Media Coverage on General Issues: A Constructionist Study of News Frames and Government Performance of PML-Q (2002-07)

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Abstract

The paper tries to establish the performance modality of government. In this study, selected frames (thematic) were examined in four major English newspapers of Pakistan regarding general issues and evaluate the performance of government (PML-Q 2002-07) based on framing tone, i.e. "Good" and "Bad". All news stories related to general issues published in the selected newspapers from the last five years of the selected regime. A systematic random sampling method has deemed appropriate and employed for the study. For hypotheses testing, applied comparison model and Chi-square through AMOS. The study revealed that the PML-Q government response on these issues has remained sufficient, and they know how to control the terrorism in whole Pakistan, besides maintaining law and order situation, policies made should be immediately implemented. The findings of this framing table (s) explain the PML-Q government performances that the government gradually performed well and also imply the policy to sort out the issues.

Keywords: PML-Q, General Issues, Quantitative, Content analysis, Government Performance

Introduction

This paper examined the governance performance, media coverage, and general issues. In this regard, how the media portray and framed the general issue and evaluate the performance of the government. In the process of the social construction of political affairs, the media often adopt a framing strategy (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Valeda, 2002; Verdoolaege, 2005). Scholars often believe the media lead people to be informed, and informed citizens, in turn, better able to hold public officials accountable. The media are especially expected to play a major role in preventing and fighting corruption by serving as watchdogs and mobilizing popular opinion against corruption (Park, 2012). To this end, this article analyzes the news stories about general issues published by the English Pakistani newspapers for five years (2002 to 2007). The present paper then suggests some alternative solutions to overcome the inappropriate framing routine of the media

Framing involves portraying narrative and description to the addressees that leads to a required construal of apparent reality by stressing some of the aspects of an issue while ignoring other aspects, and suggesting linkages among them (Entman, 2007). Scholars regard framing as a contrast between "frame in communication or media frame" and "frame in thought or individual frame" (Druckman, 2001). Earlier, one refers to how news about an event or issue conveyed to the public, including words, arguments, imageries, and demonstration-style used by the media house or agency. The gate-keeping choices determine the relevance, significance, and appropriateness or vice versa, and information becomes evident in the following frames. The next term, "frame in thought, or an individual frame," on the other hand, is what an individual from the target audience perceives to be the most important, significant, and apt feature of relayed news. (Chong & Druckman, 2007). This dichotomous concept of the term "frame" is paramount to appreciate the development of the frame and the frame setting (Crow and Lawlor, 2016).

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Frames as an area of research spans several scholarly disciplines (Hansen, 2011; Nisbet and Newman, 2015; Nisbet 2009a; Nisbet and Scheufele 2009; Nisbet and Huge, 2007), they are interpretive storylines that set a specific sequence of thought in motion, communicate why an issue or decision matters, who or what might be the cause, and which political actors should be responsible (Nisbet 2009a; Nisbet and Scheufele, 2009). Thus, framing an issue is an important exercise in power (Hansen, 2011), Hence, there is no such thing as unframed information in the media (Nisbet and Newman, 2015), this is because many media users or other interactions (whether intentionally or intuitively) are already effective at framing their opinions and positions (Adisa-Rasaq, 2018).

Governance is an extensive model with all its characteristics that includes the economics, regulatory role of government, law-making, and its implementation. In Pakistan, corruption is just like a termite that is beneficial for a private owner but not for public ownership. Such an environment indicates poor governance. A good government should provide the basic need for the public and implementation of fair policies for goods and services of the governance; Officials, and Authorities (World Bank 1992). According to the Asian Development Bank (1997) core of governance is like an administrative or management; such administrative or management consists of accountability of public department, the fair implementation of the Law, and its development of information and transparency. The government based on the constitution, such a constitution that exercised or followed by the government (Husain, 2013).

