



## Governance, Corruption and the Media: Reflection of Corruption during the PML-Q and PML-N Political Regimes

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**Abstract-** The aim of this study was to see how newspapers framed the corruption issue as well as the legitimacy and impact on government efficiency in both political regimes (PML-Q&N) from 2007-02 & 2013-18. The study used a quantitative content analysis approach to analyse the frames "Good" and "Bad" from the standpoint of Agenda setting level 2 "Framing Theory." All news reports about Pakistan's corruption issue that appeared in English newspapers in Pakistan were analysed. For this study, census sampling was deemed necessary and was used. The study's findings showed that both governments simply tried to raise awareness of the corruption issue rather than enact legislation to address it. Both the elected government and opposition parties undermine democracy by engaging in adversarial politics in the conventional political style.

**Keywords:** General Issues, PML-Q & N, English Newspaper, Content Analysis

### I. INTRODUCTION

As a society's information concierge, the media must exercise caution in determining what is newsworthy, seeking to accurately appraise the public on global events, especially those that have a direct impact on the intended audience's everyday lives (Emond, 2020). As previously stated, the media's concierge or gate-keeping position is critical because what the media chooses and portrays is directly related to what people perceive to be newsworthy and what they think about it. The efficiency in the media sifts the available information, determining which local, national, and global events can make it to the news and, as a result, enlighten the audiences about them, determines the proficiency of the media's gate-keeping position (Tetteh, 2011).

Such concepts of information dissemination are much more relevant in civilizations where the public relies on traditional media (e.g. print media) to develop an understanding of the systematic production and dissemination of news, its impact on the target audience, and ultimately its effect on individual voting choices (Georgiou, 2017). Despite media advancements, particularly with the use of the internet, a significant portion of the public still relies solely on newspapers for information (Harvey, 2007). Media framing and agenda-setting theory are closely linked. The importance of an individual or object, according to Chyi and McCombs (2004), increases the amount of media attention it can receive. It might be a dignitary, a social problem, or something else entirely. To emphasise the significance of an incident, the media normally lengthens the time it takes to report on it (Freyenberger, 2013).

Framing entails giving the addressees a narrative and explanation that contributes to a required construal of apparent reality by emphasising certain aspects of a problem while ignoring others, and implying connections between them (Entman, 2007; Valkenburg et al., 2016 Abdel-Raheem, 2018 and Amin et al, 2020). Framing is described as a contrast between a "frame in communication or media frame" and a "frame in thinking or person frame," according to academics (Druckman, 2001). The first refers to how news of an event or topic is communicated to the general public, including the terminology, arguments, images, and demonstration-style used by the media house or organization (Walgrave, 2005; Amin et al, 2020). In the following frames, the gate-keeping decisions decide the importance, meaning, and appropriateness of knowledge, or vice versa. The next term in thinking, or an individual frame, refers to what a member of the target audience considers to be the most interesting, important, and appropriate aspect of the conveyed news (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Stone, 2013; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014; ). The importance of understanding the creation of frame and the frame setting is dependent on this dichotomous definition of the term frame (Scheufele, 1999).

#### **Print Media**

Newspapers rank articles based on their strategic positioning on a particular website, as well as their length and headline. The decision-makers for the order in which news stories should be prioritised are normally media outlets and individuals. Some media outlets covered an incident extensively, while others ignored it

or just gave it a passing mention (Moran & Hunt, 2014). In recent decades, political parties have attempted to create and patronise newspapers that would serve as their contact organs and project a positive picture to the general public. The fact that the PPP launched *Masawat*, a daily newspaper, in 1970 attests to the aforementioned fact (Saroshisar, 2016).

### **Corruption**

In international rankings provided by international organisations and groups, Pakistan is almost always ranked as highly corrupt among other developing countries (Kaufman et al., 2005; Transparency International, 2004; Fan et al., 2009; Rose-Ackerman & Palifka, 2016; Saeed et al., 2018). This is supported by a recent Transparency International survey (2012), which ranked Pakistan 139th in the world for corruption-free governance. This opinion, as shown by Transparency International, may be disputed, but it seems unlikely given the perception that the country's government is rife with corruption. When a Pakistani encounters bureaucracy, such as registering births, paying bills, obtaining a gas or electricity link, or reporting a robbery or murder incident, he or she may witness the various shades of this massive corruption. The public faces significant consequences as a result of this massive corruption (Ali et al., 2014).

