Do International News Agencies Set the Agenda of Pakistani English Newspapers? A Critical Analysis of Three English Dailies of Pakistan

Lubna Shaheen * Muhammad Naseem Anwar † Rashid Ishaq ‡

Abstract: The aim of this study is to measure the reliance of the Pakistani English press on international news agencies. Quantitative content analysis was done to see the level of reliance. A ten-year period has been selected for analysis starting from 9/11. International pages of three English newspapers were selected. The results indicated that there is very small contribution of the newspapers in the case of international news content, they mostly rely on foreign content and publish the same. Pakistani newspapers hardly try to appoint their correspondents and resultanty they have to copy the same content available by international news agencies e.g., AP, AFP & Reuter. The study considered the theory of media imperialism and the results endorse the age-old central verses peripheral relationship with developed countries and the developing nations which still persist.

Key Words: Developed Countries, Developing Nations, Foreign Content, Media Imperialism, Peripheral

Introduction
South Asian nations cover a good part of the globe; that is why happenings and events occurring across the Muslim world catch attention from media across the globe. In an overtly uni-polar world, centering the US, the global media follows a different trend in their portrayal of news stories. The free flow of information and the advancements in
communication technologies are the dominant doctrines of today’s life. The global press contributes toward internationalization and constructs influential global news agenda. Global media provide information that enables the national media to think globally. Many people in developing countries think that the foreign press defines globalization as westernization by setting western ideologies as to be taken as norms by the national news providers (Boyd-Barrett, 2000). Though there are hundreds of globally influential media outlets, yet the most powerful and visible out-lets are located in the United States. The most prominent among them are Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and Christian Monitor etc. These newspapers services are also used by the national print media of Pakistan.

The global press holds a monopoly over news production; the major news content is provided by the transnational news-press. This content is most of the times published without any changes in the text in the national press of developing countries (Arya, 2011). Different researchers called and named this type of news material as “secondhand news” (Xie & Cooper-Chen, 2008), “journalistic plagiarism” (Lewis et al., 2008), “copied material” (Arya, 2011), “recycled news” (Frijters & Velamuri, 2009), “news borrowing” (Xie & cooper-Chen, 2008) and “ready-made news” (Bredemeier-Garson, 2008).

“Churnalism” a term introduced by Davis (2008), presents kind journalism in which news stories are taken from news agencies and published in newspapers of recipient nations without further research or contribution. In short, the kind of journalism that presents news stories taken from foreign media to its own newspapers without altering it. Hence the newspapers’ staff does not contribute anything to the development of news (Johnston, 2011).

This reliance on the foreign press is overwhelming as Paterson (2005) noted that online news is the “de facto duopoly of Associated Press and Reuters”. Arya (2011) concluded that “Times of India and Hindustan Times having a near-total dependence on international news agencies”. Lewis (2008) found that “UK media are highly dependent on national and international news agencies for news contents”. Shaheen (2014) concluded in the study on the news published on international pages of three newspapers are near complete replication of the original stories taken from the news feed of international news wires, with a very minimal original contribution by the most highly acclaimed newspapers of Pakistan. Johnston & Forde says that “this phenomenon of borrowed news leading to an even greater reliance on news agency copy than perhaps at any other time in news media history”. “Breaking news in online newspapers is synonymous with wire service copy” (Johnston & Forde, 2009). Transnational news wires set the agenda through the selection of stories and the amount of visual they present to the recipient of both press and electronic media (Paterson, 2007).

Such kind of excessive copied and syndicated news influence and affect the national media as noted by Johnston; it is argued that the influence comes at two levels, first with regard to the choice of news stories and their different slant by the global press and second with regard to the selection of stories by their clients, i.e., media groups in terms of “follow up, reproduce with limited follow up or replicate word to word without the
Do International News Agencies Set the Agenda of Pakistani English Newspapers? A Critical Analysis of Three English Dailies of Pakistan

contribution of their own journalists” (2011). Besova quoted Lippmann that the only connection with the outer world is the media, we don’t experience reality, and we rely on media for the construction of reality (2006). It is the media that provide us with the information about the war on terror and other events which happen in the outer world (Besova, 2006). Paterson noted that discourses on international events are determined by two transnational agencies, i.e., Reuters and AP (2007). The CEO associated press Thomas Curley called these news agencies as ‘unseen players of world landscape’ (Johnston & Forde, 2011).

Few media outlets have their own network of correspondents, and this is the main reason news agencies made their contribution as providers of news content to the national media news agencies have the edge of deciding which issues to be selected and how they will be portrayed. They have the opportunity to build media agenda (Giffard & Leuven, 2008). Thussu and Boyd-Barrett found from the literature on news wires that there are different types of bias that can affect their coverage; the main is qualitative, which includes a political, social and foreign policy of the country in which the news wires operate, and the other is quantitative which means the selection of certain issues ignoring the others.

Literature Review

The paper by Nossek (2004) was based on the basic assumptions of the theoretical perspective that how the international foreign media portray others versus ours. The journalists’ loyalty and disloyalty matter in covering the issues. The research argues that to the issues to which journalists are loyal, they forget journalistic values and become ‘subordinate’ to their interests. The paper concludes that journalists also show disloyalty towards a few international issues.

Mitra (2015) studied the news routines and dependence of Indian newspapers on international news agencies, mainly AFP, AP & Reuters. He applied content analysis on foreign pages of ‘The Times of India’, the major English published from Hyderabad. The universe of the study was one month from 1st to 30th Sep 2014, when India was going through major political and economic change. The main concern of the study was to see the newspaper’s selection criteria of news, the number of news covered by each news wire and which country was covered by which news agency. The study found that the news flow is unequal, mainly from developed to underdeveloped countries, which gives an advantage to the western states to control and set the news agenda for the remaining world. “The increasing commodification of news implies that the news created by the first world is sold to content starved markets in the developing world increasing their dependency, handicapping their economies, and influencing public opinions”.

