Understandings and Practices of Freedom of Expression and Press Freedom in Pakistan: Ethnography of Karachi Journalistic Environment

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Abstract

This study investigated the relationship between cultural pluralism and the journalists' attitudes towards freedom of expression and press freedom within the institution of journalism in Pakistan. It sought to identify any shared understanding and practice of these two concepts amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. Particularly, this study explored the influence of Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts on the journalists' understandings and practices of these two concepts in Karachi. Thus, this study linked the journalists' understandings and practices (actions) of freedom of expression and press freedom with the environment in which they operate; and therefore, used the new institutionalism theory as a framework.

The new institutionalism theory builds itself in relation to three core aspects, precisely: 'standardisation' (of concepts, practices, routines, rules and values); the 'influence of environment' on actors' agency and the role of 'actors' agency' in any institutional setting. The new institutionalism in organisational theory acknowledges journalism as a distinct institution, which is "comprised of shared concepts, practices, norms, values, organisational routines and rules" (Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010, p. 76; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). In journalism, the theory derives its origin from the early institutional studies that attempted to scope the standardised media routines, news-making process, the patterned roles and values of news workers by using the ethnographic research approach (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Golding and Elliot, 1979).

Thus, this study investigated press freedom in Pakistan at three levels, namely: conceptual (understanding), practice (action) and environmental (context) levels. These three levels of analysis aimed to address the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom within the context (environment) of Pakistan. As a result, this study attempted to describe the lived experiences of journalists. This required the use of ethnographic research approach and the qualitative methods of data collection. Therefore, data were collected through document review, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and direct observation to investigate four research questions, namely: (i) What meanings do Pakistani journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom?, (ii) How do Pakistani journalists describe their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom?, (iii) Are there any gaps between the local and

the global understandings of press freedom indicators? and (iv) What are the various influences and constraints that affect journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan?

This study found that there was no 'shared' understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. 'Context' emerged as the most dominant factor in shaping the diverse understandings and practices of journalists. These findings suggest that 'freedom' is a contested concept in Pakistan. The notions of freedom of expression and press freedom do not form a central plank in the institutionalisation of journalism in the country; therefore, the local journalism institution can be seen as lacking the cohesion. Furthermore, a disconnection between the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indices and the global press freedom metrics was also found due to the influence of context. Finally, this study found the dominant impact of Pakistan's context (environment) on the work of journalists, revealing them as 'passive actors' with a less level of empowerment and participation in the local journalism institution.

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List of Abbreviations

AFP	Agency France Press
AHRC	Asian Human Rights Commission
APA	Associated Press of America
APNS	All Pakistan Newspapers Society
ATJ	Association of Television Journalists
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
CPNE	Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors
CPJ	Committee to Protect Journalists
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Area
FIA	Federal Investigation Authority
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IMS	International Media Support
IPI	International Press Institute
IREX	International Research and Exchange Board
KESC	Karachi Electric Supply Corporation
KPC	Karachi Press Club
KUJ	Karachi Union of Journalists

MEAA	Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance
MPO	Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance
NGO	Non-government organisation
PCO	Press Council Ordinance
PEMRA	Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PFUJ	Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists
PICA	Press Independence and Critical Ability
PNNBRO	Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Book Registration Ordinance
PPC	Pakistan Panel Code
PPI	Pakistan Press International
PPO	Press and Publication Ordinance
PTA	Pakistan Telecommunication Authority
RHD	Research Higher Degree
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
UIDHR	The Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights
UN	The United Nations
UNESCO	The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UQ	The University of Queensland
VOA	Voice of America
WSIS	The World Summit on the Information Society

List of Constitutions

Constitution of Pakistan (1956)

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Pakistan Panel Code (1860)

Blasphemy laws (Pakistan Panel Code, 1860)

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Official Secrecy Act (1923)

Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance (MPO, 1960)

Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO, 1960)

Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO, 1963)

Defamation Ordinance (2002)

Freedom of Information Ordinance (2002)

Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA, 2002)

The Press Council Ordinance (2002)

The Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Book Registration Ordinance (2002)

Access to Information Ordinance (2006)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research problem

Pakistan's media landscape has witnessed rapid growth in the last ten years, experiencing a mushrooming of new newspapers and television news channels. However, a lack of basic rights of press freedom and freedom of expression renders this proliferation of media outlets less significant in terms of the public right to know (Siraj, 2009). The current situation in Pakistan highlights the relationship between a country's socio-political context and the performance of its media[1].

