

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES



MEDIA PROPAGANDA AND POLITICAL REGIMES IN PAKISTAN

MASTER'S THESIS

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Political Science and International Relations Program

May, 2021

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare with respect that the study “Media Propaganda And Political Regimes In Pakistan”, which I submitted as a Master thesis, is written without any assistance in violation of scientific ethics and traditions in all the processes from the Project phase to the conclusion of the thesis and that the works I have benefited are from those shown in the Bibliography.(.18../8../20...)

ANNAB ALI BARQ



FOREWORD

This thesis is the final work for my Master's degree at Istanbul Aydin University. It presents my research on the "MEDIA PROPAGANDA AND POLITICAL REGIMES IN PAKISTAN". It has been a fantastic experience, it was interesting to dig into many pieces of research and handbooks, but I also had to overcome many obstacles to pave the road smoothly. I

couldn't have done this without help, a direction towards what is essential and most prominently trust.

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ANNAB ALI BARQ

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MEDIA PROPAGANDA AND POLITICAL REGIMES IN PAKISTAN

ABSTRACT

Media and politics are the most powerful tools in the world today both can built and destroy each other. However over the course of years media has been used a mode to spread propaganda to influence the minds. This research is about how media propaganda is actually political propaganda and media still has rules to follow. How politics and government has a great impact of media propaganda and politics is behind it. Propaganda could be an apparatus that's utilized in media to spread a certain political point of view. Purposeful publicity isn't approximately getting the objective truth of a circumstance; it's spreading a message. The current study is about how media has always been an appertaise for propaganda that government and politics played a major role in and how media channels and personals have always been at risk even today. The study is qualitative based study where important media and political personals have been interviewed as with close ended question based on the questions that were formulated.

Key words: *Media, Politics, Propaganda, Tool, Government*

PAKISTAN'DA MEDYA PROPAGANDASI VE SIYASİ REJİMLER

ÖZET

Medya ve siyaset bugün dünyadaki en güçlü araçlardır, hem birbirlerini inşa edebilir hem de yok edebilirler. Ancak yıllar geçtikçe medya, zihinleri etkilemek, propagandayı yaymak için bir yöntem olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu araştırma, medya propagandasının gerçekte politik propaganda olduğundan ve medyanın hala uyması gereken kurallar olduğundan bahsediyor. Siyaset ve hükümetin medya propagandası ve siyaset üzerinde nasıl büyük bir etkisi olduğu, bunun arkasında yer almaktadır. Propaganda, medyada belirli bir siyasi bakış açısını yaymak için kullanılan bir araç olabilir. Amaçlı tanıtım, yaklaşık olarak bir durumun nesnel gerçeğini elde etmek değildir; bir mesaj yaymaktır. Bu çalışma, medyanın her zaman hükümet ve siyasetin önemli bir rol oynadığı propaganda için nasıl bir uygulama olduğu ve bugün bile medya kanallarının ve personelinin nasıl her zaman risk altında olduğu hakkındadır. Formüle edilen sorulara dayalı olarak kapalı uçlu soru ile görüşülmüştür .

AnahtarKelimeler: *Medya, Siyaset, Propaganda, Araç, Devlet*

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the study, the statement of the problem and the research questions in addition to the significance of the study respectively. Furthermore, the operational definitions of the study are stated and explained in this chapter.

1.1 Background Of The Study

It is a paradox in nature that pakistans media was revolutionalized and librated, as well through the growth of the telecom sector which was set in motionspme 17 years ago by a newly established military regime.(mariot,2017) politics has had a great impact on media in Pakistan.

The media and politics related history and literature shows that the media, the state, and the government of the time in the world, direct or indirect, are related and interdependent upon each other in various arenas. State or the government may need media to put forward or propagate positive image of the country thought out the world. Political parties or politicians depends exclusively upon the media to have a large and positive publicity and etc.(Memon,2014). Hence, considering the above said assumptions, one can image that due to the interdependency of such a relationship the attitude of the state and government towards media is a matter of great importance and deserves academic consideration, the idea of Waisbord (2007), that the stable and legitimate institutions of the state are a basic requirement for democratic Journalism.

The centrality of the relationship among the media, the state, and the government might also be surveyed from what Tresch (2009) suggests that in incumbent Western-democracies the media are the main intermediary between lawmakers and citizens.(Memom,2014) Because, all citizens go to not one or the other political gatherings nor they have individual contacts with lawmakers. Thus, media is the best source to have the political framework for citizens (Tresch, 2009). However, this is what a

relationship should be when we look at Pakistan and pre and post modernization era we look and different regimes controlling the media and having a positive outlook over political agenda. In addition, on the one hand for a lawmaker to stay in a political handle and have a voice within the media is an critical political strategy, as they can get authenticity and control (Ibid, 2009). On the other hand, it is found by Brants, Claes, Judith, and Philip (2010) that writers and lawmakers are not as it were part of a comparable circle but moreover breathe the same air; and also are dependent upon each other to set up a condition of check and adjust. Advance, Brants et al. (2010) adds that the relationship between writer and lawmaker, is an advantageous one. Hence both can advantage from each other, as they require each other (Brants et al., 2010). However, on politicians” portion it is additionally said that they are dissatisfied with the way their sees are delineated in the media (Ibid, 2010). Since, media has the possibility of doing both to make and break politicians (Aelst&Stefaan, 2011).

Media is one of the most significant civilian agents to provide transparency within the country. It has to guarantee the freedom of having cognizance and obtaining information from the public. Communication freedom can be effectuated in an environment where the media is modern and integrated into public communication without any limitations. Media is the indispensable institution of communication, freedom in the media has to be protected against any type of intervention. There are some basic problems of media, which prevent it from fulfilling these functions. In this point, Chomsky’s sayings are significant. He says: “[media has no concern at all with the public interest. It serves the interest of either the state or the private companies; and is one of the most important responsibilities of the consumerist culture which kills the humanist values and public conscience, and creates inactive, suppressed, egocentric, and apathetic individuals. Media, being an attack and enticement screen, is structured to hold the biggest part of the public prisoner and hypnotize them.

Pakistan’s political artiocracy stands out because of its narrow mind. A defined number of families have governed the Pakistan legislature since 1947. These

families have also had control over the media on what the public eye sees and perceives.(Mustaq,Ibrahim,kaleem, 2013). Hence this shows how media was submissive as it didn't have a lot of say or authority on what's going on.

Taking into consideration the importance of these factors,it is essential to analyze the media and political propaganda and how it is perceived today in Pakistan via political figures and journalists. Hence this study seeks to how media propaganda is related to politics and government regime.

1.2 Statement Of The Problem

In Pakistan for a very long time, media was controlled by the government. In other words, media did not have a say of its own. Media was filtered through its way to the public. The Political Economy of the Mass Media” (Herman and Chomsky 1988) contend that mass media, as an item, capacities to build assent in its customers (its gathering of people) through its organizing of the news. Does the question arise who set these filters? Today media being free is more biased to their affiliated political agenda or the political party. This is where this research fills this vacuum. It will look into how media propaganda was formulated through political means during different regime periods.

Media professionals in Pakistan, unfortunately, run at great risk when they report on certain subjects such as terrorism, religion, gender, and national security. There are a dissipated amount of individuals in Pakistan, as well as institutions that think that it is okay to threaten media professionals. The freedom enjoyed by the media in covering politics, and the shenanigans of politicians, is a classic example of constrained pluralism. Which brings to mind Voltaire's widely quoted statement: "Identify the real rulers of a country? Ask: who it is that one can't criticize?"