As effectively examined earlier, Reuters, Associated Press (AP), and Agence France-Presse (AFP) are the major three offices of the world press. They manage the news stream in their household markets, as well as the world over. Almost all developing nations are reliant on them for the supply of world news. The frameworks in these international news offices are exceptionally productive in news assembling and additionally presentation of news, and this has given them an edge to
combine their business sector positions in and around the 3rd world (Harad, 2012).

Earlier studies have shown that universal news is appropriated generally by Western news organizations. A study by Djosef & Huisman (2011) suggests that these discoveries that Reuters, AP, AFP and Bloomberg were and still are the real news organizations/providers utilized by major papers for content and pictures. The expanded pattern of utilization of transnational news offices is straightforwardly joined with the money related circumstance of newspaper organizations in the creating scene. The supply of global news from transnational news organizations liberates them of their need to contract outside reporters. Despite the fact that it has got to be simpler and less expensive for these papers to print outside news, it additionally implies that the force of the Western news offices has gotten to be stronger and persuasive. Further, the news which is introduced appears to be from the west and about the west for the most part, with numerous parts of the world explicitly overlooked.

**Agenda Building**

Foreign press highlights the salience and importance of particular news or event; since the press has power and tremendous outreach, the news is highlighted as a “significant event”. Keeping in view the international significance of the event, the gatekeepers (editors of local newspapers) immediately take notice of the news and accommodate it in their own newspaper, without considering that the news has some sense or similarity for the local readers.

The following figures further explain the importance of agenda building in the present study.

| Factors/salience | Attributes/effects | Second level |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Foreign press    | Gate-keepers/decision makers | National Newspapers |

**Figure 1**: Agenda Building Model: The news routines portrayal at each of the two levels of Agenda Building.

The model shows the two different levels of agenda building. At the first level, the factors which influence the editors’ choices and make the news content becomes important for them. At the second level, the portrayal of news content is the reflection of the first level of agenda building.
The two levels of agenda building are applied in this study. At the first level, the input is the salience/factors that influence/effect the choices of the gatekeepers and at the second level, the output is the themes and factors derived from the news stories of the newspapers that are selected for analysis. Themes are the effect on the second level of agenda building. Themes are, in fact, attributes that cause effects. Attributes are measured through themes and direction of the content.

**Methodology**

This study selected a time frame of ten years from post 9/11/2001 to 2011, i.e., (the death of Osama Bin Laden in the hands of the US forces). The underhand issue was also important to be researched in Pakistan that the death occurred in Pakistani territory, and the foreign press during the time period remained very active regarding the news supplies to Pakistan. It was selected for being the focus of massive media coverage worldwide as the first reaction was the deceleration of the War against Terror by the US. The context allows a simultaneous exploration of both global dynamics of news reporting and local coverage.

**Research Questions**

**RQ 1:** What sources of information (frequency of global sources) are used by the three leading Pakistani national English newspapers, i.e., Dawn, The News, & The Nation?

**RQ 2:** Which of the three Pakistani national newspapers, Dawn, The News, & The Nation, has greater reliance over global news agencies in covering global issues, i.e., the global press considered more reliable?

**RQ 3:** Which category was given more coverage among all the selected categories in the English national press of Pakistan?

| Afghanistan War | Positive portrayal | Neutral portrayal | Negative portrayal |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Taliban         | Britain suggests a pro-Taliban role for Taliban members (14 Nov 2001, The News, AFP) US attack on Afghanistan would be futile (12 Sep 2001, The Nation, AFP) | The US using chemical weapons, say Taliban (31 Oct 2001, The Nation, AFP) | US warplanes continue bombing Al Qaeda bases (16 Jan 2002 The Nation, AFP) |
| ISAF forces in Afghanistan; NATO Arms Supplies | Strikes on Afghanistan may trigger regional conflicts (19 Sep 2001, The Nation, AFP) | NATO launches rapid response force (15 Oct 2003 The News, AFP) | Us may ask NATO to take military charge of Iraq (9 July 2003, The News, AFP) |

*Table 1. Categories are Defined by Foreign Press Through Pakistani National Press (News Stories)*
| Afghanistan War | Positive portrayal | Neutral portrayal | Negative portrayal |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Aid and Humanitarian efforts by the US in Afghanistan | EU pledges to help rebuild Afghanistan (9 Jan 2002, The Nation, AFP) | Aid helps up for Afghanistan (31 Oct 2001, The Nation, AFP) | Aid held up for Afghanistan (31 Oct 2001, The Nation) |
| Afghan Government | Operation against terror must go to absolute end: Karzai (30 January 2002, the Nation, AFP) | Karzai appoints Dostum as deputy defence minister (26 Dec 2001, The Nation, AFP) | Heading the Afghans: a dangerous mission (6 Oct 2004, Dawn, Reuters) |
| Al-Qaeda | Britain urges US to respect Taliban, Al-Qaeda prisoners (16 Jan 2002, the Nation, AFP) | Al-Qaeda at a glance (5 Sep 2002, The News, AFP) | Al Qaeda has become a global insurgency (10, Nov 2004, The Nation, AFP) |