After partition, Pakistan is still facing governance problems due to a diversity of issues. The World Economic Forum developed a scale where one can measure any country's government performance. This scale consists of 12 major pillars. These pillars consist of following indicators such as institution, infrastructure, macroeconomics, health education, proper education training, consumer, labour market, efficiency, development 7 of 7 financial 7 market, technological 7 readiness, market 7 size for 7 business, and sophistication 7 and 7 innovation. WEF measured the Pakistani government's performance on this scale and found out that Pakistan stands on number 124 out 144, which is an adverse situation of government at both national and international levels. Therefore, the government should review its policy regarding such indicators in both the short and long term. If not, then it will inevitably lead to corruption (Asghar, 2013).

Role of Media in Pakistan

Media channels, regardless of repeated prohibitions and restrictions imposed by the government, work effectually and competently to depict a clear image of the happenings in a country and guide the public in formulating a strong opinion for or against a specific issue. Pakistani General Elections in 2002 offer an explicit example. The public convinced at that time that it was entirely justified to support the political party whose leader forfeited her life for the nation's political interests (Saroshisar, 2016). As the masses are dependent upon media for analysis, its role becomes very critical in rearranging and prioritizing the news (Spearhead Research, 2014). History shows that print media, especially newspapers in Pakistan, played a mature role and remained objective in their business, however, the contemporary race of commercialization has given birth to the wave of popular and crispy styled news that is being maneuvered by media outlets to increase their rating.

Another emerging phenomenon in Pakistani electronic and print media is soft news, most commonly known as opinionated news, in which the media people, the anchors, reporters, editors, or subeditors, and sometimes even owners fail to provide a neutral stance and feel no shame in adopting a biased stance (Pakistan Hotline, 2012). Another most obvious example of using this kind of media to set a specific agenda is that the mainstream political parties are trying to build public opinion on critical national issues. Most prominent in this regard is the English newspapers that hold a crucial position and can make and alter the opinion of the dominant social class and elites. The leading English newspapers hold an honorary place not only among the elite but also in specific circles of the middle and lower class (Dawn News, 2013, 07 13). Thus they are playing an important role in building public opinion on essential issues by using techniques of framing and agenda-setting (Saroshisar, 2016).

Literature Review

In (2017), Okafor portrayed the positive correlation of political instability with economic stability by taking into account social unrest, corruption, good governance, political instability, and unrest by using the GMM approach. Haider (2011) demonstrated a theoretical model with micro-foundations

that identifies some crucial features of a country's economy, which have been exhibited by it in sixty-four years of its history, since its inception. A comparative analysis of the economic performance of Pakistan in different regimes depicts that fundamental of macro-economy showed improvement in the martial law regimes as compared to the indicators which were very low in the democratically elected regimes. Thus, times of autocratic regimes generally characterized as having less corruption in bureaucracy as a result of better governance, low inflation rate, and robust growth. Pakistan can achieve the good governance by introducing integrity, coordination, cooperation among individuals as well as institutions, besides the economic sustainability and proper policy process implementation (Asghar, 2013). The research looks at some of the harsh realities of Pakistan and it's after affects that have occurred due to the evils of corruption in society . The section Way forward looks at some recommendations by various researchers in the journey of Good Governance in Pakistan and includes suggestions by the author on possible solutions (Ghani and Qureshi, 2019).

Ali et al (2013) examined economic and political both the factors and attempted to identify and predict the low investment reasons and causes of unstable economic growth in the country. The study highlighted that factors other than the economic ones, including political instability, corruption, and repeated regime changes, political conflicts among parties and institutions, and energy crisis had been the leading cause of lower investment and a weak economy. These factors create uncertainty and thus invest in making risky in the country. As a result of this volatility and risk, even the domestic investors have shown hesitation to invest in the country and have instead invested in other countries which can provide secure conditions and better return. Barro (2013) also promoted the idea of the formation of a government free from corruption. He identified that corruption-free and peaceful country is capable of encouraging and attracting the investors to invest, and thus it will ensure economic growth. It will make the living standard of the masses better. Furthermore, he suggested that such a democratic government and peaceful environment is favorable not only for the investors but also for the general public.