According to Moemeka (2000:19), Agenda-setting is a theoretical viewpoint about the process of mass media of sitting out (from among many) certain issues which media considers important to the society and paying attention to issues in which the public can be included and discuss them. Now in Pakistan when Panama leaks were being discussed how half of the population was biased

towards Nawaz Sharif former prime minister being innocent on immense corruption accusation how certain news channels that are known to be under a certain political party favor them. However, all this propaganda that was politically simulated was to keep the attention on an issue and keeping it alive. Agenda-setting is directed towards eliciting appropriate actions for or against those issues being publicly discussed. Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media on political issues likewise the ability to tell what issues are important.

We live in a situation drenched in broad communications. TV is a critical mass communication channel. Among its capacities is the political training of members of the audience. Television broadcasts may impact the voting conduct of those presented to its communicates and their odds of winning more votes by utilizing it to achieve a huge number of votes at the same time. It is, therefore, not surprising that politicians have attempted to improve their chances of winning more votes by using it to reach millions of voters simultaneously. Television is a channel for providing the electorate with useful information on the political parties, the contestants, and the voting procedures. The operation of a functional political system and the election of contestants into some public offices depend on an informed electorate.

1.3 Statement Of Significance.

Investigating if media has an impact on political administrations in Pakistan during Zia-ul-Haq time the article Imran Aslam, Kamran Asdar Ali investigates the relationship between the news media and the government was straightforwardly unfriendly. The press saw a lot of pre-censorship and advisories. (Aslam and Ali, 2009). If you didn't regard the warning given, you would face imprisonment or your publication would shutdown. Hence self-censorship is taken under consideration by a good journalist.

In the 1990s, during the period of civilian rule, there was a small opening. Still, the government attempted to buy or coerce journalists to report favorably. Since working journalists could not be bought, the management was targeted through tactics such as newsprint quotas and cutting government advertising.

During the period of Nawaz Sheriff in late 1990 and during that period Benazir Bhutto was gaining popularity at that point, visits were done by government authorizes to check if none is running any stories that caused any tenderness if they were during this period a story on Asif Zardari was being dorted out and the government officials gave orders to drop the story. During that time the proprietor, ShakilurRehman was inquired to fire his new staff the refusal to do so cost them 18 assets which were likely kept as weapons to use at later times. The government went to the extent of relocating and was decreased to 4 pages of print media. It was called war on Jang. Jang is the name of the parent newspaper.(Aslam and Ali, 2009)

This research is important because, media is one of the greatest media to look into the world's mindset as well as, a medium to change the mindset of individuals out there; with so many viewers and, one main medium of communication which has led to immense changes in the world. I want to learn how in Pakistan media propaganda is seen in a viewpoint of politics and how politics has been influencing media in the name of media propaganda.

1.4 Research Questions

In association with the background and general presumptions discusses, the research is concerned with how media propaganda and the political regime have co-relation will try to look into the following questions:

- Did political regimes affect media in Pakistan? And its freedom
- This research would look into different media campaigns during the particular political regimes and how those political parties were utilized media, especially during an election campaign.
- Was media propaganda political in Pakistan during those regimes?
 - This question would answer the propaganda that was led through political means with the use of media, however media intentions will also be looked into
 - Hypothesis

Media propaganda is political in Pakistan as the media never had total freedom

- Is it politics that runs the media or the other way around?
 - This question will be answered by looking into different secondary research during those periods.

Media rules were mended in our constitution



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The concept of media freedom and regulation is a parable that needs to be reshaped and rebuilt to embed it in the contexts of what is current. There is no authentic way of saying that media is free, there is only safeguarding of the interests of actors in the game of politics of the event at play. News is regulated by the media to the reader, thus denying the reader to make informed or reasonable conclusion of the matter that indulge in their daily life. (Ringera,2008) Freedom is about media providing readers with information for transformative opportunities of sustainable peace within the self, families, communities, and nations. (Ringera,2008). In this chapter, we discuss all the previous researchers related to the study.

2.2 Political Regimes Effect On Pakistani Media

According to Rao and Kelleher (2005), the same power relationships are used to change and perpetuate cultural beliefs and practices. It is within this complex of issues and multiplicity of actors that the politics of a media culture of freedom and regulation needs to be engaged to see who is excluded and understand why to ensure all voices are heard and included. In other words: who is regulated and who have the freedom to speak, be listened to, and heard?

Media have the potential for being formidable agents of peace, however, this is impossible when certain voices are excluded and/or silenced. (Rringer,2008). Comparing both statements the conclusion that can be derived from it is that those who have power control.

Media freedom and regulation need to be articulated within an analysis of not only the owners of media entities but also the question of 'freedom' for who and 'regulation' for what. When media houses cry foul when government attempts to regulate their 'freedom' (read, how far the media can go in criticizing the

powers that be), the reasons behind these events need to be understood within contextual aspects such as politics, economy, ownership, culture, and so on. People should always be open to asking whose agenda is being pushed when these hot debates arise. Whose freedom is sought and who is regulating who and for what? (Ringer,2008)

To begin with, it is very common to be able to say that, in terms of its political history, Pakistan has a chequered past. (memon,2014) according to the study conducted by basher memon,2014, more than half of the period, since independence, it has been ruled by military governments for varying lengths of time, which have been succeeded by democratic political systems, which were then succeeded by other military dictatorships; and even the democratic governments have not been democratic. Therefore, while complimenting the democratic political system in Pakistan basher mammon research, one participant mentioned its true color in the following words that “over here it is a feudal democracy it is not even a capitalist democracy.

Future more This article gives a point-by-point portrayal of the media amid political administrations into the condition of media (print and electronic) amid civilian chosen governments from 1988 to 1999 in Pakistan. The think about which is conducted by Bashir and stopped ulan takes in four civilian governments - Benazir Bhutto's(EX prime minster) to begin with the government (2 December 1988 - 6 Eminent 1990), Nawaz Sharif's to begin with the government (6 November 1990 - 18 July 1993), Ex prime minister Benazir's moment government (19 October 1993 - 5 November 1996), Nawaz's moment government (17 February 1997 - 12 October 1999).(ibid).giving us an insight into how everything works,

