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## News Treatment of Terrorism and Political Instability as Social Issues and Shaping the Public Opinion through Agenda-Setting and Framing by Press in Pakistan

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**Abstract:** *The primary goal was to investigate how media in Pakistan handled terrorism and political instability as social issues and shaped public opinion by setting agendas and framing stories. The study's goals were to examine how two dailies, Jang and Dawn, covered and framed the social issues of political instability and terrorism, to analyze distribution by gender when establishing the agenda and importance of each social issue, to examine public opinion as it relates to media agenda and to comprehend opinions of readers of the two dailies. It was found that Dawn newspaper, public opinion, and media agenda were closely related to terrorist problems but differed on political instability issues. In contrast, there was a strong correlation between Jang Newspaper's public opinion and media agenda on political instability and terrorism. Dawn primarily supported the US strategy against terrorism, whereas Jang primarily opposed the US strategy. On the subject of political instability, both newspapers primarily opposed government policy. In conclusion, Dawn provided greater coverage of the US policy, whereas Jang provided less coverage of it regarding the fight against terrorism.*

**Key Words:** Press, Pakistan, Public Opinion, Agenda-Setting and Framing, The War on Terrorism

### Introduction

The best awareness-raising tool is the mass media. It has the natural ability to influence people's opinions on any subject (Anholt, 2007). By assisting viewers in prioritizing their concerns, the media fulfills its function as a change agent. The way the media covers any topic and disseminates information about it eventually affects how the audience perceives it (Kotler, 1971). Accordingly, academics think that the media can affect public agenda and opinion (Andrews & Caren, 2010). Newspapers use headlines, front page leads, and heading color and size to give their readers hints (McCombs, 2002). Journalists immediately draw our attention to a unique story. This issue might be more widespread or generic (Gandy & Li, 2005). People are given information about a certain problem that they are inclined to consider as fact, and this process is intended to shape public opinions. Whether or not the topic is viewed objectively, people's opinions are impacted by the media's perceived fair and objective portrayal of it (Russell, 2013). People can learn about issues and indirectly determine the importance of any given issue thanks to media coverage (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

### Daily Jang

News reports are the result of the organization and a journalist. As a result, media organizations are using new technology to disseminate information, but they must rely on the people in charge of the system. Journalists now finish and file their pieces alone without assistance because of the availability of

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contemporary technologies. A large number of media professionals continue to work in news distribution. According to Schudson (2002), political economy was defined by the state and economic realities that news produced. According to Becker & Vlad (2009), the media covered state interests.

### Daily Dawn

The oldest and most popular English-language newspaper in Pakistan is Dawn. The Dawn newspaper was first published in the 1940s by the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Daily Dawn is one of the top three English-language dailies in the nation. Pakistan Herald Publications, the company that publishes the newspaper, also owns the magazine, Herald, the information technology magazine Spider, and the media, advertising, and marketing magazine Aurora. The Star was the most popular English-language evening newspaper in Pakistan. It was established in Pakistan's Karachi in 1953. Pakistan Herald Publications (Pvt.) Limited (PHPL) published The Star as a member of the Dawn Group of publications. (Malik & Iqbal, 2010) In Pakistan, Dawn is a widely read English newspaper with a high degree of credibility (Ali, 2010). Dawn has parted ways with separate sections for Children, Youth, Women, and other communities (Ali, 2010).

### Statement of Problem

Through its messaging, the press is effectively changing public opinion in society. Media organizations and groups have employed a number of people to keep an eye on societal events for this reason. According to McCombs, news coverage has a direct impact on how important a topic is in public perception. Through their news reporting, the media plays a crucial part in bringing an end to the conflict. They also play a crucial role in shaping public opinion. According to Raza et al. (2012), the media has developed into a potent instrument for planning the nation's foreign policy. The media informs the public and enables them to comprehend why one problem is preferred over another (Scheufele, 1999).

### Significance of Study

All around the world, the media's useful function as the fourth pillar of the state has been acknowledged. It has a significant impact on how the general public views the problems and reality of the world in which they live. Policymakers are significantly impacted by media coverage. When a story is thoroughly reported, it affects the general public and decision-makers. Scholars and practitioners will benefit from this study's understanding of the media's function as a social change agent. How it picks up or spotlights a socially significant issue, turns it into a story, organizes news feeds into themes and ultimately persuades people that the issue is the most crucial to their social elevation (Deep-house, 2000).

### Literature Review

The "agenda-setting" concept has a direct link with the individual and social needs of the setup (Shaw, 1979). The researchers explained the selection of the news and how it was shaped. They clarified that the staff of newsrooms, broadcasters, and editors had a role in influencing social truth. Further, the researchers simplified the way that media was the agent to define a specific problem and gave it an angle in the development of a campaign (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Wanta and Wu (1992) described that interpersonal communication was influential in agenda-setting as the debates handle problems given coverage by the media while handling other issues and matters. In the coverage of both media and non-media-related issues, the said communication type has been found to be effective and predictive for the understanding of the issues.

### Issues

According to Kee & Hoong (2017), social issues are the occurrences that the media covers the most and draw the audience's attention. The dimension to consider the issue is provided by the frequency of coverage and the projection of issues. In framing, the issues' political and social dynamics are crucial (Raza, 2013).

