor of the statement and they believed that newspapers coverage was actually responsible in molding public opinion towards restoration which shows the importance of newspapers coverage and its impact in molding public opinion.

A question was asked that whether newspapers reported the issue as being neutral or not. 30.1 % respondents disagreed, 7.5 % respondents strongly disagreed, and 30.1 % stayed neutral, whereas by adding the responses of agree and strongly agree, the cumulated answer was 31.3 %. It shows very interesting relationship between the responses in favor and against, there is very little difference between the two; 37.6 % respondents are in favor of the statement that newspapers reported the issue of judiciary as being neutral; on the other hand 31.3 % respondents were against of the statement.

As newspapers are the important agents of change in the society and they can change the public opinion and they can inform people of every strata by providing the latest information at the doorstep of its readers. A question was included in the instrument above the role of newspapers as source of information in making public aware about the issue of judiciary restoration at the time of long march. After tabulating the results of responses on the role of newspapers that newspapers were actually responsible in making public aware about the issue or not. Only 7.5 % respondents showed disagreement with the statement, 10.8 % stayed neutral, and collectively 81.7 % respondents said that newspapers coverage was responsible in making public aware about the issue. This shows a high number of respondents were in favor of the statement.

A question was asked about whether newspapers were actually involved in mobilizing people in favor of long march. 10.8 % respondents were against the statement, 3.2 % strongly disagreed, 9.7 % stayed neutral, 44.1 % agreed and 32.3 % strongly agreed. Therefore the overall response in favor of the statement by adding the scale of agree and strongly agree is 76.4 %.

Finally a question was asked regarding that at the time of long march people were more informed or not, in against 9.7 % respondents marked the option of disagree, 18.3 % stayed neutral, 45.2 % agreed with the statement whereas 26.9 % respondents said that they strongly agree with this that people were more informed at the time of Long March.

After compiling the data, it was calculated that results and the percentage of responses support the study.

#### **4.1. Hypothesis Testing:**

To test all five hypotheses different tests and statistics have been used, but these statistics were used for hypothesis 3 and 4 because these two are typically related to public perception and depend on the data collected from sample. Contrary, hypothesis 1 was tested after tabulating the data in excel sheet and it is purely depended on the content analysis of newspapers, hypothesis 2 was analyzed through the content analysis again and the same was examined through the survey method by having single indicator. Similarly the hypothesis 4 was done through in depth analysis of newspapers slant for each and every news item, whereas hypothesis 5 was tested on the basis of gender participation and their perception of the issue.



There total variables on the basis of which all five hypotheses have been tested, and these are; Analysis of Media Coverage; Public Perception; Media Role; Gender influences.

#### **4.1.1. Hypothesis 1:**

***Newspapers gave much more coverage to judicial crisis during long march than other phases of the crisis.***

To prove this hypothesis that newspapers gave much more coverage to judicial crisis during long march than any other phases of the crisis, newspapers of 22 days were taken. They were then divided in three main phases according to the coverage and importance given to the issue of judicial crisis focusing long march as the unit of analysis.

The final date for long march was March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009, and the period during which newspapers gave coverage during long march comprised of the eight days including the day of long march which makes roughly six days prior long march and six days post long march. Content analysis have been done for all 22 issues of selected newspapers and the focal point was that how newspapers have given space and to what extent they have given priority while covering the issue.

All data was entered in to excel sheet on the basis of coding that has been done before. Firstly the sum of figure for the space given for each and every news item was determined through the statistics used in excel, it is shown in the following table.