The controlled press has been one of the determining highlights of Pakistani society. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the first governor-general was a great supporter of the press and expression of human rights. During the tenure of Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad the Public Safety Ordinance 1948, Pakistan Security Act 1952, and Official Secrets Act 1923 was re-implemented. These laws were used as a tool to threaten the newspapers and force them to write in favor of the government. The press took take note of such oppressive steps and pronounced them against principal rights. The culture

of bribe in news coverage was started in this administration to halt them from distributing stories against the government. Within the residency of Khawaja Nazimuddin, the opportunity of the press was confined, over and over the Central powers Act was put into activity against the daily paper of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan to be specific, day by day Zamindar. In 1953, military law was forced in Lahore, and the press was utilized to back it. Iskandar Mirza had taken after the stride of his forerunners to keep press beneath his strict control. He controlled the press by making it monetarily powerless. (ibid)

looking further into the history of media and politics 1989 the Council of Newspaper Editors proposed amendments and set up a proposal to implement the code of ethics besides a press court of honor to make it possible for the government to fall into the punitive clauses of the ordinance. These suggestions were never heard in the latter half of the PPP government for the press was free than ever and laws to curb the freedom of the press were not put into action. The resumption of political activities and restoration of a free press and civil liberties transpired too. But the radio and television were politically partisans. They outright sided with the party in government. This showed who had the upper hand. Even the politicians of the opposition like Wali Khan, Nasrullah Khan, Mustafa Jatoi, Maulana Abdul Satar Khan Niazi, Omar Farooq, and Chaudhary Shujat Hussain demonstrated against the detrimental role of the media towards the opposition. basically they did not want media to have a voice of its own. As we can articulate media is being pushed backward besides placing fines on newspapers, the government also imposed limits on official advertisements and news printing for various time durations, rather several newspapers were shut down. The courts had disapproved of the unconstitutional press controls received by the government and ruled on the release of editors and the removal of fines on newspapers. Throughout the Ayub era, the press was under strict government control. During the last quarter of his rule, the attacks on newspaper offices and journalists became more frequent.(Ringer 2008). These incidents give a strong viewpoint on how everyone was being treated.

Looking at media during the time of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also promised to guarantee freedom to the press but in his tenure, several newspapers were banned and attacked. Also, editors, publishers, and printers were forbidden from performing their functions. Then Pakistan People's Party (PPP) leaders launched campaigns against newspapers whenever any news was published against their party. Violence against the press was the most persistent attribute of this era too. Which contradicts his statement as he was advertising media freedom. Formerly, Bhutto had opposed the NPT, but his government he did not abolish it; he also needed partisan (pro-PPP) media. Restriction on media was the most obvious feature of the government. It was strongly condemned by the Pakistan National Alliance(PNA).

During the 1977 elections, the official media was extremely partial. The political parties like the Jamiat-e-Ulema-e Pakistan (Sahebzada Group), JUP (S), the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Haqiqi Group), the JamiatulUlema-i-Islam (Hazarvi Group), and JUI (H) that endorsed the PPP got privileged dealing from the media. The speeches and statements of the leaders of these parties were regularly broadcasted on radio and television. After the elections of 1977 official media presented Bhutto as awe-inspiring and painted opposition as foes of democracy.

In the course of Muhammad ZiaulHaq's regime, the dreadful amendments were brought in the PPO that made the publisher answerable to the government and empowered the government to do the trial of a publisher in case a factually correct story was not appreciated by the administration. Zia policies played an important role in further deteriorating the state of the press. Through MLRs 48 and 49, laws, ordinances, and amendments in sections 499 and 500 of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) restrictions were imposed on the press. Several journalists were arrested and newspaper offices were closed. During 1977-1988 media was under state control and massive television campaigns were launched against the PPP. Interestingly all the media laws in Pakistan have been promulgated by military regimes. That is why they were not debated in the national parliament. In this regime, media was extensively used against politicians, particularly the PPP leadership.(ibid)

The democratic media affords the standpoints of all the political parties to the nation. The state of media in the PPP's tenure was not unlike any other preceding governments. The electronic media provided pro-PPP news; by and large, every political event was highlighted as the accomplishment of the ruling party. The television rendered one-side of the story. The anti-opposition propaganda too prevailed and, to comprehend the genuine insight of the events, one had to listen to the foreign broadcast.

The journalists were victimized in the PPP's tenure. A senior journalist cum secretary-general of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, Farooq Aqdas, was nabbed by the Islamabad police when he was in Rawalpindi which was in principle interference of the capital police in the Punjab territory. He was seized on the wish of another journalist who was a friend of Asif Ali Zardari and had some private kind of disagreement with Aqdas. When journalists boycotted the proceedings of the National Assembly to protest restriction on their movement and arrest of Aqdas, the Minister for Information, Khalid Kharaal told newsmen: 'This is your sweet will and I would not force you to cover the proceedings of the house'.

The pronouncement of the Pakistan Television Corporation to cut down the quota allocated to the premier, chief ministers, and federal ministers was hailed, in general, as it appeared that the age of controlled media was over. Benazir had directed to curtail her enormous exposure in the news to allay the concerns of those people who had to switch to foreign radios and news channels to balance the viewpoints of the government and the opposition on the Pakistani media. The substantial reporting of Benazir in news had altered the status of 'Khabarnama' to 'Wazir-i-Azam Nama'. The PPP frequently accentuated that it has rendered independence to the press and no press recommendation was forced on it. The government also wiped out the tax on newsprint.

The ruling party was, however, concerned about misreporting in the print media. Benazir averred that the media misreported the statement of Law Minister, Iqbal Haider on blasphemy. She mentioned that he did not get interviewed by the Irish newspaper but the news agency provided reasonable coverage to the absolute fake news item. Alike Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari took the journalists to task over the Mehran Bank scam. He chastised Kamran Khan, the investigative

journalist, for reporting that Younus was a good friend of Leghari and offered him two hundred million rupees for the election campaign.

Some of the ministers were not contented with a freestyle of reporting, therefore, advertisements were not made available to several national newspapers and leading dailies that did not surrender independent style of coverage. The government bestowed enormous privileges - foreign trips, monetary and professional benefits to the clique of journalists that espoused government policies. The journalists who were critical of government policies were contemplated as foes and did not enjoy any sort of benefit from the government side. The independence of the press is one of the prerequisites to put society in order and to propagate a democratic outlook, however, the government which made a tall claim of rendering freedom of the press did not put it into practice. The governments had imposed restrictions on the freedom of media as they wanted to hide their corruption.

In 1994, after pull out of the army, the law and order in Karachi exacerbated and the media started to report it. Benirz Bhutto criticized the press for continually embroidering the facts. She was of the view that by and large the law and order situation in Karachi had improved. Benazir did not pay heed to those media persons who were monitoring the situation of Sindh on an everyday basis. She barely deemed the information of the Karachi-based clique of confidant journalists. She termed those journalists as 'traitors' who tried to propagate the 'alarming' accounts concerning the law and order situation in Sindh. Even the publications of six Karachi-based evening newspapers were proscribed by the Sindh government. The ruling party seemed to be at war with the media. The government did not trust the media, therefore, it kept it under strict measures. Freedom of the press remained controlled under the democratic civil government and it was massively used against political opponents like particularly Nawaz Sharif.

The judiciary also criticized the press when it wrote about its performance. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court took notice of statements, articles in which reproofs were cited over the composition of constitutional benches, rulings of the benches, appointments of judges, and professional conduct of the judges of

superior courts. It was due right of the press to promote the debate over the system of the judiciary as it happened in other democratic societies.

Benazir affirmed that the media in Pakistan was perfectly free and that her government was beleaguered by the media. She asserted that the government did not pressurize the media even though it was indefatigable in citing deprecating comments over the functioning of the government. She too condemned the libels in the newspaper against the government. But when the press instigated to practice its freedom by tendering the names of the politicians (extending opposition and treasury benches) who obtained loans from the banks and did not make a return then opposition joined up with the government against the press and bureaucracy. Politicians accused the press and bureaucracy of hatching a plot against them to describe them as corrupt. The press was unnecessarily criticized but no politician denied that loans were gained by them. Benazir maintained that democracy refers to accountability and responsibilities but when the press did accountability politicians did not put up with it. At once politicians brushed their disagreements aside for their gains but not at all collaborated in the national interest.

