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Riaz Ahmed

**Media Framing & Elections: Analyzing the Print Media
Framing & Its Impacts during 2018 Elections in Pakistan**

Directrice de thèse:

Madame la professeure Widad Mustafa El Hadi

Jury:

Madame Laurence Favier, professeure à l'Université de Lille, Président du Jury

Madame Mustafa Widad El-Hadi, professeure à l'Université de Lille, Directrice

Madame Amel Fraisse, maîtresse de conférences à l'Université de Lille, Co- Directrice

Monsieur Shafiq ur Rehman, professeure à l'Université de Punjab, rapporteur

Madame Kalata Barbara Sonika, professeure à l'Université de Warsaw, rapportrice

Monsieur Muhammed Sidir, professeur à l'université de Picardie, examinateur



Abstract

Media effects have always been a primary focus of attention for researchers and policymakers. Indeed, the social, economic, psychological and political effects of media have been a highly witnessed phenomenon from the very beginning. Political communication and its perceived impacts have been complex yet widely studied during the past decade. In this regard, the current thesis focused on examining the role of media, particularly newspapers, in framing the news content during the General Election of 2018 in Pakistan. I employed a mixed-method approach, quantitative content analysis, and qualitative analysis for a systematic and empirical investigation. To build the conceptual and theoretical framework, I randomly selected $n = 191$ studies based on political framing, political communication, and their impacts published worldwide from 2000 to 2020 through the Prisma method. This literature further helped to propose the study hypotheses investigated and verified based on Media System Dependency Theory, Framing Theory, Agenda Setting Theory, and Political Communication Theory. First, the quantitative content analysis results indicated a robust and significant relationship between framing and newspapers during elections, with the significance level at $p \geq .006$. Moreover, the significance level at $p \geq .011$ indicated a moderately significant relationship between conflict framing and the selected newspapers. Furthermore, the Wilcoxon Signed-Ranked test also revealed substantial differences regarding coverage patterns among the newspapers, with the significance level at $p \geq .000$. Besides, based on the language of the newspapers (English, Urdu) Mann-Whitney U test revealed moderately significant differences ($p \geq .012^{**}$). Notably, I found a robust as well as meaningful relationship between Urdu newspapers reporting which is comparatively more optimistic about the

political scene than that of the English newspapers. In addition, I executed the parametric tests to examine the hypotheses based on the survey method. The results showed that only age remained as the factor having a moderately significant ($p \geq 0.079$) relationship with the voting decision. These results were further validated by the qualitative analysis of the newspaper's editorials from June 6, 2018 to August 21, 2018. The qualitative analysis of the survey data showed the marginalized importance of public issues for the editorial writers as the analysis indicated a sheer negligence towards general welfare issues. Bilateral relations, overemphasis on the financial situation, and fair criticism of the previous government were prominent among the selected editorials. Therefore, by keeping in view the underlying facts of political communication, framing and impacts, the current thesis also provides in-depth insights into the media and politics, especially during the elections. In this regard, I have made some practical recommendations to attain more insights that may indicate the role of newspapers in framing and its impacts on the voters during the elections.

Keywords: Media Framing; Political Communication; Pakistan; Election Campaigns; Media Effects; Voting Decision; Print Media; Newspapers

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Present-day use of the term Mass media has its roots deeply buried in the times immemorial. It has already been applied in varied forms at different times. "Mass," for instance, in its old Greek sense, means *'an unclear batter.'* Currently the term *'mass'* has conveyed a derogatory sense as it is intended for what the nineteenth-century British executive William Gladstone called the "lower orders" of the society. 20th and 21st centuries use generally alluded to the most unpretentious distributions as "mass flow magazines," inferring Gladstone's "lower orders." Its accomplice, "media," has been problematic from the beginning because the word tends to disseminate so many unique implications. The plural "media" and its particular structure ("medium") has various impacts when used in science, rationale, craftsmanship, photography, and the theatre. In current political and business life, it began to be used broadly and conventionally for the substance and hardware of mass dispersion of data and diversion, as in papers, magazines, books, radio, T.V., and the film, shaping the reason for a conversation of media restraining infrastructures and oligopolies (Bagdikian, 2007).

Mass media are commonly and conventionally categorized under two major heads i.e. the electronic media such as radio, T.V., film, recorded music, and the print media such as newspapers, magazines, and mainstream writing are on the double ancient rarities, encounters, practices, and cycles. They are financially and politically determined, connected to improvements in science and innovation, and like most areas of human life, their reality is inseparably bound up with the use of language (Brossard, 2013).

For over thirty years, the educational grant has investigated how computerized media and web-based media have either added to or obstructed the advancement of an educated and connected populace (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). The 2016 official political decision in the United States gained much public attention regarding significant correspondence issues (Jungherr et al., 2020). Advanced media have become a substantial factor as they manifestly exercise their influence on the political lives of the proletarians and it has also been observed that a developing number of individuals worldwide utilize computerized media advances for data and correspondence (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012).

By and large, computerized media have established a significant stage that individuals can arrange and activate among similar people. While assigning educational resources to the individuals and preparing messages, automated media also encourage socio-political components that become the cause of certain apprehensions over the unstoppable artifice, trickery, data separation, and political polarization (Gil de Zúñiga & Chen, 2019).

Moreover, the significance of the media today is enormous. At no other time, in humanity's set of experiences, have the media significantly affected our lives and conduct. Over the most recent 50 years, the media impact has developed dramatically with the development of innovation. First, there was the message. A few decades ago, newspapers, radio, journals, editorials, magazines, T.V. were in the limelight but now the web has gained prominence over the last few years (Pandey, 2017). We live in a general public that relies upon data and correspondence to continue moving towards the assigned and projected milestone and do our day-to-day practices or routine tasks like work, diversion, medical services, instruction, individual connections, traveling, and whatever else we need

to do. Individuals give comprehensive explanations depending on media content reasons, such as observation of the climate, data chasing, and individual direction requirements. Also, the purposes of such crowd dependence infer some level of trust. Today, media has become as vital as food and attire. It has assumed a considerable part in reinforcing the general public. Media is considered a "reflection" of the advanced society. In the words of Reeves, Chaffee, and Tims, "There is an understandable tendency to place more trust in information from media, which are professionally organized to validate and edit their content rather than in messages we hear from other people or draw from our memories." (Chaffee & Tims, 1982)

The media's motivation is to educate individuals about current issues and tell about the most recent daily topics and design. We need to realize that the more significant part of our choices, convictions, and qualities depends on what we know beyond a shadow of a doubt, our speculations, and our very own insight. In our work, we, for the most part, comprehend what we have to rely upon our experience and studies; at any rate, in our consistent lives, we rely upon the media to get the current news and real factors about what is critical and what we should think about.

However, Media have badly affected an age, mostly because media emphatically exercise their influence on the young. Adolescents and youngsters wish to follow the individuals who get perceived and do what they do in order to make it prominent. Sometimes, they centre on a terrible piece of the media and endeavor to be a piece of it. Most of them do not tend to give in to the existence of misdeeds! Even a simpleton or layman residing in the city usually gets motivated and inspired, checks the T.V. news or paper, goes to work, makes two or three phone choices, eats with their family at whatever

point the circumstance permits, and makes his decisions subject to the information that he has either from their associates, news, TV, buddies, family (Silverblatt, 2004).

There is a sure way to explore, excel and unveil various topics, sub-topics as well as propensities and partialities that indicates one the of salient functions of media. The media professed to be administered by decency, professionalism and value; however, self-indulgence and self-importance may mar the excellence and integrity of media.

Apart from the abovementioned functions and traits, mass media are accountable for: schooling, diversion, promotion, and coordination in between various parts of the society. Society is affected by media from numerous points of view. For the majority, the media causes them to get data about many things, shape conclusions, and make decisions concerning different issues. The media keep individuals refreshed and educated about what's going on around them and the world. Everybody can draw something from it. We have put our trust in the media as a capacity to give us news, entertainment, and guidance. In any case, the effect of complete interchanges on our youth and society is enormous to an extent that we should know how it genuinely works.

Similarly, media assume a considerable function in forming political suppositions and gathering citizens' selections as individuals find out about governmental issues through media (Berinsky & Kinder, 2006). Wolton, (2019) declared that the news media might become predisposition electors and subsequently choose strategic options. The news media is one-sided at whatever point. It presents incorrect or distorted realities and sometimes also causes issues to help a specific perspective. (Wolton, 2019)

As of late, more understudies of governmental issues have investigated news, persuaded that the media are of paramount importance and self-ruling power in legislative

matters, free of ideological groups. Such researchers are also intrigued that gatherings, government officials, and mass influential groups create modern techniques regarding the media and give expanding assets to them. News agencies have, for quite some time, been firmly associated with legislative issues. In nineteenth-century, states with delegate political frameworks, parties, used to typically control the press. A paper either straightforwardly filled in as the voice of a gathering or depended on monetary endurance on the lawful promoting and government printing agreements of the neighborhood, state, and governments when the right political faction rose to power (Schudson, 2002)

Yet, a wide range of interests, wellness, and actual movement messages has been portions of transmission media (particularly T.V.) for a long time. Now wellness and exercise destinations spot the World Wide Web. Handouts and banners are pervasive, and vis-à-vis counsel on wellbeing conduct change is frequently trailed by the individual leaving with actual movement flyers close by. Social self-improvement basic movement guidelines have been around for over twenty years. Notwithstanding the glamour of arriving at a more noteworthy number of people with less work severe methods and more prominent sophistication in innovation for conveying the message, little is thought about the viability of media-based strategies in advancing more significant levels of actual action conduct among people, gatherings, networks, or countries (Graham et al., 1985).

There are two different perspectives on the function of media in the vote-based cycle. In one view, media matters since it gives data to largely objective electors. I call this the reasonable learning model of media impacts. In this model, data from the media makes casts a ballot more receptive to the nature of strategy results. This improves political determination and motivators and, in the long run, the spirit of strategy and government

assistance (Dobrzynska et al., 2003). The media may present some deliberate inclinations, driving legislators to deal with unacceptable issues and maybe actuating to citizens' false convictions. However, the job is specific through improved political responsibility. This is the view taken by most financial analysts investigating the impacts of broad communications, remembering that for a journalistic spin. (Strömberg, 2015)

In another view, media matters through promulgation and by misusing intellectual mix-ups that citizens make. Key hypotheses are those of media plan setting, preparing, and outlining that have been clarified as follows. The reservations or apprehensions, in this matter, are that the media can control electors to act against their interests. For instance, depicting media outlining, (Entman, 1993) states, "By what means can even true democratic delegates react accurately to general supposition when exact proof of it has all the signs of being so moldable, so helpless against outlining impacts?" Krosnick & Kinder, (1990) portray preparing impacts in the media as individuals being "cleared away by [an] prolific concoction of stories and pictures."

Media associations and media individuals decide the news stories just as the need is given to specific issues. The press likewise reveals to us which topics are the prime ones among a lot of regular issues. Because of restricted assets, individuals rely on broad communications in order to get an access to the required data, from which they tend to have a better understanding of the prevalent issues. According to (Berinsky & Kinder, 2006), media outlines data to impact the public's convictions and their specific mindsets. Different media types, including print media, present the perspectives outwardly world that is surely conducive to the framing and reshaping our assessment towards a specific issue. Thinking

about this particular idea, the media can impact the general sentiment by setting the plan and organizing the news.

Since 2002, there has been an exponential growth of electronic media in Pakistan (Bangash, 2013), which at last guaranteed an expanded function of media in the General Elections (G.E.). Unexpectedly, electronic media was used at an enormous scope during General Elections G.E. 2013 mission by the ideological groups and applicants and their allies, who continuously operated electronic media advertisements as a hotspot for contacting their likely citizens (Saleem et al., 2013). Saleem et al., (2013) further argued that, although media assumed their part during General Elections (2008), in any case, their improved function, during the General Elections G.E. 2013 to give data and direction to the citizens, was featured and lauded at several forums and by numerous groups of intellectuals. While evaluating and analyzing the rigorous process of mass media reporting, Saleem and his colleagues found that electronic media was used everywhere during the General Elections during 2013's General Elections in Pakistan by the ideological groups (think tanks), which logically used T.V. media commercials for contacting their expected electors (Saleem et al., 2013).

As described by Saleem et al. (2013), media is the fourth mainstay of the majority rule system; it assumes a crucial part in working of the state adequately by instructing the public and keeping them refreshed with the progressing political situation (Mir, 2019). Media and legislative issues have a characterized relationship of advantageous interaction wherein the two advantages (Enli, 2017). Lawmakers need media inclusion to advance their political missions, as it is the best way to win the public's trust. The media then need ideological groups to keep their residents educated and refreshed concerning their political

exercises. The two of them are subject to one another. In any case, media are acclaimed for their watchdog function to government approaches just as making the government officials responsible to people in general (Targema & Suntain, 2018a).

1.1 Problem Statement

Mass media assume a vital part in the smooth running of the majority rules system, and the vote-based cycle is practically inconceivable without independent media. Legislative issues and media have a reliable relationship, and in this way, media assume a significant function in political races. Broad communications convey the plans and proclamations of ideological groups and, in this way, impact the appointed cycle (European Audiovisual Observatory, 2004).

Advanced media can assume a critical part in the improvement of Democracy (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Elucidation of the rationale of connective activity organized social development gives hypothetical establishments to numerous examinations that have discovered positive connections between advanced media use and residents' participatory practices. Information produced by progressive media also offers chances and arises new issues to watch dynamic connections combined (collective) activity and social developments (Zuniga et al., 2017). Given that advanced media have quickly incorporated various capacities and affordability, it is essential to return to the multiple ways, they have been used to see how the impact of these various applications may differ across stages, practices, and associations with investigating new political modalities, commitment and community rehearses. Likewise, it is significant to research how these recent political correspondence modalities, which are continued through carefully arranged media, may have merged to open a time of uncensored and uncut avenues of media implications.

Likewise, media assume a massive function in affecting political assessments during decisions as free and autonomous media have consistently been perceived as establishing a system based on majority rules. A few media specialists have studied the impact of media on political evaluative processes. Some researchers guarantee that broad communications supports are persuasive as citizens are bound to help the suggested applicant. Presentation to unchecked media produces political information and viability yet diminishes government trust (Ceron & Memoli, 2015). Investigating the inclusion examples of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) considering plan setting, outlining, and preparing speculations in two eminent English language newspapers: The Dawn and the News; found that day by day, the Dawn stayed objective more often throughout this electoral process. Contrarily, the News's methodology remained one-sided (Ceron & Memoli, 2015). Introduction to a daily paper seems to impact the voting pattern on the part of the masses (Gerber et al., 2009). Media can influence electors' political convictions by stressing specific issues (van Praag & van der Eijk, 1998). As more news sources receive a narrow casting procedure, the number of instances where electors are probably going to hold solid earlier convictions concerning source philosophical direction is probably going to build (Druckman & Parkin, 2005)

Political correspondence uses media to impact the public's vote and how political choices are made (Wettstein & Wirth, 2017). Suppositions, public mindsets, and even conduct are no longer acceptable to be invulnerable to media impacts (Schmitt-Beck, 2003). Connections between political plans and political practices are attached to explicit settings (Craig, 2004).

Moreover, it is necessary to study the effects of extended interchanges inclination on voters in Pakistan since private TV stations accept a considerable part in the residents' political preparations. It is found that the news media itself has the benefit of absolutely analyzing the optional phase. Elections are the critical test to the news media as it tests objectivity and reasonableness in media ((OSCE, 2012). Media specialists had laid greater emphasis on this fact that it could strongly exercise its influence on the entire phase of election. Reporting (2004a) finds that papers addressed an issue outline more regularly than it had been done by T.V. news (16% in articles versus 10% on T.V.), and both media-centered a sizable majority of their inclusion on key strategies (43% in papers and 69% on T.V.) (Boulianne, 2015).

It is also worthy to be noted that electoral mission is a coordinated action that excites mainstream interest in elections and animates citizens to cast a ballot. The specialists in the field of election coverage recommend many significant factors for planning constituent missions, for example, political ideology, manifesto, party administration, political laborers, and mission staff (Usman et al., 2013). Some of the factors that can shift from one location to the other are contemporary issues of that society, laws in practice, accessible assets, and certain territorial factors where the mission is to be launched (Zafar, 2014)

Other than these, different sources and strategies are used for communicating with the majority, such as print and electronic media, ear-deafening speaker vehicles, rallies, processions, corner gatherings, door-to-door campaign, mailing, and casual conversations. Party message and declaration can be disseminated by giving away the handouts, flyers,

newsletters, newspapers, commercials, using flags, banners, and buoys, introducing announcements and hoardings (Bike, 2012).

Competitors launch missions and use a wide range of procedures to persuade the voters (Paquette, 2013). Most of the political candidates want to use "door to door" campaigning and setting up close-to-home contact with the public in Pakistan. These two were the fundamental strategies featured by the respondents (Usman et al., 2013). They further referred that different techniques were corner gatherings, tending to initiate processions and rallies; showing banners, flags; appropriate handouts, pamphlets; advertising through media, link, and web; use of multifaceted information and inspiring party workers (Paquette, 2013). Media set the number of plans during political races to change voters' psyches for projecting their votes to a particular ideological group. This study investigates how Pakistani print media work during the political race. How print media treat and cover the news towards political gatherings. This examination looks at the relationship between commercials and news coverage of standard political groups during the Eleventh general political campaign in Pakistan. Researchers broke down the substance of 677 newspapers' articles. 210 of newspapers' publications were composed about Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI). Accordingly, it was revealed that 31% of exposure was given to previously mentioned parties during the general election of 2018.

While covering political campaigns, media accentuate specific issues and casing functions, specifically the techniques that eventually influence voters' political convictions and practices (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). Saleem et al., (2013) found that the media assumed a critical function in increasing the voters' turnout in Pakistan's 2013 general

racers. While looking at the media's effect on casting ballot conduct (Metaxas & Mustafaraj, 2012), presentation to specific news sources impacted moving votes from regular gatherings to new ones. Dobrzynska et al. (2003) found that citizens' help for an ideological group during the political race expanded when media inclusion of that gathering was substantial. Javaid & Elahi, (2014) explain a positive relationship between introduction to media and its consequences for casting ballot conduct. Presentation to media is altogether connected with citizen attention towards the chief campaign, just as the true feelings and sentiments of the voters towards the vast media campaign and a core evaluation of vast political regimes. (Javaid & Elahi, 2014).

In Pakistan, General Election of 2018 was the first occasion when the citizens could take part in a dual correspondence with the individuals who looked for their votes. Accordingly, there had been an upsurge in the use of social and electronic media was observed. Through the political decision measure, ideological groups, singular applicants, and ordinary residents misused online media to accomplish their coveted goals. While online media was utilized as a tool for vital correspondence by the ideological groups, it likewise filled in as a mouthpiece for the regular residents and an option in contrast to the traditional press for the outflow of dispute.

Druckman & Parkin, (2005) also exhibited that publication exercised an indomitable influence upon the vote bank during the 2000 Minnesota Senate Campaign by utilizing an Election Day leave survey to gather their information. Paper interchanges may give an exemption to the speculation that political correspondences produce little change in certain decisions made by the voters. Since papers regularly appreciate readership imposing business models in their nearby dissemination regions. By and large, they hold

enthralled crowds. Even though the hostage per user who doubts his paper might be resistant to impact, citizens, for the most part, view papers as dependable sources of data and even article guidance. The pursuer shouldn't know about his paper's governmental issues to be convinced by it since hardliner inclination in news introduction, for the most part, runs toward publication inclination (Ansolabehere, 2006).

A couple of efforts to straightforwardly appraise the impact of paper supports propose papers apply a constituent effect. Different total information investigations of paper impact in nonpresidential challenges report solid proof of articles assuming a powerful office. For evidence of potential paper impact at the official level, has filtered through study information from the SRC political race studies and found that even with various controls, a large correlation between the supports by the papers, individuals read and their democratic choices (Petrocik, 1996).

There is a great deal of writing in political theory and correspondences on the effect of paper supports. By far, most of these investigations have analyzed the cross-sectional connection between democratic conduct, in the light of either total democratic returns or review information, and exhibition sure to paper endorsements. Given this source of I.D., it is hard to recognize the impact of supports and two frustrating components. First, it is notable that citizens may decide to pursue papers with a similarly invested belief system. Second, it could be the situation that the two reports and pursuers decide to help excellent competitors. Two studies have endeavored to conquer these difficulties by utilizing citizens' preferred changes and the example of paper supports in the long run. In an investigation of casting ballot designs in 1976, the records manifestly show that the electoral processes helped the involved participants in surveying information which rose

soon after the support. While intriguing, this investigation is restricted to a solitary paper underwriting and doesn't give tests to this expansion's measurable importance (Ansolabehere, 2006). In another research paper, unacceptable and undesirable variety, over the long run, (Ladd & Lenz, 2009) uses changes in the paper and supports between the 1992 and 1997 races in the U.K. Furthermore, it has been reported that the appealing impacts of funds are already quite lavish.

By keeping in view the role of news media in general and print media in particular, there is a need to understand better and analyze how the media frame the elections. Particularly, in Pakistan, media framing patterns are yet to be scrutinized (Hassan Shehzad, 2014). According to Hänggli & Kriesi, (2010), media framing during the elections and even in normal political scenarios is a phenomenon. Both political actors and mass media platforms cooperate to cover the political events and represent them for the audiences. Here political and financial interests are predominantly under consideration (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

In this regard, the print media's role is of greater concern as many studies affirmed newspapers' strategic role in framing the electoral process worldwide (Ergün & Karsten, 2019). According to O'gara, (2009), newspapers' coverage during the elections is strategic as the focus towards soft aspects such as polling stations, candidates' reputation, campaign message, and others is comparatively increased. However, people experience comparatively less exposure to political parties' plans regarding public welfare and national affairs. Nonetheless, the media coverage of these aspects also affects the voters' perception, political participation, and voting decisions. Likewise, media framing and making suitable voting decisions is a crucial phenomenon in Pakistan due to increased political instability.

As the public widely prefers newspapers in Pakistan, people consider newspapers to bridge a gap between the public, politicians, and the electoral process (Chaudhry & Ashraf, 2012). The current study also aims to analyze Pakistan's 2018 general elections print media framing. During political events, the media perform as a social institution is considered to reinforce public welfare. Jan et al., (2013) consider print media in Pakistan as one of the most preferred and reliable political information sources as noted that opinion-based public news reports and articles are common in newspapers. Besides, personal appreciation for journalists, newscasters, reporters, and politicians also increases the impact of media framing on people's voting decisions and participation process.

1.2 Political Landscape of Pakistan

We are presently living in the age of mass media and its various forms. In this domain, every individual thinks and behaves regarding media stories; media tell us which issues are important and which are not. The world, where we live today, has turned into a global village due to technological advancement; mass media give a variety of platforms for the common people. Mass media have the power to attract the public attention and influence public minds about issues and events. The media also perform gatekeeping and agenda-setting roles for the public, give attention to a few issues. The public thinks these issues and events are important and neglect others, and the public gives less importance to those issues and events. World image is presented and framed by the media persons, and this role of media is called agenda setting (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). There are many media theories, and one of the most important theories of media effect is Agenda-setting. The basic idea of agenda-setting theory is to give importance to an ordinary story and transform the media agenda into public agenda. Many previous researchers studied the

effects of media on public minds in political campaigns in the 1968 governmental election in the United States of America. According to Coleman et al., (2009), media influence the public mind about political parties and decide to vote for that party. Agenda setting part of mass media works in two basic steps to influence the public and make media agenda to the public plan. Media first select story and place on a top priority of the public by giving more coverage to that story and secondly frame that story in such a way that attracts the attention of public and public think this issue is most important and neglect other issues.

Media provide information about events or issues and gratify the need of individuals. Day by day, many stories are published in the newspaper, media person selects and gives high coverage to the stories that are important and make stories important for the public, we believe that this problem is a prime problem among most of the other news stories. In this way, media can influence the public's mind and make a positive and negative picture about events and issues. The predominant political System in Pakistan, in its creation, is an organization of people, gatherings also, associations whose cooperation and connections, thus, help decide, uphold and decipher the standards and strategies administering the conduct of a society (Khalid, 2013). It principally envelops the state organizations, for example, councils, courts, or managerial offices. Every political framework exists inside a social framework. The general public carries on like a climate for the political framework in order to run the managerial matters smoothly (Sullivan, 1989). A political framework, for the most part, includes the political structures (the public authority bodies, ideological groups, pressure gatherings, and so on), the political jobs performed by the specialists of the political structures, the examples of communication between the specialists and their standards and customs, qualities and mentalities, called the political culture and the popular

assessment), and ultimately, the political cycles remembering the activity of the popular assessment for the request to keep the political culture unblemished and sustainable (Donner & Crone, 1982). The political framework as an underlying useful subsystem of the general public connects as an arrangement of information sources, cycles, and yields, in which the requests of the individuals go about as information, shaping the base of popular assessment (the venerated job of the electorates emerges from this wonder);. At the same time, the inputs are handled as the popular assessment or the desire of the individuals through their qualities, perspectives, and convictions, prompting the advancement of the political culture.

At last, the public authority develops the famous public requests as its arrangements as a yield of the political framework. It infers its assets exclusively and discretely from the general public to ascend to the desires and assumptions of the people (Yazar, 2019). The general public, as a climate to the political framework, has both unpredictable and chaotic nature. It incorporates various political and social subsystems. The primary political subsystems are the ideological groups, interest or pressing factor gatherings, and so forth. The social subsystems are:

- The families, strict gatherings, social affiliations.
- Instructive foundations.
- Business, mechanical, and other financial associations.

Over the long haul, all these political and social subsystems give the base to develop public or electorates' assessment to be practiced as a will in the electoral phase. Resultantly, according to structure and nature, the political arrangement of a nation revolves around the

individuals and the directions written in the authentic record of the Constitution (von Vorys, 1968).

The political significance of breaking the news in Pakistan's exclusive media over the previous decade depends on discernments that it is testing the mainstream that has overwhelmed the country's political scene since quite a while ago. Verifiably, legislative issues in Pakistan have been the consequence of an arrangement struck between accomplished military and regulatory elites and common – however, all things considered amazing – conventional leaders.

Here military has ruled much of the political deal, especially concerning international strategy and homegrown security. In contrast, homegrown governmental issues are the aftereffect of a supporter customer connection between administrative elites and commonplace pioneers. The result of this deal has been there contending perspectives on the state inside Pakistan

- Safety and security state, established in the unique collaboration between the military and regular citizen organization
- Lawmaking state, established in the alliance of regulatory elites and commonplace rulers set up at Pakistan's autonomy

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan as an Islamic state has been established as a country for Muslims. A legislative issue of avoidance describes all these different variants of the Pakistani state, with the depreciation of different political entertainers and strict minorities filling in as a chief barrier to political stability.

Rasul and Proffitt (2013) stated that the vast majority of the last 50% of the twentieth century, the tale of the media in Pakistan was the one comprised bullying and

effective control. From the beginning, the state – especially the military governments – utilized print and broadcast media to spread a bound together public situation on household and international strategic issues. In the words of Javed Jabbar, the principal Federal Information Minister in General Musharraf's administration and a vital designer of the 2002 media change laws, "Beforehand, there was a forethought however accommodating rationality and sharing of public discourse." (N. Hussain et al., 2014) Others, including Raza Rumi, a proofreader at exclusive "The Friday Times" week after week, described this period all the more heartlessly: "There were over 50 years of relentless, coordinated, all around financed promulgation by the state and the state development of a [national] personality that is fictitious." The scope of Pakistan's cutting-edge media has been a little more than ten years since its formation and taking shape. In 2002, the Pakistani government, under General Musharraf, changed the transmission media area, prompting an explicit expression of neighborhood, exclusive satellite TV slots appropriated through link organizations. Somewhere in the range of 2002 and 2010, 89 TV channels entered transmission, and 26 unfamiliar channels were sanctioned broadcasting rights. On the radio front, 138 FM radio licenses were allowed during the similar period, of which around 115 got operational by 2012. The Musharraf government likewise made the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) direct this recently changed sector. Obviously, exclusive media has a long history in Pakistan (Rasul & McDowell, 2012).

The founder of our nation, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was additionally the pioneer of one of the country's most compelling papers, the Dawn, in 1941. The Dawn paper was only one of a few papers established as a major player in the battle for freedom from British high-handed rule. Everyone is related with various dreams of a better future to state's entity.

This opposing character of the early press – at the same time disorderly and nationalistic – established the framework for the philosophical tenor of the current media wave arising in Pakistan. The 2002 changes can be perceived as a continuation of the state (and particularly the military) sending of the media to support Pakistan's public picture. Following the Kargil War (1999) between India and Pakistan, those who were against Pakistan's narrative, they supported the side of Indian satellite stations. They were given the green signal to turn against Islamabad. Walters, (2016) stated that in an undeniably media-immersed area, the Pakistani military saw permitting exclusive media as an efficient and substantial method to brace Pakistan's ability to contend in a "media battle" with India. General Musharraf likewise saw a changed media scene as an approach to additionally strengthen his force. Following the 1999 troubled situation, Musharraf confronted calls from the general masses and the international area to maintain and honour vote-based mandate. Media development was viewed as one approach to assuage the favourable voices of majority rules system without surrendering an excess of control. According to (Rasul & Proffitt, 2013), it was the system of "illuminated moderation which looked to accept moderate interpretation of Islam. Overall, it allowed the free functionality of satellite stations and FM radio broadcasts. However, the state's imposing business model over national communication systems had the broadest reach. Be that as it may, a multiplying and recently engaged transmission media fortified the hand of favorable to majority rule government activists just as private interests restricted to military guidelines – ultimately adding to Musharraf's collapse. Accordingly, Pakistan's current media scene stays conflicting – as it enjoys more freedom than it had been in the recent history, yet it is still helpless against state control (Wilson et al., 2010).

1.3 Newspapers in Pakistan

According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, there are more than 707 Newspapers in Pakistan. In this regard, the media's democratizing potential in Pakistan is generally apparent at key political points – for instance, while intensifying the requests of the legal counselors' development or while preparing and instructing citizens in the approach races. Between authentic political occasions, nonetheless, this preparation asserts that the media's best unbiased commitment is as a watchman, engaging different perspectives. As indicated by a June 2011 Pew Research Center survey, 76% of those studied in Pakistan accept that the media has a reasonable impact in the country (Riaz, 2009). This unprecedented degree of trust in the business to a great extent stretches out from the public discernment that the exclusive transmission media assumes a significant part in articulating public requests. The related aspects investigate this discernment and show how the media has extended its role as a vigilant agent through the developing ubiquity of regional language channels and online media stages that are utilized to start a public discussion, gather common society and shun the governmental control. Together, these variables have encouraged the media to execute its gatekeeping part by making the media scene more comprehensive (S. Farooq et al., 2007). Articulating public interest, many media experts believe that the best result of Pakistan's media campaign in the most recent decade or so has been the capacity of the public media – including more than twelve Urdu-language news channels – to fill in as a powerful watchman: opening space for the country's diversified population to be heard in manners truly denied by political foundations. As Express-News' Talat Hussain, a well-known public TV anchorperson, clarified in a meeting for these instructions, the media "plays out the indispensable role of articulating public demand." Focus bunch

conversations directed for this examination uncovered a practically all-inclusive affirmation of this sensitive yet watchful job. "There are myriads of projects [on air] these days where individuals come forward and discuss about their issues," said one female respondent from Karachi. "Talking Politics with Jasmeen, a political syndicated program hosted by Jasmeen Manzoor on a famous news channel Samaa TV, one female respondent from Islamabad expressed, "[Manzoor] considers the spearheads of politics and their legislative locations to be a few of the country's issues and tries to bring them before the general public. She talks in the manner that we need to talk; she happens to be the spokeswoman of the masses in general." Television shows that feature the ordinary public issues as they were distinguished as being especially significant in such a manner. Iyengar and Hahn, (2009) state that important local issues, for example, family questions and asset deficiencies in modest communities across Pakistan. Media consumers seem to regard the image having their complaints circulated by the media because they believe that it is the only source that helps them spread their voice inside the parliamentary avenues – though it goes the way around in some cases. There is another instance of a male respondent from Lahore who has clearly put forward his opinion: "When the media covers our issues and questions the specialists, we get some fulfillment from believing that perhaps we have been heard." Unfortunately, the media's role as a vigilant institution is compelled by its restricted reach. Regarding creation and utilization, TV news media is intensely one-sided towards metropolitan territories (Chyi & Lasorsa, 2002).

Center gatherings in rural regions of Pakistan affirmed this metropolitan predisposition: "If [the] media featured our regions however much of it is featuring the issues of Karachi, at that point our issues might have been settled sooner," said one

moderately aged male respondent in Mardan. Village respondents featured their dependence on immediate, individual associations with district-level lawmakers or individuals from the commonplace get-together as the ideal approach to make neighborhood government authorities mindful of an issue. Interestingly, metropolitan gatherings were significantly more likely than rustic respondents to allude to the media for this reason. This may propose that as media immersion develops, the public will rely progressively upon media access as an approach to draw in with state delegates. Admittance to exclusive transmission media matters in Pakistan, the country's proficiency rate floats at half, yet even among the individuals who peruse, course figures for print media – truly the solitary hotspot for autonomous News – are declining. However, English-language papers hold a solid place among Pakistan's political, military, and business elite. Urdu-language papers likewise remain well known with the overall population and are a significant source of data and assessment in the provincial regions where satellite TV entrance is low. Overall, the general significance of print distributions is declining. As per the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, the normal daily turnout of all Pakistani daily papers tumbled from 9.9 million out of 2007 to 6.1 million out of 2008, arriving at under 4% of the populace at that time. Furthermore, the number of distributions in the nation reached its climax in 2007 at 1,820 and afterward tumbled to just 749 distributions in 2011 (Yasmin et al., 2019).

We are facing a stark reality such that a huge number of events and incidents are taking place simultaneously. Media associations and foundations have utilized a huge number of individuals to notice those occasions and report them. The news media reveal to us which issues are significant and which ones are not. We have never seen the war

circumstances of Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, and Kashmir with our own eyes. And still, after all that, we have photos of these contested regions in our psyches (Riaz & Pasha, 2011). The reports, prepared by media on daily basis, enlighten us about the most recent occasions and changes occurring throughout the world that may pass by us. Because of this wonder, most of our discernments about the world are a recycled reality made by the media associations. There is no affirmation and no assurance that this truth is an exact image of the world. Media associations don't simply inactively communicate data rehashing the expressions of the authority sources or passing on precisely the episodes of an occasion. They likewise don't choose or dismiss the day's news about the real world. Through their determination and effective reporting, the journalists and the editors concentrate and impact the public's view of the most important issues around the world (Riaz, 2009).

Pakistan has numerous English and Urdu papers that update the country about current undertakings, News, sports news, business news, occupations notices, and political News. Daily the Dawn is one of the most generally read and most broadly circulated English-language paper of Pakistan. The Dawn on target starts from Delhi, India, and proceeds with its distribution week after week from Herald Publications. Yet, its dissemination chart is high in 1942 and it turns out to be an eminent daily paper, and Quaid-e Azam-Muhammad Ali Jinnah has become the first pioneering reviewer of this paper. The Office of Daily Dawn moved to Karachi in 1947. It is a paper of worldwide position and has a high flow chart because of its realness and responsibility. Daily newspaper, the Dawn is one of the most distinguished and highly esteemed Newspapers of Pakistan. The Dawn distributed 138,000 copies every day, and its readership increased to 759,000 the same year. (Ansary & Babaii, 2009)

The News is another exceptional, most eminent English-language paper of Pakistan and the second most circulated paper worldwide. The News was distributed from Lahore, Karachi, and Islamabad. The News group has numerous English and Urdu-language dailies, weeklies, and monthlies. Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman is the editor-in-chief and founder of the News, and presently his Son Mir Shakil-ur-Rehman is CEO of The News (Ansary & Babaii, 2009).

1.4 Importance of News Media

News media is responsible for a radical change in the mindset and thinking pattern of the society and the world. News media is a robust source of data for people, just as a society. In a related society, media are the shared stories balanced over the assorted associations accessible to its members. Every society shares a respectable collection of strings and will use an extent of different media sorts available to them to exchange news, set up and keep up affiliations, and set up history (Iyengar & Hahn, 2009). Utilizing news media, individuals' perspectives and propensities can be changed. All of us have stirred up or, then again, wrong thoughts regarding diverse illnesses like HIV/AIDS. Large numbers of us believe that by contacting individuals experiencing these illnesses, we would be tainted.

Editorial force is perhaps the best and inventive force for bringing about an important change. C. E. Carroll & McCombs, (2003) depicted the force of the news media is to set a country's plan, to cause to notice center around a couple of key public issues through gigantic and quite archived impact. He additionally referenced that plan setting is "In addition to the fact that people acquire authentic data about open issues from the news

media, perusers and watchers likewise figure out how much significance to join to a point based on the accentuation put on it in the news."

Carroll and McCombs, (2003) stated that this plan set gives the space to consider the big picture and accentuate the need for information and data that drives people's psyche. Then again, if news media sets the wrong plan, it additionally makes the wrong impact on the wrong plan. Therefore, individuals isolated themselves by the news and demonstrated disdain to other people. One of the obligations of reporting is to incorporate multifaceted nature, denying the disavowal of reality in the attestation that "there isn't anything to comprehend" on the guise that fear-based oppressors are "brutes, full stop."

According to Shu et al., (2017), information media carries out the role of an arbitrator between the general population and another world. Holding public trust in explicit news media is the principal task since those who trust them will be set up to maintain for their most recent variant. Indeed, news groups or institutions may utilize dependable sources to check whether a hurriedly arranged thing by a contender has any reality in it. As C. E. Carroll & McCombs, (2003) bring up the part of the middle man as what we think about the world is largely dependent on what the media choose to advise us. He expressed that "the consequence of this intervened perspective on the world is that the needs of the media firmly impact the needs of people in general; Elements which are crystal clear on the media plan become unmistakable in the public psyche." When elites talked, columnists tuned in and recorded the data, refined it, and gave it to general society for their utilization. The general population isn't adequately shrewd to understand confounded, policy-driven issues. Besides, people, in general, are excessively overcome with their everyday lives to think often about the complex public approach. In this manner, the public

required somebody to decipher the choices or worries of the elite class to make the data easy. Around then, news media shows how it needs to be (Carroll & McCombs, 2003).

News coverage was made to direct critical issues to a society dependent on truth and pride. A great deal has changed since its start with the presentation of the web. As an old maxim expresses, "the pen is mightier than the sword." The news is promptly accessible through papers, magazines, TV, radio, and the web. Every one of these sources has arisen as an incredible medium in their voice (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017).

It is these basic beliefs that lie at the core of our public. They have become a piece of the present society. What was once viewed as being prohibited twenty years prior has become a lifestyle for us today. With the help of technology, the web has empowered the news media to be far-flung and wide-spread. Due to the web, the world has gotten more minimized. We have the way to assemble all the news and talk about everything without exception on the web. It's an impression of what our identity is and what we want. While this is valid, unique qualities will be saved through more up-to-date manner, just as patterns continue developing and promoting our culture. News magazines and online media uncover the thought process of a well-educated and learned individual, giving discernment to how an individual think? All of an unexpected, we have news associations incredible before springing up everywhere on the web getting out bogus word sabotaging the numerous believable news sources. Individuals are getting out fake word data through web-based media destinations yet go to chapel each Sunday. It has defamed news-casting dependent on one-sided feelings on significant issues that we all have to face and are incentive to the most noteworthy extent. News media relying upon how it is introduced can represent the deciding moment of the individuals. While the entirety of this has become

the standard in our everyday lives, recollect, valid, and genuine news coverage will consistently be near. We should give gratitude to the news media (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2007).

1.5 Media as a Social Institution

Broad communications have arisen as a social establishment, accepting large numbers of the capacities in the past served by customary social foundations, for example, the congregation, school, government, and family. Nonetheless, in Western nations working on the private-proprietorship model, media frameworks were never expected to fill in as a social foundation. The essential goal of an exclusive media association is to benefit the organization. Accordingly, numerous movies, TV projects, and Web locales contain explicitly vulgar material intended to attract the attention in order to multiply their viewership ratio. The messages contained in these projects can be confounding or problematic to a public looking to the media for course, reason, and significance. The public's dependence on the news media for direction and backing can subsequently be risky. Inside this unique situation, media education gives procedures that empower individuals to fundamentally inspect media messages and put media programming into important viewpoints (Silverblatt, 2004).

According to McLeod et al., (1999), with the advancement of a significant part of the transmission media in 2002, the area started to build up standing as an option for political power via broadcasting stories on belittling the government and helpless assistance conveyance. This insight was established during the favorable to majority rules system "attorneys' development," a common society disturbance somewhere in the range of 2007 and 2009 that required an autonomous legal executive and re-visitation of

nonmilitary personnel rule. In March 2007, confronting requires his approval, General Musharraf terminated the central equity of the Supreme Court and catalyzed a development that required his reclamation. With increasing assistance among understudies, working-class experts, and common society gatherings, the attorneys' dissent immediately swelled into a favorable to majority rules system development witnessed by anyone while watching a programme on TV screen. Accordingly, Musharraf imposed an emergency situation in November 2007 and momentarily impeded the transmission of a few exclusive TV channels for their strong role in the fights against him. On getting back to the wireless transmissions, the media kept giving broad inclusion of favorable to majority rules system activists, consequently enhancing their requests. Especially among another age of youthful, TV watching and progressively web enthusiast Pakistanis, this demonstration of freedom established a mainstream view of the media as a key political partner and a significant democratizing force. As one youthful male member in a center gathering directed for this report put it, "Private news diverts question [people in power] such that Pakistani [PTV] channels don't." The media's capacity to play a democratic job right now was upgraded by developing the actual business. The extrication of possession laws in 2007 fueled media extension: 30 new TV stations were authorized in 2008, contrasted and 17 as in 2007 and three in 2006. Thanks to this fast development, the transmission media had the option to open a space for beforehand unheard voices – with content coming from the proprietors of new TV stations and FM radio broadcasts just as residents looking like an undeniably huge, unpredictable crowd. The attorneys' development – floated by media control – was an impetus in Musharraf's removal from power and the overall decisions in 2008. Without precedent for the nation's set of experiences, ethnic groups were held in a plural media

scene that empowered resistance government officials and newcomers to directly discuss with the electorates using transmission media. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) drove an alliance that came to government in those races and stayed in the media spotlight all through its term. What's more, not generally in a positive manner. TV stations routinely featured defilement embarrassments, including high-positioning lawmakers and news notices zeroed in on instances of government carelessness or blunder. The most viewed and evaluated TV programs included political parody – short, diverting sections on political turns of events, particularly the imprudence of senior politicians (Ahmed & Khan, 2016). The public's helpless exhibition – reliably featured by the media – drove the PPP to be unequivocally defeated in the 2013 political race, winning just 31 out of 272 seats in parliament contrasted with the 87, it got in 2008. The image in 2013 The exclusive media likewise arose as a critical entertainer in Pakistan's 2013 decisions. Hours, in the wake of surveying, shut on May 11, the Chief Election Commissioner of Pakistan praised the exclusive media for spreading mindfulness among people in general about the significance of casting a ballot, ascribing the high turnout to the media. All major ideological groups ran forceful media missions to help their discretionary possibilities. Fourteen days before final voting day, cricketer-turned-politician and presently the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf (PTI) party – which in the long run won the second highest number of public mandate– had the most elevated portion of broadcast appointment for political ads (39% contrasted with the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PMLN's 22%) (N. Hussain et al., 2014) stated that Political factions that the Pakistani Taliban were focusing on went to promotions and appearances on syndicated programs, which were viewed as a more secure and more successful approach to convey their idea than road

crusades. Without a doubt, Nawaz Sharif – head of the PMLN – jibed in a humorous way that their opponent PPP just existed in TV ads. Marginal political entertainers likewise looked to utilize the media for discretionary closures – the CEO of the most elevated positioned Sindhi-language TV station dispatched another ideological group in January 2012. With the development of the transmission media area – remembering the dispatch of numerous channels for the country's different territorial dialects – the Pakistani media scene is currently more comprehensive and delegated than any other time in recent memory. This media decentralization reflects Pakistani political patterns, especially the shift of power or authority from the bureaucratic to the commonplace governments. The PPP-drove alliance that finished its term in March 2013 passed the notable eighteenth Amendment in the Constitution, conceding the areas and leader authority over the 17 services that recently worked at the government level. This political decentralization – done between April 2010 and July 2011 – looked to address public complaints in the most backward, underdeveloped and poverty-stricken sections of the society, including Baluchistan, Sindh, and the governmentally managed ancestral territories (FATA), by making government more accountable and locally answerable to the public. The May 2013 political decision results expedited this move towards a more prominent political portrayal, with various ethnically delegated ideological groups administering every region. There is no doubt that the Pakistani media's majority rule, in its process of development, has gone inseparably with the country's more extensive popularity-based opening. Yet, an inquiry that stays over the amount of the vote-based change in Pakistan can be ascribed to the role of media. To evaluate the role of Pakistan's media in the country's political development,

this report draws on three separate however interrelated capacities expected of the media in a majority rule-setting – specifically as "watchdog" and "plan setters":

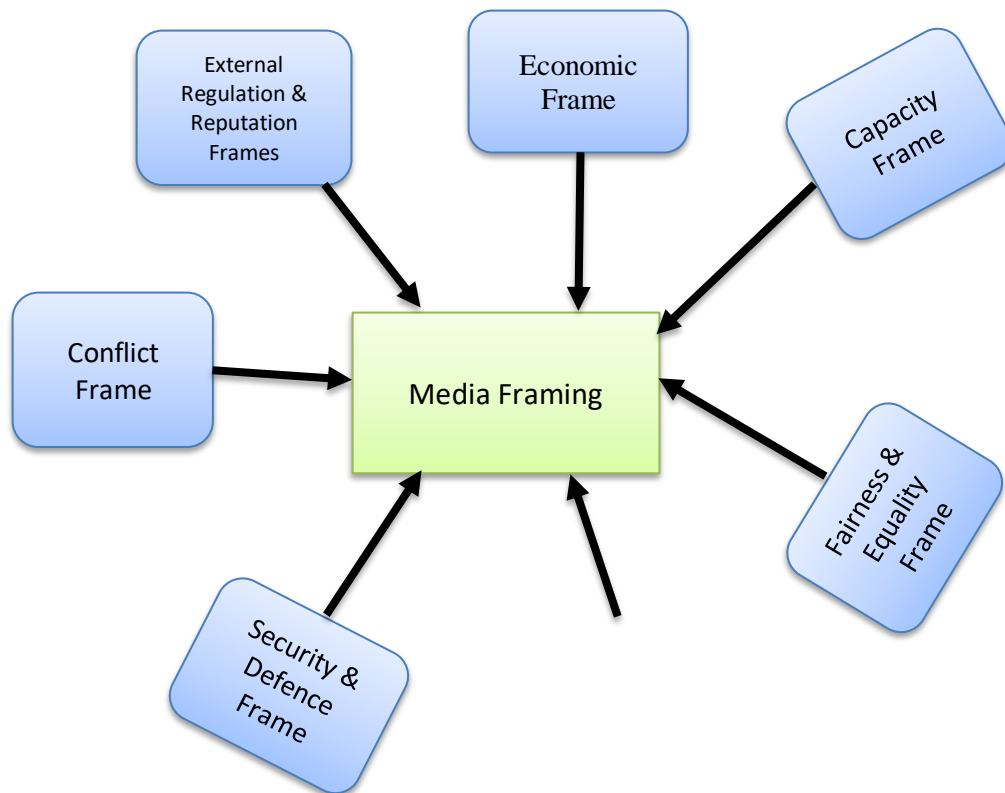
- As guardians, the media can guarantee that all perspectives – especially those of minorities and underprivileged classes – are remembered for public exchange
- In its role as a vigilant institution, the media can secure the public premium by considering the ground-breaking law of being answerable
- As plan setters, the media can go about as a platform for public discussion by outlining social issues and molding public opinion.

The rest of this preparation contends that the Pakistani media scene offers a blended picture when held facing this ideal sort. From one perspective, there is significant proof to propose that the media is maintaining sure parts of its democratizing part. Specifically, most public, Urdu-language channels combined with evolving regional language outlets and web-based media platforms upgrade the media's potential for vigilance, advancing inclusivity in Pakistan's separated state. Then again, the media keeps on being defenseless against terrorizing, compulsion, and monetary and administrative indispensable factors, particularly from state entertainers, obliging the capacity of news sources to practice their alertness and agenda-setting roles. Over the previous decade, the progression of free, privately owned broadcast news sources is still generally viewed as perhaps the main advancement in Pakistan's political development, empowering new political entertainers to contend with setting up political foundations in the battle for impact and force. As Pakistan's vote-based progress unravels, there might be more freedom for the media to accept a considerably more prominent responsibility work – educating citizens and

individuals, encouraging free and open public discussion, and considering specialists answerable.