4.2. Table: Space given to the news items and pictures in each newspaper

News Paper	Space given to the news Items related to Judiciary Restoration	Space Given
1 The News	835.024 cm <sup>2</sup> (1 %)	289.589 cm <sup>2</sup> (5%)
2 Dawn	3348.01 cm <sup>2</sup> (3%)	2058.45 cm <sup>2</sup> (37 %)
3 Daily Express	17824.9 cm <sup>2</sup> (15%)	2135.68 cm <sup>2</sup> (38 %)
4 Daily Jang	93032 cm <sup>2</sup> (81%)	1134.94 cm <sup>2</sup> (20 %)

The overall space given to news items related to judicial crisis was 835.024 cm<sup>2</sup>, whereas the space given to the issue by Dawn was 3348.01 cm<sup>2</sup>, similarly the sum of the overall space given to the news stories in Daily Express was 17824.9 cm<sup>2</sup>, and finally the space given to the news items in Daily Jang was 93032 cm<sup>2</sup>. The sum of all figures was 115040 cm<sup>2</sup>.

This table clearly shows that all selected four newspapers gave much more space to the news items related to judicial crisis and the proof is in the form of sum total of all the values. It was observed that these newspapers gave much more coverage to judiciary issue as compared to any other news item. On the basis of content analysis overall space was analyzed and calculated and it was found out that Jang has given much more space to the news items related to judicial crisis, which helped people in making their perception in favor of judiciary restoration and this is because of that Urdu readership is much more as compared to English readership in Pakistan. The data clearly indicates that Urdu newspapers gave much more coverage as compared English newspapers. Similarly most of the news items were on the upper right half which also tells the importance of issue given by different newspapers.

For further explanation the pictures given in each and every issue were analyzed and measured which clearly showed the relationship of pictures to the news item related to judicial crisis and determine the importance that how much space was given to the issue. Therefore pictorial representations are also very important to determine the importance of any issue, to prove this hypothesis, data was entered in excel sheet and analyzed through the statistics applied in excel.

Each and every picture was recorded and measured in cm<sup>2</sup>, it also included the position of the pictures, i.e. where they are actually published because according to the standards the whole page of the newspapers have been divided in to four parts and they were URH (Upper Right Half), ULH (Upper Left Half), LRH (Lower right half), LLH (Lower Left Half).

According to the tabulated data the actual space given to the newspapers were determined, therefore the total space given to the pictures related to judiciary restoration in selected four newspapers was 8226.659 cm<sup>2</sup> between the issues from March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2009 to March 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009. It clearly shows that pictures always enhance the importance of any issue because it not tell the reader about the importance but also present the image which helps reader to make perception accordingly. Whereas The News has given 5 %, Dawn 37 %, Express 38 %, and Jang has given 20 % of space to pictures that are related to the stories of judiciary. This is very interesting relationships found out that Urdu newspapers have given greater space to news items whereas English newspapers have given greater space to pictures. According to analysis, most of the pictures are in upper left and right halves which also determine the importance of the issue.

Hence the hypothesis has been proved that newspapers gave much more coverage to the issue in the form of space, and this coverage was on peak when there was a call for long march. Newspapers clearly gave much more space to the issue during the period of long march.

This hypothesis has also been tested through statistical analysis on the basis of data collected from sample, by having three periods including pre long march, during long march and post long march. Pearson's Correlation was used to determine the relationship of all three periods that what people perceived and think about the coverage given by newspapers during the crisis.

Firstly the two indicators of pre long march i.e. "newspapers were actually responsible in making the public aware about the issue" and "newspapers had role in mobilizing people in favor of long march" have been correlated with two indicators of the period of during long march i.e. "news treatment was in support to Government during the issue of judiciary" and "newspapers reported and highlighted the issue in a much better way during the period of long march". Statistical analysis is shown in the following table

Table 4.3: Correlation matrix of newspapers role between pre long march and during long march.

	Public awareness by N.P	N.P role in mobilizing people
N.P role in mobilizing people	.697(**)	
News support to Govt.		-.247(*)

*N=93, \*p>0.001, \*\*p>0.005*

Above table shows that there is highly significant relationship between newspapers role in mobilizing people and public awareness by newspapers, that clearly indicates that newspapers had very crucial role in giving awareness to public first then mobilizing them in favor of long march. According to above statistics there is an inverse relationship between newspapers role in mobilizing people and news support to government, which means that if newspapers had role in mobilizing people than they did not support government at all.