### Terrorism

Terrorism has become a major social issue across the world, and people are suffering safety issues (Puar, 2017). Terrorists are the individuals who move around the country and are the culprits of terror events and



criminal activities that disturb law and order in the region. The term terrorism is related to political and socio-economic situations in Pakistan as the country is part of the war against terrorism, so the terrorists have targeted the state and attacked the state several times to disturb the social system of the country. Terrorism is a big challenge for state authorities due to disturbances in economic growth and governmental affairs (Michael, 2007). The terrorists target the officials and public figures and the assets, institutions, and governmental setup. The network of terrorists is spread by groups that involve the police, army, management, defense material, institutions, and the state itself (Feyyaz, 2013). The issue was highlighted after 9/11. Terrorism took so many lives and spread fear among the people across the globe. There have been examined massive terrorist attacks in Pakistan 164 in 2003, 4418 in 2009, and 35000 from September 11, 2001, to May 2011 (Malik & Zaman, 2013). From 1974–2007, 2590 terrorist attacks have resulted in 5840 deaths and 11597 injured (Hussain, 2010). The major reasons for terrorism are the instability of law, the unavailability of basic needs, and the war on terror by Pakistan. There is a need for human resources and policy to deal with the situation (Haider & Dustgeer, 2015). Maslog and Kim (2006) clarified their conclusions, which were built based on a substance examination of various stories from eight newspapers, prescribing a slightly harmonious news coverage.

Besides, they kept up the two chief components to shape the news encircling the conflict and support for the war and the characters in the war Newspapers in the non-Muslim nations, with the exception of the Philippines. Archetti (2007) explained the sociology of news in its place and asserted that the news result of each medium gathering was the sole production of plans of societal contacts between media specialists. He worked on the role of media, shaping the news stories at the National level. He revealed that the worldwide relative investigation of leading media encircling 9/11 within "US, Italy, France, and Pakistan" unveiled the strategies of confinements: nobody among them was able to elucidate the structures of news substance that were seen in the experimental analysis. He recommended that the substance of the press in the newspapers below investigation was extra clarified as far as gathering newsworthy sources, coordinated by state attention, journalistic culture, and publication technique. Riaz (2009) cleared the relationship between open and print media inspiration in Pakistan. He examined some substance examinations of the two countrywide Urdu and English papers for one year with six issues: 1) Terrorism) Indo-Pak relations, 3) Energy crisis, 4) Food crisis, 5) Judicial crisis, and 6) Lal Masjid (Red Mosque). He further sorted out an examination from the people who scrutinized the newspapers to measure the all-inclusive community inspiration about the issues, and that audit was connected with the arrangements of print media. The author found a strong association between the all-inclusive community inspiration and the media plan, notwithstanding some unquestionable issues. It was assumed that the particular necessities and needs of people were not relying on the media's inspiration to change the all-inclusive community plan.

**H1:** The readers of Daily Jang who gave terrorism top priority have a good rapport with one another and discuss the matter with their friends and coworkers.

**H2:** There is a good rapport between Daily Dawn readers who give terrorism top priority and talk about the problem with their friends and coworkers.

### Political Instability

Pakistan is facing the constant issue of political instability, which does not get attention for outside speculation and investor delays to contribute. Due to the reflection of family politics in the country, there is no chance for the rest of the people to become part of the government through voting (Taj & Rehman, 2015). The State Bank of Pakistan has elaborated that foreign investment decreased in 2010 and dropped more than 50% due to political instability, weak law and order situation, and extensive floods in Pakistan (Najaf & Ashraf, 2016). In the current situation of the country, there is no terror of armed forces, but the people are afraid of a political as well as social disorder shaped by the bodies of Pakistan "Tahreek-e-Insaaf" and "Pakistan Awami Tehreek." The subject of political instability is another important topic to be addressed that the researchers have considered. Lazarsfeld (1948) kept up that the respondents with the contrary qualities were examined inclined toward the democratic parties. The essential impact of the battle was to strengthen the party connection among the majority of the voters. People tended to open themselves to the promulgation of their own party more than to the propaganda of the other party.

McCombs & Shaw (1972) concluded that the editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play a significant part in selecting and presenting news while shaping political reality. Palmgreen & Clarke (1977) described that there were three aspects of the agenda-setting hypothesis at the local political level related to the countrywide: in regard to the traditional nature of native administrative and political matters, the type and significance of homegrown individual political speeches, and the comparatively more media was reporting over nationwide political problems. The authors further added that the agenda-setting hypothesis supported the stance that people received the information in a specific frame while studying the facts through the analysis of local and national issues covered in television content in Toledo, Ohio. Reese & Danielian (1989) concluded that the effects of the configuration of the agenda on attitude towards political persons in the 1996 presidential election, in particular, were determined by the constituent elements of the configuration of the agenda, the power behavior qualification of the belongings of the inquiry. They further verified hypotheses for the associations between reporting of media, public salience, and the strength of the attitudes of the individuals held concerning the political leaders. The results specified improved media devotion to political personalities was associated with developed stages of public salience and attitudinal strength. Further, the study analyzed multivariate that showed an aspect of the power of attitude, scattering of opinions, and facilitated association among public opinion and media coverage. Shaw & Martin (1992) explained that the agenda-setting study developed during the 1968 presidential election in Chapel Hill, N.C., focused on public opinion. They maintained that content analyses and poll methods were adopted to match the consumption of media and schedules for diverse groups between genders, races, ages, economic classes, and educational statuses. The authors examined the consumption of newspapers among the masses to get information about the issues related to the public in the different racial, social, and age groups and genders. The study found that people with no high education also discuss the issues, and opinion sharing is less common among those of a certain social status (Shaw & Martin, 1992).

