Role of Media and Judiciary in Public Policy Making in Pakistan: Evidence from Suo Moto Cases based on Media Reports

Mr. MUHAMMAD ASAD CHAUDHRY[1], Dr. SHAHZAD HUSSAIN[2], Dr. FIAZ HUSSAIN[3*]

[1]Staff Reporter, Daily The Nation.,Nawa-e-Waqat House, Mauve Area, Zero Point, Islamabad
[2]Associate Professor,Department of Government & Public Policy, National Defence University, Islamabad, Pakistan
[3]Assistant Professor,Department of Public Administration, Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi, Pakistan
*Correspondence Author
Email: fiazhussain@fjwu.edu.pk

Abstract: The role of mass media in policy agenda setting has been considered by an array of researchers. The mass media is not sole factor behind the policy agenda, but it is an important factor among several others. The agenda-setting theory assumes that the media possess the capability to relocate their agenda to the public agenda. Judiciary in Pakistan also seem to be influenced by the agenda-setting function of mass media. The study aims to examine the indirect influence of mass media on public policy by critically analysing the influence of judicial interventions in the form of suo motu on policy making in Pakistan. The time period of the study ranges from 2008 to 2013. The unit of analysis is a single case based on sou motu action taken by the Supreme Court of Pakistan (SCP). All the suo motu actions taken by the SCP based on media reports during the time period have been analysed. The data have been collected from the archives of the SCP and by overviewing the original court files of the cases. The contents analysis reveals that the SCP taken total 90 suo motu cases during the period, and out of these cases, 56 cases were based on media reports. The study further analyses the decisions in these cases influencing the policy making in Pakistan. The findings reveal that 19 court cases based on media reports have influenced the public policy making in Pakistan.

Keywords: Media, agenda setting, public policy making, judiciary, suo motu

INTRODUCTION

Public policy is defined as "anything a government chooses to do or not to do" (Dye, 2012). This definition is important because it focuses on deliberate decisions made by the government. Another definition of policy suggests that similarly, public policy is rarely the result of a single discrete decision and is much more likely the result of a series of piecemeal, more or less integrated decisions or decision rounds (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003). Therefore, a policy is a course or pattern of activity rather than a single decision to do something (Marzotto, Burnor, & Bonham, 2000). It is a purposive course of action followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern (Anderson, 2011). To sum up, policy is a purpose course of action or inaction taken by the government to resolve a problem or set of inter-related problems.

In analysing policies, two aspects are generally considered most significant namely policy process (policy making) and content. Policy making has assumed or implied that there is a clear sequence of stages through which public policies proceed, and which therefore constitute the 'policy process'. Policies proceed through a sequential series of stages, and that there is a 'policy process' (Dorey, 2005) and this process has been referred to in a number of ways in literature and has been variously called the "linear model," the "sequential model," the "heuristic stages model" or the "public policy cycle" (Anderson, 2011; Dye, 2012; Howlett & Ramesh, 2003; Kraft & Furlong, 2012). Based on the works of Dye (2012) and Kraft & Furlong (2012) , the study has used following stages of public policy making process. These stages are: (a) problem identification & agenda setting; (c) policy formulation; (d) policy legitimation (policy adoption); (e) policy implementation and (f) policy evaluation.

The media is increasingly affecting modern society in which democracy is promoted. The media is considered as the "fourth branch of the government" (Luberda, 2008) and plays an oversight function over other three powers as well (legislation, executive, and judiciary) (Chuan & Yuanling, 2013). It serves several functions within the context of government policy making. It gives citizens the necessary information for their effective political participation and provides a forum for debate on issues of public interest. It helps governments circulate

vital information about public services and government accomplishments while providing opportunities for opposition parties to criticize government and propose alternative policies" (Fischer, 1991).

The mass media are among the external policy actors which influence the policy process at its various stages. Media's role in agenda-setting overlaps with the phase of policy process i.e policy agenda setting. Former is based on the study of McCombs and Shaw (1972) where agenda setting means the ability of the mass media to bring issues to the attention of the public and, related, of politicians. It is mainly a theory about media-effects as media coverage of issues influences the issue priorities of the public. It assumes that the media possess the capability to relocate their agenda to the public agenda. This approach has got popularity among media scholars and it now is one of the most-cited media-effects concepts (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008). While the policy agenda-setting approach in policy process deals mainly with the limited attention of policy makers for a wide range of political issues. Some issues get the attention of the policy makers and other fail to do so.