Using Pearson's Correlation, results were analyzed between the indicators of coverage during long march and post long march. According to the following table two indicators of during long march; i.e. "news treatment was in support to Government during the issue of judiciary" and "newspapers reported and highlighted the issue in a much better way during the period of long march"; have been correlated with two indicators of post long march; i.e. "Much of the credit goes to newspapers for restoration of

judiciary” and “Newspapers gave the epic image of judiciary”. As shown in the following table

Table 4.4: Correlation Matrix between during long march and post long march

	Epic Image	Newspaper credit for restoration
Newspaper credit for restoration	.216(*)	
Better reporting to LM	.282(**)	.285(**)

*N=93, \*p>0.001, \*\*p>0.005*

Above table shows that there is a significant relationship between epic image given by newspapers to judiciary and newspapers credit for restoration, whereas highly significant relationship is present between epic image and newspaper’s better reporting to long march, similarly same interesting relationship is between better reporting to long march and newspapers credit for restoration.

Therefore the above results show that when the coverage during the period of long march had been correlated with pre and post long march, it was revealed that hypothesis has been approved because there is lot more coverage during the period of long march and it did not support the government point of view and gave the heroic and epic image of judiciary during long march as compared to other phases.

#### 4.1.2. Hypothesis 2:

***Newspapers slant favored the restoration of judiciary.***

Coding sheet of newspapers clearly shows that mostly the slant of newspapers was in favor of judiciary restoration, because they covered the issue at it's most and had given the stories which actually supported the restoration. Particularly during the period of long march was clearly seen that newspapers slant favored the restoration of judiciary, and mostly they gave that dimension of news item which highlighted the issue in a much positive way to support the issue.

Data was collected from all four newspapers and it was determined that much of the news items showed positive slant as compared to negative and neutral. Analysis on the basis of content appeared in newspapers showed that mostly newspapers favored judiciary restoration or they strongly highlighted the news items related to judiciary.

Contrary when this hypothesis was tested on the basis of data calculated with a single indicator i.e. "newspaper reported the issue of restoration of judiciary as being neutral".

Chi-square has been used and it was *Chi-square for neutral reporting* (28.882,  $N=93$ ,  $df=4$ ), Whereas the expected number of responses for the statements was 18.6. It clearly indicates that this hypothesis has been approved because the value of chi-square for both of the indictors is higher than the expected value of responses and it clearly shows that the chi-square value i.e. (28.882) with  $df=4$  at the significance level of 0.05 is 9.488 which disproves the null hypothesis.

### 4.1.3. Hypothesis 3:

*People considered newspapers role as positive during long march on judicial crisis.*

To prove or disprove this hypothesis, people considered newspapers role as positive during long march on judicial crisis, Chi-Square was used for the analysis. To test this hypothesis following statistics were used. There were total three indicators to test this hypothesis and the collective chi-square table is as follows for all three indicators.

Table 4.5: Chi-square table of indicators

Indicators	Expected N	X <sup>2</sup>	Df
Better reporting during L.M	23.3	38.914	3
Epic Image	18.6	67.376	4
Informed people at L.M	23.3	25.667	3

Statistics shows that number of responses for the statement that newspapers reported and highlighted the issue in a much better way during the period of long march, were 23.3 % for the question, 8 respondents were disagreed and the difference between expected response and disagree is -15.3. Numbers of responses for neutral were 13 and the difference between expected and neutral responses was -10.3. Difference between responses of the option “agree” and expected responses was 23.8. Whereas the difference between expected number of responses and observed value of strongly agree was 1.8.



