

PRIVATE NEWS CHANNELS: ALTERING THE POLITICAL PERCEPTION OF PAKISTANI PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

The current investigation is aimed at digging out the impact of newly flourished and greatly cherished privately owned electronic media (Television Channels) of Pakistan and its impact on the popular and established social norms of the society. The cultivation analysis and agenda setting concept is used to theoretically articulate the study because both these theories are most suitable for the current study. Survey method of investigation and data collection is used to examine the phenomenon. The survey has been conducted among 100 people both male and female that were selected through the process of stratified random sampling. The study concluded that the social diffusion of electronic and digital technologies has made instantaneous communication possible, rendered many border checks and controls over information infective, and exposed an enormous consistency to diverse cultural outputs and values. From human rights to trade regimes, political power is being rearticulated and reconfigured. Increasingly, contemporary patterns of socialization are associated with multilayered system of governance. So the private media in Pakistan has rendered tremendous services to Pakistani society in its political socialization and producing political awareness in the masses.

Keywords: Political Norms, Political Socialization, Electronic Media, Political Awareness, Private News Channels

INTRODUCTION

The social diffusion of electronic and digital technologies has made instantaneous communication possible, rendered many border checks and controls over information infective, and exposed an enormous consistency to diverse cultural outputs and values. From human rights to trade regimes, political power is being rearticulated and reconfigured. I am trying to sketch aspects of critical issues of political socialization that will discuss the fundamental transformations in the Pakistani political scene in dialectical frame work that distinguish between progressive and emancipators features and oppressive and negative attribute.

This requires articulations of the contradictions and ambiguities of socialization and the ways that socialization both is imposed from above and yet can be contested and refigured from below. The understanding of socialization is essential in theorizing it as at once a product of technological revolution and the social restructuring of capitalism in which political, and cultural reatures are intertwined. The discourse of socialization has become dominant in recent years in an extraordinarily wide variety of contexts, from journalism to public policy discussion, from business strategy to labor organizing, and within the academia across the social sciences and humanities. The general conception of socialization is merely the increased contact and mixture of various cultures across the world that were previously isolated or bounded. Diasporas and culture conflicts are part of this a more specific formulation. More common perhaps outside the Pakistan, is that socialization is that Pakistanization. Pakistan television programmers', the Pakistani itself and the various other

elements of Pakistani culture are attaining a dominate position over other national cultures and even destroying them. Socialization along with its all other impacts is making a huge impact on the political norms of a society. One of the major catalysts of this change in the political norms is through the effect of local media channels.

Pakistani Media Channels

“Television makes suggestions about what to think about, not how to go about thinking.” Sott Kaufmann

Researcher will try to analyze the differences between the two television news channels Geo and ARY, as the information revolution resulted in an overload of information and people got hundreds of news pieces each day, television has become one of the most popular and effective way of communication. One can rightfully assume that the information that people get is filtered through several phases until it acquires its final form and reaches its destination. Also, any information broadcast on television coming from different sources can almost be interpreted freely, so to say subjectively and can have an end in itself as well.

The above mentioned Geo and ARY are international news televisions. These types of television channels are the products in these days, and by their nature they have even more power in forming the public opinion than those channels only partially deal with international news.

GEO Television

GEO television is a Pakistani television network founded by Mir Shakil ur Rehman in May 2002. Geo TV belongs to Independent Media Corporation, owner of the Jang Group of Newspapers. The channel started its test transmission on 14 August 2002, where as regular transmission began from 1 October 2002. Geo is an Urdu language word which translates to live on in English.

The channel is lauded in the West and many Western media outlets have asked Geo TV for exclusive footage sharing. Since its launch, Geo TV has put freedom of speech and freedom of expression in Pakistan to unprecedented levels in Pakistani history.

Geo Television Network started out with its flagship channel Geo TV, but has since launched several other channels which include the following.

- a. GEO Entertainment
- b. GEO News
- c. GEO Super
- d. AAG TV

ARY News

ARY News is a Dubai-based Pakistani news channel launched in 26 September 2004. A bilingual news channel in English and Urdu, it is a part of the ARY Digital Network, which is a subsidiary of ARY Group. It has a large audience and one main competitor of Geo News. It was previously known as ARY One World until 2009 when it was re-branded as ARY News.