The attitude of the state towards the news media has varied according to the style of government. As one participant expressed "there has been a difference in the attitude of the army and the democratic governments" (Karachi focus group,2014),(memon,2014)

The research conducted by Bashir Memon gives insight by focusing on different groups, defining the attitude of the military towards the media, three participants independently said that "during the Zia era there were many restrictions upon media" (Hyderabad focus group), whereas the second participant referring to all military governments in Pakistan expressed that "during the army rules the media have remained completely under control" (Karachi focus group,2014), and lastly the third participant expressed his view that "during martial law, there had been an extreme type of censorship" (Karachi focus group). Therefore, based on the opinions expressed by these participants one concludes that the news flow and activities of journalists remained under the very close observation of the state during those undemocratic political times. And concerning the level of censorship during

army rule, one participant at the metropolitan city focus group said that "even newspapers used to be checked before publishing" (Karachi focus group)

On the other, according to Ray M., Proulx S. and Dahlgren P. (2003, p.324) 'historically, the state has justified its attempts to influence the media by arguing that doing so is in the public interest'. In this way in the context of Pakistan throughout history, a key reason due to which print media has not assumed its role as the Fourth Estate is because it has faced a government committed to indirectly influencing its content (Nadadur D. R, 2007). Pakistani governments have used unofficial means to limit the print media's freedom. These include economic and advertising control, military intimidation, and the infiltration of media outlets through government spies (ibid). One such example is reported Gillani (2005) that in 2003, the Pakistan government withheld advertisement from 12 Sindhi-language newspapers including the Nation and the Nawa-i-Waqt newspaper publishers. So in consequence, these 12 newspapers became out of the market. (Gillani 2004) . This timeline gives an insight into the political aspect of this research.

2.3 Is Media Propaganda Political.

The study of many archetypal accounts regarding media ownership, corporate Interests, mergers, and lack of heterogeneity in media content especially in Pakistan Herman and Chomsky's (1988) propaganda model is no exception. To this background, which we use as a theoretical framework of this study. Despite providing an effective framework for addressing key areas of the political economy, the model invites critique from many scholars (Hallin 1994; Holsti&Rosenau, 174; Klaehn 2002, p. 147-182; Romano, 1989). These scholars argue that Herman and Chomsky (1988) promote a mechanical and functionalist approach. Herman and Chomsky (1982) concede leaving out many factors at the secondary level by not making them the focus of their study. According to Chomsky's biographer Rai (1997) said:

“The kind of micro-analyses is not the task of the Propaganda Model. The model provides an overview of the system at work, making sense out of a confusing picture by extracting the main principles of the system” (p. 46).

Through a presidential ordinance in 2000, former military President Pervez Musharraf passed a law to facilitate electronic media privatization in Pakistan. This development brought an effective end to an official monopoly on electronic news media. In the next few years, the authorities licensed 129 FM radio stations, 87 television channels, six MMDS, and a host of cable television operators and other broadcast facilities such as IPTV, DTH, and teleporting (Pemra, 2012)

This wave of privatization coincides with Musharraf's decision to join the US-led war on terror. Critical media scholar McChesney (2004) wrote extensively to define the self-evident "direct link between control over the media and control over the society" (p. 17). For McChesney (2004) commercial media typically derive legitimacy from progressive social reforms and public welfare, but the role of commercial media is always anti-public.

Since media reside at the center of power struggle, therefore, McChesney (2004) argues that connecting media owners to power politics is vital to understand what kind of force media is? (p. 17). In the case of Pakistan McChesney's (2004) observations carry serious implications. Since licenses were issued to media houses already in the news business or those tycoons using media to cover other businesses, therefore, concentration in urban hubs made commercial media dependent on State apparatus. After all, advertising cannot help sustain a media outlet as long as official patronage is not there. Commercial media in Pakistan are aware of such constraints. With terrorism coming to a grip with the *lawless* peripheries, TV screens in urban Pakistan started to rule the current affairs of everyday life. Every terror attack was followed by an official reaction to explain militants' actions. Such news made terrorism a *high-class tragic drama* staged by militants which then was represented by commercial channels to engage an urban audience.

Connecting macro-level analysis of the US-based commercial media outlets i.e., *Newsweek*, *Time*, *The New York Times*, and *CBS News*, Herman and Chomsky (1988) established contours of a propaganda model by evaluating the biased worldview of the US elite media. The model examines in US elite media the coverage of "U.S. Clinton states" (p. 33) such as Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Identifying five filters as the main constituents of their propaganda

model, the authors focus on the inequality of wealth and power and their ensuing reflection in mass-media interests and choices. This model "traces the route by which money and power can filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public" (Herman & Chomsky,

1988, p. 2). Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that state propaganda is hardly visible in countries where media is in private hands and no formal censorship exists to be identified visibly. This differentiation gets further difficult when media completion is visible and malpractices in the official sector are also part of media routines, not to mention the media's claim about the community's representation.

These filters explain: First concentration of media ownership, media size, and economic interests characterize the political economy of the mainstream corporate media which serves as a filter for discouraging the possibility of any alternative. Second) advertising in corporate media works as a driving force to filter content and devise news agenda. Third) dependence on the government sector for privileges and news makes corporate media scan news the effects of which tend to challenge the status quo. Fourth) calling it 'flak,' negative feedback containing threats and warnings are the outcome of the corporate media function. Therefore, disciplining efforts against media reinforces the media's strength. Fifth) "anticommunism" is a controlling tool that serves in corporate media as a source of permanent bias meant to discourage news on ideological grounds. All these filters, according to the model, are interdependent and interactive to reinforce one another effectively. This commercial model filters the news through a process to "fix the premises of discourse and interpretation...and...explain the basis and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 2). The filtering process is so natural and professional that news workers do not see any foul play. Instead, a mechanism like "objectivity" convinces them of fair play. Schiller (1981) looks upon objectivity as the product of the mid-nineteenth century era of positivism that promoted a whole new

lot of "widespread acceptance of uniform, objective world" (p. 83). In this way, objectivity emerged as a "universal journalistic ideal" (Schiller, 1981, p. 85),

which primarily serves the *status quo* at the cost of social change. These filters are the representation of how the government has a hold on media.