Building on the insights of (Schattschneider, 1960), Cobb & Elder (1972) were among the first who investigated why some issues managed to get attention of decision makers, while others failed. The media was seen as one of the possible factors that could influence the agenda of policy makers (Aelst, 2014). Due to its ability to focus attention media influence is typically seen as high in this phase of the policy process (Esser & Pfetsch, 2004). Studies on the role of media in policy making have generally focused on one policy stage, usually agenda-setting whereas few have analysed the media's impact on the whole policy process (Fischer, 1991). Still, the general view is that the news media matter in the early stages of the policy cycle but are non-influential during the formulation, implementation, and evaluation stages (Fawazi, 2018).

Apart from media, a variety of factors and institutions are involved in the policy making process. The government, in modern times, has to perform not only a magnitude of functions but has to deal with the complexities and technical nature of functions. In the sphere of policy making, government is helped by the legislature, executive, the judiciary, political parties, interest groups, media and public opinion (Mokhaba, 2005). The classic view of courts as strictly legal institutions has been increasingly challenged by the growing evidence of its political role and its daily effects on public policy (Taylor, 2008). The judicial system in a democratic country like Pakistan has a major role in the public policy making process. All policies are formulated keeping in view the existing laws and legal provisions. The judiciary enters the area of policy making delivering suggestive or advisory judgements aimed at the effective achievement of the goals outlined in the constitution of the country. At times, the judiciary issues directions for formulating a particular policy or changing the existing policy to suit a particular purpose. It may also determine certain guidelines for the legislature and the executive that ought to be followed in the process of public policy making. The courts "interact with other parts of the political system, not as illegitimate outsiders but as part of the stable ruling political alliance" (Ball & Peters , 2000). It is, thus, understood that the judiciary has its share in the political process of the country, especially in the process of policy making.

The role of media in policy agenda setting considered by an array of researchers. Judiciary in Pakistan also seem to be influenced by the agenda-setting function of mass media. Pakistan has a vibrant media landscape; among the most dynamic in South Asia (Hayat & Juliana, 2016). Emergence of TV channels, free press and unrestrained internet access to masses has made Pakistani media more vibrant in last decade (Dover, 2015). On the other side the many researchers admit the power of judicial review of any policy on the part of judiciary. The influence of judicial decisions can be seen in many areas of policy (Rama, 2011). The apex court of Pakistan, the Supreme Court is entitled to take 'suo motu' action under the Article 184 of the Constitution of Pakistan 1973. It has the power to take 'suo motu' on any issue if it considers that a question of public importance with reference to the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights conferred by the Constitution. The era from 2008-2013 has been considered as the period of judicial activism during the period several suo motu actions on variety of issues and happenings were taken and a considerable number of these actions were based on the different news item published or broadcast by the media.

With mass media and judiciary as both policy actors influencing the policy making process, the study aims to examine the influence of mass media in setting the institutional or governmental agenda, and its indirect influence on public policy making by critically analysing the impacts and implications of suo motu cases (SMC) on policy making process.

The remaining paper is organized as follows: Section 2 gives theoretical underpinning and review the relevant literature on media and judiciary as policy actors. Section 3 describes the research methodology. The results are presented in Section 4 and lastly Section 5 provides conclusion and a few propositions for further research.

Theoretical Understanding and Literature Review

The research has been conducted with the backdrop of two theories, agenda-setting theory and institutional theory.