**Table 2.** Categories are Defined by Foreign Press Through Pakistani National Press

| Iraq War | Negative Category | Neutral category | Positive Category |
|----------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Chemical Weapons & WMD | Iraq makes key concession as west divides over war (19 Feb 2003, The Nation, AFP) | Little new in Iraq weapon report (25 Dec 2002, The News, AFP) | War could be started in a few days: AL chief (26 Feb 2003, The Nation, AFP) |
| Image building of Saddam Hussein | Saddam denies link with Al Qaeda (5 Feb 2003, The Nation, AFP) | Saddam appears in court (24 Aug 2005, Dawn, Reuters) | Kill Saddam if capture too dangerous: US officials (30 July 2003, The Nation, AFP) |
| | Saddam’s character traits flash up in court (30 Nov 2005, Dawn, Reuters) | Saddam’s palace vacated (2 Nov 2005, Dawn, AFP) | Saddam’s death sentences a milestone: US (27 Dec 2006, Dawn, Reuters) |
| US and UN peacekeeper’s role in Iraq | Time for US leaders to negotiate a compromise on Iraq (11 April 2007, Dawn, The Washington Post News Service) | How Iraq referendum will work (12 Oct 2005, Dawn, Reuters) | Iraq to help inspectors iron out problems (26 Feb 2003, The Nation, AFP) |
| | UN key players closer to the accord. (9 Oct 2002, The Nation, AFP) | | |
Countries should share Iraq refugees burden (Oct 2004, the Nation, AFP)
US officials expect two million refugees (26 Feb 2003, the Nation, AFP)
Poor Iraqis crushed in war’s aftermath (11 April 2007, Dawn, AFP)

Analysis

RQ 1: What sources of information (frequency of global sources) are used by the three leading Pakistani national English newspapers, i.e., Dawn, The News, & The Nation?

Table 3. Frequency of News on Foreign Pages during Sep, 2001- Sep, 2011 by Dawn

| News Sources | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | Total |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Frequency    | 76   | 116  | 115  | 71   | 51   | 50   | 49   | 40   | 35   | 20   | 681  |

| No | %     |
|----|-------|
| 1  | AFP   |
| 2  | AP    |
| 3  | CM    |
| 4  | GNS   |
| 5  | IPS   |
| 6  | LAT   |
| 7  | Correspondent |
| 8  | No source |
| 9  | ONS   |
| 10 | Reuters |
| 11 | WP    |

| News Sources | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 | 2020 | 2021 |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Frequency    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| AFP          | 41   | 94   | 92   | 74   | 49   | 43   | 41   | 36   | 28   | 26   | 18   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| AP           | 78   | 69.1 | 68.4 | 70.2 | 63.2 | 62.7 | 58.5 | 56.7 | 67.8 | 53.8 | 61.1 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| correspondent| 0    | 2.12 | 4.3  | 4.05 | 14.2 | 16.2 | 12.1 | 13.5 | 14.2 | 15.3 | 16.6 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| No source    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 2.04 | 2.3  | 12.1 | 10.8 | 3.57 | 7.6  | 5.55 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Reuters      | 21.95| 28.7 | 27.1 | 25.6 | 20.4 | 18.6 | 17.0 | 18.9 | 14.2 | 19.2 | 16.6 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
|              | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  | 100  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
Table 5. Frequency of News on Foreign Pages during Sep, 2001- Sep, 2011 by The Nation

| News agencies | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Frequency S. No | 67   | 84   | 76   | 72   | 51   | 41   | 39   | 35   | 27   | 23   | 16   |
| S. No % | 94.0 | 92.8 | 85   | 86.1 | 86.2 | 85.3 | 84.6 | 80   | 70.3 | 69.5 | 75   |
| AFP correspondent | 2.9  | 4.7  | 7.89 | 9.7  | 5.8  | 9.7  | 10.2 | 17.1 | 14.8 | 13.0 | 12.5 |
| No source | 2.9  | 0    | 3.9  | 2.7  | 3.9  | 2.4  | 0    | 0    | 3.7  | 0    | 0    |
| ONS | 0    | 1.1  | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    |
| Reuters | 0    | 0    | 0    | 1.3  | 3.9  | 0    | 2.5  | 2.8  | 11.1 | 13.0 | 6.25 |
| Washington post | 0    | 1.1  | 2.6  | 0    | 0    | 2.4  | 2.5  | 0    | 0    | 4.3  | 6.25 |

RQ 2: Which amongst the three Pakistani national newspapers; Dawn, The News, & The Nation has greater reliance over global news agencies in covering global issues i.e., the global press considered more reliable?

Figure 3: Number of news stories covered by special correspondents of newspapers The News 2001-2011

Figure 4: Number of News Stories Covered by Special Correspondents of Newspapers the Nation
Do International News Agencies Set the Agenda of Pakistani English Newspapers? A Critical Analysis of Three English Dailies of Pakistan

Figure 5: Number of News Stories between 2011-2011

Figure 6: Number of News Stories Covered by Special Correspondents of Newspapers

RQ 3: Which Category was given more coverage among all the selected Categories in the National English Press of Pakistan?

Table 6. Sub-Categories of Afghanistan Category

| Category                                                                 | Frequency | %   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-----|
| Other than Afghanistan                                                  | 1088      | 62.00 |
| Taliban, US and Afghanistan, War on Terror, Osama, Mulla Omar            | 361       | 20.60 |
| ISAF. NATO, Allies                                                       | 88        | 5.00  |
| Aid, Citizens, Refugees                                                  | 56        | 3.20  |
| Afghan Government                                                        | 98        | 5.60  |
| Al-Qaeda                                                                 | 64        | 3.60  |
| Total                                                                    | 1755      | 100.00 |

Vol. VI, No. 1 (Winter 2021) 217
Table 7. Sub-Categories of Iraq Category

| Category                      | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Other than Iraq               | 1005      | 57.30   |
| WMD, US Invasion, Inspectors  | 472       | 26.90   |
| Saddam                        | 139       | 7.90    |
| US and UN                     | 95        | 5.40    |
| Humanitarian efforts          | 44        | 2.50    |
| Total                         | 1755      | 100.00  |

Table 8. Frequency of News Stories for Iran Category

| Category                      | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Other than Iran               | 1428      | 81.40   |
| Nuclear Enrichment, Sanctions | 248       | 14.10   |
| World powers                  | 34        | 1.90    |
| IAEA                          | 45        | 2.60    |
| Total                         | 1755      | 100.00  |