To combat this bad, several researchers (e.g., Heidenheimer et al., 1989; Anechiarico and Jacob, 1996; Caiden, 1998) have established various topologies. However, specific research performed on police organisations have identified various typologies of credibility violations. Based on Hubert (1998)'s different typologies, a new integrity violation typology has been created, which specifically focuses on police organisations. Fraud and theft, corruption, dubious gifts and promises, misuse of information, questionable sideline jobs and activities, power abuse, prejudice, waste and abuse of resources, and crime are among the nine forms of behaviour identified by this topology (in private time). It was later developed to be used effectively by police organisations after being checked by a systematic survey of honesty and ethics. This typology is also used to identify deviant behaviour and investigate wrongdoing, as shown by many studies (Ali et al., 2014).

Corruption is now regarded as a difficult-to-quantify variable. To make an accurate comparison of corruption in different countries, however, some standard or measure is obviously needed. In the recent past, a number of researchers and organisations devised a formula for calculating corruption indices based on perception. These perceived indexes are based on arbitrary surveys or assessments of the cost of corruption in various countries. These indexes have been used extensively in many econometric studies. Business International Corporation's Corruption Index, the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Index, Transparency International's CPI, and the World Bank's World Governance Indicators are only a few of the main indices (Hussain and Raiz, 2012).

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Corruption and good governance are two opposing forces that constantly exist in every developing or developed world. The only way to build good governance is brick by brick, while corruption spreads in leaps and bounds. The government's success or failure in achieving development goals within a welfare state is determined by the relative strength of good governance and corruption.

When a country's government fails to improve good governance, the evil of corruption thrives. Attempts to combat corruption on a regular basis would not yield the desired results in terms of social welfare. In order to establish a strong framework of good governance, it is necessary to investigate the methods and meaning of corruption that undermines good governance (Faisal and Jafri, 2017).

Khan (1996) describes corruption as a behaviour that deviates from the formal codes of conduct that regulate the activities of public officials. Embezzlement, bribery, theft, and extortion are some of the major forms of corruption defined by Andvig et al. (2001). Bribery is when a bribe is made to a public official in the form of money or something of value in return for a favour. Extortion is a practise in which money or other valuable things are taken solely by the use of intimidation, abuse, or threats of force. Both extortion and blackmail are considered unethical activities under which money is obtained by the unlawful use of force.

Favouritism is the use of state resources in a skewed manner, with resources being illegally allocated to family, friends, and other relatives. When elected officials break the laws, legislation, or normal practises, certain citizens get special care. Nepotism is a type of favouritism in which government officials prefer family members or relatives over other candidates for public positions. Corruption is classified in literature into various groups, such as petty corruption and grand corruption (Lambsdorff, 2004).

Import-export licences, annual tax payments, loan applications, public utilities, public contracts, judicial rulings, and laws and policies are all examples of petty corruption. Political contributions, bureaucratic redtape, and public confidence in politicians are all linked to grand corruption. Though there are several factors that contribute to corruption, not all of them are equally serious, and some are more

dominant. Mocan (2008) also argues that measuring corruption using perception-based data is justified because determining the true degree of corruption is difficult. He creates an aggregate corruption index based on information provided by approximately 90,000 people from 49 countries (country level). In this way, he discovered a clear measure of corruption that exposes the level of bribery as recorded by citizens of those countries. This metric has been shown to be strongly correlated with other widely used corruption perception indices. Hobbes (2005) described grand level corruption as a small number of bidders on World Bank-financed projects, and claimed that all experienced bidders know they must give bribes not only to win the contract, but also to successfully execute it. 2005 (Hobbes) Furthermore, he stated that a contract's value cost could range from 10% to 15%, which is initially recovered in the mark-up price. Most governance metrics in Pakistan have remained unchanged, and corruption is pervasive, systemic, and deeply ingrained at all levels of government and society. According to TI Pakistan's consultations and studies, corruption is equally prevalent at the local, provincial, and federal levels. Pakistan has consistently performed poorly in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) since 1995, and it ranks among the most corrupt countries every year. In the 2007 Corruption Perception Index, Pakistan received a score of 2.4. To make matters worse for Pakistan, rival parties to Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League have leaders under investigation for corruption: Zardari of the People's Party of Pakistan (PPP) and Imran Khan of the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI). With the general election less than a year away, and since exploiting Nawaz's Panama Papers ties has become a key PTI campaign goal, Pakistan's PTI prospects may be improving for the time being. However, political viability in the long run does not appear promising in a country where national security trumps everything else, including, if necessary, democratic consolidation (McCusker, 2006).