**H11:** The Daily Jang readers who placed a high value on political unrest and talked about it with their friends and coworkers have a good relationship.

**H12:** The Daily Dawn readers who gave political instability top priority and talked about it with their friends and coworkers had a good relationship.

## Methodology

### Research Design

For this study, the researchers has chosen to use content analysis and surveys. The study has taken into account media content and how the issues are handled from a "Agenda-Setting" standpoint. The study used both a closed-ended inquiry on the issues that are prevalent in society and an open-ended technique to ask the audience what they believe to be the most important issues in their society and region (Iyengar, 1992).

### Population of the Study

All of Pakistan's daily publications are included in the population of the subsequent study. The category includes newspapers that are continuously published.

### Sample of the Study

The "front, back, and editorial pages" of the newspapers from "January 1, 2015 to December 31, 2015" were chosen for examination. Out of the 300 respondents in the study's sample, 150 are Dawn (English) newspaper readers, and the remaining 150 are Jang (Urdu) newspaper readers. The "convenient sampling technique," which was obtained by choosing random responders from the readers of two daily, served as the basis for sample selection. The news articles from the paper's front and back pages are included in this analysis. The reason for this is that every significant story of the day is covered on both the front and back pages. In order to identify some significant societal issues, the researchers in this study chose two newspapers from a one-year content analysis.



### Data Collection

National libraries were chosen as the key source of information for the newspapers of the chosen duration. The researchers obtain newspapers from the Punjab Public Library in Lahore and the Jinnah Library in Trust Plaza Gujranwala. The libraries where the records were kept have provided the necessary sample of newspapers. The researchers have divided the addressed issues regarding terrorism and political instability. Personal visits were scheduled by the researchers to get the complete required data from the respondents with the help of a questionnaire to ask the opinions of the individuals about the issues. The headlines and first paragraph of all the stories published on the front and back pages of the two dailies were assessed to analyze the results.

### Statistical Methods for Analysis

The information was tabulated using the data that was cited. A contingency test called "percentage and chi-square" was used to examine the data.

### Content Analysis

Content analysis was based on the review of the treatment of social issues in the newspapers including Daily Dawn and Daily Jang. The former newspaper is in English, and the other one is in Urdu. The analysis of the publications for a year from "January 1, 2015 to December 31, 2015" was based on the review of the content.

### Public Opinion

The public's perception of the world they live in is largely shaped by the media. Every significant state organ, whether it be an individual or an organization, looks to the media to see how it is covering them and the world. The media's reporting has an impact on them and influences them. These days, political discourse is shaped and defined by the media, which also controls political agendas (Russell, 2013). The coding sheet for the six selected issues by the content analysis was formulated as follows:

Issues	Coding
Terrorism	News of incidents of terrorism, attacks of terrorism, bomb blasts in public places, and news about policies/statements issued about the war against terrorism will be included in this category. News about the government showing coordination with International powers like America to adopt strategies to end Terrorism will fall in this category.
Political instability	News regarding protests (Dharna) against the government will be included in this category. Statements of opposition Political parties against the government (leading political party) about showing aggressive words and news about the calls for a strike or public meetings against government-owned parties will fall in this category.

### Coding sheet

To analyze front and back-page content published on the chosen issue and gather data from the same newspapers' treatment of the issue in terms of favorable, unfavorable, and neutral sentences, the following criteria were used: date, content, total, favorable sentences, unfavorable sentences, and neutral sentences. **Positive (+)** = An item will be deemed positive if it opposes terrorism and supports US actions against the war on terror. **Negative (-)** = An item will be regarded as negative if it supports terrorism and opposes US anti-terrorism actions. **Neutral (o)** = An item will be deemed neutral if it addresses the reasons behind terrorism and offers recommendations for eradicating it.

The news was featured on "the front and back pages" of the two chosen publications. The number of stories and their length in "centimeters per column" has been used to analyze the coverage of subjects. In the analysis of the story's angle from the viewpoints of "favorable, unfavorable, and neutral," the frame

labels the news concerning terrorism as "friend and foe," while the other concerns covered in this are divided into "pro-government" and "anti-government" studies because they deal with the state's internal circumstances. There are three categories for the news sources: "official, unofficial, and others."

## **The Slant**

### **Favorable to America**

The news stories created in favoritism to the policies of America on terrorism news are considered favorable. The news items related to the official statement of the American government as well as the Pakistan government, the relations between America and Pakistan, American aid for Pakistan, and news relating to the war against terrorism.

### **Unfavorable to America**

The published news stories of terrorism show a negative image of America that is considered unfavorable. These news stories comprise bomb blasts, suicidal attacks on public places or military personnel, statements issued by Taliban and Al Qaeda leadership, statements issued by religious and political leadership, news items showing responses against American policies, and attacks on military personnel.

### **Neutral**

The paragraphs of news stories related to terrorism show the same ratio of positive and negative images as well, which is considered natural.

### **Positive to Government**

About "Political Instability". The reports showing a positive picture of the above-mentioned issue are considered favorable.

### **Negative to Government**

About "Political Instability". News items show a negative picture of the above-mentioned issue.

### **Neutral**

Both positive and negative news articles with the same paragraphs are regarded as normal. Equal numbers of positive and negative paragraphs or displaying a neutral image.

## **The Framing of News**

### **The News Framing as Friend**

The news items of terrorism presetting an image of a friendly country.

### **The News Framing as Foe**

The news stories show the appearance of an enemy country.

### **The News Framing as pro-Government**

"About energy crises, Water issues, Health issues, Unemployment, and political Instability ."The news items show the government's images as positive.

