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Agenda Setting between Media and Audience on Foreign Policy of Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

This study titled, "Agenda setting between Media and Audience on Foreign Policy of Pakistan," examining the relationship between media and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan of one year (Jan 2017 till Jan 2018). The objective of the study was to measure the correlation between media agenda and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan regarding Pak-US relations on categorized issues. In this study, mixed method was adopted that comprised of two types of analysis. In mixed method content analysis of mainstream newspapers along with survey, comprising of 150 sample size was carried out, purposively. Variables of this research was salience of issues, rank order, frame and slant. Statistical test, Spearman rank order correlation was opted to find out the correlation between media and audience agendas. Findings revealed that hypothesis is partially supported.

Keywords: Audience Agenda, Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Media Agenda, Pak-US Relations.

Introduction

The study "Agenda setting between media and audience on foreign policy of Pakistan" investigated the relationship of media agenda and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan with Unites States of America in respect of foreign policy issues for the period of one years that is from 1st January 2017 till 31st January 2018. As, Anton and Yao reviewed in "Delay as Agenda Setting" (2012) mentioned 950 studies measuring the effect of media on audience regarding media's ability of making and breaking opinion of public at the same time. Agenda is intertwined with information to revamp public opinion. Abideen described that agenda setting studies are related with pre and post-election opinion public and covering environmental issues whereas very few studies are available on foreign policy related issues (Abideen, 2010).

Walgrave and Aelst (2004) extensively experimented various studies and concluded that media determine political agenda. US researchers pointed out that political agenda setting power of media especially in the United States. The other aspect was how media is able to represent the specific issue to increase the political attention of audience (Safdar *et al.,* 2018; Shabir *et al.,* 2015a). The relationship of public and media on foreign policy of Pakistan with US needed to explore yet as foreign policy is considered a topic of international relations and political science discipline. Wolfe, Jones and Bumgartner (2013) exclaimed that there is a disconnect between media and audience in specialized issue like foreign policy in the developing countries as foreign policy is considered the central part of political science discipline. The point to ponder is that, what mass media portray as important and what is important for the audience regarding foreign policy in developing countries. Keeping in view the above researches, this article has been produced to find if relationship exists between media and audience on Pak-US foreign policy issues

where survey is conducted to find the audience agenda and content analysis of two newspapers found the media agenda for the period of one year (Jan 2017-Jan 2018).

About the Newspapers of the Study: DAWN is published by Pakistan Herald Publications, started in 1941 as a weekly newspaper. Later in 1942 became a daily one. The political alignment is liberal, centrist and progressive. Its weekly circulation was 139,999 copies in 2017 (DAWN Newspaper, 2018). The other newspaper is The News International of Jang group's publication that also print daily Jang newspaper in Urdu language in Pakistan. In February 1991, Jang group of newspapers started publishing English version with the name of "The News". The News International printed daily from Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi/Islamabad. It follows moderate political alignment and weekly circulation of 140,000 in year 2017 (Media of Pakistan, 2018).

Pak-US Foreign Policy: Historically, Pakistan was great ally of United States of America since inception of Pakistan, the incident of 9/11 turned the relation into distrust. Rahman expressed US vital role in military and financial assistant for its stake actually not to support Pakistan but to fuel her power muscle. Later, it has been proved that the US has moderate interest in Pakistan (Kux, 2001; Rahman, 1982; Rauf and Asif, 2021). Hence, this study leads to get a better idea regarding relations between US and Pakistan in coordination and falling-out in relationship at various levels due to internal and external pressures and forces that defined the relationship patterns between US and Pakistan during cold war, post-cold war and after 9/11, 2001 (MoFA, 2015b).

PAK-US Isolation Policy: Pak-US isolation policy means Pakistan's cooperation with United States to fight against terrorism to avoid suspension of aids and become isolated.

This issue contains historical background starting from 9/11 incidence. Declan (2008) expressed that from 2002 onwards, the US Congress agreed to the military and economic aid of 18 billion dollars from the United States to Pakistan. Nevertheless, Pakistan received 8.647 billion dollars. Since then, Pakistan US relation are on payment based as army aid that remained secret for quite some time. Rohde expressed that the officials of west have claimed that more or less 70% of the aid used to cover the civilian deficit in the years of 2002 and 2007. More 3.6 billion dollars were released for economic and diplomatic aiding to Pakistan, but the officials and the journalists of United States claimed that these funds were not being used the way they were intended to (2007). However, Pakistan argued that the civilian deficit caused due to war against terrorism (Reuters, 2010). From 2009 to 2014, new assistance package of 5.7 billion US dollars signed by the then president Barak Obama in October on condition that the funds should not be used to support terrorist or for nuclear proliferation or to pay for the attacks in the neighboring countries. Moreover, if Pakistan fails to crack down on the Taliban, the right to the aid cut-off shall reserve by the US (Timeline of U.S. Aid to Pakistan, 2009).