Media not only portrays and displays information images, but also plays a role in portraying a particular version as fact and influencing public opinion. According to this viewpoint, both sides, including the authorities and terrorists, have exerted effort and collaborated with the media, which are the sole sources of knowledge and understanding for the society in any critical problem. According to Walter Laqueur (2002), the media plays a critical role in the success of any terrorist activity, and this was a major factor in their transition from rural guerrilla to urban terror in the 1960s. The hurricane, on the other hand, became more complex as it came into contact with western media, with many forays into minds by comparing it to Islam. Via the media, an allegation was made against Muslims or Islam as a religion as a result of the incident.

### III. METHODOLOGY

Quantitative content analysis was used by the researcher. This approach was used to investigate the image based on its contents. The researcher did so by examining the topic through the lens of the Media Agenda and evaluating the output of both the PML-Q and PML-N. (2002 to 2007 and 2013 to 2018). The subjects of this study were all news stories about general issues that appeared in the daily newspapers Dawn, The News, The Nation, and The Daily Times. For this analysis, a systematic random sampling method was deemed suitable and used. When data was enumerated in all included and omitted in a sampling unit for study, census sampling was preferred. The researcher used a census sampling unit, which means that all of the samples have an equal number and probability of being selected, which is also linked to basic meaning and knowledge. For example, in the case of a newspaper, the distribution, frequency, readership, and source can all be geo Figure. As a result, it was decided to select the population using a systematic random sampling technique.

### IV. DATA ANALYSIS

A Number of issues were discussed in previous chapters with relevant references and resources. In this study try to accumulate different issues which are the core exploration on this study, which include: Terrorism, Corruption, Health, Education, Law and Order and Others (belongs to three tiers of governments). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Pakistan faced worst scenario with multiple issues such as dictatorship (PMLQ's Government), the Afghan war, international pressure (economic sanctions) and other governance issues which are an alarming threat to the prosperity of our country. Due to bad governance, poverty was on peak, and the worst model was adobe to control law and order situation, corruption was on peak

**Table 4.1 Sources of News in 2002 to 2007**

	The Dawn			The News			The Nation			Daily Time		
	A*	B**	C***	A	B	C	C	A	B	A	B	C
<b>Corruption</b>	277	601	139	233	427	116	136	413	225	323	416	185

A\*= Official

B\*\*= Private

C\*\*\*=Other Sources

Source of news is very important of any news organization. The news sourced divided into three major classifications, i.e., Official, Private and the Other sources—the Official source related to Government view of point through press releases and press conferences. Second source is private, i.e., consist of news which is collected the news organization of own responsibility and at last the other source, the news comes from different news agencies like., PID, APP, PPI, NNI, SANA, Online and News-link. In **Table 4.1**, Corruption news from an official source in the selected newspaper of PMLQ Regime from 2002 to 2008 is published the 1580 news. News stories comes from the Private source collectively in four selected newspaper is 1246 and the other source which are from the news agencies, i.e., 665.

**Table 4.2 Sources of News in 2013 to 2018**

	The Dawn			The News			The Nation			Daily Time		
	A*	B**	C***	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
<b>Corruption</b>	389	583	324	433	650	361	354	531	295	399	598	332

A\*= Official

B\*\*= Private

C\*\*\*=Other sources

Source of news is very important of any news organization. The news sourced divided into three major classifications, i.e., Official, Private and the Other sources—the Official source related to Government view of point through press releases and press conferences. Second source is private, i.e., consist of news which is collected the news organization of own responsibility and at last the other source, the news comes from different news agencies like., PID, APP, PPI, NNI, SANA, Online and News-link. In **Table 4.2**, Corruption news from an official source in the selected newspaper of PMLQ Regime from 2002 to 2008 is published the 1575 news. News stories comes from the Private source collectively in four selected newspaper is 2362 and the other source which are from the news agencies, i.e., 1312.

