

REFLECTION OF EDITORIAL POLICY ON NEWS CONTENTS

A STUDY OF LEADING PAKISTANI DAILIES IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

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INTRODUCTION: It is generally believed that the editorial of a newspaper reflects its policy. As it is defined in following definitions " Editorials are the soul of the newspapers".¹ "Editorial is a reflector of the policy of the newspaper".² "Editorials present the opinion of the newspapers".³ " The editorial voice of any newspaper is theoretically that of the owner or publisher".⁴ It is the prerogative of every newspaper to have its policy on different issues. On the other hand newspapers claim to observe objectivity in their news contents. The purpose of this research *The reflection of editorial policy on news contents: A study of leading Pakistani dailies in the perspective of national and international issues* is to find out the editorial policy of leading English and Urdu dailies of Pakistan on national and International issues (Categories) and to check the reflection of such editorial policy on news contents to see that how fair the newspapers are in their claim of maintaining objectivity in news contents. This study would help to understand the attitude of leading Pakistani dailies in respect of the editorial policy on different issues and also to know that how this policy is reflected on news contents. To operationalize this study, the researcher has selected two Urdu dailies *Daily Jang* and *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* and two

English dailies *The News* and *The Nation* on the basis of the fact that jang is believed to have the largest circulation in Pakistan. The categories regarding which the editorial policy of the above mentioned four newspapers and its reflection on news contents is studied, are Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (C.T.B.T.), Usama Bin Ladin (U.B.L.), Pakistan Peoples Party (Benazir Bhutto Group) (P.P.P.), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Sharif Group) (PML (N)) and Pak-Indian Relations (P.I.R.). PPP & PML (N) are treated as national issues whereas CTBT, UBL & PIR are considered as international issues. This study derived its theoretical framework from the Shoemaker's Concept of the Ideology of the Media Organization and Theory of Framing. The researcher has employed the quantitative as well as qualitative methods of content analysis.

LITERATURE REVIEW: The researcher could not find any specific literature on the "Reflection of editorial policy on news contents". The maximum available literature on the editorial was on its importance, sources, functions and such other elementary issues e.g. techniques of the editorial writing, classification of editorials and editorial credibility etc. However, a brief review of the literature related to the subject is given below:

Stonecipher (1979) defines editorial policy as "The editorial Policy of a news paper or a broadcast station, though vitally important in terms of how the medium operates, is often elusive and baffling to readers and listeners as well as media researcher. The policy may be elusive because it is often unstated and can be determined only in terms of editorial stances, the medium takes on controversial issues, the political candidates or programs the medium endorses or the types of the issues in which the medium is willing to become involved".⁵

Hijazi (1970) defines editorial policy as "Editorial is the soul of the newspaper which is reflective of its personality."⁶ He further says that "Due to Journalistic ethics, every newspaper is responsible for publishing news contents with objectivity and the policy of newspaper is specified to the editorials which must be written for the guidance of the public".⁷

Anjum (1968) explains editorial as a journalistic essay, which comments on events. It brings out the significance of contemporary men and matters, interprets and analyses them and passes Judgements on them. Its main purposes are to inform, influence or entertain the reader. It helps the reader to recognize and understand the importance of the problems and issues; it helps to shape up the public opinion.⁸

Wadseley & Campbell (1964) define editorial as "the voice of the newspaper; which reflects the policy of the newspapers".⁹ He further explains the editorial of the newspaper as "The newspaper's editorial is known as the "opinion Leader". The editorial of the newspaper serves as an instrument for the editor to mould the public opinion. It is true that the readers of the editorial comprise the small group of the people but they are the educated and influential persons".¹⁰

We have reviewed the available literature on this subject. The synthesis of the literature is that the policy of the newspaper is reflected through the editorial page which is also called opinion page. According to the international ethics for the journalism, news contents must be published correctly and objectively. News contents must be independent of the editorial policy.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: The purpose of searching a theoretical framework for a piece of research work is to

find out a safer place where the researcher can put his or her work so that it is not strayed in the mass body of knowledge ¹¹. Since social Science deals with human society and studies social relationships ¹², it is some times not very easy to find a specific theoretical framework for a research study undertaken in another society. In the field of mass communication, this situation becomes more complex because mass communication deals with the mass media but also studies psychology, philosophy, sociology, economics, politics, culture and international communication. That's why mass communication is considered interdisciplinary subject. The scholars from other fields like sociology; philosophy, psychology, economics, Political science, history and even literature studied communication from the perspective of their original subjects. But the problem is that they went back to their respective fields without trying to integrate their findings with other theorists ¹³. Due to this attitude, no integrated approach could develop in mass communication. Another problem that researcher of mass media usually face, while writing a theoretical framework, is that research in this field has not a much older tradition. This starts by the end of world war-1¹⁴.

It is not necessary that every research would be having a specific kind of its theoretical framework; nevertheless it may happen that it touches the boundaries of one and more theories ¹⁵. Or only a part of a theory may be related to the research work. The same is the case with this study, *The Reflection of editorial policy on news contents: A study of leading Pakistani dailies in the perspective of national and international issues*. So, let us have a glance on following theories, which may partially provide a theoretical framework for this study. (1). Concept of framing. (2). Shoemaker's concept of Organizational Ideology.

CONCEPT OF FRAMING: - This concept implies that how an event is portrayed in a particular story or article. The notion of framing appears to be emerging as a significant one in the mass communication theorization and research.¹⁶ We have related our study with the concept of framing because it is useful in studying the policy in the editorials of the national dailies *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *The Nation* and *The News* regarding the selected categories (issues), C.T.B.T, U.B.L, P.P.P, P.M.L (N), PIR.

SHOEMAKER'S CONCEPT OF ORGANIZATIONAL IDEOLOGY:¹⁷ It may also provide a theoretical framework for this research. This concept is based on the ideology of media financier's ideas, introduced by Altschull (1984). According to this idea the influence of the financier's ideology is necessarily direct. It operates through the entire process of gathering, shaping and transmitting news.¹⁸

RESEARCH QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY.

To study and evaluate *the reflection of editorial policy on news contents: A study of leading Pakistani dailies in the perspective of national and international issues*, following questions are addressed.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: -

1. What is the editorial policy of the *Daily Jang*, *The News*, *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* and *The Nation*? Regarding the category (1) C.T.B.T., (2) UBL, (3) PPP, (4) PML (N), (5) PIR?
2. Is there any reflection of editorial policy of *Daily Jang*, *The News*, *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *The Nation* on their news contents?
3. Is there any difference between the policy of English and Urdu press regarding the categories under study?

To bring all the questions in logical consistency and parsimonious form, the following hypotheses have been made:

HYPOTHESES: -

1. Editorial policy is reflected in the news contents of dailies.
2. Editorial policy of the English dailies is more reflected in their news contents than that of the Urdu dailies.
3. English press is more consistent in its editorial policy on international issues.

METHODOLOGY: The employed methodology of the study is content analysis¹⁹. Unit of analysis²⁰ used here is editorials written on the categories under study (CTBT, UBL, PPP, PML (N), PIR). In the study both quantitative and qualitative methods of content analysis have been used. Content analysis of four national dailies *Daily Jang*, *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Daily The News* and *The Nation* is done. Researcher emphasized only on five national & international categories. PPP & PML (N) are treated as national issues whereas CTBT, UBL & PIR are considered as international issues. The universe of study is spread over from January to December 1999. Researcher only examined a sample of three structured months. Editorial Policies of (above mentioned) Urdu and English press is derived from the editorials written on the categories under study. Researcher considered the above mentioned categories on the front and back pages of the newspapers and ranked them on the three-point scale i-e: positive, negative, and neutral. Category-wise coding scheme is considered on the ground that if a newspaper in its editorials and news is supportive to the viewpoint of the pro C.T.B.T countries (U.S.A, U.S.S.R, France, China, & England) then it is considered negative. If it is opposing them, then it is