The 'agenda setting theory' is popularized with the contribution of McCombs and Shaw (1972). They observe on the capacity of mass media in influencing the voters" opinion on the presidential campaign of 1968. They

concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign. Theorists have developed two levels of Agenda-Setting; Priming and Framing. This theory argues that media have the power to influence. By using this power, media can distract the attention of masses as well as the policy makers and to set their own agenda. The mass media, especially electronic media, attract peoples' attention to any specific issues of politics, showbiz, sports, and government's performance etc. as far as politics is concerned, media develop public images of politicians so that people can have their own perception about them (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997). That perception will be based on the information provided by media. They have been continuously portraying issues proposing that what people should know, think and have feelings about the politicians (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The theory assumes that the media possess the capability to relocate their agenda to the public agenda. Media have been using 'news' to portray their own agenda as public agenda, which makes it very influential.

Numerous studies have been conducted on the agenda-setting role of media. While reviewing the literature, (Rogers, Dearing, & Bregman, 1993) found 223 publications that explicitly or implicitly concerned agenda setting. Of the publications they examined, 59 percent concerned mainly the relationship between the media and its corresponding public agenda. Dearing & Rogers (1996) has discussed the results of more than 350 publications on agenda setting. Similarly, McCombs (2004) has discussed more than 400 empirical studies on agenda setting.

Mass media play a critical role in policymaking, not at setting stage but throughout the policy process (Soroka , Lawlor , Farnsworth , & Young , 2012). It is known that media affects public opinion, but very little knowledge about the direct effects of media on policy has been articulated. It is even less known about the linkage between the public, media, and policy. Media studies mostly concentrate on the public, whereas policy studies pay attention on government agendas. Yet the media has the capacity to influence both (Michelle & Bryan, 2013).

As the "fourth branch of government," the mass media serve many functions within the context of policy making. Communication scholars usually study how the mass media influence the public agenda, while political scientists and sociologists are primarily keen in how the public influences policy agendas. (Yue & David , 2005). The agenda setting dynamics are changing due to the digital age. Due to the arrival of the Internet, the public is provided with a large amount of information and collaborative opportunities to engage in the content creation process. (Kolbitsch & Maurer, 2006). Everyone is doing the role of watchdog and have the power to take up or highlight any issue of importance as everyone has the capability to report an event directly to the web by using of latest communication technologies and it can also bypass the hierarchical structure of traditional elite control news media (Bowman & Willis, 2011).

Most of the theoretical literature is available on the relationship between mass media and public policy but few empirical studies have tried to assess the effects and impact of media on policy outcomes. Literature recommends that access to mass media politically empowers public and, as such, increases the benefits they receive from government programs. Mass media play a crucial role in information distribution and in the political market and public policy making. Theory predicts that information provided by the mass media reflects the media's incentives to provide news to different groups in society and affects these groups' influence in policy making (Alessandro & Johan , 2013).

Media play an important role in problem identification phase of policy making by using agenda setting and by framing the issues. As far as the influence of mass media on public policy is concerned, many scholars discussed the discretionary power of newspaper staff to run or stop any news item. Mass media influence the public to think about a specific issue by prioritizing some of them among the several. There are so many issues happing and it is the media which frame some issues more important by highlighting them as the journalist, newsroom workforce and editors decide regarding the importance, which is attach to an issue (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Same in the case of broadcast medium, the staff of newsroom use their own discretionary power to choose important stuff from the huge number of stories, which broadcast for minutes and even seconds of air time. The significance of information to broadcast and not, is also under the above-mentioned discretion of newsroom staff. This empowers the journalists to control the dissemination of information, events and issue in transmitting news by adopting and neglecting the news items (Fallow, 1996)

Critics of this discretionary power declares that the content of media does not reflect reality but rather reconstruct it. There is a difference between the powers to emphasis public attention on an issue versus the power to influence the outcome of policy decisions. According to Green (1994) the media have more influence over the selection of issues which public hears but relatively little influence over the actual resulting policies from these issues.

However, there is not only the influence of media on public but the media workers are also influenced by some actors. The ability to influence what the public hears does bring into question how news journalists themselves are influenced by their news sources. These sources could include commentators, policy experts, owners of news media, candidates, press releases, and so on. The type of source that a news journalist depends upon lends credence to the theory that what is newsworthy is dominated by the opinions of a social, political, and economic

elite (Neuman, Crigler, & Just, 1992). According to this theory, these elites determine media content and therefore they are influential in shaping public discourse and influencing public opinion. Although the mass media may not directly influence the outcomes of policy, it does appear that they indirectly influence the policy making process. In a critique of the media's role in fostering public discourse.