### **The News Framing as Anti-government**

The news stories give a government's image as negative in the issues of energy, water, health, unemployment, and political instability.

### **Frequency of the News**

The number of reports printed on the front pages and backside pages of the newspapers is considered as frequency.



## News Length

The news items printed on issues are measured in centimeters per column. The length of pictures published relating to the issues is also measured.

## The Source

### Official

The information relating to the issues of news stories is received from inside the government or official setup.

### Unofficial Source

The information relating to the issues is received from outside government and is unofficially set up.

### The Other Source

The information relating to the issues is where source is not identified. It can be the investigative stories of the news organizations.

## The placement

### Front Page Upper Half

The news article that appeared in the upper part of the front page was seen as a placement.

### The placement (Front Page Lower Half)

Reports printed on the lower page part were considered as placement (lower half).

### The Placement of the Back page (Upper Half)

The news reports printed on the back page in its upper half were considered to be placed in the lower half.

### The placement of the Back Page (Lower Half)

Reports printed on the lower page part were considered as placement (lower half).

## Survey Research

In the second section of the author's present study, a survey of newspaper readers was conducted to get an understanding of the audience's perceptions regarding the newspaper's influence on the formation of opinions regarding "social issues" and related elements. A dependability value of  $\alpha = 0.78$  was discovered. 300 readers were surveyed, 150 of whom were Dawn readers every day and 150 of whom were Jang readers. To obtain paper copies of the information, the researchers personally visited the locations. The list of frequent readers was obtained for the study from the newspaper's vendors. The findings of the survey and the content of the newspapers were compared. Lahore, Karachi, Islamabad, Quetta, and Peshawar make up the sample for the data collection since they explain the trend of "the whole Country" serving as the capital and provincial capital.

## Instrument of Survey

The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used to analyze the results of the survey. The responses against public opinions about interpersonal communications were measured with five items: "always" (=1), "often" (=2), "sometimes" (=3), "never" (=4), and "not at all" (=5). Likewise, the respondents' opinions about the government news policies with respect to the government policies were measured with five items "strongly agree" (=1), "agree" (=2), "neutral" (=3), "disagree" (=4) and "strongly disagree" (=5). Some of the questions in the survey were open-ended, and those are discussed in the content analysis section.

## Formation of Opinion

Through a poll, the respondents' opinions were gathered, and the results were compared against the newspaper's portrayal of the topic. There are 300 respondents in the opinion survey, with 50% coming

from English newspapers and 50% from Urdu ones. In order to obtain a convenient sample for the study, this research essentially used the random sampling technique. 1200 respondents were chosen at random for this purpose, with 240 coming from each of the following cities: Islamabad, Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore, and Karachi. The list was kept up to date. To create a convenient sample for the study, 60 of them were chosen from each city using a random number table, with each individual being chosen every four days based on their choice for the two chosen dailies.

## Results and Discussion

The "chi-square contingency test," one of the most used statistical procedures for analyzing nominal data, was employed to investigate content analysis in the first data segment.

### Content Analysis

The analysis of the two newspapers was understood and presented independently, and it was noted that the press and the audience have different agendas regarding the issues raised by this study. The "intra coder" and "intercoder" reliability tests have been used to assess the results' dependability. It has been demonstrated that the test results are reported as "95% and 85%, respectively."

### Placement of News Items regarding the Issues

**Table 1**

Coverage of Dawn and Jang on Terrorism as Placement of News

	Placement				Total	Comparison	Df	X <sup>2</sup>	P	
	FPUH	FPLH	BPUH	BPLH						
Newspaper	Dawn	118 18.97%	133 21.38%	198 31.83%	173 27.82%	622	Dawn/Jang	3	14.7	<0.05
	Jang	143 26.38%	113 20.84%	178 32.85%	108 19.93%					
Total		261	246	376	281	1164				

Note. The importance of news about the issues was analyzed by the location of the news. The results indicated that the two dailies gave high treatment to terrorism-related news and issues as the value of chi-square, i.e., 14.7, was greater than the value of p=0.05. The results concluded that Dawn gave 18.97% space to the issues related to terrorism on the upper half of the front page, and Jang gave 26.38% on the same slot. The lower half of the front page was dedicated 21.38% by Dawn and 20.84% by Jang. As far as the back page was concerned, Dawn gave 31.83% coverage to terrorism in the upper half and 27.82% in the lower half, while Jang gave 32.85% in the upper half and 19.93% in the lower half. This section concluded that the Dawn gave more importance to the issue of terrorism than the Jang.

**Table 2**

Coverage of Dawn and Jang on Political Instability as Placement of News

	Placement				Total	Comparison	Df	X <sup>2</sup>	P	
	FPUH	FPLH	BPUH	BPLH						
Newspaper	Dawn	24 18.75%	18 14.06%	46 35.94%	40 31.25%	128	Dawn/Jang	3	12.2	<0.05
	Jang	97 30.50%	64 20.12%	90 28.30%	67 20.06%					
Total		121	82	136	107	446				

Note. The table below shows the chi-square value as 12.2, which is "significant at 0.05 level," which indicates both papers had provided equal value to the topic of terrorism. Jang and Dawn gave "positive" space to the matter of "political instability." It also shows the data that Dawn included 18.75% of news on the issue on the "front page" on its "upper half" and 14.06% at the "lower half" of the same page; 35.94% on "upper half" on the "back page" and 31.67% at "lower half" of the same page. Jang gave 30.65% and





20%, respectively, at the upper and lower part of the "front page" and 28.39% and 20.97% at the upper and lower part of the "back page."