positive because Pakistan is still reluctant to sign CTBT and if it is impartial to both these extremes then it is considered neutral. If a newspaper in its editorials and news is supporting the USA's ideas of "Terrorist Usama" then it is negative. If its editorials and news paint Usama as a "Muslim Mujahid" then it is positive and if its editorials & news are going in between these two ideas, then it is neutral. If editorials and news of a newspapers are supportive to the PPP (Benazir Bhutto (B.B), policies of B.B as opposition leader and as chairperson of PPP then it is considered positive. If its editorials and news are opposite to PPP (Policies of B.B as opposition leader and chairperson of PPP) then it is considered negative and if they are partly appreciating and partly criticizing or if some suggestions are set forward for the improvement then it is neutral. If editorials and news of a newspapers are supportive to the PML (N), Policies of Nawaz Sharif as Prime minister of Pakistan, President of Pakistan Muslim league Nawaz group (PML (N)) then it is positive and if its editorials & news are opposite of the above criteria then it is negative. Likewise if its editorials or news are partly criticizing and partly appreciating the PML (N) then it is neutral. If a newspaper is supporting the traditional Pakistani perspective on Pak-India relations, then it is considered positive. If it is against to the traditional Pakistani viewpoint then it is negative and if its (newspaper's) editorials or news are in between these two viewpoints and some suggestions for the Pak-India Relations are also given then it is neutral. Here, traditional Pakistani perspective means that India is considered as the biggest enemy of Pakistan who has waged three declared wars against Pakistan in 1948, 1965, 1971²¹. And many undeclared wars are also imposed. There are many disputed issues between

the two countries like Kashmir, Kargill, cross border terrorism, distribution of water, smuggling etc.

For the reliable research analysis, the researcher trained three coders. Operational definitions, sample, category schemes and ranking were explained for the coders to make them thoroughly familiar with the study's mechanics and peculiarities²². For this, the researcher has planed several lengthy training sessions in which sample contents were examined and coded. During these sessions definitions were revised, clarified the boundaries of the categories and revamped coding sheets for the purpose of working comfort of the coders. After this stage, a pilot study with other set of trained coders was done to check inter coder reliability. All collected data through coders presented in the form of tables was researcher has interpreted the data and drew the results. These results and the quantitative analysis are followed by a thorough qualitative analysis. Key categories²³ (C.T.B.T, U.B.L, P.P.P, PML (N), PIR) of contents are identified and in these categories the editorial policies of *Daily Jang*, *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Daily The News* and *Daily The Nation* are analyzed and their reflection on news is also observed.

Table No. 1.

Daily Jang

Categories	Editorials			News		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	1.3 %	-	-	0.08%	0.03%	0.12%
2	1.02 %	-	-	0.13%	0.004%	-
3	-	-	1.19 %	1.47%	0.45%	1.19%
4	-	0.63 %	6.21 %	0.32%	2.09%	2.85%
5	14 %	4 %	2 %	3.5%	0.33%	1.24%

Total editorial space in three structured months of 1999 (4590 ccm).

Total space of front and back pages in three structured months of 1999 (77040 ccm).

- Category: 1. CTBT. 2. U.B.L. 3. PPP.
 4. PML (N). 5. P.I.R

The table shows that for the category 1, *Daily Jang* has given 1.3 % space to the positive editorials while no space has been given to neutral and negative editorials. In news contents, *Daily Jang* has given 0.08% to positive news. For the neutral news space was 0.03%. And 0.12% space has been given to the negative news. For the category 2, *Daily Jang* has given 1.02% space to the positive editorials and no space to neutral and negative editorials. On the news pages for the category 2 Jang has given 0.13% space to positive news. For the neutral news 0.004% space has been given. And for the negative news there was no space given by *Daily Jang*. For the category 3 *Daily Jang* has not given any space to the positive and neutral editorials. But for negative editorials it has given 1.19% space. In news contents for the same category Jang has given 1.47% space to the positive news, 0.45% space to the neutral and 1.19% to the negative news. For the category 4, *Daily Jang* has given no space to positive editorials. It has given 0.63% space to neutral editorials and 6.21% space to the negative editorials. On the news pages for category 4, it has given 0.32% space to positive news, 2.09% to the neutral news and 2.85% to the negative news. For the category 5, *Daily Jang* has given 14% space to positive editorials. It has given 4% space to the neutral editorials and 2 % space to the negative editorials while in news contents, for the category 5, it has given 3.5% space to the positive news, 0.33% space to the neutral news and 1.24% space to the negative news.

Reflection of Editorial Policy on New Contents

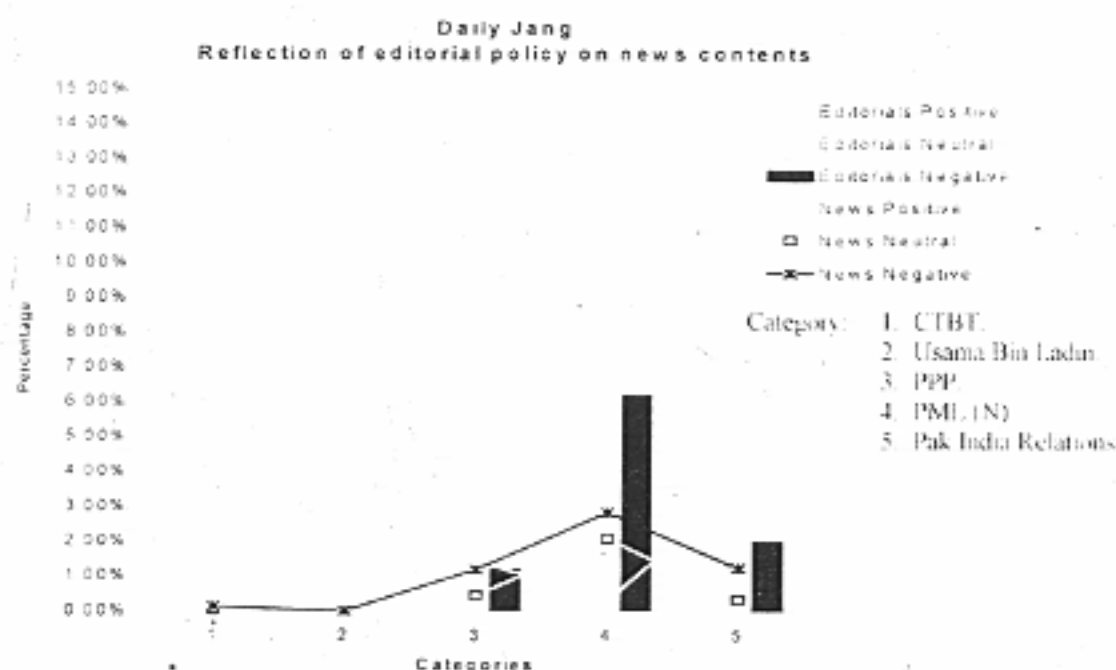


Table No. 2.

The News

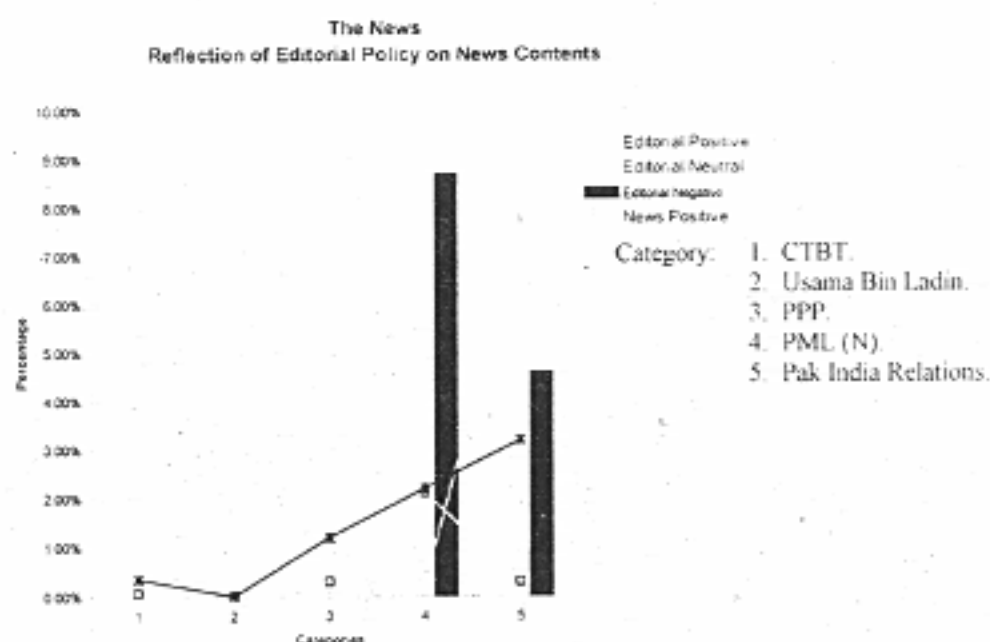
Categories	Editorials			News		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	1.4 %	-	-	0.56%	0.07%	0.36%
2	1.2 %	-	-	0.3%	0.03%	-
3		1.3 %	-	1.7%	0.3%	1.2%
4	-	1.6 %	8.7 %	0.3%	2.1%	2.2%
5	-	0.99 %	4.6 %	7.4%	0.3%	3.2%

Total editorial space in three structured months of 1999 (4230 ccm).
Total space of front and back pages in three structured months of 1999 (77040 ccm).