The policy making processes take place within formal institutions of the state (legislative, executive, judiciary). Judiciary being a formal state institution has its role in shaping the public policies, and decision-making process within this public institution is shaped by the relevant actors. Discussing the dynamics and restrictions of courts in terms of their influence on policy outcomes, on one side the series of research claims that the judiciary are progressively powerful in policy making, enjoying substantial freedom from legislative correction (Alter, 2014). Under this view the judiciary is above politics, protected from the correction of politics; whereas politics lacks the power to override unwanted jurisprudence, as the court interpretations can be important drivers of change in policy outputs (Stone & Brunell, 2012). On the other side, the researchers question the court's ability to bring change. The effectiveness of courts rest on the consistency of court ruling with the priorities of the government (Carrubba & Gabel, 2015). There will be no effect of such court ruling which is against the government preferences. The same nature of issues regarding effectiveness is also faced by the domestic courts (Miller, 2009). Additionally, due to non-availability of executive means in the possession of domestic courts, they rely on political actors to implement court rulings (Moore & Staton, 2011). Even in a top of legal hierarchy of the United States, the Supreme Court is dependent on social, administrative and political responses to have an effect of its rulings. The effect of the court is actually limited (Rosenberg, 2008).

Based on the theoretical understanding as both mass media and judiciary as policy actors involved in the public policy making, following theoretical framework has been constructed (Figure 1).
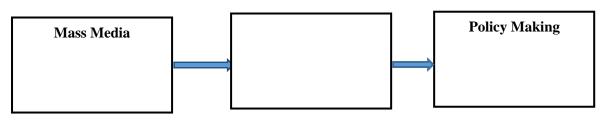

Fig.1: Theoretical Framework

From this framework, two propositions have been examined:
1. The influence of mass media in setting the institutional or governmental agenda,
2. The indirect influence mass media in public policy making process.

Research Methodology
The study has used the content analysis technique. Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). It is a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material. By systematically evaluating texts (e.g., documents, oral communication, and graphics), qualitative data can be converted into quantitative data. It is a research technique that involves a systemic analysis of text, including images and symbolic matter, which makes replicable valid inferences from the material examined (Krippendorf, 2004). It is the study of "recorded human communications" (Babbie, 2001) with a "systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf, 2002). Thus, a researcher answers the questions by examining the contents as it involves the description and analysis of text in order to represent its content (Miller & Brewer, 2003).

In this study, a single case based on sou motu (SMC) is the unit of analysis. The population for the study comprises of all suo motu actions taken by the Supreme Court of Pakistan based on media reports from 2008 to 2013. The data have mainly been collected from the archives of the SCP and by overviewing the original court files of court cases. Using purposive sampling, a list of all the SMCs during 2008 to 2013 has been developed and selected a sample of all the sou motu actions based on media reports. A coding sheet has been developed and all the collected data have been coded and entered into the coding sheet for further case to case based analysis. The actions based on media reports have been separated, and subsequently the court decisions that influence policy making process have been chosen for further analysis.

Findings and Discussion
Total 90 suo motu actions were taken by the SCP during the period from 2008 to 2013. The content analysis has considered all these items (SMC). Table (1) shows the year wise numbers and percentage of suo motu actions. Out of these 90 items, 56 (62 %) notices were based on media items and the remaining 34 were taken on the bases of direct applications received by the Supreme Court or through other sources.

Table 1: Year-wise Representation of Suo Motu Cases (2008-2013)

Year	Reason for Suo Motu		Total
	On Media Items	Direct Applications & Others Means	
2008	2	0	2
2009	13	14	27
2010	18	9	27
2011	13	7	20
2012	8	2	10
2013	2	2	4
Total	56	34	90

Source: Authors' compilation

The scrutiny of data further reveals that only 19 cases based on media reports have resulted into influencing the public policy making process and 14 SMC have no direct influence on the public policy making. 8 fall under the category of 'problem identification and agenda setting', 3 influenced policy formulation, 1 resulted into policy adoption, 4 cases influence policy implementation, and 3 decisions fall under the stage of policy evaluation. 57 SMCs have not been analysed as they have been pending in the court or not the part of analysis because they have been taken on the direct applications and though other means. Table (2) shows policy stage and frequency of SMCs.