**Table 3**

*Frequency of News Stories Published in Daily Dawn and Jang*

Issues of the Study	Ranking of covered frequency of News Stories	
	Dawn	Jang
Terrorism	622 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	542 (1 <sup>st</sup> )
Political Instability	128 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	318 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
Total	750	860

**Measurement of the News Items (Length)**

**Table 4**

*Measurement (Length) of News Stories Printed in Daily Dawn and Jang*

The Study Issues	Ranking with respect to space covered of News Stories (cm per column)	
	Dawn	Jang
Terrorism	18440 (1 <sup>st</sup> )	16420 (1 <sup>st</sup> )
Political Instability	5130 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )	7426 (2 <sup>nd</sup> )
Total	23570	23840

Note. It provides a comparison of the two newspapers in terms of the coverage of the social issues in the two newspapers. The results show that Dawn has given 18440 "a centimeters column" in length to terrorism, and Jang has given 16420 "a centimeters column." Dawn has given 5130-centimeter column space to political instability, while Jang gave 7426-centimeter column space to the same issue. Dawn has given "1<sup>st</sup> rank to Terrorism, <sup>second</sup> rank to political instability, and Daily Jang has given "1<sup>st</sup> rank to Terrorism, 2nd to political instability".

**Slant of the Issues**

**Table 5**

*The slant of the News Items Printed in Daily Dawn and Daily Jang on Terrorism*

Newspapers	Favorable (%)	Unfavorable (%)	Neutral (%)	Total	df	X <sup>2</sup>	p
Daily Dawn	1897 47.3%	1312 32.7%	800 20.0%	4009	2	97.7	<0.05
Daily Jang	699 37.8%	853 46.1%	299 16.2%	1851			
Total	2596	2165	1099	5860			

Note. The results found the estimation of chi-square, i.e., 97.7, is a lot more prominent than the basic estimation of chi-square = 5.99 at 0.05. Accordingly, it is critical that it is rejected, which implies there is a huge distinction between the feelings of the two papers about fear-based oppression. It uncovers that there was a major change between the strategies of English and Urdu press as Dawn distributed 47.3 percent news inclusion in support of America about Terrorism, while the Jang gave 37.8 percent reportage in positive for the "US policy." Dawn gave more reportage for the "US policy," and Jang gave less inclusion for the "US policy."

**Table 6**

*The slant of the News Items in Daily Dawn and Jang on Political Instability*

Newspapers	Favorable (%)	Unfavorable (%)	Neutral (%)	Total	df	X <sup>2</sup>	p
Daily Dawn	213(58.5)	109(29.9)	42(11.5)	364	2	0.3	ns.
Daily Jang	299(58.6)	158(31.0)	53(10.4)	510			
Total	512	267	95	874			

Note. The results show that the chi-square value computed at 0.1 is less than the critical value of chi-square = 5.99 at 0.05 and 9.21 at 0.01 level of significance. The data analysis in the table shows that there is no difference in the publication of the news about political instability. Dawn has given 58.5% favorable coverage to the issue and Jang has given 58.6%. Both English and Urdu dailies have provided equal reporting on the issue.

### Framing of the Issues

**Table 7**

*Framing of the News Stories on social issues in Daily Dawn and Jang*

Issues of the Study	Dawn		Jang	
	Friend /pro Govt. (%)	Foe /Anti Govt. (%)	Friend /pro Govt. (%)	Foe /Anti Govt. (%)
Terrorism	376 (60.45)	246 (39.55)	186 (34.32)	356 (65.68)
Political instability	42 (32.82)	86(67.18)	89 (27.98)	229 (72.02)

Note. The results show that Dawn has included 60.45% of news in favor of the US approach and 39.55% against it on the issue of terrorism. Jang has 34.32% in favor of US and 65.68% against. English newspaper promoted US Policy in the coverage of terrorism.

**Table 8**

*Framing of the News Items in Daily Dawn and Jang on Political Instability*

Newspapers	Friend / Pro Govt. (%)	Foe/Anti-Govt. (%)	Total	df	X <sup>2</sup>	p
Daily Dawn	42 (32.82)	86(67.18)	128	1	1.02	ns.
Daily Jang	89 (27.98)	229 (72.02)	318			
Total	131	315	446			

Note. The results indicate that 1.02 has been computed as the value of chi-square, and it is less than the critical value of chi-square, i.e., 3.84 at 0.05 level of significance. The reporting over the political instability in Dawn has been 67.18%, and in Jang, 72.02% "anti-government." The overall result is that both newspapers are more inclined to oppose the government over political instability.

### Outcomes from Survey Research

#### Ordering of the Public Opinion about the Issues

Respondents to the poll are asked to rank the study's issues in order of personal preference. The next lines provide the findings of the readers' opinions regarding the topics' ranking.



**Source of Information**

**Table 9**

*Distribution of Respondents by their Information Source on Terrorism*

Type of Media	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Standard deviation
PM	220	73.3	73.3	73.3	1.39	.70
EM	41	13.7	13.7	87.0		
IPC	39	13.0	13.0	100.0		
Total	300	100.0	100.0			

Note. According to the above data, the print media accounted for the majority (73.3%) of respondents' primary information sources about terrorism-related topics. Furthermore, 13.7 percent of respondents cited electronic media as their primary information source, while 13 percent indicated interpersonal communication.