War on Terrorism: War on terrorism is about the eliminating terrorists' organizations from Pakistan. According to Aslam (2011), Pakistan is fighting proxy wars with religious militants that are of great interest of US. United States' major concern was to combat regional and global terrorism where Pakistan is a major ally, playing vital role. Aslam focused on the efforts made by US to support Pakistan for neighboring Afghanistan, proliferation of nuclear weapons, Pak-India border strain and violation of LOC, political instability to destabilize democracy and human rights protection. After 2001, Pakistan United States relations were at peak for counterinsurgency efforts and combating terrorism that has a long record of killing and martyrdom.

Armitage, Berger and Markey (2010) marked some of the outside country terrorists' attacks made unsuccessful include the Times Square bomber in 2010 and attack on Barcelona metro system in 2008.

Amin (2009) exclaimed the distrust existed between both countries but on war on terror both countries were on the same page. After 2011, Osama Bin Laden affected Pak-US relation. United States cut down aid to Pakistan of $20 billion as assistance and military reimbursements since 2001. Amin viewed that the center of foreign policy was badly affected the both countries when people of Pakistan developed anti

American sentiments due to internal displacement of Waziristan operation and other operations and drone attacks as well. This situation in Pakistan ultimately affected the progress of US missions like to eliminate Al Qaeda, anti-US terrorists' groups and security of the region. In September 2012 researchers criticized drone movement, affirming that it caused killing a great number of citizens and rotating the Pakistani community against the US (Zucchini & David, 2012).

Quadrilateral Coordination: Quadrilateral coordination is related with the Pakistan's role in the reconciliation process for establishing peace in Afghanistan. The recent history of Pak-US relation in regional context concentrated on peace and security especially reconciliation and keeping peace in Afghanistan. The economic, social and political war of thirty-five years has proved that Pak-Afghan foreign policy would need a drastic improvement for stability of the region. The Government of Pakistan extended full support to US in non-cultivation of opium (Hamdi and Ali, 2021; Shabir *et al.,* 2015c). According to Sadiq (2010), after 9/11 as discussed before Pakistan has fought the war of US and enjoyed large amount of foreign aid as well. As the Russian troops withdrawn from Afghanistan, US lost interest in Afghanistan but new players entered into this conflict. The neighbors of Afghanistan started their play of militancy and terrorism at its border. So, handling its neighbor means dealing with Russia, China, India, Iran and U.S. After 9/11, Pakistan could not able to make friendly relation with Afghan political establishment (Shabir *et al.*, 2014). Sial (2011) debated that after the Afghan Policy in 2015, Islamabad and Kabul agreed to stabilize the situation in both countries to manage the political, socio-economic and regional interests. Due to lack of political will, the militants on both sides were hard to manage. Pakistan took serious action to halt the India's activities in Afghanistan and blame game was reverted. As a credible country, Pakistan gave priority to reconciliation with Afghanistan. But peace and security in the region suffered due to the factors like forced structure by US, presences of US in the form of military, financial assistance, counter terrorism strategy and nuclear non-proliferation strategy (Safdar et al., 2018a; Safdar et al., 2015). Mahan (2003) expressed that self-interest of countries is a part of national policy and government need no clarification in realizing others about their national interest (Safdar *et al.,* 2016; Shabir *et al.,* 2015b). Therefore, peace is the priority for quadrilateral coordination.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is;

To examine the relationship between media agenda and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan with US on the categorized issues.

Research Questions

RQ1: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan with US?

RQ1a: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on Pak-US Isolation Policy?

RQ1b: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on war on terrorism?

RQ1c: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on quadrilateral cooperation?

Hypotheses

H1: The greater the coverage of foreign policy of Pakistan with US in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

H1a. The greater the coverage of Pak-US Isolation Policy in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

H1b. The greater the coverage of war on terrorism in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

H1c. The greater the coverage of quadrilateral cooperation in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

Literature Review

Walter Lipmann's "Public Opinion" about "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads", a phenomenal perspective about media that educate for the world around us and it makes pictures in our mind. Therefore, the behavior of audience is not an outcome of reality that exists around them but the picture in their minds and as they think, it exists (Lipmann, 1922).