According to Kaufmann et al (1999) developed six governance indicators called Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), namely Voice and Accountability, Political Instability and Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Burden, Rule of Law and Graft. Kaufmann et al (1999) further presented examples of Ukraine and Russia where because of weak governance, in terms of lack of property rights, and the ineffective rule of law, living standards are at a decline. Kaufmann et al (1999); Rajkumar and Swaroop (2008) pointed out that good governance has a positive impact on growth and development, while weak governance slows economic growth and development. Governance defined as how powers exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development. Good governance is then synonymous with sound development practices. Governments play a vital role in the provision of public goods. They establish the rules that make markets work efficiently and correct for market failure (Ismail & Rizvi, 2010). Media effects in the contemporary age termed "social constructivism" (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103). Media frames the reality in a patterned and predictable way and thus forms the social reality (Mc-Quail, 1994). Media plays a vital role in not only informing the general public, but it also bridges up a gap between the two ends affected by the general issues. Public perception is yet another vital variable that is what people perceive about a specific issue, event, organization, and institute, state entity on the base of their previous knowledge, experiences, information, and cultural background.

Frames are those abstractions that use structure message meaning or organize the message. They commonly used on media or the news or the information they convey (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). They influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it construed as a form of second-level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory) but also how to think about that issue and second-level agenda setting, framing theory (Scheufele, 1999).

While a news frame establishes the conventional sense, widespread interpretation, it also describes attributes of news (Entman, 1991). Frames encourage readers to develop a particular understanding through the use of keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images embedded in the news text, such as "bra burners," "anti-abortion," "Cold War," and "draft dodgers." Frames can be analyzing news text for "words and visual images that appear consistently and convey the same meanings across time and media (Entman, 1991). Looking at two similar international

incidents, Entman (1991) finds four places in which the text became salient in creating a right frame the consistent use of words and images that portrayed responsibility for the agency or the reporting actions, that encouraged or discouraged identification with those directly affected by the act; that advanced a participation categorization of the act, and that stimulated or suppressed broad generalization from the act (Entman, 1991).

Statement of Problem

This study had been designed to investigate governance issues and the performance of governance on the bases of media coverage regarding general issues in the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz's political regime (2002 to 2007) in the English Pakistani press. This study endeavors to investigate the thematic frames which are likely to be used as "Good" and "Bad", in the coverage of general issues in the selected newspapers. The study made use of frames regarding general issues in English newspapers of Pakistan because to find out how the press covered the issues and presented the government performance.

Objectives

1. To compare the government's performance through the framing analysis of news stories on the general issues by the selected newspapers.
2. To examine the coverage of general issues in selected newspaper during selected political regime

Research Questions

1. What comparison of the government's performance through the framing analysis of news stories on the general issues by the selected newspapers?
2. How the selected newspapers reported the general issues in thematic frame?

Hypotheses

1. If the newspapers thematic frame is more positive framing of the general issues about the performance of PML-Q government was Good than the Bad

Methodology

The research design which was applied quantitative content analysis—the method adopted to explore the picture on the basis of contents. For this purpose, the researcher examines the issues on the bases of Media Agenda and to evaluate the government's performances of PML-Q (2002 to 2007). The sample and the Sampling Technique of this study, all news stories related to to general issues, published in Daily Dawn, The News, The Nation, and Daily Times from 2002 to 2007. The news stories were retrieved from the Lexis-Nexis electronic database by using various terminologies related to general issues of the public with the help of the coding sheet. A Systematic Random sampling method deemed appropriate and employed for this study. According to Krippendorff (1980), Systematic Random sampling favored when data enumerated in all included and excluded in a sampling unit for analysis. The data was analyzed through AMOS to ensure objectivity in the results. These range from top-down administrative decision making to highly participatory and collaborative governance. The Coding case of narratives have transformed into a quantitative form of data, and the inter-coder reliability test of general issues are almost range in (0.81). It means the quality of data is good and the full list of coded cases and references was available from the authors on request.

Reliability Equation = $\dfrac{2(A)}{N1+N2}$

Findings

Several issues were discussed in previous chapters with the help of relevant references and resources. This study tries to accumulate different issues, which are the core exploration of this study, which include: Terrorism, Corruption, Health, Education, Law and Order and Others (belongs to government). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Pakistan faced worst scenarios with multiple issues such as semi-dictatorship (PMLQ's Government), the Afghan war, international pressure (economic sanctions), and other governance issues, which are alarming threats to the prosperity of our country.