Table 2: Categorization of Suo Motu Cases taken during 2008-2013

Categorization	Frequency
Problem Identification & Agenda Setting	8
Policy Formulation	3
Policy Adoption	1
Policy Implementation	4
Policy Evaluation	3
No Direct Influence	14
Others	57
Total	90

Source: Authors' compilation

Through content analysis, a typology of public policy stages and judicial functions has been developed and these 19 SMCs based on media reports have been placed therein (Table 3).

Government attention is not automatically directed at public problems but it depends on the efforts of the interest groups in drawing the attention (Willemsen, 2018). Media highlight the public problems and has the power to set the agenda. The Supreme Court took notices on the problems highlighted by the mass media such as registration Hindu marriages and the hurdles faced by Hindu married women in getting Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC), pollution of the Rawal Dam lake, irregularities and illegal allotment of government plots the Federal Government Housing Foundation, unhygienic conditions in kitchens of hotels and restaurants in Lahore, car race incident, Tannery industries in populated areas of Sialkot. These problems are acknowledged as of public interest and they are made possible to be shifted from public agenda to the governmental agenda for appropriate action by the involvement of media and the judiciary.

Table 3: Typology of Policy Stages and Judicial Functions on Media Reports (2008-2013)

Policy Stage	Court Cases based on media reports	Judicial Function
Problem Identification & Agenda Setting	No mechanism for Hindu marriages registration. Issue in award of CNIC to Hindu married women. Government to devise policy.	(a) identification of problems by media/ judiciary (b) relaying of the problems to the Executive (movement of problem from public agenda to
	Pollution in the Rawal Dam. No refuse will be dumped in the Lake.	
	Irregularities were found in allotment of government plots the Federal Government Housing Foundation.	

	Unhygienic conditions in kitchens of hotels and restaurants. Ministry of Tourism to improve the situation.	institutional/ or governmental agenda)
	Illegal car race in a housing society and imposed ban on such car races.	
	Shifting of Tannery zone in Sialkot to save the communities from adverse effects.	
	Identification of corruption in Pakistan Steel Mills (PSM).	
	Irregularities in the organization and arrangement of the Hajj (pilgrimage) by the Ministry of Religious Affairs	
Policy Formulation	Law & order situation in Karachi.	(a) suggesting the corrective measures (b) Highlighting areas for improvement
	Cutting of trees alongside the canal in Lahore was stopped.	
	Illegal selling out of the Auqaf Properties	
	Mega gas supply project in Murree was dropped. All development activities along either side of the Murree Expressway are also banned.	
Policy Adoption	Discrimination in the provision of gas connection by Sui Northern Gas Pipeline Company Limited (SNGPL) led to adoption of more just policy.	(a) Stimulating policy adoption
Policy Implementation	Civil servants are not bound to obey illegal orders. Their tenure, appointments, promotions and transfers must be rule based.	(a) Effectiveness of projects (b) Directing the administration
	Failure to develop the Gwadar port by the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA), the operator of Gwadar port.	
	Blocked the controversial sale of 240 acres Evacuee Trust Property Board Karachi's land	
Policy Evaluation	Irregularities in the development of land by the Capital Development Authority (CDA) and M/S Multi Professional Cooperative Housing Society (MPCHS). Agreement was terminated and revision of policy was ordered.	(a) reacting to policy application (b) effectiveness of policy (c) proposing policy revision
	Violation of the principles of transparency and equal opportunity in award of LNG contracts. Contracts were annulled and revision of policy was ordered.	
	Non-compliance of the Minimum Wage policy.	