ARY News is one of the first dedicated international news channels in Pakistan. It has exclusive correspondents in almost all major capitals around the globe, a network of over 500 reporters and correspondents in Pakistan, and major international networks as exclusive partners for the exchange of news, information and other technical facilities. The channel also maintains a rich archive library with exclusive footage.

Urban & Rural General media use

Television

- a. Urban: 89%
- b. Rural: 66%

Radio

- a. Urban: 28%
- b. Rural: 31%

Newspaper

- a. Urban: 37%
- b. Rural: 18%

Internet

- c. Urban: 8%
- d. Rural: 1%

Rational of the Study

The main objective is to find the relation ship of Political socialization of media channels and impact of private media news channels like Geo news and ARY news on the political norms of our Pakistani society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theorists like Parsons and textbook writers like Ely Chinoy (1960) and Harry (1961) recognized that political socialization didn't stop when childhood ends. They realized that socialization continued in adulthood, but they treated it as a form of specialized education. Johnson (1961) for example, wrote about the importance of inculcating members of the US Coastguard with a set of values to do with responding to commands and acting in unison without question.

Some sociologists and theorists of culture have recognized the power of mass communication as a socialization device. Dennis McQueail recognizes the argument. The media can teach norms and values by way of symbolic reward and punishment for different kinds of behavior as represented in the media. An alternative view is that it is a learning process whereby we all learn how to behave in certain situations and the expectations which go with a given role or status in society. Thus the media are continually offering pictures of life and models of behavior in advance of actual experience. McQuail 2005: 494)

Political socialization is a concept concerning the "study of the developmental processes by which children and adolescents acquire political cognition, attitudes and behaviors". It refers to a learning process by which norms and behavior acceptable to a well running political system are transmitted from one generation to another. It is through the performance of this function individuals are inducted into the political culture and their orientations towards political objects are formed.

Political socialization is a subtle process that continues as long as one lives. People, especially small children, experience political socialization everywhere. The three major agents of political socialization are one's family, the media, and school. The exposure in these key areas is important in making informed opinions regarding politics and policy, from the time one is born until one dies.

Agents of Political Socialization

Agents of Socialization all influence in one degree or another individual's political opinions: Family, Media, Friends, Teachers, Religion, Race, Gender, Age and Geography. These factors and many others that people are introduced to as they are growing up will affect their political views throughout the rest of their lives. Most political opinions are formed during childhood. Many Political Ideas are passed down from Parents to young Adults through them expressing their beliefs.

The agents a child surrounds him/her self with during childhood are crucial to the child's development of future voting behaviors. Some of these agents include:

- I. Family: Glass (1986) recognizes family as a primary influence in the development of a child's political orientation, mainly due to constant relationship between parents and child, detailed in the table Family as a Primary Influence below.
- II. Schools: Most influential of all agents, after the family, due to the child's extended exposure to a variety of political beliefs, such as friends and teachers, both respected sources of information for students.
- III. Mass Media: Becker (1975) argue that the media functions as a political information-giver to adolescents and young children.
- IV. Religion: Religious tradition can have a strong effect on someone's political views. For example, Protestants tend to be more conservative.
- V. Political Parties: Scholars such as Campbell (1960) note that political parties have very little direct influence on a child due to a contrast of social factors such as age, context, power, etc.

A third agent of political socialization is the media. The media is everywhere, from billboards, to commercials, to newspapers. People spend more time in front of a television or a computer than they do regarding anything else. This means that there is ample time for people to absorb messages about the country. Many times, people do not even realize that the media is slowly shaping their opinions. One example is Sesame Street. The show is popular with young children and is teaching them to be accepting of diversity.

This can be seen by the various ethnicities portrayed by the adults on the show. There are also various commercials on almost every television station that have some form of political nature. News stations and newspapers can also form our opinions by how they cover the events that occur worldwide. They can spin and concentrate on news that places the government in a good light, or a bad light. People tend to "jump on the bandwagon," so if one person sees the media portraying the government or a certain political leader in a certain way, he or she will most likely form the same opinion. Although media consumes much of one's life, it is less likely to have as large an impact in political socialization as schooling or family because the emotional ties are lacking.