The relationship between news media and governments in countries across the globe has historically had a profound impact on the process of democratization and its consolidation – or lack thereof. In many cases, governments that are meant to be democratic have often been high-handed in their dealings with the media and the dissemination of information and have suppressed opposing political views; while on the other hand, news media in many new democracies have often been accused of being overly-critical and excessively negative, which is said to lead to political cynicism and the erosion of the legitimacy of fragile governments. Pakistan has witnessed both scenarios. (Peshimam,2013)

This research has carefully studied Pakistan's media over the years. The news media continues to expand in reach and influence in 2013, a year that saw the media exercise more influence on the political system than ever before. But the year also marks the 50th anniversary of one of the darkest laws in Pakistan's media history, the Press and Publication Ordinance, introduced by the country's first military dictator, Field Marshal Ayub Khan³. (ibid) The Ordinance effectively stated that any sort of news publication had to be cleared by the government before being printed and disseminated. The law remained in full force until 1988, which was when it was watered down just before the advent of Democratisation v2.0. It wasn't completely removed till 2002. Veteran journalist Zaffar Abbas lucidly remembers the day's journalists had to physically carry the next day's newspaper edition to the Press Information Department for the press officer to go through the stories and censor them. Now the Editor of Dawn, Pakistan's most respected news publication and largely-circulated English daily newspaper, Abbas recalls that the government's press officers would pull certain stories out and they would have to replace those spaces with other, often meaningless, stories. (Zafar,2013)

Abbas is not the only seasoned Pakistani journalist to refer to those days at every given chance. Muhammad Ziauddin, a practicing journalist for over four decades, refers often to those days too. The military regime would ask journalists and publishers to bring every page that was to be printed to the Press Information Officer, who would, on a whim, take out any news item, and the

publication would be forced not to publish it. Ziauddin, now the Executive Editor of The Express Tribune, an English daily paper in Pakistan that is the publishing partner of The International Herald Tribune, also recalls that in the beginning, the publications would fill those spaces with “inane, innocent news stories”... but after some time, they started leaving white spaces. The white space was a form of indirect protest.⁵ “If you ask me to describe that law in one sentence, I would say that if any small little government official didn’t like the color of your jacket or tie, he can arrest you, he can confiscate your newspaper, seal your press and throw away the key and there would be no recourse to the courts,” says Ziauddin, who was a college student at the time the law was first introduced and participated in protests against it.

2.4 Is It Politics That Runs The Media?

No media organization can cover all the events happening around the world by itself. It has to depend upon sources that are of various types working at multiple levels like individuals, organizations, interest groups, public relations practitioners, government, and so on. Sources that provide news to media organizations sometimes withhold information or lie. There exist overt and covert ways to influence media content. Information embedded in a particular context and construction of reality in a specific and favorable perspective cannot be easily identified (McChesney, 2000). Through information subsidies, media organizations get easier and cheaper usable information (Herman & McChesney, 1997). Journalists are sometimes engaged and kept busy in ways that they could not find time to approach alternative views.

Despite the rise of the internet, state-dominated media especially television remains a crucial tool for regime control in authoritarian regimes or societies. The government in China and Russia are at the forefront of the state media model, but such systems dominate in countries as diverse as Azerbaijan, Iran, Rwanda, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe. To achieve dominance state media seeks to influence four audiences: regime coalition elites: the populace at large; internet users; and the opposition and civil society. The media in this society is not designed to block everything but instead is aiming towards the target audience. (Walker, 2014).

The media has emerged as an important factor in international relations worldwide. It has been named as a key factor that influences ties between nations but at times gives them a push towards an amid direction. In Pakistan the ownership of media is quite distinct, never the few media has operated on the propaganda model as mention above. (Mustafa,2004)

Media has gone through a profound change in the 20th century. This has not been the case in Pakistan. With everything gone global easily viewable content, has caused the government to put restrictions and a bid to control it. While electronic media was exclusively government owned and its policies were determined by the ministry of information. The press was curbed by issuing stringent press advice, using draconian laws, and using advertising as an economic weapon to exert pressure. In extreme cases, newspapers were shut down or eradicated. (ibid)

As a result, the media could not play an independent role in shaping public opinion as well as foreign policy. Whatever the government decided it was the policy. It caused a major disruption between the relationship between India and Pakistan. No criticism of anything against the government could be given or asked. Press was nuzzled by the country with the reason for protecting the country from external threats. (Karachi: press club.1992)

The media was also made the mouthpiece of the government. the electronic media was in the hands of the government. In this situation, you could hardly find a media outlet with an independent role in molding public opinion or generating any pressure on policymakers.

The newspaper published by national press trust was government-owned and it wasn't difficult for them to get an established line. As for the independent print media unit 1988 the press and publication ordinance act imposed by Ayub Khan did the job during its dictatorship period.

Press freedom has always lacked consistency in Pakistan. Different regimes have used different legal and constitutional measures to control the press from public debate and criticism. In its entire yeas of history, Pakistan has been ruled by the military more than the civilian. Press in Pakistan usually faces threats, violence, economic pressure, etc. the country's laws on blasphemy have been

used against the journalist. Poor education, the urban orientation of the press, and the high price of newspapers are determinate factors for the underdeveloped print media in Pakistan. If we look at the number Pakistan's place in the reporters sans frontiers- annual worldwide press index freedom is 152 out of a total 167 for the year 2007. (Siraj,2009)

Taking a look at another country to give a broader perspective here are some key findings by Marc Pierini and Markus Mayr about Turkey government and media.

According to independent estimates, Turkey currently has the highest number of imprisoned journalists in the world, but the government and civil society organizations strongly disagree about the exact number. This creates an antagonistic atmosphere that hinders constructive reform. The judicial system tends to equate criticizing government policies and sympathizing with radical ideology. Journalists who report and comment on sensitive investigations or court proceedings as part of their job can face judicial prosecution. Many imprisoned journalists are detained on charges relating to terrorist activities linked to separatism. The government filters content online and blocks websites, seemingly targeting content that it deems unwanted or illegal. Large conglomerates control major media outlets, so economic interests cloud media decisions and undermine editors' and journalists' ability to provide truly independent, critical reporting. The government directly interferes at times in media affairs by lashing out at journalists or outlets in response to personal and policy criticism. A judicial reform package was adopted in mid-2012 to address some of these issues, but more drastic reforms are needed. A fourth judicial reform package should be adopted soon.

The International Federation of Journalists issued a report according to which from 1990 to 2015 Pakistan was ranked as the fourth most dangerous country for journalists to work due to a large number of a journalist being killed. (Nasir,18). Until now still, journalists get death threats they still have to be very careful about what they put in front of the public eye as well as the government.

Furthermore, analysis is conducted by Sana Ali to investigate the excessive focus on political issues by corporate news media in Pakistan. Five cardinal private television news channels are selected as the sample of the study and

responses are documented during the 9 p.m. news bulletin. Priming theory provided a conceptual background for this research project. The cross-tabulation method measured the obtained frequencies of responses and the Chi-square test assessed the study hypothesis. Thus, results showed that political news reports are given analogously more exposure than issues of the common man. Similarly, reports encouraging public participation and welfare are not being given enough exposure. Therefore, the researcher suggested that corporate news media should prioritize the wellbeing of the common man. Public welfare should be the primary concern of media reporting which is the main ethical prerequisite of journalism practices. (Ali,2019) but unfortunately, that is not the case in many countries that includes Pakistan.

Media in Pakistan presents an intensifying contradiction. On one hand, the landscape has experienced a dramatic increase in the number of media outlets, including multiple news channels. The culture of control exists, on the other hand, both in its subtler and overt manifestations. The country's security establishment continues to pummel bold and enterprising voices. One could argue that, with democracy now taking some root in Pakistan, critical thinking and freedom of expression should flourish. This hasn't been the case, and the prospects seem dismal for the future. Lack of vibrancy of Pakistan's democracy and the role of judges in the context of the transgression of freedom of expression are among the potent factors in the equation. In the absence of matching democratic institutions like the judiciary and Parliament, pesky journalists have had their heads chopped off. Politics and divisiveness around religion complicate matters to push Pakistan among the world's most dangerous countries for journalists. (nazir, 2019) . That being said it gives the impression that powerful political personals have a huge say in media as well as the government enough to send death threats.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sheds light on the methodology of the current research. It will talk about the research design, participants, the procedure implemented to collect the data, and its analysis.