*Chi-Square*(38.914,  $N=93$ ,  $df = 3$ ) Results showed the value of Chi-square is 38.914, whereas the degree of freedom is 3, which means that most of the responses are in the form of three big clusters. 47 respondents said that they were agreed with the statement that newspapers highlighted and reported the issue in a much better way, the expected value for the statement is 23.3, whereas chi-square is 38.914 which strongly approved the hypothesis i.e; people considered newspapers role as positive during long march on judicial crisis.

Statistics shows the results of responses for the statement that newspapers gave epic image of judiciary; the observed response was 1 whereas the expected responses were 18.6, the difference between observed and expected responses were -17.6. Observed responses for disagree were 5, expected responses were 18.6 whereas the difference between observed and expected responses were -13.6. 20 responses according to the table stayed neutral and the difference between expected and observed responses is only 1.4. Statistics showed that 46 were observed responses for the option agree but the difference between observed responses and expected responses were 27.4. Similarly 21 were observed responses for the option strongly agree and the only difference for this option between observed and expected responses were 2.4. Chi-Square (67.37,  $N=93$ ,  $df=4$ ) the expected value as mentioned above is 18.6 which is less required value for the indicator, which also approves the hypothesis that newspapers gave epic image of judiciary during long march.

For the indicator i.e. newspapers had role in mobilizing people in favor of long march, the observed responses for strongly disagree are 3, whereas expected responses were 18.6 while the difference between them is -15.6. Similarly the observed score for

disagree are 10 and the expected score was 18.6 but the difference between the two is -8.6. The observed responses for neutral are 9 and the difference between the expected and observed responses were -9.6. Similar is the case with observed agree responses are 41 and the residual is 22.4, responses for strongly agree were 30 and the residual between observed and expected value was 11.4. Whereas *Chi-Square*(55.978 ,  $N=93$ ,  $df = 4$ ) the expected value was 18.6 and the chi-square is 55.978 which does not approve the statement as the chi-square was less than the actual responses got from the data. Hence it strongly approved the hypothesis.

#### 4.1.4. Hypothesis 4:

*Public Perception was greatly influenced by the prominence given by the newspapers in favor of restoration.*

To test this hypothesis Chi-Square was used to compile the results for the questions pertaining statement particularly for public perception. Chi-Square was applied for each and every indicator related to this specific hypothesis.

Table 4.6: Chi-Square table of indicators

Indicators	Expected N	X <sup>2</sup>	Df
pictorial representation	18.6	94.473	4
Constructive Coverage	18.6	105.441	4
N.P credit for restoration	18.6	38.237	4
Opinion about your N.P for reporting	23.3	34.613	3

Table shows the observed and expected responses of respondents for the indicator i.e. placement of pictorial representation related to judiciary restoration also determined the importance of issue, according to which the observed value for the response of strongly disagree was only 1, whereas the expected number of response was 18.6 and the difference between observed and expected number of responses were -17.6. Again the observed number for the response of disagree was 1, and the difference between observed and expected values were -17.6 which is the same as observed in the case of strongly disagree. Observed number for neutral responses was only 12, and the difference was -6.6. Similarly observed numbers of responses for agree was 50 which is the greater number in any kind of response, but the difference was 31.4. Difference between observed and expected values was 10.4 but the observed values were 29. *Chi Square* (94.473,  $N=93$ ,  $df=4$ ), the expected value was -17.6 shows the significance of hypothesis.

The observed numbers for responses for strongly disagree for statement i.e. coverage of newspapers was constructive towards judiciary restoration, was only 1 whereas the expected number for the response was 18.6 and the difference between expected and observed numbers of responses were -17.6. For disagree the number of observed responses was only 3, and the difference between expected and observed numbers were -15.6. Similarly, 16 was the observed number for neutral and the difference between them is -2.6. Observed number for the response agree was 56 and the residual was 37.6, whereas the number of responses for strongly agree was 17 and the difference between them is -1.6. *Chi-Square* (105.44,  $N=93$ ,  $df=4$ ), whereas the

expected value was 18.6 and this is strongly in the favor of the indicator which further determines the approval for the hypothesis.