Category: 1. CTBT. 2. U BL. 3. PPP.
4. PML (N). 5. PIR..

The above table reveals that the category 1, the News has given 1.4% space to the positive editorials. This newspaper has not given any space to the neutral and negative editorials about category 1. In news contents it has given 0.56% space to positive news, 0.07% space to neutral news and 0.36% to negative news. For the category 2, The News has given 1.2% space to positive editorials while no space is given to neutral and negative editorials. In news contents, this newspaper has given 0.3% space to positive news and 0.03% space to neutral news while no space is given to the

negative news. For the category 3, *The News* has given no space to the positive editorials. It has given 1.3% space for neutral editorials but for negative editorials, no space is given. For the same category 3, in news contents *The News* has given 1.7% space to the positive news, 0.3% space for the neutral news and 1.2% space for the negative news. For the category 4, *The News* has not given any space to the positive editorials. It has given 1.6% space to the neutral editorials and 8.7% to the negative editorials. While in news contents, for the category 4, *The News* has given 0.3% space to the positive News, 2.1% space to the neutral news and 2.2% space to negative news. For the category 5, *The News* has given no space to the positive editorials. But it has given 0.99% space to the neutral editorials and 4.6% space to the negative editorials. For the category 5, *The News* has given 7.4% space to the positive news, 0.3% space to the neutral news and 3.2% to the negative news.



Reflection of Editorial Policy on New Contents

Table No. 3.

The *Nawa-i-Waqt*

Categories	Editorials			News		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	1.75 %	-	-	0.2 %	0.05 %	0.3 %
2	0.85 %	-	-	0.2 %	0.01 %	0.1 %
3	-	-	2.4 %	1 %	0.3 %	2.1 %
4	-	4 %	6.5 %	1 %	1.3 %	6.90 %
5	20 %	3 %	-	6.4 %	0.6 %	1.4 %

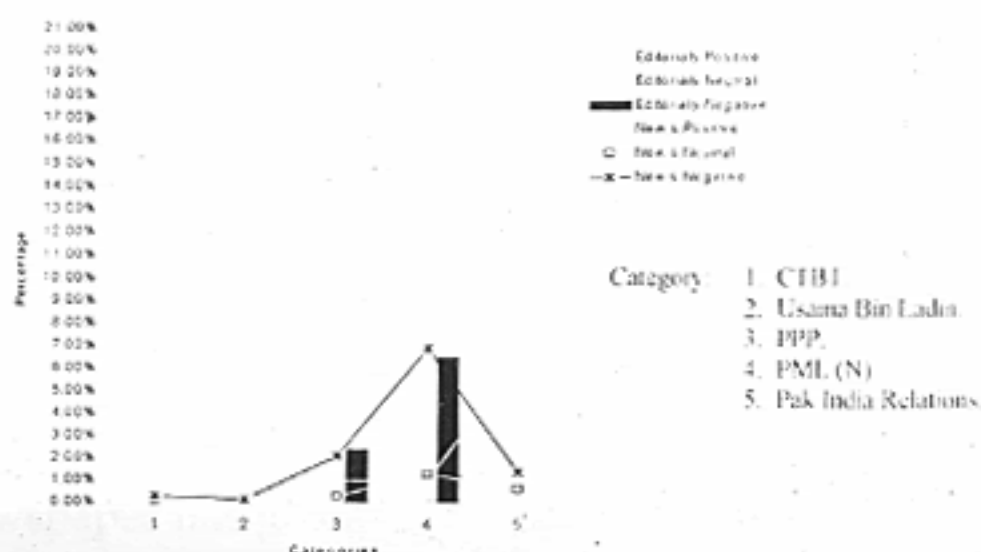
Total editorial space in three structured months of 1999 (6120 ccm).

Total space of front and back pages in three structured months of 1999 (68040 ccm).

➤ Category: 1. CTBT. 2. UBL 3. PPP.
4. PML (N). 5. PIR

This table shows that the *Nawa-i-Waqt*, for the category 1, has given 1.75% space to the positive editorials, whereas no space is given to neutral and negative editorials. On news pages, it (*Nawa-i-Waqt*) has given 0.2% space to positive news, 0.05% space to the neutral news and 0.3% space to the negative news. For category 2, the *Nawa-i-Waqt* has given 0.85% space to positive editorials only and no space is given to neutral and negative editorials, whereas it has given 0.2% space to positive news, 0.01% space to the neutral news and 0.1% space to the negative news. For the

Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*
Reflection of Editorial Policy on News Contents



category 3, *Nawa-i-Waqt* has not given any space to positive and neutral editorials. It has given 2.4% space to the negative editorials only. In news contents it has given 1% space to the positive news, 0.3% space to the neutral news, and 2.1% space to the negative news. For the category 4, no space is given to the positive editorials by the *Nawa-i-Waqt* whereas it has given 4% space to the neutral editorial and 6.5% space to the negative editorials. In news contents, the *Nawa-i-Waqt* has given 1% space to positive news, 1.3% space to the neutral news, and 6.90% space to the negative news. For category 5, the paper has given 20% space to the positive editorials, 3% to the neutral editorials but no space to the negative editorials. On the other hand the paper has given 6.4% space to positive news, 0.6% space to the neutral news and 1.4% space to the negative news for the same category.

Table No. 4.

The Nation

Categories	Editorials			News		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	2.7 %	-	-	0.8 %	0.1 %	0.3 %
2	0.6 %	-	-	0.7 %	0.12 %	0.2 %
3	0.7 %	0.85 %	1.7 %	1.2 %	0.2 %	2.3 %
4	-	2.7 %	5 %	2.1 %	0.4 %	2.4 %
5	11.8 %	1.04 %	2 %	5.7 %	0.5 %	2.6 %

Total editorial space in three structured months of 1999 (5850 ccm).

Total space of front and back pages in three structured months of 1999 (66780 ccm).

Category: 1. CTBT. 2. UBL 3. PPP.
4. PML (N). 5. PIR

This table shows that *The Nation* for the category 1, has given 2.7% space to the positive editorials and no space to the neutral and negative editorials whereas, in news contents, it has given 0.8% space to the positive news, 0.1% space to the neutral news and 0.3% space to the negative news. For the category 2, *The Nation* has given 0.6% space

to the positive editorials and no space is given to the neutral and negative editorials. In news contents 0.7% space is given to positive news, 0.12% space to the neutral news and 0.2% space to the negative news. For the category 3, this newspaper has given 0.7% space to the positive editorials, 0.85% space to the neutral editorials and 1.7% space to the negative editorials. In news contents *The Nation* has given 1.2% space to the positive news, 0.2% space to the neutral news and 2.3% space to the negative news. For the category 4, *The Nation* has given no space to the positive editorials. Whereas it has given 2.7% space to the neutral editorials and 5% space to the negative editorials. In the news contents, for the category 4, *The Nation* has given 2.1% space to the positive news, 0.4% space to the neutral news and 2.4% space to the negative news. For the category 5, *The Nation* has given 11.8% space to the positive editorials, 1.04% space to the neutral editorials and 2% space to the negative editorials whereas in news contents, *The Nation* has given 5.7% space to the positive news, 0.5% space to the neutral news and 2.6% space to the negative news for the same category.