Family, school, and media are three agents that are vital in molding political ideology. Family is very influential due to the large amounts of time and emotional connection one has with their family. School is also important because it is the way the government exerts its influence over students in order to teach them the values of the country and its processes. In school, peers also play a large role in sharing their political ideology with one another. Media, such as televisions and newspapers, is a third way people are exposed to political socialization. All of these factors combine to create people who hopefully have firm, educated opinions and thoughts about the government and its processes.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory emphasizes the effects of television viewing on the attitudes rather than the behavior of viewers. Heavy watching of television is seen as 'cultivating' attitude which is more consistent with the world of television programmes than with the everyday world. Watching television may tend to induce a general mindset about violence in the world, quite apart from any effects it might have in including violent behavior. Cultivation theorists distinguish between 'first order' effects (general belief about the everyday world, such as about the prevalence of violence) and 'second order' effects (specific attitudes, such as to law and order or to personal safety).

Gerbner has argued that television tend to cultivate middle-of-the- road political perspectives. And Gross considered that 'television is a cultural arm of the established industrial order and as such servers primarily to maintain, stabilize and reinforce rather than to alter, threaten or

weaken conventional beliefs and behaviors'. Such a function is conservative, but heavy viewers tend to regard themselves as 'moderate'.

Cultivation researchers look at the mass media as a socializing agent. People who watch a lot of television are likely to be more influenced by the ways in which the world is framed by the television programs than are individuals who watch less. Especially regarding topics of which the viewer has little first-hand experience. Light viewers may have more sources of information than heavy viewers. Cultivation analysis appears to be a suitable pathway toward attaining the goals of the study.

The study is basically linked with the roll of media. Private media channels in molding and changing reshaping the political norms in our society. Therefore media is acting as a powerful tool and is acting as a change agent in society. In other words we can that private media channels are cultivating the, values and culture to some extent in our society.

According to cultivation analysis, study going to analyze whether can say that media under my study area (Geo news, ARY news) is in fact acting as a change agent. We are going to analyze it is cultivating realities into the media of people about the political norms or whether Geo news and ARY news are promoting political socialization i.e. westernization in the grab of modernization and are thus introducing new norms in society. The effect might be positive or negative Cultivation analysis becomes successful when we say that Geo news and ARY news have some role in promoting political socialization because they are working on the democratic norms of society. This will prove the power of media and that it can cultivate realities, ideas perceptions among the people.

Agenda Setting Theory

"Here may lie the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about". Shaw & McCombs. 1977

According to the agenda setting theory, propounded by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in the 1970s, mass media set the agenda for public opinion by highlighting certain issues. Shaw and McCombs ascertained the main effect of news media to be agenda-setting, telling people not what to think, but what to think about. Agenda setting is usually referred to as a function of mass media and not a theory.

The theory explains the correspondence between the rate at which media cover a story and the extent that people think that this story is important. The agenda-setting function is a 3 part-process:

- I. Media Agenda - issues discussed in the media
- II. Public Agenda – issues discussed and personally relevant to the public
- III. Policy Agenda – issues that policy makers consider important

Under its theoretical framework study can be on the grounds that Geo news and ARY news are setting agendas for public and are highly influential. In a way, many private channels in Pakistan have also copied them and have started that are based totally on news and discussions on political and other issues closely related to it i.e. bold discussions, rapid news, sensational coverage and thrilling music. These are the agendas that almost every private news channels in Pakistan has adopted. This might be the effect of strong media like Geo news and ARY news that society is adopting their style.

Which issues is important and which is not! Not public but media decides it. An issue that has been given coverage 20 hours out of the 24 hours certainly makes its importance felt in the society. People start considering it the most crucial issue of the time. Therefore, media is the driving force behind making and breaking an issue. According to agenda setting theory people can also be influential on media and can also make an issue important or unimportant. If so, then question arises if Geo news and ARY news are broadcasting what they want or they are giving representation to public as well.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in the study is the “*Survey Approach*”.

Since the study is related to the effects that media is creating on the society, therefore, survey approach appears the best to conduct this study. As in such a way the direct opinion of the society related to the effect of Geo and ARY news can be understood clearly.

Tools of Research

A questionnaire of 25 questions has been made that contains in depth questions on the issue. After a series of questions with multiple choices of answers, the overall view of the person on the issue can be ascertained.