1.6 Types of Media Framing

According to Janssen, (2010), mass media play an important role in bridging a link between audience and information. Media put forward certain proposals, the stance of political entities about several important issues, and critical information that further shapes their decision-making power based on this coverage. Thus, media framing represents issues and changes opinions and attitudes by emphasizing particular phenomenon (Muñiz et al., 2017). Here we have several types of frames, such as:



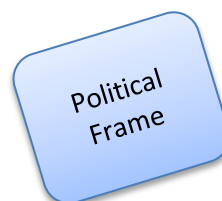


Figure 1.1: Type of Media Framing (in General)

1. Economic Frames

Issues related with economic, benefits, profits and losses are discussed under the economic frames. An authorized person incorporates detectable data that is unimportant in the reliable evaluation of the other options, regardless of influences made on the decision. We relate the new structure to the old-style model of decision correspondence. The expenses, benefits, or money-related/monetary implications of the issue are also taken into account during the process of evaluation (to an individual, family, local area, or the economy overall) (Salant & Rubinstein, 2008).

2. Capacity and Resources Frames

Capacity and resource frames are assets which can be adequately covered in news stories. The absence of or accessibility of physical, topographical, spatial, human, and monetary assets, or the limit of existing frameworks and assets to execute or complete arrangement objectives might hinder the overall process. (Rohlinger, 2002)

3. Fairness and Equality Frames

Balance or disparity with which laws, discipline, prizes, and assets are applied or dispersed among people or gatherings are fairness and equality frames. Additionally, the harmony between the rights or interests of one individual or gathering contrasted with another individual or gathering.

A closer and more profound assessment, however, indicated that openness to the casings urged members to utilize Standard English language in manners proposed by the authorities and in manners that tested the corners. Besides, the outcomes showed that openness to the "ethical quality" outline meddled with the effect of the "fairness" outline, proposing that the presence of elective edges can hose outlining impacts.

4. Policy Prescription and Evaluation

Specific strategies are proposed in order to address to a distinguished issue and sorting out if certain approaches will work or if existing arrangements are compelling. Logical information is significant in natural strategy; however, such information is portrayed by certain dangers and policy prescription and evaluation frames of news stories. The critical qualities of both the issues and our insight into them should influence the assessment of the approach instruments used to address them. An assessment of Finnish wastewater grants is utilized as an illustration all through the article. If the assessment of the ecological approach is attempted without due thought of the particulars required, there is an incredible danger of recognizing just minor effects and low adequacy. Appropriately directed assessments, notwithstanding, can assist us with settling on better choices on both old and new ecological studies. (Mickwitz, 2003)

5. Security and Defense Frames

Security and safety frames can be applied in case of any potential hazards to the security matters, and insurance of one's individual, family, in-gathering, country, and so on mostly used in news stories where one needs to show the sense of safety and security phenomenon. For the most part, activity or a source of inspiration can be taken to ensure the government

assistance of an individual, gathering, country once in a while from a not yet showed apprehension. (Uzunov et al., 2015)

6. Political Frames

Specific arrangements proposed for tending to an important issue and sorting out if certain strategies will work or if existing approaches are viable. McLeod et al., (1999) stated that political frames were used to portray the political phenomenon or issues gathering or politicians' backgrounds.

7. Conflict Frames

Conflict is fundamental to governmental issues because the gist of the majority rules system is a conflict of political thoughts and a battle over which is the ideal alternative (Birkland, 2017). This significance of contention likewise converts into news-outlining exploration, and "strife outlines" are perhaps the most authorized and successful individuals in political correspondence research today (Boumans et al., 2013). Conflict outlines are specific in that case where they "stress on a struggle between people, gatherings, or foundations as methods in order to draw the attention of the varied audience." (Wendorf Muhamad & Yang, 2017).

8. External Regulation and Reputation Frames:

The relation of a country with another one; the outer relations of one state with another; or relations between gatherings also matter a lot in the process of political framing. This incorporates economic alliance and results, examinations of strategy results whereas certain approach results (McGriff, 2012) stated that external regulation and reputation frames highlight state-to-state issues and relations in a meticulous way.

1.7 News Creation

According to McLeod et al., (1999), the first step to building a news story is to create an attractive message about an event or issue, which makes the strength of any news story.

Encircling an issue regarding monetary dangers versus social outcomes, for instance, has little to do with contrasts in the method of introduction. Or maybe, it quantifies the differential impacts of messages concerned with financial issues and messages concerned with social issues. Quite occasionally, circulation of this matter is characterized extensively. It has the most fascinating impacts under the "surrounding" mark and, subsequently, decimates any commitment that confining as an idea could make an increasingly refined comprehension of media impacts. (Fotis, 2015)

1.8 News Handling

How news messages plan and link events together is another important stage of media impact on public attitude. Media give importance to some issues and give coverage to some events. This makes it even more significant than a surrounding impact that happens when crowds consider news communications. Along with these lines, motivation setting and surroundings may seem to work by comparative phenomenological forms. Regardless, there is, at any rate, a significant eligibility here. Regard for messages might be progressively important for a confining impact to happen than an agenda-setting impact. They find that repetition of ends should greatly affect less educated people who are substantially mindful to the marginal signs. In contrast, increasingly proficient people are

bound to take part in inefficient data handling by contrasting the general quality of elective powers in uncontrolled circumstances. (Vargo et al., 2018)

They also recognize conditions in which a delicate issue has more importance in news stories, driving them to move toward a path inverse to the one advanced by that particular individual authority.

1.9 Impact of Media Message

The third main point is the impact of that message on the mind of the public. Crowds process data given by the news media and store it in memory. The conventional agenda-setting approach depends on memory-based models of data handling and, accordingly, an availability model (Solinger et al., 2008). Agenda setting impacts hold this opinion that the main point of impact lies within the increased availability due to which an issue gets its treatment especially being adequately covered and projected in the news (Tewksbury & Rittenberg, 2009). In this manner, it isn't data about the issue that has the impact; the reality of the issue has got a specific measure of handling time and consideration that conveys the impact.

Conversely, the fundamental surrounding methodology accepts that the venue of impact exists in portraying an issue or the mark utilized in news inclusion about the issue. It is the fundamental interpretive blueprints that have been made pertinent to the issue that is the focal impact of a case. The essential distinction on the mental level between motivation setting and preparing, from one viewpoint and surrounding, then again, is the contrast between whether we consider an issue and how we consider it. It has been contended that we can build up an increasingly limited comprehension of encircling, preparing, and plan setting if we include every one of the three ideas under the bigger umbrella of motivation

set. Specifically, McCombs and Shaw (1972) have contended that encircling is a more refined variant of plan setting. Encircling, from that viewpoint, implies making parts of an issue increasingly notable through various methods of introduction and along these lines moving individuals' dispositions.

He names this wonder "second-level Agenda building." The idea of second-level agenda building isn't without legitimacy. It refines the first motivation-setting speculation, which has, for some time, been censured for being fairly oversimplified in its attention on expansive issues and for overestimating rank-request coefficients between these wide issue classes in media inclusion and general assessment reviews (Funkhouser, 1973).

Indeed, Kim et al. (2002) showed that second-level or trait motivation setting could have a significant influences on individuals' view of the general significance of different parts of an issue. All these elements make news stories important for the public and give a new direction to the event, and the public thinks that this issue is most important and neglects other issues. This gives a new direction to the news story. Mayntz, (2003) suggested that all these honesty impacts; that is, they depend on memory-based models of data handling. The worldly arrangement of agenda-setting and preparing expect that media can make certain issues or parts of issues increasingly open (i.e., effectively reviewed) for individuals and in this way, influence the instruments they use when framing temperaments about applicants and political issues. This is particularly not quite the same as surrounding a strong impact.

This term refers to the result of a message that proposes an association between two ideas with the end goal that crowds acknowledge and that they are associated after the presentation to the message (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). For instance, a news message

may recommend an association between expense arrangements and unemployment rates. News coverage satisfied people's needs by providing information about events, happenings and providing directions to the public. Many people utilize mass media being without a job, and news provides the direction on how and where to get the job. (Turcotte et al., 2015)

The group of audiences needs to be comfortable with unemployment as an idea. Except if the news message gives satisfactory measures of unemployment, it would positively assist a group of people with knowing something about it, yet that isn't required. This suggests when crowd individuals don't have a source accessible to them in memory, and the development isn't given in a news story, an authority that applies the development in a message won't be compelling. We may imagine, at that point, that confining impacts will differ in quality as an incomplete capacity of the most eligible between various individuals and it not only builds but also proposes as it ought to be connected to an issue and either the nearness of those authorities in crowd individuals' current information or the substance of the message. As the model recommended by Tewksbury and Rittenberg, (2009) suggests whether a build will be enacted in a given circumstance, an appropriate build is unquestionably bound to be actuated when it is open. In the same manner, an inapplicable development is profoundly and probably not going to be utilized in a given circumstance, regardless of how open it is. Surely, even the most fundamental preparation considered in social brain research exhibits that inapplicable yet very open builds will probably not be utilized in social discernment and judgment.

The investigation for the field is whether there is a result to be had from keeping up the qualification. It is likely that accuracy is the main objective we may be shrewd to hold it. It gives the idea that the qualification among availability and solidity has suggestions

for studying and comprehending the two impacts. For instance, an availability impact, by definition, is more delicate to the progression of time than is an appropriateness impact. There is also a possibility that an individual feel that Characteristic A has a place with Issue B that conviction will probably endure until some countervailing data is experienced. An openness impact is considerably more effectively decreased by the progression of time. It is probable that we expect and that the group of spectators has limited consideration and enthusiasm for governmental issues, the availability of one political issue is resolved, to some degree, by the openness of different issues. Along these lines, as issues go back and forth in the news, their relative availability evolves. Then again, there is no requirement to include one issue to impact the strength of explicit development to different issues.

Therefore, remembering the refinement among availability and relevance impacts has clear advantages for comprehension and foreseeing the impacts of dynamic data situations. In this uncommon issue, Sülflow et al. (2019) seek a promising line of research that coordinates availability impacts with those that include procedures of judgment and steady development of public opinions and their mindset.

This methodology has some reasonably favorable circumstances for contemplating how to plan to set and prepare work. It appears to be conceivable, and Sülflow et al. (2019) discovered proof of it over numerous ethnic groups in Israel that how individuals consider an issue (and up-and-comers, in a race setting) has suggestions for whether they consider it as well. The overlooked component of conventional plan setting examination is that it centers on issues that should be fixed. Along these lines, an indispensable piece of the motivation setting story is how news reports depict and understand the issues. Research in the surroundings may surely educate how those procedures work and how they influence

plan setting. In some studies, an accentuation on traits of individuals who are rapidly becoming successful and different figures in the news raises the significance of thinking about how individuals consider individuals and items (issues).

According to Entman (2007), the agenda-setting part of mass media is to create news events and stories and frame messages that influence the public mind about issues and events. Brosius and Weimann (1996) investigated those Logical representations that accept a typical preparation of fashionable and up-to-date narrative and, hence, mass media impact for data about individuals and matters in the news stories should, by one way or another, accommodate these and different contrasts in the manners in which individuals consider other individuals and things. Until they do, we most likely should be careful about applying them.

1.10 Impacts of Demographical Factors on Voting Decision-Making

Voting choices are among one of the most significant and life-changing decisions made by individuals. They figure out who oversees the nation, which issues get consideration, and how assets are distributed. Most objective hypotheses of casting a ballot expect individuals to have stable inclinations that decide the votes they cast at the voting booth. In any case, the sort of surveying area where individuals end up being allotted to cast a ballot, really impact how electors cast their voting forms? When individuals settle on decisions, they do so, specifically in ecological settings. (Warkentin et al., 2018) Individuals may join up with a well-structured plan while at work or home, select an expected mate while at a bar or park, and cast their polling form while at a gathering or school. Since quite a while ago, Analysts have perceived the force of the circumstance

(Greenwood, 1993) also shown numerous obtrusive and ground-breaking ways where circumstances can impact conduct (Anderson & Triplet, 1976).

For instance, in any event, careful and individuals may submit demonstrations of mercilessness if the circumstance obliges them to be devoted (Milgram, 1963). As of late, specialists have found a considerably more unpretentious method for situational impact. Improvements in the climate have been appeared to prime or actuate content in memory, making related develop more open what's more, doing so even external cognizant mindfulness (Zahid & Din, 2019). According to Aarts & Dijksterhuis (2003), media shape reality and change public perception towards issues and events. Media shape reality, and people think these issues are important and the rest are less important.

Notwithstanding encouraging signs that Pakistan's media is giving a positive gatekeeping capacity, its jobs as a guard dog and plan setter – which are similarly fundamental in a majority rule government – are additionally restricted. Pressing factors incorporate government and military obstruction, restriction, and security dangers, just as a delicate monetary model that focuses on benefits and political interests. As Shahid Rind of ARY TV in Quetta is cited as saying, "We get diktat[s] from all partners... and face dangers and reprimand. There are red lines and we can't try to be evenhanded in reporting." (Schofield & Reeves, 2015) stated that regulating or controlling? The public authority and the courts While the media's vital sending to institutional interests is a vital part of any world of politics, in Pakistan, this dynamic has regularly gone too far into debasement and restriction. Military and regular citizen governments have impacted media content since quite a while ago by paying off media houses and individual columnists through what is referred to casually as the life (envelope) culture. Such debasement continued under the

PPP-drove alliance government, frequently at the most significant levels (Hussain et al., 2014).

The public authority's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting conceded that it kept an unaudited "mystery use reserve," which it claims was utilized to guarantee the "government assistance of columnists" and that was worth up to 126 million rupees (US\$1.22 million) in the 2012-13 monetary year (N. Hussain et al., 2014). Notwithstanding pay-offs, progressive Pakistani governments have likewise tried to impact exclusive media through restrictions and guidelines. During Musharraf's system, the media was to a great extent allowed to deliver its inclusion. However, it was blue-penciled when it got reproachful of the military or the overall activities, frequently through cross country squares of information channels or capturing an FM radio broadcast's equipment (Hoehn & Adanu, 2014). Under the PPP-drove alliance government, endeavors to control and edit the exclusive media were far subtler, as a substitute or under the pretense of the guideline. In 2013, over 3,000 link administrators' appropriate Pakistani TV slots cross country. Khalid Arain, director of the All Pakistan Cable Operators Association, keeps up that link administrators base their choices about which stations to carry on open demand. But station proprietors gripe that they need to pay off-link administrators to convey their stations and, all the more significantly, to get a great situation among the administrators' station posting – in a perfect world on one or the other side of the mainstream Geo News (Ahmed & Khan, 2016).

Cable administrators have likewise been utilized by the media administrative position PEMRA to control content on Left A young lady lights candles during a dissent against the restriction on TV and radio stations in Karachi, November 2007. Progressive

governments have tried to impact exclusive media through restrictions and guidelines. Exclusive TV slots. Link administrators will impede certain channels from broadcasting politically delicate material (Alguliyev et al., 2020). In 2010, for instance, PEMRA requested link administrators to obstruct the transmissions of Geo News and ARY TV after they circulated a film of a nonconformist in Birmingham, the UK, tossing a shoe at President Asif Ali Zardari. Cable administrators agree to government solicitations to control content around more politically delicate material in return for merciful guidelines around amusement, for example, dramas and pilfered films from India, which reliably rank as the most mainstream programs among Pakistani TV audiences (Fichnová & Wojciechowski, 2015). On the neighborhood level, ideological groups likewise focus on link administrators to impede stations that disparage approaches or request more prominent media inclusion of the gathering.

"We feel the pressing political factor," said link administrators' affiliation executive Khalid Arain, "however we need to work in the [parties'] regions, so we consent to their requests" (M. A. Khan, 2002). Cyan et al. (2017) stated that the web is probably the freest space for public discussion in their report. The Pakistani government's intermediary control of the media scene also reaches out to the internet. As virtual discussion turns out to be progressively unpolished, Pakistani specialists have put forth more noteworthy attempts to control and edit online substances. As of July 2012, more than 15,000 sites had been obstructed by the PTA, which manages portable and web stages under the Pakistan Telecommunications (Re-association) Act 1996 (see box: Censoring cyberspace). The courts have likewise gone about as a political limitation on writers. Since 2007 and under the administration of Chief Justice Chaudhry, the legal executive has arisen as an

egalitarian foundation in Pakistan, disturbing Pakistan's conventional political settlement between the military and regular citizen wings of the state (I. H. Malik, 2014). But albeit the media aligned with the courts during the legal counselors' development, as the legal executive's force has developed, that relationship has become significantly more muddled lately.

As per Human Rights Watch, both public and commonplace high courts have smothered media analysis of the legal executive by undermining scorn of court procedures, which convey the danger of detainment. Since October 2012, the high courts in Islamabad and Lahore have requested that the TV program's incredulous court procedures and decisions be taken off the air (Milne, 2015). "We're continually getting fliers advising us to cease reprimanding the legal executive and its choices; it has sort of becoming a law," guaranteed a Karachi-based news chief at a mainstream TV news channel.⁹⁹ In August 2012, the Supreme Court took up petitions griping about "foulness" and "profanity" in the transmission media and requested that PEMRA characterize the expression "obscenity" (Alam, 2010). This evident offer at guidelines was seen by media experts as an endeavor to apply tension on media proprietors. Numerous privately owned Pakistani news sources depend on incomes from broadcasting famous unfamiliar – particularly Indian – channels that contain more provocative substance than is ordinarily seen on homegrown channels. To put it, albeit the legal executive has since quite a while ago pushed for the vote-based division of forces across the chief, authoritative and legal branches in Pakistan, it also is a political entertainer. The Supreme Court's endeavors to impact positive media inclusion place it closes by the military, government, and other private interests, who likewise try to propel their advantages through the media (A. Khan, 2012).

1.11 Definitions of Key Terms

1. Mass Media

Functional Definition:

Carey (2008) defines Mass Communication as media of political and social control and means of Communication that influence a greater number of people and motives of influence and how they serve the public. Similarly, according to Lorimer, (2002), mass media can be defined as a source of the organized communication process between the speaker and the listener. In the communication process, the sender encodes the message, and the receiver decodes the message accordingly and further delivers the feedback.

Operational Definition:

Mass media are a different source of Communication, receiving and sending the message, and also continue this one way or two processes. We can define mass media as different resources such as television, radio, magazine, newspaper, and social media platforms are some prominent forms of mass media. Even interpersonal and intrapersonal Communication is also known as done through media or medium.

2. Media Framing

Functional Definition:

De Vreese, (2005) defined media frames as packages and presentations of News, events, and content to the public. Media Framing is a cycle that includes different entertainers (e.g., political elites, media, and residents). The outlining impact measure is molded by impacts at the logical and individual level, just as the casings themselves. Also defined by Chaudhry and Ashraf, (2012), framing is not about telling the people what to

think about? Rather, it covers how to think about. Framing is primarily accompanied by shaping/reshaping the perceptions that further influence the [perception and attitudes.

Operational Definition:

Media framing is a strong psychological tactic to change the audience's attitude, perception, and behavior towards a certain phenomenon. Mostly, media framing is used for political purposes, i.e., to alter public perception, especially during elections. During the elections, political parties want to get as much support as. The media serve the aim and frame the facts accordingly.

3. Media Dependency

Functional Definition:

Jung (2017) stated that Media Dependency is a precise way to investigate the impacts of broad communications on crowds and the cooperation between media, crowds, and social frameworks. This dependency on media affects the audience in many relevant ways. Such as during the elections, increased dependency for information through media resources leads people to rely more on mediatized content leading to great dependency and, eventually, greater influence (Abendschön & Steinmetz, 2014).

Operational Definition:

Media dependency can be defined as media platforms' usage to gather information, education, Communication, and entertainment purposes. This dependency is not a single or one-way phenomenon. Instead, it also leads to further relevant outcomes such as increased reliance and increased impacts. For instance, during a political conflict, people

consider newspapers the most reliable, direct, and effective source of information. They rely on these newspapers, which further increases their dependency and even affects people's attitudes and perceptions.

4. Elections

Functional Definition:

Manza, (2012) stated that Elections are a complete cycle of events where individuals vote to pick an individual or a gathering of individuals to hold an authority position. Also defined by (Raunak et al., 2006), elections are a formal group decision-making process in which the population votes and elect the most suitable individuals. The election is a modern mechanism of running contemporary democracies that were first originated in the 17th century.

Operational Definition:

Elections can be defined as a process of selecting an individual to run a social, economic, and political system. Especially in political arenas, the role of elections is to choose the individuals capable of running a system, sustaining the rules, leading a state, and coping with socio-political and economic matters.

5. Political Participation

Functional Definition:

Political interest incorporates an expansive scope of exercises through which individuals create and express their feelings on the world and how it is represented and attempt to fit as a fiddle the choices that influence their lives (He, 2013). According to Muhammad & Hasan, (2016), Participation in general terms is a process of contributing to a constructive process. However, political arenas are taking an active part in the political

process, such as voting or participating in processions. Despite, the actual definition of political Participation varies from discipline to discipline, this term is much used during the elections.

Operational Definition:

Political Participation is a process of contributing to the political decision-making process. For instance, during the elections, political Participation mainly stands for taking part in the voting process that further leads to selecting suitable candidates. Political Participation comprises certain behavioral and attitudinal mechanisms that further result in the political decision-making process.

6. Media Agenda-Setting

Functional Definition:

Coleman et al. (2009) stated that agenda-setting is the possibility that what the public thinks about is set by the media. For this purpose, mass media resources represent a piece of News in a certain manner that takes a prominent position in public minds. Mccombs and Shaw (1972) noted that media platforms certain agendas by highlighting their importance. Here mass media tell people what to think and tell them how to think about it.

Operational Definition:

Agenda setting manipulates public awareness level and transfers the salience on certain phenomena, leading to ignorance towards public well-being matters. Media agenda-setting involves using social and psychological tactics to divert public attention, i.e., towards the positive contribution of political leaders and ignoring corruption or dishonest conduct. For instance, during the elections, media set the political agendas and divert the

audience's attention towards the political process by keeping the issues of the common person less focused.

7. Political Economy

Functional Definition:

Political economy is sociology that reviews creation, exchange, and their relationship with the law and the public authority. It is the investigation of how financial hypotheses influence distinctive financial frameworks. For example, communism and socialism, alongside the creation and usage of public arrangement (Flew, 2020). Also defined by Richter and Gräf, (2015) also defined that political economy is the indirect or direct reliance on political funding to gain financial interest through political resources such as government, politicians, and political parties. In this regard, mass media resources give a special consideration to serve political interest for earning revenues and other financial benefactions.

Operational Definition:

The political economy of mass media describes a potential; interconnection between economic and political practices. Here these two factors determine and structure the media content, its schedule, and aims. When a news media organization serves the interest of the political elite, it attains economic benefits known as the Political Economy of the Mass Media.

8. Political Decision-making

Functional Definition:

Political Decision-making is one of the core concepts in Political Psychology. Under his concept, it is proposed that people have their own set of preferences that helps

them to reach a relevant decision. For this purpose, they gather rational information, brainstorm new ideas, consider the available choices, and eventually decide according to their beliefs, values, and demographical characteristics (Staerklé, 2015). Political Decision making reflects distributional clashes, with the electorate cycle, giving the middle elector a key job, and particular vested parties may campaign for their favored duty strategy ("Handbook of Public Economics," 2013).

Operational Definition:

Political Decision-Making is a collection of considerations, thinking, and affective factors that enable an individual to make a political decision. For example, during the elections, the public elects to vote for candidates they consider favorable for them. Here certain factors such as age, gender, education, residence, socio-cultural beliefs, etc., all influence the perceptions and political decision-making behavior.

9. Political Communication:

Functional Definition:

According to McNair, (2011), Political Communication means all the verbal, non-verbal, and other relevant tactics aimed to inform and persuade the audience. Political Communication involves audio/videos messages and even makeup, dress code, logo, slogans, mandate, and other ways that constitute a political message, image, and identity. Dunaway & Lawrence, (2015) also defined Political Communication as an influential political technology aimed at political gains and success. Political Communication is a core component of a successful political system as it involves strategic plans that are well capable of attaining the desired political goals.

Operational Definition:

Political Communication is defined as a sub-field both in political science and Communication. Political Communication highlights the phenomenon regarding dissemination of information, the influence of politics on Communication, effects of political Communication on the audience, and the potential outcomes.

1.12 Research Objectives

1. To analyze the media framing during elections.
2. To find out the framing during elections.
3. To analyze any potential differences in newspapers' reporting during elections
4. To analyze the nature of framing during elections
5. To analyze the frequency of elections based on news reports during elections during elections
6. To analyze the nature of newspapers' editorials regarding elections
7. To analyze the impacts of framing on voters' voting decisions.
8. To analyze the impacts of framing on voters' engagement.
9. To examine the potential gender differences based on political participation
10. To examine the potential age differences based on political participation
11. To examine the potential locality-based differences regarding political participation

1.13 Research Questions

R1: What was the frequency of framing in news coverage regarding the 2018 elections in Pakistan?

R2: What was the most preferred framing strategy used by newspapers during elections?

R3: Did the newspapers' reporting vary during the 2018 elections?

R4: Were there any significant differences regarding reporting patterns between Urdu and English newspapers?

R5: Which newspapers covered more political news during the elections in 2018

R6: How Urdu newspapers covered the political campaigns during the 2018 elections in Pakistan

R7: Was there any link between media framing and voters' voting decisions?

R8: Did the newspaper's framing motivate voters to take part in the voting process?

R9: Whether and to what extent there were gender differences concerning political participation among the voters due to elections coverage

R10: Whether and to what extent there were age differences concerning political participation among the voters due to elections coverage

R11: Whether and to what extent did the voting decisions and participation vary based on their provincial affiliation?

1.14 Hypotheses

H1: There is a positive relationship between newspaper framing and the 2018 general elections

H2: The newspapers in Pakistan widely used conflict framing to represent the electoral news

H3: The newspapers' reporting patterns significantly varied during elections

H4: There were significant differences in print media coverage during the 2018 elections in Pakistan

H5: Urdu newspapers covered more reports than the English Newspapers during the 2018 elections in Pakistan

H6: Urdu newspapers positively covered the political campaigns during the 2018 elections in Pakistan

H7: Newspapers framing significantly affected the voters' voting decisions in Pakistan

H8: Newspapers framing significantly motivated for their engagement in the voting process in Pakistan

H9: There were significant gender differences concerning political participation among the voters due to elections coverage in Pakistan

H10: There were significant age differences concerning political participation among the voters due to elections coverage in Pakistan

H11: There were significant differences based on the voters' provincial affiliation during the 2018 elections in Pakistan

1.15 Significance of the Study

According to Universidad de Guanajuato & Díaz Jiménez, (2017), media framing of political matters, especially elections, is a considerable phenomenon. Previous studies have widely witnessed the occurrence of media framing worldwide. In this context, the current research also highlighted the media framing during the General Elections of Pakistan in 2018.

The significance of this study can be estimated by the fact that Pakistan is a strong democratic country with its vital political leadership. Despite the political system in Pakistan having confronted several hardships, the role of democracy has always been vital. This research will highlight the role of political entities in framing and representing their messages also; it will help the readers, policymakers, and even political entities value the media as a fundamental part of the democratic system and integrity.

1.16 Rationale of Study

Framing is an inevitable part of media proceedings during the elections. Besides political agendas, several factors such as social, economic, and others also affect the media coverage and people's voting decisions. Choosing media framing will help to take the role of media as a political agent under consideration (Fountaine, 2008). Likewise, examining the different aspects of media framing and its impacts are of greater significance as political communication during elections is a delicate phenomenon and needs to be studied well (Swafford, 2012).

1.17 Rationale of Choosing Print Media

Despite today's digital areas providing several benefits such as accessibility, availability, and cost-effective source of information, print media is still on the top. Being a traditional source of information, print media platforms such as newspapers provide reliable information with reliable resources (Litho, 2012). Likewise, the role and importance of newspapers is undeniable as people heavily rely on print media for more information., Especially for the political information and news, print media keeps people highly updated (Hassan Shehzad, 2014). Under the previous considerations, highlighting print media framing in terms of newspapers is of greater significance. Especially during the General Elections in 2018, several studies also witnessed the framing and reshaping of the audience's opinion through media coverage. However, very little or no study further examined the impacts of newspapers' framing on voters' decision-making behavior. Likewise, examining the demographical factors as primary determinants of the voting decision will also add to the novelty of the current investigation.

Chapter Summary:

This chapter extensively discussed media framing in a broader context, mainly print media framing. The problem statement narrowed down the primary focus of this research to elaborate on the background scenario. The researcher also discussed newspapers in Pakistan, the political landscape, and the military's role. Moreover, the researcher also mentioned the potential objectives, research questions, and hypotheses to highlight the study direction further.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The current chapter cited the studies witnessing the role of different factors, including media, in the political process. The researcher has conducted a systematic review approach to cite the relevant articles. As noted by (Ali, 2020a) systematic review studies provide a strong argumentative background to the research problem. The r=studies highlight how a phenomenon is discussed and to what extent researchers gave it an in-depth consideration. Thus, the systematic review approach will also support the proposed research hypotheses and provide further validation to the outcomes of the study.

2.1 Mass Media and Political Communication

Conveying political information through mass media is an important aspect of meeting political goals. Mass media provides a basic yet strategic framework for political parties to share political information among the audience. This framework influences public perception and provides prospects for the democratic process (Coxall et al., 2003).

In this regard, Voltmer, (2004) examined the role of print media by assessing the trends in political communication and campaigning during the elections in Taiwan. The researchers used an exploratory approach and conducted the content analysis of elections conducted from 1996 to 2004. Results revealed that media platforms took every possible effort to increase the transparency and liberalization of the political process. Media content was attractive and strategically designed to communicate directly with the potential voters. **Figure 2.1** below provides a brief overview of elements of political communication described by McNair as political parties are an integral part of democratic systems. To

strengthen this system, media play a visionary role in conveying political information to the public. As visible, that McNair, (2003) describes the mediatory role of mass media for bridging the gap of communication between the political parties and the general public. In other words, these mentioned elements take the political messages from the political entities and further transfer it to the masses.

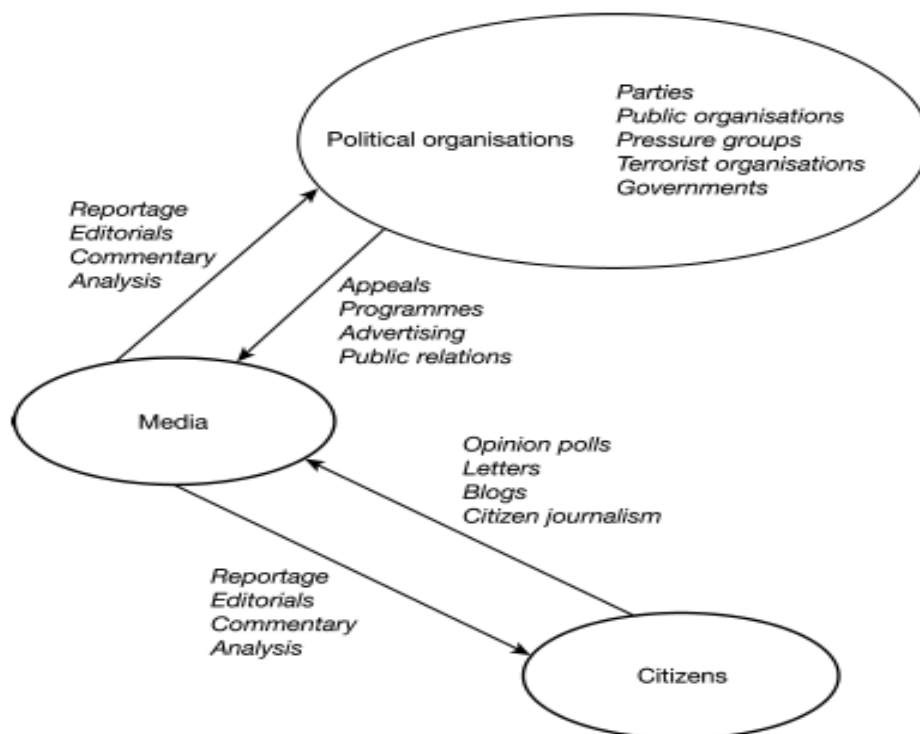


Figure 2.1 Source: (McNair, 2003)

Media researchers often affirm the causal relationship among media, political communication, and information. This not only shows the correlation between media and political knowledge, but it also validates the power of mass media as an important political agent (Eveland et al., 2005). Using the model comparison method, researchers further examined the relationship between political information and media, increasing the political information among the public. Results showed a strong, positive relationship between media, political information, and increased political knowledge among the masses. The

researchers further concluded that this affirmed relationship is purely causal rather than spurious. The results support only one side as the information is declarative and aimed to alter public opinion.

Similarly, Wallsten (2007) investigated mainstream media to affect public opinion during the 2004 presidential elections. The researchers used a longitudinal study design and selected a sample of $n= 50$ journalists in the United States. Findings revealed a significant difference before and after exposure to the political information and current affairs discussion, which authenticated the proposed relationship between media coverage and altered political opinion. As noted by Jones & Wolfe, (2007), the role of political policymaking and influencing people's perceptions to bring out political change is important.

Jones and Wolfe (2007) further affirmed the role of media in disseminating political information through strategic communication processes in America. The researchers used a self-proposed model and conducted a direct content analysis of newspapers and television content. Findings indicated that media messages are aimed to change the public perceptions regarding the local government and its performance. Thus, the researchers concluded that media could trigger political agendas and change public perceptions about them. People rely on media platforms and mold their socio-political perceptions accordingly.

Mass media platforms help deliver political information and tend to keep the people updated about ongoing political scenarios. Here the role of media is more focused on representing and fabricating the political information in a framed manner. The role of media in political culture to support political agendas is also validated in other different studies (Floss, 2008). With the rise of several mass media platforms, stakeholders are under

consistent pressure to attract and influence the perceptions of the audience. Due to the rise of new political communication strategies, journalists have unique opportunities to modify their skills. Due to the increased demands of political entities, media resources are strategically delivering the political messages and achieving the desirable outcomes (Gurevitch et al., 2009).

In this regard, Mass media have a distinguished role in a democratic society as they bridge the communication gap between political organizations and the public. Due to the rapid development of communication policies and strategies, today's media platforms are comparatively more active in delivering political information. Despite much research focused on the role of media in politics, we still need much more to investigate the depth and potential of media in political communication (Dumitrescu & Mughan, 2010). Here Newman, (2011) cited an example of the survey conducted in the United Kingdom to examine the role of media in spreading political information. As it has been found, local journalists in the United Kingdom widely acknowledge the use of media for political communication purposes; despite the political information is partial, the respondents affirmed this potential relationship between media and political information.

According to Michaelsen (2011), there are many debates attributing mass media communication to "political communication." Sometimes, the state also runs the media platforms to sustain its control and bridge the communication gap between the government and the public. This constant communication between the government and the public also ensures the strengthening of the democratic process in the country. Sometimes even political entities also use entertainment media content to convey political information. Such content is strategically designed and aimed to increase people's knowledge about the

ongoing political phenomena. In this regard, studying and highlighting the politics with both entertainment and information content is a theoretically validated proposition (Holbert & Young, 2012). To further affirm this, Yüksel (2013) scrutinized the relationship between mass media and government. The researchers used a literature review approach and found that the relationship between media and government that has always been consistent with the earlier studies. This validated the causal relationship between media and politics and highlighted the political economy of media as a considerable topic of attention.

Likewise, Prat and Strömberg, (2013) investigated the role of political economy in spreading information and communication through mass media. The researchers used the review approach and took $n= 4$ themes (transparency, ideological bias, informative coverage, and information) of media coverage under consideration. Results indicated that ideological bias is one of the most practiced patterns of media coverage. Here the messages and content are more declarative, partial, and based on one-way communication. As a result, media organizations attain financial benefits from the political organizations that govern media to represent the political content in a particular manner.

Regarding political communication, Robinson, (2013) considers media a primary mechanism of politics both on a national and international level. For instance, for over twenty years, American media platforms have been playing an intervening role in international conflicts. People rely on media coverage and then make the perceptions and decisions accordingly as media platforms are agents of democratic powers and political stability. Here the concept of political communication is vital and is facilitated by active media agents such as journalists, reporters, editors, and others. For instance, the solidarity of the state and support is only possible if media portray the ruling political entity in a

positive yet influential manner (Jebril et al., 2013). The role of media in spreading political information and connecting the government and public is of paramount importance. Previous studies also witnessed this role and considered media as a change agent. At this moment, we change political changes such as altering political perceptions, inspiring and motivating the public, and disseminating political information in general (Micheletti, 2013).

TABLE 2.1: SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF MEDIA AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Eveland et al., 2005)	Exploratory approach, Model comparison method	Media researchers often affirm the causal relationship between media, political communication, and information. This not only witnesses the correlation between media and political knowledge but also validates the power of mass media as an important political agent.
(Dumitrescu & Mughan, 2010).	Research Perspective	Due to the rapid development of communication policies and strategies, today's media platforms are relatively more active in delivering political information.
(Prat & Strömberg, 2013)	Literature Review approach, $n= 4$ themes	Ideological bias is one of the most practiced patterns of media coverage. Here the messages and content are more declarative, partial, and based on one-way communication
(Yüksel, 2013)	Literature Review approach	The relationship between media and government has always been consistent with the earlier studies. This not only validates the causal relationship between media and politics but also highlights the political economy of media as a considerable topic of attention.

(Arackal Thummy, 2015),	Research Essay	By providing political information, media not only avail the distinguished position of a prominent social institution, but it also works as a source of direct communication facilitating the ease of access to information.
(Deželan & Vobič, 2016)	Mixed method study (Quantitative method, Thematic analysis)	Political parties largely use new media to access and interact directly with the public. Many political posts also initiate political debates among the public regarding the current political events taking place across the globe.
(Arugue, 2017)	Literature Review approach, $n= 32$ research articles	People not only accept media as a main source of information but also consider media platforms as trustworthy and reliable. From public thought to public discourse, the role of media is reflected in determining the influence of mass media in our daily life practices.
(Shami & Ashfaq, 2018)	Research Perspective	In mass media, political communication is highly focused on political matters and politicians to keep people updated about the current political scenarios.
(Geçer, 2018)	Research Essay	Despite advertising revenue helps media houses make both ends meet, political funding is an important source of extra income for the mass media platforms.
(Adegbola, 2019a)	Case study method, $n= 1,775$ secondary data based surveys	Print media and new media both are the primary determinants of political communication and information regarding the government and other political bodies.
(Zúñiga & Editors, 2019)	Research Perspective	Despite critics describe mass media as propagating political agendas, the role of mass media to deliver political information is highly significant.
(Lilleker et al., 2019)	Research Book	The importance of visual messages such as pictures and, videos along with the written or

verbal communication strongly influence public perceptions. Print media-based text and electronic media-based visual images and footages all are effective sources of delivering political information and communication

Today, political purpose cannot be achieved without the collective participation of all the major social entities. Especially, the role of mass media in political communication holds a prominent place in the current national and global scenario. Political entities establish healthy relations with mass media institutions to avail their political objectives in a pleasant yet favorable manner (Rexha, 2014). Particularly, new media sources and channels have a great influence on public communication, perception, and discourse patterns. Many social networking platforms and micro-blogging sites are mainly working to change public perceptions regarding political matters. In other words, political communication is widely advanced and rapidly spreading due to advanced social media technology. These sites entice the users towards political matters and provide their political information from all over the world (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013).

According to Thummy (2015), as media is highly responsible for educating and informing the people, spreading political information is also one of its core responsibilities. Especially in the coalition of political practices, media serve as a platform for availing the required political information. By providing political information, media not only avail the distinguished position of a prominent social institution but also work as a source of direct communication. In this context, media facilitate access to information as politics is all about achieving the decision-making positions where the stakeholders actively contribute to public welfare and progress. Gaining public support is the core determinant of availing

the desired political positions. Here the role and use of media to inform people is of greater significance. However, media abide by using manipulative styles, content, and language to inform and persuade the people. The political information increases the audience's critical information and helps them make favorable decisions (Leong, 2015).

Chekunova et al. (2016) examined the role and use of traditional and new media in spreading political information. The researcher selected a literature review approach and examined $n= 15$ peer-reviewed research articles witnessing the role of Russian media in political communication. Findings indicated that people largely depend on social media and traditional media platforms (radio, television, newspapers) to avail themselves of political information. Russians also consider media as a source of sustaining communication between the government and the public, which is highly beneficial. Deželan and Vobič, (2016) also examined the role of new media in spreading political information among the public in Turkey. The researchers used a mix-method study approach and conducted both survey and thematic analysis. Findings indicated that political parties largely used web media to access and interact directly with the public. Many political posts further initiated political debates among the public regarding the current political events and incidents across the globe.

A vast body of exciting literature addressed the relationship between politics and mass media. Direct exposure to political information and new media technology enables direct access to the political actors. This potential relation is examined through quantitative and qualitative studies and availed generalizable outcomes (Casero-Ripollés, 2017).

Also validated by Aruguete (2017), he examined the role of both traditional and new media in serving and spreading political information. The researcher selected a

systematic review method and a sample of $n=32$ studies regarding the correlation between media and political communication across the world. Findings showed that citizens highly rely on mass media to obtain political information. They not only accept media as a main source of information. Additionally, they consider media platforms as trustworthy and reliable. From public thought to public discourse, the role of media is reflected in determining the influence of mass media in our daily life practices.

Despite political parties having several ideological differences, they all mutually agree on the power of mass media. As media provides smooth functioning and dissemination of political information, political parties heavily rely on them for political communication purposes. Here, mass media platforms are also obligated to abide by the government or ruling political bodies, to serve their objectives and spread government-friendly information (McNair, 2017).

Nonetheless, the potential relationship between media and politics is always aimed at self-interest and achieving personal, political and financial objectives. In simple words, political groups and politicians consider mass media an important source of communicating with the public and conveying their messages. Particularly, societies where people are more reliant upon mass media, the monetary matters with media and political entities are at their peak. Despite advertising revenue helping the media house meet both ends, political funding is an important source of extra income for the mass media platforms (Geçer, 2018).

The proliferation of mass media platforms also facilitated the political parties to access maximum people. In mass media, political communication is highly focused on political matters and politicians to keep people updated about the current political scenarios. There is much literature witnessing how politicians use media to earn public

interest and support under the broad umbrella of the "strong" toxic political communication" process. (Shami & Ashfaq, 2018) Contemporary researchers also witness the prominent role of mass media in conveying a political message. Many describe these messages as political communication and information process. Despite critics describing mass media as propagating political agendas, the role in delivering political information is highly significant. (Zúñiga & Editors, 2019)

For instance, Adegbola, (2019) scrutinized the potential correlation between media and political communication in Nigeria, Kenya, and the United States of America. The researchers used the case study method and selected a sample of $n= 1,775$ secondary data surveys were conducted in all three countries. Results revealed a strong positive correlation between media and political communication. Especially print media and electronic media were the primary determinants of political communication and information regarding the government and other political bodies.

Thus, to understand the potential of media influence, the prevalent political information and communication on mass media platforms are of greater magnitude. Even the marginalized, small political group can approach the public due to the ease of access offered by media resources. Researchers also consider the role of media as propagating the support for political parties and government that further highlights the power of media on our opinion and perception-making process (Robinson, 2019). In this context, the importance of traditional media in political communication has always been under consideration.

Especially, the importance of visual messages such as pictures and videos and written or verbal communication strongly influence public perceptions. Print media-based

text and electronic media-based visual images and footage are effective sources of political information and communication (Lilleker et al., 2019). Therefore, the cited literature affirms that mass media are directly linked with the creation, production, and dissemination of political information. Due to the rapid expansion of media types and platforms, government institutions and other political organizations effectively avail public support. These media platforms have radically transformed communication patterns and redefined and improved journalists and news in an organized political system (Owen, 2019).

2.2 Media Framing During Elections

Patterns of elections coverage are a center of attention for media researchers. In advanced democracies, election campaigns are well-planned, organized and framed. (Strömbäck & Luengo, 2006) They are also partial and at times, unbiased. The researchers further analyzed the media coverage of the 2004 elections in both Spain and Sweden. The researchers used experimental design and conducted a content analysis of a total of $n=6$ newspapers both from Sweden and Spain. Results indicated that the political campaign was purely a strategic game in media coverage instead of public issues. Both Spanish and Swedish newspapers used game frames. However, the coverage patterns and schedules were different between both countries.

Chong and Druckman (2007) noted that framing happens when both personal and collective political interests are under consideration. Despite the public having their personal opinions, media coverage shapes the opinion by framing the political scenario in a particular manner. Although media coverage helps bridge a communication gap between politicians and the public, this role is highly partial and discriminatory.

Another example of media reporting can be cited from the United States media. During elections, and even in normal scenarios, media content aims to frame the news stories and support the particular political parties and politicians. Despite more than 70% of Americans believing that news media coverage is biased, they still consider it a crucial source of political information (DellaVigna & Kaplan, 2007). To affirm this, Hänggli and Kriesi (2010) examined the framing strategies that the political activists used in Switzerland. The researchers used campaign coverage of Swiss elections, especially the reaction of politicians on tightening the Swiss asylum laws. Results revealed that all the political actors were making decisive demands regarding the asylum laws. The political actors were using their frames and arguing about the rationality of their personal opinions. Also, the media platforms were respecting frame ownerships and supporting the politicians' opinions accordingly. The researchers concluded that the results not only identified the media framing but also indicated the role of political economy.

Nonetheless, Jackson (2011) considered new media coverage during elections as a part of political strategy. Instead of focusing on public concerns, media platforms frame the political news that further divert the attention from the considerable issues. The researcher further examined British media reporting in terms of framing and political matters. The researcher selected an experimental approach and conducted the content analysis of $n=786$ news reports published during three months. Results showed that almost all news reports were focused on political issues between the European Union and the British government. The newspapers used conflict frames, and public issues were barely discussed. Several researchers also found strategy and horserace frames as primarily dominant in print media coverage during elections.

Another study to affirm, Swafford, (2012) conducted this survey. The researcher examined print media framing during elections in Missouri, United States, and conducted the content analysis of $n= 292$ newspapers articles. Results revealed that conflict frames and literacy frames were the most prevalent in newspapers' articles. However, the researchers concluded that community-level elections are framed less as compared to national-level elections. During the community-based elections, framing also aims to spread political literacy, and conflict framing is prevalent. Figure 3 below gives a brief overview of different types of media content and framing during elections:

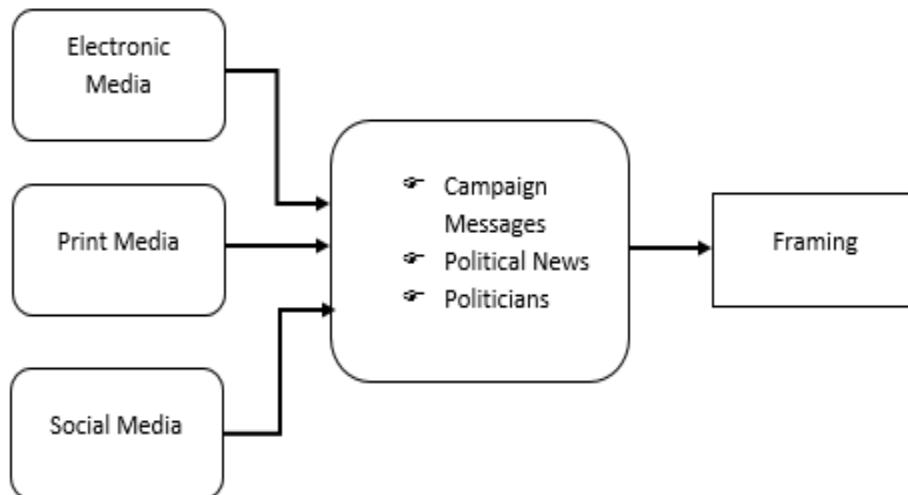


Figure 2.2: Media Framing During Elections

According to O'Malley et al., (2012), the media coverage during elections is like a power game between rivals in North America and European countries. Instead of highlighting the economic crisis, media platforms seem more interested in covering election campaigns and ongoing horserace tournaments (use appropriate words). The researchers further examined print media coverage of elections from the 1990s to 2011. The researchers used the content analysis method and selected a sample of $n= 4,752$

newspaper' articles. Findings revealed that the majority (86%) of media coverage was based on horserace tournaments (use appropriate words) and election campaigns.