Pakistan can be described as a 'competitive authoritarian'[2] country, where democratic rule exists but it is "rife with corruption and ineptitude" (Nadadur, 2007, p. 45). Democratic norms and media freedom are quite often abused by the ruling authorities for their vested interests (Levitsky and Way, 2002). This occurs despite the Article 19 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973), which recognises the freedom of expression as a fundamental human right. Notwithstanding this constitutional guarantee, journalists in Pakistan are faced with the government's restrictions. Many of these restrictions on the journalistic freedom emerge from the application of Pakistan's laws. The operation of laws relating to blasphemy[3] (Pakistan Panel Code, 1860), the Defamation Ordinance (2002) and the Official Secrecy Act (1923) have become the tools of media suppression (Jabbar, 1997).

Some restrictions on journalists are less direct, emerging from the government's suspension or licensing control of television news channels (through PEMRA)[4] and restrictive allocation of the government's advertisements. More sinister examples of Pakistan's government authoritarian intervention are evident with the government's banning of certain working journalists, who have been critical of the government's performance. In

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[1] "Journalism and press systems are generally associated with the political structures and can also be determined by the social context and national ideology" (Merrill, 1974, pp. 23-24; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hallin and Gile, 2005, pp. 4-5).

[2] In competitive authoritarianism there is a presence of autonomous media but there is a tension between state and media due to the breach of democratic norms by the government (Levitsky and Way, 2002).

[3] Pakistan Panel Code (1860) prohibits the act of blasphemy under the section 295 (sub-sections A, B and C).

[4] PEMRA means 'Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority'.

worst cases, journalists have been intimidated, killed, harassed and imprisoned as a result of the work they have performed (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2011; Freedom House, 2013)[5]. For example, almost 42 journalists were killed in 2010 with the connection to their work. As a corollary, Pakistan is ranked as one of the most insecure places for the working journalists (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). Journalists have also been intimated by military and intelligence officials for reporting the government's corruption or military operations (Freedom House, 2011). The foregoing are examples of the ways through which press freedom and freedom of expression are marginalised in Pakistan. Examples of the government's incursions into freedom of expression are well documented by international agencies such as Freedom House, Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Reporters without Borders, Inter News, International Media Support (IMS) and Human Rights Watch (HRW).

Apart from the government's restrictions, Pakistan's socio-cultural system and background have a more subtle influence on press freedom and freedom of expression, as the journalists' work is affected by their personal understandings and attitudes. At this individual level, three factors are relevant: gender disparity, ethnic pluralism and the strong religious influence of Islam.

Pakistan's society reflects the dominant features of male dominance, feudal and patriarchal customs. For example, honour killing against women occurs in every province of Pakistan. This is a brutal tradition that has been persistent in the Pakistani society for the last many decades. Media quite often report incidents of honour killing. However, these reports have not played any major role to stop the violence against women in Pakistan. Consequently, Pakistan ranks third on the list of "most unsafe countries for women" (The Express Tribune, 2011). Thus, "physical and sexual violence, honour killings, forced marriages, and structural inequalities within society make Pakistan as one of the worst countries in terms of gender disparities" (Asian Human Rights Commission, 2010). These facts highlight that gender disparity can imbue the attitudes of journalists in Pakistan.

Moreover, Pakistan's society is highly pluralistic in terms of diverse ethnic sub-cultures. The plurality of ethnic sub-cultures in Pakistan is evidenced by a "strong sense of provincial-based nationalism with separate identity and culture" (Nadadur, 2007, p. 46). Ethnic pluralism also tends to shape the ecology of Pakistan's mainstream media with

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[5] The government's interventions here refer to the restrictions posed on media by the Pakistani government during the time period of September 2010 and March 2014 (i-e the time period during which this study was carried out).

working journalists of five ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Urdu speaking). This implies that the diversity of ethnic sub-cultures amongst the mainstream Pakistani journalists can affect their ability to form a shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom, which is important for the institutionalisation[6] of journalism in the country.