Conclusion

With the concept of “media power”, the study answers the questions as to what sources of information were used by three leading English dailies of Pakistan, i.e., Dawn, The News, and The Nation. This study investigated the level of dependence of the Pakistani English press on the global press and the effects of this dependence. For these purposes, three core issues of Post 9/11 era, i.e., the Afghan war, the Iraq war and Iran’s nuclear program, have been taken. Based on quantitative data, the study offers the following conclusions. The research showed that the top English newspapers in Pakistan depend more than 90 percent upon foreign news source. There are certain reasons behind such dependency, which include; inadequate financial resources, lack of human resource, and lack of coverage outreach. Additionally, the minimal number of foreign correspondents results in the dependence of the national press on the global press. The findings suggested that during the taken period of time, the national press of Pakistan played a role of facilitators in promoting a western view of the world issues.
Reference

Arya, K. (2011). The Over-Dependence of Indian English newspapers on Global News Agencies for International News (Doctoral dissertation, Institute of Communication Studies, University of Leeds).

Associated Press. (AP) (2007). Breaking news: How the Associated Press has covered war, peace and everything else. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Bakhshandeh, E. (2014). How mainstream Iranian newspapers portray the west: the influence of anti-Westernism and anti-Americanism. Journal of International Communication, 20(2), 184-199.

Besova, A. A., & Cooley, S. C. (2009). Foreign news and public opinion: Attribute agenda-setting theory revisited. ECQUID NOVI, 30(2), 219-242.

Blanton, S. L. (1996). Images in conflict: the case of Ronald Reagan and El Salvador. International Studies Quarterly, 40(1), 23-44.

Blazhevski, B. (2015). The dependence on global media of foreign policy reporting of the Macedonian newspaper Vecher (2013-1983). Conference paper, Retrieved fromhttps://www.academia.edu/24750364/The_Dependence_on_Global_Media_of_Foreign_Policy_Reporting_of_the_Macedonian__Newspaper_Vecher_2013-1983_

Blazhevski, B. (2013). The Degree of Dependence on International Reporting in Macedonian Internet Media from Global News Agencies. Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies, 3(4), 107.

Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). Conducting in-depth interviews: A guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input (pp. 3-7). Watertown, MA: Pathfinder International.

Boyd-Barrett, O. (2006). Cyberspace, Globalization and Empire. Global Media and Communication, 2(1), 21-41.

Boyd-Barrett, O. (1998). Media imperialism reformulated. Electronic empires: Global media and local resistance, 157-176.

Boyd-Barrett, O. (2000). Constructing the global, constructing the local: News agencies re-present the world. The global dynamics of news: Studies in international news coverage of news agendas, 299-322.

Boyd-Barrett, O. (1980). The international news agencies (Vol. 13). Constable Limited Boyd-Barrett, O. (1977). Media imperialism: Towards an international framework for the analysis of media systems. Mass communication and society, 116-135.

Boyd-Barrett, O., & Rantanen, T. (2004). News agencies as news sources: A re-evaluation. International News in the 21st Century, 31-45

Boyd-Barrett, O., & Rantanen, T. (Eds.). (1998). The globalization of news. Sage.

Boyd-Barrett, O., & Thussu, D. K. (1992). Contra-flow in global news: International and regional news exchange mechanisms (Vol. 8). J. Libbey.

Bredemeier-Garson, K. (2008). Book Review: Davies, Nick, Flat Earth News, 2008, London, Chatto & Windus, ISBN-10: 0701181451.

Brosius, H. B., & Weimann, G. (1996). Who Sets the Agenda Agenda-Setting as a Two-
StepFlow. *Communication Research*, 23(5), 561-580.

Brown, T., Budd, L., Bell, M., & Rendell, H. (2011). The local impact of global climate change: reporting on landscape transformation and threatened identity in the English regional newspaper press. *Public Understanding of Science*, 20(5), 658-673.

Devereux, E. (2013). Understanding the media. *Sage publication*.

Dimitrova, D. V., & Connolly-Ahern, C. (2007). A tale of two wars: Framing analysis of online news sites in coalition countries and the Arab world during the Iraq war. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 18(2), 153-168.

Dimitrova, D. V., & Stromback, J. (2005). Mission accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the elite newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *Gazette*, 67(5), 399-417.

Djurovic, D. (2006). Role of news agency in internet journalism. *Media research*, 12(1), 137-40.

Djosef, A., & Huisman, M. (2011) International news coverage in the Asian region. An analysis of the Jakarta post & Times of India, *Journalism and diversity*.

Dooley, K. J., & Corman, S. R. (2002). The dynamics of electronic media coverage. *Communication and terrorism: Public and media responses to*, 9(11), 121-35.

Edy, J. A., & Meirick, P. C. (2007). Wanted, dead or alive: Media frames, frame adoption, and support for the war in Afghanistan. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 119-141.

Eliades, N. (2006). The Rise of Al Jazeera. *Peace & Conflict Monitor* (http://www.monitor.upeace.org/archive.cfm).

Elliott, P., & Golding, P. (1973). The news media and foreign affairs. *The Management of Britain's External Affairs. London: Macmillan*.

El-Nawawy, M., & Kelly, J. D. (2001). Between the Government and the Press the Role of Western Correspondents and Government Public Relations in Middle East Coverage. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 6(3), 90-109.

Entman, R. M. (2007). Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 163-173.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

Frijters, P., & Velamuri, M. (2009). Is the Internet bad news? The online news era and the market for high-quality news. MPRA paper, No. 15723. Munich: University Library of Munich

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2000). The interview: From structured questions to negotiated text. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(6), 645-672.

Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of peace research*, 2(1), 64-90.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach. *American journal of sociology*, 1-37.