Cohen (1963) claimed that the editors and reporters as gatekeepers' control, filter and present news stories to influence the perception of the audience. Media purposely tell audience what to think about rather than what to think like there are various resources editors, publishers and writers that draw outline for the audience for what to think about.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) formally called Cohen's phenomenon as agenda setting theory (Aruguete, 2017). Half century after Lipmann, they explored direction of agenda setting from media to audience (media influence audience opinion), adopted content analysis as well survey to find out content and the effect on voters. McCombs and Shaw's Panel study conducted by interviewing Chapel Hill voters in 1968 elections times in New Hampshire, Indiana and Illinois voters nine times. The researchers from the University of North Carolina assumed that there is correlation between TV and voters +.63, whereas the relation between newspapers and the audience agenda was +.34.

McCombs (2002) analyzed that the audience gives priority to those issues that highlighted by the media. Henceforth, agenda setting not only change the attitude of the audience rather it is a learning process too. McCombs and Shaw (1972) in the first level focused on transferring of object or issue from media to the audience. The media focus on specific issues and present frequently so that viewers perceive those issue as the most important. Media transfer it in a way to make it audience agenda (Coleman, *et al.,* 2009).

As described by McCombs and Shaw, second level is about the attribute saliences that how people think about an object or issue. McCombs and Llamas (1997) found two dimensions of 2nd level agenda setting, first is substantive or ideological and second is affective tone i.e., positive, negative and neutral that is called attribute agenda setting. According Kiousis *et al.,* (1999) Substantive and affective dimensions has been identified. First dimension focused on attributes that are covered by media and audience cognitively structure and differentiate the selected object. Whereas affective attributes focused on tones. Causal relationship observed between attribute agenda and audience opinion about political candidature. Kim and McCombs (2007) added into the theory that people also rank issues, the way they are covered. Coleman and Banning (2006) in their study about affective visual as 2nd level agenda setting of Presidential Candidates, described that the second level agenda setting focused on the way characteristics of issue are described rather then what issue is described. Wu and Coleman (2009) while working on advancement of agenda setting found in 2nd level agenda setting about the characteristics have much stronger effect on audience than salience of issues.

Winter and Eyal (1981) measured the correlation between covering one issue and opinion of audience over the time on the same issue. According to Guizlo (2012) positive mean correlation (+0.53) of media and audience agenda were found by Wanta and Ghanem in meta-analysis of 90 studies conducted in 2005. McCombs and Weaver (2014) examined the relationship between salience transfers of media to audience, having strong correlation.

Funkhouser, (1973) analyzed the covering the issues and opinion of audience about the issues that was being faced by the United States of America over the decade of 1960's. He revealed that there is substantial relationship exists between agenda of media and agenda of audience. In the year of 1979,

another research of Becker and McCombs found that extensive media campaigns have been exposed to voters that provoked their interest towards politics. The research revealed , agenda setting influence was result of the media from where they received motivation on various categorize of voters and including specific kind of the medium, political interest of audience, orientation for their needs, and the ways of the inter-personal communication among audience.

Moreover, Palmgreen and Clark (1977) analyzed role of agenda setting of media about national and local problems. The research revealed that the influence on local level is very weak but impactful at the national level.

Salwen (1988) focused on particular seven issues of environment to analyze the impact on audience that for how long issue stayed in media by repeating the basic hypothesis of agenda setting. The study revealed that to measure the impact of five to seven weeks is not enough hence, impact on audience be analyzed from eight to ten weeks in news coverage.

Hispanic Cable News by Ghanem and Wanta (2006) explored that "exposure" is most effecting determining factor in setting the agenda than the reliance and credibility. Weaver (1977) ascribed an individual have more need for orientation on policy will be affected more than others by salience transfer.

Lennon (1997) another study on agenda setting effects at local level of five newspapers was conducted by Lennon, in Argentina (South America) Buenos Aires metropolitan during legislative elections. The first ranked issue was corruption in media as well as in public agenda during the study period. The relationship of +.43 was observed with a little variation during the month of September among combined issue agenda of five newspapers and public agenda. The level of relationship increased to +.80 showing the effect of media near ending week of electoral campaign in October.