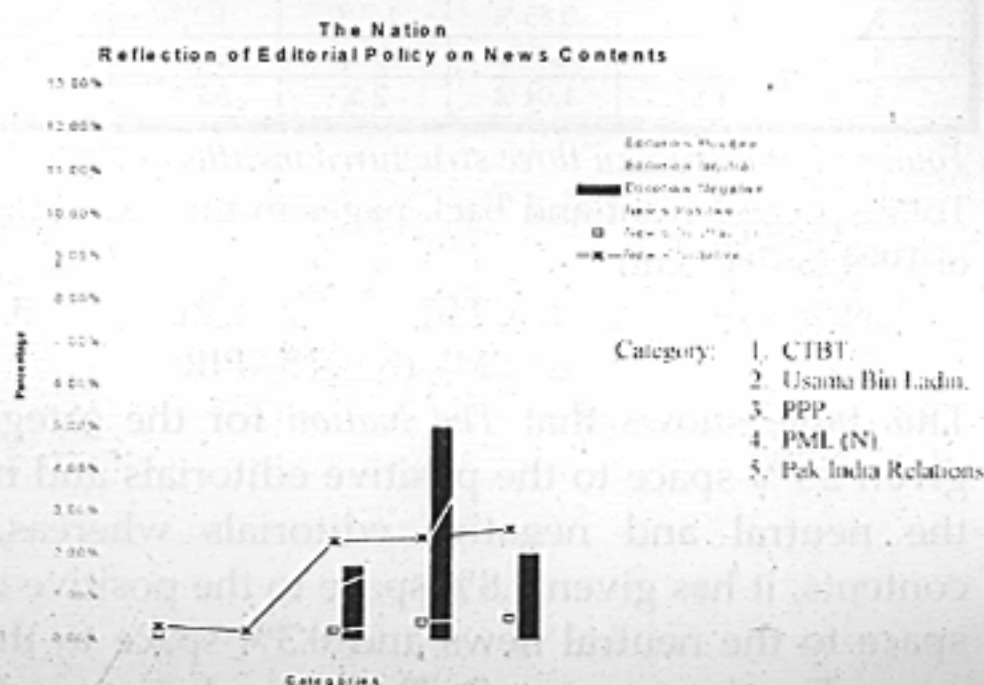


Table No. 5

ENGLISH PRESS

Newspapers Categories	THE NEWS			THE NATION		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	1.4 %	-	-	2.7%	-	-
2	1.2 %	-	-	0.6%	-	-
3	-	1.3 %	-	0.7%	0.85%	1.7%
4	-	1.6%	8.7%	-	2.7%	5 %
5	-	0.99%	4.6%	11.8%	1.04%	2 %

The table cited above indicates that the dailies "*The News*" and "*The Nation*" have given 1.4% and 2.7% space to the category 1, on editorial pages respectively. Space given was clearly positive. For category 2, *The News* has given 1.2% and *The Nation* has given 0.6% space to the positive editorials. For 3rd category *The News* has given 1.3% space to the neutral editorial, no space was given to the positive and negative editorials. While *The Nation* has given 0.7% to positive editorials, 0.85% to the neutral editorials and 1.7% to the negative editorials. For category 4, *The News* has given 1.6% to neutral editorials and 8.7% to negative editorials while *The Nation* has given 2.7% to neutral and 5% to negative editorials. Both newspapers gave no space to positive editorials on this category. On category 5, *The News* has given 0.99% to neutral and 4.6% to negative editorials while no space was given to positive editorials. On the other hand *The Nation* has given 11.8% to positive editorials, 1.04% and 2% space to neutral and negative editorials respectively.

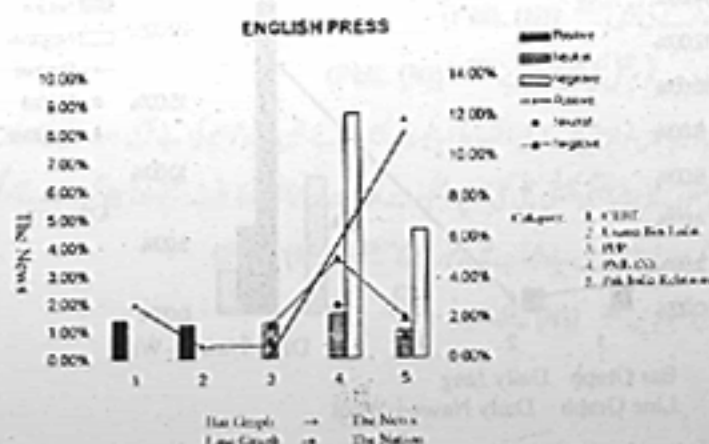
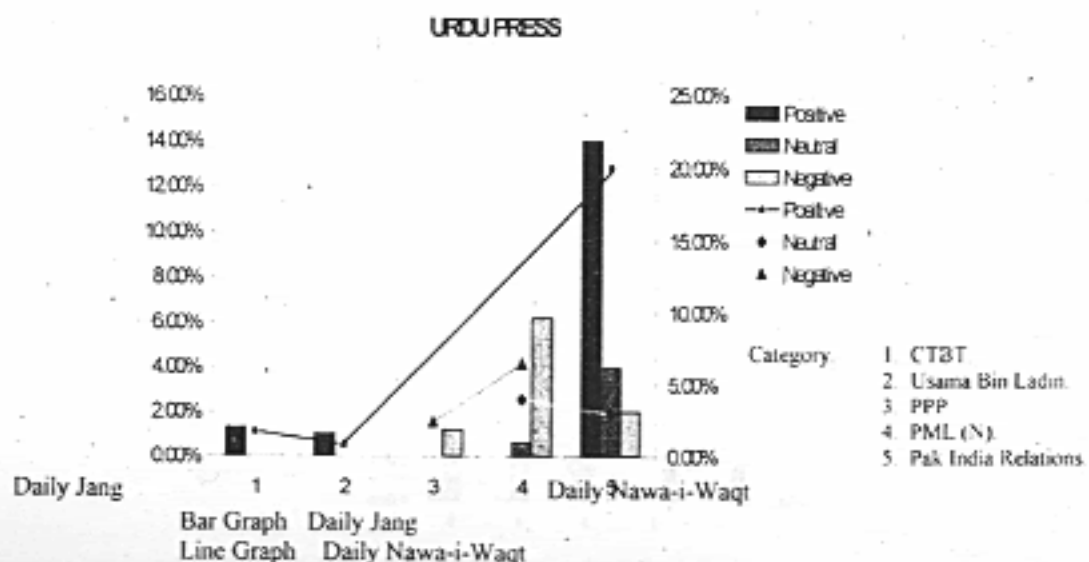


Table No. 6

URDU PRESS

Newspapers	DAILY JANG			DAILY Nawa-i-Waqt		
Categories	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1	1.3 %	-	-	1.75 %	-	-
2	1.02 %	-	-	0.85 %	-	-
3	-	-	1.2 %	-	-	2.4 %
4	-	0.63 %	6.21 %	-	4 %	6.5 %
5	14 %	4 %	2 %	20 %	3 %	-

The table shows that the *daily Jang* and daily *The Nawa-i-Waqt* have treated the category 1 and 2 positively. Both newspapers have given 1.3%, & 1.75%, & 1.02% and 0.85% to the categories 1 and 2 respectively. In both newspapers category 3 was treated negatively. *Daily Jang* has given 1.2 % space while *The Nawa-i-Waqt* has given 2.4% space. On category 4, no editorial was written positively by both newspapers. *Daily Jang* has given 0.63% and 6.21% to the neutral and negative editorials respectively and daily *The Nawa-i-Waqt* has given 4% and 6.5% to the neutral and negative editorials respectively. For category 5 *Daily Jang* has given 14%, 4% and 2% to positive, neutral and negative editorials respectively and *The Nawa-i-Waqt* has given 20% and 3% to the positive and neutral editorials respectively. No negative editorials was written on this category.