Policy formulation is stage of the policy process that involves the proposal of solutions to the identified problems. So, several choices are provided to policy makers for the solution of the problem. On law & order situation in Karachi, the SCP ordered the federal, provincial and local authorities to adopt corrective measures of depoliticising and strengthening of the police and other investigating agencies, removing no-go areas, de-weaponising the city, arresting target killers, action against the militant wings backed by political groups, delimiting political constituencies, ending turf-wars, registering state lands to protect them from land grabbers, and making laws to effectively prosecute criminals. On environmental concern, the court stopped the cutting of trees alongside the canal in Lahore and directed the Punjab Government to devise a new plan. Similarly, on the issue of illegal selling out of the Auqaf Properties by the Chairman, Evacuee Trust Property Boar, the Court scrapped the deal between the Defence Housing Authority (DHA) Lahore and the Evacuee Trust Property Board (ETPB) and ordered to give back land or provide developed plots as per first agreement. In another case, the Government of Punjab had to drop mega gas supply project in Murree as it was causing environmental issues.

The media can also play a key role in policy adoption. When reporting and commentary are unbiased, it can provide a forum where debate over various cases for policy adoption takes place. Similarly, judicial system also provides a forum for problem alleviation. Discrimination in the provision of gas connection by SNGPL as no proper policy was in placed. On the court intervention, the policy of provision of gas connections was revised and consumers get gas connection on the bases of date of failing the application on first come first served bases.

Media plays the role of watchdog on the actions of the government. Likewise, judiciary is empowered to examine the executive actions. The SCP makes it clear that civil servants are not bound to obey illegal orders. The Court also recognized the need for ensuring that decision making in relation to tenure, appointments,

promotions and transfers remains rule based and is not susceptible to arbitrariness or absolute and unfettered discretion. In another case, the SCP blocked the controversial sale of 240 acres Evacuee Trust Property Board Karachi's land worth billions of rupees on cheap rates.

Policy evaluation is the stage during which a policy is evaluated, to verify whether its implementation and its effects are aligned with the objectives that were explicitly or implicitly set out. If the policy is achieving its desired objectives, then it may be continued otherwise policy change is ordained or failure of the policy may lead to the termination of the policy. This evaluation can be carried out by different stakeholder (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003). On non-compliance of the Minimum Wage policy for Pakistan Telecommunication Limited (PTCL) guards, the SCP directed the government to ensure delivery of minimum wages to the workers of all natures (employees of the public, private, outsourced or whatsoever). In another case, irregularities in the development of land by the Capital Development Authority (CDA) and M/S Multi Professional Cooperative Housing Society (MPCHS) were found. The agreement was terminated and revision of policy was ordered by the Court. Similarly, the Court annulled the LNG contract on violation of the principles of transparency and equal opportunity in their award and ordered the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources to revisit the policy.

CONCLUSIONS

The paper has examined two propositions on the role and influence of mass media in public policy making process. Firstly, mass media's influence in setting the institutional or governmental agenda has been tested. The content analysis of total 90 SMC (suo motu cases) of the period 2008 to 2013 has revealed that 56 (62 %) court notices were based on media items. It has established that mass media has been effective in transforming the public agenda into institutional or governmental agenda. It verifies the agenda-setting role of the mass media. Moreover, 8 items among 19 that have been placed in the stage 'problem identification and agenda setting'. The second proposition regarding the indirect influence of mass media in public policy making process has been tested by mediating the role of judiciary. Apart from agenda setting, mass media has its role in other stages of the public policy making. The study has outlined 10 different judicial functions in different phases of public policy making.

In summary, in its development and implementation, policy goes through a number of stages. At each stage, the mass media perform functions, although the functions seem more important in problem identification and agenda setting of the policy process. Thus, the mass media have less impact on other stages of policy making.

The approach used in this study seems appropriate for further studies. Through content analysis, a conceptual framework for the study of mass media impact on policy making has been developed and tested. The small number of items in some categories suggests the need to replicate this study using a larger sample. It is further suggested here that the mass media reports and SMC resulting into actual policy change should also be examined.