**Table 10**

*Distribution of Respondents by Source of Information on Political Instability*

Type of Media	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Standard deviation
PM	212	70.7	70.7	70.7	1.52	.79
EM	20	6.7	6.7	77.3		
IPC	68	22.7	22.7	100.0		
Total	300	100.0	100.0			

Note. According to the study results, print media accounted for the majority of respondents' primary information source (70.7%) about political instability. Furthermore, 22.7 percent of respondents cited interpersonal communication as their primary information source, while 6.7 percent cited electronic media.

**Discussions with Colleagues and Friends about the Issues**

The results in this section concluded the following: -

**Table 11**

*Distribution of Respondents by their Discussions on Terrorism with their Colleagues and Friends*

Occupation	Always	Often	Some time	Never	Not at all	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Govt. f	22	26	11	0	1	60	37.7	12	.0
%	36.7%	43.3%	18.3%	0.0%	1.7%	100.0%			
Pvt. f	49	48	37	5	2	141			
%	34.8%	34.0%	26.2%	3.5%	1.4%	100.0%			
Business f	1	2	4	1	0	8			
%	12.5%	25.0%	50.0%	12.5%	0.0%	100.0%			
Student f	22	53	8	1	7	91			
%	24.2%	58.2%	8.8%	1.1%	7.7%	100.0%			
Total f	94	129	60	7	10	300			
%	31.3%	43.0%	20.0%	2.3%	3.3%	100.0%			

Note. According to the survey, the calculated chi-square value of 37.69 is superior to the crucial value of chi-square = 21.03 at the 0.05 significance level. According to the above table, businessmen hardly ever discuss the topic of terrorism with one another, while regular people do.

**Table 12**

Distribution of Respondents by their Discussion on Political Instability with their Colleagues and Friends

Occupation	Always	Often	Some time	Never	Not at all	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Govt f	5	32	18	4	1	60	26.7	12	.008
%	8.3%	53.3%	30.0%	6.7%	1.7%	100.0%			
Pvt f	32	42	50	11	6	141			
%	22.7%	29.8%	35.5%	7.8%	4.3%	100.0%			
Business f	0	6	1	1	0	8			
%	0.0%	75.0%	12.5%	12.5%	0.0%	100.0%			
Student f	9	47	21	9	5	91			
%	9.9%	51.6%	23.1%	9.9%	5.5%	100.0%			
Total f	46	127	90	25	12	300			
%	15.3%	42.3%	30.0%	8.4%	4.0%	100%			

Note. The results show that the calculated chi-square value, or 26.74, is higher than the crucial values, which are 26.22 at the 0.01 significance level and 21.03 at the 0.05 significance level. All things considered, the table indicates that while businesses hardly ever mention political uncertainty, the general public always does. The general public talks about political instability because they believe that many issues have been causing political instability in the nation, but the business community never talks about it because they are too preoccupied with their own business matters.

**Table 13**

Distribution of Respondents with their Views to Support the Policy of US

**Government on Terrorism**

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f	8	28	13	52	14	115	2.69	4	.61
%	7.0%	24.3%	11.3%	45.2%	12.2%	100.0%			
Female f	16	50	29	68	22	185			
%	8.6%	27.0%	15.7%	36.8%	11.9%	100.0%			
Total f	24	78	42	120	36	300			
%	8.0%	26.0%	14.0%	40.0%	12.0%	100.0%			

Note. According to the survey data, the calculated chi-square value of 2.69 is below the threshold values of chi-square = 9.49 at 0.05 and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level. Additionally, the findings indicate that the majority of respondents (52%) opposed US government policies on terrorism, while 34% supported them. This indicates that the general Pakistani population disapproves of US counterterrorism measures. The US government launched a global "war on terror" and acted aggressively toward the world, especially Muslim nations. According to the public opinion poll for this report, the American government shouldn't be permitted to carry on with its war on terrorism policies in Pakistan.

**Table 14**

Distribution of Respondents in Support of Government on Political Instability

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f	9	39	13	40	14	115	2.68	4	0.61
%	7.8%	33.9%	11.3%	34.8%	12.2%	100.0%			
Female f	23	50	20	69	23	185			
%	12.4%	27.0%	10.8%	37.3%	12.4%	100.0%			
Total f	32	89	33	109	37	300			
%	10.7%	29.7%	11.0%	36.3%	12.3%	100.0%			



Note. The calculated chi-square value, 2.68, is less than the crucial chi-square values, which are 9.49 at the 0.05 significance level and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level. Additionally, as seen in the above table, 40.4 percent of respondents agreed that the government is taking very significant actions to address political instability, while 48.6 percent disagreed. It demonstrates that while 52% of respondents believe the government has not implemented robust strategies to promote political stability in the nation, over 40% believe the government is committed to resolving the issue of political instability. Political instability is a major problem that the nation is currently dealing with and is not being controlled. Protesting political groups, Dharnaa (stage demonstration), Long A significant portion of the national budget is spent on security and protest control as a result of the March protest meetings against the ruling government. In this sense, significant action is required to address the problem of political instability.