The agenda of attributes serve the function of "What to Think About" to "How to Think About an Object". Because some attributes receive greater attention and some mild whereas there are some objects which are never noticed. Media has the ability to portray positive or negative picture of political campaign as well as about the leaders (McCombs, *et al.,* 2000).

The agenda setting is not meant to portray image of political leader but also present issues effectively. The selected issues grab the attention of audience to make the opinion about that specific issue. High level of correspondence (+.78) was found between the people of Tokyo talking about 8 features of global environment and presentation of this issue in Japanese newspapers (Mikami*, et al.,* 1995). Cohen (1975) examined environmental condition in US where strong association (+.71) was observed among image in public mind and coverage in local newspaper on six ways to construct manmade lake in central Indiana.

Dunn (2009) argued about media has power to alter perception of people. This theory investigated the influence of media on opinion making of audience. According to new dimensions, it has been revealed that there are seven faces of agenda setting theory (Kim*, et al*., 2017; Rauf *et al.,* 2021). According to Kim and McCombs (2007) for several years, agenda setting was transferred important issue from news agenda to the audience. Agenda setting adopted in other areas like in political advertising and social media related subject matter not related to audiences' issue that varied from news to societal topics (Kliger - Vilenchik*, et al.,* 2011).

Harris (2010) in analysis of agenda setting and press coverage in the 1999 Greek European elections of press releases party manifestos and audience opinion before campaign concluded that agendas influence perception of people. Simon (2010) revealed that there is strong relationship of media agenda i.e., election campaign and political partisanship and audience opinion. Golan and Wanta (2001) showed relation of affective characteristics of advertisement of Kerry's and audience opinion of issues. Moreover, positive negative or neutral tone shaped the opinions of the public about the news attributes.

Brubaker (2008) while exploring the independence of agendas as freedom to choose personal agenda determine the salient issue for the media coverage. This study failed to support agenda setting because

results revealed that TV viewers, Internet users, and audience have same agendas but that are different from the media agenda. Hence, media do not set the audience agenda. Coleman and Wu in 2nd level agenda setting separating affective and substantive dimension (2010). A research on media fragmentation of attribute agenda setting on political opinions of Iraq through analyzing content of coverage of TV news and survey analyses in a fragmented media environment. The study revealed that viewers of one news outlet has different perception than the viewers of two news outlets, there was inconsistent effect of political alignment on the relation between political opinions and television exposure (Muddiman, *et al.,* 2014).

In 1963 a book "The Press and Foreign Policy" by Cohen in which he stated that media might not succeed to tell the audience what issue to think about, but it succeeds to tell the audience how to think about an issue. He concluded that people would look at the world in different manner reliant upon the way it's made for them by the editors, writers and the publishers of the paper that the public read (1963). According to Lent (1977) US media covers mostly foreign related issues. Merrill, (1995) argued that media make pro and anti-picture of the world in minds. The international news coverage by US media was aligned with the US foreign policy. Perlmutter (1998) established that opinion of the American people can be muddled through covering of news by US media (Chang, *et al.,* 1988). The study "Is the agenda-setting process different outside the United States: A multi-national agenda-setting test" by Maetan, (2000) revealed that the international intermediary influence intermediary agenda setting and give new way to look into the issues. In the experimental research design Wang, (2000) exposed issues of online newspaper and revealed strong relation of media and audience agenda on policy issues. Peng (2004) explored the resource of gathering of news depends states sources for international reporting. The relation of news coverage and importance to U.S. of 21 foreign countries along with U.S. Findings revealed coverage is more negative led to negative perception in Americans about other nations (Wanta, *et al.,* 2004). In longitudinal study on agenda setting (Harris, *et al.,* 2006) on Greek European election in 1999, the effect of media on the topic's selection and awareness especially foreign affairs and international issues during political campaign has been examined. The results reveled that relation between media agenda and audience agenda is not substantiated. The study titled 'Foreign News and Public Opinion: Attribute Agenda-Setting Theory Revisited" conducted by Besova and Cooley in 2009 found strong correlation between media coverage and audience opinion from nine foreign countries in sample of The New York Times. In the comparison of local newspaper and issues of government affairs, there is strong association of media and audience perception on specific issue (Cuestas, 2009). In 2012, Du revealed the positive association of agenda setting on media agenda and audience agenda of eleven countries. The research titled "Missing Religion" about 2nd level agenda setting coverage of Islam in American newspapers, have substantive attributes and affective attributes of Islam as a religion in American newspapers and compared the results with the public's perception to regulate if a correlation exists between the media coverage on Islam and the perception of public. The results revealed that the attributes related to Islam covered negatively (Bowe, *et al.,* 2013).