Moreover, very few articles focused on the economic crisis, and also the relevant articles were single-columned and placed on the less prominent pages. Chaudhry & Ashraf, (2012) also investigated the patterns of media coverage during the Martial law in Pakistan. The researcher selected an experimental approach and selected editorial articles published from 2000-to 2008 (during referendum & general elections). Results revealed that the newspapers' editorials mainly preferred conflict framing. War on terror, the US-Afghan war, and the role of the Pakistan army were the prominent issues covered by the selected editorials or articles. McMenamin et al., (2013) stated that media framing witnesses the power of media and its importance in political matters. During the elections, politicians pay special attention to choosing media platforms and design their strategies. The researchers further scrutinized the newspapers' framing during the Irish Elections in 2011. Data gathered from $n= 12$ tabloids and daily newspapers indicated that all the selected newspapers used diverse frames to represent the electoral process. The researchers attributed the extent and the type of frame directly with each newspaper's reputation, circulations, and financial status.

Likewise, Jan et al., (2013) investigated the media coverage of politicians and political parties during general elections (2013) in Pakistan. The researchers used exploratory design and conducted the content analysis of $n= 2$ local farmers in Pakistan. Results revealed that both newspapers highly focused on supporting one particular political party (Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf). They widely used conflict framing, and contributions of relevant political parties were repeatedly discussed. Moreover, another study to analyze the

media framing was conducted by (Abate, 2013) as the researcher investigated the media framing during the general elections in Ethiopia (2004). The researchers used a comparative analysis approach and conducted the direct content analysis. Results indicated that Ethiopian news media primarily used issue frames and focused less on game frames.

Moreover, the government officials were also dominant on news content than the other political parties. Alonso (2014) noted that media framing of political issues, especially during the elections, is an organized and strategic approach. Media content targets the minds of the audience and influences their opinion accordingly. Thus media is an individual and organizational persuasion process, as it is a collection of robust psychological strategies.

Here mass media platforms are the most important source of political information and awareness during elections and normal scenarios. Through different coverage and symbolic patterns, media have a powerful influence over people's perceptions and attitudes. By reporting in a certain manner, media affirm the political process's favorable outcomes and ensure the success of desired political parties. That is why the government officials, state members, political groups, lobbyists, and other resourceful people use media platforms to gratify their needs and attain their goals (Vladisavljevic, 2015). Thus, distinct role and participation in the electoral process is local media platforms' ethical and social duty. Sometimes, people do not have access to digital media platforms, and due to these reasons, televisions and print media play a pivotal role of keeping the public updated. During elections, both government and political parties use media to run their campaigns and offer financial benefits to the media owners and stakeholders (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015).

Furthermore, Dunaway & Lawrence, (2015) scrutinized the use of game-frame during United States elections cycles (2006, 2007, 2008). The researchers selected content analysis of different television and newspaper platforms. Results revealed that media resources heavily relied on a game frame during elections. However, these frames were highly reliant upon political context identifying the role of political ownership on media platforms and its potential impacts. In this regard, salience transfer and framing are two basic strategies media professionals use during political campaigns. Although the role of mass media in a democratic environment is to inform and keep the people updated, this information is often partial, biased, and conflicting during elections. Media practitioners especially design and implement campaign messages to reinforce favorable attitudes among the public (Fortunato & Martin, 2016).

TABLE 2.1 (A): SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF MEDIA FRAMING DURING ELECTIONS

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Abate, 2013)	Exploratory analysis, critical content analysis	Ethiopian news media primarily used issue frames and focused less on game frames. Moreover, the government officials were also dominant on news content than the other political parties.

(International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015a)	Policy paper	During elections both government and political parties not only use media to run their campaigns also, they offer financial benefits to the media owners and stakeholders
(Morrison, 2018)	Research Report	During 1990's multiparty elections, the conflict and split between Democratic Parties of Socialists in 1997, independence referendum in 2006 and parliamentary elections in 2016, media framed the conflicts and provided greater support to the ruling bodies.
(Universidad de la Sabana & García-Perdomo, 2018)	Exploratory design, Content analysis	56% of Twitter posts contained game and conflict frames as the journalists mainly posted about the contributions of their favorite political parties and failures of others. However, none of the posts addressed any existing public issues and their potential solutions.
(Eibl & Gregor, 2019).	Research Perspective	Political parties expand their tactics and hire especially skilled media professionals to design and run their campaigns through both traditional and new media platforms. Campaigning not only grabs the audience attentions but also influence them to make the favorable decisions
(Ergün & Karsten, 2019)	Experimental study, Content analysis	Mass media in both countries widely framed the electoral process and motto of different political rivals. Moreover, as compared to United States, Media in Netherlands mainly used negative frame during the elections.

Krasteva and Vladislavljevi (2017) cited an example of political control over Balkanian, Macedonian and Serbian media platforms. According to the authors, despite authoritarian and totalitarian regimes not existing anymore and media being considered aimed for public welfare, strict political control over media platforms still exists. The local government also restricts mass media to sustain political interests, and for this reason, media platforms obligate the government and political groups.

Mujanović (2017) also gave an example of different social movements and the role of local media in Romania and Bulgaria. According to the author, despite the European Union interfering with the internal matters of both states, the media framing and supporting the Romanian and Bulgarian governments helped people raise their voices against this interference. When Romania and Bulgaria join European Union as member states, critics consider this step as a pathway to end the personal autonomy of both countries. Today, media platforms raise the same concern as the conflict between local democratic freedom and foreign interferences. Vasudevan (2017) further examined the most preferred media frames during India's 2014 Lok Sabha Elections. The researcher used an exploratory approach and selected a sample of $n=6$ daily newspapers. Findings indicated that all the newspapers used conflict frames to report the political news. Each newspaper supported one specific political party and its conflicts with the other groups, demanding to vote accordingly. Likewise, the country's issues and conflicts with the international community were also framed by the Indian media.

According to Ejodus and Božović (2017), media framing during Belgrade pride was also prominent and conflicting. Extremists portrayed pride as a threat to social values and society, and liberals framed homophobia as a human rights violation. To further investigate the framing during Belgrade, pride, the researcher used an experimental study design and conducted a quantitative content analysis and discourse analysis of media content and speeches of the political stakeholders. Results showed that extremists used highly criticizing and strict language against the LGBT. In their speeches, they also attributed LGBT to the infringement of socio-cultural values and declination of humanity. They used

pedophiles, clowns, monkeys, language, gays, exhibitionists against the LGBT community.

On the other hand, liberals have represented their stance as tolerance, human rights, freedom of right to live, and equality for all. Similarly, Vladislavljevic and Voltmer (2017) investigated the framing of media coverage in Kenya, South Africa, Serbia, and Egypt. The researcher used a quantitative content analysis approach and selected a sample of $n= 5,162$ electronic media broadcasts and news articles. Results revealed that the political parties mainly utilized conflict framing to attain public attention. It was visible that the political parties were criticizing and defaming their rivals to get maximum public support; however, the focus on public issues was underrepresented.

As noted by Universidad de Guanajuato and Jiménez, (2017), today liberal democracies public require more information from the mass media. Especially during the elections, this dependency increases. Media platforms help deliver information and keep the public updated; however, this information is not simple and accompanied by several political strategies.

Likewise, Muñiz et al. (2017) investigated the media framing during elections (2015) in Mexico. The researchers used an exploratory approach and analyzed *both* television news and newspapers reports published during the electoral process. Results indicated that despite both media forums using diverse frames, the strategic game frame was highly prevalent in the television news reports. On the other hand, newspapers widely used conflict and other relevant frames.

Another study to authenticate the political framing by media, Saabar et al., (2017), investigated the political framing by Malaysian media platforms during general elections

in 2012. The researchers used a cross-sectional study design and gathered data from $n=360$ close-ended, structured questionnaires. Results revealed that people heavily relied on both television and newspapers to avail themselves of the elections-related information. Media platforms mainly used game-frame yet people found them inspiring and highly informative.

Ukonu (2017) noted that during the elections, the public gets more dependent on mass media for political information. This increased dependency also helps media platforms to take advantage and frame the political communication process. The researcher further validated this as they examined the newspapers' framing of the 2015 Presidential elections in Nigeria. The researchers used an experimental research approach and conducted the content analysis of $n=110$ relevant news content. Results indicated that the newspapers primarily used history frames by highlighting and discussing the corruption done by other political parties in the past. However, the content was more focused on candidates' corruption convictions rather than on the real issues. The researchers concluded that media could focus more on public issues than politicians' previous corruption studies, but the framing was dominant as a source of personal political gains.

Similarly, Kuhn, (2017) argued that, during the French election in 2017, the involvement of Fillon in the Penelopegate scandal adversely affected his chances of getting elected as the president. One of the main factors behind his increased failure was judicial and media scrutiny that further harmed his reputation, which witnessed how media frame, justify, and harm one's reputation accordingly.

TABLE 2.1 (B): SUMMARY OF STUDIES REGARDING MEDIA FRAMING DURING ELECTIONS

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Vasudevan, 2017) e	Experimental study, content analysis, $n= 6$ newspapers	All the newspapers used conflict frames to report the political news. Each newspaper supported one specific political party and its conflicts with the others groups, demanding to vote accordingly
(Nebojsa Vladislavljevic & Voltmer, 2017a)	Experimental study, content analysis, $n= 5,162$ news content	The political parties mainly utilized conflict framing to attain public attention. It was visible that the political parties were criticizing and defaming their rivals to get maximum public
(Nebojsa Vladislavljevic & Voltmer, 2017a)	Experimental research, critical content analysis, $n= 5,162$	The political parties mainly utilized conflict framing to attain public attention. Political parties were criticizing and defaming their rivals to get maximum public support however, the focus towards public issues was underrepresented.
(Saabar et al., 2017)	Cross-sectional study, Survey method, $n= 360$ questionnaires	People heavily relied on both television and newspapers to avail the elections related information. Media platforms mainly used game frame yet people found them inspiring and highly informative.
(Bartholomé et al., 2018)	Exploratory research, Content analysis , $n= 1,536$ articles	News reports used conflict frames during the elections. Language was partial, and focused towards advocating the stance of particular political parties.
(Milojević & Krstić, 2018).	Research Perspective	The hierarchies in political system also influence the media practices. From head of the state to the news reporters, everyone potentially influences the media for political purposes.
(Cushion et al., 2018)	Exploratory approach, Content analysis	due to political pressure during elections, news media platforms are partial and biased. To highlight the political agenda, they always give a little or no consideration to public agendas which undermine the quality and practices of news media platforms.
(Araújo & Prior, 2020)	Exploratory research, Content analysis	Newspapers mainly highlighted the eligibility and contributions of Jair Bolsonaro to represent him as highly compatible and focused towards public

wellbeing. Media framing was prominent as they portrayed Bolsonaro as a populist leader.

The hierarchies in the political system also influence media practices. From the head of the state to the news reporters, everyone potentially influences the media for political purposes. For instance, in Serbia, the local government's journalistic practices are more influenced, where corruption is a highly debatable topic yet, new media are focusing more on other political issues such as election campaigns. These tactics divert attention from the main issue and harm public welfare and progress (Milojević & Krstić, 2018).

To further validate this, Universidad de la Sabana & García-Perdomo, (2018) investigated how two groups of journalists supporting particular political parties used Twitter to frame the 2014 Columbian elections. The researchers used an exploratory approach and randomly selected the relevant content posted during June and July 2014. Results revealed that 56% of Twitter posts contained game and conflict frames as the journalists mainly posted about the contributions of their favorite political parties and the failures of others. However, none of the posts addressed any existing public issues and their potential solutions.

Cushion et al. (2018) also investigated the mass media framing to find out the dominant frames used in the UK mass media. The researchers used an exploratory approach and conducted the content analysis of local newspapers and televisions channels. Findings showed that news reports and articles were not politically neutral. Moreover, the majority of television broadcasts were as same as portrayed in the newspapers. The researchers concluded that news media platforms are partial and biased due to political pressure during elections. To highlight the political agenda, they always give little or no

consideration to public agendas, which undermines the quality and practices of news media platforms.

Morrison (2018) also highlighted the role of mass media in establishing and strengthening the local government and its power in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the author, despite the moment for liberation and establishing an independent state being important, the role of media to support political agenda was also of greater importance. During the 1990's multiparty elections, the conflict and split between Democratic Parties of Socialists in 1997, independence referendum in 2006, and parliamentary elections in 2016, media framed the conflicts. They provided greater support to the ruling bodies.

Later, Bartholomé et al. (2018) analyzed the use and dimensionality of conflict frames in news media. The researcher selected an exploratory approach and selected a sample of $n= 1,536$ articles from local newspapers in the Netherlands. Findings revealed that, in news reports, comparatively we used conflict frames during the elections. The language was partial and focused on advocating the stance of particular political parties.

Moreover, Ergün and Karsten (2019) investigated the media coverage of elections in the United States and the Netherlands. The researchers analyzed media coverage in five prominent frames: conflict frame, strategy, game, personalization, and negativity frames. Results revealed that mass media in both countries widely framed the electoral process and motto of different political rivals. Moreover, compared to the United States, Media in the Netherlands mainly used negative frames during the elections. Due to an unstable political climate, people take a greater interest in staying updated about political proceedings. By keeping this interest under consideration, journalists frame the news to influence people's

opinions and perceptions. Creating perceived reality and transferring the salience is one of the most highlighted aspects of media and political communication (Liu et al., 2019).

During the strategic planning of election campaigns, political parties pay special consideration to media platforms. Generally, speaking media have the power to influence audience perceptions and avail the desirable outcomes. Under this argument, using mass media for political campaigning is trending today. Political parties also expand their tactics and hire especially skilled media professionals to design and run their campaigns through traditional and new media platforms. Campaigning not only grabs the audience's attention also influences them to make favorable decisions (Eibl & Gregor, 2019).

Also validated by Araújo & Prior, (2020), they examined the new media framing of election proceedings in Brazil. The researchers selected the news articles published between elections in 2018 and conducted a direct content analysis. Results showed that newspapers mainly highlighted the eligibility and contributions of Jair Bolsonaro to represent him as highly compatible and focused on public wellbeing. The researchers concluded that media framing was prominent as they portrayed Bolsonaro as a populist leader. Cagé (2020) noted that today's media platforms are rapidly proliferating, leading to increased competition regarding audience. That is one of the primary reasons that is causing an increased framing of political events. Cagé, (2020) further affirmed this stance and examined an increased media competition during French elections from 1944 to 2014. Content analysis of local newspapers revealed that French media remained strongly biased regarding the coverage of elections. However, the effects of framing remained more prominent after the millennium than the initial years of reporting.

Another study to examine the role of French mass media in political communication and awareness regarding populists was conducted by Ribera & Díaz, (2020). The researcher applied the case study method and gathered content analysis-based data from the French elections held in 2017. Results revealed that French media largely focused on *Marine Le Pen. Front National* as a major and most resourceful populist party in France that successfully accessed the second round of elections. The researchers found that an increased number of votes and support for the *Marine Le Pen. Front National* is directly linked with the acknowledgment of the party's efforts and role in giving voice to the commoner. The supportive narratives of media representations were largely visible while reporting about the relevant populist political party.

2.2.1 Gender-Bias in Political Media Framing:

Electoral candidates are often differentiated regarding their gender. Men are attributed to dealing with taxation, foreign affairs, and other matters. On the other hand, women are considered suitable for public wellbeing, especially women's welfare programs. However, in creating the relevant perceptions, the role of media representations and framing of both gender groups is of greater importance (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007). Here Carlin and Winfrey (2009) cited an example of the United States presidential elections in 2008 as media largely used conflict frames and represented Hillary Clinton and Sarah Paulin in sexist and stereotypical frames. As found, both candidates were represented negatively to raise serious concerns regarding the suitability and eligibility of both candidates.

We can assume that mass media frame political campaigns, statements, protests, rallies, political proceedings, and even elections. This framing is partial, biased, and aimed

at defaming or supporting a particular entity. Many argue that the media coverage of women politicians is partial and needs further consideration. With a greater focus on media framing and politics, the rise of media coverage regarding women is of greater concern today. During elections and even in the normal scenarios, framing is a part of media content that is partial and based on personal interests (Fountain, 2008; Fox, 2010). During the election, the core responsibility of media resources is to keep people updated about the political proceedings and the electoral process. As conventional media are still dominant, people prefer newspapers and television as a reliable source of information; however, linking journalism with financial and political interests worsens the framing in terms of gender bias (Janssen, 2010).

According to Wasburn and Wasburn, (2011) framing the female politicians in a biased and underrepresented manner adversely discourages the voters from electing women politicians. To further affirm this, the researchers examined the media coverage and framing patterns related to Sarah Paulin, during the elections in the United States. Findings indicated that media coverage focused more on the candidate's gender than her campaign message. Similarly, the framing was also dependent upon the nature of conflicts between the political parties. Likewise, sometimes, even gender-based framing is also prevalent in mass media reporting. Previous studies also investigated and affirmed the biased and framed patterns of political news coverage, broadcast, and publication. As more women participate in the political process, gender-biased framing is becoming a highly considerable phenomenon (Thuo, 2012).

Wright & Holland, (2014) also validated gendered framing and bias in media as they investigated the media framing of a speech given by former Australian Prime Minister Julia

Gillard in 2012. The researchers used a case study approach and conducted the critical discourse analysis of newspapers' articles. Results indicated that Australian media primarily utilized strategic framing for defamation, emotional targeting, and hypocrisy of the former prime minister. Researchers concluded that such gender-biased framing strategies against women undermine their reputations. Also, female politicians face discrimination and humiliation based on their physical appearance.

Consequently, despite women playing a distinguished role in politics, mass media failed to acknowledge and represent their contributions. The United Nations Women emphasize media platforms to represent the role of women in politicians still appropriately, and media frames are biased and sometimes discriminatory against women. The underrepresentation or misrepresentation also affects the audience's perceptions regarding the role of women in the prosperity and wellbeing of the proletariats (Shehzad, 2014). Media framing in terms of gender has always been much highlighted, yet very little is done to counteract it. Although many believe media platforms are now less gender-biased, still framing regarding the gender of candidates is highly visible (Lindgren, 2014).

As we know, women's participation in politics and their contributions always remain underrepresented or misrepresented. Media focus more on their characteristics or party politics that further raises the concerns regarding gender-based bias in media framing. Thus, if media platforms start appropriately portraying women politicians, the public will also appraise their role for development and progress (Gallup, 2015). In this regard, Yimin (2015) investigated the framing of Hillary Clinton during the elections in the United States. The researcher used a comparative analysis of election campaigns during 2008 and 2016. Data gathered from $n= 3,465$ newspapers' articles revealed that during the 2008 elections,

Hillary Clinton was portrayed mainly as a wife, a female candidate, and her physical appearance. However, in 2016 the focus was more on her campaign message, political activities, and party activities.

TABLE 2.3: SUMMARY OF STUDIES REGARDING MEDIA FRAMING & GENDER REPRESENTATIONS DURING ELECTIONS

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Wasburn & Wasburn, 2011)	Case study approach, Critical content analysis	Media coverage focuses more on candidate's gender than her campaign message. Similarly, the framing also depends upon the nature of conflicts between the political parties.
(Thu, 2012).	Experimental study, Content analysis	As an increased number of women are participation the political process, gender biased framing is becoming a highly considerable phenomenon
(Yimin, 2015)	Exploratory approach, Content analysis, $n=3,465$	During the 2008 elections, Hillary Clinton was portrayed mainly as a wife, female candidate and her physical appearance. However, in 2016 the focus was more on her campaign message, political proceedings and party activities.
(O'Neill et al., 2016)	Research review, $n=542$ articles	Although the press coverage of female candidates differs during the elections and even normal routine scenarios yet, female candidates are either misrepresented or underrepresented. Some journalists also raise voice against this framed and partial media depictions, still gender discrimination is highly prevalent.
(Fernandez-Garcia, 2016a)	Case- study approach, critical content analysis, $n=1,969$ articles	Despite the women's greater interest and involvement in Spanish political arenas, the media coverage between male and female candidates differs. Nonetheless, the coverage of ranks and distribution of ministries always relies on the candidates' representation.

(Johnson-Myers, 2019)	Case study approach, Critical content analysis	Despite the primary focus is more on campaign message still, a substantial amount of reports focus on the physical appearance of female candidates. The gendered framing of media is a crucial part of media proceedings especially during the electoral process.
(Van der Pas & Aaldering, 2020a)	Experimental design, Content analysis, n= 750,000 news stories	There is an explicit gender bias in terms of amount of media coverage both in television and newspapers' reports. Moreover, female politicians receive more attention based on their physical appearances and families

O'Neill et al. (2016) noted that focusing on female political leaders' physical appearance, communication style, and femininity that also deviates attention from election campaign messages and other national issues. Mass media should increase the visibility of women and represent women in an unbiased manner to create a healthy democratic system. The researcher further validated gender framing in media by selecting the literature review approach for examining the $n= 542$ published research articles. Results indicated that, although the press coverage of female candidates differs during the elections and even normal routine scenarios yet, female candidates are either misrepresented or underrepresented. Some journalists also raise their voice against this framed and partial media coverage, still, gender discrimination is highly prevalent.

Furthermore, Fernandez-Garcia, (2016) also examined the mass media coverage of female political candidates during the Spanish elections. The researchers used the case study method and conducted a longitudinal study design to check the media coverage during the different years of elections. Findings showed that, despite the women's greater interest and involvement in Spanish political arenas, the media coverage between male and

female candidates differs. Nonetheless, the frames of coverage of ranks and distribution of ministries always also relied on the candidates' representation.

Gender framing in media coverage during the elections is a concern for critics and media researchers. Media framing of female politicians is problematic and needs further considerations as media need to normalize the participation and representation of women in politics. The concern is adverse impacts on women's political and social life due to biased media representations (Geertsema-Sligh, 2018).

Later, Johnson-Myers (2019) scrutinized and affirmed the media framing of Portia Simpson-Miller, the First female prime minister of Jamaica. The researcher used case-study methods and conducted the direct content analysis of newspapers' reporting under framing theory. Results revealed that despite the primary focus was more on her camping message still, a substantial amount of reports focused on her physical appearance. The researchers concluded that gendered framing of media is a crucial part of media proceedings especially during the electoral process. Likewise, another study was conducted by Van der Pas and Aaldering, (2020) to investigate the framing patterns of mass media in $n = 750,000$ television and newspapers stories. The researchers selected experimental study design and conducted a direct content analysis of the gathered data. Findings revealed an explicit gender bias in terms of amount of media coverage both in television and newspapers' reports. Moreover, female politicians receive more attention based on their physical appearances and families.

2.3 Media and Voters Engagement in the Electoral Process

The potential of media to influence political behavior indicates the passivity of the audience. Here, increased dependency and audience active engagement are the other two

determinants of increased impact on voters' political engagement. Although, television and radio have always been of greater importance, the role of newspapers weighs distinguished significance with several witnessing the role of news media influencing voters' involvement (Dobrzynska et al., 2003).

Today, due to increased mass media platforms, the number of political information is also increasing. This increased information is directly correlated with the increased number of voters. For instance, in 2004, more than 75 million United States population actively engaged in gathering political information through different media platforms. However, in 2000, only 29.0% of the population searched for political information through media resources (Larson, 2004). As social institutions like mass media have a direct and strong influence on people's perceptions and behavior, it further leads to reinforcing social and political engagement. Media platforms can provide direct information to the public that they can evaluate and make relevant decisions. Especially during the elections, these conveying the political information is among the top political agendas (Zhang & Chia, 2006).

Various studies focused on the influence of mass media on voters' political engagement during elections. In this regard, Dimitrova et al., (2011) also examined the effects of mass media on political information and knowledge during the elections. The researchers used the case study method and selected a sample of $n= 4.010$ respondents from Sweden. Results revealed that, although media had weak influenced the political knowledge of the respondents, there was a strong, significant correlation between media content and audience political participation as Hellweg, (2011) cited the example of power o media platforms that motivated the American public to vote during the elections in 2008.

She argued that Barack Obama and his political party greatly relied upon mass media platforms to start and run their campaign. Staying connected with the public, keeping them updated about the campaign messages, focusing on public welfare, and helping them to acknowledge the importance of their votes all helped them increase political participation among the public.

Furthermore, Gentzkow et al. (2011) examined the impacts of American newspapers on voters' political engagement from 1869 to 2004. The researchers used experimental approach and conducted the content analysis of $n= 3.913$ newspapers. Results showed that, partial newspapers' coverage directly affected their voting engagement. Those who perceived presidential elections as unfair did not show interest in casting their voting compared to the other individuals. The researchers concluded that news media play an important role in motivating the voters as Alexis de Tocqueville also considered media as a source of increasing political participation. Matthes (2011) noted that media educate the public about the importance of their votes to strengthen the democratic process. By reporting about the election campaigns, media platforms also facilitate the public to raise their concerns and voice their opinion. Political parties communicate with the public, convey their message, and actively encourage them to participate in the electoral process.

Burford (2012) also investigated the impacts of mass media on voters' participation in the elections. The researchers used an exploratory approach and selected social media content posted by the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) during December 2011. Findings revealed that many posts motivated the audience to participate and vote actively for the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB).

On the other hand, the audience also shared the posts and invited other users to spread the message with the greater persuasion to participate and cast their votes. The researcher concluded that using media and addressing public issues influenced the people's opinion about the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) and greatly convinced them to participate in the elections. As media platforms are free to cover the election campaigns, they keep the people updated for their well-being and awareness. Government and other social institutions also encourage mass media to keep the masses informed about ongoing political events. However, the extent to which exposure is given, the framing strategies, and the content have diverse consequences (ODIHR, 2012). Figure 2.3 below contains an overview of the factors (Media dependency and dependency) reinforcing and increasing political participation during the elections:

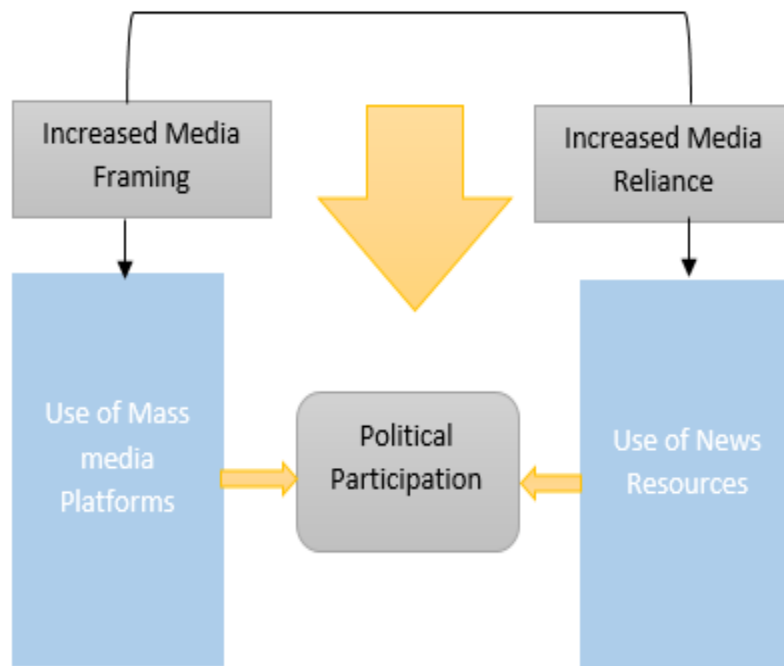


Figure 2.3 Source: This Study

Towner (2013) also questioned the influence of media, especially social media, on the public's political participation. The researchers employed the cross-sectional study design and conducted a three-panel survey themed at Presidential elections in 2012. Results showed a direct correlation between online political information and participation in the elections. In other words, people who obtain online information through online media participated more in elections than those who did not attain any political information.

Likewise, Sokhan (2014) investigated the impacts of mass media on motivating and reinforcing political participation during the Cambodian elections in 2014. The researchers selected an exploratory design and gathered data by using structured questionnaires. Findings indicated that respondents widely considered mass media an influential source, which further motivated them to participate in the voting process practically.

Gil de Zúñiga et al. (2014) considered reinforcing political participation as a joint effort of conventional and new media strategies. As newspapers, television, and radio deliver information, new media further motivate to share, receive and validate this information. This describes the multifunctional role of media platforms being as informers, motivators, and ensuring political participation. In this regard, Moeller et al. (2014) scrutinized the impacts of both traditional and new media on political activities and participation during the elections. The researchers used experimental design and selected a sample of $n= 729$ respondents from the Netherlands. Results revealed that newspaper reading was strongly influential in participating in the online political information obtaining and sharing process. Moreover, the researchers also found the internal efficacy of print media as a major determinant of enhanced political participation among the voters.

According to International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, (2015), exposure to mediated information directly affects the audience's perceptions and opinions. Especially, media framing of political information is one of the most anticipated phenomena regarding media effects. Despite the core centrality of media during the elections, one cannot deny its potential impacts on the public. During elections, political actors take use different strategies to reinforce voters' engagement in the electoral process. From political discourse to visual or readable content, mass media platforms design strategies to motivate the public to participate in the elections.

Skoric et al. (2016) analyzed the correlation between mass media usage and citizen engagement in the elections to validate this phenomenon further. The researchers selected a meta-analysis approach and selected a sample of $n= 22$ studies published from 2007 to 2016. Results revealed that media tend to impact social, political, and civic engagement among the citizens. The researchers also found a strong significant relationship between media dependency during the elections and increased political information among the audience.

TABLE 2.4: SUMMARY OF STUDIES REGARDING MEDIA & POLITICAL PARTICIPATION DURING ELECTIONS

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(ODIHR, 2012).	Handbook	Government and others social institutions also encourage mass media to keep the masses informed about the ongoing political events. However, the extent to which exposure is given, the framing strategies and content have diverse consequences

(Sokhan, 2014)	Exploratory analysis, Survey method, <i>n</i> = 130 participants	Respondents widely considered mass media as an influential source which further motivated them to take part in the voting process practically (Sokhan, 2014)
(International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2015).	Situational report	Despite the core centrality of media during the elections, one cannot deny its potential impacts on the public. During elections, political actors take use different strategies to reinforce voters' engagement in the electoral process. From political discourse to visual or readable content, mass media platforms design strategies to motivate the public to take part in the elections
(Skoric et al., 2016)	Meta-analysis, <i>n</i> = 22 published research articles	Media influence social, political and civic engagement among the citizens. The researchers also found a strong significant relationship between media dependency during the elections and increased political information among the audience.
(Wolfsfeld et al., 2016).	Research perspective	Today with the higher dependency on mass media, people take special interest to obtain political information. Both new and traditional media platforms are equally preferred for everyone that help them to participate in elections.
(Kasenally & Awatar, 2017)	Case-study method, Content Analysis	Media message are designed to motivate the audience for the political engagement. In fact, the impact is so strong that voters only elect their favorite political parties by considering them highly eligible for the selection.
(Alhassan, 2018)	Cross-sectional study, Survey method	Media play a vital role in strengthening the political system by supporting the democratic process. For this purpose, election commissions worldwide give practical guidelines to media platforms and make them effective to enhance the voters' engagement.
(Jamil, 2018)	Cross-sectional study, Survey method, <i>n</i> = 100 participants	Besides mass media, political knowledge was also played a crucial role to ensure the participation in elections. Public found access to information as a source of enchanting their knowledge and motivation to cast their votes.

(Garrett, 2019)	Case study approach, Content analysis	Media content deeply focused on political issue and greatly influenced the audience perceptions. Selected posts also contained messages to motivate the audience to cast their votes.
(Geise et al., 2020)	Experimental study, Content analysis	Reinforcing political participation requires engaging the public in online political activities. For traditional methods of supporting political participation through conventional media platforms, contemporary trends in communication also play a significant role

Today with the higher reliance on mass media, people take a special interest in obtaining political information. Both new and traditional media platforms are equally preferred for everyone that help them to participate in elections. Thus there is a clear link between political information and voting behavior as media bridge the correlation between these two (Wolfsfeld et al., 2016).

As Heblich (2016) noted that influencing the voters to participate in elections and cast their vote is among the main objectives of media and political campaigns. Hiring media platforms, designing the campaign message, and indirectly reinforcing the voting behavior is among the most considerable parts of the election process. There becomes a problem if the public does not vote or boycott the elections. To avoid such a situation, government along with media and other political parties, ensures political participation without any perceived obstacles.

Brichacek (2016) further highlighted six primary ways the media affect both elections and voters' political engagement, such as the polarization of media platforms, through pictures and video content, interacting directly with the public, watchdog of the democratic process by continuously checking the polling stations and any potential

conflicts between the political parties and politicians. In this manner, presenting the political stories during the elections increased participation and strengthened the democratic system.

Similarly, to examine the impacts of media on voters' healthy decisions during the elections, Kasenally and Awatar (2017) examined the media content during general elections in Mauritius. The researchers used the case study method and selected the media coverage of the 2014 elections. Results revealed that media messages were highly designed to motivate the audience for political engagement. The impact was so strong that voters only selected their favorite political parties by considering them highly eligible for selection. Therefore, much of the previous investigation affirmed a strong association between mass media and political participation. Theories also witness a positive correlation between the role of media to disseminate political information and audiences' urge to participate in the voting process. These studies also addressed the role of the audience as both passive and active agents, first receiving the information and later actively searching for it, leading to increased political participation (Halpern et al., 2017).

According to Bursztyn et al. (2018), increased media coverage regarding political communication and information increases the possibilities of voters turnover. Here, the assumptions are that the more people stay updated about the elections, the more they vote. The researchers further scrutinized the impacts of media exposure on voters' turnout in the Swedish referendum. Results revealed that Swedish media platforms did not focus much on political information during the referendum. This less exposure to media-based political information leads people to focus less on casting their votes. Granger-Frye (2018) noted that apart from running the political campaigns during elections, mass media platforms also

motivate the voters. From delivering media content, they influence the people's perceptions about the importance of their votes. Besides, they also resort to digital platforms to attract young and moist active online users.

Another study to investigate the influence of media on political participation was conducted by Jamil (2018), who scrutinized the role of mass media platforms in enhancing political participation in Pakistan. The researcher employed a cross-sectional study design and $n= 100$ from Karachi. Findings indicated that, besides mass media, political knowledge was also played a crucial role in ensuring participation in elections. The public found access to information as a source of enchanting their knowledge and motivation to cast their votes. The polarization of parties and the importance of the vote help voters to patriciate in strengthening the democratic political environment.

Moreover, Alhassan (2018) also witnessed the role of media in enhancing the voters' participation in the elections. The researchers selected a cross-sectional study design and selected local participants from Nigeria who voted in the 2015 Nigerian elections. Results revealed that mass media significantly influenced the voters' engagement in the electoral process. The researcher concluded that media play a vital role in strengthening the political system by supporting the democratic process. For this purpose, election commissions worldwide give practical guidelines to media platforms and effectively enhance the voters' engagement.

Od and Ea (2018) consider mass media to motivate voters to participate in the electoral process. The researchers used a cross-sectional study design and selected voters who voted during Nigeria's 2011 and 2015 general elections. Results showed that political parties and individuals used media platforms for two primary purposes. First, they

motivated people to take part in the elections and poll their votes. Second, they defamed their rivals and adversely attacked their characters and previous political records. Here besides traditional media, the role of social media platforms is also of greater pre-eminence, as affirmed by Ahmad et al. (2019) when they analyzed the role of political communication through social media to engage voters in the voting process. The researchers used a cross-sectional study design and selected a sample of $n= 200$ local participants from the rural areas of Pakistan. Findings revealed a strong, significant relationship between online exposure to political information and real-life voting behavior among the respondents. Researchers concluded that all the media platforms work together to motivate the voters, which helps them to take practical participation in the democratic process.

According to Garrett (2019), the role of media is partial yet motivating for the audience. The researcher scrutinized the role of new media during the United States elections in both 2012 and 2016. The researcher selected the case study method and randomly selected Facebook and Twitter posts for the critical content analysis. Results revealed that media content deeply focused on a political issue and greatly influenced the audience's perceptions. Selected posts also contained messages to motivate the audience to cast their votes.

Reinforcing political participation requires engaging the public in online political activities. For traditional methods of supporting political participation through conventional media platforms, contemporary trends in communication also play a significant role (Geise et al., 2020).

Geise et al. (2020). further examined the role of new media in increasing political participation in general. Based on the experimental method, the content analysis of social

media posts indicated that journalists also posted photos and videos highlighting the importance of votes and their perceived advantages in the future besides the Twitter and Facebook posts. Media play a critical role in keeping people informed about political events. Hence, media shape primary opinion that further motivates the public to participate in the electoral process actively. Under the relevant argumentation, media for the political objectives work as Transparency or watchdog agent, a platform for running the campaign, an open forum for public opinion and discourse, public education, and a wellbeing institution (ACE, 2020).

However, despite political framing and partial representations, the role of media reporting is highly acknowledged. As journalists support and practice freedom of expression and information, the electoral process becomes more transparent. This political coverage transparency motivates people to stay informed and vote for their desired candidates (Association for Progressive Communication, 2020).

2.4 Media and Voters' Decision

Although framing involves persuasive argumentation, it is primarily attributed to political interests in terms of mass media content. Framing involves altering the existing perceptions, and those who create frames know well how to portray and convince, manipulate and avail the favorable political decisions (Gabelia, 2005).

Democratic societies facilitate the citizens to vote and select their desired candidates independently. However, the dominance of government institutions on mass media platforms indirectly influences the people's opinion and political decision-making process (Hobolt, 2006). Hobolt further analyzed how and to what extent media influenced people's decision-making during the referendum for Denmark's integration with European Union.

The researchers used the case-study method and found that political parties indirectly controlled the media platform during the referendum. Although their content and messages did not contain any direct messages, they all greatly emphasized integration and its perceived benefits.

Here Chong and Druckman, (2007) considered framing as badly affecting the public opinion and manipulating them through media content. Media plans and execute framing by making minor or major changes in their messages aim at large changes in opinion and attitudes. Especially during elections, when the public has little interest in any particular political party, it resorts to media content to gain attention and persuade people to vote or select them. Moreover, we assume that media framing is an indication of political power and dominance. Especially during elections, political powers dominate media platforms and help them to frame the content to manipulate the people to make favorable voting decisions. Due to biased media content, people develop positive opinions and vote for their desired political parties (Entman, 2007).

In this regard, Popescu (2007) examined whether external political organizations, including the government, influenced the mass media content during elections or not and if yes then to which extent. The researchers used a cross-sectional design and used close-ended questionnaire for data gathering purposes. Findings indicated that citizens find it easy to make the relevant decisions with the ease of access to information through news media. Here, framing as a result of political communication is important as the more people are aware of political proceedings, the more they tend to decide accordingly.

Media framing of voting matters directly influences the outcomes of the electoral process. If the election commission regulates the fair selection of candidates, mass media

platforms are also obligated to keep people updated. For this purpose, previous studies conducted several experiments to examine the role and influence of media framing on the decision-making process (Bütler & Maréchal, 2007). Media framing of political news also influences the outcomes of the elections. Media reporting aims to influence the political decision-making process. Understanding the impacts of framing on voters' decisions is a difficult yet highly considerable concern. Previous studies also investigated the impacts of media framing on the voting decision. However, critics questioned the further validation of these results (Bütler & Maréchal, 2007).

Thus, we argued that political campaigns are more constant and ubiquitous with the growing use and dependency on mass media. Today, media dependency largely predicts the outcomes of public voting behavior and elections. To avail the favorable outcomes, political parties spend much on strategic campaigning and selection of media platforms. Media platforms also offer enticing platforms, content, and placements of campaign advertisements that appeal to audience attention and decision-making (Kim et al., 2009). To further validate this, Wani and Alone, (2014) cited the role of media, its impacts on selecting Narendra Modi in Indian elections. According to the authors, as media is comparatively more capable of directly communicating with the audience, conveying political information is easier today. During the Indian elections, BJP seemed dominant on all the media platforms, and the news was based on conflict frames. The frequent use of conflict frames and BJP's dominance over media platforms led to Narendra Modi's success in elections.

Entman (2007) noted that priming, framing, and agenda-setting of political information during the elections is a systematic and strategic approach. During elections,

bias and slant-based media reporting grab the audience's attention regarding an issue. Slant and bias can be seen in verbal and visual media content with consistent framing of the issues, especially during media-based election campaigns. Chang (2009) also examined the media framing of the biofuels phenomenon and its impacts on audience perceptions and attitudes towards the issue. The researcher selected an experimental approach and selected a sample of $n=3$ newspapers in Iowa State, the United States. The content analysis of the selected newspapers indicated that media frames directly influenced the audience's perceptions about the biofuel issue. As the focus of media coverage was more on highlighting the economic consequences, the people were also concerned about the negative economic outcomes.

Issue framing is important, and one of the most practice framing techniques directly correlates with motivated reasoning. When political elites dominate the media content, they aim to influence the public in every possible manner. Slothuus and de Vreese (2010) further cited the example of media framing by stating that elites might get public attention and support by showing their everyday charity work as a fight against illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty.

Likewise, calling the competitor's rally propaganda, drama, or attention-seeking act can also lead people to perceive the rally as represented in media. Especially during elections, politicians and their parties are the center of debate for all, leading the public to depend on media for information, exposure to framed representations, and affecting their voting decision (Slothuus & de Vreese, 2010).

According to Schemer et al. (2012), media frames are more effective when the people's experiences resonate with the framed narratives. Previous research widely witnessed a

potential correlation between personal experiences and media framing. Schemer and his colleagues further scrutinized the impacts of media framing on people's voting decisions in Switzerland. The researchers used the case study method and selected a sample of $n=1,251$ respondents for the panel survey. Results revealed a strong positive correlation between media framing and people's voting decisions. Here the researchers considered a repetition of argumentation as a strong mechanism of influencing the voters' perception and decision-making process.

Similarly, Zhang and Min (2013) examined the impacts of value framing on supporting gay rights in China. The researchers used experimental approach and divided the respondents into two groups for qualitative interview. Findings affirmed that, media widely used value framing strongly influenced the respondents' perceptions. The participants who watched gay rights-based documentaries showed a comparatively more positive attitude towards supporting LGBT rights. However, people who experienced watching the content attributing homosexuality to a matter of choice showed hostility and unacceptance towards acknowledging gays as equal and respectable in China.

Now the popular question is why mass media represent the political parties the way they do? Framing the elections is common among media platforms as they transfer the salience of a particular matter or a political party, which further helps the voters make a decision. Here sometimes, framing also undermines the normative functions of media regarding public wellbeing (Schuck et al., 2013). For instance, News media often focuses more on reporting the issue under game or conflict frames. Politicians use these frames to attribute negativity to their rivals and affect their reputations (Pedersen, 2014).

To further validate this, Pedersen (2014) examined negative campaigning along with strategic frames during elections and their potential impacts on voting decisions. The researcher selected a literature review approach by randomly selecting published research articles. Results revealed that negative campaigning strongly influenced people's opinions and voting decisions. The researchers concluded that negative framing is comparatively more influential than positive framing due to attractive media content and strategies during elections.

From same-sex marriage to other public welfare laws, people's voting decisions highly rely upon their personal experiences, perceptions, and opinions. When media focus more on public wellbeing, frames become comparatively more influential on voters' decisions. For this purpose, media platforms largely address the complex issues and represent them in easily understandable frames, which directly influence the voters' decision-making during elections (Hastings & Cannn, 2014).

Furthermore, Waheed et al. (2015) examined the mediating role of values and media framing during elections. The researchers used a cross-sectional study design and selected a sample of $n=337$ respondents from the Netherlands. Results revealed that people who believed more in universalism were more influenced by media framing than conservatives or strictly following their cultural values. The findings affirmed the research hypotheses assume the role of culture as a primary determinant of framing influences.

TABLE 2. 5: SUMMARY OF STUDIES REGARDING MEDIA & POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Chang, 2009a)	Experimental approach, Content analysis, <i>n</i> = 3 newspapers	Media frames directly influenced the audience perceptions about the biofuel issue. As the focus of media coverage of was more on highlighting the economic consequences, the people were also found concerned about the negative economic outcomes.
(Pedersen, 2014).	Literature review approach	Negative campaigning strongly influences the people's opinion and voting decisions. Besides, negative framing is comparatively more influential than the positive framing due to attractive media content and strategies during elections.
(Kolbeins, 2016)	Experimental approach, content analysis, <i>n</i> =	A majority of news studies were encouraging the audience to poll their opinion after focusing on conflict framing strategy that further influenced the voting decisions. Thus, there was a direct correlation between media framing during elections and relevant decision-making among the audience in Iceland.
(Dekavalla, 2016)	Case-study approach, survey method	Newspapers well framed the elections with strong impacts on the pragmatic decision-making process. The news content widely contained policy and strategic frames influencing the voting decisions.
(Schuck et al., 2016)	Cross-sectional study, Survey Method, <i>n</i> = 32,411 respondents +	Newspapers well framed the elections with strong impacts on the pragmatic decision-making process. The news content widely contained policy and strategic frames influencing the voting decisions.

(Nee et al., 2017)	Cross-sectional study, Survey Method,	Mass media framing strongly influenced the audience perceptions and attitudes regarding the candidates' performance. As result, many politicians also faced a rapid backlash due to exposure to media framing about the candidates' performance.
(Vladislavljević & Voltmer, 2017)	Research perspective	Press freedom is a core liability and moral obligation for the state however some institutions are dominant over media content. For instance, army is the dominating institution in Egypt that directly influences the mass media leading to framing of major political matters.
(Wettstein & Wirth, 2017b)	Research perspective	Media effect in a two-step process. First, media content influences to acquire more information on a political phenomenon. In the second step, acquired media information is accompanied by emotional and attitudinal reactions which lead to make the relevant voting decisions
(Leeper & Slothuus, 2018)	Handbook	Political persuasion is common in both during the elections and routines life functions. Political goals and objective are the dynamics of media framing and strategic media proceedings that contain the particular type of persuasive message, its content, and timing.
(Banks et al., 2020)	Experimental design, Direct content analysis,	Media polarization deeply influenced the voting decisions as the direct exposure and biased reporting urged potential audience to make the favorable decisions. Thus, the more audience experienced exposure to media framing, the more they made relevant voting decisions.

Framing is widely used when analyzing the media effect investigating the role of media and other external and internal factors on people's perceptions and attitudes. The role of traditional and new media work hand in hand as the audience considers traditional media platforms more preferable and reliable. Similarly, new media's strong assistance, repetition of information, repeated exposure, and biased content all work collectively to

influence the political decision-making process (Cacciatore et al., 2016). To affirm this phenomenon, Kolbeins (2016) investigated the impacts of media framing during the parliamentary elections in Iceland. The researchers selected an experimental approach and selected a sample of $n= 1,377$ elections' news stories. Results showed that a majority of news studies were encouraging the audience to poll their opinion after focusing on conflict framing strategy that further influenced the voting decisions. Thus the researchers found a direct correlation between media framing during elections and relevant opinions and decision-making among the audience in Iceland.

Schuck et al. (2016) also examined the impacts of conflict framing on voters' decision-making process. The researchers used the longitudinal study method and selected a sample of $n= 32,411$ respondents from the United Kingdom. Findings affirmed the research hypotheses as the conflict framing strongly influenced their voting decisions. The researchers concluded that conflict framing was powerful for voters' mobilization due to its potential nature and impacts. Another study to authenticate impacts of media framing was conducted by Dekavalla (2016) and scrutinized the newspapers' framing and its impacts during Scottish independence referendums in 2014. The researchers utilized the case study method and analyzed data gathered during the two-week campaigning process. Results showed that newspapers well framed the elections with strong impacts on the pragmatic decision-making process. The news content widely contained policy and strategic frames influencing the voting decisions.

Stray (2016) noted that whether the political candidate is famous or not, media attention and excessive exposure can increase their popularity among the public. Usually,

media framing is responsible as it transfers the salience. Figure 2.4 below provides an overview of the causal relationship between media, framing, and results of elections:

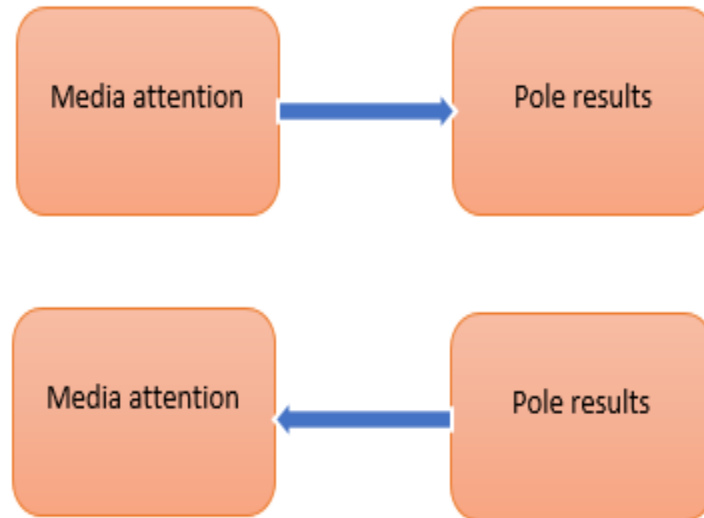


Figure 2.4 Source: (Stray, 2016)

For example, during the general elections in Great Britain, only two political parties (Labor and Conservatives) were dominant on all the traditional and new media platforms. Here as compared to Labor, Conservatives gained more coverage that addressed the conflicts such as Brexit, European Union, Immigration laws, and others. The results of elections were later correlated with the results as the more media covered the Conservatives, the more people supported their stance leading to their victory ("Media Coverage of the 2017 General Election Campaign (Report 4)," 2017).