Similarly for the indicator i.e. In your opinion, newspapers you read, reported the issue of judiciary restoration as the important issue in the history of Pakistan, the observed responses for disagree was 3, for the expected value was 23.3 and the difference between the two was -20.3. Similarly 22 was the observed number for neutral and the difference between them was -1.3, whereas 43 was the observed responses for agree and the residual between the expected and observed value was 19.8, and 25 was the observed number for strongly agree and the difference between them is 1.8. The overall responses for agree and strongly agree were 68, who are in the favor of statement. Whereas the Chi-Square ( $34.613, N=93, df=3$ ) which is more than the expected value and it further supports the hypothesis. Statistics strongly approves the hypothesis that public perception was greatly influenced by the prominence given by the newspapers in favor of restoration. Obviously the above mentioned question was related to the newspapers and its function in molding the public opinion towards restoration, therefore prominence is the main thing that emphasized the importance of the issue and if newspapers are giving much of their space to the issue in order to place it according to the importance then it has been proved from the above statistics that placement of an issue is determined with the placement and space given by the newspapers to an issue. For another indicator that newspapers were actually responsible in making the public aware about issue, the Chi-Square ( $44.591, N=93, df=$ ) and the observed disagreed responses were 7, this has been subtracted from the expected values of 23.3 thus the difference between them is -16.3. 10 are the observed

neutral responses and the residual is -13.3. Similarly agreed responses were 47 and the residual is 23.8. Whereas the actual observed responses for strongly agree were 29 and the difference between expected value and the observed value is 5.8. As chi square is greater than the expected value of 23.3, hence the statement is highly significant.

To prove or disprove hypothesis a statement pertaining that at the time of long march people were more informed, it was tested on the basis of chi-square and found out that Chi-Square (25.667,  $N=93$ ,  $df=23.3$ ), the observed responses for disagree was 9 while the residual is -14.3, the neutral observed responses were 17 and the difference was -6.3, for agreed the observed value was 42 whereas the residual was 18.8 similarly the observed responses for strongly agree were 25 and the residual between the observed and expected value was 1.8.

Therefore it has been proved that public perception was greatly influenced by the prominence given by newspapers in favor of restoration. Because perception was made on the basis of what newspapers showed to public and hence public respond accordingly. Pictorial representation, constructive coverage played a vital role in making public perception in favor of judiciary restoration, as public already had the perceptions in favor of judiciary restoration and prominence of the issue strengthened this perception of people in favor of restoration. Therefore according to the statistics public believed that much of the credit goes to newspapers for restoration and they perceived that whatever the newspaper they read, highlighted the issue of judiciary restoration as the important issue in the history of Pakistan. In short this has been proved that there was a string relationship between issue prominence and public perception.

**4.1.5: Hypothesis 5:**

*Men have greater understanding of judiciary crisis as compared to women as a result of their media exposure.*

To test this hypothesis all data that was collected from sample and it was analyzed with the help of basic statistics as shown below.

After collecting data from sample, it was tabulated on the basis of gender and all statements to find out the standard deviation and mean. Following table shows the statistics of all values by calculating the mean and standard deviation.

Table 4.7: shows the descriptive statistics for both male and female respondents.

Gender	Male			Female			Total		
	Mean	N	St. Dev	Mean	N	St. Dev	Mean	N	St. Dev.
Pictorial representation	1.00	37	0.624	1.21	56	0.825	1.13	93	0.755
Constructive coverage	0.86	37	0.713	0.95	56	0.796	0.91	93	0.761
News support to Government	0.51	37	0.989	0.50	56	0.991	0.51	93	0.985
Better reporting during LM*	0.84	37	0.834	1.04	56	0.894	0.96	93	0.871
Epic image	0.76	37	0.796	0.95	56	0.903	0.87	93	0.863
N.P* credit for restoration	0.84	37	1.068	0.50	56	0.991	0.63	93	1.030
Opinion about your N.P for reporting	1.00	37	0.707	0.95	56	0.862	0.97	93	0.800
Neutral reporting	-0.05	37	1.104	-0.09	56	1.014	-0.08	93	1.045
Public awareness by N.P	1.05	37	0.970	1.05	56	0.773	1.05	93	0.852
N.P role in mobilizing people	0.84	37	1.236	0.96	56	0.953	0.91	93	1.070
Informed people at L.M*	0.97	37	0.986	0.84	56	0.869	0.89	93	0.914