Research Method

This study "agenda setting between media and audience on foreign policy of Pakistan," investigated the relationship among the media agenda and the audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan with Unites States of America in respect of foreign policy issues for the period of one years that is from 1st January 2017 till 31st January 2018. In this study, content analysis of two leading newspapers and survey of professionals were conducted.

Research Design

Quantitative content analysis and Survey carried out on categorized issues.

Content Analysis of Newspapers

Newspaper content of two mainstream widely circulated newspapers of Pakistan, DAWN and The News International of period from 1st January 2017 till 31st January 2018 were selected purposively related to Pak-US categorized issues.

Sampling and Sample Size

Sample of content analysis of the newspaper comprised of the columns and editorials of DAWN and The News International collectively called as "Newspaper Content" containing the categorized issues on Pak-US relations from 1st January 2017 till 31st January 2018. For Survey, total sample size comprised of 150 respondents. Selected purposively. The detail of sample is given below;

Academicians: 75 respondents from each newspaper readers that are DAWN and The News International were selected for survey. Chairman / Head of the Departments, Professors, Associate Professors, Assistant professors, PhD Scholars of Departments of International Relation, Political Science Department and Mass Communication Department of four public / HEC recognized universities that were Quad e Azam University, International Islamic University, Allama Iqbal Open University, National Defense University.

Media Professionals: 75 media persons, reporters covering foreign policy beat, News Editors /Editor in Chief, Presidents of Press Clubs of Rawalpindi and Islamabad, APNS (All Pakistan Newspaper Society), Heads of News Agencies of Rawalpindi and Islamabad will be sampled.

Data Collection

The world's largest database 'LexisNexis' was used to collect the data of newspaper content (DAWN and The News International). For survey, structured questionnaire was developed and administered through email, telephonic contact and by in person visits.

Variables of the Study

Researcher measured the slant on foreign policy in terms of favorable, unfavorable and neutral. Unit of analysis is the Paragraph editorial and columns. It will be coded as favorable if its pro foreign policy of Pakistan and if anti then it is coded as unfavorable. If half content is complementing to the foreign policy of Pakistan, thence considered as neutral. Frames measured based on contextual unit of analysis as friend and foe on Pak-US related issues in the newspaper content. While measuring the specific issues Anti-Government and Pro Government also used. Length of news story measured in number of words.

Table 1: *Content Categorization Rules*

Variables	Content Categories	Rules
Topics/ Issues	1.Pak-US Isolation Policy	1. News story containing information about Pakistan's cooperation with United States to fight against terrorism to avoid suspension of aids and become isolated will be coded as Pak-US isolation policy.
	2. War on Terrorism	2. News story containing information of eliminating terrorists' organizations from Pakistan will be coded as War on Terrorism.
	3.Qaudrilateral Cooperation	3 News story containing information of Pakistan's role in the reconciliation process for establishing peace in Afghanistan will be coded as quadrilateral coordination.

Holsti inter-coder reliability test: The Holsti Inter-coder reliability coefficient for the sampled newspapers (columns and editorials related to Pak-US) is as follows;

Inter-coder Reliability of Newspaper: 0.931 or 93.1%

Salience and Rank Order on Pak-US in Newspapers Content

In total 167 (N=167) editorials and Columns published in both newspapers. Rank order of the issues related to Pak-US relations. Whereas for salience of issues, the rating scale was developed ranging from 1 to 5 where percentage was assigned 50% Urgent and Important ranked 1st , 30%-49% Important and ranked 2nd , 10%-29% least important and ranked 3rd .

Table 2: *Salience and Rank Order on Pak-US Relations Issues in Newspaper Content*

Pak-US Issues	Newspaper Content		Number of Words	Frequency	Salience of Issue of Scale	Rank Order
	Editorials	Columns				
War on Terrorism	48	50	101676	98 (58%)	5	1st
Quadrilateral Cooperation	20	18	36119	38 (21.5%)	3	2nd
Pak-US Isolation Policy	12	19	28461	31 (18.5%)	1	3rd
Total	**80**	**87**	**166256**	**167(100%)**		

According to newspaper agenda, sustained development considered not important issue. The newspaper content comprised of total number of words by the selected newspapers (DAWN and The News International) were166256. Total 98 editorial and columns written on War on terror comprising of 101676 words. It is ranked at 1st. 2nd Ranked issue was quadrilateral cooperation comprised of words 36119 and coverage given by both newspapers were 38 editorials and columns. Pak-US isolation policy comprised of 28461 words and ranked 3rd due to less coverage of 18.5%. DAWN and the News International covered the issue of War on Terrorism as urgent and important issue 58% columns and editorials were published from January 2017 till January 2018 comprising 101676 words in total. Quadrilateral cooperation ranked 2nd comprised of 21.5%. Pak-US isolation policy ranked 3rd of 18.5%.