Vladislavljević and Voltmer (2017) cited an example of democratic conflicts during the elections in different regions. According to the authors, press freedom is a core liability and moral obligation for the state; however, some institutions dominate media content. For instance, the army is the dominating institution in Egypt that directly influences the mass media leading to the framing of major political matters. Media messages support the stance

of military officials that also increase positive opinion and public support for the forces. In parallel, Nee et al. (2017) also investigated the impacts of mass media by using partisans during the Presidential elections in the United States. The researchers employed a cross-sectional design and used close-ended, structured questionnaires. Results revealed that mass media-based frames strongly influenced the audience perceptions and attitudes regarding the candidates' performance. As a result, many politicians also faced a rapid backlash due to media framing about the candidates' performance.

Wettstein and Wirth (2017) described media effects in a two-step process. First, media content influences the acquisition of more information on a political phenomenon. In the second step, acquired media information is accompanied by emotional and attitudinal reactions, which lead to making the relevant voting decisions. Both framing and agenda-setting work hand in hand to captivate the audience's attention and influence their decision-making process as political persuasion is common during elections and routine life functions. Political goals and objectives are the dynamics of media framing and strategic media proceedings that contain the particular type of persuasive message, its content, and timing. Partisan politics also influence the media stakeholders to convey the desired political information and benefit from financial and others (Leeper & Slothuus, 2018).

Later, Dewenter et al. (2018) investigated the influence of mass media on party affiliation and voters' decisions during elections. The researchers selected meta-analysis techniques and selected studies published from 1998 to 2012 in Germany. Findings revealed that when media positively represent a political party, public appreciation and support increase. Besides this short-term support, the researcher also found the long-term

impacts of party affiliation among the voters that witnessed the consistency in the long-term support and positive perception about political groups.

Thus, the use of mass media to convey political information is primarily aimed at influencing people's perception and voting behavior. Whether the information is accurate or wrong, media framing is an obvious practice to inspire voters. Many times information is fake still strategic media content influences the opinions in a manipulative manner (Tucker et al., 2018). Recently, Banks et al. (2020) examined the impacts of generic framing on Argentina voters' decisions. The researchers used experimental design and conducted a direct content analysis of the media content. Findings indicated that media polarization deeply influenced the voting decisions as to the direct exposure and biased reporting urged the potential audience to make favorable decisions. As the more audience experienced exposure to media framing, the more they made relevant voting decisions.

2.5 Gender and Political Decision Making

Traditional gender roles, perceptions, and attitudes are rapidly changing due to rapid socio-economic development. For example, in South Africa, despite increasing poverty and unemployment, education is considered a basic necessity of life. Especially Basothos women in South Africa appreciate their voting rights and, as compared to men, are more likely to vote during elections (Letuka et al., 2004). To further validate this, Kenski (2007) scrutinized the mediating role of gender in the political decisions making process. The researchers conducted an experimental study and gathered data by using secondary sources or official documents. Results revealed that women showed more

concern towards voting. Similarly, consistent with the previous investigations, media framing and partisanship also played a significant role in shopping up the voting decisions.

Gender equality widely exists in the political decision-making process. Due to improved democratic systems, women are also considered equally important for strengthening the democratic system (Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010). Coffé and his colleagues further analyzed the potential gender differences regarding political participation from $n=20,359$ respondents. The researchers used an experimental approach and used structured questionnaires for the data gathering process. Results indicated that gender discrepancies exist based on voters' gender. However, as compared to men, women were more concerned and enthusiastic about participating in the elections. Here many studies witnessed that gender and education are casual mechanisms that influence the voting decision among men and women. Gender as a causal motive directly connects women voters with women candidates. Today, more women are actively qualifying as political candidates, more women are voting for them as men (Goodyear-Grant & Croskill, 2011).

Hatemi et al. (2012) consider these gender differences due to social exposure and experiences. The researchers also conducted a cross-sectional study to affirm the gender differences regarding the voting and participation process and found that gender identity strongly influences voting and political participation among the public. They also found that individual differences did not affect voting behavior, but gender was significantly influential. Celis et al. (2013) noted that gender in politics is also a widely affirmed phenomenon like other fields. Both voting and decision-making differ among men and are based on their gender and social experiences. For example, many studies found women less concerned about elections and more dependent on women to shape their opinions and

voting decisions. However, modern scholars found consistency with the proposed differences but found women more active and rational reasoning for the decision-making process.

Nonetheless, UNESCO, (2013) attributed these gender differences to rational thinking due to education and increased political awareness through mass media. Women acknowledge the importance of their votes and active participation in the elections. Today with their active participation and growing interest, many countries are widely motivating women to participate in elections both as candidates and voters equally. According to Abendschön & Steinmetz, (2014), gender differences in voting behavior is a topic of discussion of many researchers. Three-fold studies addressed and empirically witnessed this issue. The researcher also examined the gender differences by using the case study method. As stated, liberal democracies encourage both men and women to vote; however, compared to earlier times, women are more concerned about voting to choose a public-friendly representative. Consequently, during the 2008 presidential elections in the United States, women were comparatively more active and cast their votes more than men.

Voting defines the political decision-making power of people. Both men and women are equally important for strengthening the democratic system. Earlier, only men were a part of political decisions making, today women also preferred to vote. However, the extent to which both men and women acknowledge the significance of voting explicitly differs among men and women (O'Neil & Domingo, 2015). In this regard, the role and participation of women in politics is a milestone of reinforcing voting behavior among the public. Women in decision-making roles opened the doors for increased female participation in the elections.

Nonetheless, women are comparatively more concerned about voting as they acknowledge the importance of vote and public wellbeing (Best, 2016). Further affirmed by Folke and Rickne, (2016), they examined the gender differences in voting during the Swedish Elections. The researchers used descriptive quantitative analysis and gathered the data by using $n= 35,000$ close-ended, structured questionnaires. Results indicated that a very moderate gender gap was found in the voting process due to increased competition. However, female voters primarily focused on supporting the female candidate, and men preferred male candidates.

TABLE 2.6 SUMMARY OF STUDIES REGARDING GENDER DIFFERENCES IN AND POLITICAL DECISION MAKING

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010)	Cross-study method, Survey approach, $n= 20,359$ participants	Liberal democracies encourage both men and women to vote however, as compared to earlier times, women are more concerned about voting to choose a public friendly representative.
(Hatemi et al., 2012)	Cross-sectional design, Survey method	Gender identity strongly influence the voting and political participation among public. They also found that individual differences did not affect voting behavior but gender was significantly influential.
(Abendschön & Steinmetz, 2014),	Research Perspective	Liberal democracies encourage both men and women to vote however, as compared to earlier times, women are more concerned about voting to choose a public friendly representative
(Celis et al., 2013)	Research Perspective	Many studies found women as less concerned about elections and more dependent on women to shape their opinion and voting decisions. However, modern scholars found consistency with the proposed differences but found women as more active and using rational reasoning for decision-making process.

(O'Neil & Domingo, 2015).	Research Perspective	Earlier, only men were the part of political decisions making, today women are also preferring to vote. However, the extent to which both men and women acknowledge the significance of voting explicitly differ among men and women
(Folke & Rickne, 2016)	Descriptive quantitative analysis, Survey method, $n=35,000$ respondents	Due to increased competition, a very moderate level gender gap was found in the voting process. However, female voters primarily focused on supporting the female candidate and men preferred male candidates.
(Grosholz, 2017a)	Experimental study, Qualitative analysis	Both men and women largely preferred their desired participants to vote. However, despite gender differences do exist, male voters equally consider female candidates as capable of running the government.
(S. J. Carroll & Fox, 2018)	Research report	The competition between George W Bush and John F. Kerry. As George Bush mainly framed and used war on terrorism in Iraq as his welfare strategy, women considered him merely as controversial figure attempting to get votes through the wars.
(Roth & Clare Saunders, 2019),	Case study, Survey method	Men and women have varying concerns regarding their participation in rally and protests. Besides their gender, social and economic backgrounds are also among the determinants of relevant differences.
(Hamid, 2019)	Cross-sectional design, Survey method, $n=400$ respondents	Gender difference strongly exist between the voting decisions among men and women. However, men are more independent and possess more political information, women on the other hand, rely on men to shape their opinion and vote accordingly

Grosholz (2017) also examined the potential gender differences regarding voting behavior among both men and women in Pennsylvania. The researcher used a descriptive approach and conducted the qualitative analysis for data gathering purposes. Findings indicated that, although gender differences were moderately found concerning the voting decisions, both men and women largely preferred their desired participants to vote. Results

also highlighted that despite gender differences that exist, male voters equally considered female candidates capable of running the government. The researcher concluded that the current study is an example of decreased underrepresentation and participation of women in politics, which further witness brighter prospects for women in the political process.

USAID (2017) further explored the gender differences regarding decision-making in Bosnia Herzegovina. The researchers used survey methods and gathered data from individuals who voted during elections in 2016. Once again, the researchers found an explicit gender discrepancy among female voters, candidates, and male voters. Likewise, female voters emphasized public priorities than males, who were concerned about party priorities. For instance, the US elections in 2004 were major evidence of gender differences in voting decisions. According to the authors, the competition between George W Bush and John F. Kerry. As George Bush mainly framed and used the war on terrorism in Iraq as his welfare strategy, women considered him merely a controversial figure attempting to get votes through the wars. Thus, as a result, more women voted Kennedy than Bush, which indicated women as more concerned about the impacts of framing and made the decisions accordingly (Carroll & Fox, 2018).

Another example can be cited from the French general elections in 2012 when the newly elected Prime Minister François Hollande appointed the government, including the Ministry of Women's Rights members, with equal opportunities. According to Sénac et al. (2018), the first gender-balanced government in France attained huge public support during the elections. This party adopted Yvette Roudy's (1981–86) manifesto and made forty commitments guaranteeing women's rights advocacy and preservation in France. As a result, most females voted as gender equality was the core principle of the party plan.

Similarly, several studies focused primarily on women's participation in the electoral process. However, there is an explicit gender difference regarding this participation process. To further validate this phenomenon, Roth and Saunders, (2019) examined the gender differentiation regarding street protest and participation in elections in the United Kingdom and Sweden. The researchers used a case study approach and gathered data by using the survey method. Results revealed that both men and women had varying concerns regarding their participation in rallies and protests. Besides their gender, social and economic backgrounds were also among the determinants of relevant differences. Brown et al. (2019) also correlated the existing gender gap due to increased participation in the political process. As female voters consider women candidates more capable of understanding their concerns and addressing them, female voters largely participate in elections to vote for their desired candidates.

Galais and Blais (2019) questioned presumed gender gaps in the voting process during elections. As argued that the voters' turnout gaps surprisingly shrunken during the last few years. This decreasing gap is due to the increased participation of women in voting and other political proceedings. The researcher used a cross-sectional design and collected data by using a survey method executed in six counties. Results gathered from the sample of $n= 16,571$ participants revealed that more women were found comparatively more active during the elections. Likewise, as compared to men, women cast more votes on their favorite politicians. The researchers concluded that the varying voting and participation process might be because of women's increase towards public welfare. Also, information sources such as mass media also affected voting decisions in general.

However, the study conducted by Hamid (2019) indicated different outcomes. The researcher used a cross-sectional study design and selected a sample of $n= 400$ respondents, from four different cities in Pakistan. Findings showed that gender differences strongly exist between the voting decisions among men and women. However, men are more independent and possess more political information; women, on the other hand, rely on men to shape their opinion and vote accordingly. As in Pakistan, despite repeated elections cycles and media literacy campaigns, the role of women voters is less visible. Federal and provisional governments highly motivate women to participate in elections, both as candidates and active voters, as the gender gap between the voters is of greater concern for the democratic system in Pakistan (Dawn, 2020).

2.6 Age Differences and Political Engagement and Decision Making

Several studies witnessed the laziness and comparatively less interest of the young generation towards political well-being. A sufficient amount of literature affirmed the potential difference of participation between youngsters and the old generation. Conventional wisdom constitutes that young people are lazy and do not actively participate in strengthening the democratic system (Quintelier, 2007). In this regard, Sanz de Acedo Lizárraga (2007) examined the role of age and gender on people's decision-making process in general. The researchers used a cross-sectional design and used structured questionnaires for data gathering purposes. Results obtained from $n= 589$ participants from Mexico indicated that age and gender strongly influence the decision-making process. However, age is comparatively more influential due to rational thinking and emotional stability.

Age as an important demographical variable works as one of the basic mechanisms of decision-making during elections. Those who witnessed age as primary mechanisms

directly attribute it to the experiences, emotional stability, and decision-making maturity (Peters et al., 2007). The researchers examined the impacts of age on making judgments and taking effective decisions in general. The researchers used a review approach and selected studies visiting the age differences regarding the decision-making process. Findings revealed that aged individuals are comparatively more capable of processing information than youngsters. This difference is also validated in terms of the decision-making process.

Similarly, Goerres (2007) examined the reasons for old age European citizens' voting decisions and higher voting compliance during elections. The researcher used a case-study approach and selected the participants who previously voted during the German elections. Respondents expressed several factors as influential mechanisms for abiding the elections as the social norm. These mechanisms involved lack of education, absence of mobilizing partner, life experiences, and emotional stability. The researcher concluded that life experiences directly indicate age as an important determinant of voting among old-aged Germans. Figure 2.5 below gives a brief overview of the factors affecting the decision-making process:

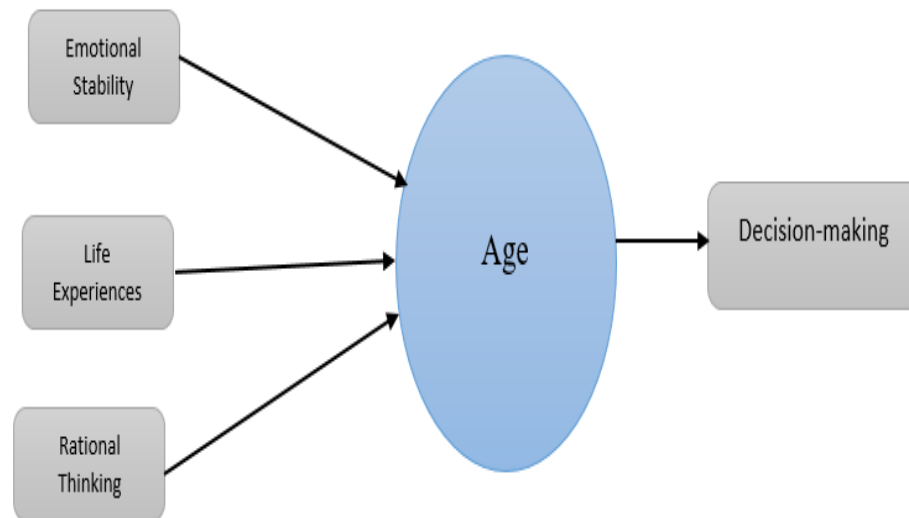


Figure 2.5 Source: This Study

Chen and Ma (2009) investigated the decision-making differences among teenagers and adults in Ohio, United States. The researchers used the observational method to provide the participants with alternatives with positive or negative consequences. Findings revealed an explicit gap between the decision-making among both groups as older individuals made decisions by keeping the positive consequences under consideration. On the other hand, the youngster first evaluated the negative consequences and then made suitable decisions. Here Brug, (2010) cited an example of European countries where voting decisions are influenced both by age and the age of the potential voters. Especially from the European parliament elections' perspective, this age gap is of greater magnitude. Adults make more logical decisions than youngsters, especially when electing the appropriate individuals for the structural positions.

According to Wagner and Kritzinger (2012), ideological dimensions are strongly correlated with the decision-making process among voters of different age groups. They differ in information processing, thinking, and evaluating processes. The researchers

further examined the voters' ages based on their choice of decision-making during the elections. The cross-sectional survey during the 2009 elections in Austria indicated a moderate level of age differences based on the voting choices. However, the researchers also found strong voting differences based on ages between 18 and old age voters.

However, Bhatti et al. (2012) argued that age and voting decisions have curvilinear relations. Young people moderately participate in the voting process as compared to adults. This less participation might be because of their emotional instability, lack of interest, and less concern towards the democratic system. These factors are important aspects of age that further draws a line between voting decision and age. Later, Smets (2012) also scrutinized the presumed generation gap regarding voting decisions during elections. The researcher used a case study approach and gathered data from ten major democracies (US, Australia, Canada, UK, and others). Results indicated an existing yet moderate level age gap concerning voting decisions among the public. The researcher concluded that age difference exists but might vanish in the upcoming year due to the young generation's increased interest in political participation. By the age of 18, people's cognitive abilities begin to mature.

However, during the first few years, they take time to make rational thinking and decisions. Here the argument is not about who is mature/ Instead, we assume that age differences in decision-making potentially exist and voting decisions are no exception. However, we also assume that as compared to teenagers, adults are more susceptible to being influenced by external stimuli. Their decisions can be altered at any time regardless of their existing perceptions (Hamilton, 2012).

To further validate this phenomenon, Bergh, (2013) questioned the role of age as an influential factor in political decision-making during the elections. The researchers used an experimental approach and selected a panel survey for data gathering purposes in Norway. Findings indicated strong significant differences among the individuals below 17 and 18 years old individuals. Individuals 18 years of age were considering more rational aspects of the voting decision than those under 17 years old. Likewise, Holt et al. (2013) examined the extent to which media dependency varies among people of different age groups and how it affects their participation in the voting process. The researchers used a case study approach and conducted a four-wave panel study during the Swedish elections in 2010. Results revealed that people from different age groups have varying media dependency during elections. However, youngsters depend more on social media, and adults rely on traditional media, encouraging active political participation among the audience.

Critics and stakeholders also argue that giving voting rights to children under 18 years will undermine the democratic system. As they are not vigilant enough to make rational decisions, their decision-making can adversely affect their socio-economic infrastructure. However, many researchers disagree with this idea and consider teenagers equally capable of making rational voting decisions (Wagner et al., 2014). These researchers and critics consider the relationship between age and voting decisions as curvilinear depending on the thinking and experiences of the voters. Many studies also witnessed an increased party affiliation directly attributed to growing emotional stability with age and experiences. Whether or not age is a stronger predictor of decreased turnout and an influencing factor on decision-making during elections (Arzheimer et al., 2016).

TABLE 2.7: SUMMARY OF STUDIES REGARDING AGE DIFFERENCES AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT & DECISION MAKING:

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Peters et al., 2007).	Literature review approach	Aged individuals are comparatively more capable of processing information than youngsters. This difference is also validated in terms of the decision-making process.
(Chen & Ma, 2009)	Experimental study, Field observation	As older individuals made decisions by keeping the positive consequences under consideration. On the other hand, youngsters first evaluated the negative consequences and then made suitable decisions.
(Wagner & Kritzinger, 2012),	A cross-sectional design, Survey method	Ideological dimensions are strongly correlated with the decision-making process among voters of different age groups. They differ in information processing, thinking, and evaluating processes.
(Bergh, 2013)	An experimental approach, Panel survey	There was a strongly significant difference among the individuals below 17 and 18 years old individuals. Individuals 18 years of age were considering more rational aspects of the voting decision than the individuals lower than 17 years old.
(Holt et al., 2013b)	Case study, panel study method	People from different age groups have varying media dependency during elections. However, youngsters depend more on social media and adults rely on traditional media which equally encourages active political participation among the audience.
(Wagner et al., 2014)	Case study method	Critics and stakeholders often argue that giving voting rights to children under 18 years, will undermine the democratic system. As they are not vigilant enough to make rational decisions, their decision-making can adversely affect the country's socio-economic infrastructure.
(Lanz & Nai, 2015)	An experimental approach, Secondary data	Age is a strong determinant of voting decisions during the elections conducted from 1999 to 2005. However, age is a situational factor, influencing cognitive thinking and persuading for the relevant decision-making process.

analysis, $n= 51$
projects

(Arzheimer et al., 2016)	Handbook Book	Researchers and critics consider the relationship between age and voting decisions as curvilinear depending on the thinking and experiences of the voters. As many studies also witnessed an increased party affiliation directly attributed to growing emotional stability with age and experiences
(Lau et al., 2018)	The experimental method, Longitudinal study design	All five scales were strongly correlated with the voters' decision-making process. However, confirmatory and rational selection were comparatively more associated with the age of the study respondents.
(Webster & Pierce, 2019)	Cooperative Congressional Election Study	Similar age of both candidates and voters moderately worked as the voting heuristic. There was no strong correlation found, however, the study also indicated a general age difference among voters based on their voting decisions.

According to Lanz and Nai (2015), political opinion mostly works in line with decision-making. However, sometimes also make different decisions despite having a conflicting opinion. Here the concept of "Cognitive Revolution" played a key role as it examined:

1. Gaining an opinion.
2. Sustaining the opinion over time.
3. Keeping them consistent while taking action.

By keeping in view the previously described Cognitive Revolution, the researchers further examined the impacts of age on keeping the decision consistent over time, especially while taking relevant action. The researchers used an experimental approach and gathered secondary data from $n=51$ projects conducted from 1999 to 2005 in Switzerland. Findings indicated that age was a strong determinant of voting decisions from 1999 to

2005. However, age was described as a situational factor, influencing cognitive thinking and persuading the relevant decision-making process.

Muhammad and Hasan (2016) further investigated different social and psychological factors influencing the voting decision of voters in Pakistan. The researchers used a self-developed scale and selected a sample of $n= 115$ respondents from Lahore. Results revealed that emotional stability was the most prominent factor affecting the voting decision. However, compared to youngsters, adults showed a stronger reliance on emotional stability and logical thinking to make the voting decision.

To validate the potential link between age and decision-making during elections, Lau et al. (2018) used five scale modes, including rational selection, immediate decision, going with the gut, heuristic-based and confirmatory. The researchers used a longitudinal study design and gathered the data during and after the United States elections in 2012. Results revealed that all five scales were strongly correlated with the voters' decision-making process. However, the researchers found the confirmatory and rational selection comparatively more associated with the age of the study respondents. Here, Webster & Pierce, (2019) raised the point that individuals are likely to vote for those candidates, having more similar characteristics or experiences. However, affirming the relationship between the candidate's age and the voters' age is still a debatable topic that needs further consideration. The researchers later examined the potential correlation between the candidate's age and the voters' age by using the Cooperative Congressional Election Study technique. Secondary data gathered from government records revealed that similar age of both candidates and voters moderately worked as the voting heuristic. There was no strong

correlation found. However, the researchers also found a general age difference among voters based on their voting decisions.

2.7 Voters' Locality, Political Engagement & Decision Making

According to Klippel et al. (2008) the geographical association has a strong, significant impact on an individuals' decision-making process in general. Despite moving from one place to another, geographical attribution is also influential in the decision-making process. Electoral geography provides a baseline to this concept as it describes the impacts of geographical factors and political strategies that impact the voters' decision-making process. Geography as a contextual factor influences the voters' perceptions so that they find the geographical location of the candidate as the most favorable point of consideration (Pattie & Johnston, 2009).

For example, in the United States, the voters do not directly vote and elect the chief executives; instead, the Electoral College represents the voters' political decisions. Here among all the members of the Electoral College, there is geographical bias as members also belong to locality. Many studies also witnessed this bias and attributed it directly to geographical affiliations. There is mutual concern that several pressure groups and the public also influence the selection process, highlighting geographical associations' influence (Warf, 2009).

Rodden (2010) also witnessed these voting differences and attributed them to the "geographical distribution regarding political decisions." As noted, party preferences among voters can be easily determined by their geographical areas. If the parties belong to the same location as voters, they will find it more appropriate to choose them. They perceive it as a geographical association, and political candidates understand the demands

and concerns. Similarly, Haydukiewicz (2011) scrutinized the geographical and historical preferences during elections as a strong determinant of voters' decision-making process. The researcher employed the case study method and gathered qualitative data from Ukraine, Great Britain, Spain, and Romania. Researchers found that data from Ukraine identified a robust association between voting decisions and geographical and historical preferences among all the selected counties. The respondents largely elected candidates of the same geographical regions and had the same historical backgrounds.

Likewise, emotions are another important factor affecting geographical preferences regarding voting decisions. Ecuadorian campaigns are the most significant ones that indicate the role of emotions in voting decisions. Besides, political campaigns also generate emotional states that further create a sense of belonging among the voters. Merging rage with argumentation, demonizing the enemy, or indicating them having a different stance adds to geographical preferences concerning voters' decision-making process (Schurr, 2013).

Several studies witness voting decisions based on the varying demographical characteristics of the voters. As noted by Kurtbaş (2015), votes tend to support those candidates who have the same locality of the same experiences. The researcher further examined the voting differences based on voters' localities in Turkey. The researcher adopted a cross-sectional study design and selected a sample of $n= 474$ voters during General Elections in 2009. Findings revealed that most participants voted for the candidates having the same locality as the voters had. However, voters also expressed supporting candidates' ideologies as one of the most prominent factors in making the relevant voting decisions.

Shin (2015) also highlighted the role of geographical grounds for understanding the electoral process and making particular voting decisions, arguing that political support and voting can be mapped with the geographical and district boundaries. Several contextual and compositional approaches also witness the impacts of locality, especially on district-level elections. Electoral infrastructure and media framing also affect the voters' perception of making voting decisions. Like other demographical factors, geography is also a strong mechanism of voting behavior and perceptions.

Kavianirad and Rasouli (2015) consider elections as an integral part of sustaining a democratic system. A country depends on democracy and transparency of elections and, the role of media is of greater pre-eminence in this regard. However, besides media framing, geographical factors are among the strongest ones impacting voters' voting decisions. As the right to vote and the right to decisions are the basic human and civil rights, the people use them with geographical factors.

Table 2.8: Summary of studies regarding Impacts of Voters' Locality, Political Engagement & Decision Making:

Author & Date	Research Design/Methodology, Sample Size	Description
(Warf, 2009)	Case study, Qualitative analysis	In the United States, the voters do not directly vote and elect the chief executives instead, the Electoral College represents the voters' political decisions. Here among all the members of the Electoral College, there is geographical bias as members also belong to a locality.
(Rodden, 2010)	Literature review approach	If the parties belong to the same location as voters do, the voters will find it more appropriate to choose them. They perceive it as a geographical association and political candidates as more capable of understanding the demands and concerns.
(Kavianirad & Rasouli, 2015)	Research Perspective	Besides media, geographical factors are among the strongest ones, that impact the voters voting decision. As the right to vote and the right to decisions are basic human and civil rights, the people use them with an influence of geographical factors.
(Shin, 2015)	Research Perspective	Several contextual and compositional approaches also witness the impacts of locality, especially on district-level elections. Electoral infrastructure and media framing also affect the voters' perception for making the voting decisions as just like other demographical factors, geographical is also a strong mechanism of voting behavior and perceptions.
(Sandler, 2017)	Case study, Qualitative Analysis	Voters' decision-making based on their geographical location helps them to determine suitable political candidates during elections. They trust more on the individuals having the same locality and find them more suitable to understand materialize their demands than the candidates from other different localities.
(Nb, 2017)	Cross-sectional design, Survey Method, <i>n</i> = 400 respondents	Besides age, geographical factors also influence the youth's voting decisions and engagement. This provides a strong background for future studies that

focus more on geographical factors and voting decisions in different world regions.

(Giebler & Regel, 2018)	Case study, Survey Method, $n= 402$ German districts	All the voters in the $n= 402$ districts revealed that the candidates shared the same state which further boosted their confidence to elect AFD as the most trustworthy and suitable political party for them.
(Kovalcsik & Nzimande, 2019).	Research Perspective	Geographical locations are the strong determinants of voting decisions that further anticipate the results of the electoral process in general. The development paradigms of electoral geography also validate the notion of geographical factors as an influential component of voting decisions.

According to Sandler, (2017), candidates' geographical factors are the structural components affecting the voters' decision-making process. Demographical factors also work as strong emotional elements creating a sense of belonging among the candidates. To further validate this, the researchers examined the influence of candidates' locality on voters' decision-making process. The researchers adopted the case-study method and gathered qualitative data from the University of Connecticut, United States students. Findings showed that the Voters' decision-making based on their geographical location helps them determine suitable political candidates during elections. They trust the individuals in the same locality and find them more suitable to understand materialize their demands than the candidates from other localities.

Another study to investigate the impacts of age and geographical areas on voting decisions among the Malaysian public was conducted by (Nb, 2017). The researcher adopted a cross-sectional study design and selected a sample of $n= 400$ individuals from both rural and urban areas of Malaysian territory. Results revealed that Malaysian youth

expressed a stronger intention towards voting in upcoming elections than in previous elections.

Moreover, participants from rural areas showed more trust and enthusiasm to vote for their local candidates than the respondents from urban areas. The researchers concluded that, besides age, geographical factors also influence the youth's voting decisions and engagement. This provides a strong background for future studies focusing on geographical factors and voting decisions in different world regions.

Here Giebler & Regel, (2018) cited an example of 2014's German elections where people mostly voted for candidates having the same geographical locality as the voters had. The researcher investigated the role of geographical factors as a determinant of voting choice among the public to validate this. The researchers used the case study method and selected the individuals who voted for Alternative for Germany (AFD), a popular German political party. Findings of the survey indicated that geographical context was among the most powerful socio-demographical variables that contributed to the success of AFD as the right-wing populist political party. All the voters in the $n= 402$ districts revealed that the candidates shared the same state, which further boosted their confidence to elect AFD as the most trustworthy and suitable political party for them.

The influence of geographical factors intensifies the phenomenon addressing the voters' engagement and their voting decisions. Geographical locations are the strong determinants of voting decisions that further anticipate the results of the electoral process in general. The development paradigms of electoral geography also validate the notion of geographical factors as influential components of voting decisions (Kovalcsik & Nzimande, 2019). Recently Jump and Michell (2020) also examined the potential link

between geographical deprivations and Brexit in Great Britain. The researchers used the case study method and utilized qualitative interviews for data gathering purposes. Findings revealed a strong significant relationship between geographical deprivation, voting decision, and the candidate's locality. In other words, the voters decided to vote in a referendum based on their experiences and attribution of the candidate with the same geographical location.

Chapter Summary:

The current chapter cited and discussed the most relevant studies addressing media and politics during the elections and in general and context. We highlighted literature regarding media and political communication, framing, and impacts of demographical factors, including age, gender, education, and geographical affiliation, on voters' voting decisions across the world.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework

In this section of the study, I will explain the theoretical support for the current investigation. The theoretical framework defines the path research will follow. The theoretical framework's basic principle is to gain research findings accepted by the theoretical concepts in the research field and ensure that the obtained conclusions can be generalized. The theoretical framework is the guideline for an inquiry.

Thus, to analyze the media framing during elections and the impacts of framing on the voter's decisions and their engagements, the researcher employed "**Media Dependency Theory**," "**Political communication theory**," "**Framing Theory**," and "**Agenda Setting Theory**."

3.1 Framing Theory

Generally, the outlining framing approach proposes that how something is introduced to the crowd (called "the framing") impacts individuals' decisions about handling that data. ... frames are reflections that work to arrange or structure message meaning. The framing theory approach is an intellectual inclination that impacts our dynamic when said in various ways. We are affected by how a similar certainty or question is introduced. For instance, take two yogurt pots. One says, "10 percent fat," and another says "90% fat-free". Framing theory is a method of organizing or introducing an issue or an issue. Outlining includes clarifying and portraying the setting of the issue to acquire the most help from your crowd. Your crowd is vital to outlining. The way an issue is presented,

or outlined, ought to mirror the perspectives and convictions of your crowd (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Political promotions give important exercises in outlining. In one promotion, President Obama promotes his work creation record, referring to more than 4 million positions added to the economy since he got to work. In another promotion, Governor Mitt Romney reprimands President Obama's work creation by calling attention to that joblessness is yet floating around 8%, and the economy needs 261,000 positions that were lost during the president's residency. The two advertisements depend on a similar arrangement of realities. In any case, one promotion positively outlines the numbers, while different edges it adversely (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

As a hypothesis of mass correspondence, framing alludes to how the media bundles and presents data to the general population. As indicated by the hypothesis, the media features certain occasions and afterward puts them inside a specific setting to empower or debilitate certain translations. Along these lines, the media practices a specific impact on how individuals see reality. Anthropologist Gregory Bateson is credited with first placing the hypothesis in 1972. Framing is occasionally alluded to as a second-level plan setting because of its nearby connection to Agenda-Setting Theory.

Framing theory works in media generally because of time and asset imperatives on what can be accounted for. Writers should pick which occasions to cover and which to overlook. They should likewise choose which realities, qualities, and points of view will be referenced or given conspicuousness. This implies writers apply their interpretive edges when bundling news. Accepted practices likewise impact columnists, pressure from vested parties, editorial schedules, and their own philosophical or political directions. Therefore,

a few definitions, assessments, and proposals inside news reports are advanced over others (Tversky & Kahneman, 2018). This influences crowds by restricting how they see and decipher occasions. Casings are frameworks of pre-considered thoughts used to sort out and decipher new data. They work as heuristics, or "general guidelines," that permit individuals to handle news rapidly. In brain research, outlines are otherwise called contents or schemata.

Most frames are, for the most part, social in the cause; individuals create them at an early age, according to me. P. Levin et al., (1998) virtually every expression of one's language inspires a casing. For example, "battle" in English invokes pictures of death, blood, gunfire, bombs, blasts, planes, tanks, and positions of walking troopers. In this way, when somebody alludes to "war," these pictures give a common perspective between the speaker and the audience. Indeed, even "correspondence" has an edge. Its components incorporate a courier, a message, a beneficiary, a medium, and a unique circumstance. Regular edges utilized by the media incorporate "battle on fear," "fight with malignancy," and "occupation re-appropriating."

Instead of choosing a casing to handle data when stood up to with news, individuals rather see the world through their edges and make new data fit into them. Data that negates a casing is typically discounted as an exemption for the standard or contorted to fit the edge. Subsequently, individuals are well on the way to seeing data that finds a way into their edges and overlook realities that don't (Chong & Druckman, 2007a).

In this manner, reference socially well-known thoughts and create novel expressions that convincingly connect existing edges. An educator at UC Berkeley, for instance, focuses on the presence of the words "charge alleviation" during. In the edge

evoked by "help," a few thoughts exist wrongdoing or mishap that has happened to deliver enduring, a culprit of the wrongdoing, a casualty, a reliever of the torment, and the strategy for alleviation. By utilizing this edge related to charges, charges become related to wrongdoing or the reason for anguish. Subsequently, the individuals who advance "charge help" are viewed as legends or anguish relievers. The individuals who call for expanded tax collection, anyway fundamental it could be, are crooks (Morris et al., 2012).

The most important thing in the framing approach that makes this approach so incredible is how effectively it is evoked and built up. To reference the "war" frames, one needs to specify a thought contained inside that outline, for example, "tanks." Negating an edge, for example, expressing, "There's nothing of the sort as war"— builds up that outline by calling up the pictures related to it. The best way to battle an edge is to reevaluate an issue in another, all the more remarkable way (Vreese, 2005).

Framing influences the crowd startlingly. Besides confining the data by which individuals judge occasions, outlining can propel individuals to settle on more hazardous choices than they in any case would. Scientists have discovered that when issues are communicated adversely, to suggest a misfortune, individuals will generally pick the most hazardous choice for taking care of the issue. Issues outlined decidedly bring about more secure choices (Vansteenkiste et al., 2006).

Framing can likewise make crowds avoid obligation regarding taking care of social and political issues from chosen pioneers. In his outlining investigations, interchanges teacher Shanto Iyengar recognized two sorts of media news inclusion: rambling and topical. Wordy inclusion regards issues as individual occasions, while topical inclusion joins occasions together in a contextual investigation design (Borah, 2011). When crowds

are presented with wordy news outlines, they neglect to make legitimate associations between the covered issues—like wrongdoing and poverty—and chose pioneers or real monetary factors. Iyengar found that when giving an account of neediness specifically, the media is more than twice as prone to outline the issue verbosely than specifically. Accordingly, crowds place duty regarding neediness on poor people and wonder whether to help the government take care of the issue.

Framing theory was firstly presented in Lippman's book entitled *Public Opinion* in 1922. Etienne, (2011) stated that framing theory is mixed theoretical and empirical imprecision. Walter Lippman firstly gives the idea of public attitude and media effect. Media affects public attitude toward events and issues and gives a basic concept of framing and framework (Entman, 2007).

According to D'Angelo (2002), dual framing technique steps are given as under One is an intermittent frame, and the other is the thematic frame. The intermittent frame is related to a short report of an event, and the thematic frame is a detailed report of an issue. The two most appropriate, however often conflated faculties of the term, are substance inclination and basic leadership inclination. Substance inclination refers to reliably inclined encircling of interceded correspondence that advances the accomplishment of an intrigue, gathering, or philosophy in rivalries to control government control. To build up the presence of substance predispositions, we would need to show examples of inclination that routinely (and maybe without a group of people's conscious awareness) advance help for certain interests or on-screen characters who look for power – and objection to their adversaries.

To agreement with regular (if under-estimated) use of the term, researchers should utilize the term journalistic prejudice just when research exhibits that inclination holds after some time and infests the most persuasive news sources. Under this definition, the one-sided substance helps such elements as ideological groups or intrigue bunches in reliably inducing individuals to acknowledge translations accommodating to the favored on-screen character for some noteworthy period.

The subsequent basic application of the term predisposition concerns basic leadership: the impact of writers' conviction frameworks on the writings they produce. Fault finders propose that journalists and editors at the significant media enable their belief systems to control their news choices. Journalists themselves will, in general, deny such inclination (unconvincingly, as uncovered by surveys referred to prior). However, every person who thinks, each association that procedures data, must utilize easy route choice standards. Call them heuristics instead of predispositions, yet regardless, they help frame the data tide' (DeRosa et al., 2004). The media's basic leadership dispositions control data handling by individual journalists and, shown as implicit standards and schedules, by news associations. The main problem is how much an individual belief system commands a different heuristic. Numerous spectators accept that individual columnists' belief systems clarify most occasions of inclined encircling.

3.1.1 Introduction to Framing Theory

The idea of framing is identified with the plan setting custom. However, extends the exploration by zeroing in on the quintessence of the current issues instead of on a specific point. The premise of the framing hypothesis is that the media centers

consideration around specific occasions and afterward puts them inside a field of significance (Leitch, 2018).

Framing is a significant theme since it can have a major impact, and hence the idea of outlining extended to the association. In quintessence, the outlining hypothesis recommends that how something is introduced to the crowd impacts individuals' decisions about how to deal with that data (Druckman, 2001).

Casings are reflections that work to arrange or structure message meaning. The most widely recognized utilization of edges is the edge the news or media place on the data they pass on. They are thought to impact the impression of the news by the crowd; in this way, it very well may be interpreted as a type of second-level plan setting – they not just mention to the crowd what to think about (plan setting hypothesis), yet additionally how to consider that issue (second level plan setting, outlining hypothesis). The hypothesis was first advanced by Goffman, under Frame Analysis (Arowolo, 2017). He set forth that individuals decipher what is happening around their reality through their essential structure. This system is viewed, however, essential as it very well might be underestimated by the client. Its handiness as a structure doesn't rely upon different systems.

According to Bloombaum and Goffman (1962), there are two differentiations inside essential structures: normal + social. Both assume the part of assisting people with interpreting information so that their encounters can be perceived in a more extensive social setting. The contrast between the two is practical.

Natural systems distinguish occasions as actual events taking regular statements in a real sense and not ascribing any friendly powers to the causation of occasions. Social structures see occasions as socially determined events because of the impulses, objectives,

and centering other social players (individuals). Social structures are based on regular systems. These systems and the casings that they make in our correspondence significantly impact how information is deciphered, prepared, and imparted. The basic supposition will be that people can help clients of these structures on an everyday premise (Buchbinder, 2008).

3.1.2 Core Assumptions of Framing Theory

The accompanying ideas are related to the framing approach:

1. Writers select the points they will introduce and choose how they will be introduced. This decides the issues crowds consider and how they consider them.
2. Crowds decipher data through their casings. Crowds' edges may cover or negate the media's edges.
3. Casings are supported each time they are evoked, regardless of whether decidedly or contrarily.
4. Casing building is a precise interaction that happens after some time (Tversky & Kahneman, 2019).

The main fundamental supposition drawn from the outlining media proposition is that the broad communications draw out the significant public consideration, which is sure to primary themes, and it likewise chooses whether the crowd has perceived the message or not. It offers individuals to consider something vital and will, in general, even convince them. (Stuart & Blanton, 2003)

The senior columnists pick the points on which media outlining must be finished. Media outlining is about how a news occasion is introduced to the crowd. It could be a story, enticing, going up against, or even opinionated. By the day's end, outlining impacts,

the significant view of the information on the crowd, this type of plan setting determines what to think about and how to consider the big picture (Tversky & Kahneman, 2019). To counter any questions that have surfaced in this subject of media outlining, kindly summon us right. We will give broad assistance in getting all the questions cleared and furnish notes and study materials to get a decent handle regarding the matter themes. It will help in making familiarity with the subject for the understudies. Reach to us, and we are continually making a difference (Morris et al., 2012).

The framing approach is essentially an idea in the media business that investigates the implying that the activity, the technique, and the way toward building out or molding a story or a worldly character and of incredible interest. Outlining is fundamentally begun from the work outline, which has numerous definitions and translations in sentence development (Leitch, 2018).

Yet, the most unmistakable definition is to share, to guide one's forces, activities, and considerations in a specific way or a specific reason. In the field of correspondence, this sort of driving an individual's contemplations towards a particular design is destitute. In the language of media and correspondence, the outlining cycle chooses and features a portion of the significant aspects of something that happened as of late or was a vital occasion. There are additionally some issues which are attempted and made associations among them. This is fundamentally done to decipher the primary issue, which is doing adjusts. As such, the media outlining are an absolute arrangement of ideas and speculations with contrasting points of view and understanding. Its vitality is subject to how gatherings, people, and social orders see; sort out as impart about the truth occurring. Outlining is

essentially the interaction of social development of an occasion or a wonder which holds a vital speed in the heart and brains of individuals or is going to (Morris et al., 2012).

This social development is finished by the stages of broad communication or, in some cases, by the society just as the political developments. The political pioneers and the associations which uphold or are in the reason for this marvel will likewise approach. The interaction of media outlining is a truly unavoidable cycle that is changed by the chosen impacts, which will be run over the view of the people (Arowolo, 2017). Outlining in mass correspondence is being concentrated as both negative power and positive power. It exclusively relies upon its crowds and what sort of data and subtleties are being introduced by the media and in what way. If the crowd can't comprehend the methods for data, it will be of no utilization. Likewise, some proportionality outlines are perceived and addressed sensibly with different variables that take after the other comparable options to determine what this hypothesis says, why it is identified with the brain (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

3.1.3 Strengths and Weakness of Framing Theory

According to Levin et al. (1998) Media framing is utilized to address the correspondence angle which prompts individuals' inclination by consenting one significance to another. Outlining invigorates the dynamic interaction by featuring specific angles by killing the others. In print media headlines of news stories put a strong impact on readers' opinions.

The various highlights of the inclusion of information can lead to an assortment of outcomes and impacts for people, gatherings, and social order (De Vreese, 2005). One of the essential information elements is to build residents' information and mindfulness about an assortment of issues and occasions. To be sure, often going to the news will, in general,

have a positive relationship with learning, the consciousness of, and information about up-and-comers (during decisions) and issues (Farooq & Ali, 2018).

The permeability of issues in the news and the various subjects of the news plan is imperative to comprehend the public plan and the degree to which the news plan influences the arrangement of themes thought about significant by others, known as "plan setting" (Takeshita, 1997).

The overall thoughtfulness regarding explicit subjects in the news is additionally essential to comprehend political assessments. Preparing hypothesis recommends that when most residents decide about governmental issues, they "satisfice" and think about various later or promptly accessible things. They, in this way, depending on data that is handily inferred. Undoubtedly, news media and the inclusion of legislative issues may promptly bring an assortment of themes and assessments to mind. These may be considered especially significant for making political assessments, including assessments of political pioneers and up-and-comers. As examined beforehand, the outlining of governmental issues likewise has significant ramifications for how residents comprehend and consider issues. The essential news outline, for instance, can add to a somewhat skeptical view of legislative issues.

In contrast, the contention outline, for instance, can cause individuals to connect more in a point (Tversky & Kahneman, 2018). For sure, news inclusion of legislative issues can likewise assemble residents to vote in decisions (and sometimes to decline). Under certain conditions, news can likewise influence, for instance, vote decisions (Mccombs & Shaw, 1972).

Some see the impacts of the news inclusion of legislative issues as harmful to vote-based cycles. However, in many occurrences, there is a positive connection between news openness and regard for governmental issues, from one viewpoint, and mindfulness and commitment in governmental issues on the other. Notwithstanding, this relationship doesn't generally exist in comparable manners for various residents, and a few people may not profit from these cycles if they decide to specifically dodge political news in their media utilization (Locke & Latham, 2006).

There are various strengths and weaknesses of the framing approach. According to van Hulst and Yanow, (2016), there are various positive aspects of the framing approach.

1. Spotlights consideration on people in the mass correspondence process
2. Miniature level hypothesis, however, is effectively pertinent to full-scale level impacts issues
3. It is exceptionally adaptable and open-ended
4. It is steady with ongoing discoveries in intellectual psychology
5. Is profoundly adaptable and open-ended (needs specificity)
6. Can't address presence or nonappearance of impacts
7. Blocks causal clarifications due to subjective examination strategies
8. Expects people to make successive outlining mistakes; questions people's capacities (Fortune & White, 2006).

3.1.4 Framing Theory and Politics

Mass media have played an important role in political communication since quite a while ago utilized outlining as a strategy to attempt to impact the feelings and political choices. News media Frames catch a pith of a policy-driven issue or discussion, normally

the embodiment that best promotes a communicator's political objectives. Media frames have likewise gotten a lot of consideration by researchers; surely, framing writing is immense. In political dynamics, one valuable qualification is between two kinds of frames: accentuation edges and equality framing (Slothuus & De Vreese, 2010).

Prominence frames stress the issue by featuring certainly applicable highlights of the issue and neglecting other stories. Normal and equality frames present issues and events in sameness. The historical backdrop of the framing approach in political correspondence is firmly connected to conceptualizations of what media impacts address inside the sociologies. For the only remaining century or thereabouts, the academic origination of exactly how much impact the media apply on society and people has been swaying between thoughts of insignificant, maximal, and separated impacts (Crenshaw, 2016).

Today, most researchers hypothesize sizeable media impacts yet leave from the possibility of a functioning crowd that weighs media messages against surviving convictions or qualities and afterward, some of the time incorporates them. This alleged separated media impact worldview requires the utilization of fine-grained hypothetical ways to examine media impacts, which is truly what offered to ascend to "outlining," an idea that began in brain research and social science. Since the 1980s, outlining has been adjusted by correspondence researchers, and both the sociological and the mental inceptions of the idea were incorporated with surviving information in media impacts research. The accompanying references incorporate unique writings from brain science and humanism and a couple of cases in which this unique work has straightforwardly motivated discussions inside outlining research in political correspondence. It additionally assists with realizing that outlining impacts research is yet separated into researchers constructing

their work dependent on either a mental or sociological comprehension of what edges are (Nash & Bell, 2007).

3.1.5 Framing during Elections

The media assumes an essential part in political races by making a fundamental connection between ideological groups, up-and-comers, and residents, because of their inclusion, such a lot of that it has been proposed that this inclusion is money or an apparatus with which popular governments work to solidify (Abolafia, 2004).

Through the inclusion given in their reports, the media communicates the automatic proposition, just as the various places of the competitors on significant issues—critical data for residents who will at last settle on their choices dependent on that inclusion (Allan & Hadden, 2017). Hence, the enlightening treatment or outlining that media will present to the issues of the mission will be definitive.

All in all, outlining alludes to how the proposition, conversations, and methodologies of the mission are introduced in the information, accentuating or barring potential methodologies about the current reality. Studies on political race inclusion have discovered that the media will generally underline the utilization of two news outlines customarily connected to governmental issues. Normally, the mission centers around an essential game edge, which will, in general, present legislative issues and the discretionary interaction itself as a procedure game and distinctive political strategies created by applicants, ideological groups, or rulers to improve their odds of a win. Notwithstanding, despite this inclusion, reports can likewise introduce a topical or issue-focused methodology with the utilization of an issue outline, which will, in general, accentuate the

discussion about issues and data proposition identified with the entertainers that make them (Pierce et al., 2011).

While a significant number of the investigations on outlining political races have zeroed in on these two nonexclusive news outlines, it is regular for media to utilize different casings in their political race inclusion, for example, the contention outline approach, which certain creators have seen as consubstantial to governmental issues. A struggling system is a generalist news outline; it tends to be utilized in any report to accentuate the difference between the various entertainers associated with governmental issues (Nash & Bell, 2007).