**Table 15**

*Distribution of Respondents Regarding Newspapers' Role in Terrorism*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	17 14.8%	63 54.8%	2 1.7%	32 27.8%	1 .9%	115 100.0%	10.04	4	.04
Female f %	40 21.6%	89 48.1%	15 8.1%	37 20.0%	4 2.2%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	57 19.0%	152 50.7%	17 5.7%	69 23.0%	5 1.7%	300 100.0%			

Note. The findings show that the calculated value of chi-square, or 10.04, is higher than the critical values of chi-square, which are 9.49 at the 0.05 significance level and 13.28 at the 0.01 level. The majority of respondents supported the aforementioned statement, according to the results, indicating that newspapers are fulfilling their responsibility to raise public knowledge of terrorism. Without question, terrorism is a serious problem, and taking preventative action is essential to solving it. Newspapers can effectively raise public awareness in this aspect. The study's poll indicates that the general public is fully aware of the issue and has benefited the most from press awareness.

**Table 16**

*Distribution of Respondents Regarding Newspapers' Role on Political Instability*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	21 18.3%	68 59.1%	7 6.1%	16 13.9%	3 2.6%	115 100.0%	6.13	4	.18
Female f %	46 24.9%	87 47.0%	12 6.5%	38 20.5%	2 1.1%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	67 22.3%	155 51.7%	19 6.3%	54 18.0%	5 1.7%	300 100.0%			

Note. As can be seen from the above table, the calculated chi-square value of 6.13 is below the critical values of chi-square = 9.49 at the 0.05 significance level and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level. The majority of respondents also agreed, according to the above table, that newspapers are doing their part to raise awareness of the problem of political instability. It demonstrates that both respondents believe newspapers raise knowledge of political unrest. Nowadays, the public is well aware of the serious problem of political instability in the nation and knows that they need to elect leaders who are true, honest, and watchful over their representatives in parliament. Additionally, they were well aware that they ought to dissuade and reject the insincere applicants who are not loyal to the homeland, creating political instability in the country.

**Table 17**

*Distribution of Respondents by Interest in the News on Terrorism*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	37 32.2%	60 52.2%	1 .9%	17 14.8%	0 .0%	115 100.0%	5.33	4	.25
Female f %	55 29.7%	84 45.4%	8 4.3%	37 20.0%	1 .5%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	92 30.7%	144 48.0%	9 3.0%	54 18.0%	1 .3%	300 100.0%			

*Note.* The results indicate that the computed value of chi-square, i.e., 5.33, is less than the critical value of chi-square = 9.49 at 0.05 and 13.28 at 0.01 significance level. It is further defined that the majority of respondents agreed to show their interest in the news related to terrorism. It shows that both males and females are interested in reading the news relating to terrorism. The public is vigilant about terrorism, and they show their interest in reading such news as they have to protect their loved ones from such risky incidents.

**Table 18**

*Distribution of Respondents by Interest in the News on Political Instability*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	31 27.2%	61 53.5%	3 2.6%	18 15.8%	1 .9%	114 100.0%	5.36	4	.25
Female f %	44 23.8%	86 46.5%	10 5.4%	38 20.5%	7 3.8%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	75 25.1%	147 49.2%	13 4.3%	56 18.7%	8 2.7%	299 100.0%			

*Note.* The calculated chi-square value of 5.36 is less than the critical values of chi-square = 9.49 at 0.05 and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level, according to the results. Additionally, as the above table illustrates, the majority of respondents said that they were interested in news about political instability. It demonstrates that reading the news about political instability concerns both male and female respondents. One of the major problems the nation has faced in recent years is political instability. Political parties are acting in an immature and dishonest manner. The current study's poll found that people desired to read newspapers because they needed to be aware of the nation's political climate.

**Table 19**

*Distribution of Respondents by their Views on Coverage of Issues*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	19 16.5%	58 50.4%	7 6.1%	27 23.5%	4 3.5%	115 100.0%	6.16	4	.18
Female f %	50 27.0%	77 41.6%	17 9.2%	36 19.5%	5 2.7%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	69 23.0%	135 45.0%	24 8.0%	63 21.0%	9 3.0%	300 100.0%			

*Note.* As a result, the calculated chi-square value of 6.16 is below the critical chi-square value of 9.49 at the 0.05 significance level and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level. Additionally, as the following table illustrates, the majority of respondents agreed that the Daily Dawn and Daily Jang newspapers covered important societal concerns. It demonstrates that both respondents believed that all news pertaining to social concerns was covered by these periodicals. The current study's survey indicates that the public is interested in news concerning social concerns because they want to know about the nation's challenges.



**Table 20**

*Distribution of Respondents as they rely on Information by the Two Dailies*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	20 17.4%	48 41.7%	9 7.8%	36 31.3%	2 1.7%	115 100.0%	.26	4	.99
Female f %	31 16.8%	78 42.2%	12 6.5%	61 33.0%	3 1.6%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	51 17.0%	126 42.0%	21 7.0%	97 32.3%	5 1.7%	300 100.0%			

Note. The calculated chi-square value, or 26, is found to be less than the critical values of chi-square = 9.49 at the 0.05 significance level and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level. The poll also makes clear that the majority of participants agreed that they depend on the information these newspapers (Daily Dawn/Daily Jang) give. It demonstrates how both respondents rely on the social issue information these media publish. Because the public needs to know about the problems affecting society, they rely on the information provided by the media, especially newspapers, which serve as opinion leaders.