Frame and Slant of Issue Pak-US Isolation Policy of Newspaper Content

The newspaper content frame the Pak-US isolation policy is about, Pakistan's cooperation with United States to fight against terrorism to avoid suspension of aids and become isolated is 9(1.8%) as a friend and 5 (1%) as a foe, 1(0.2%) as pro-government and 9(1.8%) as anti-government, whereas neutral coverage given is 7(1.4%) to the issue. The slant of newspaper content on Pak-US isolation policy about Pakistan's cooperation with United States to fight against terrorism to avoid suspension of aids and become isolated is 31(6.3%), 25(5.1%) favourable, 2(0.4%) unfavourable and 4(0.8%) neutral.

Table 3: *Frame of Newspaper Content on Pak-US Relations*

Variables	Frames of Newspaper Content					Total
	Friend (%)	Foe (%)	Pro Govt (%)	Anti Govt (%)	Neutral (%)	
Pak-US Isolation Policy	9 (5.3%)	5(2.9%)	1(0.5%)	9(5.3%)	7(4%)	31(18.5%)
War on Terrorism	33 (19.7%)	9(5.3%)	28(16.7%)	10(6%)	18(10.7%)	98(58.6%)
Quadrilateral Cooperation	6(3.5%)	6(3.5%)	13(7.7%)	6(3.5%)	7(4%)	38(7.8%)
N=167	**48(28%)**	**20(12%)**	**42(25%)**	**25(15%)**	**32(19.1%)**	**167 (100%)**

Total number of 31 editorials /columns published on Pak-US isolation policy about cooperation with United States to counter terrorism to avoid threat of suspending all aid to Pakistan. Friendly frame was 9 (5.3%), 5(2.9%) foe, 1(.5%) pro-government, 9(5.3%) antigovernment and 7 (4%) neutral frames. Slant of newspaper revealed 28 (90.3%) editorials and columns in favour of foreign policy of Pakistan regarding breaking isolation policy, 1 (3.2%) unfavorable and 2 (6.4%) neutral.

Frame and Slant of War on Terrorism

Frame of news content on eliminating terrorist organization from Pakistan, total editorials and columns were published on War on Terrorism 98(58.6%), frame as friend 33 (19.7%), and foe 9(5.3%), pro-government 28(16.7%), anti-government 10(6%) and neutral 18(10.7%). While examining the slant of the same issue, 50(10.2%) were favourable slants, 20 (4.09%) were unfavourable and neutral slants towards foeign policy of Pakistan were 28(5.7%).

Frame and Slant of Quadrilateral Cooperation

News content framed the issue of quadrilateral cooperation about Pakistan's role in the reconciliation process for establishing peace in Afghanistan as quadrilateral coordination as friend 6(3.5%) and as foe 6(3.5%), pro-government 13(7.7%), anti-government frames were 6(3.5%) and neutral towards foreign policy of Pakistan were 7 (4%). Hence total 38(7.8%) news stories were framed. While evaluating slant of the same issue 15 (3.07%) were favourable, unfavourable slants were 8 (1.6%) and neutral 15 (3.07%).

Analysis of Survey

Questionnaire was developed. Question number 1 examined the preference of respondents of Newspapers i.e., DAWN and The News International. Due to purposive sampling, 150 respondent of DAWN and The NEWS International, both readers were selected. Three (3) choices were given in the first question. First option was DAWN, second option was The News International and the third option was Both of Them.

Table 4: *Newspaper Preference*

Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage
DAWN	31	20.7%
The News International	25	16.7%
Both	94	62.7%
Total	**150**	**100%**

Table 4 measured the preference of readers of newspapers. 31 responses were in favour of DAWN and 25 were in favour of The News International. Respondents who prefer to read both newspapers were 94. Total number of respondents were 150.