DISCUSSION:

After the analysis of the data we can observe that *Daily Jang* had firm editorial policy about the categories under study. Although apparently, it seemed that it was a liberal and commercial newspaper with flexible policy ²⁴. As on categories 1 (CTBT) and 2 (U.B.L), *Daily Jang* was firmly at positive end in its editorials. But both categories were less discussed in editorials. The strong positive editorial policy of "*Jang*" on C.T.B.T. was reflected through following words of editorials.

"اس (C.T.B.T) پر دستخط کرنا اپنی آزادی سلامتی اور وقار کے تحفظوں کو پس پشت ڈالنے کے مترادف ہے" ²⁵ (C.T.B.T.)

But this positive reflection of the editorial policy was consistent only in presentation of news contents of 2nd category. While on category 1, this positive reflection of editorial policy was not observed, as *Daily Jang* gave more than half of the total space on news pages to the negative news contents.

On categories 3 (PPP) & 4 (PML (N) editorial policy was again clear, that was openly negative. Following topics & paragraphs of editorial showed the *Jang's* policy clearly.

"متمرد ملکی سلامتی کے معاملات میں ہوشمندی کا ثبوت دیں" ²⁶ (PPP)

"پاکستان کو بچانے کی کوشش کریں" چاہ کرنے کی نہیں" ²⁷ (PML (N))

"شہباز شریف کے خوش آمد و گودے۔۔۔ قوم مل کی بھی خطر ہے" ²⁸ (PML (N))

"۔۔۔۔۔ بے حساب اختیارات کے باوجود میں نواز شریف ایسی اقتصادی پالیسیاں نہیں لائے جن سے عوام کی بے چینی دور ہوتی، صوبوں سے نا انصافی ختم

ہوتی۔۔۔۔۔ ان کی اپنی جماعت کے مفوں میں ناراضگی بھیلی چلی گئی" اپوزیشن سے عداوت اور مخالفت کا سلسلہ وسیع ہوتا چلا گیا۔۔۔۔۔ کارگل کے مسئلے پر جس

طرح قوم اور فوج کے ساتھ کھیلایا وہ بھی ہماری تاریخ میں سیاہ ابواب میں رقم رہے گا" ²⁹ (PML (N))

"کل بے بسی اور آج بے کسی کی منہ بولی تصویریں" ³⁰ (PML (N))

Reflection of this negative policy on news contents of categories 3 & 4 was elusive as in category 3 space given to the positive and negative news contents was almost equal and in category 4, space given to the negative and neutral was approximately equal. *Daily Jang* gave much importance to these categories in news contents than in editorials. It published one editorial on PPP, but published news were more than one hundred. The same policy was carried on for the category 4. Most of the news were in boxes but negative news about PML (N) were not only in "box" but head lines of these news were screened also. This showed that *Daily Jang* had highlighted the negative news about the category. Depth of the headlines of negative news about the category 4 was also more than that of the positive news.

Most emphasized category in *Daily Jang* was No. 5. (Pak-India Relations) Editorial policy was clearly positive. A lot of space was given to this category in editorials as well as in news contents. A numbers of news consisting of leads and super-leads were published on this category. Reflection of strong positive editorial policy was easily seen on news contents. News of this category were also displayed along with photographs and screened headlines. Which shows enthusiasm of the paper in this category. Single column news were always in boxes. On Kargil crises, most of the news were displayed on upper half of the front or back pages, enclosed in a "big box". The news about Kashmir issues were mostly with photographs, cartoons and maps. These were highlighted with hollow and screened headlines and margin lines.

Daily *The News* had a visible positive editorial policy for the category 1 & 2. But these categories were rarely discussed in editorials. Reflection of this positive editorial

policy was easily observed in news contents. As daily *The News* gave no place for negative news on category 2. While on category 1 negative news stories were presented but comparatively in small space.

Category 3 (PPP) was also a less discussed one in editorials. Policy of the editorials on this category was neutral. But this neutral editorial policy was not reflected in news contents. Most of the news contents were ranked as positive and negative. Space given to neutral news was relatively small.

Category 4 (PML (N) was a little bit more discussed category in editorials. Editorial policy was clearly negative on this category. Negative policy was clearly reflected from following lines of the editorials.

"Firing Karam Dad mosque (a small mosque in a remote village) Government. fails to stop sectarian militants." ³¹

"Gallop Survey: Nawaz Sharif regime failed to give relief to public and to achieve the target to reduce poverty, which means policy failure." ³²

Reflection of this negative policy was clearly observed on news contents. But besides the negative news to some extent equal neutral news were also found, having almost-equal space of the negative news.

Daily *The News* was the only newspaper, which has negative editorial policy about the category 5 (Pak-India Relations). In its editorials *The News* commonly emphasized on the good relations with India due to the economic crises, it also appreciated the Lahore Pact. In short, daily *The News* has not supported the traditional

Pakistani perspective of Pak-India relations. This negative policy was shown in these lines of editorial "Mr. Vajpaye's remarks are an indication of what the Indians really mean by agreeing to discuss the Kashmir issue, there should be no illusion in Islamabad about the beginning of a new chapter in Pak-India relation ³³."

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But this negative editorial policy was not reflected on news contents. As *The News* had given double space to the positive news contents than that of the negative news.

Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* had also firm editorial policies on categories under study. "Reflection of editorial policy on news contents" was visible in *Nawa-i-Waqt*. As on categories 1 & 2 *Nawa-i-Waqt* had a clear-cut positive editorial policy. This positive editorial policy was shown through the following editorials on category 1 & 2.

i۔ بھارت نے انتخابات کی آئینکری ٹی بی ٹی پر دستخط کرنے کے مسئلے کو اتوا میں ڈال دیا ہے۔۔۔۔۔ دوسری طرف ہم محدود مقاصد کی تکمیل کے عوض سی ٹی بی ٹی پر دستخط کرنے کی طرف مائل بلکہ بے تاب ہو رہے ہیں۔ پاکستان کے وزیر خارجہ شمشاد احمد کے اس بیان کو بڑی تشویش سے دیکھا گیا ہے کہ پاکستان عائد شدہ پابندیوں کے خاتمے کے لیے کوشاں ہے اور ان کے خاتمے کے بعد سی ٹی بی ٹی پر دستخط کرنے پر آمادہ ہے۔۔۔۔۔ بھارت اگر انتخابات کی آئینکری ٹی بی ٹی پر دستخط ملتوی کر سکتا ہے تو پاکستان اس پر دستخط کرنے کے لئے کیوں دہلا ہو رہا ہے۔ سی ٹی بی ٹی پر قومی رائے عامہ وزیراعظم سے پوشیدہ نہیں۔۔۔۔۔ دشمن ملک کے عزائم کو سامنے رکھ کر ایسا فیصلہ کیا جائے جو پوری باقی قوم کے لئے قابل قابل ہو۔۔۔۔۔ (C.T.B.T)۔³⁴

ii۔ کوئی مانے یا نہ مانے محدودے چند امریکہ نواز اور ملک کے انٹیلی پروگرام کے ازلی مخالف عناصر کے سوا باقی قوم اس امر پر متفق ہے کہ جب تک مسئلہ کشمیر حل نہیں ہوتا، بھارت سے تعلقات خوشگوار نہیں ہوتے۔۔۔۔۔ نہ صرف پاکستان انٹیلی تجربات کا حق برقرار رکھے بلکہ اس حق سے دستبرداری کی دستاویز پر دستخط نہ کرے۔۔۔۔۔ (C.T.B.T)۔³⁵

iii۔ جہاں تک اسامہ بن لادن کا معاملہ ہے تو اس پر دہشت گردی کا الزام آج تک کسی غیر جانبدار ادارے یا عدالت میں ثابت نہیں ہوا۔۔۔۔۔ (U.B.L)۔³⁶

This strong positive editorial policy was not fully reflected in news contents regarding category 1. As newspaper had given almost equal space to the positive and negative news contents. Most of the news about the category were published on front pages of this daily. Almost all the positive news about category 1 were in "box". While on category 2, the reflection of editorial policy was more than that of category 1. Nawa-i-Waqt had published negative news about the category but most of these were on back pages of the newspaper. These negative news were published on lesser space as compared to positive news on the same category.