Remembering this drives us to connect struggle with cynicism. At the same time, different creators have proposed that the contention edge ought to be imagined more as a possibility for political discussion, where sentiments are stood up to by battling for agreement, responsibility, or participation (Wedeking, 2010). As indicated by this reality, which is available in the current writing, this investigation expects to break down the outlining done by the media during the political race, utilizing as reference the four previously mentioned outlines—that is, if the mission is outlined as far as:

1. vital game of election
2. matter.
3. clash or
4. deliberation or political understanding.

This study also expects to decide if the principle conventional media mediating in the plan setting during the mission, like Television and the press, have comparable or various examples of information outline use throughout the phases of the appointive cycle.

For this reason, the examination worked with information accumulated from the gubernatorial political race in Nuevo León, Mexico, which occurred between March and June of 2015. Two principal factors featured this political decision: the significant pretended by the media, especially by informal communities, for the applicants.

Lee (2009) stated that and, without precedent for a Mexican political race, genuine alternatives of accomplishment for free applications. In the two cases, Jaime, the inevitable champ of the political race, assumed an urgent part. As well as being the primary autonomous possibility to be chosen Governor, he denoted the cycle's future by setting up a mission system zeroed in predominantly on the utilization of online media and informal communities. According to Groshek & Al-Rawi, (2013), using "feeling advertising" and exceptionally high connection levels across interpersonal organizations. Then again, conventional media assumed a significant part, albeit a more noteworthy inclusion centered around fortifying customary gathering competitors' picture.

3.2 Media System Dependency Theory:

Socialization is among the basic needs as every human being requires to be socialized to fulfill his needs for entertainment, information, and communication. Along with many other changing trends, there came across several ways to socialize, but the main two mediums of socialization are; **family and school** and **mass media**. Family and school are the primary sources of socialization, and mass media is the secondary source. Political socialization is when people need to be aware of political activities and then form and shape their political behavior and attitudes according.

Media dependency, or a media system dependency theory, was originated by Sandra Ball Rokeach and Melvin DeFluer in 1976. This theory focuses on the relationship

between media usage and an individual's needs. A person depends more on mass media if he wants to fulfill his basic psychological and social needs. The more the person will be dependent on media to fulfill his needs, the more media will become important for him.

Media System Dependency Theory originated after the thoughtful process by its inventors as it was fundamental to have a theory that can cover the effects of mass media on the large-scale audience. However, the theory should be generic.

DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach suggested that most media effects are determined under lab circumstances or through limited surveys, which usually resulted in media having little influence on its audience. These results do not depict the mass media's effects on society (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976). At the same time, many scholars believe that mass media will have a very important influence in the future, altering audiences' lives. DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach proposed that mass media will cause drastic changes, and those changes will not be directly measurable. Thus, researchers realized that there is a need to invent a theory that could measure those drastic changes that will also revolutionize the role of media in societies (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976).

Davis (2020) has noted that the media dependency theory claims that the more an individual depends on media, the more significant media's role will be in the individual's life. Consequently, the more influential media will become. Media dependency theory suggests that media effects cannot be understood only by focusing on individuals or the media's intrinsic characteristics. All the micro and macro-level aspects should be considered.

Media dependency theory considers the audience as active members of the society that play their part in the communication process. Media Dependency Theory can also be

called a follow-up the theory of "**uses and gratification theory.**" Media dependency theory shows a relationship between media, its audience, and society. Media dependency theory assumes that learning does not occur solely through personal experiences. Still, learning also occurs through the media as humans rely on media for their basic needs and information (Hindman, 2004).

Core propositions assume that the media dependency theory formed its position and is characterized by the information system. The notion of this theory has its foundation in the ecological approach that has focused on the relationship of the small, medium, and large structures and their components. The second core proposition of this theory is that media power is conditioned with the interdependence of individuals, media, and the social system. The third proposition of media dependency theory is that the media system's impact in society enhances with the growth in obscurity and uncertainty (Cho, 2009).

3.2.1 Primary Assumptions of Media Dependency Theory:

Sandra Ball Rokeach and Melvin DeFluer purposed that media dependency has a direct relationship with impacts of media. The efficiency of the medium that it can satisfy the needs of its audience? A person or a society will be highly dependent on media only if the media successfully fulfills their needs. If media cannot make up for their needs, the individuals or the society will quit relying on media for their needs fulfilments (Syallow, 2012).

Media dependency increases at the time of social change. **For instance**, during elections, people change their minds and choose any political candidate. That is the time when people need media to avail themselves right information for choosing a candidate.

At that time, media dependency goes to its peak. After all the election results, media dependency tends to decrease.

As an active part of communication, the audience always has a choice to choose the type of media according to their needs and social, political, economic, and cultural factors. If an individual has more choices among the types of media, he will become less dependent on media. For example, with the invention of new media types (social media or electronic media), a few people would like to listen to the radio to fulfill their needs.

The psychological condition of the individuals also determines the media dependency. Media knows how to target their audience and how to use this power to influence their target audience.

3.2.2 Weaknesses and Strengths:

Media dependency theory proposed that the more a person uses media, the more he becomes more dependent on media, and consequently, media have more influence over him. However, media dependency theory also contains some weaknesses and strengths, which are as follows:

3.2.3 Strengths:

Media dependency theory is described in such a well-explained manner that anyone could easily understand it. Media dependency theory involves two subtypes; microscopic theories and macroscopic theories. Microscopic theories focus on: how individuals and social groups use media and how they create or transform their culture to sustain everyday life. While macroscopic theories focus on: how the dominant personalities of the society use their economic power to control and proliferate culture to maintain their position in the society (Lievrouw, 2009).

Media dependency theory purposed that media effects on the audience can lead to effects on the social system, and sometimes it may lead to effects on other media systems.

Media dependency theory explains the role of media in every situation, such as political, social change, and others. This theory states that media bring some changes or effects that could be more or less. The intensity of these effects depends on the circumstances in which they are drawn (Entman, 2007c).

Weaknesses:

Media dependency theory proposed that individuals are dependent on media for their needs. But the dependency cannot be measured, as every individual has different needs.

It is almost impossible to measure media addiction. There are currently three types of media; print, electronic, and online media. It isn't easy to measure how much a person consumes in any media in a day.

Media dependency theory did not explain long terms effects on its audience. This theory focuses on how media influence its audience during elections or any other social change. Still, it is not explained that how long those effects will remain on the individuals.

3.2.4 Print Media in Pakistan:

Media of Pakistan faced an evaluation in the past 10-15 years. Private media came into existence in 2002. Overall, Pakistani media is enjoying its freedom. However, there is still some political pressure on the various media segments, and there are security threats if anyone wants to address specific issues. Also, there has seen a lack of ethics in journalism that restricts media from playing its part at the fullest (Michaelsen, 2011).

Newspapers:

The printed press (newspapers or magazines) has a diverse nature in Pakistan, and it is the oldest source of information among society. According to some official records, 952 publications with 360 daily publications in 2010, but not more than a dozen newspapers could be found in news stalls. According to a figure, there is a 6 million circulation of newspapers in Pakistan (*Asian Media*, 2009). Print media is divided into two languages; English and Urdu. English print media have a restricted circulation target most of the upper class. Hence it influences opinion leaders and political circles. Whereas Urdu print media have access to a broader audience, it influences the public in general.

Along with Urdu and English media, there are many other languages of newspapers in Pakistan. One of the prominent is the Sindhi language. A low literacy rate is the biggest challenge in the readership of newspapers in Pakistan. Also, print media face gender discrimination. In a rural area, it has been reported that only 5% of females read the newspaper once a week (Sanz de Acedo Lizárraga, 2007).

3.2.5 Media Dependency for general purposes:

In modern societies, media is the most important tool of news and information. Although individuals also have other sources of information, still media is the major source of information through which people can gather information. Even during elections, when the counting of votes is in process, everyone relies on media for the results, as they have no other choice (Luhmann, 2000).

There was a time when Television was considered a luxury item, and few people owned this. But with changing trends, TV has become a necessity. Individuals rely on Television for entertainment and information. With spreading information and

entertainment, TV has a great impact on its audience. PEMRA (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority) was surveyed in 2004 to investigate the most famous TV shows and channels among individuals and explore the impact. The survey resulted that cable television has increased television viewership uptown 13.2% compared. It has also resulted that current affairs programs have 34% viewership, entertainment shows have a viewership of 52%, and 18% of the respondents think that Television is spreading immorality through its programs.

Later, Gallup (2014) conducted a survey in June 2014 to investigate the media usage in Pakistan. The survey findings resulted that 18.1% of the respondents showed interest in current national events. In comparison, 47.7% of the respondents follow current events as a whole, 30.0% of those respondents having an intermediate level of education or more responses, that they follow current events a lot. According to the survey, Pakistani media gives a lot of coverage to religious content. 78.4% of the adult respondents agreed that they watch religious content on TV, 67.6% of the respondents show their interest in domestic politics, 64.4% of the respondents are interested in health and health care issues, 60.7% of the respondents show their interest in educational issues, and 59.8% of the respondents show their interest in human rights issues.

Similarly, during elections, dependency on media increases, and thus media gives more political coverage. The media's political coverage is very important for the nourishment of democracy in society. More exposure to political information through media increases political uncertainty leading to political discourse among people. As a result, more people tend to vote during elections (Benoit et al., 2011).

3.2.6 Media dependency for Political Purposes:

People depend on media for information and to satisfy their social and political needs. People experience the things media cover. Media coverage plays an important role in shaping the decision-making and attitudes of individuals (Chang, 2009). The more people know political content, the more it will influence their political decisions. Political candidates fighting and arguing over media allows individuals to assess their personality and to know about their ethics (Ball-Rokeach & DeFleur, 1976).

Citizens attain information about the society, politics, education, etc., through media. The indirect effect of newspaper reading promotes the public's political participation (Adegbola & Gearhart, 2019). The indirect effect of newspaper reading is a piece of increased political knowledge. Newspaper reading is directly linked with voting decisions and acquiring political knowledge. It is a fact that along with the declined newspaper readership, political information among the audience is also declined (T.-T. Lee & Wei, 2008). Many research studies also witnessed that newspaper reading mainly involves political information gathering compared to news consumption through Television or radio (Hardy & Scheufele, 2005). As noted by Benoit et al., (2011), people are more likely to prefer newspapers as they are the direct source of political information.

In this context, political advertising is another prominent component of political agenda-setting and framing purposes. These advertisements are very important to influence the target audience, especially "youth." Youth readily accept change, and they are more vulnerable to get influenced as they usually do not have a mature political opinion compared to the elder people (Eveland & Scheufele, 2000).

Political content and timeliness are the two important factors that can play their part in evoking political awareness in a reader's mind. For example, in the 2004 elections of the United States, targeting youngsters showed favorable results (Lecheler, 2012). People trust newspapers as compared to the other sources of information as they consider newspapers to have credibly sourced information and that it is more easily accessible to them (McLean, 1989). Likewise, in Pakistan, political parties spend higher revenue on print advertising during elections targeting youth as in 2013, 35% of voters were aged between 18-30, and 58% were 18-40. The use of newspapers during the 2013 elections was higher than the 2008 elections in Pakistan (S. Hussain et al., 2018).

3.2.7 Media System Dependency Theory in the Political Context:

According to Ognyanova and Ball-Rokeach, (2015), Media System Dependency was created during the 1970s in light of weak effects models of mass correspondence. Media System Dependency proposes that the psychological, conduct, and emotional outcomes of media use are heaps of the two people and their social climate (S. J. Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976). This approach is grounded in old-style sociological writing, placing that media and their crowds should be concentrated on bigger social frameworks. Individual mental credits and media content properties are viewed as significant yet not adequate to completely clarify the nature and cause of media impacts on political information during elections (Ball-Rokeach & Defleur, 1976).

Taking a biological viewpoint, Media System Dependency decides to explain power relations among different social substances. The hypothesis centers around reliance: a relationship where "the achievement of objectives by one gathering is dependent upon the assets of another gathering" (Ognyanova & Ball-Rokeach, 2015)

The media impact is viewed as gotten from the ownership of scant data assets: the limit regarding data gathering/making, preparing, and dispersal. The force structures concentrated by Media System Dependency work at different degrees of examination. The media framework has two-way asset reliance relations with people (miniature level), gatherings and associations (Meso level), and other social frameworks (full-scale level). As per Kim (2020) the weightiest full-scale media reliance connections in current industrialist social orders are those with the financial and political frameworks. These relations are viewed as moderately symmetric as every one of the three frameworks depends on the other two for its endurance.

The political framework, for example, relies upon media to build up friendly qualities and standards, uphold the upkeep of requests and help activate residents. Media, then again, depend on political foundations for legitimation, legal and authoritative insurance, just as a consistent stockpile of significant story material. A significant part of the Media System Dependency writing investigates the indicators and outcomes of miniature level relations (Sandra Ball - Rokeach dan Melvin Defleur, 2017).

As talked about over, the force of individual media conditions is impacted by large-scale factors. It is also influenced by the public's primary dependability and the degrees of vulnerability experienced by crowded individuals. As the intricacy of exploring a social climate increments, media expect a more extensive assortment of significant capacities. MSD mulls over singular contrasts in the segment and mental qualities to the degree they decide individual objectives, seen the utility of assets, and admittance to data (Ball-Rokeach, 2010). The hypothesis gives a theoretical typology of reliance measurements dependent on the idea of objectives achieved by people through media use. Under that

grouping, significant data objectives incorporate arrangement one's social climate, direction with a view to important and successful activity, single and social types of taking care of business (Chiu & Huang, 2015).

Reliance on media for those reasons has been appeared to anticipate an assortment of perspectives and practices, including specific openness paper readership item buys interest in open thought (Hilde & Kellner, 1996), political discernments, and casting a ballot choice (Agarwal & Lenka, 2016).

Looking at the job of online media, Media System Dependency takes a place that shows up nearer to social constructivism than to mechanical determinism. Advanced stages are viewed as essentially working inside the set up large-scale structure of interrelated social frameworks. Indeed, even on the Internet, people are positioned in topsy-turvy reliance relations that advantage makers over purchasers. Simultaneously the hypothesis considers the political campaigns on the media chance that individuals who have the essential assets may expect the part of substance makers. With the presentation of new correspondence advancements, miniature Media System Dependency relations are getting more assorted as crowds engage in creating and spreading data (Jung, 2017).

Media dependency cycle of reconsidering reliance structures, notwithstanding, old-guard media have to prevail regarding holding quite a bit of their conventional impact. Political viability is quite possibly the most significant and very much considered indicator of popularity-based investment. First presented during the 1950s, first introduced by Campbell and partners, it is characterized as the conviction that one's activities can impact political cycles, making municipal cooperation advantageous (Senge, 2013).

Exploration of political mentalities and conduct has since affirmed the connection between viability and political commitment. Further examinations propose that political viability comprises two interrelated parts. Interior viability portrays the conviction that one can comprehend political life and partake successfully inside that system. At the same time, outside adequacy indicates the insight that political entertainers and establishments are probably going to be receptive to resident requests (Lyu, 2012).

Outer adequacy is identified with the idea of political trust. Residents who trust their administration are additionally bound to imagine that they can impact its choices. The examination has set up that media use when all is said is done, and news utilization specifically is related to expanded viability.

During the last decade, the only remaining century, researchers additionally started examining the effect of media use and online news openness on political activities and perspectives. While positive affiliations were frequently conjectured, results have been a long way from indisputable.

Previous studies show that announced sizeable constructive outcomes of Internet access on commitment. Others discovered little or no impacts (Morton & Duck, 2000). One clarification for these disparities is that the normally utilized openness measures were not nuanced enough to fill in as a decent indicator of political cooperation.

Studies taking a gander at political viability have been comparably conflicting in their political system worth on media discoveries.

One of the early works examining this, Chadwick (2017), found that online crowds will generally score high on viability measures, having a more prominent trust in their capacity to impact the political cycle contrasted with the overall population. Madikiza and

Bornman, (2007) further recommended that consideration regarding mass media can be viewed as an indication of an overall connectedness to the political world. Zhang and Zhong (2020) estimated that the mass media could bring down obstructions to political cooperation and increment viability by furnishing a simple method to speak with extremist gatherings and choose authorities. In light of an overview of United states undergrads, he inferred that data-related media use and online political correspondence were indicators of the interior, however not outside viability.

Utilizing information from the 2000 National Annenberg Election Survey, Cabin (2014) found a positive relationship between Internet access and adequacy. Although genuinely huge, the effect of Internet access they saw was moderately little. Another arrangement of researchers investigating the effect of the Internet on political adequacy announced outcomes that were even less reassuring suggested that consumption of mass media for political knowledge found no impact on amusement employments. The specialists reasoned that the Internet had a restricted job when it came to advancing citizenship. Longitudinal examinations found a restricted or no relationship between viability and online openness to political data (Ho et al., 2015).

According to media system dependency theory, two explicit conditions under which individuals' media needs, and thusly individuals' reliance on media and the potential for media impacts, are elevated. The main state of increased media needs happens when the quantity of media and centrality of media capacities in public is high. For example, there are numerous news sources in modernized nations like the United States, and they serve profoundly concentrated social capacities. In the United States alone, the media go about as a "fourth branch" of government, an alert framework during public crises, and an

apparatus for amusement and break. In contrast, in the immature world, the media are not as various and serve far fewer capacities. In that capacity, the media have a more prominent chance to serve needs and apply impacts in contemporary America than in an underdeveloped nation.

The second state of increased media needs happens when the public is going through friendly change and strife. When there is a war or huge scope of public fights like during Vietnam or the Arab Spring, a public crisis like the militant psychological assaults of September 11, 2001, or a cataclysmic event like Hurricane Katrina, individuals go to media to help comprehend these significant occasions. This way, the media have a more prominent chance to apply impacts during these seasons of social change and struggle (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999).

3.3 Agenda Setting Theory:

The concept of agenda-setting has been with us since the days of the penny press, even with or without naming it (Baren & Stanley, 2010). Walter Lippmann states that mass media has a significant role in making an individual image in the public's mind. (Lippmann, 1922: 9-16). Lippmann pointed out how mass media set a specific schedule that can influence public opinion. Though Lippmann has never called this influence the "Agenda-setting theory."

Later, Martin and Cohen (1964) are generally credited for refining Lippmann's idea into "Agenda Setting Theory." They wrote that the press is considerably more than a transmitter of information and opinion. Writings of Martin and Cohen (1964) laid the foundations of what we called the agenda-setting function of mass media.

One of the essential studies contributing to agenda-setting theory is written by (Mccombs & Shaw, 1972), as both researchers highlighted the capability of mass media to influence voters' opinions in the presidential campaign of 1968 elections. From their investigations, McCombs and Shaw (1972) determined that mass media had a certain percentage of public members who often referred to information provided by mass media. That percentage of members was increased for those who were determined to follow the news on presidential campaigns. Thus, the agenda-setting theory explains the connection between that weightage with a mass media put as an issue and the public's reactions and characteristics on that issue (Littlejohn & Foss, 2012).

According to Scheufele (2000), the basic assumptions of the agenda-setting theory involve two simple beliefs, including (1) the media and press do not mirror reality; they filter and shape reality; (2) when media give importance to some issue, results in the public perceiving those issues of more importance than the other ones. Further research also highlighted how the media paints a specific event for their audiences (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). Here media coverage is considered influencing and shaping the opinion of the public. This effect on public opinion happens deliberately or by coincidence ("Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion," 2014)

3.3.1 Agenda Setting Role of Newspapers in Pakistan:

According to the agenda-setting formula, media intentionally highlights some issues by giving them more coverage making those issues important for the public. It can be said that media and public agendas correlate due to the importance of issues for both. The media set plan for the public to concentrate on specific issues, and the public does

accordingly. As Pakistani newspapers are an important source of information, the press openly transfers political agendas over public agendas (Ahmad et al., 2019).

Print media is an important source of information, especially in developing countries like Pakistan, where the press can easily influence opinion leaders, altering public agendas. Newspapers provide in-depth information and cover different aspects (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). Newspapers are the most accessible and easily available medium of information. They are accessible for everyone and considered a basic tool of socialization. Moreover, newspapers have the authority to create hype about an issue from the placement, length, coverage, and headline of that specific issue.

In this regard, the Print and electronic media of Pakistan have a considerable amount of viewers, listeners, and readers. Despite social media and electronics strongly influencing public opinion, newspapers are still the most reliable and accurate source of information. Print media in Pakistan is largely under private ownership, so it enjoys the freedom of expression at every level. Newspapers also play the role of watchdog over the performance and policies of the government. Likewise, articles, editorials, features, and columns play an important part in forming a public opinion (Lau et al., 2018).

Print media have always been considered the most responsible, objective, and reliable source of information in Pakistan. However, due to increased media ratings, commercialization is a common phenomenon.

Media owners openly support a specific political party. For instance, the front pages of The Daily Dawn and The News gave most of the coverage to PTI during political parties' rallies. It was seen that every newspaper act differently to cover those political parties' rallies. Political parties of Pakistan use media to set their agenda and create political

awareness about state issues in public (Moeller et al., 2014). The Daily Dawn and The News hold a prominent place in elite society and target a certain middle class. These media outlets are using different framing and agenda-setting tactics to build public opinion on specific issues.

The issue of destabilizing the democratic government of President Zardari and taking over of military remained the most excited topic of media, audiences, and politicians in 2012-2013. Newspapers gave exclusive coverage to that issue in their editorials and opinion pages. Besides, Newspaper cartoons are also a tool of agenda-setting to influence public or national interest at certain times (Ahmad et al., 2019).

A study conducted by T. Hussain & Li, (2016) also analyzed the role of newspapers' cartoons in setting agenda by including different themes and melodies. This study mainly focused on the issues such as; political, social, foreign policies, security, etc., being discussed by the leading newspapers of Pakistan in the form of cartoons. Findings revealed a largely focused on political cartoons as Express Tribune published 19.4% political cartoons about foreign policy, 16.4% was about democratic governance, 13.1% was about the economy, 11.5% was about security, 8.7% was about living standard, and 7.9% political cartoons was about corruption. Daily Pakistan published 16.5% of political cartoons about the economy, 10.8% of the political cartoons were about living standards, 6.1% was about security, 8.0% was about corruption, 10.8% was about democratic government, and 7.1% of political cartoons was about foreign policy. Daily Ausaf published 19.7% political cartoons about foreign policy, 12.2% about corruption, 13.0% about democratic government, 3.5% about living standards, 5.5% about the economy, and 8.7% political cartoons was about security. In total, Express Tribune published 77% political cartoons,

Daily Pakistan published 59% political cartoons, and Daily Ausaf published 63% political cartoons. **Figure 3.1** below gives an overview of the political cartoons published in the relevant newspapers:

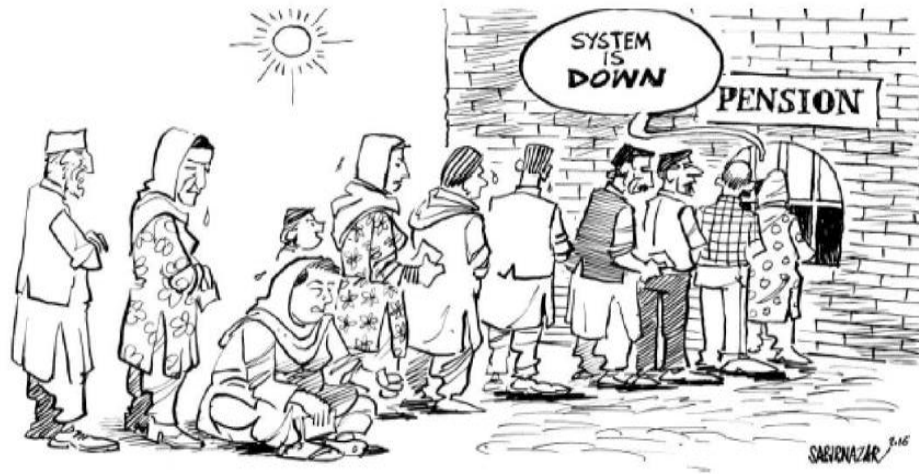


Figure 3.1: Bad governance, Express Tribune, 9 July 2016 (Hussain & Li, 2016)

As visible, the above-given figure exhibits a political cartoon representing a bad democratic governance situation in Pakistan. The cartoon is indicating a public office, in front of which there is a queue of old employees who are there to receive their pensions. The text shows that the system is down, which depicts the poor digital system of the country. A woman is sitting on the ground while crying, which represents the poor service of public offices towards general citizens (Hussain & Li, 2016).



Figure 3.2: Living standard situation, Daily Pakistan, 31 August 2016 (T. Hussain & Li, 2016)

Similarly, **Figure 3.2** above depicts the situation of the roads after rain in Pakistan. As visible, the situation gets worst after the run, but the government never takes notice to solve the issue. Here the public is conveying a message to the government officials to take notice and resolve the issue. The text emphasizes the plight of an engineer about the situation, which represents the poor planning and road construction which caused water to dump on the road (Hussain & Li, 2016).

Furthermore, a study conducted by Qayyoun et al. (2019) witnessed the Dawn news representing war against terror as the most important issue regarding Pakistan's foreign policy. As per the state policy documents, peace coordination ranks top as the most important issue. The war against terror holds the second position, NSG cooperation holds the third position, avoiding seclusion ranked 4th, and reconciliation with the US was not important.

As media affect the presentation of news that further affects the public. News is created and represented under a certain agenda and sequence, representing the relevant news later planned by policymakers and stakeholders (*Agenda Setting Theory*, 2011).

Certain headings in newspapers such as; Breaking News, Good News, Exclusive News, Top News, and Special report are all examples of agenda-setting to attract readers.

The basic concept associated with agenda-setting theory is **gatekeeping**. Gatekeeping is the selection of the news content done by editors. It's an editor's job to look through the sources of news and then decide what to broadcast or publish and what to not. Gatekeeping holds power in it because it decides what should spread in public. As some issues could be important for the media, but they are not important for the public. Gatekeeping also helps maintain a peaceful environment among society and not create conflicts among people (*Gatekeeping Theory / Mass Communication Theory*, 2010).

Another important component of agenda-setting theory is **priming**. Mass media tend to repeat the news about certain issues to get people's attention and make them think that this is the most important issue. The primed news or issue is presented as breaking news or headings and regularly published to get attention (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

Similarly, framing also possesses an important position in the Agenda-Setting Theory as it is the selective control of news or issues. Framing refers to that attachment of people towards certain issues. For example, during Kargil War between India and Pakistan, media platforms from both Pakistan and India framed the news in a way that presented a positive image of their own country and negatively presented the other country. Hence, people's perceptions differed according to their access to media (Cheng, 2014).

3.3.2 Agenda-Setting of Newspapers during Election:

The concept of agenda-setting has been with us since the days of the penny press, even with or without naming it (Baren & Stanley, 2010). Walter Lippmann states that mass media has a significant role in making an individual image in the public's mind. (Lippmann,

1922: 9-16). Lippmann pointed out how mass media set a specific schedule that can influence public opinion. Though Lippmann has never called this influence the "Agenda-setting theory."

Later, Martin & Cohen, (1964) are generally credited for the refinement of Lippmann's idea into the theory called "Agenda Setting Theory. "They wrote that the press is considerably more than a transmitter of information and opinion.

One of the essential studies contributing to agenda-setting theory is written by McCombs and Shaw (1972). Both researchers highlighted the capability of mass media to influence voters' opinions in the presidential campaign of 1968 elections. From their investigations, McCombs & Shaw, (1972) determined that mass media had a certain percentage of public members who often referred to information provided by mass media. That percentage of members was increased for those who were determined to follow the news on presidential campaigns. Thus, the agenda-setting theory explains the connection between that weightage with a mass media put as an issue and the public's reactions and characteristics on that issue (Littlejohn & Foss, 2012).

According to Scheufele (2000), the basic assumptions of the agenda-setting theory involve two simple beliefs, including (1) the media and press do not mirror reality; they filter and shape reality; (2) when media give importance to some issue, it results in the public perceiving those issues of more importance than the other ones. Further research also highlighted how the media paints a specific event for their audiences (Matsaganis & Payne, 2005). Here media coverage is considered influencing and shaping the opinion of the public. This effect on public opinion happens deliberately or by coincidence ("Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion," 2014)

Media's role in agenda setting depends on its type, whether TV, daily newspapers, weekly or monthly magazines, or tabloids. Newspapers give much coverage to the candidates according to their own choices and interests. On the one hand, media possess the power to build an image of a political party. On the other hand, media also have the power to destroy any political party by its coverage. Many minor political parties claimed that they could not perform well during elections because of the negative coverage given by the media (Rudd & Connew, 2007).

Media also dominate the voting choices and behavior of voters along with other social factors. According to Drew & Weaver, (2006), besides media, other factors such as; demographic variables and interpersonal experiences are also important while influencing voting behavior. But somehow, media have an indirect impact on the public's voting behavior, as proved by the high ratio of media usage during elections.

In Pakistani newspapers, agenda-setting is a common phenomenon. Political parties or different associations set their agendas to influence the public. If a person has a direct experience with an issue, then media have a comparatively stronger influence to shape the opinion. For instance, if a person is unemployed for many years and cannot get a job, then the media's agenda towards a high ratio of employment can strongly influence him.

On one end, political parties need media to keep people informed about their reforms and achievements. On the other hand, media also need political parties to keep the audience well informed about their political activities. However, media platforms are responsible for acting as a watchdog to keep an eye on governmental policies and make politicians accountable to the public (Targema & Suntai, 2018b).

Media in Pakistan are also doing their job by making democracy strong, modifying public opinions, and setting agendas over specific issues (Hanan et al., 2016). A study conducted by Toor & Saleem, (2020) also validated that print media supported PML-N that was the leading party during the 2013 general elections. The media settled the agenda for PML-N to win the elections and availed the required results.

With the advancement of technology, political parties use social media and traditional media to attract their voters and avail favorable results. This is supported by the results of a research study (Arif & Hassan, 2020). For example, during General Elections in 2013, print media set the agenda for PML-N and gave the highest editorial coverage to the party, but it helped win the elections. Although PTI also got the highest coverage by the leading newspapers of Pakistan, PML-N won the elections.

Media is a basic platform for gaining information about society and also about political activities. With many other advancements, information usage and consumption patterns through media have also changed. Due to these changing patterns, people are now more relying on media than ever. Today, media platforms are freer and accessible to almost everyone in television, books, magazines, newspapers, and social networking websites. Media becomes a basic need to reach through (Dwivedi & Pandey, 2013). Consequently, news media stakeholders prioritize news and events according to their own choices and represent them for the public to think according to their designated schedule. As the public have only limited access to the events, they rely on media as a primary source of information (Happer & Philo, 2013).

Moreover, media platforms stay active before elections to construct the political discourse, but in developing countries, media must first produce and then spread truth and

unbiased information. In the countries like Pakistan, people are much dependent on mass media, so they have to perform several functions rather than inform. Therefore, indeed Pakistanis rely more on newspapers for news due to their reliability of information and sources. Local media platforms are considered highly accountable for producing and spreading unbiased and truthful information, especially before elections. However, many studies witnessed partiality and political bias by Pakistan's media resources (Jackson, 2011).

3.3.3 Levels of Agenda Setting:

There are two levels of agenda-setting theory:

1. First Level:

Researchers mostly use the first level of agenda-setting theory. They study media uses, their purpose, and their influence on public behavior. Researchers also study people's changes in behavior that could be caused by the influence of any information presented by the media (Cheng, 2014). McCombs (1976) noted that the audience tends to take silence on issues represented and considered important by the mass media. Mediatized importance affirms what is significant, how much importance should be given, and how much the audience would focus on certain media content. Here, this salience is a stronger by-product of journalistic practices and an attribute of the audience's media content. In this regard, focusing more on a single issue, repetition of the same message, and transferring a particular political issue to audience agenda all are among the different stages of agenda-setting (Valenzuela, 2007). However, the first level primarily involves the priming effect of an issue that constitutes "what to see?". In other words, the mediated "importance" of an issue or phenomenon (Ileri et al., 2017)

1. **Second Level:**

Media owners mostly use the second level of agenda-setting theory to focus on how people should think about a certain issue. Media highlights specific issues intentionally to attract people's attention and influence them by injecting thoughts into their minds. Besides, Agenda setting does not only work in news or national interests issues. It also extends to advertising, marketing, public relations, audience behavior, and political communication (Valenzuela, 2007).

Not only do media owners affect media agendas, but others also influence media to set agendas. Gatekeepers, editors, managers, and other influencers also affect the agenda-setting of media. Also, the media's agenda-setting is influenced by the government, other political parties, or some influential personalities, especially during elections (Walgrave et al., 2008). Founders of this theory proposed that media set agenda over the public agenda. In other words, media platforms obligate the interests and demands of political entities and mostly ignore the public interests (Zain, 2009).

3.3.4 Strengths:

According to *Amabilson: Strengths and Weaknesses of the Agenda Setting Theory*, (2016), agenda-setting theory have the following strengths:

- The main strength of this theory is that media help people know about issues that they do not know. Media inform people about general or political activities on a national basis, but media also cover international activities.
- Media personalities (journalists, editors, or reporters) are well experienced and well trained. They know how to do their work, get access to a certain piece of

information, and know-how to manufacture and represent accurate information so that the public can be kept informed.

- Media represent issues that are important for the public. For example, the media tend to inform the public about politicians' financial statements, their association with the party, their previous political experience, etc. This helps the public to evaluate which politician could be fair to them in the future.

3.3.5 Weaknesses:

According to Bajacharya (2018), agenda-setting theory has the following weaknesses:

- Due to new media technologies, people now have many options to inform about the issues, so they do not rely on one medium. Hence it isn't easy to measure the agenda-setting effect of any single medium.
- When this theory was developed, media was reliant on one-way communication, but now, media use a two-way communication process with many other advancements.
- Some people have a fixed mindset, and they don't come under the influence of media.
- Media do not have full authority over information, and media cannot create information. Rather it can only change the priority of information according to the mindset of the public.

3.3.6 Newspaper in Pakistan:

Media set agenda regarding political and social issues, such as women empowerment or women's right in society. Pakistan is a country where a patriarchal mindset is dominant, and women have been struggling for their freedom and rights since

this country's existence. However, in the 1980s Women, Action Forum (WAF) came into existence to stand for women's rights. Especially during President Zia-ul-Haq's regime, women saw the worst oppression in history. To resolve this issue, different movements came forward to support other women. During that time, it was seen that newspapers set an agenda to underrepresent the efforts of women demanding justice (Hassan, 2010). It was also observed that during the first WAF movement in 1983, the media did not cover their rallies and did not publish a single story about the movement. Media platforms were strictly under the control of Zia-ul-Haq, thus could not give coverage to the ongoing issues (Hassan, 2010).

Likewise, recently in 2019, a movement named "Aurat March" was organized by different Non-Governmental Organizations to support women and demand gender equality in Pakistan. In this context, only The Dawn and The Daily News supported the movement and published articles such as; "let me women's plan the aurat march to you," and the two newspapers also published articles about why one should support such movements. Except for these two newspapers, no other platform supported the movement, instead criticized the movement by saying, "women have gone crazy by west" (Lakhani, 2020).

Thus, newspapers are the most important element in setting the public agenda. Newspapers help people focus on some specific issues, and they provide facts and figures so that people can get the required information about their surroundings. Issues like load shedding, traffic situation, health, waste management, etc., hold more importance in everyday life (Idid & Kee, 2012). Furthermore, Pakistani newspapers gave enough coverage to the war on terror in Pakistan. Most of the local newspapers were against the governmental policies about terrorism activities and claimed that America is the real

terrorist because of the drone attacks in Pakistan (Singh, 2002). Research studies also revealed that Pakistani print media does not support American policies towards the war on terror. Still, at the same time, Pakistani newspapers are also against the Taliban's activities in Pakistan (S. Malik & Iqbal, 2009).

3.4 Political Communication Theory

Political communication is a subfield of correspondence and political theory that is worried about what data spreads and means for governmental issues and strategy producers, the news media, and citizens.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) stated that since the appearance of the World Wide Web, the measure of information to break down has detonated, and analysts are moving to computational strategies to consider the elements of political correspondence. As of late, AI, regular language handling, and organization examination have become key instruments in the subfield. It manages the creation, spread, parade, and impacts of data, both through broad communications and relationally, inside a political setting (Cacciatore et al., 2016).

This incorporates the investigation of the media, the examination of addresses by lawmakers and those attempting to impact the political interaction, and formal and casual discussions among individuals from general society, among different angles. The media goes about as an extension of the government and the public. Political correspondence can be characterized as the association concerning legislative issues and residents and the communication modes that interface these gatherings to one another, regardless of whether the relationship is shaped by the methods of influence, Pathos, Ethos, or Logos.

3.4.1 Introduction of Political Communication Theory

Political correspondence is an intelligent interaction concerning data transmission among government officials, the news media, and the general population. The cycle moves from administering organizations toward residents, evenly linkages among political entertainers, and upward from popular assessment toward specialists (Jarvis & Barroquillo, 2019). Political correspondence has consistently been key to the constituent and policymaking measure. Yet, since the mid-1990s, certain significant advancements have, in a general sense, changed this interaction, especially postbellum patterns in the broad communications moving from the conventional universe of papers radio and TV broadcasting toward the Internet. This article traces elective understandings of the idea of these patterns and ponders their ramifications for the interaction of financial and political improvement around the planet (McNair, 2019).

The investigation and practice of correspondence centers around the available articulation resources of a political sort (Wasburn et al., 1986). Two significant supporters of the field, in *Political Communication in America*, describe it as the ways and aims of message senders to impact the world of politics. This incorporates public conversation (for example, political discourses, news media inclusion, and standard residents' discussion) that think about who has the power to authorize, the allotment of public assets, who has a position to settle on a choice, just as friendly significance like what makes somebody American.

In their words, "the critical factor that makes correspondence 'political' isn't the wellspring of a message, however, its substance and reason." likewise key individuals from this sub-discipline characterize political correspondence as "the essential utilization of

correspondence to impact public information, convictions, and activity on a political issue." They underscore the essential idea of political correspondence, featuring the job of influence in political talk.

McNair, (2017) gives a comparative definition when he composes that political correspondence is "deliberate correspondence about legislative issues." Fort (McNair, 2017b) implies that this covers verbal or composed articulations, yet additionally visual portrayals us

3.4.2 Core Assumptions of Political Communication Theory

Political correspondence can be characterized as the association concerning legislative issues and residents and the cooperation modes that interface these gatherings to one another, regardless of whether the relationship is shaped by the methods of influence (McNair, 2019).

A political hypothesis aims to prepare residents to ponder political inquiries and effectively evaluate the political occasions within recent memory. This section will look at what is implied by governmental issues and political hypothesis and why we should consider it.

3.4.3 Strengths of Political Communication Theory

Political communication theory provides the route to handle the political process strategically by political entertainers and their effect on media framing. By framing the issue deliberately, we contend that political entertainers face three vital decisions. To begin with, they should pick one or a few considerable casings equipped for controlling the consideration of the media and people in general to their motivation and away from the reason for their rivals ("meaningful accentuation decision"). Second, they should choose

about the measure of consideration they need to pay to the adversary's meaningful frame(s) when contrasted with their casings and whether they need to utilize their adversaries' edges unpleasantly or protectively ("oppositional accentuation decision"). Third, they should choose about how much they need to provide for their meaningful frame(s) when contrasted with the (choice) crusade ("challenge accentuation decision") (Habermas, 2006).

The outcomes depend on a direct popularity-based mission about fixing the haven law and can be summed up along the three decisions. In the first place, for this situation, the outlining contribution of the political entertainers is definitive. The media will, in general regard outline possession and report in like manner. Second, while the political entertainers overwhelmingly center around their edges, they don't solely, however, allude to their enemies' casings also. They do so mostly in a guarded manner. The columnists revealed the two camps with their foes' edges and credited a somewhat more hostile position to the two camps. Third, the political entertainers principally center around the substance. The meaningful casings likewise rule in the media (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006).

According to Kaid (2004), Mass media has drastically changed how present-day political missions are run. With more advanced residents coming into the democratic populace, web-based media have become significant stages on which government officials build up themselves and draw in with the voters. In the computerized age, proof across the world has displayed the expanding significance of online media in elected politics.

Taking Australia as an illustration underneath: 86% of Australians access the Internet, and with a 17,048,864 democratic age population, around 14,662,023 democratic

populace approaches Internet, and 65% of them utilize online media, which implies 9,530,314 Australian citizens utilize web-based media. (The 2013 Yellow™ Social Media Report found that among web clients, 65% of Australians utilize web-based media, up from 62% last year) (Gastil, 2008).

With practically 50% of the Australian democratic populace dynamic via web-based media, ideological groups adjust rapidly to impact and associate with their voters. Studies have discovered that writers in Australia broadly utilize online media in an expert setting. It has become a reasonable strategy for correspondence between the traditional press and more extensive audiences (Lilleker, 2006).

Mass media experience depends vigorously on the actual client because of the stages' calculations that tailor customer experience for every client. This outcome in every individual seeing more similarly invested news because of the increment in advanced social conduct. Furthermore, online media has changed legislative issues since it has given legislators an immediate medium to give their constituents' data and individuals to talk straightforwardly to the government officials. This casual nature can prompt instructive missteps since it isn't exposed to the equivalent "truth checking measures as institutional news coverage (Chua, 2005).

Mass media sets out more prominent freedom for political influence because of the great number of residents that routinely connect with and fabricate followings via web-based media. The more individuals draw in via web-based media. The more compelling they trust themselves to be, bringing about more individuals believing themselves to be politically persuasive (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2012).

3.4.4 Political Communication and Elections

Political communication is greatly influenced by mass media framing. Influenced by both the effect of advanced mass media and the social and political changes experienced in Western social orders, the cycles of political correspondence have gone through significant changes as of late. This paper presents the themed issue of Contemporary Social Science committed to the subject, named 'Political races and Political Communication.' The themed issue outlines cutting-edge interdisciplinary, a global exploration that researches the mind-boggling elements connecting political races and political correspondence in the period of the web (Gilboa, 2005). Without ignoring the hypothetical commitments, uncommon issues address different viewpoints identified with the field of political correspondence from a prominently experimental viewpoint. The commitments are changed and introduced by specialists from different fields like political theory, correspondence, or information science (Jevons, 2013).

At heart, political races are only political correspondence. On the off chance that election campaigns are tied in with getting sorted out, correspondence is needed between the campaign initiative and mission volunteers, givers, activists, and allies. If election crusades are tied in with building partnerships between bunches with comparative sets and objectives, correspondence is needed to construct and keep up connections and facilitate exercises. If political races are tied in with assembling supporters, communication is needed to contact and help persuade them to actively support the mission (Hinich & Munger, 2010).

Suppose political races are about how the broad communications cover politics. In that case, correspondence is needed to fabricate associations with editors and diary sits and

impact the news media, their plans, and outline issues, events, and measures. On the off chance that political races are about elector contact, communications are needed to connect with citizens through telephone, open-air exercises, thumping on entryways, and relational conversation with citizens. What's more, if election campaigns are tied in with forming the data climate to position the campaign as good as could be expected, and adversaries as negative as could be expected, all efforts at molding the political data climate, marking, and positioning require political communication (Blumler, 2015).

From this viewpoint, it is just characteristic that the accounts of political communication and political race research have consistently been intently intertwined. Today, the quantity of books that manage political communication in political races is enormous. After each political decision, new books are typically distributed to portray and clarify the missions and the campaign correspondence and what these meant for the last political decision outcome (Price et al., 2006).

Despite this, it very well may be contended that examination on political race communication stays a fairly divided field (Aalberg et al., 2016). There are several purposes behind this. In the first place, research here is done inside a few variant disciplines, like correspondence, political theory, and promoting. There might be a few diverse hypothetical assumptions, approaches, and effective foci within each of these orders. Second, there is an absence of more extensive hypotheses that can guide and bind together exploration on political correspondence in political races. Third, there is an inclination to zero in on political correspondence in single political decision campaigns in single nations, frequently giving rich portrayals of cases but less hypothesis-driven examination. Fourth, most examination in the global literature focuses on political

correspondence in political races in the United States, a quite abnormal country. Fifth, lastly, there is a show absence of longitudinal and cross-public examination on political correspondence in political decision campaigns. Taken together, this serves to restrict the similarity across time and space and to fabricate hypotheses that have more extensive pertinence (Holt et al., 2013).

In expansion, most exploration centers around how missions speak with voters either straightforwardly or through the news media or on the general political campaigning and correspondence method. Different types of correspondence, like internal communication to coordinate volunteers, are normally ignored. Political communication in political races is solely conceptualized as the strategic use of correspondence to arrive at citizens straightforwardly through various types of controlled communication or in a roundabout way through the news media or as various modes of communication and campaigning. Against this foundation, this part is to audit research on strategic political correspondence in political races. Reflecting surviving examination will center around the essential utilization of political correspondence and methods of political campaigning and mission correspondence by ideological groups and campaigns.

On an overall level, key political correspondence is about associations' purposeful administration of data and correspondence to arrive at political objectives it has set out for itself. This remains constant for ideological groups and missions concerning intrigue gatherings, governments, or different associations that are either inherently political or have political plans. It remains constant inside also as beyond political races (D. V. Dimitrova et al., 2014). Various associations need to accomplish certain goals, and they use data and correspondence deliberately to arrive at these goals (Esser & Pfetsch, 2004).

In key political correspondence, the essential objectives of political gatherings and missions are consequently significant. Even though it is regularly expected that the primary objective of ideological groups and missions is "to amplify political support, as a rule, parties have various objectives, and the primary strategic objective may shift across parties.

As per Esser and Pfetsch (2004), three different types of gatherings can be recognized dependent on their essential goals: vote-seeking, office-seeking, and policy-chasing parties. The distinctive element of vote-seeking parties is that they try to augment a lot of votes. Office-chasing parties, in contrast, "look to amplify, not their votes, but rather their power over the political office," while the essential objective of strategy looking for parties is to maximize impact over the open arrangement. Because of this qualification, vote-chasing gatherings can be accepted to place greater need on political race correspondence than office-and, particularly strategy looking for parties, as their fortunes are all the more straightforwardly connected to election campaigning. Another differentiation is between product-oriented, sales-oriented, and market-oriented parties (Aalberg et al., 2016).

In light of consolidation of political theory and showcasing, the political blemish kiting hypothesis holds that item arranged gatherings or missions would be the general center of the political item – the philosophy and strategy positions as formed through inner cycles and considerations. Such a gathering "contends for what it stands for and trusts in. It expects that citizens will understand that its thoughts are the right ones and hence vote in favor of it" An item-oriented gathering could consequently be depicted as strategy seeking. A deal situated gathering is like an item arranged to gather because the belief system and strategy positions are framed in inward cycles. Interestingly to product-situated

gatherings, be that as it may, it utilizes market insight and marketing strategies to examine and portion the electorate, message design, and sell the gathering (Russell Neuman et al., 2014).

Deals arranged gatherings subsequently concentrate significantly more on election crusading and mission correspondence than item situated standard ties. While both item and deals situated gatherings can be depicted as strategy-looking, deals arranged gatherings are more vote-chasing than item situated standard ties. Neither gathering would anyway change the approaches to engage electors. This is in differentiation to showcase arranged gatherings that utilize market insight to design the message and create and execute as powerful missions as possible and plan the political item and approaches essentially. On the off chance that deals situated parties try to make individuals need what it offers, market-arranged gatherings attempt to offer what people need (Van Aelst et al., 2017).

Market-arranged gatherings ought to be understood as the least strategy chasing and the most vote-or office-chasing, party type (Strömbäck & van Aelst, 2013). Of course, these portrayals are streamlined, the gathering types are ideal, and there might be contrasts inside parties. In all actuality, there are no obvious vote-chasing, strategy chasing, or office-chasing parties (Van Aelst et al., 2017). Neither are there any obvious item deals or market-situated gatherings. To the degree that gatherings change arrangements to accommodate electors, it is fundamentally a matter of forsaking specific disagreeable positions.

Vital political correspondence in political race campaigns¹³ rather than a discount convenience. Thus, it very well may be depicted as a selective market direction. Likewise, these classifications are not mutually exclusive, and gatherings may endeavor to amplify the portion of votes simultaneously as they endeavor to win office and augment strategy

influence. Still, the conversation about party types and vital objectives recommends a nearby linkage between ideological groups or missions as associations and their political races and mission correspondence. However, critical to note in this context is that ideological groups or missions are no stone monuments, yet complex and multidimensional association (Strömbäck & Kioussis, 2010).

Contrasting diverse media, broad communications possess a focal position. Not exclusively do the broad communications comprise a field alone; the primary importance of the broad communications lives in the way that they often establish the authenticated source of data and channel of correspondence.