Question No 2

Question No 2 related with ranking of Pak-US Relations issues of readers of DAWN, The News International and Both of Them options on scale of; (Not Important=1, Least Important=2, Important=3, Very Important=4, Urgent & Important=5)

Table 5: *Rank Order of Pak-US Relations of Respondents*

Pak-US Issues	Frequency	Rank Order
Pak-US Isolation Policy	(49.4%)	1st
Quadrilateral Cooperation	(48.7%)	2nd
War on Terrorism	(1.8%)	3rd

Table 6: *Frequency of Issues*

Scale / Topic/Issues	Not Important	Least Important	Important	Very Important	Urgent & Important	Total
Pak-US Isolation Policy	1(.7%)	28(18.9%)	43(28.7%)	23(15.3%)	55(36.6%)	150(100%)
War on Terrorism	1(0.7%)	17(11.3%)	93(62.0%)	33(22%)	2(1.3%)	146(97.3%)
Quadrilateral Cooperation	0 (0%)	7(4.7%)	14(9.3%)	74(49.6%)	54(36.2%)	149(99.3%)

According to data collected from respondents the ranking of issues showed that Pak-US Isolation Policy considered Urgent & Important that is 55 (36.6%) out of 150.Whereas 43(28.7%) consider it Important and 28(18.9%) think it is Least Important. Only 23(15.3%) rate it as Very Important. According to the opinion of 93(62.0%) out of 146 War on Terrorism is Important. 33 (22%) considered it Very Important and 17(11.3%) ranked it Least Important and 2(1.3%) considered this issue Urgent & Important. Only 1(.7%) think it's Not Important.149 respondents responded and think that Qaudrilateral Cooperation is 74(49.6%) Very Important, 54 (36.2%) is urgent & Important whereas as 14(9.3%) is Important and 7(4.7%) is Least Important.

Table 7: *Rank Order of all Institutions of the Study*

S.No	Content Categorization	Rank Oder Respondents (Survey)	Rank Order Newspapers Content
1	Pak-US Isolation Policy	1st	3rd
2	War on Terrorism	3rd	1st
3	Quadrilateral Cooperation	2nd	2nd

Respondents of the survey revealed that Pak-US isolation policy is the most urgent and important of all and ranked 1st. The analysis of newspaper content revealed that war on terrorism is urgent and important issue and ranked 1st.

Findings of Hypotheses

Hypothesis tested by applying Spearman's Rank Order Correlation and strength of relationship was also examined.

RQ1: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan.

H1: The greater the coverage of foreign policy of Pakistan with US in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

Researcher examined the H1 by applying Spearman rank order correlation through SPSS to find out the correlation between media agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan with audience agenda on the same issues.

RQ1a: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on Pak-US Isolation Policy.

H1a. The greater the coverage of Pak-US Isolation Policy in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

The strength of relationship is moderate positive in H1a. Correlation between media agenda and audience agenda on Pak-US isolation policy issue is r_s =+.271 ; P=.480 which is not significant because P-Value > .05. So, hypothesis of setting the agenda by the media on foreign policy of Pakistan related issues and its influence on the audience, is not supported.

RQ1b: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on war on terrorism.

H1b. The greater the coverage of war on terrorism in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

The strength of relationship is week negative in H1b. Correlation between media agenda and audience agenda on war on terrorism issues is rs= -.071; P=.856 which is not significant because P-Value > .05. Hence, hypothesis of setting the agenda by the media on war on terrorism issues and its influence on the audience, is not supported.

RQ1c: Whether and to what extent correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on quadrilateral cooperation.

H1c. The greater the coverage of quadrilateral cooperation in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.

The strength of relationship is strong positive in H1c. Correlation between media agenda and audience agenda on quadrilateral cooperation is rs =+.891;P=.05 which is significant because P-Value < .05. Hence, hypothesis of setting the agenda by the media on foreign policy of Pakistan related issues and its influence on the intellectual audience, is supported.

Hypothesis H1: The greater the coverage of foreign policy of Pakistan with US in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience is partially, supported.

Hypothesis H1strengthens the hypothesis of Harris, Fury and Lock that agenda-setting impact of the press in topics selection and awareness of foreign affairs and international issues during political campaign on the public, appears to have no significant effect. The results reveled that strength of association is moderate and relation between media agenda and audience agenda is not substantiated (2006).