3.2 Research Design

Since forever, arguments and opinions have been coming up to justify which research design and approach is more “appropriate” - qualitative or quantitative - to be used for social research. The data that is collected following Qualitative tools such as open-ended questions in interviews followed by observation of participants in their ordinary surroundings, gives a complete description of the candidates of the research. Following qualitative research in this manner creates a better understanding of behavior. Following qualitative research in this manner creates a better understanding of behavior. Hence; Leedy and Ormrod, (2014) and De Vaus (2014) suggest that to achieve plentiful information about actual situations of people qualitative data collection should be undertaken.

However, Christensen and Johnson (2012) formed a view through research that qualitative data views the world as being vigorous and not fixed. Due to this, De Vaus (2014) points out that the findings are constrained to the participants instead of generalized views.

Contrary to this, Bryman (2001) suggests that since statistics are significant in data collection for quantitative research, the analysis of data can be generalized because of the use of scientific methods.

In Comparison, Williams and May (1998) say that the analysis of findings cannot be seen as just another coincidence using quantitative methods.

Nevertheless, Researcher detachment, which suggests the author as being merely an “observer” is viewed as a huge hurdle in quantitative research.

This present study falls under the category of qualitative research method to better understand participants' current viewpoints. Why qualitative method for this research because it will help to get a viewpoint of the participant with open-ended and close-ended questions on how to do they view propaganda through the viewpoint of politics. This way the topic can be discussed on a more intimate level.

3.3 Participants Of The Study.

There were an of total 10 one on one sessions of an interview conducted where there will be both open-ended and close-ended questions depending on where the conversation leads. However, these interviews will either be political figures or media executives.

After successfully interviews were conducted which included some general question to get a basic understanding of the topic being talked about after a series of prompt questions were added to continue the conversation and understand better if what the participants had written in the questionnaire matched the answers to the interview’s general set of questions.

3.4 Data Collection Instrument

3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

As the research is only qualitatively based qualitative, 10 participants were chosen randomly for an interview. The reason behind conducting an interview was to get understand the learner’s perceptions at a deeper and intimate level.

The questions were open-ended and hence required certain prompts for continuing the conversation.

The interviews lasted for 20 minutes maximum each and were recorded carefully.

Looking at the semi-structured interview in terms of a ‘speech event’ in its own right, Sacks et al (1974) regard it as fundamentally a formal event in which the subject under discussion is agreed and, as Drever (1995.) points out, “on record”. It differs from the ethnographic interview in that the interviewer shares

a “common frame of reference” (ibid.) with the interviewee. In ethnographic interviews, the interviewee creates a path through the interaction, determining topics that the ethnographer follows. Any probing in ethnographic interviewing, according to Drever (ibid.), is conducted to confirm the interviewer’s assumptions and understanding which is possibly similar to that of the semi-structured interviewer at times. I would argue that although there are clear differences in objectives and the methodology of interviewing, there are commonalities perhaps at the topic level between ethnographic and semi-structured interviewing. If a topic is examined throughout the semi-structured interview, there may often be allowances by the interviewer to let the interviewee control sub-topic direction in a similar way to the ethnographer. As a teacher in more student-centered interaction will look to students to determine some control over topic development, the semi-structured interviewer also reasserts control to engineer the turn-taking back to the original theme and then “frame” the exchange, i.e. close it down. The ethnographer may see no need to engineer the interaction back to a “pre-determined” (van Lier 1996) set of questions because they do not exist. Before that point, however, turn-taking within 5 loosely arranged topics in semi-structured interviewing may resemble that of an ethnographic interview.

3.5 Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews that were thoroughly followed.

3.6 Data Analysis

since it is only qualitative-based research interviews were analyzed with content analysis.

4. FINDINGS.

4.1 Introduction

This present study seeks to investigate and analyze media propaganda and political regimes in Pakistan. this chapter presents the findings of the interviews that were conducted (Appendix X). the findings of the study are presented using reach question as a basis. The interviews were conducted via video calls and all of the interviewees have a political and media background.

4.2 Findings Related To Is Media Politically Driven? Print Or Electronic Media?

The answers to this question were very clear with the majority saying yes it is politically driven. one the interviewee Mr. Raza Haraj who is an ex MNA of Pakistan but has a seat in the national assembly stated that all the media houses in Pakistan own the print media and it is unlike European countries as to keep impartiality intact they don't allow the print media to be owned by electronic media groups. While in Pakistan it both houses enjoy a monopoly which involves huge finances that are considered black money and hence one of the reasons Pakistan is an underdeveloped country because there's no fiscal ownership of the flow of money and a lot of this money is owed by the media houses. whereas if we look at the answer of Abdul Qadir Khosa and was a district chairman of Dera Ghazi Khan city which was quite similar to Mr. Raza Haraj saying yes it is politically driven as print and electronic media is owned by the same media houses further stating that certain news channels are affiliated with a certain party, for example, PTI the current governing party is affiliated with ARY news channels and is biased towards them whereas GEO news is on the side of the opposition. Hence the print media they own chooses the same direction for example Jang group is owned by the GEO news channel, the express newspaper is owned by the express-news channel, and the dawn newspaper by Dawn news channels. Another thing that stood out in this

interview was by radio representative Sajjad Pervez from radio Pakistan who stated that media is partially driven in Pakistan but if we look at the whole picture they both need each other starting from the pre-partition time were Muslims did not have their newspaper hence dawn newspaper was established as well as newly-e-what dawn being in English and the later in Urdu. Further stating that it is partially politically driven when it comes to today giving an example of the time when war broke out between Nawaz Shareef and Jang group (print media) and how it was banned from publishing and from 16 pages newspaper it went down to 4 pages. However, the major issue that happened was one of the leading journalist Hamid mir was shot and Jang (newspaper) published an article saying that it was an attempt made by the ISI, and even Hamid Mir stated the if I die I want the case to file against ISI. Uptill today Jang and geo news channels are not allowed in army residences. So yes its is politically driven. the point that got my attention:

“ most of these news outlets including newspapers are willing to sell slots in respective media to further agenda of certain political parties and sometimes to please dominant narrative forwarded by establishing stated by Naweed Qamar who works in TRT Turkey. “

4.3 Findings Related To Do You Think News Media Channels In Pakistan Are Biased Towards A Particular Party? If Yes Do You Think It's Ethical?

This question was asked to strengthen the findings of the previous question the majority of findings were yes the media is biased but not towards a particular party they are biased towards whoever is endorsing as one of the interviewees stated that “With coming of Musharaf and coming of PEMRA mostly news channels grew why because it sells and they are used by influential people and political parties to sell their agenda also to whiten their black money so during every government regime that particular channel is inclined towards them because they receive their funding from them. That’s how our country works if you look at china no new channel dares to speak against the government because it is a communist country”. Moreover not every party is working independently it's human nature to be inclined towards something that interests them and be it a writer or a journalist even a news anchor it reflects in their

work whether they are biased or not that is a question. According to one of the findings, the viewpoint summarises that it is very difficult to say The response went from “look at Nawa-i-Waqt and Jang group alone. since its establishment back in the 1940s, Nawa-I-Waqt has been the mouthpiece of right-wing parties while Dawn and Jang's groups took the liberal club. but later Jang group also fell in the lap of establishment and helped power brokers in Islamabad further their agenda in manipulating elections to defeat BB Bhutto after her government was dissolved by the then president Mr. Farooq Leghari and later to strengthen dictator Pervaiz Musharraf post-2000 scenario when private tv channels were licensed to manipulate public opinion for the good of ruling elite (Mullah-Military Alliance). Yet another interesting point came forward by RidazafferGuman who is currently a news anchor “Every channel is biased towards a particular party every channel has its party which they are endorsed or affiliated to we are workers, and we have to obey and by no means it is ethical.” Another interesting but contradicting finding.“ they no longer have an ideological presence at least anymore in the party it all comes down to finances. If you pay them well they are on your side but if you don't pay what they desire they will pick the next best option and I must emphasize the fact that these electronic media are the most paid personally in Pakistan under the table and above the table, however, they will never expect that but the credit goes to the government personal who propagate their viewpoint and yes its highly unethical” this question further ensure that media is used for political propaganda one way or another by the government.