This remains constant not just for the managerial wing of the party's mission and its endeavors to give vent to its manifesto with freedom of speech, yet additionally concerning the correspondence with partners on the parliamentary and Legislative Assembly. Furthermore, activists of the political party are also sensible media purchasers as they are impacted by the broad communications' inclusion of politics and society. (Mor, 2013) The mass media did not just educate voters everywhere about the arrangement positions and practices of political actors or cultural improvements with political implications; the mass media also advise political activists about the approach positions and practices of other political activists, cultural advancements with political repercussions, and about the state of or patterns pertaining to popular assessment. (Cabalin, 2014)

The media might make general public aware of the trends and implications of general elections. However, vital political correspondence doesn't happen just through broad communications. Indeed, the most significant development regarding campaign

correspondence throughout the most recent decade is that various types of modern forms of media such as pages, web-based media, and websites have become progressively important (Toepfl & Piwoni, 2015). Besides broad communications and computerized media, direct contacts, instant messages, and phone discussions may be exceptionally important.

This remains constant for the correspondence with target groups among the voters just as in inner correspondence measures and in the between activities with first-class gatherings like the writers. Another significant part of political race correspondence is the strain between long-term methodology and anticipating at one hand, and the short-term effect of certifiable occasions, the exercises of different gatherings, and the media's inclusion. Regardless of how deliberately ideological groups plan their campaign activities and correspondence, various unanticipated occasions will happen throughout a mission. Occasionally, such events will open up new vistas for the public – at times, they might pose dangers. Regardless of this phenomenon, the momentary effect of unanticipated occasions will consistently exert pressure and represent a test to the strategic planning in advance, although fruitful mission methodologies should include alternate courses of action and be adaptable. The ramifications of election crusade correspondence regularly may be less "key" than it shows up. (Moya et al., 2017)

Chapter Summary:

In this chapter, the researcher highlighted and discussed the relevancy of the current study with the significant theories of communication proposed and validated earlier. I have discussed all the theoretical grounds, i.e., Framing theory, Agenda-setting theory, theory of Political Communication, and Media System Dependency Theory in both general and

political context and their strengths and weakness, to further address their support for the current research.

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

4.1 Summary of the Research Methodology:

According to Rajasekar et al., (2003), research methodology is the organized path to solve the problem; primarily, the methods through which the research will describe, explain and predict issues are known as the research methodology. This section of the study will provide a detailed description of study methods, design, data gathering, and manipulation procedures.

According to the regulated principles of the research methodology, the current study is an exploratory research. Bannan-Ritland (2003) noted that exploratory research determines the procedures and methods to collect and analyze the data that a researcher needs. For this study, I have preferred using a Mixed-Method Research design as Mixed Method Research is conducted for multiple data gathering techniques. All the selected techniques help provide direct responses from the representatives of the study population, mainly for the direct and primary data gathering purposes as suggested by K. A. Levin, (2006).

The mixed-method approach was the most suitable one as the study involves $n= 11$ research hypotheses aimed at most prevalent media framing type, its role in the General Elections and also the role of different demographical factors (age, gender, provincial affiliation) on the voting decision of the voters. Thus, to examine and fulfill the eleven major research objectives, mix-method approach was tremendously significant.

Notably, Wisdom & Creswell, (2013) described Mixed Methods as the organized combination, or "mixing," of quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or

examination. The main purpose and principle of this methodology is that such a combination allows a more comprehensive and interdependent data collection rather than doing discrete quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Mixed methods research can be adopted to understand the relation & differences between qualitative & quantitative data. They can give participants a great avenue to have a strong voice and share experiences during the research process. They can help provide brighter opportunities to explore and enhance the data collection (Wisdom & Creswell, 2013). **Figure 4.1** below gives a visualization of study variables:

Moreover, to provide a strong conceptual foundation and support, I also adopted a systematic review approach. According to Hanley & Cutts, (2013), the systematic review synthesizes "evidence" regarding a phenomenon that further validates the research problem. In other words, the systemic review critically evaluates, summarizes, and acknowledges previous studies to provide strong conceptual support to the study problem. (Ali, 2020).

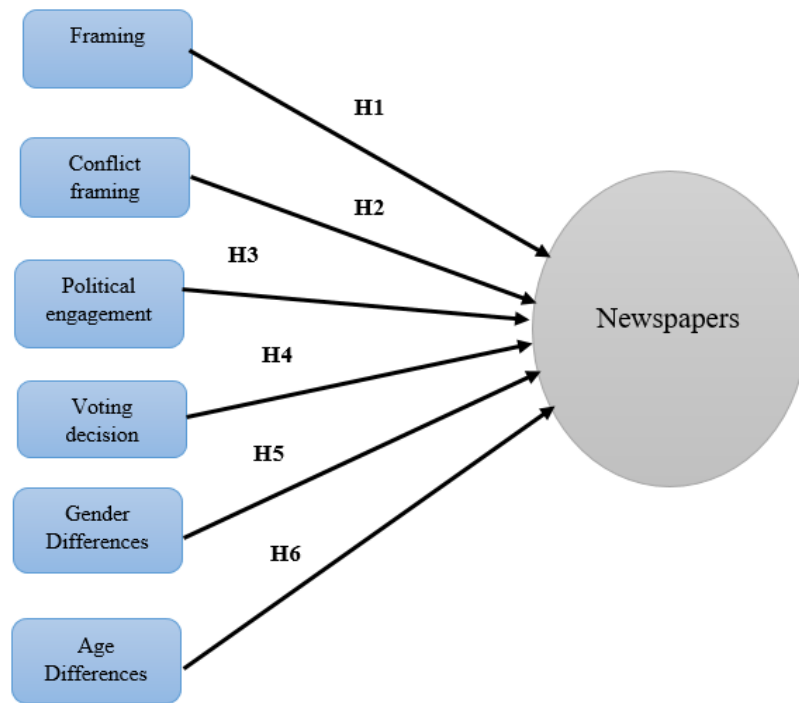


Figure 4.1 Source: Present Study

In this regard, the current study involves three phases for data gathering purposes. In the first phase, I used close-end, structured questionnaires to attain data from the respondents (participants) of my current research study. According to Wang & Cheng, (2020), the survey method involves data gathering directly from the selected participants and measuring the results regarding their exposure to the study problem.

I conducted a direct content analysis of the newspapers' articles, reports, features, and columns in the second phase. According to Elo and Kyngäs (2008), the content analysis used as a tool is one of the research methods for analyzing the text data. When a study uses content analysis, the research tool concentrates on the linguistics used for communicative focusing on the text's context and content.

In the third phase, I conducted a critical discourse analysis of the newspapers' editorial as discourse analysis helps examine the language on the specific topic. Discourse analysis involves both spoken words or written text indicating communication between individuals (Drid, 2010).

Therefore, after the data gathering, I manipulated the data to conduct statistical analysis. The researcher used both descriptive and inferential statistics to attain the study outcomes and draw the conclusions accordingly.

4.2 Study Population:

As the current involves different data collection techniques, I gathered data both from individuals and secondary sources. In this regard, the study population involves all the urban areas of Pakistan, where people actively participated in the voting process. Similarly, to gather data for the direct content analysis, the study population involves all the newspapers published daily in Pakistan. According to Mughal, (2011), there are more than seven hundred newspapers currently circulating in Pakistan. Despite immense political pressure on print media in Pakistan, these newspapers contribute to the national development by spreading awareness about core socio-political issues and by keeping the people updated.

4.3 Sampling:

When some specific members of the population are selected for the study, this is a sample (Taherdoost, 2018). Sampling involves particular sources for data gathering purposes, as selecting the whole population is not possible (Taherdoost, 2018). The sample is a sub-group representative of the population and also helps to provide generalized results

(Turner, 2020). In research, sampling helps to choose suitable study respondents or data gathering sources. Thus, the more accurate or representative the sample is, the more we can avail generalized results (Enago, 2019). **Figure 4.2** below provides a brief overview of the sampling procedure in the current study:

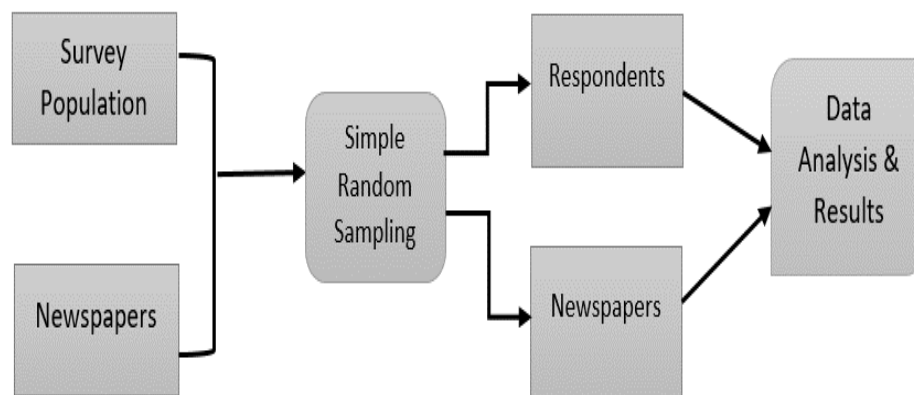


Figure 4.2 Source: This Study

As the study involves primary and secondary data methods, I selected the sample and their size under the designated criteria. For the survey method, I randomly selected a sample size of $n= 2200$ individuals from Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The survey method can be defined as collecting data from the population sample by their responses to the questions (Ponto, 2015). However, to determine the ideal sample size, I used G^* Power analysis that revealed an ideal size that should be $n= 74$ individuals with the $df= 72$ and the total effect size of 0.15. In this regard, the sample of $n= 2200$ participants was ideal. Figure 4.3 below indicates the sample size distribution according to the G^* Power analysis.

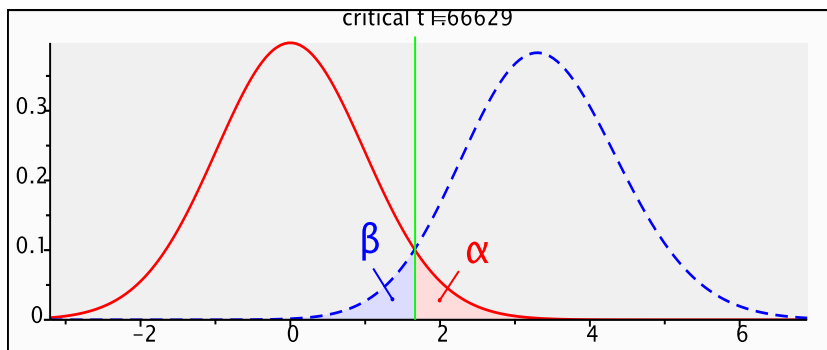


Figure 4.3: Sample Size Determination by G*Power Analysis

Furthermore, I used a simple random sampling technique as it provides a non-zero chance of the researcher's own bias and provides all the individuals an equal chance of selection (Mitra & Pathak, 1984). According to Kalton, (1983), Simple Random Sampling provides a general overview of all the probability sampling techniques. It is one of the most preferred and widely used sampling methods. Thus, I collected a total of $n= 2107$ appropriately filled questionnaires, with a response rate of 95.7% as 4.3% of questionnaires were incomplete or inappropriately filled.

However, as the other study methods involve direct content analysis and critical discourse analysis, the researcher randomly selected a sample of $n= 6$ daily newspapers. ($n= 3$ English, $n= 3$ Urdu) published in Pakistan. The selection of newspapers was based on selecting the top three Urdu and top three English newspapers based on their publication frequency and circulation. I gathered $n= 400$ reports published from June 20, 2018, to August 21, 2018, including news articles, features, editorial, and columns for the content analysis and qualitative discourse analysis. (Manzoor et al., 2019)

4.4.1 Study Variables:

The independent and dependent variables of the current study involved:

4.4.1 Independent Variable:

- Newspapers

1. The DAWN:

The DAWN is one of the largest and oldest English newspapers in Pakistan. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, founded the Dawn in 1942, and it has more than 109,000-weekday circulation countrywide. (N. Hussain et al., 2014)

2. The News:

The News is another major English newspaper founded in 1991, published, and owned by Jang Newspapers. It is published daily from Lahore, Islamabad, and Karachi with daily 140,000 circulations (The News, 2021).

3. The Nation:

Majid Nizami Trust owns and runs the Nation Newspaper, founded in 1986. It was published in Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore, and Multan by the Nawa-i-Waqt group of papers in the early 1940s (The Nation, 2021).

4. The Daily Jang:

The Daily Jang is based in Karachi and is the oldest Urdu newspaper founded in 1939. Mir Khalil ur Rehman was the owner and editor-in-chief of the Daily Jang, and today his son, Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman, is the current Executive Editor-in-Chief (Jang.com, 2021).

5. The Daily Nawa-i-Waqt:

The Nawa-i-Waqt is one of the largest and oldest Newspapers founded by Majid Nizami in 1940. Currently, it is owned by Rameeza Nizami and Majid Nizami Trust, and Saeed Ahmed Aasi is its Editor in Chief (Nawaiwaqt, 2021).

6. The Express News:

The Daily Express was founded in 1998 under the name of Lakson Group. Its headquarter is established in Karachi, and it is published daily from different cities such as Karachi, Islamabad, Lahore, Multan, Sahiwal, Gujranwala, Peshawar, Sialkot, and others (Express News: 2021).

4.4.2 Dependent Variable:

- Framing
- Conflict framing
- Voting decision
- Political engagement
- Gender Differences
- Age Differences

4.5 Data Analysis:

Data analysis in research is manipulating, coding, and calculating the data to explore the study results. Whether the obtained is quantitative or qualitative, data analysis is necessary for research projects (Habes et al., 2020). Thus in the current study, I conducted data analysis using SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). Arkkelin (2014) noted that Statistical Package for Social Sciences largely facilitates the researchers to manipulate and modify the data to make definite study conclusions. It helps to perform

different statistical analyses and calculate the frequencies, percentages, and measures of central tendency for the gathered data. In this context, the current investigation involves two types of statistical analysis:

4.5.1 Descriptive Statistics:

I used descriptive statistics for the quantitative data analysis to analyze and calculate the frequencies, percentages, and means of the gathered responses. According to Thompson, (2009), descriptive statistics help determine the extent to which something happened or calculate the respondents recorded their responses. It also helps them examine the study and learn about the respondents' characteristics, which can affect their responses.

4.5.2 Inferential Statistics:

To examine the proposed relationships or differences among the study variables, I used inferential statistics such as. Chi-square test, Pearson Correlation Coefficient, Linear Regression method. According to Amin, (2019), inferential sampling helps to predicate, estimate and later validate and generalize the study results. These generalizations can validate the data for the wider populations and provide a strong statistical foundation to the research propositions.

4.6 Qualitative Analysis:

The current study is a mixed-method study, and the researchers also conducted a qualitative analysis of the newspapers' editorials. The qualitative analysis of editorial content will help understand what the writer wanted to convey to the readers. In other words, it will determine the thoughts, opinions, and message of the editorial content. Qualitative research helps to explore the unique features of one's thoughts. Perceptions and

opinions about a phenomenon. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research provides a clear picture of one's attitude and specific reasons (Berry et al., 2017).

Thus, for the qualitative analysis, the researcher adopted primary scales of measurements adopted by previous studies (Soroka, 2002; Livingstone & Lunt, 2013). However, according to the limitations of the current research, I further extracted four questions to conduct the qualitative analysis by using the cited literature. In this regard, the questions involved:

1. Analysis of the topic of discussion in most of the editorials
2. The types of public issues mainly focused in the editorials
3. The most frequently supported political party
4. Potential differences in the editorials based on the newspapers' language

4.7 Data Representation:

I have presented data in both graphs and tables as graphs are an important part of data analysis, and they sufficiently represent the results of statistical tests and equations (Weaver, 2008). Similarly, summarizing and representing data is also crucial as it clarifies data results in an easily understandable form (Duquia et al., 2014). Thus, I represented participants' responses in graphs, data from descriptive content analysis, demographical characteristics, and hypotheses testing in tables accordingly.

4.8 Data Gathering Tools:

4.8.1 Survey Method:

For the quantitative data gathering in the first phase, I designed and employed close-ended, structured questionnaires. According to Roopa & Rani, (2012), questionnaires

are an inexpensive, strong, determined, and direct data gathering source. It enables the researchers to obtain directly from the respondents and calculate the responses effectively. The researcher personally distributed the questionnaire by visiting the branches of National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA).

As the questionnaire contained close-ended questions, the researcher designed it on the 5 points Likert Scale. The structure and design of the questionnaire are described below:

Section 1: Demographical Data of the participants i.e., age, gender, residence, and qualification

Sections 2: General questions regarding 2018 elections in Pakistan

Section 3: Role of English and Urdu newspapers in voting decisions during the elections in 2018

Section 4: Potential role of newspapers in influencing the political participation during the elections in 2018

Section 5: Any gender discrepancies for voting decisions during the elections in 2018

Section 6: Age differences on voting decisions during the elections in 2018

Section 7: Impacts of residence/ locality on voting decisions during the elections in 2018

4.8.1.1 Questionnaire Design, Structure:

To gather direct, vital, and useful information, I have carefully designed the questionnaire. For this purpose, the researcher followed several steps to design, evaluate and finalize the questionnaire to avail the generalized results. **Figure 4.4** below provides a brief overview of stages of questionnaire development followed in the current study:

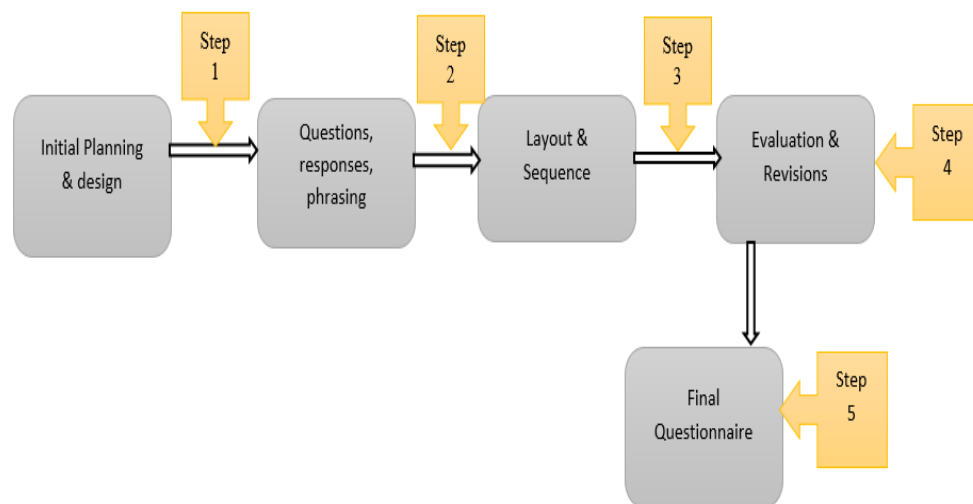


Figure 4.4: Stages of Questionnaire Planning and Design

Moreover, the survey was based on $n=35$ close-ended, structured questions aimed at gathering the responses. Out of $n=35$ questions, $n=4$ questions were based on demographical queries, and the rest of the $n=31$ questions were about elections, voting decisions, political engagement, and other relevant topics. In this regard, the questionnaire was structured as follows:

Research Scales:

The selection of measurement scales is an important step in the validation of research and ensuring generalizable outcomes. As noted by Dalati (2018), research scales can serve to examine the behavioral inclination, interests, and attitudes of the participants. Attitudes related to making certain decisions, having a particular perception, all can be well measured by selecting a suitable scale. The current study also involves certain scales to avail the favorable and authenticated results. In this context, I have adapted the scales from different relevant studies.

Table 4.1 provides a summary of scales and their sources:

TABLE 4.1: SOURCES OF RESEARCH SCALES

S/R	Scale	Source	No of Items
1.	General Elections in Pakistan	(Chaudhry & Ashraf, 2012)	10
2.	Newspapers and Voting Decision	(Araújo & Prior, 2020)	10
3.	Newspapers and Political Participation	(Saabar et al., 2017)(Yüksel, 2013)	09
4.	Gender Differences in Political Decision-making	(Fernandez-Garcia, 2016b)	10
5.	Newspapers and Voting Decision	(Araújo & Prior, 2020)	05
6.	Age and Political Decision-Making	(Sanz de Acedo Lizárraga, 2007)	06
7.	Political Participation and Locality/Residence	(Schurr, 2013b)	04

4.8.1.2 Reliability of Survey Tool.

According to Fink, (2003), a questionnaire is well-capable to avail the valid and generalizable data when it does not have any measurement errors. For instance, a survey tool is reliable when each time we use it and attain the same results having both internal and external consistency. In this regard, the current study also involved reliability analysis in validating the accuracy or generalizability of the gathered data. To check the reliability of the research tool, I used conducted Intercoder Reliability Analysis as it is one of the most preferred reliability analysis tools worldwide (Nili et al., 2017). In this context, the Cronbach Alpha Value of .812 revealed that the research instrument is strongly reliable and capable of highlighting important result outcomes. Table # below also summarizes the Cronbach Alpha Value of the survey items ranging from .729 to .793, which are higher than the threshold values of 0.7, indicating that the reliability of each construct is successfully established.

TABLE 4,2: RELIABILITY OF THE SURVEY ITEMS

S/R	Scale	Cronbach Alpha Value	No of Items
1.	General Elections in Pakistan	.757	10
2.	Newspapers and Voting Decision	.776	10
3.	Newspapers and Political Participation	.729	09
4.	Gender Differences in Political Decision-making	.790	10
5.	Newspapers and Voting Decision	.793	05
6.	Age and Political Decision-Making	.781	06
7.	Political Participation and Locality/Residence	.752	04

4.8.1.3 Validity of Survey Tool. The research instrument's validity confirms the authentication of data gathered by the research instrument. Validity helps to examine the accuracy of the research tool and ensures the suitability of subjective assessment (Taherdoost, 2016). The current study also involved valid research instruments evaluated and affirmed by the n= 2 subject experts and n= 1 study supervisor. For this purpose, I, first, designed the survey instrument and then carefully made the suggested revisions as suggested by the subject experts to ensure valid and generalizable results.

4.8.2 Quantitative Content Analysis:

Quantitative Content Analysis helps to examine the characteristics of study documents. The researchers rely on quantitative content analysis for data gathering as it facilitates data manipulation and statistical analysis (Neuendorf & Skalski, 2009). The current study also involves quantitative content analysis to indicate the media framing and relevant strategies used during the 2018 Elections in Pakistan (Hassan Shehzad, 2014).

4.8.3 Critical Discourse Analysis:

As the current study is based on a mix-method approach, the researcher also used critical discourse analysis to examine the editorials of selected newspapers. According to Van der Pas & Aaldering, (202), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary approach that helps to analyze the data for research purposes. Moreover, it is one of the most persuasive techniques to analyze political and social phenomena to obtain relevant results.

4.9 Informed Consent:

Research studies demand taking all the ethics under consideration. Ethical concerns can trouble the researcher and further hamper the research process (Sibinga, 2018). In the present study, I also took ethical consideration seriously and informed the respondents about the purpose, process, and research procedures. As noted by Roache (2014), informed consent also helps the participants build trust and confidentially participate in giving their responses that further prevent any potential disputes and conflicting interests.

4.10 Systematic Review:

4.10.1 Methodology & Criteria:

Literature review studies help us to assess a research problem from a broader perspective. They enable the readers, critics, and future researchers to deeply examine the problem, further revalidating the research propositions. As noted by OUM (2017), the most important component in the literature review is finding the previously conducted investigations. It provides support to the current study for extending the existing literature.

It also highlights the strategies and approaches used by the researchers suitable for their relevant studies. Literature review studies also educate a researcher about the nature of the problem. A researcher notes important points, analyses them, and makes the conclusions accordingly (Hanley & Cutts, 2013). In the current study, I also employed the systematic review of literature as evidence supporting the results and conclusion. For this purpose, I collected the relevant literature from Scopus and ISI indexed research journals published from 2000 to 2020. These research journals involved Journal of Communication, Asian Journal of Communication, Communication, Cultural and Critics, Policy and Internet, Human Communication Research, Journal Practice, and others. Initially, I collected $n=254$ articles from the five mentioned databases. However, after filtering the articles according to the given inclusion/exclusion criteria, I found $n=191$ most relevant to the current study.

Figure 4.5 below provides an overview of shortlisting and selecting the articles' selection process:

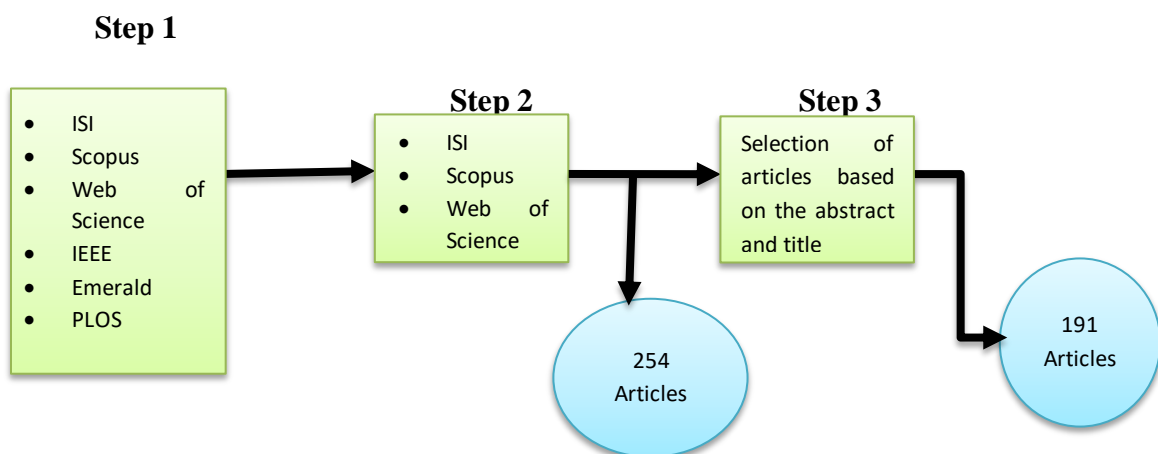


Figure 4.5: Selection of the Cited Literature in the Current Study**4.10.2 Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria:****TABLE 4.3: INCLUSION/EXCLUSION CRITERIA OF THE LITERATURE SELECTION**

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Articles published only in ISI, Scopus, and We of Science Journals	Articles that are grasping or other journals
Articles published from 2000 to 2020	Articles published before 2000
Accuracy under designated study objectives	Articles that do not come under study objectives
Articles focusing mainly on media and political communication, framing, agenda-setting	Articles focusing on topics other than political communication, framing, agenda-setting
Articles focusing on political influence regarding demographic variables	Articles focusing on topics other than political influence regarding demographic variables

I have collected $n= 191$ peer-reviewed, published research articles from all over the world including the studies conducting in Spain, the United States, Netherlands, Germany, Poland, France, India, Bangladesh, and other countries. For the selection purpose, the researcher gathered articles published from 2000 to 2020. **Figure 4.6** below provides the frequencies of published articles by year.

As visible, the highest number of cited articles ($n= 79$ or 41.3%) were published from 2015 to 2020. $N= 68$ or 35.6% of articles were published from 2011-2015, $n= 37$ or 19.3% % of studies published between 2006-2010, and only $n= 7$ or 3.6% of cited investigations were published from 2000 to 2005. Thus, the selection criteria exhibit that

most cited articles were published during the last ten years, further validating the selection of relevant research publications.

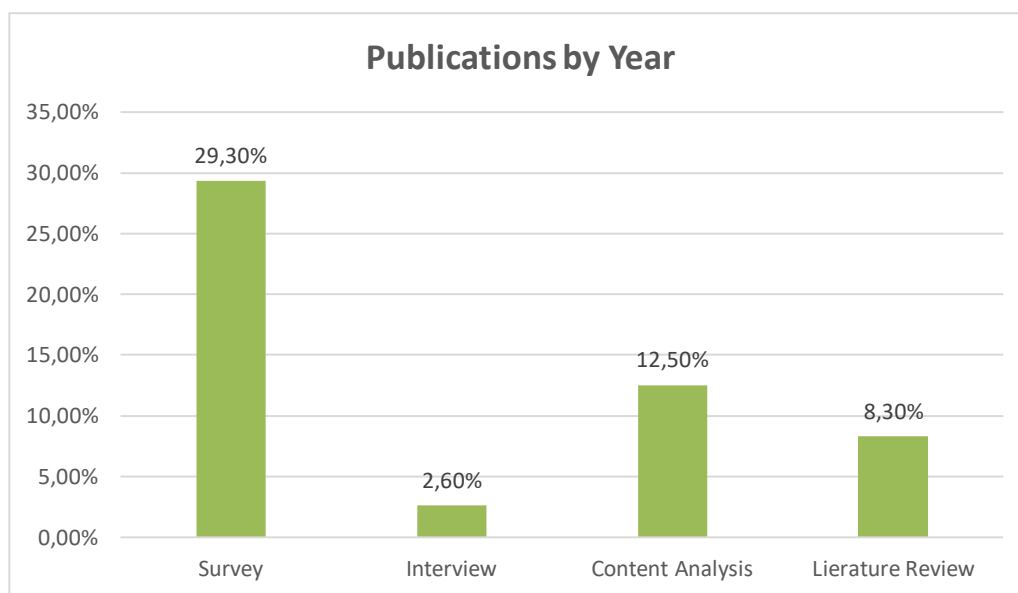


Figure 4.6: The Frequencies of Published Articles by Year.

4.10.3 Articles by Methodology:

According to Rajasekar et al. (2013), methodological approaches are among the fundamental component of a research study. Applying the most favorable methodology not only facilitates the data gathering process but also helps to obtain valid and generalizable results. In this context, I collected $n= 191$ investigations having diverse methodological designs.

Figure 4.7 below contains the frequencies of the cited investigations as per their Methodology. As seen, $n= 68$ or 35.6% of studies were based on quantitative methodology, $n= 24$ or 12.5% contained qualitative approach, $n= 1$ or 0.5% articles were having mix-method approach and finally, $n= 98$ or 51.3% of research articles contained research perspectives and the situational reports.

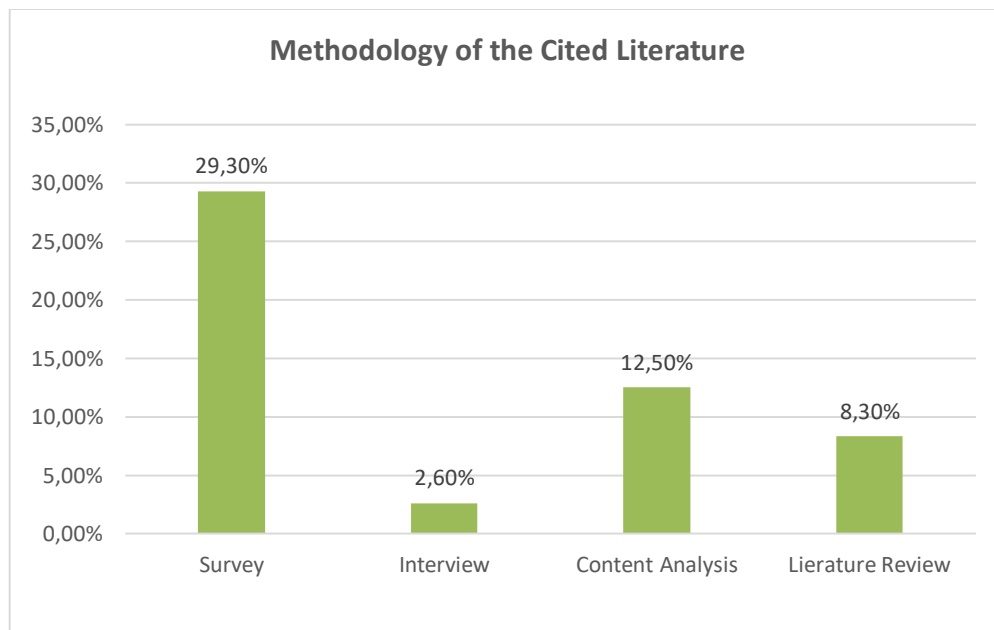


Figure 4.7: The Frequencies of the Cited Investigations as Per their Methodology

4.10.4 Articles by Study Design:

To successfully conduct research and avail the valid results, using appropriate study designs is of paramount importance. Study designs not only narrow down the data gathering process but also ensure ease of access and availability of information in the best possible manner (K. A. Levin, 2006). Thus, the cited literature also contained multiple study designs, based on the research objectives and requirements of the data gathering process.

Figure 4.8 below gives an overview of the frequencies of the cited investigations as per their study design. As observed, the majority of cited literature ($n=94$ or 49.2%) is based on situational reports and research perspectives. $N= 61$ or 31.9% of investigation contained cross-sectional design, $n= 10$ studies employed longitudinal study design, and only $n= 10$ or 5.2% of cited studies were based on case study approach.

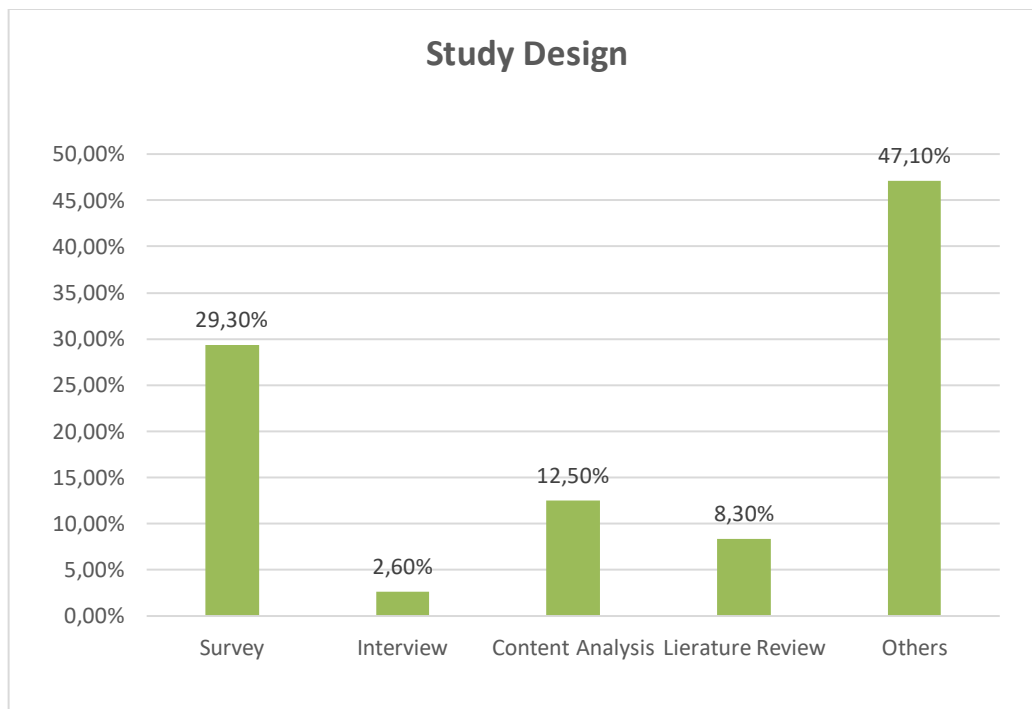


Figure 4.8: The Frequencies of the Cited Investigations as Per their Study Design

4.10.5 Article by Data Gathering Tools:

I have gathered and cited the literature categorized by particular paradigm models as well. **Figure 4.9** below gives an overview of the frequencies of the cited investigations as per their study tools. As visible, $n = 90$ or 47.1% of studies were based on research perspectives, statutes, and situational reports having no particular design. However, $n = 56$ or 29.3% of investigations contained survey methods for the data gathering purposes. As noted by Habes et al., (2021), the survey method is a direct and one of the most preferred data gathering tools. It helps to obtain data directly from the respondents and also, facilitates the manipulation and coding process. Moreover, $n = 24$ or 12.5% of studies employed content analysis approach, $n = 5$ or 2.6% of studies used panel interviews, and $n = 16$ or 8.3% of articles utilized literature review approach.

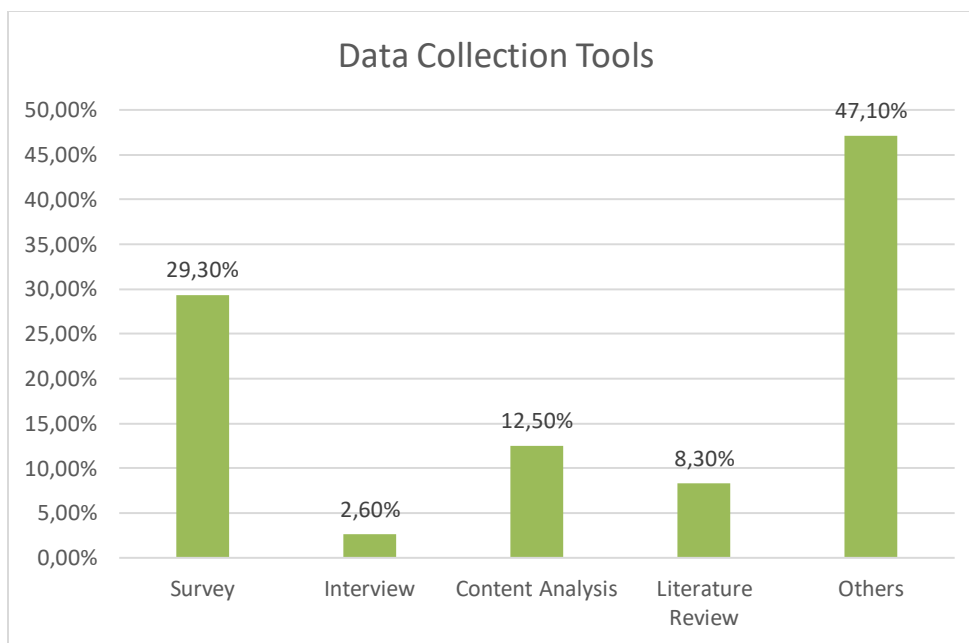


Figure 4.9: The Frequencies of the Cited Investigations as Per their Study Design

Chapter Summary:

The current section discussed and elaborated all the methods aimed at data gathering, manipulating, and obtaining the results. I have discussed the potential techniques that helped to affirm the validity and generalizability of study results. Moreover, by discussing the Systematic Review, the selection criteria, and other relevant details also describe the rationality of choosing all the cited literature. Thus, the next section will describe and highlight the results calculated by using both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Chapter 5 (part 1)

Data Analysis & Results

As noted earlier, the current investigation involves both descriptive and inferential statistics. This chapter also contains the data analysis and results. According to Arkkelin (2014), data analysis is an important step in research that further helps acquire reliable and validated results. Thus, by considering the significance of data analysis, I have, first, performed a critical content analysis of newspapers' reports by using the cross-tabulation method. I have represented these results through frequency and percentage calculation. Similarly, to analyze the survey-based data, I followed the same pattern of descriptive and inferential statistics. In this regard, the first section of this study represents the descriptive results of content analysis and survey responses. Later, in the second part, I have conducted hypotheses testing (inferential statistics) to examine the extent to which research hypotheses are validated:

5.1 Content Analysis:

Newspapers Framing & General Elections:

In the first research question, **“What was the frequency of political news coverage regarding the 2018 Elections in Pakistan?”** I have examined the frequency of framing in reports covered during the electoral process. Descriptive analysis of total frequency revealed that from June 20th, 2018, to August 21st, 2021, the selected newspapers published $n= 967$ news reports containing framing of the electoral process. However, the $n= 202$ or 26.3% of news reports did not contain any framing of the relevant political process ($M=3.40$, $SD= 1.85$). **Table 5.1** below summarizes the descriptive statistics, identifying the frequencies and percentages concerning print media framing during 2018:

TABLE 5.1: SUMMARY OF RESULTS REGARDING NEWSPAPERS FRAMING & GENERAL ELECTIONS:

Newspapers	Frequency	Percentage	Mean	SD
The News	241	24.9%		
The Nation	117	12.1%		
The DAWN	58	6.0%		
The Jang	153	15.8%	3.40	1.85
The Nawa-i-Waqt	201	20.8%		
The Daily Express	136	14.1%		
Total	906	93.7%		

5.1.2: Conflict Framing & Electoral News:

The second research question “**What was the most preferred framing strategy used by newspapers during elections?**” further questioned the particular type of framing which was more prevalent during the elections. After executing the cross-tabulation method on $n=967$ news reports, we found Conflict Framing as the most prevalent framing technique in $n=583$ or 60.3% of the news stories. However, $n=216$ or 22.3% news reports also contained economic frames, and $n=107$ 11.1% of reports involved generic framing ($M=1.47$, $SD=.697$). **Table 5.2** below summarizes the results regarding conflict framing & electoral news:

TABLE 5.2: SUMMARY OF RESULTS REGARDING CONFLICT FRAMING & ELECTORAL NEWS

Types of Framing	Frequency	Percentage	Mean	SD
Conflict	583	60.3%		
Economic Frame	216	22.3%		
Generic frames	107	11.1%		
Total	906	100%	1.47	.697

5.1.3: Variations in Newspapers' Reporting Patterns:

I have also conducted analyze the third research question “**Did the newspapers’ reporting vary during the 2018 elections?**” by examining the mean values and standard deviations of the gathered news reports. In this context, the results identified explicit differences among the report patterns of the selected newspapers ($M= 1.36$, $SD= .481$). **Table 5.3** below summarizes the results regarding variations in newspapers’ reporting patterns:

TABLE 5.3: SUMMARY OF RESULTS REGARDING VARIATIONS IN NEWSPAPERS’ REPORTING PATTERNS

Newspaper	Mean	N	SD
The News	1.5643	241	.241
The Nation	1.4103	117	.117
Dawn	1.3103	58	.580
Jang	1.2745	153	.153
Nawa-i-Waqt	1.2388	201	.201
Express	1.2868	136	.136
Total	1.365	906	.481

5.1.4 Differences between Print Media coverage Patterns (Language):

I have also calculated the data regarding the fourth research question, "**Were there any significant differences regarding reporting patterns between Urdu and English newspapers?**" Descriptive statistics revealed moderate discrepancies based on the language of the selected (Urdu-English) newspapers ($M= 1.22$, $SD= .501$). **Table 5.4** below summarizes the results regarding differences between print media coverage patterns:

Table 5.4: Summary of Results regarding Differences between Print Media coverage Patterns

Newspaper	Mean	N	SD
The News	1.38	241	.679
The Nation	1.30	117	.579
Dawn	1.10	58	.307
Jang	1.21	153	.412
Nawa-i-Waqt	1.08	201	.278
Express	1.16	136	.369
Total	1.22	906	.501

5.1.5 Varying Frequencies among English & Urdu Newspapers:

The fifth research question, "**Which newspapers covered more political news during the elections in 2018,**" was based on the newspaper covering more political news than those of the others. Data gathered from $n= 6$ newspapers revealed that, with the $n= 241$ reports, the News was the prominent newspaper with the highest frequency of

publishing the relevant news reports. Similarly, the Nawa-i-Waqt covered $n= 201$ news reports, followed by the Daily Jang ($n= 153$) and the Daily Express ($n= 136$), the Nation published $n= 117$ news reports. Finally, with the $n= 58$ or 7.5%, DAWN News published the lowest number of news reports regarding the political activities during the elections ($M= 1.77$, $SD= .411$). **Table 5.5** below summarize the results regarding varying frequencies among English & Urdu newspapers:

Table 5.5: Summary of Results regarding Varying Frequencies among English & Urdu Newspapers

Newspaper	Mean	N	SD
The News	1.79	241	.403
The Nation	1.92	117	.267
Dawn	1.72	58	.450
Jang	1.83	153	.376
Nawa-i-Waqt	1.79	201	.407
Express	1.60	136	.491
Total	1.77	906	.411

5.1.6: Print Media & Positive Opinion:

I have examined the data regarding the sixth research question, "**How Urdu newspapers' covered the political campaigns during 2018 elections in Pakistan**" Urdu newspapers published $n= 687$ or 75.8% of reports with a positive opinion. However, $n= 276$ or 30.7% of English newspapers also contained positive opinions in their reports. So, we can claim that the Urdu newspapers contained a comparatively more positive opinion than those of the English newspapers ($M= 1.76$, $SD=.427$). **Table 5.6** below summarize the results regarding print media & positive opinion:

Table 5.6: Summary of Results regarding Print Media & Positive Opinion

Newspaper	Mean	N	SD	Range
The News	1.8008	241	.400	1.00
The Nation	1.8974	117	.304	1.00
Dawn	1.7241	58	.450	1.00
Jang	1.8039	153	.398	1.00
Nawa-i-Waqt	1.7363	201	.441	1.00
Express	1.5735	136	.496	1.00
Total	1.76	906	.427	1.00

5.2: Survey Method:

Demographics of Respondents:

During the second phase of descriptive analysis, I have first calculated the demographics of the study respondents. Here the main variables were gender, age, residence, provisional affiliation, and educational level of the respondents. Table 1 below summarizes the results of the relevant descriptive statistics. As visible that, out of all $n=2107$ respondents, the majority were females $n=1114$ or 51.7%, and $n=951$ or 44.2% were males. Besides our male and female respondents, $n=42$ or 1.9% were Shemale/transgender ($M=1.49$, $SD=.538$).

Similarly, regarding the age of the respondents, $n=528$ or 24.5% of respondents were between 26-30 years of age, $n=519$ or 24.1% were 18-25 years old, $n=495$ or 23.0% were 46 years old or above, $n=218$ or 10.1% were 41-45 years old, $n=198$ or 9.2% 31-35 years old, and $n=149$ or 6.9% participants were 36-40 years' old ($M=3.24$, $SD=1.944$).

Moreover, the provisional affiliation of the respondents indicated that a majority of respondents ($n= 1358$ or 63.0%) were from Punjab, $n= 387$ or 18.0% were from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPJK), $n= 147$ or 8.0% were from Sindh, and $n= 815$ or 37.8% were from the Federal Capital "Islamabad." $N= 160$ or 7.4% of participants were from Baluchistan, and $n= 30$ or 1.4% of residents were from Gilgit Baltistan ($M= 1.46$, $SD= .498$). Likewise, according to the locality of the respondents, we found a majority of them who ($n= 1147$ or 53.2%) were from Urbanized areas, and $n= 960$ or 44.6% were from rural areas ($M= 2.69$, $SD= 1.519$).

Finally, according to the qualification level of the respondents, $n= 622$ or 29.3% had Masers (18 years of) education, $n= 576$ or 26.7% had matric/secondary level education, $n= 310$ or 14.4% were having bachelors level education, and $n= 576$ or 26.7% were having graduation level education, and $n= 71$ or 3.3% were having Doctorate level degrees. Notably, we also found $n= 518$ or 24.0% participants as having diploma or skilled certification ($M= 2.84$, $SD= 1.596$).

TABLE 5.7: DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE SURVEY PARTICIPANTS

Variables	Constructs	Frequency	Percentage	Mean	SD
	Female	1114	51.7%		

Gender	Male	951	44.2%		
	Shemale	42	1.9%	1.49	.538
Age	18-25	519	24.1%		
	26-30	528	24.5%		
	31-35	198	9.2%		
	36-40	149	6.9%	3.24	1.944
	41-45	218	10.1%		
	46 or Above	495	23.0%		
	Provincial Affiliation	Punjab	543	25.2%	
KPK		387	18.0%		
AJK		815	37.8%		
Sindh		172	8.0%	1.46	.498
GB		30	1.4%		
Baluchistan		160	7.4%		
Islamabad		815	37.8%		
Locality	Urban	1147	53.2%		
	Rural	960	44.6%	2.69	1.519
	Metric	576	26.7%		
Educational Level	Intermediate	518	24.0%		
	Bachelors	310	14.4%	2.84	1.56
	Graduation	576	26.7%		
	MPhil/MS	632	29.3%		
	PhD	71	3.3		
	Diploma/ Certification	518	24.0%		

5.8 Survey Responses:

TABLE 5.8: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING I READ NEWSPAPERS ON THE DAILY BASIS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	984	45.7%			
Agree	975	45.3%			
Neither agree nor disagree	148	6.9%	1.60	.616	.380
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

The first question, "I read newspapers on the daily basis," was based on enquiring about the newspaper reading of our potential respondents. As viable in **Table 5.8** above. n= 984 or 45.7% strongly agreed that they daily read newspapers, n= 975 or 45.3% slightly agreed, n= 148 or 6.9% remained neutral. However, we also found that none of our respondents indicated reading newspapers ($M=1.60$, $SD= .616$).

TABLE 5.9: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1237	57.4%			
Agree	795	36.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	73	3.4	1.45	.573	.328
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

Regarding the second statement, "Print Media play an important role in strengthening the political system in Pakistan," most participants (n= 1237 or 57.4%) strongly agreed, n= 795 or 36.9% slightly agreed, and n= 73 or 3.4% of respondents neither

agreed nor disagreed. However, none of our respondents disagreed with these statements, indicating their appraisal and support towards print media in Pakistan ($M=1.45$, $SD=.573$).