Garcia, M. M., & Gaulan, G. J. (2008). Not enough time to cover all the news: An analysis of the international news
Do International News Agencies Set the Agenda of Pakistani English Newspapers? A Critical Analysis of Three English Dailies of Pakistan

coverage in time and Newsweek. *Journal of Global Media Communication, 1*(½), 41-56.

Gher, L., & Bharthapudi, K. (2004). The Impact of Globalization and Transnational Media in Eastern Europe at the end of the 20 the Century: An Attitudinal Study of Five Newly Independent States. *Global Media Journal, 3.*

Giffard, C. A., & Van Leuven, N. (2005). Five views of development: How news agencies cover the Millennium Development Goals. *The World of IPS, 4.*

Gitlin, T. (1980). The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the new left. *University of California Press.*

Globalization. (2014). In Business dictionary.com. Retrieved April 29, 2014, from http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/globalization.html

Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis. NY: Free Press.

Golan, G. (2006). Inter-media agenda setting and global news coverage: Assessing the influence of the New York Times on three network television evening news programs. *Journalism studies, 7*(2), 323-333.

Grattan, M. (1998). The politics of spin. *Australian Studies in Journalism, (7), 32-45.*

Griffin, M. (2004). Picturing America’s ‘War on Terrorism’in Afghanistan and Iraq. Photographic motifs as news frames. *Journalism, 5*(4), 381-402.

Grimmer, J. (2010). A Bayesian hierarchical topic model for political texts: Measuring expressed agendas in Senate press releases. *Political Analysis, 18*(1), 1-35.

Guo, L., Chen, Y. N. K., Vu, H., Wang, Q., Aksamit, R., Guzek, D & McCombs, M. (2015). Coverage of the Iraq War in the United States, Mainland China, Taiwan and Poland: A transnational network agenda-setting study. *Journalism Studies, 16*(3), 343-362.

Hafez, K., & Skinner, A. (2007). *The myth of media globalization.* Polity.

Hali, SM. (2000). Media Imperialism [online article]. http://www.defencejournal.com/2000/june/imperialism.htm

Hamilton, J. M., & Jenner, E. (2004). Redefining foreign correspondence. *Journalism, 5*(3), 301-321.

Hanusch, F. (2008). Valuing those close to us: A comparison of German and Australian quality newspapers’ reporting of death in foreign news. *Journalism Studies, 9*(3), 341-356.

Hanusch, F., & Obijiofor, L. (2008). Toward a more holistic analysis of international news flows. *Journal of Global Mass Communication, 1*(1/2), 9-21.

Harad, T. (2012, April 02). News Agencies and Information Imperialism [web page post]. Retrieved from https://gettingloquacious.wordpress.com/2012/04/02/news-agencies-and-information-imperialism/

Harcup, T., & O’neill, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism studies, 2*(2), 261-280.

Harris, N. R. (2006). Tabloidization in the modern American press: A textual analysis and assessment of newspaper and
tabloid coverage of the “runaway bride” case.

Hayes, D., & Guardino, M. (2010). Whose views made the news? Media coverage and the march to war in Iraq. Political Communication, 27(1), 59-87.

Heinrich, M., N. (March 15, 2015). One war many reasons: the US invasion of Iraq. [Online], Retrieved from http://www.e-ir.info/2015/03/09/one-war-many-reasons-the-us-invasion-of-iraq/

Herbert, J. (2001). Practicing global journalism: exploring reporting issues worldwide. Taylor &Francis.

Hermida, A., & Thurman, N. (2008). A clash of cultures: The integration of user-generated content within professional journalistic frameworks at British newspaper websites. Journalism practice, 2(3), 343-356.

Hicks, Kenneth S. (2008). 'The Anatomy of Spin: Causes, Consequences, and Cure'. retrieved on May 17, 2014.from [http://www.rsu.edu/faculty/khicks/essays/spin.htm%5D.

Himelboim, I., Chang, T. K., & McCreery, S. (2010). International network of foreign news coverage: Old global hierarchies in a new online world. Journalism & MassCommunication Quarterly, 87(2), 297-314.

Holsti, O. R. (1969). Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities. on May 5, 2016
http://www.worldcat.org/title/content-analysis-for-the-social-sciences-and-humanities/oclc/45548

Huckins, K. (1999). Interest-group influence on the media agenda: A case study. Journalism &Mass Communication Quarterly, 76(1), 76-86.

Iwokwagh, N. S., & Akogwu, G. E. (2008). News Agencies and GlobalCommunication: Development Implications for Third World Nations. Lwati: A Journal of Contemporary Research, 5(1), 413-428.

Izadi, F., & Saghaye-Biria, H. (2007). A discourse analysis of elite American newspaper editorials: The case of Iran’s nuclear program. Journal of Communication Inquiry, 31(2), 140-165.

Jirik, J. (2013). The world according to (Thomson) Reuters. Sur le journalism about journalism Sobrejornalismo, 2(1), pp-24.

Johnston, J. (2009). 'Not wrong for long': The role and penetration of news wire agencies in the 24/7 landscape. Global Media Journal-Australian Edition.

Johnston, J., & Forde, S. (2011). The silent partner: News agencies and 21st centurynews. International Journal of Communication, 5, 20.

Kaid, L. L. (1976). Newspaper treatment of a candidate’s news releases. Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 53(1), 135.

Karandikar, M. (n.d).International News Flow.DJC University Mumbai. on 23 June 2014
xa.yimg.com/kq/groups/22525834/.../international-news-flow.pptalso
http://megaslides.com/doc/3200249/international-news-flow

Kayser, J. (1953). One week’s news: comparative study of 17 major dailies for a seven-day period. UNESCO. on 14 May 2014
Do International News Agencies Set the Agenda of Pakistani English Newspapers? A Critical Analysis of Three English Dailies of Pakistan

Kellner, D. (2007). Review Essay: The Media In and After 9/11. *International Journal of Communication, 1*(1), 20.