There is also a strong influence of Islam on Pakistan's society. The official religion of Pakistan is Islam, with 97 per cent of Pakistanis constitute the Muslim population (whereby 80 per cent Sunni and 20 per cent Shia religious sects) and the remaining three per cent Pakistanis belong to minorities. The country is rife with a number of religious political parties and other radical groups, who strive to manipulate the minds of common and mostly less educated people to make them influenced of their schools of thoughts. Hence, a substantial proportion of the society being religiously influenced has lost its voice on the issue of growing religious extremism in Pakistan (International Media Support, 2009).

The country's increasing incidents of violence because of religious extremism has turned Pakistan as one of the "deadliest" places for the working journalists in the world (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). Consequently, journalists employ self-censorship while expressing their views and reporting on issues such as religious minority Qadyani or Ahmadis sect, Blasphemy laws, ethnic disputes, euthanasia and homosexuals. These issues are less tolerated in the society and restricted by Pakistan's laws. Consequently, journalists employ self-censorship while expressing their opinions on these issues. For example, Blasphemy laws under the section XV of Pakistan Panel Code (1860) breaches the Article 19 of the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (1948); and therefore, serves as a mechanism to suppress journalists' freedom.

Thus, it is evident that Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts substantially impact on the work of journalists and their right of freedom of expression. Keeping in view these facts, this study posited that factors such as 'ethnic pluralism', 'sectarian polarity', 'gender disparity' and 'context' might affect the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan.

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[6] It must be noticed that "institutionalisation operates to produce a common understanding among actors." (See Zucker, 1977, p. 728)

Moreover, the understandings of press freedom are closely linked to the journalistic roles, values and practices. Within journalism studies, there is a little agreement about what journalism is and so confusion emerges in the analysis of press freedom. Zelizer (2004) contends that there are five key approaches, which have informed the scholarly inquiries into journalism. Consequently, journalism has been viewed as a profession, people, text, a set of practice, and an institution (pp. 32-43). Each of these approaches conceptualising journalism valorises different aspects of journalism and can affect the ways scholars approach and analyse press freedom (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2).

Some prior studies of press freedom emphasised the professional approach to journalism while analysing the importance of press freedom in the journalists' codes of ethics worldwide (Laitila, 1995; Hafez, 2002; Himelboim and Limor, 2008). Many other past studies into conceptualisations and measures of press freedom focused on the institutional perspective of journalism, when addressed the impact of environmental constraints on the journalists' work and press freedom in different contexts (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Nam and Oh', 1973; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Hachten, 1985; Price, 2002; Rozumilowicz, 2002; Becker et al., 2004, 2007; Popeseu, 2010).

The majority of these past inquiries of press freedom overlooked to investigate the journalists' attitudes towards freedom of expression and press freedom, especially within complex societies like Pakistan. Previously, many scholars studied the affect of environmental constraints on the journalists' work and media freedom in Pakistan (Ali, 1997; Jabbar, 1997; Riaz, 2007; Siraj, 2009; Niazi, 2010). However, there is a dearth of academic research addressing the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in the country.

At present, a number of international organisations evaluate and promote press freedom worldwide. Most prominent are Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) and Reporters without Borders. These international organisations assess press freedom globally through their 'standardised indices', which have been developed and refined over the years. For instance, Freedom House measures legal, political and economic influences on press freedom. The International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) uses social and professional indices to

assess press freedom. Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) emphasise the issues related to journalists' safety and protection.

Press freedom metrics developed by these international organisations emphasise the environmental constraints and factors, which affect or facilitate the work of journalists and media freedom in any country. This indicates that the global press freedom metrics recognise the importance of environment and actors while evaluating press freedom. However, the application of 'standardised press freedom metrics' might not capture cultural and contextual complexities, particularly when measuring press freedom in complex environments like Pakistan. Therefore, this study posited that cultural and contextual intricacies of Pakistan's society might affect the journalists' views of press freedom indicators, resulting in a gap between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indices.

Hence, this study explored the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom, and their ability to practice personal understandings of these two concepts while at work. Given the pluralistic context of Pakistan, this study attempted to identify any shared understanding and practice of these two concepts amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. In this way, this study linked the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom with the environment in which they operate; and therefore, used the new institutionalism framework (see Chapter 3, sections 3.3 and 3.4).