TABLE 5.10: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA IS THE BEST MEDIUM TO USE FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGNS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1030	47.8%			
Agree	922	42.8%			
Neither agree nor disagree	153	7.1%			
Disagree	4	5.0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%	1.59	.632	.399

Concerning the “Print media is the best medium to use for General Elections Campaigns”, as visible in table 3, $n= 1030$ or 47.8% of participants strongly agreed, $n= 922$ or 42.8% slightly agreed, $n= 153$ or 7.1% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here $n= 4$ or 5.0% of respondents also disagreed, but none of them showed any strong disagreement ($M= 1.59$, $SD= .632$).

TABLE 5.11: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA CAMPAIGN HELPED TO SHARE THE INFORMATION REGARDING POLITICAL PARTY MANIFESTO

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------------	------------------	--------------------

Strongly Agree	657	30.5%			
Agree	1389	64.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	59	2.7%			
Disagree	2	.1%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%	1.72	.519	.270

N= 1389 or 64.5% of participants slightly agreed with the fact that “Print media campaign helped to share the Information regarding Political Party manifesto”, n= 657 or 30.9% strongly agreed, and n=59 or 2.7% neither agreed nor disagreed. Nonetheless, only n= 2 or .1% of respondents disagreed and no one showed any stronger disagreement ($M= 1.72, SD= .519$).

TABLE 5.12: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA ELECTION CAMPAIGNS INVOLVED READERS IN POLITICS

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	667	31.0%			
Agree	1379	64.0%			
Neither agree nor disagree	59	2.7%	1.71	.521	.272
Disagree	4	.1%			
Strongly Disagree	667	31.0			

The respondents also indicated an explicit agreement with the fact that “print media election campaigns involved readers in politics” as, n= 1379 or 64.0% slightly agreed, n= 667 or 31.0% strongly agreed, and n= 59 or 2.7% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here n= 4

or .1% of respondents showed a slight disagreement but none of them indicated any strong disagreement ($M= 1.71$, $SD= .521$). **Table 5** above indicates a summary of the relevant responses.

TABLE 5.13: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING THE ROLE OF PRINT MEDIA IN BRINGING FORWARD THE POLITICAL PARTIES BASED ON THEIR PROPOSED AGENDA OR OBJECTIVE

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	849	39.4%			
Agree	1060	49.2%			
Neither agree nor disagree	198	9.2%			
Disagree	0	0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0%	1.69	.634	.402

N= 1060 or 42.2% of participants revealed that they agree with the role of print media in bringing forward the political parties based on their proposed agenda or objectives. Here n= 849 or 39.4% strongly agreed, and n= 198 or 9.2% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, again none of the participants showed disagreement with the relevant statement ($M= 1.69$, $SD= .634$). The summary of the related responses is summarized in Table 6.

TABLE 5.14: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING RESPONDENTS ACKNOWLEDGE THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
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Strongly Agree	663	30.8%			
Agree	1193	55.4%			
Neither agree nor disagree	251	11.7%			
Disagree	0	0%	1.80	.629	.396
Strongly Disagree	0	0%			

According to $n= 1193$ or 55.4% of respondents, they slightly acknowledge the democratic system in Pakistan, $n= 663$ or 30.8% strongly acknowledge, and $n= 251$ or 11.7% of them showed the response as neither agreed nor disagreed. Once again, none of the participants disagreed with this statement, indicating their support for the role of print media in Pakistan. Table 7 above, provides an overview of the relevant responses ($M= 1.80$, $SD= .629$).

TABLE 5.15: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING VOTING IS RESPONDENTS' NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	536	24.9%			
Agree	1389	64.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	182	8.4%			
Disagree	0	0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0%	1.83	.559	.313

$N= 1389$ or 64.5% slightly agreed that voting is their national responsibility, $n= 536$ or 24.9% strongly agreed, and $n= 182$ or 8.4% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here none

of the participants disagreed ($M= 1.82$, $SD= .559$). Table 8 above summarizes the results of relevant data analysis.

TABLE 5.16: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING ELECTIONS HELPTHE RESPODENTS TO SELECT CREDIBLE PEOPLE

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	366	17.0%			
Agree	1565	72.7%			
Neither agree nor disagree	176	8.2%			
Disagree	0	0%%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0%	1.91	.499	.249

According to $n= 1565$ or 72.7% of participants, elections help us select most reliable and trusted people. $N= 366$ or 17.0% indicated a strong agreement, and $n= 176$ or 8.2% neither agreed nor disagreed. It is also notable that, none of the participants disagreed with the role of elections in selecting really trustworthy people ($M= 1.91$, $SD= .499$). Table 9 summarizes the results of the relevant research statement.

TABLE 5.17: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING EVERYONE SHOULD CAST HIS/HER VOTE AS THEIR MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------------	------------------	--------------------

Strongly Agree	432	20.1%			
Agree	1434	66.6%			
Neither agree nor disagree	223	10.4%			
Disagree	5	.2%	1.92	.609	.370
Strongly Disagree	13	.6%			

N= 1434 or 66.6% of participants slightly agreed with the fact that “Everyone should cast his/her vote as their moral responsibility”, n= 434 or 20.1% strongly agreed, and n= 223 or 10.4% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, n= 13 or .6% slightly disagreed, and n= 5 or .2% strongly disagreed ($M= 1.92$, $SD= .609$). A summary of the relevant responses is visible in table 10 mentioned above.

TABLE 5.18: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING URDU NEWSPAPERS GAVE MORE COVERAGE TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS COMPARE TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	982	45.6%			
Agree	946	43.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	150	7.0%			
Disagree	6	.3%	1.64	.721	.520
Strongly Disagree	23	1.1%			

According to n= 982 or 45.6% respondents, they strongly agree with the fact that Urdu newspapers gave more coverage to political campaigns during general elections as compared to English language newspapers, n= 946 or 43.9% indicated a slight agreement,

whereas $n= 150$ or 7.0% neither agreed nor disagreed. Nonetheless, $n= 23$ or 1.1% strongly agreed and $n= 6$ or .3% expressed a slight disagreement ($M= 1.64$, $SD= .721$). Table 11 above summarizes the results of the relevant question statement:

TABLE 5.19: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING LOCAL ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS GIVE MORE COVERAGE TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS COMPARE TO URDU NEWSPAPERS

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	719	33.4%			
Agree	1289	59.8%			
Neither agree nor disagree	74	3.4%	1.83	.898	
Disagree	25	1.2			.806
Strongly Disagree	0	0%			

$N= 1289$ or 59.8% of participants agreed that local English newspapers gave more coverage to political campaigns during general elections as compared to Urdu newspapers. Here $n= 789$ or 33.4% of respondents slightly disagreed, and 74 or 3.9% neither agreed nor disagreed. Besides, $n= 25$ or 1.2% of them showed a slight disagreement and no one showed any strong disagreement ($M=1.83$, $SD= .898$). Table 12 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.20: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA COMPARATIVELY MORE SUPPORTED PTI IN GENERAL ELECTIONS 2018

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	644	29.9%	1.70	.767	.588

Agree	1389	64.5%
Neither agree nor disagree	59	2.7%
Disagree	15	.7%
Strongly Disagree	0	0%

N= 1389 or 64.5% of participants slightly agreed that Print media comparatively more supported PTI in general elections 2018, n= 644 or 29.9% strongly agreed, and n= 59 or 2.7% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here n= 15 or .7% respondents also expressed a slight disagreement, yet no one strongly disagreed ($M= 1.70$, $SD= .767$). Table 13 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.21: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA GIVE LESS COVERAGE TO PMLN IN GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 2018

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	892	41.4%			
Agree	1011	46.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	151	7.0%	1.65	.678	.459
Disagree	25	1.2%			
Strongly Disagree	28	1.3%			

N= 1011 or 46.9% of respondents also showed a slight agreement with the fact that print media gave less coverage to PMLN in general elections of 2018, n= 892 or 41.4% expressed a strong agreement, and n= 151 or 7.0% neither agreed nor agreed. However, n=

25 or 1.3% indicated a strong disagreement, and n= 25 or 1.2% slightly disagreed with this statement ($M= 1.65$, $SD= .678$). Table 14 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.22: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING POLITICIANS MUCH RELIED ON NEWSPAPERS' COVERAGE FOR THEIR POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS DURING ELECTIONS IN 2018

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	803	37.3%			
Agree	1023	47.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	183	8.5%	1.36	.683	.467
Disagree	98	4.5%			
Strongly Disagree	5	.9%			

According to n= 1023 or 47.5% of participants, politicians much relied on newspapers' coverage for their political campaigns during elections in 2018. Here n= 803 or 37.3% strongly agreed, and n= 183 or 8.5% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, n= 98 or 4.5% percipients also expressed a slight disagreement and n= 5 or .9% showed a stronger disagreement ($M= 1.36$, $SD= .683$). Table 15 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.23: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS GAVE COVERAGE TO ONLY THOSE POLITICAL PARTIES, THAT PAID THEM DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------------	------------------	--------------------

Strongly Agree	1063	49.4%			
Agree	964	44.8%			
Neither agree nor disagree	75	3.5%	1.49	.755	.570
Disagree	5	.2%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

According to n= 10 63 or 49.4% participants, they strongly agree with the fact that newspapers gave coverage to only those political parties, that paid them during election campaigns. Here n= 964 or 44.8% of participants showed a slight agreement, and n= 75 or 3.5% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, only n= 5 or .2% of individuals expressed disagreement but no one indicated any stronger disagreement ($M= 1.49$, $SD= .755$). Table 16 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.24: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING AS COMPARED TO URDU NEWSPAPERS, ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS GAVE NEUTRAL COVERAGE TO THE POLITICAL SCENARIOS

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1232	57.2%			
Agree	804	37.3%			
Neither agree nor disagree	71	3.3%	1.58	.824	.678
Disagree	0%	0%%			
Strongly Disagree	0%	0.0%			

N= 12342 or 57.2% of respondents strongly agreed with the fact that as compared to Urdu newspapers, English newspapers gave neutral coverage to the political scenarios. Here n= 804 or 37.3% of participants showed a slight agreement, and n= 71 or 3.3% neither

agreed nor disagreed. Notably, none of the respondents expressed any disagreement with the neutrality of the English newspapers ($M= 1.58$, $SD= .824$). Table 16 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.25: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA IS USED BY POLITICAL PARTIES JUST TO DEFAME OTHER PARTIES

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1158	53.8%			
Agree	775	36.0%			
Neither agree nor disagree	167	7.8%	1.53	.773	.598
Disagree	7	.3%			
Strongly Disagree	0%	0.0%			

A majority of respondents ($n= 1158$ or 53.8%) strongly agreed with the statement emphasizing “Print Media is used by political parties just to defame other parties”. Besides, $n= 775$ or 36.0% expressed a slight disagreement, and $n= 167$ or 7.8% of participants neither agreed nor disagreed. Likewise, $n= 7$ or .3% of individuals also indicted a slight disagreement, however no one strongly disagreed ($M= 1.53$, $SD= .598$). Table 18 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.26: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE TO A POLITICAL PARTY AFFECTS THE VOTERS’ VOTING DECISION

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------------	------------------	--------------------

Strongly Agree	1222	56.7%			
Agree	675	31.3%			
Neither agree nor disagree	172	8.0	1.57	.739	.546
Disagree	38	1.8%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

According to $n=1222$ or 56.7% of participants, print media coverage to a political party affects the voters' voting decision. Here, $n=675$ or 31.3% of participants also indicated a slight agreement, and $n=172$ or 8.0% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, $n=38$ or 1.8% participants also indicated a slight disagreement but no one strongly disagreed ($M=1.57$, $SD=.739$). Table 19 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.27: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS KEPT THE RESPONDENTS UPDATED ABOUT POLITICAL SCENARIOS DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 2018

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1096	50.9%			
Agree	795	36.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	176	8.2%	1.73	.640	.410
Disagree	18	.8%			
Strongly Disagree	22	1.0%			

$N=1096$ or 50.9% participants strongly agreed with the fact that Newspapers kept us updated about political scenarios during General Elections in 2018., $n=795$ or 36.9% slightly agreed, and $n=176$ or 8.9% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, $n=22$ or 1.0%

participants strongly disagreed and $n= 18$ or .8% slightly disagreed ($M= 1.73$, $SD= .640$).

Table 20 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.28: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS INFLUENCED THE VOTING DECISIONS DURING THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 2018

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1255	58.3%			
Agree	731	33.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	101	4.7%			
Disagree	0	0.0%	1.74	.576	.332
Strongly Disagree	20	.9%			

$N= 1255$ or 58.3% individuals strongly agreed with the statement emphasizing the role of newspapers in influencing the voting decisions during the General Elections in 2018. $N= 731$ or 33.9% slightly agreed, and 101 or 4.7% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here, $n= 20$ also indicated a strong disagreement regarding the role of newspapers in influencing the voting decisions during the General Elections of 2018 ($M= 1.74$, $SD= .576$). Table 21 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.29: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS REPORTING WAS SUPPORTING A PARTICULAR PARTY MORE THAN OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1232	57.2%	1.71	.761	.579

Agree	804	37.3%
Neither agree nor disagree	71	3.3%
Disagree	0	0.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%

N= 1232 or 57.2% of participants strongly agreed that they found newspapers reporting as supporting a particular party more than other political parties. N= 804 or 37.3% expressed a slight disagreement, and n= 71 or 3,3% respondents neither agreed nor disagreed. Nonetheless, none of the participants indicated any disagreement with the respective statement ($M= 1.71$, $SD= .761$). Table 22 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.30: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPER REPORTING WAS RELIABLE AND TRUSTWORTHY DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS IN 2018

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1096	50.9%			
Agree	795	36.9%	1.85	.929	.863

Neither agree nor disagree	176	8.2%
Disagree	18	.8%
Strongly Disagree	22	1.0%

N= 1096 or 50.9% of respondents strongly agreed that they found newspaper reporting as reliable and trustworthy during General Elections in 2018. N= 795 or 36.9% slightly agreed, and n= 176 or 8.2% neither agreed nor disagreed. Furthermore, n= 22 or strongly disagreed that newspapers reporting was reliable and trustworthy during General Elections, and n= 18 or .8% slightly disagreed. ($M= 1.85$, $SD= .929$). Table 23 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.31: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS' REPORTING WAS HELPING THEM TO DECIDE THE SUITABLE POLITICAL PARTY TO SUPPORT

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1222	56.7%			
Agree	675	31.3%			
Neither agree nor disagree	172	8.0%	1.56	.723	.523
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	38	1.8%			

N= 1222 or 56.7% of partisans strongly agreed that they found newspapers' reporting as helping them to decide the suitable political party to support. N= 675 or 31.3% slightly agreed, and n=172 or 8.0% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, n= 38 or 1.8% of respondents slightly disagreed but none of them strongly disagreed ($M= 1.56$, $SD= .723$). Table 24 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.32: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY THAT ARTICLES AND COLUMNS PUBLISHED IN PRINT MEDIA CAN CHANGE VOTER'S BEHAVIOR

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1255	58.3%			
Agree	731	33.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	101	4.7%	1.54	.578	.334
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	20	.9%			

N= 1255 or 58.3% of respondents showed a stronger agreement with the possibility that articles and columns published in print media can change voter's behavior. N= 731 also indicated a slight agreement, n= 101 or 4.7% neither agreed nor disagreed, and only n= 20 or .9% of them strongly disagreed ($M= 1.54$, $SD= .578$). Table 25 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.33: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA SHARE POLITICAL INFORMATION DURING GENERAL ELECTIONS TO ENDORSE POLITICAL IDEAS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1158	53.8%			
Agree	775	36.0%	1.45	.561	.315
Neither agree nor disagree	167	7.8%			

Disagree	7	.3%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%

N= 1158 respondents strongly agreed with the fact that Print media share political information during General Elections to endorse political ideas. N= 775 or 36.0% slightly agreed, and n= 167 or 7.8% remained neutral. Here, n= 7 or .3% respondents also indicated a slight disagreement but no one expressed stronger disagreement ($M= 1.45$, $SD= .561$). Table 26 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.34: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS HELPED THEM TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN 2018

Items	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	949	44.1%			
Agree	1100	51.1%			
Neither agree nor disagree	44	2.0%	1.58	.570	.325
Disagree	14	.6%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

N= 1100 or 51.1% of respondents slightly agreed that Newspapers helped them acknowledge the truth about the electoral process in 2018. N= 949 strongly agreed, and n= 44 or 2.0% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here n= 14 or .6% or participants also indicated a slight disagreement; yet no one strongly disagreed ($M= 1.58$, $SD= .570$). Table 27 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.35: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS HELPED THE RESPONDENTS TO ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTING DURING ELECTIONS

Items	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	819	38.0%			
Agree	1149	53.3%			
Neither agree nor disagree	108	5.0	1.71	.698	.487
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	31	1.4%			

N= 1149 or 53.3% participants also expressed a slight agreement with the fact that newspapers helped them to actively participate in the voting during elections. Her, n= 819 or 38.0% strongly agreed, and n= 108 or 5.0% neither agreed nor disagreed. Besides, n= 31 or 1.4% of participants also expressed a strong disagreement (M= 1.71, SD= .698). Table 28 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.36: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS' REPORTING WAS INFLUENTIAL AND BASED ON HIGHLIGHTING THE IMPORTANCE OF VOTE DURING THE ELECTIONS

Items	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	641	29.8%			
Agree	1376	63.9%			

Neither agree nor disagree	75	3.5%			
Disagree	0	0.0%	1.75	.586	.343
Strongly Disagree	15	.7%			

Similarly, $n = 1376$ or 63.9% of respondents slightly agreed that newspapers' reporting was influential and based on highlighting the importance of vote during the elections. $N = 641$ or 29.8% indicated a strong agreement, $n = 75$ or 3.5% neither agreed nor disagreed, and $n = 15$ or .7% of them strongly disagreed ($M = 1.75$, $SD = .586$). Table 29 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.37: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS' INFORMED THE RESPONDENTS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR VOTES FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

Items	<i>F</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	518	24.0%			
Agree	1464	68.0%			
Neither agree nor disagree	105	4.9%	1.83	.594	.353
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	20	.9%			

An explicit majority of respondents ($n = 1464$ or 68.0%) slightly agreed that Newspapers' informed them about the importance of our votes for the integrity of the democratic system, and $n = 518$ or 24.0% strongly agreed. Furthermore, $n = 105$ or 4.9% of participants neither agreed nor disagreed; yet $n = 20$ or .9% expressed a stronger disagreement ($M = 1.83$, $SD = .594$). Table 30 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.38: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PRINT MEDIA ELECTION CAMPAIGNS WERE AIMED AT INVOLVING THE YOUTH IN POLITICS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	76	3.5%			
Agree	485	22.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	1409	65.4%	1.77	.636	.405
Disagree	132	6.1%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

N= 1409 or 65.4% of participants remained neutral about the fact that Print Media election campaigns were aimed at involving the youth in politics. N= 485 or 22.5% slightly agreed, and n= 76 or 3.5% strongly agreed. Besides, n= 132 or 6.1% of individuals also showed a slight disagreement ($M= 1.77, SD= .636$). Table 31 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.39: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING HOTOS PUBLISHED BY POLITICAL PARTIES DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN NEWSPAPERS HAD ANY IMPACT ON THE READERS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	205	9.5%			
Agree	471	21.9%	1.64	.737	.543
Neither agree nor disagree	1307	60.7%			

Disagree	0	0.0%
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%

N= 1307 or 60.3% of participants neither agreed nor disagreed that photos published by political parties during election campaigns in newspapers had any impact on the readers. N= 471 or 21.9% slightly agreed, and n= 205 or 9.5% expressed a strong agreement. However, none of the respondents disagreed ($M= 1.64$, $SD= .737$). Table 32 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.40: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS' COVERAGE HELPED PEOPLE BELIEVE IN THE POWER OF THE VOTE

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	64	3.0%			
Agree	1068	49.6%			
Neither agree nor disagree	888	41.2%	1.47	.627	.393
Disagree	87	4.0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

According to n= 1068 or 49.6% of participants, they slightly agree that newspapers' coverage helped people believe in the power of the vote. N= 64 or 3.0% strongly agreed, and n= 888 41.2% neither agreed nor disagreed. Also n= 87 or 4.0% of participants slightly disagreed but none of them strongly disagreed ($M= 1.47$, $SD= .627$). Table 33 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.41: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPER REPORTING HELPED THE RESPONDENTS TO MAKE FAVORABLE VOTING DECISIONS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	70	4.0%			
Agree	863	40.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	997	46.3%	1.62	.687	.473
Disagree	185	8.6%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

N= 997 or 46.3% of participants neither agreed nor disagreed with the fact that newspaper reporting helped them make favorable voting decisions. N= 863 or 40.5% slightly agreed, and 70 or 4.0% strongly agreed. Here, n= 185 or 8.6% of respondents also showed a slight disagreement ($M= 1.62$, $SD= .687$). Table 34 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.42: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING AN INCREASED WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IS DUE TO NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE OF THE FEMALE POLITICIANS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	67	3.0%			
Agree	767	35.6%			
Neither agree nor disagree	1189	55.2%	1.62	.616	.380
Disagree	87	4.0%			

Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%
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N= 1189 or 55.2% remained neutral about an increased women's participation in the political process is due to newspapers' coverage of the female politicians. N= 767 or 35.6% slightly agreed, and n= 67 or 3.0% strongly agreed. Besides, n= 87 or 4.0% also showed a slight disagreement ($M= 1.62, SD= .616$). Table 35 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.43: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS' REPORTING LED FEMALE VOTERS TO SUPPORT AND VOTE ONLY THE FEMALE CANDIDATES

Items	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1113	51.7%			
Agree	843	39.1%			
Neither agree nor disagree	87	4.0%	1.45	.625	.391
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

N= 1113 or 51.7% respondents strongly agreed that newspapers' reporting led female voters to support and vote only the female candidates. N= 843 or 39.1% slightly agreed, and 87 or 4.0% neither agreed nor disagreed ($M= 1.45, SD= .625$). Table 36 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.44: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING WOMEN RELIED MORE ON NEWSPAPERS FOR UPDATES AND NEWS REGARDING THEIR FAVORITE FEMALE CANDIDATES

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
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Strongly Agree	1266	58.8%			
Agree	651	30.2%			
Neither agree nor disagree	120	5.6%	1.40	.657	.432
Disagree	6	.3%			
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

N= 1266 or 58.8% strongly agreed that women relied more on newspapers for updates and news regarding their favorite female candidates, $n= 651$ or 30.2% slightly agreed, and $n= 120$ or 5.6% neither agreed nor disagreed. Nonetheless none of the respondents expressed any slight or strong disagreement ($M= 1.40$, $SD= .657$). Table 37 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.45: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS HELPED WOMEN TO MAKE MORE RATIONAL VOTING DECISIONS THAN MEN

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	1175	54.5%			
Agree	743	34.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	119	5.5%	1.44	.662	.438
Disagree	0	0.0%			

Strongly Disagree	6	.3%
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N= 1175 or 54.5 of participants strongly agreed that newspapers helped women to make more rational voting decisions than men. N= 743 or 34.5% showed a slight agreement, and n= 119 or 5.5% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, none of the individuals disagreed with the respective statement ($M= 1.44$, $SD= .662$). Table 38 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.46: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS INFLUENCED WOMEN TO PARTICIPATE MORE IN POLITICAL PROCESSIONS AND RALLIES THAN MEN

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	849	39.4%			
Agree	1150	53.4%			
Neither agree nor disagree	32	1.5%			
Disagree	12	.6%	1.56	.610	.372
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0%			

N= 1150 or 53.4% of respondents slightly agreed that newspapers influenced women to participate more in political processions and rallies than those of the men. N= 849 or 39.4% slightly agreed, and n= 32 or 1.5% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here, n= 32 or 1.5% of individuals also indicated a slight disagreement ($M= 1.56$, $SD= .610$). Table 39 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.47: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPERS REPORTING LED YOUNG PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE COMPARATIVELY MORE THAN THE AGED PEOPLE

Items	<i>F</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	931	43.2%			
Agree	1062	49.3%			
Neither agree nor disagree	32	1.5%	1.53	.626	.392
Disagree	18	.8%			
Strongly Disagree	6	.3%			

N= 1062 or 49.3% slightly agreed that newspapers reporting led young people to participate comparatively more than the aged people. N= 931 strongly agreed, and n= 32 or 1.5% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, n= 18 or .8% slightly disagreed and n= 6 or .3% strongly disagreed as well ($M= 1.53$, $SD= .626$). Table 39 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.48: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPER REPORTING DIRECTLY INFLUENCED THE SENTIMENTS OF THE YOUNG GENERATION WHICH RESULT IN EMOTIONS-BASED DECISIONS MAKING

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	986	45.8%			
Agree	936	43.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	109	5.1%	1.53	.669	.447
Disagree	12	.6%			

Strongly Disagree 0 0.0%

N= 9386 or 45.8% respondents strongly agreed that newspaper reporting directly influenced the sentiments of the young generation which result in emotions-based decision-making. N= 936 or 43.5% slightly agreed, and n= 109 or .5% neither agreed nor disagreed. Furthermore, n= 12 or .6% of individuals also expressed their slight disagreement ($M= 1.53$, $SD= .669$). Table 41 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.49: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING YOUNG PEOPLE RELIED COMPARATIVELY MORE ON NEWSPAPERS TO GAIN POLITICAL INFORMATION

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	15	.7%			
Agree	891	41.4%			
Neither agree nor disagree	1033	48.0%	1.65	.652	.425
Disagree	156	7.2%			
Strongly Disagree	150	6.7%			

N= 1033 or 48.0% neither agreed nor disagreed that young people relied comparatively more on newspapers to gain political information. N= 891 or 41.1% slightly

agreed, and $n= 15$ or .7% strongly agreed. Nonetheless, $n= 156$ or 7.2% slightly agreed and $n= 150$ or 6.7% strongly *disagreed* ($M= 1.65$, $SD= .652$). Table 42 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.50: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING YOUNG PEOPLE'S VOTING DECISIONS WERE DEEPLY INFLUENCED BY MEDIA EXPOSURE TO POLITICAL CONTENT

Items	<i>F</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	777	36.1%			
Agree	1161	53.9%			
Neither agree nor disagree	135	6.3%	1.74	.701	.492
Disagree	8	.4%			
Strongly Disagree	26	1.2%			

$N= 1161$ or 53.9% of respondents slightly agreed that young people's voting decisions were deeply influenced by media exposure to political content, $n= 777$ or 36.1% strongly agreed, and $n= 135$ or 6.3% neither agreed nor disagreed. Notable, $n= 26$ or 1.2% of participants also indicated a strong disagreement, and $n= 8$ or .4% slightly disagreed ($M= 1.74$, $SD= .701$). Table 43 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.51: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PEOPLE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN THE VOTING PROCESS BASED ON THE INFORMATION GATHERED FROM NEWSPAPERS

Items	<i>f</i>	%	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	931	43.2%			
Agree	1033	48.0%	1.65	.698	.487

Neither agree nor disagree	117	5.4%
Disagree	0	0.0%
Strongly Disagree	26	1.2%

N= 1033 or 480% of respondents slightly agreed that people actively participated in the voting process based on the information gathered from newspapers, n= 931 or 43.2% strongly agreed, and n= 117 or 5.4% neither agreed nor disagreed. Here, n= 26 or 1.2% of individuals also expressed a strong disagreement ($M= 1.65$, $SD= .698$). Table 44 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.52: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PROVINCIAL AFFILIATION STRONGLY INFLUENCED THE VOTING DECISION

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	949	44.1%			
Agree	1023	47.5%			
Neither agree nor disagree	133	6.2%	1.45	.558	.312
Disagree	0	0.0%			
Strongly Disagree	2	.1%			

Based on the voting decision regarding the provincial affiliation, n= 1023 or 47.5% of respondents slightly agreed that affiliation strongly influenced the voting decision. Here, n= 949 or 44.1% strongly agreed and 133 or 6.2% neither agreed nor disagreed.

Nonetheless, $n= 2$ or .1% of individuals also expressed a strong disagreement ($M= 1.45$, $SD= .558$). Table 45 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.53: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPER REPORTING INFLUENCED URBANIZED PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE MORE THAN THE PEOPLE IN THE RURAL AREAS

<i>Items</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	587	27.3%			
Agree	1468	68.2%			
Neither agree nor disagree	45	2.1%			
Disagree	0	0.0%	1.62	.612	.374
Strongly Disagree	7	.3%			

A majority of respondents also agreed that newspaper reporting influenced urbanized people to participate more than the people in the rural areas. $N= 587$ or 27.3% strongly agreed, and $n= 45$ or 2.1% neither agreed nor disagreed. Moreover, $n= 7$ or .3% expressed a strong disagreement as well ($M= 1.62$, $SD= .612$). Table 46 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.4: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING NEWSPAPER REPORTING LED URBANIZED PEOPLE TO MAKE COMPARATIVELY MORE RATIONAL DECISIONS DURING THE ELECTIONS

<i>Items</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	571	26.5%			
Agree	1328	61.7%	1.83	.597	.357

Neither agree nor disagree	204	9.5%
Disagree	154	7.1%
Strongly Disagree	4	.2%

According to $n= 1378$ or 61.7% of respondents, they strongly agree with the fact that newspaper reporting led urbanized people to make comparatively more rational decisions during the elections. Here $n= 571$ or 26.5% strongly agreed, and $n= 204$ or 9.5% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, $n= 154$ or 7.1% individuals slightly disagreed, and $n= 4$ or .4% strongly ($M= 1.83$, $SD= .597$). Table 47 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

TABLE 5.55: SUMMARY OF RESPONSES REGARDING PEOPLE FROM URBANIZED AREAS MAINLY FOLLOWED NEWSPAPERS' OPINIONS FOR MAKING THE VOTING MAKING PROCESS

Items	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Var.</i>
Strongly Agree	782	36.3%			
Agree	1151	53.4%			
Neither agree nor disagree	154	7.1%	1.73	.668	.447
Disagree	4	.2%			
Strongly Disagree	16	.7%			

Finally, $n= 1151$ or 53.4% of participants slightly agreed that people from urbanized areas mainly followed newspapers' opinions for making the voting making process. Here, $n= 782$ or 36.3% of individuals strongly agreed, and $n= 154$ or 7.1% neither agreed nor disagreed. However, $n= 16$ or .7% strongly disagreed, and $n= 4$ or .2% slightly disagreed ($M= 1.73$, $SD= .668$). Table 48 above summarizes the results of the relevant statement.

5.3: Hypotheses Testing:

To test the stated hypotheses, I have used Regression, Chi-Square, Independent Samples T-test, and Analysis of Variance based on the nature of the data (Parametric, Non-parametric). As the data are obtained Non-Parametric Data for the content analysis, I have executed Chi-square, Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test, and Mann-Whitney test. Likewise, for the parametric data-based analysis, I have used Regression analysis and Analysis of variance (ANOVA).

Therefore, based on the types of each research assumption, I applied:

5.3.1 Non-Parametric Tests:

1. Relationship between newspapers framing and the 2018 general elections”

In the first study hypothesis, **“There is a positive relationship between newspapers framing and the 2018 general elections”**, I have executed a Chi-square test to examine the proposed relationship between Print Media Framing and General Elections of 2018. With the Pearson Chi-square value of 16.485, the results indicated a moderately significant relationship between media framing and general elections with the significance

values of $p \geq .006^{**}$. **Table 5.56** below summarizes the results of the relationship between print media framing and general elections of 2018:

Table 5.56: Summary of the relationship between Print Media Framing and General Elections of 2018:

	Value	df	Sig.
Pearson Chi-Square	16.485 ^a	5	.006
Likelihood Ratio	16.844	5	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	.666	1	.415

2. Relationship between newspapers and conflict framing:

The second hypothesis “**The newspapers in Pakistan widely used conflict framing to represent the electoral news**”, the current study again utilized the Chi-square test. I assessed the proposed relationship between print media in Pakistan and conflict and found a significant relationship between these proposed variables. Moreover, with the significance values of $p \geq .011^{**}$, this value is assumed to be moderately significant. Table 5.57 below summarizes the results of the relationship between newspapers and conflict framing:

Table 5.57: Summary of the relationship between newspapers and conflict framing:

	Value	df	Sig.
Pearson Chi-Square	22.918 ^a	10	.011
Likelihood Ratio	22.280	10	.014

Linear-by-Linear Association	.236	1	.627
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3. Variations in the Newspapers' Coverage Patterns:

To examine the potential variations in the newspapers' coverage patterns, the researcher employed One-Sample Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test. As noted by Cleophas & Zwinderman, (2016), as statistical processes are full of variations, One-Sample Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test provides an in-depth analysis of the data to find out these variations. Thus, in the current study, One-Sample Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test revealed strong, significant differences between the newspapers' coverage patterns with the significance value of $p \geq .000^{***}$ (Standardized Test Statistics= 21.983) and observed median value = 4. **Figure 5.1** below summarizes the results of *the* One-Sample Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test:

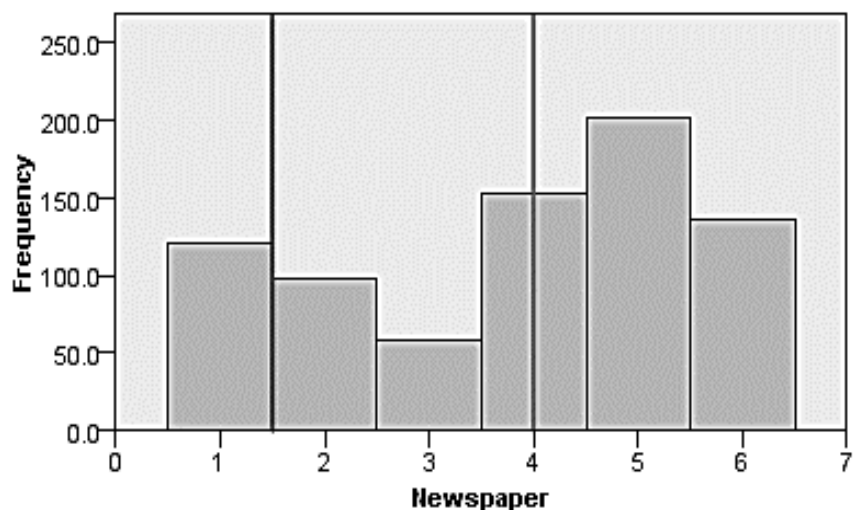


Figure 5.1: Variations in the Newspapers' Coverage Patterns

4. Differences in Urdu and English Newspapers' Coverage:

To examine the proposed differences in Urdu and English newspapers' coverage patterns during the selected time, I have applied the Mann-Whitney U-test. According to Shier (2004), the Mann-Whitney U-test is one of the most popular non-metric tests applied to identify the differences among different pairs of variables. In this context, the researcher found the Mann-Whitney U-test as most suitable for the data gathered using the content analysis technique. Thus, it is revealed that there are moderately significant differences ($p \geq .012^{**}$) based on the coverage patterns (English, Urdu) of the selected newspapers. **Table 5.58** below summarizes the results of *the* Mann-Whitney U-test.

TABLE 5.58: SUMMARY OF MANN-WHITNEY U TEST

Test	Opinion
Mann-Whitney U	5081.000
Wilcoxon W	12341.000
Z	-2.502
Sig. (2-tailed)	.012

5. Differences in Urdu and English Newspapers' Coverage (based on Language):

Based on the proposed discrepancies regarding the Language of the selected newspapers, the researcher again applied the Mann-Whitney U test to examine the potential group differences (Shier, 2004). Results of the Mann-Whitney U-test revealed a higher Mann-Whitney U 21780. Likewise, with the significance value of $p \geq .000^{***}$, we, therefore, conclude that there are highly significant differences among English and Urdu newspapers based on their languages. **The Table 5.9** below summarizes the results of *the* Mann-Whitney U test:

TABLE 5.59: SUMMARY OF MANN-WHITNEY U-TEST BASED ON LANGUAGE

Test	Language
Mann-Whitney U	21780.500
Wilcoxon W	140608.500
Z	-20.271
Sig. (2-tailed)	.000

6. Urdu Newspapers & Positive Opinion:

To examine how Urdu newspapers paid more positive coverage to the elections, I conducted a Chi-square test. Findings of the Chi-Square test as an important and mostly preferred test of significance for the non-parametric statistics (Amin, 2019) revealed the Chi-square value of 56.48. Moreover, the significance value of $p \geq .000^{**}$ further affirmed a strong significant relationship between Urdu newspapers and positive reporting. **Figure 5.2** below summarizes the results of Chi-Square analysis along with the comparison between English and Urdu news reports:

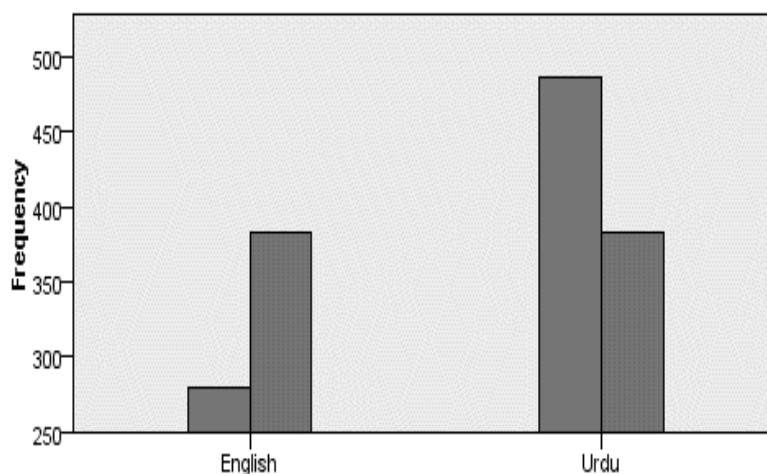


Figure 5.2: Urdu Newspapers & Positive Opinion

5.3.2 Parametric Tests

1. Newspapers framing and voting decisions:

To examine the data for the seventh research hypothesis proposing a significant relationship between voting decisions and newspapers' coverage, I applied the "Linear Regression" test as based on the nature of the relationship and number of variables; Linear Regression was the most suitable test (Amin, 2019). As summarized in **Table 5.60** below, we have not found any significant relationship between newspapers coverage and voting decisions with the significance value of $p \geq .157$ ($\beta = 1.523$). We reject this relevant hypothesis. Moreover, **Figure 5.3** below contains the bell curve indicating the normal distribution of data with the Mean value of $M = 8.45$. $SD = .999$.

TABLE 5.60: SUMMARY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEWSPAPERS FRAMING AND VOTING DECISIONS

Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	<i>t</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
1.31	1	1.30	-1.418	2.010	.157

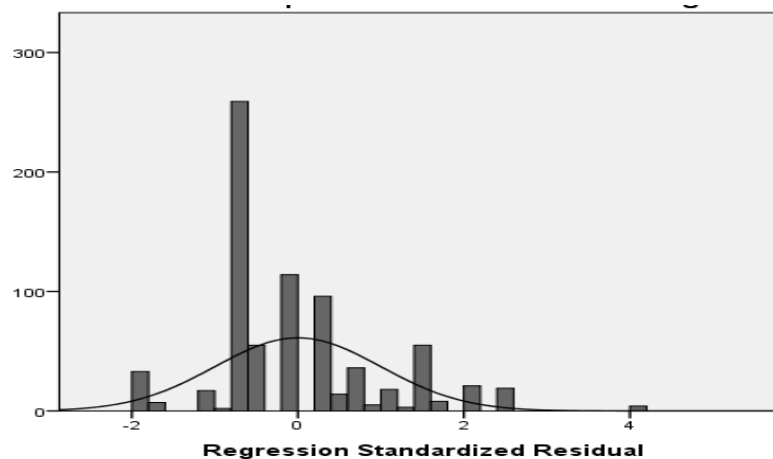


Figure 5.3: Bell-curve indicating the Scores Distribution

2. Newspapers framing and political participation:

In the eight study hypotheses, the researchers assumed a potential relationship between newspapers' framing and political participation during the General elections in 2018. To assess this presumed relationship, I have again applied Linear Regression Technique based on the number of variables and designated statistical criteria. As shown in **Table 5.61: Summary of the Relationship between Newspapers framing and voting decisions** below, with the significance value of $p \geq .986$ ($\beta = .001$), we did not find any significant relationship between newspapers' framing and voting decisions, so we reject our eighth research hypotheses. Moreover, **Figure 5.4** below contains the bell curve indicating the normal distribution of data with the Mean value of $M = 1.47$, $SD = .999$.

Table 5.61: Summary of the Relationship between Newspapers framing and voting

Sum of Squares	<i>df</i>	Mean Square	<i>t</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
.001	1	.095	.018	1.00	.986

decisions

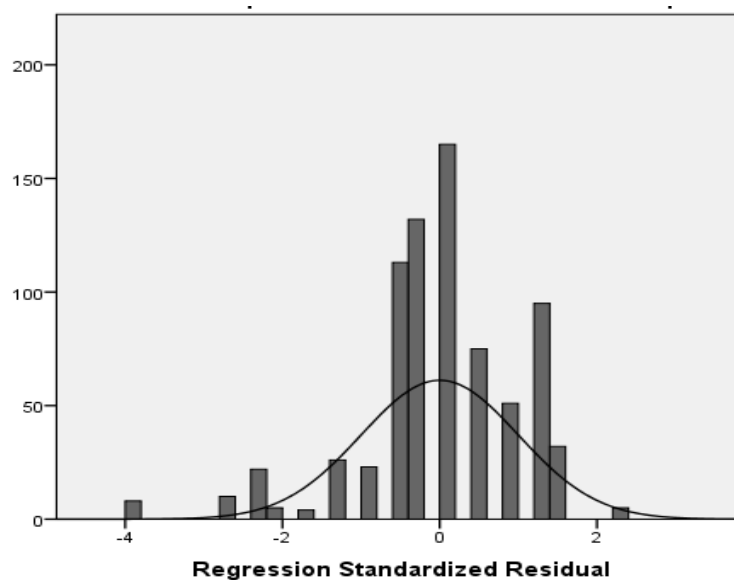


Figure 5.4: Bell-curve Indicating the Scores Distribution

3. Gender Differences in Political Participation:

Based on the nature of the ninth study hypothesis, "**There were significant gender differences concerning political participation among the voters due to election coverage in Pakistan,**" I selected a One-Way Analysis of Variance. As One-way Analysis of Variance is applied where we have one set of variables with presumed mean differences, the current study found it most suitable to apply this technique. Table 3 below summarizes the results of the One-Way Analysis of Variance. As visible in **Table 3**, with the mean differences ranging from 1.5556 to 1.65673, there is no major differences based on respondents' gender. Also, the significant value of $p \geq .543$ does not indicate any differences. We, therefore, reject our ninth study hypothesis. **Figure 5.5** below provides a graphical representation of Means and their distribution in the given context:

Table 5.62: One-Way Analysis of Variance to examine the Mean Differences based on
gender

Variable	Constructs	Mean	SD	Variance	f-value	Leven Statistics	Sig
Gender	Male	1.6573	.29369	.086	.918	3.908	.543
	Female	1.6711	.28500	.081			
	Shemale	1.5556	.39341	.155			

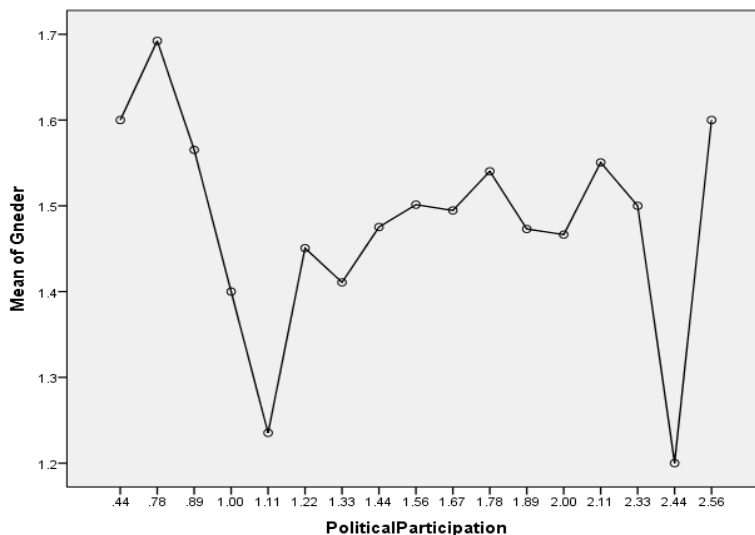


Figure 5.5: Mean differences in the similar group variables

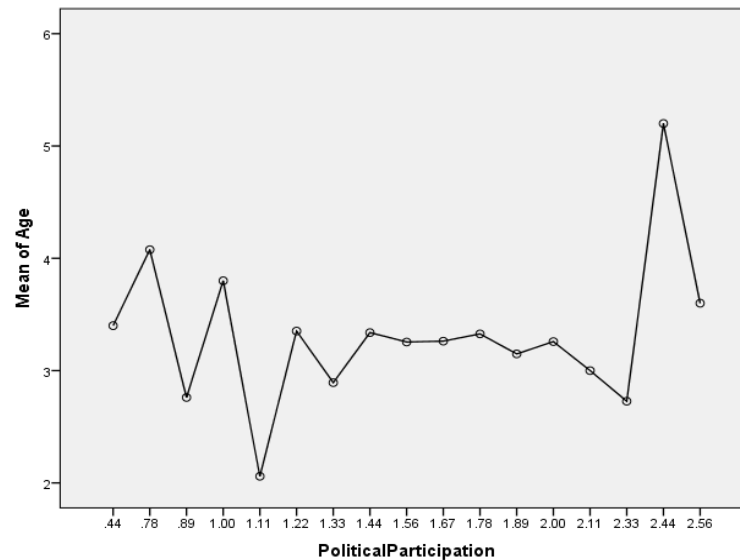
4. Age Differences in Political Participation:

Moreover, tenth study hypotheses assuming significant age differences concerning political participation among the voters due to elections coverage in Pakistan”, I applied Analysis of Variance. As shown in **Table 4**, there are minor mean differences based on the age of the study respondents. However, with the significance value of $p \geq .075$, we found moderately significant differences based on the respondent's Age and political participation of the respondents. Here the total means the value of differences in $M= 1.658, SD= .499$. **Figure 5.6** below provides a graphical representation of mean differences in the variables based on their chronological age.

Table 5.62: One-Way Analysis of Variance to examine the Mean Differences based on

Age

Variable	Constructs	Mean	SD	Variance	<i>f</i> -value	Levene Statistics	Sig
Age	18-25	1.6733	.28621	.082	1.944	3.934	.079
	26-30	1.6490	.29642	.088			
	31-35	1.6526	.30288	.092			
	36-40	1.6756	.31147	.097			
	41-45	1.6437	.31569	.100			
	46 or above	1.6696	.27366	.075			

**Figure 5.6:** Mean differences in the group variables

5. Differences based on Provincial Affiliation:

Based on the length hypothesis assuming the differences based on the voters' provincial affiliation during the 2018 Elections in Pakistan, I conducted a One-Way

Analysis of Variance (One-way ANOVA). As visible in **Table 26** below, we have not found any significant differences based on participants with the value of $p \geq .743$, which is higher than the threshold value of .05. Therefore, we affirm that our relevant and final hypothesis is also rejected. Figure 5.7 below provides a graphical representation of mean differences in the group of variables based on their provincial affiliation:

TABLE 5.63: ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TO EXAMINE THE MEAN DIFFERENCES BASED ON PROVINCIAL AFFILIATION

Variable	Constructs	Mean	SD	Variance	<i>f</i> -value	Leven	Sig
						Statistics	
	Punjab	2.30	.949	.900			
	KPK	2.15	.899	.808			
	AJK	2.50	1.278	1.633	.108	.077	.743
Provincial	Sindh	2.67	1.759	3.095			
Affiliation	GB	2.88	1.269	1.610			
	Baluchistan	2.96	1.599	2.555			
	Islamabad	2.54	1.414	1.999			

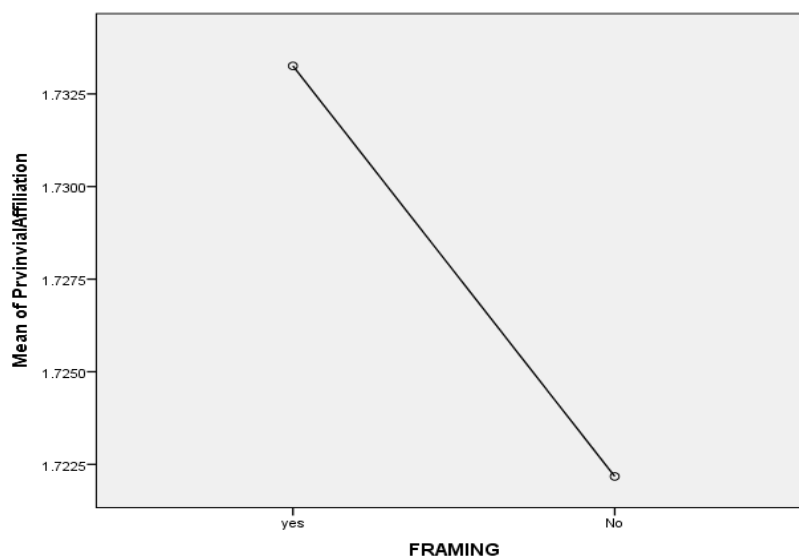


Figure 5.7: Mean differences in the group variables

Chapter Summary:

This chapter involves statistical analysis on the data gathered from different resources. These resources involved three English, and three Urdu newspapers published on a daily basis. First, I conducted the descriptive analysis, including newspapers' content examination and survey data. I calculated the reports of newspapers, types of framing and others. Besides, the descriptive statistics also provided a detailed description of respondents as well as demographics and their responses categorized into “Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree.”