*LM (Long March), \* N.P (Newspaper)*

According to the above mentioned table, the number of males participated in survey were 37, whereas the calculated mean was 1.00, for question pertaining to placement of pictorial representation related to judiciary restoration also determines the importance of issue, the standard deviation was 0.624 this value is close to mean which determined minimum variation in the data that showed the reliability of data. Similarly the number of females participated in survey were 56 and the calculated mean was 1.21. Standard deviation for the same question number was 0.825; this is again close to the actual mean.

Another question was asked that, coverage of newspapers was constructive towards judiciary restoration, the standard deviation for male participants was 0.0713 while the calculated mean 0.86, and this was highly significant value showed the reliability of data because of the less difference between mean and standard deviation. For question i.e. news treatment was in support to government during the issue of judiciary, the calculated mean for male participants was 0.51 and the value for standard deviation was 0.989 clearly showed value around the mean and there was less variation in the data, whereas the mean for female participants was 0.50 and the standard deviation was .990. Similarly for the question, i.e; newspapers reported and highlighted the issue in a much better way during the period of long march. The actual mean for this statement was 0.84 and the standard deviation was 0.834, this was highly significant value defined hardly any variation in the data, like wise the calculated value of mean for female participant was 1.04 and the standard deviation was 0.894. Another question was asked i.e. newspaper gave the epic image of judiciary the calculated mean for male participants is 0.76 and standard deviation was 0.796, there

was again no difference between the values. On the other hand the mean for female participant was 0.95 and the standard deviation was .0903, statistics of this question clearly showed that the data was reliable having less variation in the values. The mean for the male participants of question; i.e. much of credit goes to newspapers for restoration of judiciary was 0.84 whereas the standard deviation was 1.068, similarly the mean for female participants was 0.50 and the standard deviation was 0.99.

The above table shows that for question number 18 which was, in your opinion newspaper you read was successful in molding public opinion towards restoration of judiciary, the calculated mean for male participants was 1.00 whereas the standard deviation was 0.707 whereas the mean for female participants for the same question was 0.95 and the standard deviation was 0.800. For question, that newspaper reported the issue of restoration of judiciary as being neutral, the calculated mean for male participant was -0.5, the standard deviation was 1.104, whereas mean for male participant was 1.05 for the question number 20 i.e. newspapers were actually responsible in making public aware about the issue and the standard deviation was 0.970. Similarly the mean value for female participant was 1.05 and standard deviation is 0.773. For question, newspapers had role in mobilizing people for long march, and the mean for male and female participants were 0.84 and 0.96 respectively whereas the standard deviations were 1.236 and 0.953 in order. For question i.e. at time of long march people were more informed, the mean values for males and females 0.97 and 0.84 whereas the standard deviations for male and female values were 0.986 and .89 respectively.



## ***CHAPTER 5***

### ***DISCUSSION***

Present study is based on two theoretical frameworks, Construction of Social Reality and Perceptual Theories. Construction of social reality is typically based on psychological assumptions but here in this study, this theory was used to produce an impact to create the reality in society and media was the tool for producing that kind of impact or reality. This study was based on the notion that media can produce a reality in the society and then people may perceive those realities on priority basis and take them as the real and important one out of all. Here in the case of judiciary restoration media acted as a mobilizing agent among the people but it also creates an impact of having the importance of respective issue. The perceptual theories were used to determine the perceptions that could play a vital role in the society and could create a stand point among the individuals. Perceptions are very important and one can respond to the stimulus on the basis of whatever perceptions he / she hold., in this study perceptions played a very important role in making judicial issue as the important issue of all. Already made perceptions of people about the issue were determined through the instrument and then results were calculated. The results tabulated and analyzed using two different methodologies i.e. content and survey analysis. Four hypotheses have been proved. Three hypotheses were typically based on the data collected from sample whereas the last two hypotheses were analyzed through the content analysis of newspapers. The first objective of the study was to