On categories 3 & 4, The Nawa-i-Waqt had a strong negative editorial policy. The strong negative editorial policy of Nawa-i-Waqt can be clearly seen through these topics of the editorials about the category 3 & 4.

سابق وزیراعظم کا دوا دیا اور جینی حقائق۔۔۔۔۔ (PPP)³⁷

پاک فوج کے خلاف بے نظیر بھٹو کی تازہ مہم۔۔۔۔۔ (PPP)³⁸

امن کی خواہش۔۔۔۔۔ مائیکل ٹی۔۔۔۔۔ PML (N)³⁹

انتخابات اور پولیس کی اصلاح وزیراعظم اور وزیراعلیٰ ہی کر سکتے ہیں۔ اس لیے وہ ہر روز بیان جاری فرمانے کی بجائے عملی اقدام

کریں۔۔۔۔۔ PML (N)⁴⁰

معصیت کی بہتری کا دعویٰ اور جینی حقائق۔۔۔۔۔ PML(N)⁴¹

Reflection of this negative editorial policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* on news about both categories was much clear. Yet it was worth noticing that although *Nawa-i-Waqt* had a strong negative editorial policy about the category 3 & 4. This policy was visible on news contents but it had published colored photographs of Benézire Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto not only with their news stories but also without any newsworthy item *Nawa-i-Waqt* had published most of the positive news of PPP in "box". The same policy was shown in presentation of news stories of category 4. Editorial policy was negative and reflected clearly on news contents. But it seemed that *Nawa-i-Waqt* had a soft corner for Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif as most of the positive news about category 4 belonged to Shahbaz Sharif. In editorial, *Nawa-i-Waqt* had used soft words for him as:

PML(N)⁴²-----"دہشت گردی کا خاتمہ لازمی مگر تدبیر اور ہوشمندی کے ساتھ"

In this editorial although *Nawa-i-Waqt* had criticized the policy of Shahbaz but it had used low tone & soft phrases. But in an editorial bout Nawaz Sharif *Nawa-i-Waqt* addressed him as.

PML(N)⁴³-----"میاں صاحب ہوش کے ناخن لیں"

The policy difference of *Nawa-i-Waqt* about two leaders of PML (N) was clear.

About category 5, positive editorial policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* was very clear. As *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given a lot of space to this category in its editorials in the month of July 1999, *Nawa-i-Waqt* had discussed this category in its editorials continuously for eleven days.

Nawa-i-Waqt had given much more importance to this category as compared to other understudy newspapers,

this open positive editorial policy was depicted through following topics and statements of the editorials.

”بھارتی حکمرانوں کی بڑکیں اور امریکہ۔۔۔۔۔۔ (PIR)⁴⁴“

"اعلان وائٹلشن سے لا تعلقی کی ضرورت۔۔۔۔۔(PIR)⁴⁵

ماضی کا تجربہ ہے کہ ہمارے مجاہدین اور مسلح افواج نے جو کامیابیاں حاصل کیں وہ ہماری وزارت خارجہ کے امریکہ نواز اہلکاروں نے مفکرات کی میز پر ضائع کر دیں۔۔۔۔۔ اب بھی خدشہ محسوس کیا جا رہا ہے کہ کارگل کی کامیابیوں نے پوری پاکستانی اور کشمیری قوم کے حوصلے بلند اور جذبے جوان کئے ہیں۔ مگر ہماری وزارت خارجہ کے بعض افسروں اور ذمہ داروں کی پتلونیں گیلی ہو رہی ہیں۔ وہ جنگ کے خدشے سے بھی تھر تھرا کانپ رہے ہیں اور انہیں سب سے بڑا خوف امریکہ بہادر کی ناراضگی کا ہے۔۔۔۔۔ (PIR)⁴⁶

This open positive policy was reflected clearly in news contents. As *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given negligible space to negative and neutral news. Most of the negative news about the category were published on back pages of the newspaper. News stories about Kashmir and Kargil were mostly published on front pages with colored photographs. More than 50% leads and super leads of *Nawa-i-Waqt* were from the news stories of category 5.

After the resolution of the factual information it can be synthesized that the daily *The Nation* had a stipulated editorial policy. *The Nation* was most consistent in reflection of its editorial policy on news contents as compared to all newspapers under study. On category 1 & 2 editorial policy of *The Nation* was purely positive. As it can be noticed from following sentences of the editorial of the daily *The Nation*. The choice is not simply signing or not signing CTBT, the choice lies between further load of debt dependency and in security on one hand and self reliance, national pride and sovereignty on the other hand. We want our leaders to take a logical stand. We are not opposed to the treaty, we are against the discrimination like all peace loving nations of the world, we too want to

see the elimination of the nuclear weapons but from the whole of the world and not from Pakistani arsenal alone⁴⁷".

The positive editorial policy on category 2 might be observed from these lines of the editorial written about Usama Bin Ladin.

"Usama an other Sala-u-Din Ayubbi who is unfortunately facing worse and powerful enemy than the former one had"⁴⁸.

Reflection of this positive editorial policy of *The Nation* on news contents was clear. Both the categories were treated on news pages very positively. Although space was also given to the negative and neutral news but the total sum of the space given to negative & neutral news was less than the half of the space given to positive category.

On categories 3 & 4 editorial policy was negative. This negative editorial policy was perceived through following lines of the editorials about category 3 "... she put her fight in the line of five. And for that she can only blame herself"⁴⁹.

Negative editorial policy for category 4 was seen in these lines:

"The provinces of Sindh, which is the second larges unit of the federation cannot be kept deprived of an elected administration for long. Mr. Ghous Ali Shah (P.M advisor on Sindh) has to decide now whether partial election as concerned by him are at all possible in near future, or whether province wide fresh elections be conducted. But national interest demands the installation of a representative government at the earliest. The more the matter is delayed, the greater the complications that Mr. Shah will have to face"⁵⁰.

Following topic of the editorial also makes clear the negative editorial policy of the newspaper about category 4.

"I am innocent", says Nawaz".

The reflection of negative editorial policy of *The Nation* was reflected on its news contents on categories 3 & 4. But a small space was also given to the positive and neutral news.

About category 5, positive editorial policy of *The Nation* was very clear. But *The Nation* had given less space to this category as compared to the *Nawa-i-Waqt*. Positive editorial policy of *The Nation* can be seen through these lines of the editorial in which the open negative response on the statement of The Prime Minister Mr. Vajpayee was given by the newspaper.

"He said that, Pakistan should know that if we can extend the hand of friendship, we can also teach it a lesson. He, it seems spoke in haste. Probably he did not have time to consult the balance sheet of gains and losses that his military provided him. We think that it is not right to boast about what a few hundred freedom fighters did in the matter of teaching a lesson⁵²".

Data suggest that reflection of editorial policy of *The Nation* on its news contents on category 5 but this newspaper had also given coverage to the negative & neutral news on category 5 but this newspaper had also given coverage to the negative & neutral news.

RESULTS: (1) Editorial policy of the "*Daily Jang*" was very positive for category 1, as it opposed the opinion of 5 leaders of the pro-CTBT countries (America, Russia, China, England and France). *Daily Jang* had published one editorial, that was positive, having 1.3% of the total space

(4590 C.Cm). On category 2 "*Daily Jang*" had published only one editorial that was positive and having the space 1.02%. It has depicted Usama Bin Ladin as an Islamic Hero, so we may say the policy is positive. *Daily Jang*'s editorial policy was negative on category 3, as it does not support the opinion of Benazir and PPP. Only one editorial was published, that was negative and occupied that 1.2% space of the total. On the category 4, "*Daily Jang*" had published total five editorials, having 6.8% of the total space, of which one was neutral and 4 were negative, having space 0.63% and 6.2% respectively.