After the descriptive analysis, the research involves inferential analysis to examine the proposed study hypotheses. This inferential analysis involves both parametric and non-parametric tests. First, the non-parametric tests i.e., Mann-Whitney U-Test and Wilcoxon Signed-Ranked tests revealed that the hypotheses based on the content analysis of the newspapers are validated. However, the parametric tests revealed that only the hypotheses based on age and voting-decision remained validated and other hypotheses are rejected.

Chapter 5 (part 2)
Data Analysis & Results
(Qualitative Results)

Due to strong political systems and the role of media in supporting democracy, the researchers are actively taking part to highlight this phenomenon. As a result, many studies are being conducted for a very long time, and every new study highlights important and generalized or objective findings (Morrison, 2018). The current research also focused on analyzing the newspapers' reporting during Pakistan's General Elections in 2018. After conducting the quantitative content analysis and surveys, this study now involves qualitative analysis of the newspaper's editorials published from June 6 to August 21, 2020. As noted by Daniel, (2016), qualitative research involves a collection of observations, their meaning, interpretations, symbols, metaphors, and all the necessary details about the data scripts due to direct observation and focused group data gathering. Therefore, the qualitative research is a pathway to obtain a broader understanding of people and real-life situations. Also validated by Rahman, (2016), as stated that, despite the contradictions between qualitative and quantitative research, the qualitative method is widely utilized in the social sciences. One of the prominent advantages of qualitative research is that it holistically understands interpreting the human experiences even in complex social systems. Hence by keeping in view the utmost significance of the qualitative analysis, this chapter conducted the qualitative data analysis. The themes of qualitative encompass involve the following primary areas:

1. The topic of discussion in most of the editorials:
2. The types of public issues mainly focused in the editorials
3. The most frequently supported political party

4. Potential differences in the editorials based on the newspapers' Language

1. The topic of discussion in most of the editorials:

According to O'Malley et al., (2012), media framing is not a single-sided phenomenon. It consists of several dimensions, including many framing techniques, aimed to fulfill the different purposes. Today, with the strong integration of mass media in our lives, we depend on different media platforms to search for information, knowledge, and education. Here, the information is not merely a piece of the report; instead, it contains hidden messages that alter our perceptions about an issue's seriousness and attitude. Thus, in the selected English newspapers' editorials, the international issues such as Financial Action Task Force (FATF) action against money laundering and terror financing front. Non-compliance

behavior towards the FATF when Pakistan's economy is shaking, and General Elections are near. It is also

“The insistent speculation that anti-democratic forces may seek to delay or cancel the general election is a political reality in the country. But the leaderships of all state institutions have publicly committed to ensuring an on-time election and the actions of those institutions should reflect those commitment”.

notable that most of the editorials published in the Daily Dawn covered international issues such as the US/Iran nuclear conflict, 18th Shanghai Cooperation Organization, China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project updates, and India's role in undermining Pakistan to increase the geopolitical instability.

Similarly, one editorial also focused on Pakistan's poor water management system, calling the former government and administration responsible. The author mainly focused

on the administration's insufficient efforts and weak strategies to counteract the water management system. Notable, one of the editorials published in the DAWN news also

No Victory For Radicals

One of the greatest takeaways for the voters in this general elections was the lack of seats that the radical parties managed to win. This was one of the primary concerns of the masses in Pakistan, especially since in the last couple of years we have witnessed the mainstreaming of radical elements into Pakistani politics. The rise of Tehreek-i-Labbaik (TLP) and their ability to shut down the capital for a good amount of time and Milli Muslim League (MML) managing to grab the third highest votes in the by-elections in Lahore was a sign of warning for the Pakistani populace because it reflected on the ground reality that the narrative of the party was becoming popular.

Nothing has plagued Pakistan more than these extremist players who cash in on the religious sentiments of the masses and manage to incite violence despite claims of being associated with religion. The way these hate mongers sabotaged the campaign of independent candidate Jibran Nasir in Karachi goes to show how these hooligans do not have an iota of respect for the democratic process neither are they well versed in the rules set by the concerned authorities. Several factions even managed to dismiss the refusal of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) to even register them because of their extremist narrative.

Parties like these deserve nothing but the severe loss that they have just witnessed. This is the classic representation of Pakistani politics where extremist groups not only manage to spew hate but also end up taking innocent lives, however, the masses never choose them as leaders because this particular group of people do not understand the workings of modern state system and can only terrorise the land instead of effectively governing it.

The results of the both - national assembly and provincial assemblies show a clear disconnect of the populace with the narrative of the radicals. It also reinforces that fact that mainstream politics in Pakistan will always be shy of taking a radical stance. The challenge now lies with the government to effectively convert this lack of support into effective implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) and work towards getting Pakistan off of the FATF grey list because we have not only lost several lives but also contributed generously to the cause of war on terror and that should be reflected in our national narrative and policies.

highlighted the prevailing corruption by the dominating political parties in the electoral process.

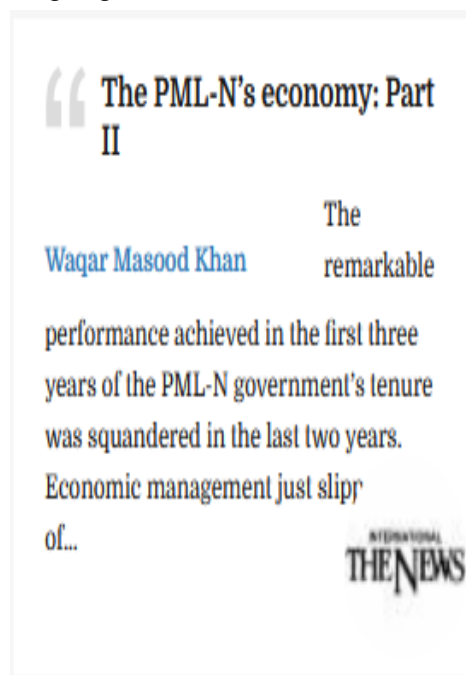
Similarly, the analysis of the **Nation** newspaper also revealed a significant focus on international and national issues, i.e., corruption in the Argentina football team, Khadija Siddique's case, reconsidering child-education. Here another editorial was also found

discussing the prospect of elections for the Higher Education development in Pakistan. Once again, the writer criticized the previous policies to organize the educational structure, demanding better administration after the elections. However, the focus towards political issues was also prominent such as another editorial discussing the political scenario and criticizing Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf for major amendments among their party members. The author addressed the party leader Imran Khan to reconsider adding political members to his party. The center of attention is the bilateral issues and poverty that the authors assumed to be forgotten due to the major amendments in the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Another editorial to discuss the political matters entitled "Changing Gears" also focused on the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Here the author mainly discussed the better candidates that can further work for their PTI's success in the general Elections. Other topics involved

the fall of other political parties, feminism in Pakistan, and the declination of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan's leader, Fazalullah. Notably, an editorial concerning the manifesto of the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) also attained a prominent position. The author mainly aimed at the party's rhetorical nature of declaring the implementation of Shariah laws in Pakistan. One piece of the editorial by S. Tariq also highlights the elections in Pakistan as contains Army's engagement and support. However, the authors mainly targeted Pakistan Muslim League (PML) as possibly sustaining corruption in the elections and PTI as possibly victorious.

One of the pre-eminent factors in the editorial is the Supreme Court's involvement to ensure the transparency of elections. This editorial emphasized the strong support of the court, FIFAN, and chief justice Mian Saqib Nisar to avoid possible corruption in the elections possibly. Furthermore, after the elections, the majority of the editorial focused on supporting the success of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, as other editorials were found explicitly framing PTI as the leading party, solely aimed at national progress and welfare. On the other hand, similar articles also criticized other political parties, mainly the Pakistan Muslim League (N), attributing them to failure and corruption.

Furthermore, the editorials of **The News** also covered several topics such as the bilateral relationship between the United States and Pakistan, Economic instability created by the previous government, and PTI's manifesto to attain socio-economic prosperity after



winning the elections. For instance, an editorial written by Waqar Masood Khan explicitly highlighted the fiscal policies, debt, and economic declination due to weak economic infrastructure. According to the author, despite the PML(N) making several plans, they were unsuccessful, resulting in a strong economic crisis. It is also notable that most editorials focused primarily on Pakistan's economy, i.e., Pakistan's status in the IMF, Survey reports represented by the World Bank about Pakistan, previous economic stability, and upcoming elections as a messenger of strengthening Pakistan's economic position. However, another editorial written by Shahzad Chaudhry attributed elections as a clash of political powers. The writer also highlighted elections as a process of choosing accountable people selected by voters for the common wellbeing. Thus, an overall analysis of the newspapers regarding their topics of discussion, we found political debates between the manifesto and performance of previous governments. In addition, many reports targeted

several political leaders for their character assassination by using corrupt, dishonest, evil, and others.

Likewise, the editorials selected from the **Daily Jang** newspaper covered different topics, but political campaigns and elections were prominent after all.



Like the previously mentioned topics, the authors covered bilateral relations between Pakistan, the United States, Afghanistan, India, and Turkey. Here final instability was another topic of concern especially, the economic decline taken up by the Pakistan Muslim

League (N) during their government (2013-2018). Other topics involved investment opportunities in Pakistan, transgender rights issues, a summary of elections management, Electricity concerns, International issues, Indian violation of international laws, transparency of elections etc. However, during July, most editorials also focused on the previous government and money laundering as a major issue attributed to the government officials. Here Panama Leaks was particularly mentioned to highlight money laundering and the presumed role of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) in accelerating money laundering in Pakistan.

Moreover, more editorials also highlighted open trials against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif and his presence in the Adiyala Jail Rawalpindi. Notably, from June 6 to August 21,

none of the editorials focused on supporting any political party. Yet, the centre of attention remained Pakistan Muslim League, economic declinations, and the on-going corruption cases against former Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Besides, the Daily Jang remained strongly negative towards Pakistan People's Party regarding the "Elections." Yet, Pakistan

Muslim League (N) received comparatively more negative coverage. Hence, portrayals and previous performance as the news reports' title/stance and direction remained highly negative and judgemental regarding the relevant political party.

Later, the qualitative analysis of the editorials from the **Daily Nawa-i-Waqt** newspaper also showed similar results. However, the editorials from June to July focused

Retrospective Protests

The tug-of-war over the caretaker Chief Minister selections ensues with PML-N and PTI oscillating between their chosen candidates, this time with PML-N backpedaling on its decision. Where after weeks of gridlocks, and a looming election date, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) made its decision in Hassan Askari, PML-N has not only rejected ECP's choice but has also urged him to voluntarily step down.

Where the PTI's caretaker nominations have largely been based on candidates sporting an inherent partiality to them, it should have come as no surprise that Hassan Askari's publicly perceived political leaning would tilt towards the party. Yet it can be deemed highly probable that all parties concerned who are submitting candidates for consideration would endorse a contender with, if not an overt allegiance, then at most some congruity with the sponsoring party's political narrative. That is also why the appointment of the caretaker government, subject to consensus between vehemently opposed parties, is fraught with such discord and backtracking - previously demonstrated by PTI's afterthought of renouncing Nasir Khosa.

The definitive fact is that the ECP is in the right in rejecting PML-N's reservations over the nomination. The ECP took the decision only after the political parties had failed to reach consensus on a name and is in complete accordance with the Constitution. PML-N's hyperbolic declaration of rejecting the election results is a refutation of the constitutionally designated authority of the ECP, and should be curbed. The ECP must be accorded due deference during the election process, seeing as it is the unending obfuscation and stalemates between the parties that entailed in it taking up a mediating role in the first place. PML-Ns' retroactive protestation stands to be no different than PTI's recent backpedaling, and will only result in vilifying the bearing of ECP and the appointed candidate, further impeding the election process.

on the corruption case, Panama Leaks, and Mian Muhammed Nawaz Sharif. Other major topics involved the Carry Logger bill and the bilateral relationship between Pakistan and India, especially. The violation of the Line of Control by Indian Armed forces, reformation in the current educational system, Atomic instability and conflict between India and Pakistan, and regional peace situation. However, still, the focus was much on elections and the Pakistan Muslim League as a potential threat to the transparency of the electoral process. Here one of the notable facts was that, like other newspapers, Nawa-i-Waqt also gave much consideration to Pakistan's international instability and economic crisis.

Finally, after carefully evaluating the editorials in the Daily Express newspaper, the researcher again found the economic instability as the centre of attention in most of the editorials. However, again accusing the previous government of the relevant declination also seemed much dominant. From June 6 to August 21, 2018, the main topic of consideration involved bilateral relations between Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, and Turkey, poor water management systems. Here several editorials were also focused on the expected corruption during the election process. Unlike other newspapers, the Daily Express focused more on the conflicts between the United States and Iran, Korea, India, and Pakistan.

However, the qualitative analysis of all the six Urdu and English newspapers revealed that the relevant media portrayals of political parties, their performance, and stance greatly influenced the people's voting decisions. In 2018, both political parties and government greatly resorted to news media platforms regarding the economic condition, bilateral relations with China, highlighting the corruption, and violation of border laws by Indian forces. It is also notable that most of the news was presented in text instead of photographs.

Thus, we found that the newspapers' framing is an effective yet complex process. News watchers filter the details and decide what to publish, with what effects along with the desired outcomes (Nizami et al., 2020).

2. The types of public issues mainly focused on the editorials.

Regarding the main public issues highlighted by the newspaper editorials, the researcher found miscellaneous themes in all the selected newspapers. First, the qualitative analysis of the Dawn News indicated that a majority of editorials discussed

the bilateral issues and relations of Pakistan and economic instability. Public issues were rarely covered in the editorial section. These issues mainly involved electricity shortfall, water crisis, inflation, and educational reforms. It is also notable that, from June 6 to August 21, 2018, very few editorials covered any other public issues. Other issues such as poverty, the healthcare management system, minority rights, the reformation of law-making agencies, and many others are still constituted, demanding consideration (Adnan & Fatima, 2018).

Similarly, the other two English newspapers (the News & the Nation) also revealed similar results. As mentioned earlier, bilateral relations and political topics dominated the editorials and similar topics were also covered in the Nation and the News. Thus, the

Roadmap To Naya Pakistan

The central theme of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf's (PTI) 2018 election manifesto is making Pakistan an Islamic welfare state. Whether PTI will succeed in establishing such a grandiose political order or not is incumbent upon the fact if PTI wins the election. While Imran is calling his party manifesto road towards a new Pakistan, comparing it with manifestoes of other parties can tell if he is speaking the truth.

Nevertheless, looking at the merits of the manifesto it can be said that the same issues that Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N) and Pakistan People's Party (PPP) have highlighted find mention in PTI's manifesto. PTI's manifesto chapter 2 talks of transforming the governance by focusing on accountability, establishing local governments, reforming the criminal justice system, however, it is also a bitter reality that despite in power in KP, the party failed in bringing any substantive transformation in the governance system of the province. Out of many sectors that needed the party's attention the areas, which caught the attention of the authorities, included health and education. Nevertheless, it goes to PTI's credit that it performed well in these two sectors, though there is a lot of room for further improvements.

One thing that is common in manifestoes of PTI and PML-N is analysis charts of their past performance in different sectors of governance. PML-N has edge over PTI because it has presented an evaluation of its performance not only Punjab but it was able to show its performance on a national level for it was sitting on the treasury benches. On the other hand, PTI has to work hard to convince people in other provinces of how their governance brought significant changes to the management of a province that was lagging behind others.

The party manifesto does give space to the creation of 10 million jobs for the youth of the country. It is appreciable that the party is talking about the youth bulge as youth consist of more than 60% of the country's population. Channelling the energies of the youth in constructive and creative ideas is what the state should focus on. However, the manifesto fails in detailing the party's plan on how these jobs will be created. Instead, the manifesto rests the bar of creating employment on the private sector. The team that has prepared the manifesto probably has no idea of the fact that the private sector is facing a multitude of challenges. Until and unless the state eradicates these challenges entrepreneurs and people owning capital will not invest in Pakistan.

A comparative study of manifestoes of the three major political parties shows that all of them have identifies similar issues that need the attention of the government. Now it is up to the people to decide which party has delivered on its previous manifesto.

qualitative analysis of the English newspapers revealed that the local English newspapers' editors privileged political news and international topics for the lead studies in the selected newspapers. Roughly any local public issue-based story could be found on the first page of the English Newspapers, as most of the reports covered elections, political conflicts, and international issues. These observations also affirmed that the local newspapers remain mainly oriented towards political phenomena and international stories. Furthermore, the number of political issues in the selected English newspapers also indicated that these



newspapers are either under the dominance of political elites or the government. Factual news about the local issue such as public wellbeing, crimes, and other incidents remained less focused and placed mainly on the second or third pages of the selected newspapers.

Furthermore, the qualitative analysis of the Urdu newspaper again showed comparatively more focus on other issues than the public issues. The financial crisis was much focused on all the three Urdu newspapers. The editorials also found covering issues like elections and bilateral relations. However, there was very little focus on public issues. Nonetheless, transgender rights, child labour, education were also found. Yet elections and India-Pakistan relations took comparatively more consideration in the Jang, the Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, and the Daily Express-News. It is noteworthy that, despite both English and Urdu newspapers mainly focusing on political issues, the coverage patterns remained

slightly different. For example, we found political procurements as the primary topic for the Naw-i-Waq, yet the Jang was found somehow concerned about the public issue. Yet, the focus remained on comparing and evaluating the government's performance in resolving public issues such as electricity, poverty, rights of marginalized communities, and unemployment. Also, we found the focus of the Daily Jang on judicial issues, the Nawa-i-Waqt on international news, and the Express on local level political issues. However, social issues were absent in the English newspapers, indicating that the reporting patterns and the focus remained different among the selected newspapers.

3. The most frequently supported political party.

The qualitative analysis of both English and Urdu newspapers revealed a significant difference between their stance and others. As observed, all the English newspapers largely covered financial instability and attributed it to the former government. For example, Pakistan's non-compliance with Financial Action Task Force regulations and others. However, the editorials of all three newspapers also supported Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf as a prospective political entity deserving victory. For example, an editorial published on July 11th, 2018, highlighted Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf as capable of establishing "Naya Pakistan," having a manifesto to create Islamic Welfare State.

Moreover, analysis of newspapers' editorial also revealed that most editorials from the English newspapers placed the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's manifesto on the top of their priority list. In other words, all the English newspapers extensively discussed and highlighted Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf as a major political party mainly focused on bringing

transformational changes in Pakistan's corrupt and unjust political system. For example, The Daily DAWN and the News used attractive language style to appeal to the readers through speculative argumentation supporting Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Yet, the Nation also highlighted some concrete facts. It is also notable that most of the English editorials were in favour of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and against Pakistan People's Party and Pakistan Muslim League (N). News editorials indicated a clear line of framing role of newspapers regarding Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, especially The DAWN and The News remained prominent in this regard.

Likewise, despite covering different issues, the editorials of all the Urdu newspapers seemed neutral, yet more interested in discussing Panama Leaks, corruption charges, and the former government's poor performance. However, the Urdu editorials did not support any political party; instead, topics like the economy, international issues, and corruption remained the main focus of attention. Topics such as energy crisis, financial instability, unemployment, terrorism, security remained the most discussed ones, along with the stance of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) on resolving these issues if they win the next elections as far as the media coverage of these issues and party manifesto, all the Urdu newspapers mainly discussed and highlighted the Pakistan Muslim League (N). The Pakistan Muslim League as the mainly highlighted political party gaining maximum coverage in the Daily Jang, the Nawa-i-Waqt, and The Express News. While Pakistan People's Party also received significant coverage after Pakistan Muslim League and remained prominent in the editorials of Urdu newspapers.

However, comparing the party support in both English and Urdu newspapers, both showed different support patterns for different parties. Besides, the frequency of editorials

also varied in both newspapers as we found English newspapers having comparatively more editorials on the relevant issues than those of the Urdu newspapers.

4. Potential differences in the editorials based on the newspapers' Language

As mentioned earlier, both English and Urdu newspapers covered relatively different topics, and their stance differed. Covering more about Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf was prominent, and supporting their manifesto also remained the primary topic of editorials. For example, a piece of editorial from the Nation acknowledged the political strategy of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf and demanded its Chairman, Mr. Imran Khan, to reconsider adding more members. The author also discussed the previous record of newly added political leaders and attributed them to great danger for the PTI's integrity. We found three basic topics of focus in the English newspapers to discuss the previous government and support Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. These topics mainly involved: **(i) Ehtesab March, which** was started by the party chairman Imran Khan of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, known as the anti-corruption campaign from Peshawar against Mian Muhammed Nawaz Sharif on August 7, 2016. **(ii) Panama Gate Case** in which investigative journalists from the law firm Mossack Fonseca (Panama) investigated the offshore companies owned by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Investigations revealed many unregistered companies owned by Prime Minister Sharif's children. These companies were found as hidden from the wealth statements, leading opposition parties to eliminate Mian Muhammed Nawaz Sharif's political record and news media platforms to focus more on the corruption cases against the chairman of Pakistan Muslim League (N). **(iii) Local Government Elections in 2015** that involved questioning the credibility of the Election Commission of Pakistan and balanced elections during the year 2015. Karamat & Saleem (2020) noted that local

political parties rely on the Election Commission of Pakistan for fair and balanced elections. In this regard, political parties expect the electoral process to be under the general public's expectations. As the Election Commission of Pakistan conducted local elections in three phases and involved 42 cantonment areas, the Pakistan Muslim League (N) availed victory with a vast majority. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf attained 47 seats while Pakistan Muslim League won with 68 seats out of 199 wards. The Chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Imran Khan put allegations on the Pakistan Muslim League regarding unfair elections. Thus, by keeping in view the historical background of Ehtesab March, which, Local Government Elections in 2015, and Panama Gate Case, current research also found these three topics as the most highlighted ones in the selected English newspapers.

On the other hand, Urdu newspapers greatly discussed international issues, financial declination, and Panama Leaks, yet the Language remained negative and partial. For example, an editorial from the Daily Jang newspaper called out Mian Muhammed Nawaz Sharif as guilty and corrupt. Notably, the editorial was more likely to be a media trial as the verdict was yet to come. Similarly, discussing the previous government in terms of accelerating economic instability also remained dominant among other topics. For example, on August 2nd, 2018, the Daily Jung newspapers criticized the economic policies designed by the Pakistan Muslim League (N) by saying that they claimed, they would not beg a single penny but now taking loans from the International Monetary Foundation (IMF).

On the other hand, the Daily Jang acknowledged the chairperson Imran Khan's stance to design a better economic infrastructure, indicating that Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf holds the potential to bring economic stability to Pakistan. In the Urdu newspapers'

editorials, slogans from political parties "Vote ko Izzat Do" "Naya Pakistan," and others also remained prominent. Moreover, these political parties also focused on themes such as Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf primarily focused on the energy crisis, health, and education. The Pakistan Muslim League (N), on the other hand, focused more on the voting rights of the public and motivating favorable voting decisions among the readers. Notably, as compared to the Pakistan Muslim League (N) and other political parties, Urdu Newspapers focused more on Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf in terms of its rhetoric and stance regarding the welfare of the commoner and economic stability.

Therefore, after conducting a content analysis of the $n=6$ most prominent newspapers in Pakistan, the researcher found the marginalized importance of public issues for the editorial writers. Although partiality remained pre-eminent based on Language, the analysis also indicated a strong heedlessness towards public welfare issues. Thus, we conclude that both priming and framing of international issues, overemphasis on the financial situation, Pakistan Tehreek Insaf and Pakistan Muslim League (N) remained a major part of newspapers' editorials. Besides, public issues such as poverty, child labor, education, and others remained highly underrepresented.

Chapter 6

Discussion & Conclusion

The original role of news media to inform, keep updated, and provide factual reports is highly replaced by political commercialism and interest-based proceedings. Increased political interests have further hampered attaining real-time, factual information. In this regard, popular media theories help us examine and validate the role of politics in contemporary media. (Fortunato & Martin, 2016)

Now it is obvious that media platforms pay special attention to selecting and executing certain frames aimed to benefit two-sided interests. Consequently, media researchers have pointed out that mass media's role is not merely to cover an event and represent it with facts. Instead, they provide us with a particular interpretation of the realities, mainly known as "framing." From media stakeholders to reporters, everyone is assigned a duty to cover the report and further fabricate it in a particular manner, which can divert people's attention towards other issues, further affecting their opinions and attitudes about the relevant phenomenon. (Nebojsa Vladislavljevic & Voltmer, 2017)

Today, media practice altering and shaping public perceptions about political parties and elections is one of the most common approaches in every media activity. These practices are common both in western and eastern societies regarding the socio-economic status of a country. Today, media political framing and agenda-setting are popular, especially during the elections. (Ergün & Karsten, 2019) As noted by Hänggli & Kriesi, (2010), modern election campaigns are highly mediated political events. One of the purposes behind mediatized communication is a stronger media dependency for political purposes. Political actors increase their mass media dependency to access the public, stay connected, and update them about every political activity.

Here, Araújo & Prior, (2020) also cited an example of Brazilian news reporting about framing political news reports where framing remained dominant during the general elections. Likewise, Strömbäck & Luengo, (2006) cited an example of General Elections in Sweden and Spain. As news media from both countries highly framed election campaigns by representing them in the strategic frame. Spanish news reports were comparatively more focused on abstract context and issues. Whereas, Swedish newspapers highlighted the event-based political reports as the relevant media gave much importance to horse race and conflicts between political parties. It was also notable that; the newspaper coverage was purely based on commercial nature, which is another primary facet of political framing during elections.

Hence, by keeping in view the prevalent media framing in the international media, the current study also assessed the media framing in Pakistani media. Adopting a mixed-method approach further strengthens the chances of framing in the coverage of newspapers, as the researcher also empirically and systematically validated this phenomenon. As study results revealed that:

1. Relationship between Newspapers Framing and the General Elections:

Regarding the first study hypothesis, I examined the possibility of media framing empirically. For this purpose, the researcher conducted a content analysis of the newspapers from June 6th, 2018, to August 21st, 2018. Herewith is the significance value of $p \geq .006^{**}$, I found a strong significant relationship between media framing and newspapers.

This affirmed relationship is highly consistent with the study conducted by Vasudevan, (2017), as the researcher also found framing in the Indian news media during the Lok Sabha

Elections. Here the media focused more on the Bharati Janta Party than those of the other political parties in India. During the elections, Indian media not only portrayed Narendra Modi as a strong prime minister candidate; but also represented him as a prospective political leader, capable of bringing social and economic development in the country (Also see Micheletti, 2013; Jackson, 2011c; Robinson, 2019; Michaelsen, 2011; Gurevitch et al., 2009).

Moreover, the qualitative analysis of the newspapers' editorials also validated the media framing as an essential component of media content during the selected period. As found that, the newspapers were found giving more attention to bilateral relations and financial instability. Here election was also among the most highlighted matters in the fair electoral process and its transparency. Besides, a majority of newspapers also accused the previous government of bringing in the financial crisis and the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party as capable of alleviating these economic crises and sustaining strong bilateral relations with India, Afghanistan, and the United States.

Thus, both quantitative and qualitative analysis results affirmed the potential relationship between media framing and newspapers in Pakistan. The relevant literature first affirmed this relationship, and later with the mixed-method approach, the current study empirically validated this proposition. Therefore, political framing is a common practice, especially during elections. This framing also replaces public consideration of certain issues and transfers alliance to a particular political issue/entity in order to attain the desired commercial benefits. (Chaudhry & Ashraf, 2012)

2. Pakistan's Newspapers & Conflict Framing:

The second hypothesis was aimed at examining the most commonly used framing technique during the designated study period. The researcher proposed conflict framing as the most prevalent framing strategy during the General Elections in 2018.

With the significance value of $p \geq .011^{**}$, we found a moderately significant relationship between newspapers and conflict framing during the elections in Pakistan. This result means that conflict framing was the most prevalent tactic used in most of the media reports. However, as the significance value is moderate, indicating a limited relationship between both variables, other frames were also used by the media reports to attract and divert the readers' attention. These results are also consistent with the previous studies such as (Eibl & Gregor, 2019; Bartholomé et al., 2018; Krasteva & Vladislavljevi, 2017; Nebojsa Vladislavljevic & Voltmer, 2017), as they also found conflict framing as a substantial part of media content during the elections in Canada, United Kingdom, Bulgaria, Israel, Egypt, South Africa, Kenya, and Serbia respectively.

Similarly, the qualitative analysis of all the newspapers also revealed similar findings. Mostly the conflict was diverse, including economic instability, uncertainty about the elections, and most prominently, the ties between Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and the United States. The news reports also revealed that most editorials were more focused on India's violation of the Line of Control and strong retaliation by the Pakistan Army.

Hence with the support of cited literature, both quantitative and qualitative assessments validated the second research hypothesis. As noted by O'Malley et al. (2012), during elections, the polarization of power and autonomy are highly prevalent, influencing media proceedings. In a democratic society, where media platforms work as major social

institutions, political entities resort to media platforms to sustain their identity, gain recognition, and further favorably inspire public perception.

3. Variation in News Reporting during Elections:

The third study hypothesis anticipated a potential difference between newspapers coverage patterns such as length, wording, time of publication, and others. Applying the One-Sample Wilcoxon Signed Rank as one of the most significant non-parametric tests also validated the research assumption. With the significance values of $p \geq .000^{***}$, we found strong differences among all the newspapers' coverage patterns regardless of their language, circulation frequency, and others.

These results are compatible with the study conducted by Ghadeer, (2018), as the researcher also found explicit discrepancies in the new reporting coverage of the Jordanian newspapers. Likewise, the study conducted by Ayhan, (2016) also showed similar results as the researcher examined the media reports about Ukrainian Crisis in the Turkish News media outlets. It is also notable that, besides the familiar media platforms, the researcher also assessed these differences in terms of media types (conventional and new media).

Moreover, the qualitative assessment results also indicated similar outcomes as the researcher found major differences in the types of news and reporting patterns such as English news comparatively gave more coverage to Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf. Here the main strategy was to represent PTI as a prospective political party, having a strong manifesto, intending to create an Islamic welfare state. Likewise, the news coverage of Urdu newspapers varied as their focus was on different issues and mostly emphasized the incapacities of the previous government.

Thus, with the help of the cited literature, both quantitative and qualitative results also affirmed the discrepancies in the news coverage patterns. Ghadeer (2018) noted that despite the history of media reporting witnesses political communication as a common trait in media proceedings, the existing difference in coverage patterns also differs from each other. These differences can be based on the type of information and in accordance with the consent of the political party in general.

Differences in News Coverage during Elections:

Regarding the fourth research hypothesis, the researcher again conducted Mann-Whitney U Test. Here the assumption was to examine the extent to which Urdu news reports varied in terms of reporting patterns (based on language). With the significant value of $p \geq .012^{**}$, we found moderately significant differences between the types of news mainly reported in both newspapers. Notably, Urdu newspapers focused on more elections campaigns, Panama Leaks, Court trials against Mian Muhammed Nawaz Sharif, emphasizing strict trials and punishment against corruption. On the other hand, English newspapers primarily focused on supporting Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, demanding consideration towards financial instability, and Tehreek-e-Insaf's mandate to create an Islamic Welfare State and maintain friendly bilateral relations with the international community.

Similarly, the qualitative analysis revealed the same results. The editorials of Urdu newspapers mainly attributed to corruption, poor water management system, financial instability, and weak bilateral relations with India to the previous government. Urdu newspapers focused more on corruption cases against members of the Pakistan Muslim

League (N). English newspapers solely supported Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf as a prospective, focused, and determined political party deserving an opportunity to win the elections.

Therefore, with the help of cited literature, both quantitative and qualitative analyses also affirmed the potential differences regarding the coverage patterns of both English and Urdu newspapers. Hence, supporting or opposing certain political entities is a part of media campaigns during elections. It is a widely witnessed phenomenon yet needs more consideration. (Alonso, 2014)

5. Differences in Urdu and English Newspapers' Coverage (based on language):

The fifth study hypothesis proposed differences based on the languages of Urdu and English newspapers. To statistically affirm this proposition, the researcher first conducted the Mann-Whitney U Test, and with the significance value of $p \geq .000^{***}$, the data revealed significant differences. Also, during the content analysis of newspapers, these differences were largely found. For instance, English newspapers mainly utilized prospects, progress, success, fair elections, stability, peace, conflict resolution, etc. On the other hand, Urdu newspapers mostly involved news reports regarding corruption, Panama leaks, and ongoing court trials against Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, so the discourse was used accordingly.

Likewise, the qualitative analysis of the editorials also revealed similar results. As English newspapers were explicitly supporting Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, they focused on optimism. However, Urdu news editorials mainly involved "Corrupt, criminal, untrustworthy, incapable and dishonest" against the persuasive party member. These

results showed a strong consistency with the studies previously conducted and revealed language as the main difference regarding newspapers' reporting across the world. (See Jan et al., 2013; Abate, 2013; Hobolt, 2006; (Chang, 2009; Entman, 2007)

Hence, with the help of the cited literature, the quantitative and qualitative analyses both revealed significant differences regarding the reporting languages of Urdu and English newspapers. Indeed, portraying political matters is a tool kit for the media platforms to attain several benefits. Also, media framing is an ongoing debate for practitioners and researchers, affirming the intensity of content and discourse to either defame or support a certain political entity (Dunaway & Lawrence, 2015).

6. Urdu newspapers positively covered the political campaigns during the 2018 elections in Pakistan

The sixth study hypothesis assumed a significant relationship between Urdu newspapers' reporting and positive elections coverage in Pakistan. Notably, by positive, we mean objectivity, constructivism, and optimism in reporting the news (Setyawati & Rahayu, 2018). Hence, with the significant value of $p \geq .000^{**}$, we found a strong significant relationship between Urdu news reports and positive coverage. For instance, during the content analysis of the news articles, most news reports were found encouraging voters to vote and actively participate in the elections as their national responsibility. Some of the reports also focused on the young voters and represented them as a country's brighter future.

Likewise, the qualitative analysis of newspapers editorials also revealed similar results. Although many of the editorials highlighted corruption and financial instability,

they also discussed educational reforms as the need of the day. In this regard, most of the editorials addressed how educational reforms can be made possible and how youth can be motivated to change Pakistani society. These results are consistent with the previous studies conducted by Setyawati & Rahayu, (2018), Garz, (2014), and Rosenson, (2015), as these investigations also addressed the main differences in positive and negative news based on constructivism and factual reporting style.

Therefore, along with the support of the cited literature, the researcher affirmed the eight-study hypothesis as both quantitative and qualitative results strongly validated the relevant propositions. As noted by Garz, (2014), bad and good news can only be differentiated because they are based on realistic representations of the problems and their constructive solutions. For instance, if news reports represent a false picture of an economic crisis, it will lead to social unrest. However, if news reports are realistic and constructivist, people can feel motivated to solve them effectively.

7. Newspapers Framing, Voting Decision & Engagement in the Voting Process:

To examine the impacts of newspapers' framing of political news on voters' decision-making process and engagement in the election, the researcher employed Regression analysis. Herewith the significance value of $p \geq .157$ and $p \geq .986$ (respectively),

The researcher did not find any impact of media framing on voters' voting choices and engagement decisions. These results also reject the eighth and ninth study hypotheses based on the cited literature, and the researcher assumed the impacts of media framing. These impacts mainly involve changing one's opinion, motivating them to make a relevant decision, and actively casting their vote accordingly. In this regard, the relationship

between news media framing and voting decisions witnessed by existing studies (See Waheed et al., 2015; Wani & Alone, 2014; Zhang & Min, 2013; Slothuus & de Vreese, 2010; Büttler & Maréchal, 2007) is inconsistent in the current research.

Shami & Ashfaq (2018) noted that the appearance of political messages on mass media platforms greatly inspires the spectators and the readers. Previous studies witnessed this phenomenon in different countries. (See Adegbola, 2019; Deželan & Vobič, 2016; Salanova, 2012; Micheletti, 2013) However, readers and viewers are comparatively more skeptical about making political decisions in these days. They have strong critical thinking and evaluative capabilities that help them make decisions on their own.

8. Gender Differences & Political Participation:

Many studies have further revealed that women are voters who are more likely to vote than those of the men. Here the framing patterns of female candidates are an potential determinant of increased women participation in the voting process (Goodyear-Grant & Croskill, 2011). Grosholz (2017) noted that framing patterns of female candidates is an important factor in reinforcing certain voting engagement among men. In this context, women are not adequately represented and comparatively show lower engagement is major issue in contemporary democracies. (UNESCO, 2013)

Thus, the eighth study hypothesis also assessed any potential differences in newspaper framing based on the voters' gender. With the significance value of $p \geq .543$, we did not find any gender differences based on voting behavior among the voters during General Elections in Pakistan. Here we have got our findings as inconsistent with the existing literature witnessing the role of gender in voting and decision-making process (

See Abendschön & Steinmetz, 2014; Hatemi et al., 2012; Goodyear-Grant & Croskill, 2011; Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010; Letuka et al., 2004).

According to Grosholz (2017), there are prominent gender-based voting considerations when investigating the role of gender in voting behavior. Thus, gender is an important consideration for the voters that further helps them think in a certain manner. However, the current research denies this notion in the Pakistani scenario and does not affirm the role of gender as a factor liable to determine the voting behavior (Roth & Clare Saunders, 2019).

9. Voting differences based on Age:

According to Lau et al., (2018), age is a prominent factor affecting one's voting choice and decisions. For instance, people who are aged, have better life experiences which help them make more stable and constructive decisions. Before decision-making, they take all the risks and opportunities under consideration and ensure long-term monetary and social interests and benefits. However, youngsters are emotional and less likely to consider the risks and long-terms interests. In this regard, the current study also examined the potential voting differences based on the individual's age groups. Thus, with the significance value of $p \geq .075$, we found moderately significant age differences regarding voting decisions.

These results are consistent with the study conducted by Wagner & Kritzinger, (2012), as the researchers also found moderately existing age differences with respect to the voting process in Australia. Indeed, this proposition is also validated by S. Arzheimer et al., (2016), and the current study further affirms the proposed age differences in the Pakistani scenario.

As noted by Webster & Pierce, (2019), senior voters have different concerns such as Age and the candidate's experience. By keeping in view these two concerns, old age citizens make their voting decisions attain prospective results in the future. Further authenticated by Chen & Ma, (2009), as they cited an example of age and voting choices in the United States, According to the researchers, the stability of voting decisions is much attributed to the voters' Age. Older people feel more responsible, have more time to think about the political process, and ponder over useful decisions. Retired people tend to think about the candidates that can benefit them, i.e., pensions and other civil services. Thus, by keeping in view these points, older adults make more careful decisions.

10. Voting differences based on the Provincial Affiliation:

Studies, regarding the sociology of elections, have witnessed a significant relationship between geographical affiliation and voting decisions among the public. In this regard, the role of information sources is also of greater importance (Kovalcsik & Nzimande, 2019). For instance, a study conducted by Calvert Jump & Michell, (2020) cited an example of the electoral geography of Brexit. As found that geographical deprivation was significantly linked with voting behavior among the individuals, further affirm the role of geographical affiliation in the voting decision-making process.

However, with the significance value of $p \geq .743$, the researcher did not find any significant relationship between geographical (provincial) affiliation and voting behavior in this research. Applying a One-Way Analysis of variance did not exhibit any relatable mean difference that could affirm the proposed differences. These findings remained incompatible with the existing literature ((Pattie & Johnston, 2009; Haydukiewicz, 2011;

Schurr, 2013; Kavianirad & Rasouli, 2015; Nb, 2017; Giebler & Regel, 2018) as we did not find out any valid relationship between voting decision and provincial affiliation of our study participants.

Yet, we cannot deny the geographical affiliations as a strong determinant of the decision-making process as witnessed these differences in other countries, such as Sandler, (2017), Nb, (2017), Pattie & Johnston, (2009), and Haydukiewicz, (2011). On the contrary, results from General Elections in Pakistan contradict these results indicating no difference based on participants' provincial affiliation.

6.1 Summary & Conclusion:

The current study aimed to examine the prospective relationship between news media reporting, framing, and its impacts on the general voters. I have conducted this study in Pakistani scenario, during the General Elections of 2018, and selected $n= 6$ Pakistani newspapers to examine the framing and the other relevant phenomena. The study was based on the mixed-method approach to provide the broader picture of news media framing.

However, it was important to sustain this research on the strong theoretical ground. For this purpose, I cited $n= 191$ research studies witnessing the role of news media and its perceived impacts on voters' behavior. It is also notable that I employed a systematic review approach to highlight further the extent to which news media has been the focus of attention concerning framing and its impacts. Similarly, theories such as Framing theory, Agenda Setting Theory, Media System Dependency Theory further strengthen the ground for this study, which also helped validate the research hypotheses.

By using both quantitative content analysis and quantitative, close-ended surveys, the research successfully gathered much data. Using descriptive and inferential statistics helped arrange, manipulate, code, and analyze the gathered data in the best possible manner.

Findings revealed a strong, significant relationship between Newspapers' framing of the political news from June 6th 2018, to August 21st 2018. Results indicated that the data gathered from the content analysis affirmed all the hypotheses by highlighting strong relationships among the proposed study variables. However, the data gathered from survey execution showed comparatively different results than expected. Only age was a factor that showed moderately significant differences with the participation in the voting process (Peters et al., 2007). Here gender, provincial affiliation, and the role of newspaper framing in reinforcing voting engagement and decision-making did not show any significance did not indicate any supportive results, resulting in the rejection of the relevant hypotheses.

Hence, from the early day of mass media research, media platforms have been considered a source of information and communication for the audience. Earlier, the emphasis was merely on the radio and television, however gradually, with the expansion of mass media research, print media also became a centre of attention. Here Groombridge argued that medium is a prominent component of civilizing our "dry social existence." Media platforms have a major contribution in highlighting several socio-economic and political phenomena. In this context, political communication is a prominent part of media content that strengthens democracy (Gurevitch et al., 2009). The role of media in a democracy is not merely speculation, as early studies also witnessed the mass media in representing the political facts, their framing, and their influences on voters' voting

practices and decision-making process (Rexha, 2014). Previous studies conducted by Gérard, (1969) Harlan, (1970), and Blumler, (1979) had furnished the following evidence that provided a pathway to media research in political communication and its perceived impacts.

Therefore, by keeping the underlying facts of political communication, framing and impacts, the current study also provides in-depth insights into the media and politics, especially during the elections. Despite this fact, the study also contains some contradictions regarding media effects compared to the previous studies. It also gives a strong ground to resume media research in terms of politics and framing effects, especially in Pakistan.

6.2 Limitations:

Despite its vast scope and an extensive data analysis and mixed-method approach, the current study is confined to two primary limitations. **First:** Three major hypotheses regarding gender, provincial affiliation, and impacts of media framing on voting engagement and decision-making also faced rejection thus narrowing its scope. **Second,** the researcher analyzed a limited time frame with limited financial resources that also added to the limitations of current research. However, the researcher has carefully gathered and analyzed the data that facilitate the validity and reliability of the study instruments and the implementation of results in the Pakistani scenario.

6.3 Recommendations for the Future Research:

By keeping in view the current scope of study, limitations, and results, the researcher also makes recommendations for future researchers. In this regard, future studies should be carried out about:

1. Potential media framing on other media platforms, particularly social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and other social handles.
2. The framing of political populists in Pakistani media and its perceived impacts on the audiences should also be carried out in a prudent way.
3. The role of demographical factors such as age, gender, and provincial affiliation should be scrutinized through micro-level studies.
4. Newspapers with comparatively less circulation frequency should also be taken under consideration. Here regional newspapers in regional languages can provide even more in-depth details about the media framing and its perceived impacts.
5. 4. The role of other individual factors such as economic background in determining the voting decisions of the public.

Thus, to attain more insights, it is important to consider the recommendations mentioned above, as these recommendations are not merely suggesting more studies; they also indicate a potential research gap regarding political communication and the role of media in Pakistan.

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Appendices
Research Questionnaire

i. Your Gender:

- a) Male
- b) Female
- c) Shemale

ii. Your Age:

- a) 18-25
- b) 26-30
- c) 31-35
- d) 36-40
- e) 41-45
- f) 46 or above

iii. Your locality:

- a) Rural
- b) Urban

iv. Your provincial affiliation:

- a) Punjab
- b) KPK
- c) AJK
- d) Sindh
- e) GB
- f) Baluchistan
- g) Islamabad (Federal Capital Territory)

v. Your Qualification:

- a) Matric
- b) Intermediate
- c) Bachelors
- d) Graduation
- e) MS/MPhil
- f) Doctorate

Section 1: General Elections in Pakistan						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	How often do you read the newspaper?					
2.	Print media play an important role in strengthening the political system in Pakistan?					
3.	Print media is the best medium to use for General Elections Campaigns?					
4.	Information regarding Political Party manifesto was shared via Print media campaigns?					
5.	Information regarding Political Party manifesto was shared via Print media campaigns?					
6.	Do print media-based election reports involve readers in politics?					
7.	Print Media has helped in bringing forward the political parties based on their proposed agenda or objectives?					
8.	I acknowledge the democratic system in Pakistan					
9.	I believe in voting as our national responsibility:					
10.	Elections help us select credible people:					

11.	Everyone should cast his/her vote as their moral responsibility:					
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Section 2: Positive/Negative News						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12.	Urdu print media give more coverage to political campaigns during general elections as compared to English language newspapers?					
13.	Local print media give more coverage to political campaigns during general elections compare to Urdu newspapers?					
14.	Local print media give more coverage to political campaigns during general elections as compared to Urdu newspapers?					
15.	Print media supported PTI in general elections 2018?					
16.	Print media give less coverage to PMLN in general elections of 2018?					
17.	Do politicians need print media coverage for their political campaigns?					
18.	Political parties have been given only paid coverage by print media during election campaigns?					
19.	Political parties have been given only paid coverage by print media during election campaigns?					
20.	English newspapers gave neutral coverage to the political scenario instead of Urdu newspapers?					

Section 3: Newspapers and Voting Decision						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

21.	Newspapers kept us updated about political scenarios during General Elections in 2018:					
22.	Print media coverage to a political party affects the voter?					
23.	Due to print media coverage, the voting results were affected?					
24.	Print Media was used by political parties just to defame other parties					
25.	Print Media has helped in bringing forward the political parties on the basis of its proposed agenda or objectives					
26.	I largely relied on print media during General Elections in 2018					
27.	I found newspapers reporting supporting a particular party more than other political parties:					
28.	I found newspapers reporting reliable and trustworthy during General Elections in 2018					
29.	I found newspapers' reporting as helping me decide the suitable political party to support:					
30.	Articles and columns published in print media can change voter's behaviour?					
31.	Print media share political information during General Elections in order to endorse political ideas?					

Section4:Newspapers and Political Participation						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
32.	Newspapers helped me acknowledge the truth:					
33.	Newspapers helped me actively participate in the voting process					
34.	Newspapers' reporting was influential and based on highlighting the importance of vote					

35.	Newspapers informed us about the importance of our votes for the integrity of democratic system:					
36.	Print Media election campaigns better involve the youth into politics?					
37.	Do the photos published by political parties during election campaigns in print media have any impact?					
38.	Print media helped people believe in the power of vote?					

Section 5: Gender Differences						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
39.	I think women participated more than those of men in voting process					
40.	I think women primarily voted the female candidates					
41.	I think women relied on newspapers for updates and news regarding elections					
42.	I think women made more rational voting decisions than those of men					
43.	I think women participated more in political processions and rallies than those of men					

Section 5: Age Differences						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
44.	I think young people participated comparatively more than those of the aged people					
45.	I think young people made voting decisions based on emotions than rational thinking					
46.	I think young people relied on media resources to gain political information					

47.	I think young people's voting decisions were deeply influenced by media exposure to political content					
48.	I think young people actively participated in the voting process based on the information gathered from news media					

Section 6: Political Participation & Locality						
Sr.	Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
49.	I think there was a significant difference in voting participation among people from rural and urban areas					
50.	I think urbanized people participated more than the people living in the rural areas					
51.	I think urbanized people made better voting decisions than people from the rural areas:					
52.	I think people from urbanized areas made comparatively more rational decisions:					
53.	I think people from urbanized areas followed logical reasoning for the decision making process:					