4.4 Findings Related To,” Do You Think Media Propaganda Is Political”?

This question elaborates the basis of my thesis with a response that stood up the most by Raza Haraj Ex MNA “of course they are political once they are paid; they do their homework bring up the related documents and play a very important role in putting down political roots. I would like to recall 2008 when it was the Gillani's government it was the media who started to propagate against the govern and Nawas Sharif being paid them relay well. So in the 2013 election, PPP(Pakistan peoples party) lost whereas PMLN won the election all because the media was showing all the corruption done by Asif Zardari whereas

Nawaz Sharif was portrayed as the praised man and if look at the present government how they propagated was they targeted youth through media and youth was mesmerized hence Imran Khan won. So yes it is, in fact, political if done the right way and through that, you can get into the minds of the masses” with the majority saying that yes it is, in fact, political yet another response was unique by Naveed Qamar TRT Turkey: “Of course yes, but the dilemma is the fact that sold out outlets don't give on-screen credit as "Paid Content" instead they give more air time to the favorites than those disliked by establishment.” So in a way, it shows that political propaganda and biases work side by side. Another statement that came up was: “ Pakistani media is going through infancy the news channels or electronic media has not yet come to the age of maturity. Pakistani electronic media tries to copy Indian electronic media from how to produce to how to talk is similar to Indian channels. being said that with having too many talk shows we can also say that every talk show is trying to discriminate against the other political party hence the masses are now fed up and the talk shows which at some point meant a lot now just are ways to get money and a political agenda out; so you can say they have lost their credibility”. With that question arose that why? Why is this happening when in fact there are rules that should be followed and yellow journalism isn't being followed anymore. The majority answered that there is no such rulebook anymore with the world constantly evolving what's right for an individual might not be for someone else yellow journalism is a classical definition but looking back it was established when only print media was insight. so this term is ‘old news’. Now every country has its code of conduct what's viewable in some countries might not be in others hence PEMRA came into being which puts forward the Pakistan code of conduct when it comes to electronic media. Lastly, one finding suggests that everything is political as Pakistan has nothing else to look into. there are fewer entertainment channels and more news channels in Pakistan and instead of showing anything else, for example, current agriculture production, etc they propagate political propaganda by making government officials fight and discriminate making it a sort of entertainment.

4.5 Does The Media Still Need Government Approval To Publish A Report Or A News Story.

“They do not need any approval they should but they have a strong muscle backing them up.”

This question Gave clear answers with all interviewees stating NO but to some extent as PEMRA has control over such measures now. Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Pemra which independent and constitutionally owned federal authority it is responsible for issuing channel licenses and establishment for print and electronic media which was established on March 1, 2002. now the findings suggest that before the establishment of PEMRA the news channels had little to no free reign from getting death threats to getting an entire establishment confiscated however in 2002 during PervazMusharf the free reign was given with a code of conduct policy. The important thing to point out here was the emergence of social media so for example if PEMRA doesn't allow such content on electronic or print media there is always an option of social media, youtube, Facebook, and Instagram, for example, it would cause a little damage to the rating but now that particular person or even an article that was prohibited that is free to be published and publish whatever they want. When a journalist is working for a new channel or a print media they have to keep in mind the policies which in Pakistan are regulated by PEMRA and PID but when that journalist switches to its channel that doesn't have to put up with those regularities. One of the reasons PTI has such immense youth following is that they understood the influence of social media and took that as an advantage.”PTI government no doubt leaned on social media while the other parties at that point couldn't understand the importance of social media and hence weren't involved in their campaign. and it's 100% true that PTI gained their youth following and made a network on social media when one else did. This might also hint at the downfall of tv or news channels; without impartiality in these talk shows they will slowly fade away. Finding that stood out In most of the cases NO, but YES in some matters labeled as national interest and national security. PEMRA and PID (press information depth) both play regulators to control what can be published or broadcasted pending approval from national security institutions like ISPR and ISPR. Moreover another point:

yes as media is endorsed through them for example the ARY news channel is being paid more cause it favors the establishment and current government. however, one interviewee stated that: yes we need government approval and it was noticed during the election campaigns for the 2018 election that our channel started getting restriction and if not followed resulted in a ban. these were the rules coming from the government and if the channel didn't follow it they would simply get banned or get a notice. There were set of rules for channels were set of rules that they had to follow. with that came to the question that, Is Pakistani media on the rise and yet again politically driven? The answers were contradicting suggested that Pakistani media is not on the rise but yes it is politically driven why because the funding has decreased ever since PTI came into power funding has decreased to percent. Which shortly will result in downsizing.

4.6 Results Related To What's Your Opinion On Political Propaganda When It Comes To Pakistani Media.

This question was formulated to help gather personal views on this agenda. The findings were: it's extremely lethal they will rip out all the negatives first and wouldn't even bother to show the positives instead of talking about proper political mindsets they talk about rubbish that none is gaining from expecting the party that is paying to do so.

Our political structure is struggling ever since partition and media has a huge part to play in it.

Political propaganda is real in Pakistan as it's easy for media tycoons to manipulate events and incidents as the public do not question the authenticity of what's being fed to them, you may blame poor literacy rate and weak justice system where one can get away with harming reputation and interests of rivals, mostly political opponents.

Like any other Pakistani whenever I listen to propaganda if it been going on all the e-news channels get influenced also and of course, It has a very important role but despite that, it has a very important role on my mind also I get

opinionated when they give enough to change my mindset and I am a very patriotic person who wants to see Pakistan flourish in times to come.

What another motive would It be other than being political. It should not be an option for any channel however it is. I would like to say that it needs to stop but we both know that far stretched.

I will just not talk about Pakistan over here if you observe news channels and news reporting strategies in any other country you will see that they all are selling political propaganda. My opinion is that it's necessary because people need to be educated and it's not just political propaganda it could be pro-government anti-government. It doesn't matter if it's political if it is needed to help the nation to get over something it is necessary so why not Pakistan yes not at the cost of freedom of the press.

Do these viewpoints suggest that political propaganda has been used for as long as anyone can remember do they have the power to change the mindset of the masses? Yes! Are they political Yes!

4.7 Finding Related To Do You Still Think That Journalists And Media Personally Get Death Threats After Writing Or Posting Something Against Someone?

This question seeks to find something very basic that life matters above all but being a journalist has its history of being on a death list all over the world the responses that caught my attention

Yes, unfortunately, this is another side of journalism that there is no safety so if a journalist goes against any organization or is working on something that might raise a lot of red flags there is always an option of having them killed why because to prove a point and these things are meant to stay under a radar.