**Table 4.3 Framing of News 2002 to 2007**

Issue	The Dawn		The News		The Nation		Daily Time	
	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.
<b>Corruption</b>	499	425	419	357	406	345	499	425

In this study the framing of news related to judge what is the performance of the government during the Political Regime it is good and bad regarding the general issues (Terrorism, Corruption, Health, Education, Law and Order and Other issues; Political Instability and Victimization). During Political Regime PML-Q (2002 to 2007) the framing of news about the general issue, The main issues in Pakistan is Corruption in **table 4.3** the number of cases which were registered in Political Regime PML-Q (2002 to 2007). The Dawn published the 499 news as good and 425 as bad performance in 2002 to 2007. The news published the news on the same issue (Corruption) is 419 as a good and 357 news are published as bad performance or fail to control the corruption. The Nation published the 406 news as good performance and controlled and 345 news as a bad performance and uncontrolled. And last Daily Times published the news 499 as a good and 425 as bad or negative

**Framing of News Stories in Newspapers During 2013 to 2018****Table 4.4 Framing of issues 2013 to 2018**

Issue	The Dawn		The News		The Nation		Daily Time	
	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.	Good-Gover.	Bad Gover.
<b>Corruption</b>	777	518	866	708	472	248	598	731

During Political Regime PMLN (2013 to 2018) the framing of news about the corruption, in **table 4.4** the number of cases which were registered in Political Regime PMLN (2013 to 2018). The Dawn published the 777 news as good and 518 as bad performance in 2013 to 2018. The news published the news on the same issue (Corruption) is 866 as a good and 708 news are published as bad performance or fail to control the corruption. The Nation published the 472 news as good performance and controlled and 248 news as a bad performance and uncontrolled. And last Daily Times published the news 598 as a good and 731 as bad or negative

**Table 4.5, Pearson Correlation related to Corruption in Political Regimes (PML-Q and N)**

Correlations		Corruption PMLQ	Corruption PMLN
Corruption PMLQ	Pearson Correlation	1	.999**
	Sig. ( 2-tailed )		0.001
	N	4	4
Corruption PMLN	Pearson Correlation	.999**	1
	Sig. ( 2-tailed )	0.001	
	N	4	4

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

It is a mathematical procedure to gather, establish, review and analyze numerical information. It has certain formulas and set of rules which have to be followed to get perfect results . If any research has weaknesses and not have a good hypothesis or research questions or holds numerous errors, then statistics cannot correct or fix it alone. It is like any association, which is explaining situations by concluding interpretation from records. In the present research, researcher set probability level .05 ( $p < .05$ ) it shows the researcher has a 5% chance of making an invalid result about rejecting the null hypothesis or accepting the research hypothesis .

Table 4.5 provides the analysis of path analysis in which correlation specifies the estimate. The result Pearson reflected the acceptance and not supported of the hypothesis. In the current study, the general issues and Selected Newspapers intensity have taken as independent variables, And, Political Parties (PML-Q and N ) spending has been taken as dependent and has taken as mediating variable. The empirical results show that the correlations in Political Regimes (PMLQ and N) from 2002 to 2007 and 2013 from 2018 by the selected newspaper, i.e., "The Dawn", "The News", "The Nation" and "DailyTimes".

**Table 4.6 Chi-Square Test.**

Pearson Chi-Square	Value	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<b>Corruption</b>	3.288a	.511
<b>Corruption</b>	6.454 <sup>a</sup>	.168

The overall coverage and significant difference between value of chi-square regarding general issues of the study in selected newspapers are the "Corruption", Chi-Square = 11.184; P-Value= 0.025 (PMLQ) "Corruption", Chi-Square = 13.395; P-Value= 0.004 (PMLN)

## V. DISCUSSION

Pakistan is still battling corruption and has launched a campaign called "Say No To Corruption" across the country's public and private sectors. In its 2007 Annual Report, the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) stated that the major causes of corruption in Pakistan could be classified as governance, systemic, corporate, political, greed, and need-based. Corruption is the element that has the potential to destroy political civilization in any region. While there were a large number of cases reported between 2002 and 2018, the true state of corruption at the time was very troubling due to a lack of accountability mechanism and the destabilisation of the democratic process. Most prominent citizens, including businessmen, politicians, and officials, carry out their responsibilities under the tyrant, where the rule of law applies to the general public rather than influential individuals. see frequency table(s) of 4.1 of Corruption category in selected Political Regimes. Mocan (2008) discovered a direct measure of corruption that reveals the level of bribery as revealed by citizens of those democratic countries. It was discovered that this metric was

strongly correlated with other widely used corruption perception indices. According to the TCI (Transparency International Index), the PML-Q regime had a low corruption index from 2002 to 2007, with a ranking of about 2.6 to 2.7 at the end of the PML-Q administration. TCI updated the scale in 2012, and the scale is now (0 to 100), with Pakistan ranking 19th out of 175 countries under the PML-N regime; this article was published in THE NEWS (2018).