In this study, the framing of news related to judging what is the performance of the government during the Political Regime it is good and bad regarding the general issues (Terrorism, Corruption, Health, Education, Law and Order and Other; Political Instability and Victimization). During Political Regime PML-Q (2002 to 2007), the framing of news about the general issue, in

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Table 1 the Dawn published the 1267 news regarding terrorism as good or controlled, and 1079 published the news as bad or negative. The news published 1207 news as good or controlled and 1028 as the bad or negative response of governance. The nation published the 1188 news as good or controlled and 1012 as bad or negative. Daily Times published the 1267 news as good performance or controlled and 1079 as bad performance or negative response.

Table 1. Framing of News Stories in Newspapers During 2002 to 2007

Issue	The Dawn		The News		The Nation		Daily Time	
	Good-Gover.	**Bad Gover.**	**Good-Gover.**	**Bad Gover.**	**Good-Gover.**	**Bad Gover.**	**Good-Gover.**	**Bad Gover.**
Terrorism	1267	1079	1207	1028	1188	1012	1267	1079
Corruption	499	425	419	357	406	345	499	425
Health	536	456	477	406	471	401	536	456
Education	490	418	406	346	400	340	490	418
Law and Order	820	699	777	661	764	650	820	699
Other	315	268	282	240	281	240	315	268

A further main issue in Pakistan is Corruption in **table 1,** the number of cases was registered in Political Regime PML-Q (2002 to 2007). The Dawn published the 499 news as good and 425 as bad performance from 2002 to 2007. The news published the news on the same issue (Corruption) is 419 as a good and 357 news are published as bad performance or fail to control the corruption. The nation published the 406 news as good performance and controlled and 345 news as a bad performance and uncontrolled. Moreover, the last Daily Times published the news 499 as a good and 425 as bad or negative. The third issue in **table 1** is health, which shows different figures in times span (2002 to 2007). A healthy nation is not only valued in its own right, but it also raises the human capital of a country thereby contributing to the economic and social development. In **Table 1,** The Dawn newspaper published the 536 news as good or controlled and 456 as bad or uncontrolled on the health issue. The News newspaper published the 477 as good or controlled and 406 as bad or uncontrolled. The Nation newspaper published the 471 as good or controlled and 401 as bad or uncontrolled. Daily Time newspaper published the 536 as good or controlled and 456 as bad or uncontrolled.
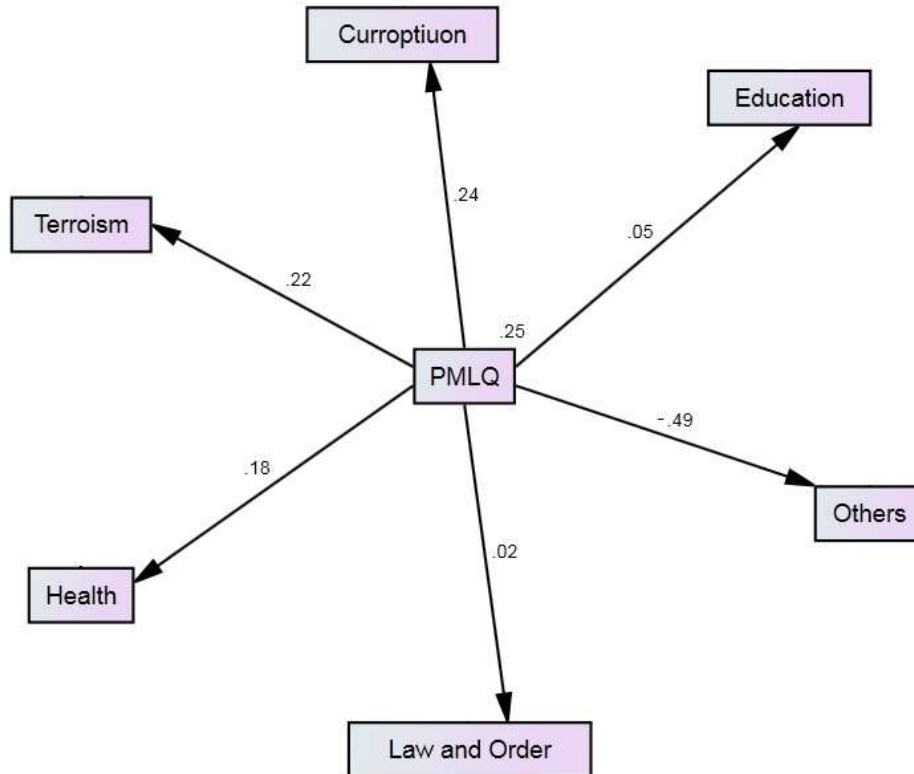
The fourth issue is education, in **Table 1** the Dawn published the 490 news regarding education as good or controlled, and 418 published the news as bad or uncontrolled. The news published the 406 news as good or controlled and 346 as bad or uncontrolled response of governance. The nation published the 400 news as good or controlled and 340 as bad or uncontrolled. Daily Times published the 490 news as good performance or controlled and 418 as bad performance or uncontrolled response.