The traditional institutional approach sees journalism as an institutional setting (structure) that operates in a broad environment (Zelizer, 2004, p. 36). When analysing press freedom, this approach primarily focuses on the environment in which journalists operate, overlooking the role of actors' agency (journalists' agency) in the institutional setting. However, the new institutionalism theory builds itself in relation to three core aspects, namely: (i) standardisation (of concepts, practices, routines, rules and values), (ii) the influence of environment on actors' agency and (iii) the role of actors' agency in any institutional setting.

The new institutionalism in organisational theory acknowledges journalism as an institution that is "comprised of shared concepts, practices, norms, organisational routines, rules and rituals that make news media distinct as compare to other institutions" (Jaasaari

and Olsson, 2010, p. 76). The theory posits that "each institution is influenced by the environment in which it operates" (Kamel, 2009, p. 76). This means that actors' attitudes and practices can be the reflection of environment in which they work (Powell, 2007). Notwithstanding emphasis on the institutional environment, the new institutionalism theory also recognises the role of actors' agency in any institutional setting (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). Thus, the new institutionalism theory provides a significant framework to have a holistic analysis of press freedom, especially in pluralistic societies like Pakistan.

In brief, drawing on the new institutionalism framework, this study investigated press freedom in Pakistan at three levels, namely: conceptual (understanding), practice (action) and environmental (context) levels. These three levels of analysis aimed to address the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom within Pakistan. To offer an in-depth analysis of press freedom in Pakistan, data for this study were collected through four qualitative methods. Thus, this chapter firstly articulates the objectives and rationales of this study. It further explains the methodology of this study and finally expounds the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Research aims and objectives

This study investigated the relationship between cultural pluralism and the journalists' attitudes towards freedom of expression and press freedom within the institution of journalism in Pakistan. Particularly, it sought to discover the influence of Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts[7] on the journalists' understandings and practices of these two concepts in Karachi. More specifically, this study had four key objectives:

- To investigate and describe the meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists of various ethnicities, religious sects and genders.
- To analyse whether journalists practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

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[7] The major aim of this study was to investigate the influence of Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom. However, this study conceptualised 'context' as religious, social, political, economic, legal and organisational environments in which journalists carryout their routine work in Pakistan.

- To compare the journalists' attitudes towards press freedom and freedom of expression with press freedom metrics developed by international bodies to measure these concepts.
- To explore the impact of environmental constraints on journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan.

1.3 Rationales

Pakistan has its unique issues including growing radicalism, military interventions, ethnic clashes, sectarian violence, feudalism, gender disparities, dynastic politics, a lack of good governance, corruption, declining economy and weak civil institutions. In recent years, safety has emerged as one of the biggest challenges for the Pakistani citizens because of increasing religious extremism and terrorists threats. These facts have implications for press freedom and the level of freedom of expression that can be exercised by the Pakistani journalists.

Most of the prior inquiries into the conceptualisations and measures of press freedom emphasised the environmental constraints (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Ali, 1997; Jabbar, 1997; Price, 2002; Rozumilowicz, 2002; Riaz, 2007; Amin, 2010; Popeseu, 2010). However, a comparatively less emphasis was given to analyse the journalists' personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in pluralistic societies like Pakistan. Therefore, rationales to undertake this study were tri-fold: (i) to explore the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Karachi (ii) to investigate whether their understandings and practices are influenced by the context (environment) in which they work and (iii) to analyse the impact of 'environmental constraints' on the work of journalists within Karachi and Pakistan more broadly.

International organisations monitoring and promoting press freedom use standardised metrics to evaluate press freedom around the world. The global press freedom metrics mainly evaluate the impact of political, legal, economic and safety factors on the journalists' work and press freedom. Such press freedom metrics are important. However, these organisations rely on surveys and scoring systems to assess press freedom worldwide.

The application of 'standardised press freedom metrics' and the use of survey method by international organisations do not provide sufficient insights into the contextual complexities of countries like Pakistan. Scholarship highlights that cultural and contextual variations may affect the way press freedom is measured and what is seen as an indicative of press freedom (Hai Tran et al., 2011). Thus, this study also investigated the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan to identify any gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indices.