measure the amount of coverage on judicial restoration in national dailies during, pre and post Long March, and it was found out through content analysis that newspapers gave much more coverage to judicial crisis during the period of long march, especially Urdu newspapers gave greater space to the news items and pictorial representations as compared to English dailies. Similarly related hypothesis was approved as it was tested through the data collected from sample by dividing them in to three different periods i.e. pre long march, during long march, and post long march and majority people showed their response in the favor of the notion that newspapers gave much more coverage during the period of long march as compared to pre and post long march period.

Second objective was to determine the slant of news content of judicial issue either in favor, against or stayed neutral. Again this objective was achieved through content analysis of newspapers and it was recorded that mostly news stories favored judiciary. This was again tested on the basis of data collected through two indicators, results revealed that people perceived this view that newspapers strongly favored the judiciary point of view and most of the news stories were against the government and strongly in favored of judiciary restoration.

Third objective of the study was to find out media's role through its coverage, and it was attained that mostly people perceived that newspapers gave the epic or heroic image of judiciary in its maximum reporting which compelled people in mobilizing during long march to be the part of it. Newspapers role is actually to inform people which comes under surveillance function of media and in the case of judiciary restoration newspapers not only provide information to society but it also mobilized

people through its active reporting at the time of long march and this was just because of the reason that people had already made their perceptions via continues reporting which again highlighted the importance of media's construction of social reality. And in this specific case media played a very serious role in constructing a reality regarding judiciary restoration as a result of it people started taking the judiciary as the important reality of society. Which again supports the notion that media always creates social realities for different groups living in one society.

To attain the fourth objective of the study which is to find out the relationship between issue's prominence in the newspapers and public perception, statistics were applied and results revealed that public perception is highly affected by the prominence given by newspapers. This is exactly like that newspapers are responsible in making up people's minds and molding up their perceptions in a way media want to, related hypothesis of this objective was approved and results showed that people always made up their perception in favor of judiciary and this was due to excessive reporting and than people's exposure to that reporting.

Last objective of the study was to evaluate whether and to what extent men and women perceived judiciary crisis as a result of their media exposure, and it was found out that women participated more than men and they had better understanding of the issue.

The only limitation of the study that a cross section of society was not included as sample and only sample was taken from the social sciences faculty working in four different federal based universities of Pakistan. One reason of taking faculty as a

sample that they can influence the policy makers and media at the same time on the basis of positions they hold in society.

On the basis of the findings it is concluded that media can influence public either in a positive way or in a negative way. Media is a tool which could easily change the dimension of public perception in favor or against of an issue. In our society where media is used in propagating the ideologies and some specific mind set by constructing realities, it should be used in highlighting the social issues and towards the betterment of society.

It is further recommended that a longitudinal study could be done on the basis of same theme that how media is helping society in eliminating the social problems. And to what extent media is responsible in facilitating judiciary for smooth functioning.