Thus we may say that the editorial policy of *Jang* was negative on this category. Total 17 editorials, having 20% of total space were published on category 5, of these, 12 editorials having space 14% were positive, 3 editorials having space 4% were neutral and editorial having 2 % space were negative. So, policy on this category was also clear, that was positive.

Editorial policy of "*The News*" on category 1, was almost same as the editorial policy "*Daily Jang*". It had also published only one editorial on this category. Editorial published was positive and having 1.4% of the total space (4230 c. cm). As daily "*The News*" had portrayed Usama-Bin-Ladin as a Muslim Mujahid" so the editorial policy of the newspaper under study was clearly positive. Space given to this category on editorial page was 1.2% of the total space. On this category, daily *The News* had a different policy than that of the daily "*Jang*". *Daily Jang* had a clear positive editorial policy on this category but daily "*The News*" had a neutral editorial policy on 3rd category. It gave 1.3% of the total space. Daily *The News* gave a special attention to category 4, because it gave more than 10% of the total space to this category. Editorial policy of Newspaper under study was loudly negative as it had

given 8.7% space to the negative editorials out of 10% total space given to the category on editorial pages and only 1.6% space to the neutral editorials. Daily *The News* gave less importance to category 5 as compared to the neutral editorials. Daily *The News* gave less importance to category 5 as compared to "*The Daily Jang*". Daily *The News* had given 1/4th space as compared to "*Daily Jang*" to category 5. It had given 5.6% of the total space to this category. Space given to negative editorials was 4.6% while to neutral editorials only 1% space was given. This Shows the open negative policy of the newspapers. On category 1, two editorials have been published by *Nawa-i-Waqt*. Both are positive and had 1.7% of the total space (6120 c.cm). This showed that the *Nawa-i-Waqt's* editorial policy was fairly positive. *Nawa-i-Waqt* had published only one editorial on category 2. Space given to this category was 0.85% of the total space i.e. (6120 c.cm). *Nawa-i-Waqt* brings forth Usama Bin Ladin as Muslim "Mujahid" and openly opposed American's viewpoint about Usama as a "terrorist". So, the policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* was clearly positive *Nawa-i-Waqt* had published 3 editorials on 3rd category. These were negative, having 2.4% of the total space. These all editorials were negative on category under study, because *Nawa-i-Waqt* strongly criticized people's party & Benazir Bhutto. On this category 4, *Nawa-i-Waqt* had published 11 editorials which were 10.5% of the total space i.e. (6120 c.cm), 7 editorials were negative, having space 6.5% and 4 were neutral having space 4%. So we can say that *Nawa-i-Waqt's* editorial policy was negative on category 4. On category 5, total 27 editorial had been published which had 23% of the total space. Out of the 23% total space, 20% was given to positive editorials. This ratio showed positive editorial policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* for 5th category. The Nation had published 3 editorials on

category 1. All were positive as these strongly opposed the five leaders of CTBT. Space given to these editorials was 2.7% of the total space i.e. (5850 c.cm). So editorial policy of *The Nation* was clearly positive on the category under study. On category 2, *The Nation* had published only one editorial, having space 0.6% of the total. This alone editorial was clearly positive. So we may say that editorial policy on the category was positive. Total 4 editorials were published on 3rd category. 3.28% space, was given to this category. From this 3.28% space 0.7% was given to the positive, 0.85% to neutral and 1.7% to the negative editorials. These percentages showed the negative policy of *The Nation* on this category. *The Nation* had published 9 editorial on category 4. Space given to this category was 7.8%. Out of this 2.7% was given to neutral editorials and 5% was to negative editorials. This showed the loud negative policy of *The Nation*. On category 5, 16 editorials were published. Space given to this category was 14.9%, out of this 11.8% was given to the positive editorial only 1% space was given to neutral and 2% was given to negative editorials. This showed positive editorial policy of *The Nation* on Category 5 But *The Nation* had given lesser space to this category in its editorials as compared to the daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, although the policy was same. (See table 1,2,3 and 4)

(2) The category No. 1 was discussed in editorial only once in our whole sample. That editorial had 58 c. cm (1.3%) space, out of the total space 4590 c. cm in the whole period. The only editorial on the category was positive. Where as 13 news, having total space 177 c. cm had been published on front & back pages of the paper which was 0.23% of the total space i.e. 77040 c. cm, space given to the positive news was 0.08%, neutral news were 0.03% and negative news were 0.12%. So, more than 50% space is given to the negative news. These news were the

statements of the nuclear powers and projected the policy of USA, China, France, UK and Russia. This reflects that though in editorial. The "*Daily Jang*" has supported the category 1 but this support was not reflected in the news contents.

On the category 2 "*Daily Jang*" had published one editorial, having space 47 c. cm (1.02%) of the total space. The editorial was positive. On the other hand, Jang had published 10 news on the category 2, space given to this news was 101 c. cm (0.13%) of the total space. Out of this space 0.12% was given to positive news and 0.01% space was given to the neutral news. This indicates that the editorial policy of the "*Daily Jang*" on the category under study was positive and its reflection on the news contents of front and back pages was consistent with its editorial policy.

On category 3 "*Daily Jang*" had published single editorial, having space 55 c. cm i.e. 1.2% of the total space. The alone editorial was negative which showed the negative policy of the Newspaper. While daily Jang had published 145 news on category 3, space given to the category was 3.12% of the total space. Out of which 1.47% space was given to the positive news, 0.45% space was given the neutral news and 1.19 space was given to the negative news. So it might be said that editorial policy was reflected in news contents. Which was negative in editorial policy and in news contents. But newspapers had given 1.47% space to positive news. This shows that newspaper is not consistent in its policy.

"*Daily Jang*" had published 5 editorials on the category No. 4, space given to them was 6.8% of the total space. Out of this space 6.2% was given to the negative editorials and 0.63% to the neutral editorial. This showed that editorial

policy was clearly negative to the category 4. while on the other hand "Daily Jang" had given 5.26% of total space to the 207 news published on the category 4. out of this 2.85% space was given to the negative news and 2.09% was given to the neutral news, only 0.32% space was given to positive news. All these facts show that *Daily Jang's* negative editorial policy was reflected on news contents. Though it had given some space to the neutral and positive news as well. Reflection of editorial policy was not consistent. This varies from newspaper to newspaper and even from issue to issue in one newspaper.

As *Daily Jang* had given 20% space to category 5 in editorials. Out of that 14% space was given to the positive editorials. This showed the clear positive editorial policy of the newspaper. While on news contents, although policy was positive but space given to the positive news was 3.5% and to the negative news was 1.2% of the total space. This shows that *Jang* gave more importance to the category in its editorials but this policy was not consistent in news contents. But positive editorial policy was not clearly reflected on news contents.

Editorial policy of daily *The News* on category 1 was clearly positive, as it had published one positive editorial having 1.4% of the total space (4230 c. cm). No neutral or negative editorial was published on editorial pages of *The News* in the whole sample. This positive editorial policy was clearly reflected through news content on front and back pages of the newspaper under study. As it had published positive news on 0.56% space out of 0.99% space given to category 1. But it also had published negative news on 0.36% space. Which was almost 1/3 of the total space given to the category 1 on news pages.

While on category 2, daily *The News* had not only clear positive editorial policy but this positive editorial policy was not reflected on news contents. As it had published one positive editorial having space 1.2% of the total space. To the news contents of this category newspaper had given 0.37% of the total space (77040 c. cm). Out of this total space 0.3% was given to positive news content and only 0.03% space was given to the neutral news contents. The data suggest that editorial policy of newspaper was strongly reflected through news contents.

Daily *The News* had a clear neutral editorial policy about category 3. As it had published one neutral editorial, having space 1.3% of the total space. No positive or negative editorials were published in our sample of the study. While in news, daily *The News* had given only 0.3% space to the neutral news out of 3.41% space given to the category 3 on news pages, 1.7% space was given to positive news. So we can say that editorial policy of *The News* was not reflected on news contents of the category 3.

Editorial policy was clearly negative about category 4. As *The News* had given 8.7% space to negative editorials out of total given space (10.41%) to this category. But this negative editorial policy was not very much clear on news pages because during presentation of the news contents daily *The News* had given almost equal space to the neutral news also. *The News* had given total 4.9% space to the category 4. Out of this total space 2.2% space was given to negative news and 2.1% space was given to the neutral news.