Kellner, D. (2007). Bush speaks and the politics of lying: presidential rhetoric in the “war on terror”. *Presidential Studies Quarterly, 37*(4), 622-645.

Kellner, D. (2004). 9/11, spectacles of terror, and media manipulation: A critique of Jihadist and Bush media politics. *Critical Discourse Studies, 1*(1), 41-64.

Khan, A., & Irtaza, M. (2010). Post 9/11 scenario and image of Pakistan as portrayed by top US newspapers. *Journal of media studies. (Abstract)* vol.1. Retrieved April 27, 2014, from Ahttp://www.jms.edu.pk/Archives.aspx publication of Institute of Communication Studies, University of the Punjab

Khan, A. W., Adnan, M., Rizvi, S. A. A., & Jabeen, S. (2014). Political agenda and public agenda on the issue of new province a case study of southern Punjab-Pakistan. *International Journal in Management & Social Science, 2*(12), 309-337.

Khan, M. A., & Safdar, A. (2010). Image of US in Pakistani elite newspaper editorials after 9/11 incident: A comparative study of The Dawn and Nawa-i-Waqt with special regard to media conformity theory. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences, 30*(2), 325-339.

Khattak, A. W., Nasir, M., & Ahmad, A. (2012). Global Media and the Domination of West. *European Journal of Social Sciences, 28*(1), 35-41.

Kim, J. Y., & Kiousis, S. (2012). The role of affect in agenda building for public relations implications for public relations outcomes. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 89*(4), 657-676.

Kiousis, S., Kim, J. Y., Ragas, M., Wheat, G., Kochhar, S., Svensson, E., & Miles, M. (2015). Exploring new frontiers of agenda building during the 2012 US presidential election pre-convention period: Examining linkages across three levels. *Journalism Studies, 16*(3), 363-382.

Kiousis, S., Kim, S. Y., McDevitt, M., & Ostrowski, A. (2009). Competing for attention: Information subsidy influence in agenda building during election campaigns. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 86*(3), 545-562.

Kiousis, S., Mitrook, M., Wu, X., & Seltzer, T. (2006). First- and second-level agenda-building and agenda-setting effects: Exploring the linkages among candidate news releases, media coverage, and public opinion during the 2002 Florida gubernatorial election. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 18*(3), 265-285.

Kiousis, S., Popescu, C., & Mitrook, M. (2007). Understanding influence on corporate reputation: An examination of public relations efforts, media coverage, public opinion, and financial performance from an agenda-building and agenda-setting perspective. *Journal of Public Relations Research, 19*(2), 147-165.

Kiousis, S., & Wu, X. (2008). International agenda-building and agenda-setting exploring the influence of public relations counsel on US news media and public perceptions of foreign
nations. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(1), 58-75.

Kumar, D. (2006). Media, war, and propaganda: Strategies of information management during the 2003 Iraq war. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 3(1), 48-69.

Kumar & Ranjit. (1996). *Research Methodology*: Step-By-Step Guide for Beginners. Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman Australia

Lang, G. E., & Lang, K. (1981). Watergate: An exploration of the agenda-building process. *Mass communication review yearbook*, 2(447-468).

Lee, C. C. (1980). Media imperialism reconsidered: The homogenizing of television culture (Vol. 10). SAGE Publications, Incorporated.

Lent, J. A. (1976). Foreign News Content of United States and Asian Print Media: a Literature Review and Problem Analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, 22(3), 169-182.

Lewis, J., Williams, A., & Franklin, B. (2008). A compromised fourth estate? UK news journalism, public relations and news sources. *Journalism Studies*, 9(1), 1-20.

Lewis, S. C., & Reese, S. D. (2009). What is the war on terror? Framing through the eyes of journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(1), 85-102.

Lin, C. A., & Salwen, M. B. (Eds.). (2003). *International communication: Concepts and cases*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Lipschultz, J. H. (2007). Framing Terror: Violence, Social Conflict, and the “War on Terror”. *Electronic News*, 1(1), 21-35.

Lopez-Escobar, E., Llamas, J.P., McCombs, M., & Lennon, F.R. (1998). Two levels of agenda setting among advertising and news in the 1995 Spanish elections. *Political Communication*, 15, 225-238.

Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion a study of agenda-setting, priming, and framing. *Communication research*, 20(3), 365-383.

Iyengar, S. (1990). The accessibility bias in politics: Television news and public opinion. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2(1), 1-15.

MacBride, S. (1980). *Many voices, one world: Towards a new, more just, and more efficient world information and communication order*. Rowman & Littlefield.

MacGregor, P. (2013,). *International news agencies: global eyes that never blink*. *Journalism*, 35-63.

MacKuen, M. B., & Coombs, S. L. (1981). *More than news: Media power in public affairs* (Vol. 12). sage Publications, inc.

Magri, P., & Perteghella, A. (2015). *Iran after the deal: the road ahead*. dizioniEpoké.

Manning, P. (2001). News and news sources: A critical introduction. *Sage*.

Malik, S., & Iqbal, Z. (2011). Construction of Taliban image in Pakistan: Discourse analysis of editorials of Dawn and The News. *China Media Research*, 7(2), 46-56.

Markham, A. N. (1998). Life online: Researching real experience in virtual space (Vol. 6). Rowman Altamira.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage publications.
Do International News Agencies Set the Agenda of Pakistani English Newspapers? A Critical Analysis of Three English Dailies of Pakistan

Marthoz, J. (2013, Oct 10). The US press is our press [web blog post]. https://cpj.org/x/572falsohttps://cpj.org/blog/2013/10/the-us-press-is-our-press.php

Martin, L. J., & Chaudhary, A. G. (1983). Comparative mass media systems. Longman Publishing Group.

Massing, M. (2004). Now they tell us: The American press and Iraq. New York Review of Books.