Population

The survey has been conducted among 100 people both male and female that were selected through the process of stratified random sampling from Lahore City. Those people are selected who belong to a mature age group and professional so that they have been viewers of Geo and ARY can answer the questions that will help in getting the accurate results.

DISCUSSION

Ref. Q1, Q2

In the introductory questions people were asked about their choice in news channels most of people watch both national and international channels. Sample news channels of study i.e. Geo news and ARY news are also being watched by almost all of the people who filled questionnaire. This definitely shows the popularity of Geo news and ARY news in our society. They are considered as channels having quite important place in the news media.

Ref. Q3, Q4

The time span people spend in watching these news channels has been asked. Majority was in the range of 2-3 hours. A few were also in the range of 4-5 hours but none were watching these channels for 6 hours and above a day. If majority is watching Geo news and ARY news for 2-3 hours a day then it means they are regular viewers of these channels.

Ref.Q4 was asked in order to check that how much interest people are taking in politics as it was the base of the further questions related to political socialization of audience and majority in our sample were talking special interest in politics. So, they could be further asked for in depth questions related to political socialization.

Ref.Q5

Majority answered that Geo news and ARY news are covering the major political issues of Pakistan. This points out toward the extended network of these channels. Some people were also in favor of “some extent” that means that these channels might be ignoring some issues of the political word.

Coverage of the major political issues of Pakistan makes Geo news and ARY news the private media news channels as they are having the local coverage of the news channels.

Ref. Q6

This question is asked basically to find out about the authenticity and reliability of these channels. Here is the down fall in the reliability of these channels. Most of the people did not purely rely on these channels. Therefore, it is obvious that Geo news and ARY news can not be taken as the most reliable news channels in our society.

Ref. Q7, Q8

The effect of these channels can be understood by these questions. Majority of the people think that these channels are promoting some political trends time to time and then onwards if the favor of these channels toward any specific political trend can have any effect on the minds of people of unconsciously, people were of the opinion that it sometime feels as if we also feel a favor toward that specific political trend. Here is the implication of my theoretical frame work i.e. agenda setting that media of course has some role in moulding public agenda.

Ref. Q9, Q10

If these channels can mould the minds of some extent toward a specific political trend then are these channels promoting any political awareness in society? Their has been acknowledged by the people as they say to some extent these channels are promoting some political awareness in society, through their discussions, political forums and introducing public toward the basic political norms. As a result these channels definitely have some role in restructuring and introducing the democratic norms thus affecting the overall political structure.

Ref. Q11, Q12, Q13

When it comes his censorship and state control on media channels, in result of survey it to the obvious that people are in favor of free media channels under least censorship processes.

Now if question about the state control and the censorship on Geo news and ARY news, people are mostly of the view these channels are not state control but censorship by the government.

Ref. Q14

As far as, for Geo news and ARY news that they are carry an impression of representing a specific lobby, majority was of the point of view that they do carry such impression and are thus propagating the lobby's political viewpoint in the society and they are doing so because of the interest of their owners. Giving importance to some particular news issues and leaving other due to the lobby's pressure and they do it in the interest of their owners.

Ref. Q15

As far as the private news channels of Pakistan are concerned, majority says that to some extent they are under the influence of Geo news and ARY news. As they are copying them in their style, bold discussions and minute to minute update.

Ref. Q16, Q17

These questions are basically concerned with the role of Geo news and ARY news that they have played in improving awareness about democracy in our society and its implication in case of empowerment. Most of the people are of opinion that Geo news and ARY news have some role in accelerating the process of empowerment and improvement of awareness about democracy.

This shows that private media channels do play its role in improving the political socialization in our country.

Ref. Q18, Q19, Q20

These questions are basically asked to get the opinion about the improvement of political norms in our society due to Geo news and ARY news. People agree that to some extent the women representation in the democratic structure has been improved due to private media channels.

The increase in the seats of women in National Assembly in a past few years is a dominant improvement regarding women rights. Majority feels that freedom of expression has been improved and is promoted by the private media channels i.e. Geo news and ARY news.

According to the opinion of people these channels are promoting the freedom to elect leader which is the core of pure democracy.