1. **REFERENCES**
2. Aelst, P. V. (2014). Media, political agendas and public policy. Political communication, 18, 231.
3. Alessandro , O., & Johan , S. (2013). Mass Media and Public Policy Global Evidence from Agricultural Policies. The World Bank Development Economics Vice Presidency Partnerships, Capacity Building Unit The World Bank Development Economics Vice Presidency Partnerships, Capacity Building Unit .
4. Alter , K. (2014). The new terrain of international law: Courts, politics, rights. Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press.
5. Anderson, J. E. (2011). Public policy making. Cengage Learnings.
6. Andrew , K., John , M., & Elizabeth , S. (2014). Role of the Courts. Retrieved from The Solutions 2014, The heritage foundation : http://solutions.heritage.org/role-of-the-courts/
7. Babbie, E. (2001). The Practice of Social Research. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning. .
8. Ball, A. R., & Peters , G. B. (2000). Modern Politics and Government. NY: Palgrave.
9. Bennett, L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. Journal of Communication, 58, 707–731.
10. Bowman, S., & Willis, C. (2011, March 20). We media: How audiences are shaping the future of news and information. Retrieved from http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/ download/we_media.pdf.
11. Carrubba, C., & Gabel, M. (2015). International courts and the performance of international agreements: A general theory with evidence from the European union. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
12. Green, C. (1994). The role of mass media in shaping public policy. C. Replay edition: The Media and the Public.
13. Chuan, H. A., & Yuanling, M. (2013). Relationship between the media and judiciary under the Perspective of China's national conditions: An analysis of "media trial". Higher Education of Social Science, 5(3), 54-56.

14. Cobb, R. W., & Elder, C. D. (1972). Participation in American politics: the dynamics of agenda building. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
15. Dorey, P. (2005). Policy making in Britain: An introduction. Sage.
16. Dover, D. (2015). Population of Pakistan. Retrieved from Worldometers: www.worldometers.info/world-population/pakistan-population/
17. Dye, T. (2012). Understanding public policy. NJ: Prentice Hall: Englewood Cliffs, 10th Edition.
18. Esser, F., & Pfetsch, B. (2004). Comparing political communication. Theories, cases and challenges. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
19. Fallow, J. (1996). Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy. Wadsworth Publishing Company, Fallows.
20. Fawazi, N. (2018). Beyond policy agenda-setting: political actors' and journalists' perceptions of news media influence across all stages of the political process. Information, Communication & Society, 21(8), 1134-1150.
21. Fischer. (1991). News media functions in policy making. Canadian Journal of Communication, 16(1).
22. Hayat, N., & Juliana, A. W. (2016). A Comparative Analysis of Pakistani English Newspaper Editorials: The Case of Taliban's Attack on Malala Yousafzai. Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities, 24(3).
23. Howlett, M., & Ramesh, M. (2003). Studying public policy: Policy cycles and policy subsystems. Toronto : Oxford University Press.
24. Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. Qualitative health research, 15(9), 1277-1288.
25. Kennedy , M. (2010). Judiciary: Courts and Public Policymaking. Courts & Policy, 1-21.
26. Kolbitsch, J., & Maurer, H. (2006). The transformation of the web: How emerging communities shape the information we consume. Journal of Universal Computer science, 12(2).
27. Kraft, M. E., & Furlong, , S. (2012). Public policy: Politics, analysis, and alternatives. CQPress.
28. Krippendorf, K. (2004). Content analysis an introduction to its methodology. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
29. Luberda, R. (2008). The fourth branch of the government: Evaluating the media's role in overseeing the independent judiciary. Notre Dame JL Ethics & Pub. Pol'y, 22, 507.
30. Marzotto, T., Burnor, V. M., & Bonham, G. S. (2000). The evolution of public policy: Cars and the environment. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
31. McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. Public Opinion Quarterly, 176-185.
32. McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. Public Opinion Quarterly, 176-185.
33. McCombs, M., Llamas, P., Lopez-Escobar, E., & Rey, F. (1997). Candidate images in Spanish elections: Second-level agenda setting effects. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 703-717.
34. Michelle, W., & Bryan, D. J. (2013). A Failure to Communicate: Agenda Setting and Policy Studies. In Political Communication (pp. 175–192). North Carolina: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC. Retrieved from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill : https://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/articles/PolCom2013-WolfeJonesBaumgartner.pdf
35. Miller, M. (2009). The view of the courts from the hill: Interactions between Congress and the federal judiciary. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
36. Miller, R. L., & Brewer, J. D. (2003). The AZ of social research: a dictionary of key social science research concepts. Sage Publication.
37. Mokhaba, M. (2005). Policy and Policy Analysis. University of Pretoria.
38. Moore, W., & Staton, J. (2011). Judicial power in domestic and international politics. International Organization, 553-587.
39. Neuendorf, K. (2002). The Content Analysis Guidebook. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
40. Neuman, W., Crigler, A., & Just, M. (1992). Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning. University of Chicago Press, 38-40.
41. Rama, R. M. (2011). Role of Different Agencies in Public Policy Formulation. Retrieved from Shodh Ganga, A reservior of indian thesis: http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/1918/9/09_chapter4.pdf
42. Rosenberg, G. (2008). The hollow hope: Can courts bring about social change? (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press., The hollow hope: Can courts bring about social change? (2nd ed.).
43. Schattschneider, E. E. (1960). The Semi-Sovereign People. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.