McCombs, M. (2002, June). The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion. In Mass Media Economics 2002 Conference, London School of Economics: http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/extra/McCombs.pdf.

McCombs, M. (1997). New frontiers in agenda setting: Agendas of attributes and frames. Mass communication Review 24(1): 32–52.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1976). Structuring the “unseen environment”, Journal of Communication, 26(2), 18-22.

McCombs, M., &Ghanem, S. I. (2001). The convergence of agenda setting and framing. Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world, 67-81.

McCombs, M., Holbert, L., Kiousis, S., & Wanta, W. (2011). The news and public opinion: Media effects on civic life. Polity.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. Public opinion quarterly, 36(2), 176-187.

McLuhan, M. (1994). Understanding media: The extensions of man. MIT press.

Meyer, W. H. (1989). Global News Flows Dependency and Neo-imperialism. Comparative Political Studies, 22(3), 243-264.

Miller, K. (2004). Communication theories: Perspectives, processes, and contexts. McGraw-Hill Humanities/Social Sciences/Languages.

Miles, J. A. (2012). Management and organization theory: a Jossey-Bass reader (Vol. 9). John Wiley & Sons.

Mitchell, B. (2002). Al Jazeera Surpasses CNN in Live Afghan War Coverage http://www.poynter.org/2002/al-jazeera-surpasses-cnn-in-live-afghan-war-coverage/2314/

Mitra, T. (2015). Social Construction of International News in India: Politics of International News Agencies. Maltepe Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi, 2(2), 68-87.

Moeller, S. D. (2004). Media coverage of weapons of mass destruction. College Park, MD: Center for International Studies at Maryland, University of Maryland.

Monge, P., & Matei, S. A. (2004). The role of the global telecommunications network in bridging economic and political divides, 1989 to 1999. Journal ofCommunication, 54(3), 511-531.

Mowlana, H. (1986). Global Information and World Communication: New Frontiers in International Relations. New York: Longman.

Muin, M. J. (2011). Agenda-setting theory and the role of the media in shaping public opinion for the Iraq War. Master thesis, University of Central Missouri, 2011. May 14, 2014, http://www.centralspace.ucmo.edu/xmlu
Murdock, G. (1989). Cultural studies at the crossroads. *Australian Journal of Communication, 16*, 37–49.

Nacos, B. L. (2007). Mass-mediated terrorism: The central role of the media in terrorism and counterterrorism. Rowman & Littlefield.

News agency. (2016). In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. [http://www.britannica.com/topic/news-agency](http://www.britannica.com/topic/news-agency)

Niles, B. (2007). A Qualitative Frame Analysis of Illegal Immigration in Two British Newspapers. University of Florida.

Nocera, J. L. A. (2002). Ethnography and hermeneutics in cyber cultural research accessing IRC virtual communities. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 7*(2), 0-0.

Nordenstreng, K., & Varis, T. (1974). Television Traffic: A One-Way Street? A Survey and Analysis of the International Flow of Television Programme Material. Reports and Papers on Mass Communication No. 70.

Nord, L. W., & Strömbäck, J. (2006). Reporting more, informing less A comparison of the Swedish media coverage of September 11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. *Journalism, 7*(1), 85-110.

Nossek, H. (2004). Our News and Their News the Role of National Identity in the Coverage of Foreign News. *Journalism, 5*(3), 343-368.

Olausson, U. (2011). Explaining global media: a discourse approach. Intech Open Access Publisher.

Osterhammer, J. Petersson, N. (2005). Globalization: A Short History. English translation. New Jersey.Princeton Press.

Owala, S. O., Mohochi, S., & Indede, F. (2013). Effects of terrorism news on readers of newspapers: a case study of Taifaleo newspaper of Kenya. *Academic Research International, 4*(4), 422.

Papacharissi, Z., & de Fatima Oliveira, M. (2008). News frames terrorism: A comparative analysis of frames employed in terrorism coverage in US and UK newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 13*(1), 52-74.

Park, S. A., Len-Ríos, M. E., & Hinnant, A. (2010). How Intrinsic and External News Factors Affect Health Journalists’ Cognitive and Behavioral Attitudes toward Media Relations. *that Matters to the Practice, 488*.

Parmelee, J. H. (2013). The agenda-building function of political tweets. *New Media & Society, 146144813487955*.

Patel, A. (2010). A Textual Analysis of International Newspaper Coverage of Mental Illness. *The Ideology of Madness in the Media*

Paterson, C. (2005). News agency dominance in international news on the internet. *Converging Media, Diverging Politics. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 145-163*.

Paterson, C. (2007). International news on the internet: Why more is less.*Ethical Space: The International Journal of Communication Ethics, 4*(1/2), 57-66.