A main supplementary issue is the Law and Order situation in Pakistan shown in **table 1** discussed in Political Regime PML-Q (2002 to 2007) by the selected newspaper of the current study. The Dawn published the 820 news as good and 699 as bad performance from 2002 to 2007. The news published the news on the same issue (Law and Order) is 777 as a good and 661 news are published as bad performance or fail to control the Law or order situation. The Nation published the 764 news as good performance and controlled and 650 news as a bad performance and uncontrolled. Moreover, the last Daily Times published the news 820 as a good and 699 as bad or controlled. The political instability and political victimization is a part of every government. In **table 1**, The Dawn newspaper published the 315 news as good or controlled and 268 as bad or uncontrolled on another issue. The News newspaper published the 282 as good and 240 as bad. The nation published the 281 as good and 240 as bad. Daily Time newspaper published the 315 as good and 268 as bad.

Graphic1 Issues in Political Regimes (PMLQ) from 2002 from 2007

The AMOS to analyze and identify the correlation and effect among the variable, which is used in the study. Graphic 1 provides the analysis of path analysis; the result reflected the acceptance and not supported by the hypothesis. In the current study, the general issues and selected Newspapers intensity have been taken as an independent variable, Political Party (PML-Q) spending has been taken as dependent and has been taken as a mediating variable. The empirical results show that the correlation related to Issues in Political Regimes (PMLQ) from 2002 from 2007 by the selected

newspaper i.e. The Dawn, The News, The Nation and Daily Times. This result indicated that the overall performance of government (PML-Q) is good and bad performance to control overall issues in Pakistan during their regime. In table 4.4.1 illustrated that Terrorism is (.22) Corruption (.24) Education (.05) Health (.18), Law and Order Situation (.02) another issue (-.49). Thus, it can understand that the correlation between issues and political parties have direct relations and its consumption by the Sleeted Newspaper after introducing materialism in the model.

The SEM and Model comparison shows the performance comparison of different issues through the newspaper in the selected regime.

Model	DF	CMIN	P	NFI	IF	RFI	TLI
				Delta-1	**Delta-2**	**rho-1**	**rho2**
PPP	1	0.354	0.512	0.005	0.006	-0.073	-0.104

The overall coverage and significant difference between value of chi-square regarding general issues of the study in selected newspapers are (Chi-Square = 16.438; P-Value= 0. 002 to the "Terrorism", Chi-Square = 3.288; P-Value=0 .511 the "Corruption", Chi-Square = 11.184; P-Value= 0.025to the "Health", Chi-Square = 8.869; P-Value= 0. 0641to the "Education", Chi-Square = 1.097; P-Value= 0. 895to the "Law and Order", Chi-Square = 4.037; P-Value= 0.401to the "Others).

Pearson Chi-Square	Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Terrorism	16.438a	.002
Corruption	3.288a	.511
Health	11.184a	.025
Education	8.869a	.064
Law and Order	1.097a	.895
Other	4.037a	.401

Discussion and Analysis

The finding of this study the selected newspaper (The Dawn, The News, The Nation, and Daily Times) publishes the news according to their interest and policies regarding the terrorism issues in three selected Political Regimes are (PML-Q (2002 to 2007). In this era, Pakistan faces an insurgency in Karachi in the shape of political victimization. Pakistan faced all types of terrorist attacks such as

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sponsored terrorism, cyber terrorism, religious terrorism, sectarian terrorism, and left-wing and right-wing terrorism.