**Table 21**

*Distribution of Respondents by their Views on Terrorism in Daily Jang as In Favor of US Policy*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	16 13.9%	50 43.5%	20 17.4%	27 23.5%	2 1.7%	115 100.0%	3.13	4	.53
Female f %	35 18.9%	63 34.1%	33 17.8%	50 27.0%	4 2.2%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	51 17.0%	113 37.7%	53 17.7%	77 25.7%	6 2.0%	300 100.0%			

Note. The findings show that the calculated chi-square value, 3.13, is below the critical values of chi-square = 9.49 at the 0.05 significance level and 13.28 at the 0.01 significance level. The study also reveals that the majority of participants agreed that Daily Jang is supporting US efforts to combat terrorism in Pakistan. It demonstrates that the majority of people believe that Daily Jang is supporting US policies in the fight against terrorism. According to the study's survey, people generally concluded that Jang newspapers were supporting US counterterrorism methods because they believed that the US-led campaign on Pakistan's tribal areas was not beneficial to the nation, and they openly featured such tales.

**Table 22**

*Distribution of Respondents by their Views on Terrorism in Daily Dawn as In Favor of US Policy*

Gender	SA	A	UD	DA	SDA	Total	X <sup>2</sup>	df	P
Male f %	17 14.8%	44 38.3%	22 19.1%	30 26.1%	2 1.7%	115 100.0%	1.07	4	.89
Female f %	25 13.5%	63 34.1%	37 20.0%	55 29.7%	5 2.7%	185 100.0%			
Total f %	42 14.0%	107 35.7%	59 19.7%	85 28.3%	7 2.3%	300 100.0%			

Note. According to the findings, the calculated chi-square value of 1.07 is below the crucial values of chi-square = 9.49 at the 0.05 and 13.28 at the 0.01 significant level. It is also noted that the majority of respondents concurred that Daily Dawn is supporting American efforts to combat terrorism in Pakistan. It demonstrates that respondents, both male and female, believe Daily Dawn is supporting US policies in the fight against terrorism. According to the study's poll, respondents concurred that the Dawn newspaper is spotlighting such stories because it supports American policies in the fight against terrorism.

### Hypotheses Testing

The question of whether the media's agenda influenced the public's agenda was covered in this section. The operationalization of the respondents' computed variables pertaining to their issue priority was as follows:

**DJT:** The Daily Jang readers who gave the problem of terrorism top priority and talked about it with their friends and coworkers are included in this calculation. Since the six indications were combined into one, the computation ranged from 1 to 30.

**DDT:** The Daily Dawn readers who gave the problem of terrorism top priority and talked about it with their friends and coworkers are included in this calculation. Since the six indications were combined into one, the computation ranged from 1 to 30.

**DJPI:** The Daily Jang readers who gave political instability top priority and talked about it with their friends and coworkers are included in this calculation. Since the six indications were combined into one, the computation ranged from 1 to 30.

**DDPI:** The Daily Dawn readers who gave political uncertainty top priority on the first and talked about it with their friends and coworkers are included in our calculation. Since the six indications were combined into one, the computation ranged from 1 to 30.

**Table 23**

*Regression Analysis between Daily Jang's Readership with Priority on Terrorism and their Discussions*

		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>			T	Sig.
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta		
1	(Constant)	14.168	.549		14.571	.000
	DJT	1.081	.32	.37	3.37	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Discussion

Note. Given that  $t=3.37 > 1.96$  and  $\beta = 0.37$ , the findings showed that the computed value did not fall within the crucial region. The findings showed that the Daily Jang readership accounts for 37% of the difference in conversations with friends and coworkers. The findings validated the hypothesis.

**Table 24**

*Regression Analysis between Daily Dawn's Readership with Priority on Terrorism and their Discussions*

		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>			T	Sig.
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients B	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta		
1	(Constant)	13.212	.402		32.865	.000
	DDT	.981	.21	.24	4.67	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Discussion

Note. Given that  $t=4.67 > 1.96$ ,  $\beta = 0.24$ , the estimated value did not fall within the crucial range, according to the results. The findings showed that the Daily Dawn readership accounts for 24% of the variation in conversations with friends and coworkers. The findings validated the hypothesis.

**Table 25**





## Regression Analysis Between Daily Jang's Readership with Priority on Political Instability and their Discussions

Model		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>			T	Sig.
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	11.269	.269		41.892	.000
	DJPI	.443	.13	.28	3.40	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Discussion

**Table-26**

## Regression Analysis between Daily Dawn's Readership with Priority on Political Instability and their Discussions

Model		Coefficients <sup>a</sup>			T	Sig.
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	9.171	.241		38.053	.000
	DDPI	.549	.20	.25	2.74	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Discussion

Note. As  $t=2.74 > 1.96$ ,  $\beta = 0.25$ , the estimated value did not fall within the crucial range, according to the results. The findings showed that the Daily Dawn readership accounts for 25% of the variation in conversations about political instability with friends and coworkers. The findings validated the hypothesis.

## Conclusion

The study's findings looked at the evidence that the media and press have aided in the formation of the public's perceptions of various issues. The findings of this investigation corroborated those of Sadaf (2011), Harbert (2010), and Lustig & Olego (2016). The researchers evaluated the Dawn and Jang newspapers' agenda-setting and framing functions in influencing public opinion regarding the prevailing social issues in order to forward the main theme. Every subject is now openly covered in print and electronic media on a national and worldwide scale, making the media the most powerful instrument in all society. The findings also corroborate Riaz's (2009) study, which emphasized the role of print media in the agenda-setting process. The English and Urdu press in Pakistan is regarded as the most well-liked, reliable, and accountable mass media outlet. People use both to gain a thorough awareness of many contemporary situations with the aid of news articles. It is now commonplace for the media to have an agenda and for people to align themselves with the viewpoints that are presented. Regardless of age or educational background, all print media readers are impacted. Issues that are emphasized in print media are given more weight, and as a result, the media has undermined the significance of its readers' viewpoints.

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