1.4 Methodological overview

Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study investigated the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom within the complex context of Pakistan. As a result, this study attempted to describe the lived experiences of journalists, who participated in this study. This necessitated the use of 'ethnographic' research approach and the selection of 'qualitative' research methods. Therefore, data for this study were gathered through four qualitative methods including document review, in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD) and direct observation. The use of four different methods helped to ensure the research validity through the process of 'triangulation'. Thus, this section explains the methodology of this study briefly (see details in Chapter 4).

Initially, different types of documents were reviewed for this study including media laws in Pakistan and relevant news items. Press freedom metrics and methodologies developed by Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) and Reporters without Borders were also reviewed (see Chapter 6).

A total of 51 male and female journalists from five ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtu, Baluchi and Urdu speaking) and religious sects (Shia and Sunni) participated in this study. Journalists were selected from the most influential newspapers and television news channels in Pakistan (22 media organisations). Moreover, 40 journalists (referred as a number between 1 to 40) were interviewed individually; 11 others participated in two focus groups discussions (six female journalists in the first group, indicated as alphabets between A – F and five male journalists in the second group, indicated as alphabets between G - K). These data were solely collected in Karachi.

The gathered data were analysed thematically by using three deductive key themes that emerged from the new institutionalism theory, namely: conceptual (understanding), practice (action) and environmental (context) levels. The sub-themes emerged inductively by identifying the common key words in journalists' responses to all research questions. The prevalence of sub-themes was determined by the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme (see Chapter 4, section 4.6).

1.5 Research Significance

This study primarily contributes an analysis of freedom of expression and press freedom in a pluralistic society of Pakistan. Drawing on the institutional perspective of journalism, the prior international studies of press freedom primarily focused on the environmental factors, which shape or determine press freedom. Previously, at the national academic level, many scholars endeavoured to investigate and analyse the issue of press freedom in Pakistan (Niazi, 1986, 2010; Ali, 1997; Jabbar, 1997; Nadadur, 2007; Siraj, 2009). These Pakistani scholars mainly focused on the environmental constraints while analysing press freedom in the country.

This study offers a holistic analysis of press freedom and freedom of expression in Pakistan by addressing the journalists' understandings and agency in relation to these two concepts. It contributes the thick description of 'cultural meanings' given to press freedom and freedom of expression by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. Hence, this thesis provides the first-hand account of journalists' lived experiences in a constrained context (environment) of Pakistan (see Chapters 5 and 7).

1.6 Structure of thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of this study by explaining the research problem, aims and objectives, the rationales of this study, methodology and research significance. Chapter 2 describes Pakistan's religious, social, political, economic and media backgrounds. This is imperative in order to understand the environment in which journalists work in Pakistan.

Chapter 3 canvasses different perspectives of journalism and reviews the prior studies into conceptualisations and measures of press freedom, highlighting how these studies have

informed by these perspectives. The chapter proffers a basic understanding of the new institutionalism theory and explains the framework of this study.

Chapter 4 explains the research design of this study. The chapter describes about research paradigm (constructivism), the strategy of inquiry (qualitative), research approach (ethnography), research questions, data collection strategies, the interpretation of data, the method of analysis (thematic), the process of validity (triangulation) and ethics.

Chapter 5 addresses the findings and discussions of the first two research questions of this study, namely: (i) what meanings do Pakistani journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom? (RQ1) and (ii) how do Pakistani journalists describe their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom? (RQ2). The chapter uses two deductive key themes of conceptual (understanding) and practice (action) levels in order to identify any shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists.

Chapter 6 reviews the existing global press freedom metrics and compares them with the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indices. The chapter identifies possible gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom metrics, and thus discusses the research question three of this study (RQ3). Chapter 7 provides an ethnographic description of constraints faced by the Pakistani journalists, and thereby addresses the research question four of this study (RQ 4).

Chapter 8 proffers some recommendations to international organisations monitoring press freedom around the world. Drawing on the findings of this study, the chapter highlights some key areas, which international organisations may consider for a more effective evaluation of press freedom in Pakistan. Chapter 9 presents the conclusion of this study. The conclusion chapter summarises the findings of all four research questions and discusses the contributions and limitations of this study.