Positive editorial policy was clearly reflected on news contents of *The News* about category 5. But *The News* had given 3.2% space to the negative news and 0.3% to neutral news about category 5, out of 11.5% total space. Space

given to the positive news (7.4%) had shown the reflection of the positive editorial policy on news contents very clearly.

Editorial policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* was openly positive on category 1. As newspaper gave 1.75% of the total space (6120 c. cm) to this category. All space was given to positive editorial. On the other hand, although the positive editorial policy was reflected through news contents yet space amount given to this category was small. Almost equal space was given to the positive and negative news too. Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given only 0.58% of the total space (68040 c. cm) to category 1 on news pages. Out of this small space, 0.2% was given to positive news and 0.3% was given to negative news. This slight difference between two ratios expressed that editorial policy was not fully and strongly followed during the presentation of news contents.

Almost same editorial and news policies for category 1 were followed by the *Nawa-i-Waqt* for category 2. On editorial pages total space for this category was 0.85% which was completely given to positive viewpoint. While on news pages there was a small space difference between positive and negative news contents. *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given 0.2% space to the positive news and 0.1% space to the negative news.

Negative editorial policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* for category 3 was clearly reflected through news contents. Because on editorial pages *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given 2.4% of the total space to this category, all given space was for positive policy. On news pages total space given to this category was 3.36%. Out of this total space 2.1%, 1% and 0.3% spaces were given to the negative, positive and neutral news contents respectively.

For the category 4 editorial policy was again negative and reflected clearly through news contents. Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given 6.5% space to the negative rank out of 10.5% of total space given to the category 4. This showed the negative editorial policy of the newspaper about category 4. This negative editorial policy was loudly reflected through news contents. As *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given 6.9% space to the negative news contents out of 8.35% of total space. *Nawa-i-Waqt* also had published positive (1%) and neutral (1.3%) news contents.

Editorial policy of *Nawa-i-Waqt* was openly positive on category 5. As it had given 20% space out of 23% total space for the category to positive editorials and only 3% was given to neutral editorials. This positive editorial policy was fully and strongly reflected through news contents. Because *Nawa-i-Waqt* had given 6.4% space to the positive news contents. Total space given to this category was 8.38%. Only 1.4% and 0.6% space was given to the negative and neutral news respectively.

The Nation's editorial policy was positive on category 1. As *The Nation's* editorial policy opposed the five leaders of C.T.B.T. It gave the 2.7% space to the category in its editorials. All space given was positive. On the other hand it gave 1.3% of the total space (66780 c. cm) to the category in its news contents. Out of this 0.8% space was given to the positive news contents, 0.1% was given to the neutral and 0.3% was given to the negative news contents. So, it seemed that although editorial's positive policy was reflected through news contents but in editorials 2.7% was given to positive editorial and on news pages only 0.8% space was given to positive news. The difference between both ratios showed the editorial policy was not strongly followed in news contents.

On category 2 editorial policy of the newspaper was again positive. And we find this positive reflection in news contents. As out of 0.97% total space, positive news had 0.7% while neutral news had 0.12 and negative news had 0.2% space. So we can say that *The Nation* about category 2 was negative and *The Nation's* negative editorial policy seemed consistent on news contents.

On editorial pages total 3.28% space was given to category 3 out of this total space 0.7% was positive, 0.85% was neutral and 1.7% was negative. On the news pages total space given to the category was 3.65%, out of this total space 1.2% was given to positive news, 0.2% was given to neutral news, 2.3% was given to negative news.

In editorials *The Nation* gave 7.8% space to the category 4, out of which 5% space was given to negative editorial, which showed clear negative editorial policy of the newspaper on this category. We could not find this clear negative policy reflected on news contents, as it gave total 5% space to the category out of this total space 2.1% was given to positive news and 2.4% was given to negative news.

As *The Nation*, had given 15% space of the total to category 5. In its editorials out of this total space 11.8% space was given to positive editorial. This showed clear positive editorial policy of the newspaper. The same policy was reflected on its news contents. Although it gave less space 8.8% to the category as compared to the editorial space i.e. 15% but space given to the positive news was 5.7%. That showed the reflection of editorial policy on news contents. *The Nation* also had published 2.6% negative news and 0.5% neutral news (see table no 1,2,3 and 4)

(3) Actually category 1, is least discussed in almost all the newspapers. But whatsoever, all newspapers have

discussed this category in their editorials very positively. Difference in English (The News, The Nation) and Urdu (Daily Jang and Daily Nawa-i-Waqt) press' policy lies in the space given to the categories. Urdu press has given lesser space in its editorials than that of the English press. Categories 2, is also less discussed category in all newspapers, but it is discussed positively too. More or less the policy of Urdu and English press seems to be same on this category, as both types of press have given same space and positive response to this category. On category 3, both type of the press (English and Urdu) have clear difference. As Urdu press has given less space and has clear negative editorial policy for this category while English press has given more space but their policy seems to be neutral. Though slight margin is found between space given to neutral and negative ranks of editorials. On Category 4, the policy of both press is fairly negative but a slight difference appears in space given to the category in editorials. As English press gave more space to this category than Urdu press, so we may say there is a minor difference in policies of both type of press on this category. Category 5 is the most discussed category in all the newspapers. All newspapers have positive editorial policy to this category. Comparatively Urdu press has given much space to this category and its positive inclination is also greater than English press. Though the policy of English press is also fairly positive yet over all space given to this category was lesser than that of Urdu Pres. (see table no. 5 and 6)

CONCLUSION: Keeping in view all the discussion about the editorial policies of the newspapers on news contents, the researcher is now able to discuss the hypotheses of this study. First hypothesis seems to be proved because the editorial policy of the newspapers is generally reflected in the news contents. But it does not

mean that the newspapers have not given the coverage to issues, which were against their editorial policy. The newspaper rather maintained their objectivity in coverage of issues (Categories) under study. For example, all the dailies, included in study, have positive editorial policy regarding CTBT (Category 1) but still they have equally accommodated the point of view, which was negative from the perspective of editorial standpoint.

Second hypothesis seems to be disapproved because researcher could not observe any change in the pattern mentioned in hypothesis. The reflection of the editorial policy is visible in news contents of both the press (English & Urdu) without any exception.

Third hypothesis also seems to be disapproved. As the editorial policy of the English press, was reflected on its news contents regardless of national or international issues.

There are generally two views of the communication. One is called transmissional view and other is ritual view⁵³. The bottom line of the transmissional view is that it treats information as an inanimate commodity and its function is to transmit a piece of information from one place to another. This view also emphasizes on the concept of objectivity. On the other hand ritual view of communication sees the information as a cultural commodity which has its peculiar constitution. The purpose of the communication under this view is to create commonness between the media & their audience. With these views in mind this study reveals that the dailies under study seem to follow the transmissional view which is the dominant view through out the democratic world. Meaning there by, that newspapers have reflection of their editorial policy on news contents but they do have accommodated the news that were against their editorial

policy. With this general trend, there was, however, an exception in case of Pak-India relations (Category 5). In this particular category, the reflection of editorial policy of almost all the dailies was observed in their news contents.

It is astonishing to note that the editorial policies of dailies, under study, are straight away negative towards the ruling party PML (N) and the Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. The negative editorial policies of newspapers were also reflected in their news contents.

In the light of facts, results and discussion of the study, researcher has come to a longstanding debate, which has continued for many years over the definitions of what constitutes a responsible role for the journalist. The debate invalid to polar values often posed as questions. (1) should the journalist be neutral observer, an impartial transmission link dispensing information to the public? or (2) Should he or she be a participant, play a more active role by interpreting and interrelating the information he or she reports? In the neutral image, news are seen to emerge naturally from the events and occurrences of the real world with the journalist as a spectator, faithfully and accurately reporting what he or she observes. The journalist's relationship to information is thus one of detachment and neutrality. In the participant image, the journalist must play a more active, watchdog role, assuming a personal responsibility for the information he or she reports.

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