Paulussen, S., & Ugille, P. (2008). User generated content in the newsroom: Professional and organizational constraints on participatory journalism.
Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, 5(2).
Petet, J. (2005). Words as interventions: naming in the Palestine–Israel conflict. Third World Quarterly, 26(1), 153-172.
Peterson, S. (1980). A case study of third world news coverage by the western news agencies And The times (London). Studies in Comparative International Development, 15(2), 62-98.
Peterson, S. (1981). International news selection by the elite press: A case study. Public Opinion Quarterly, 45(2), 143-163.
Reeds, N., & Colbourne, F. (2000). Fewer gatekeepers, more open gates. Strategy Magazine, 6, 25.
Reese, S. D., & Danielian, L. H. (1989). Intermedia influence and the drug issue: Converging on cocaine. In PJ Shoemaker (Ed.), Communication campaigns about drugs: Government, media, and the public (pp. 29–45). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Reese, S. D., & Lewis, S. C. (2009). Framing the War on Terror. The internalization of policy in the US press. Journalism, 10(6), 777-797.
Riaz, S. (2008). Agenda setting role of mass media. Glo Media J, 1(2).
Riegert, K. (2011). Pondering the future for foreign news on national television. International Journal of Communication, 5, 19.
Rochefort, D. A., & Cobb, R. W. (1994). The politics of problem definition: Shaping the policy agenda. UnivPr of Kansas.
Rosenblum, M. (1995). Who Stole the News: Why We Can’t Keep Up With What Happens in the World and What We Can Do About It. Wiley Blackwell.
Ruigrok, N., & Van Atteveldt, W. (2007). Global angling with a local angle: How US, British, and Dutch newspapers frame global and local terrorist attacks. The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 12(1), 68-90.
Russell, F. M., Hendricks, M. A., Choi, H., & Stephens, E. C. (2015). Who Sets the News Agenda on Twitter? Journalists’ posts during the 2013 US government shutdown. Digital Journalism, 3(6), 925-943.
Ryan, M., & Switzer, L. (2009). Propaganda and the subversion of objectivity: Media coverage of the war on terrorism in Iraq. Critical Studies on Terrorism, 2(1), 45-64.
Salwen, M. B. (1995). News of Hurricane Andrew: The agenda of sources and the sources’ agendas. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 72(4), 826-840.
Salwen, M. B., & Garrison, B. (1998). Finding their place in journalism: Newspaper Sports Journalists’ Professional “Problems”. Journal of Sport & Social Issues, 22(1), 88-102.
Sande, Ø. (1971). The perception of foreign news. Journal of Peace Research, 221-237.
Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Agenda-setting, priming, and framing revisited: Another look at cognitive effects of political communication. Mass Communication & Society, 3(2-3), 297-316.
Schiltz, et al. (1974). Perceptive of managing editors on coverage of foreign policy news. Journalism quarterly 50: 718-2.
Schramm, W. (1964). Mass media and national development: The role of
information in the developing countries (No. 25). *Stanford University Press.*

Schwarz, A. (2006). The theory of newsworthiness applied to Mexico's press. How the news factors influence foreign news coverage in a transitional country. *Communications, 31*(1), 45-64.

Schramm, W. (1964). Mass media and national development: The role of information in the developing countries (No. 25). *Stanford University Press.*

Schramm, W., & Atwood, E. (1981). Circulation of news in the third world: a study of Asia.

Shaheen, L. (2014) over reliance of Pakistan English press on international news wires: a quantitative content analysis of one week coverage of three English dailies of Pakistan. *Journal of media studies, 29*(1), 40-48.

Shaw, D. L., & McCombs, M. E. (1977). *The emergence of American political issues: The agenda-setting function of the press.* West Group.

Sheafer, T., & Gabay, I. (2009). Mediated public diplomacy: A strategic contest over international agenda building and frame building. *Political Communication, 26*(4), 447-467.

Sheafer, T., & Weimann, G. (2005). Agenda building, agenda setting, priming, individual voting intentions, and the aggregate results: An analysis of four Israeli elections. *Journal of Communication, 55*(2), 347-365.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message.* White Plains, NY: Longman.

Sikanku, E. G. Intermedia Influences Among Ghanaian Online and Print News Media: Explicating Salience. *Journal of Black Studies, 42*(8), 1320-1335.

Silberstein-Loeb, J. (2007). International news agencies and their cartel in the context of business history. [http://www.ebha.org/ebha2007/pdf/Silberstein.pdf](http://www.ebha.org/ebha2007/pdf/Silberstein.pdf)

Singh, R. (2003). Covering September 11 and its consequences: A comparative study of the press in America, India and Pakistan. *Terrorism, War, and the Press, 27-43.*

Smith, J., McCarthy, J. D., McPhail, C., & Augustyn, B. (2001). From protest to agenda building: Description bias in media coverage of protest events in Washington, DC. *Social Forces, 79*(4), 1397-1423.

Song, Y. (2007). Internet news media and issue development: A case study on the roles of independent online news services as agenda-builders for anti-US protests in South Korea. *New Media & Society, 9*(1), 71-92.

Spicer, C. H. (1993). Images of public relations in the print media. *Journal of public relations research, 5*(1), 47-61.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (1995). International News Flows in the Post-Cold War World: Mapping the News and the News Producers. *Electronic Journal of Communication/La Revue Electronique de Communication, 5*, n2-3.

Stantakos, & Sotirios. (1998). Social research. Second edition: Macmillan press LTD, Stromback, J., & Kiousis, S. (Eds.). (2011). *Political public relations: Principles and applications.* Taylor & Francis.
Tetteh, D. A., & King, J. M. (2011). Newspaper coverage of the US healthcare reform debate: A content analysis. *Business Research Yearbook, 18*, 503-510.

The New York Times. (2016). In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. http://www.britannica.com/topic/The-New-York-Times

The New York Times. (2010). [Web page]. Retrieved from http://www.webcitation.org/5zE3Q8zJj

The Washington Post. (2016). In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. http://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Washington-Post

Thussu, D. K. (Ed.). (2010). *International communication: A reader* (pp. 221-38). 1–10. Abingdon: Routledge.

Thussu, D. K. (2004). *Media Plenty and the Poverty of News*, pp. 47-62 in A. Sreberny & C. Paterson (Eds.)

International News in the 21st Century. London: John Libbey Publishing.

Vandemoortele, J. (2014). Post-2015 agenda: mission impossible? *Development Studies Research. An Open Access Journal*, 1(1), 223-232.

Wang, S. (1992). Factors influencing cross-national news treatment of a critical national event A comparative study of six countries' media coverage of the 1989 Chinese student demonstrations. *International Communication Gazette, 49*(3), 193-214.

Wanta, W. (1997). The public and the national agenda: How people learn about important issues. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Xie, Y., & Cooper-chen, A. (2008). “According to Chinese media”: News flow the associated press and inter media agenda setting. *Journal of global mass communication, 1*(1/2), 88-106