Yes and just look at what happened to Bukhari Gul Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency issued a statement demanding that Bukhari, a Pakistani columnist based in the United Kingdom, appear in Pakistan for questioning about her alleged online propaganda against the government within 30 days or else the agency would file terrorism charges against her. These show that yes they are being threatened and that they have no voice of their own.

Pakistani dissident and human rights activist Ahmad Waqas Goraya was punched by men waiting outside his home in the Netherlands, which he blamed on Pakistani state agents, he told CPJ via messaging app. He said he suffered light injuries, and described the incident—attacked by one man, filmed by another—as similar to previous attacks on Pakistani critics in exile.

Exiled journalist Taha Siddiqui wrote in a Washington Post op-ed last year that he and other dissidents had been warned by U.S. officials of potential attacks against them. Waqas Goraya said he received a similar warning in 2018 from U.S. officials.

We have all heard the stories seen the after-effects so putting that into consideration is true.

Yes, it is true we journalists have been murdered but these incidents have been having been isolated in Karachi Peshawar. we also cannot overlook that there are two types of journalists in Pakistan one whose bread and butter is journalism and they also get highly paid and are very careful, and the second type is which likes to be a part of the journalism community for their gains. That kind of journalist is more prone to death threats.

Yes, I have been a target of a bomb that was planted in my home in Islamabad so I cannot deny the obvious.

The findings related to this question gave an in-depth view of yes journalists are being murdered as well as political figures getting death threats throughout history that how it has been, unfortunately.

4.8 Findings Related To You Being A Media Personal Have You Ever Encountered A Political Problem Regarding Your Work?

Luckily, No. I mostly worked in the newsroom as a producer and editor.

I cannot deny that I haven't been apart or to say a victim of media propaganda (RazaHaraj) of course I have. But in all these allocation media was wrongly portraying something and I had full inquiries done and the law was on my side the propaganda was against me and I found my way out of it. So yes and honestly it affects your career your family everything.

Since interviews were conducted by government working personals all of them expect from one has never been a part of media propaganda although the channels they have worked for media have been part of huge propaganda. For example GEO news and PTV news. GEO news was banned and was given a fine of 1 million rupees as according to petra they were showing indecent content.



5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter first presents a summary and the conclusions of the current study. And then, it highlights the limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies.

5.2 Summary Of The Study

my study aimed to find how political regimes over time in Pakistan have affected media and how media propaganda is propagated by politics and is political propaganda and media is just a means to an end. The participants of the study were 10 systematically chosen political and Media personals. who were from Pakistan .the research was qualitatively based, open-ended questions were asked to talk in-depth.

The following research question guided the research:

- Are political regimes affected by the media in Pakistan? And its freedom
- Was media propaganda political in Pakistan during those regimes?
- Is it politics that runs the media or the other way around?

5.3 Conclusion

The first question was about how political regimes have affected media in Pakistan and its freedom. The findings suggest that media freedom and media itself have always been affected by different governments that came into power including the media personals. Before media was not free in Pakistan until Pervez Musharraf liberated media. However, even if the media seems free today it is still considered the part government. Every news channel or print media is affiliated with a specific political party although it is never been officials every interview that was conducted for this research stated the same. Politics has been

running media throughout Pakistan's history. The findings also showed that or gave a glimpse of how easy it is to be bought and at the same time how much both factors media and politics need each other. Media gives a platform to communicate to change people's mindset to spread awareness of what is going in the world and the politicians take advantage of what the government does during the election and making the opposition look negative and have a media network backing it all up. However, the findings also suggest that media is run without any political hindered at the same time its about who has the higher power and how much. In the 1990s, during the period of civilian rule, there was a small opening. Still, the government attempted to buy or coerce journalists to report favorably. Since working journalists could not be bought, the management was targeted through tactics such as newsprint quotas and cutting government advertising. During the period of Nawaz Sheriff in late 1990 and during that time Benazir Bhutto was gaining popularity at that point visits were done by government authorizes to check if none is running any stories that caused any hindered if they were during this period a story on Asif Zardari was being dorted out and the government officials gave orders to drop the story. During that time the proprietor, Shakil-ur- Rehman was inquired to fire his new staff the refusal to do so cost them 18 assesst which were likely kept as weapons to use at later times. The government went to the extent of relocating and was decreased to 4 pages of print media. It was called war on Jang. Jang is the name of the parent newspaper. (Aslam and Ali, 2009)

Moreover coming towards the second research question which was about media propaganda being political. The findings suggested that media propaganda is political and everything that brings runs today is political. Politics has its footing everywhere. Political agendas have been used as media agents to influence the mind of the viewers and change their views as well as opinions as it is well described in Harmon and Chomsky and Chomsky propaganda model. The propaganda is well thought of before making its way towards the public's minds it goes through filters and what is allowed, what isn't in most cases government has the authority. Pakistan's electronic media needs to be understood within the context of the privatization of the broadcasting sector, which was initiated by military dictator General Musharraf on 2 March 2002.

This shift in policy gave birth to an electronic revolution in which 86 private television channels and countless private radio stations emerged. Many of them gave live coverage to current affairs programs, including hourly news bulletins. This was unprecedented in a country where editors under previous military regimes had been required to show pasted copies of newspapers to the authorities for clearance before being sent for printing. It was also unheard of in a country where elected prime ministers had gone 'all-out' to gag the press. Both Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were guilty of such practices this gives an insight into the second research question.

Moving towards the third research question which was who is running the media the finding suggests that even though PEMRA is the legal authority that runs the media. There is considerable concern about the role that social media, such as famous social media companies, play in promoting misperceptions during political campaigns. These technologies are widely used, and inaccurate information flowing across them has a high profile. There is immense stress to believe that social media, such as Facebook and Twitter play important roles in promoting misinterpreting political companies also print, and news media .The finding suggests if anything that doesn't go according to plan leads to huge disruption and even life threats.

Lastly, the research looked into public opinion or a viewpoint that has been built throughout the years and the finding suggests that even though politics propagate propaganda media still has a part in it and both are equally to blame as both need each other in today's worlds. Both of them cannot survive without each others existence

This research shows a conflicted approach to media and politics as well as the government. Even though today's media has its firm footing has excelled immensely but still is propagated by the government. Journalists still get death threats and are murdered in Pakistan. News houses still get eradicated, at the same time can be bought, even though the media has its own agency PEMRA it still seems like they might not have an upper hand instead the government in power has its control. Propaganda is a highly intelligent tactic those who know how to will it have either cause a lot of damage or good in Pakistan government has to propagate propaganda from the start to an extent that today it has changed

pupils minds as well as way of thinking and also played a major role in political regimes in this country.



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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Survey



Appendix 1: Survey

Is media politically driven print or tv media in Pakistan?

Do you think news media channels in Pakistan are biased towards a particular party?

If yes do you think it's ethical?

Do you think media propaganda is political?

Do media still need the government's approval to publish or report something?

What is your opinion on political propaganda when it comes to Pakistan media

Do

you still think that journalists and media persons get death threats after writing or posting something against?

You being a media person have you ever encountered a political problem regarding your work?

Are there still sanctions on media like they were during Zia-ul-Haq time?

RESUME

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