Therefore, overall people feel as Geo news ARY news have role in promoting these democratic norms and are thus helping to improve the political structure.

Ref. Q21, Q22, Q23

When people were asked about the role of these news channels in promoting the religious freedom, the answer was negative as they don't think that Geo news and ARY news have any effete in promoting the right of religious freedom through their agenda. But they do feel that they have played their role in brining an improvement in the minority in Pakistan. As the no. of reserved seats for minorities in National Assembly has increased in a past few years so this might be the pressure of private media and their owners interest.

Majority feels that up to a great extent Geo and ARY have played their role in acting as change agents regarding improvement in different democratic norms i.e. health, education, peace, right to justice, job opportunities, etc. like through their programmers' and discussions. They are promoting all these political norms in our society.

Ref. Q24, Q25

The last two questions comprised of finding out the negative impacts of the private media news channels i.e. Geo and ARY. Majority feels that Geo and ARY are portraying interest of multinational organizations to some extent and they also feels that these channels are strongly spreading westernization in the grab of modernization or what we can call civilized society.

The overall qualitative analysis of the survey shows that no doubt Geo and ARY have played their role in promoting and shaping good political structure in our society by giving importance to the pure democratic norms and they acted as guiding channels toward better private news channels in Pakistan. However, the fact remains at its place that they are spreading their own values and interest in the grab of modernization.

CONCLUSION

After conducting the whole research about the media exposure and its relation with political socialization of audience of Pakistan, it is obvious that media definitely has long lasting effects on the political structure of our society. However, the nature and the intensity of these effects differ in different areas of politics.

Media took its turn and had a lasting impact on the socialization of audience and different channels appeared as strong news media channels. The channels were effective all around the Pakistan and are covering the issues. Politics itself is basically a phenomenon of the Pakistan.

Therefore, the Pakistani media is largely in favor of it. The private media news channels i.e. Geo news and ARY news are no doubt in the list of Pakistani's strongest media. They have been pioneers in their style and tradition in Pakistan. From the research it is quite evident that the literate community of professionals and illiterates in Pakistan do watch Geo news and ARY news. A large number of people are dependent upon Geo and ARY for getting updates about the political issues and I personally feel of our society i.e. educated, professionals, informed, urban people etc, are involved in the policy making of our country or such people have also a role in changing the private media like that Geo and ARY.

Therefore, it is obvious that many educated people watch Geo news and ARY news regularly. People are also interested in politics and it is mostly observed that they do weight age to what they see on Geo news and ARY news as they feel that they are covering the major political issues of Pakistan. Propaganda—is also an element of any news channel and of course Geo and ARY are not the one lacking in this aspect because of a few reason:

Political is one of the areas affected by socialization in Pakistan. Till now we do not have any form of pure democracy in our country. But in the past few years a few advances were made in the political structure of Pakistan including more representation of women in politics, enhanced minority rights, revised devolution structure and step towards improvement in education, health and justice. Although not pure democracy but a few political norms have improved in recent years.

People in our society feel that for the improvement in our political structure, some credit is to be given to the private media news channels. Certainly, Geo news and ARY news have improved awareness about democracy in our country by introducing the basic democratic norms and rights that a citizen has in a democratic society, their discussion and many other programmes related to politics.

Geo news and ARY news are playing role in accelerating the empowerment process. Awareness about women and minority rights have improved and as a result of it of the empowerment of these weak sections of society has improved. Empowerment is being taken to the grass root levels i.e. the change in the government structure due to devolution in the past few years. This definitely helps in maintaining a better democratic structure. If Geo news and ARY news have played their role in the empowerment process then definitely they have played a big role in the improvement of political socialization.

One of the most important achievements of Geo news and ARY news is the development of many private news channels in Pakistan i.e. Dawn news, Express news, CNBC Pakistan etc. these channels have adopted bold style. Heated discussions, minute to minute newscasts, thrilling music and the interactive gestures and style of the newscasters. No doubt this way these channels never appear dull and boring to the audience. They take social issues and discuss and debate them. They also cover the problems of people living in our society.