Table 8: *Spearman's Rank Order Correlation*

Sub-Hypotheses	Spearman's Rho (ρ) Correlation Coefficient (r_s)	Sig. (2-tailed) (P)	Strength of Relationship	Status
H1a: The greater the coverage of Pak-US Isolation Policy in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.	+.271	.480	A Moderate Positive Relationship	Correlation is not Significant
H1b: The greater the coverage of war on terrorism in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.	-.071	.856	A weak negative Relationship	Correlation is not Significant
H1c: The greater the coverage of quadrilateral cooperation in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience.	+.891	.05	A Strong Positive Relationship	Correlation is Significant

Discussion

It has been revealed from the findings of H1 of this study, that media agenda and audience agenda hypothesis is partially supported. Detail of sub-hypotheses are given below;

In H1a of the study revealed that there is moderate positive correlation (rs+.271; p=.480) and is not significant. Agenda setting theory of McCombs and Shaw (1972) revealed that there is positive moderate correlation (+.34) among newspapers and audience. Trumbo (1995) found positive relationship between media and policy of state on global warming issues. In this study, issues were related with foreign policy of Pakistan with US correlation was found only moderate between media agenda and audience and not significant. The reason for not being significant is that respondents of survey are intellectuals (Academicians and Media Professional) having sound opinion about the issues and the influence of media agenda was found as moderate. It is an important finding of the study that the intellectuals are not significantly influenced by media agenda in Pakistan. Media of Pakistan is considered as propagandist version so intellectuals find their way towards the other sources of information. They seek more intellectuals for opinion making or read books but not confined to media only. There sources of information is not only print, electronic or socialization. They have theoretical and practical knowledge and critically analyze the information given by the media. Therefore, they prefer and convinced whatever they process in their mind as a separate entity.

Furthermore, the moderate positive effect leads to the conclusion that foreign policy is a subject of policy makers and policy elite. It is not been discussed among all citizens of the country. More than 50% of the population live below the poverty line and they do not have interest in the foreign policy of Pakistan. Such people interested in fulfilling basic needs only. This study is related with categorized issue of foreign policy of Pakistan only and unlike developed countries of the world, in this part of world, majority of general audience do not have interest with the issues related to foreign policy. The general audience is not concerned with foreign policy issues. Keeping in view the social and cultural environment and circumstances sample was drawn from intellectuals of society of Pakistan who possessed with adequate knowledge about foreign policy and discuss its issues on frequent basis. Furthermore, such segment of intellectuals is also part of policymaking but not influenced by the media. In this study intellectuals do not depend solely on media for seeking information. They seek media just for domestic or local issues but not for the high-level policy formation, review and implementation issues. According to the results of this study, media and audience do not think alike.

The other aspect is that media ranked war on terrorism as the top most priority. In contrast, intellectuals ranked Pak-US isolation policy as a top ranked issue in Pak-US relations. The strength of relationship is weak negative in H1b. Correlation between media agenda and audience agenda on war on terrorism issues is rs= -.071 ; P=.856 which is not significant because. Respondents ranked Pak-US isolation policy as a top ranked issue in Pak-US relations and war on terrorism ranked as 3rd level. Whereas media ranked war on terrorism as top ranked issue. The inverse relationship is observed as one variable increases the other decreases. Hence, the correlation does not exist between media agenda and audience agenda on war on terrorism issue. Both have reserved opinions and do not influence each other being separate entities. Relationship of media agenda and audience is negative and inconsistent effects (Muddiman, Stroud and McCombs, 2014).

In H1c; The greater the coverage of quadrilateral cooperation in the media, greater will be its importance for the audience strong Positive Relationship (rs=+.891;P=.05) is found i.e. Correlation is Significant. Intellectuals in Pakistan prefer researches and have ability to analyze critically. Both have the same aptitude and attitude towards foreign policy of Pakistan peace related issues. Respondents of the study utilized several sources for gathering information and do discussions by using their intellectual, analytical and research skill to make opinion almost the same as media. There is strong correlation exists between media agenda and audience agenda on specific issues In the comparison of local newspaper and issues of government affairs strong association exists between media and audience perception on specific issue like

peace and stability (Cuestas, 2009). Keeping in view the above discussion about the sub hypotheses, it has been revealed that the main hypothesis is partially supported.

Conclusion

It has been concluded that media agenda and audience agenda on foreign policy of Pakistan are partially correlated. Media has limited effect on audience. Issue ranked by both, to some extent may not be the same. Their ranking of issue is opposite except peace related issues. Peace is prime important for both domains. Keeping in view the discussion, it has been concluded that issues covered by the media are less important for audience. There is partial correlation among media and audience agenda setting.

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