In this study, it was found that the Corruption issue was far deadly as compare to terrorism. Corruption was the component that can eliminate political civilization in any country in this study the selected newspaper (The Dawn, The News, The Nation, and Daily Times). Several cases that were registered from 2002 to 2018, but the real situation of corruption at that time was quite alarming due to a lack of accountability system and destabilization of the democratic process. Most inflectional person including businessman, political members and bureaucrats performing their duties under the dictator where rule of Law exists for general masses not for influential identities

The findings of this study that results indicated regarding health issues PMLQ launched a mega project for the welfare of the general public, called 1122. Due to the new health model and allocation of health funds were quite high as compare to previous years. This number of amount and novelty of health model helped to decrease health issues in Pakistan only in a regime i.e., PML-Q (2002 to 2007) in this study the selected newspaper (The Dawn, The News, The Nation and Daily Times).

According to finding the fourth issue is education that depicts a different scenario of education in the selected political regime 2 from 2002 to 2018of Pakistan. The government formulated policy to develop a powerful institution that can control the higher education in Pakistan called Higher education Commission (HEC) that helped the education sector make huge strides. Later on, HEC also became a victim of political turmoil.

The findings of this study the selected newspaper i.e., The Dawn, The News, The Nation, and Daily Times in three political regimes. The PML-Q (2002 to 2007) promulgated the police order 2002 to reform an ineffective, brutal and politicized force into an efficient service-oriented one. Due to multiple reforms and lethal charges against crime number of Law and order issues reported several cases in selected regimes.

The findings of this study, the selected newspaper i.e., The Dawn, The News, The Nation, and Daily Times in three political regimes. From 2002 to 2007 the PML-Q formulated the different national policies as per under President General Pervez Musharraf. General Musharraf gave the authority to the NAB (National Accountability Bureau); to arrest them who is involved in corruption (directly or indirectly), but he used the NAB authority for his purpose that is to harass the opponent and blackmail the opposition. At the end of his government, he launched a new scheme, i.e., NRO (National Reconciliation Ordinance) where the corrupt politicians and businessmen have taken benefits from NRO.

Conclusion

The results pointed out the health issue in Political Regime is not good enough, but the PML-Q government is the first government that imitated the Mobile health service, and that is Rescue 1122. In this regard, the Graphic 1 shown a clear picture of health issue. Ali, Hashmi & Hassan (2013) examined economic and political both the factors and attempted to identify and predict the low investment reasons and causes of unstable economic growth in the country. In terms of primary & tertiary services of health, the rural poor are at a more significant disadvantage, and they are not benefited from public healthcare services in real sense. Due to diminished and inferior role of public healthcare services, more space is available for private health facilities, and thus their condition has enormously improved.

The outcome of the study showed that terrorism does not only do a bomb blast but also try to influence existing authority to change their national policy and do reforms in the constitution of Pakistan. These attacks killed not only soldiers, civilians, and religious and political identities but also the economic growth of Pakistan. In this regard the hypothesis statement extensively supported. The result of this study indicated that the performance of governance by the selected newspaper. It is also found in the line of Okafor (2017) portrayed the positive correlation of political instability with economic stability by taking into account social unrest, corruption, good governance, political instability, and unrest by using the GMM approach.

The major concluded of this paper that frames can be analyzing news text for "words and visual images that appear consistently and convey the same meanings across time and media (Ent man, 1991). Looking at two similar international incidents, Entman (1991) finds four places in which the text became salient in creating a right frame the consistent use of words and images that portrayed

responsibility for the agency or the reporting actions, In this study, the structure and functioning of the elected government are discussed to assess the political institutionalization in the in-terms of political institutionalization, and the socio-economic development was not a priority of government opposition parties hindered democracy by engaging it in adversarial political in traditional political style. The democratic government was fulfilled to deliver promises whom they made before the election in terms of tackling the issues, i.e., terrorism, corruption, health, education, etc.

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