## ANNEX I

### **ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COVERAGE AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF MEDIA ROLE IN RESTORATION OF JUDICIARY**

*This survey is conducted purely for educational purposes. The information provided will be kept confidential and will not be used for commercial purposes.*

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**Position:** Professor  Associate Professor  Assistant Professor  Lecturer

**Department:** \_\_\_\_\_

**University:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Age:** 25-30 \_\_\_\_\_; 31-35 \_\_\_\_\_; 35-40 \_\_\_\_\_; 41-45 \_\_\_\_\_; 46-50 \_\_\_\_\_; 51 & above \_\_\_\_\_

**Gender:** Male \_\_\_\_\_ : Female \_\_\_\_\_

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**Q1. How frequently you read newspapers?**

1. Daily \_\_\_\_\_      2. Twice a week \_\_\_\_\_      3. Thrice a week \_\_\_\_\_  
4. Quadruple a week \_\_\_\_\_      5. On Weekends only \_\_\_\_\_

**Q2. How much time do you spend in reading newspapers?**

1. 10-15 minutes \_\_\_\_\_      2. 16-20 minutes \_\_\_\_\_      3. 31-30 minutes \_\_\_\_\_  
4. 31-45 minutes \_\_\_\_\_      5. 46-60 minutes \_\_\_\_\_      6. More than 1 hour \_\_\_\_\_

**Q3. Which sections of the newspaper do you read often? Please mark only one.**

1. News Content \_\_\_\_\_      2. Editorial \_\_\_\_\_      3. Opinion \_\_\_\_\_  
4. Letters to the editors \_\_\_\_\_      5. Any other \_\_\_\_\_

**Q4. Which newspaper do you read often? Please mark one only.**

1. Dawn \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The News \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Daily Jang \_\_\_\_\_  
 4. Daily Express \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Any other \_\_\_\_\_

**Q5. Which source of news you prefer most?**

1. Television \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Newspapers \_\_\_\_\_  
 3. Radio \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Internet \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Any other \_\_\_\_\_

Sr.	Questions	Very Greatly	Greatly	To some extent	Often	Not at all
Q6.	You read political news in the newspapers.					
Q7.	You read news related to economics.					
Q8.	You read education news preferably.					
Q9.	You read newspaper at office.					
Q10.	You read newspaper at home.					
Q11.	You read newspaper in library.					

Sr.	Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q12.	Placement of the pictorial representation related to judiciary restoration also determines the importance of issue.					
Q13.	Coverage of newspaper was constructive towards judiciary restoration.					
Q14.	News treatment was in support to Government during the issue of judiciary.					
Q15.	Newspapers reported and highlighted the issue in a much better way during the period of Long March.					
Q16.	Newspapers gave the epic image of judiciary.					
Q17.	Much of the credit goes to newspapers for restoration of judiciary.					

<b>Q18.</b>	<b>In your opinion, newspapers you read, reported the issue of judiciary restoration as the important issue in the history of Pakistan.</b>					
<b>Q19.</b>	<b>Newspapers reported the issue of restoration of judiciary as being neutral.</b>					
<b>Q20.</b>	<b>Newspapers were actually responsible in making the public aware about the issue.</b>					
<b>Q21.</b>	<b>Newspapers had role in mobilizing people in favor of long march.</b>					
<b>Q22.</b>	<b>At the time of long march, people were more informed.</b>					

**Coding Sheet (News Content)**

Issue	Headline	Font	Decks	Kicker	Slug	Jump Story	Folio Line	Reverse	Placement of news item	Space given to the news story	Column Size	Point of View (Slant)	By-Line/News Agency/Wire Agency
5-3-9													
6-3-9													
7-3-9													
8-3-9													
9-3-9													
10-3-9													
11-3-9													
12-3-9													
13-3-9													
14-3-9													
15-3-9													
16-3-9													
17-3-9													
18-3-9													
19-3-9													
20-3-9													
21-3-9													
22-3-9													
23-3-9													
24-3-9													
25-3-9													
26-3-9													



**Coding Sheet (Pictures)**

Issue	Picture Placement	Space Given	Column Size
5-3-9			
6-3-9			
7-3-9			
8-3-9			
9-3-9			
10-3-9			
11-3-9			
12-3-9			
13-3-9			
14-3-9			
15-3-9			
16-3-9			
17-3-9			
18-3-9			
19-3-9			
20-3-9			
21-3-9			
22-3-9			
23-3-9			
24-3-9			
25-3-9			
26-3-9			

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