44. Soroka , S., Lawlor , A., Farnsworth , S., & Young , L. (2012). Mass Media and Public Policy. In Routledge Handbook of Public Policy. Routledge . Retrieved from Mass Media and Policy Making: http://www.snsoroka.com/files/Media&Policymaking.pdf

45. Stone , S., & Brunell, T. (2012). The European court of justice, state noncompliance, and the politics of override. American Political Science Review,. American Political Science Review, 106, 204-213.

46. Taylor, M. M. (2008). The judiciary and public policy in Brazil. DADOS: Revista de Ciencias Sociais,, 50(2), 229.

47. Willemsen, M. C. (2018). Problem Identification and Agenda Setting. In Problem IdentificatiTobacco Control Policy in the Netherlands (pp. 271-304). Palgrave Macmillan.

48. Yue , T., & David , H. (2005). Local Media, Public Opinion, . Retrieved from http://site.iugaza.edu.ps/tissa/files/2010/02/Local_Media,_Public_Opinion,_and_State_Government_Policy.pdf.

Annexure A

Details of SMC taken on Media Reports

S. No.	Court Cases based on Media Reports	Suo Motu (SMC) case Reference	Date
1.	Non issuance of CNIC to Hindu women	SMC-22-2009	18-11-2009
2.	Rawal dam water contamination	SMC-13-2010	2-8-2010
3.	Irregularities were found in allotment of government plots the Federal Government Housing Foundation.	SMC-4-2011	13-1-2011
4.	Unhygienic conditions in kitchens of hotels and restaurants in Lahore	SMC-2L-2009	10-9-2009
5.	Car race in Baharia Housing society	SMC-26-2010	11-12-2010
6.	Shifting of Tannery zone in Sialkot to save the communities from adverse effects.	SMC-12-2010	2-8-2010
7.	Corruption in Pakistan Steel Mills (PSM).	SMC-15-2009	24-9-2009
8.	Irregularities in the organization and arrangement of the Hajj (pilgrimage) by the Ministry of Religious Affairs	SMC-24-2010	3-12-2010
9.	Law & order situation in Karachi	SMC-16-2011	24-8-2011
10.	Canal widening project Lahore & cutting of trees	SMC-25-2009	26-11-2009
11.	Illegal sale of Auqaf Property	SMC-9-2011	18-4-2011
12.	Murree gas pipeline project	SMC-26-2009	2011
13.	Non-supply of gas connection in Gujar Khan by SNGPL	SMC-2-2011	21-3-2011
14.	Waheeda Shah (election candidate) slaps a polling officer	SMC-3-2012	29-2-2012
15.	Failure to develop the Gwadar port by the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA), the operator of Gwadar port.	SMC-21-2010	11-3-2008
16.	Blocked the controversial sale of 240 acres Evacuee Trust Property Board Karachi's land	SMC-4-2009	8-5-2009
17.	Irregularities in the development of land by the CDA and MPCHS	SMC-13-2009	6-7-2009
18.	Awarding of LNG contracts	SMC-5-2010	28-4-2010
19.	Minimum Wage issue of PTCL guards	SMC-6-2011	14-2-2011

Authors' compilation from the archives of the SCP