## VI. CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to look into Pakistan's corruption situation. The World Governance Metric was introduced by Kaufman and Kaary (1996), which means that a government is reviewed or evaluated by these world indicators and these indicators are linked to general issues. This research was specifically designed to compare the three political regimes, specifically the PML-Q (2002–2007) and PML-N (2013–2018), to see how much their success was influenced by news coverage. Also, to assess the results in terms of general concerns, policies to monitor and provide a safer living environment and public safety. The Dawn, The News, The Nation, and The Daily Times, among other mainstream newspapers, have reported on the performances of these selected regimes.

The findings of this study revealed that the chosen newspaper performed well in terms of governance. Figure 4.5 is compared to Figure 4.3.5 with the aid of the Correlation Figure. The results of this framing table (s) explain the government's success, implying a strategy to resolve the problems, and also explain the government's performance. Governance is thought to be a key determinant of economic growth, social advancement, and overall development, as well as for the achievement of the MDGs in low- and middle-income countries, according to Siddiqi et al., (2008) " According to Kaufman, Kraay, and Mastruzzi (2010), governance refers to the traditions, values, and institutions through which a country's authority is exercised, such as the process of government selection, accountability, and replacement, citizens' respect and rights, and the government's capacity to formulate and implement policies. Governance is a broad concept that operates at all levels (Griffin, 2014).

Participation, the rule of law, openness, responsiveness, and accountability are all attributes or markers of good governance. The enhancement of the system of public service and administration is seen by citizens as a sign of good governance. The World Bank's principles of good governance were also based on a citizen-centric approach. These principles include voice and accountability, which refers to citizens' ability to choose their government and their freedom of speech, association, and the media, political stability, and the absence of violence and terrorism; regulatory quality, which refers to the ability to formulate and implement regulatory policies; and rule of law, which refers to agents' confidence in the rules of society. With the citizens' viewpoint, these ideals intrude three distinct aspects of good governance. To begin, good governance necessitates the establishment of checks and balances in political and bureaucratic systems and functions in order to prevent arbitrary acts and corruption. Second, political affiliation and involvement are free, and third, authority is exercised in the management of economic and social capital for policymaking. These indicators are generally accepted, but good governance indicators can differ depending on the climate, population, economy size, culture, and religion, among other factors. Citizens' involvement or voice in the selection of a leader is a requirement in every democratic society. Accountability is another measure of good governance that acts as a foundation upon which good governance can be built (Rahaman, 2009; Ray, 1999). Accountability refers to the degree to which one must respond for one's conduct to a higher authority or the general public (Shafritz and Russell, 1997).

Transparency and responsiveness are the final two indicators of good governance (Griffin, 2014). It is described by Salminen and Norrbacka (2010) as how quickly public officials correct their mistakes and react to citizen problems. Zubair and Khan (2014) investigated the general presumption that good governance and economic development would be the outputs in Pakistan if the rule of law, political stability, anti-corruption structures, and voice and transparency existed. In Pakistan, according to Robinson and Sattar (2012), corruption allegations were used to legitimise good governance coups and military rule, and in one instance, the country's president dismissed the constitutionally elected government on corruption and nepotism charges. According to Taghavi, Nikoomaram, and Tootian (2011), corruption, or the abuse of governmental power for personal gain, is a common occurrence in many countries' administrative and political structures. This is due to a variety of factors, including excessive government intervention in the economy, an ineffective administrative system, excessive bureaucracy and complexity, governmental and private monopolies, the expansion of rent, non-transparent regulations, poor management, unequal income distribution, high-ranking politicians and governmental authorities interfering, and a lack of government accountability. Excessive political intervention in official matters is one of the main good governance problems in Pakistan's public sector educational institutes, according to a report by Bhatti and Munshi (2015) ..

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