With the development of these news channels, first time around they started criticizing the politicians the wrong policies of Government and gave insight into the reality of matters other than just being a sycophant of the Government. Many private channels certainly did their job for the people of our society and from the research it is clear that people do acknowledge that these channels are under the effect of Geo news and ARY news so, indirectly this improvement is made in our society because of Geo news and ARY news which being private news channels did play their role in a better way.

In this way the essence of pure democracy (political socialization) i.e. freedom of expression has certainly made it position in our society. Because of the freedom of expression different

areas like job opportunities, education, rights to justice and peace have also improved. As there are many new education schemes that have started in Pakistan, new measurements for maintaining and stabilizing place in our society are being taken and gradually, the society is moving towards betterment. Due to the process of political socialization many organizations have opened the communication and have seen improvement in trade, culture, economy, political values and norms.

When there is increased collaboration between organizations and communication gaps are narrowed down, there is always some advancement toward progress and therefore, the media i.e. Geo news and ARY news are acting as change agents of our society and are playing their role. The process of political socialization definitely has change pace of the whole world. It has narrowed down the communication gaps. The relations between media and audience can be improved by this phenomenon. As it seems to be now-a-days as an evil for the poor countries but it can appear as a blessing for them too. The need is to utilize and implement it in the proper manner.

Due to the process of political socialization media has definitely played a better role in producing awareness of audience. Different programmes have been managed in the form of a proper campaign using media. As far as the democratic structure of Pakistan is concerned, there is definitely some improvement in it due to the influence of media i.e. Geo and ARY the empowerment process, women rights, education, peace process, health and job opportunities are in the process of improvement due to the process of political socialization.

Media have definitely played their role in improving the freedom of expression. The media in Pakistan today is much more free and bold than the past and this advancement has been made due to the influence of Geo and ARY. The private media news channels i.e. Geo and ARY have shown a way to Pakistan media toward the service of the nation. Media today is more close to the people and their problems and therefore, we can say that it has played an effective role in the political socialization of Pakistan.

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ANNEXURE**Questionnaire**

1. Which of the news channels do you watch frequently?
 - a) National
 - b) International
 - c) Both
 - d) None
2. Do you watch Geo, ARY news etc?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
3. How much time do you spend in watching these news channels in a day?
 - a) 2-3 hrs
 - b) 4-5 hrs
 - c) 6 hrs and more
4. Do you take special interest in the news segments related to politics?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Depends
5. Do you think these channels are covering almost all the news relating to the major political issues of Pakistan?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
6. Do you rely on the information provided by these channels relating to political issues?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
7. Do you think these channels are promoting political trend i.e. democracy, dictatorship etc?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
8. Regarding the above mentioned question, have you ever felt that the favor of a news channel toward a specific political trend moulds your mind toward that trend?
 - a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Some time
 - d) I don't know
9. In your opinion do these channels promote any political awareness in society?
 - a) Yes

- b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
10. Do you feel that these channels (Geo news, ARY news etc) are promoting the democratic norms in our society?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
11. Are you in favor of state controlled or free media channels?
- a) State controlled media channel
 - b) Free media channel
12. Do you feel that news channels like Geo, ARY are state controlled?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
13. Do you feel that news channels like Geo, ARY are under censorship process by their Government?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
14. Do you feel that Geo news and ARY news are promoting specific lobby's political structure regarding their owner's interest?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
15. Do you feel that others private channels like Dawn, Express news, Z-news Doniya, CNBC Pakistan etc are under the influence of Geo news and ARY news?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
16. Do you feel that the awareness about democracy in our society has been improved because of news channels like Geo news and ARY news?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
17. Do you feel that empowerment has been improved because of these private media channels?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent

18. Do feel that there is some role of these private media news channels in promoting the women representation in politics in recent years in Pakistan?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
19. Do feel that the democratic norms like freedom of expression have been promoted by private media news channels?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
20. Do feel that these channels have promoted the freedom to elect leaders (in the other word pure democracy)?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
21. Do you think that these channels are promoting religious freedom?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
22. Do you feel that these channels promoted the minority rights?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
23. Do you feel that these private media news channels are acting as change agents regarding right of justice, peace, education, health, job opportunities and progress?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
24. Do you think these private media news channels are portraying the interests of multinational organizations?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent
25. Do you think that private media news channels are promoting western culture in the garb of modernization?
- a) Yes
 - b) No
 - c) Up to some extent