Chapter 2

Media landscape in Pakistan

2.1 Introduction

Pakistan represents a complex socio-political background. Socially, the prevalence of diverse ethnic sub-cultures and provincial-based nationalism has fostered ethnic clashes in the country (Nadadur, 2007). The existence of traditional and feudal systems has inevitably fostered social conservatism, gender inequalities and a lack of freedom of expression. Politically, constant military intervention in the national politics can be seen as one of the major causes of the failure of democracy in Pakistan. Democratic governments have also been unsuccessful for the protection and enforcement of fundamental human rights. Constitutional and legal manipulations have been common since its inception as an independent country mainly for the vested interests of ruling authorities and to suppress the freedom of press (Niazi, 1986; Ali, 1997; Jabbar, 1997).

In recent years, the growth of religious extremism has resulted in the safety risks for working journalists, especially in the areas of Khyber Phakhtunistan and Baluchistan. Reports by international organisations have also substantiated these facts (International Media Support, 2009; Freedom House, 2011; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). Thus, this chapter describes Pakistan's religious, social, political, economic and media backgrounds so as to portray the complexity of environment in which journalists perform their routine in the country. More precisely, the chapter articulates the rationale of this study.

2.2 Pakistan's background

2.2.1 Religious ideology (national ideology)

The independence of Pakistan in 1947 from the British ruled India cannot be viewed as merely emancipation from the colonial rule. It was actually the transformation of an idea of a separate nation-state for the Muslim minority of Indian Sub-continent into a reality (Monshipouri and Samuel, 1995). Religious ideology was the key factor that led to the partition of Indian Sub-continent into two parts under the two nation theory, and later

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caused huge implications especially in shaping Pakistan's national identity and social system.

The Pakistani military has played a decisive role in the infusion of Islam as the national ideology (Zirker, 2008, p. 327). Pakistan underwent a massive process of Islamisation that promoted religious groups in the country during General Zia's regime (1977-88). Consequently, today Pakistan is facing the challenges of religious extremism and violence. However, the main religious issue in Pakistan is the "clash" between various religious "schools of thoughts" and "sects" (Cohen, 2002, p. 113; Hussain, 2004, p. 82). The sectarian polarity between Shia and Sunni religious sects has been the cause of sporadic violence in Pakistan for the last several years.

Thus, the overwhelming influence of Islam on Pakistan's society contradicts the secular vision of Mohammad Ali Jinnah (country's founder) because he envisaged a modern, socially progressive and democratic Pakistan. Interestingly, the idea of "Pakistan as the beacon of the Muslim world" has become contentious because of constant increment in religious extremism and insurgency within the borders (Cohen, 2002, p. 111).

2.2.2 Politics: Competitive Authoritarianism

The distressing political history of Pakistan explains the despotic mind-set of ruling authorities who "drew a battle between authoritarianism and constitutionalism" (Malik, 1996, p. 675). The country has witnessed four military coups in 1958, 1969, 1977 and 1999 respectively during 67 years of its independence[8]. The powerful influence of Pakistan's army in national politics has not merely damaged the country's democratic system, but has also hampered the development of press as an independent institution.

Historically, the period from 1958 to 1988 can be recalled as the dark decades of tyranny. The first military ruler General Ayub Khan did recognise the value of freedom of expression in the Constitution of 1962, which was promulgated during his regime (1958-1969). However, General Ayub Khan's regime (1958-1969) can be seen as the most damaging in terms of press freedom through the introduction of stringent media laws. For

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[8] Each military ruler in Pakistan extended the legitimacy of his regime through a distinct ideology. The first military ruler General Ayub (1958-1969) "propounded the ideology of modernisation and economic development". General Zia (1977-1988) enforced the coercive version of Islam, which is now revealing its consequences in the form of religious extremism (Hussain, 2004, p. 82). The last military ruler General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) endeavoured to introduce the flavour of enlightened moderation in the Pakistani society; however, his government faced substantial threats from the religious groups.

example, the black press laws of Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance (MPO, 1960) and the Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO, 1963) were promulgated during General Ayub Khan's regime. The Press and Publication Ordinance (of 1960 and 1963) authorised the ruling government to take actions against the objectionable publications (in their view) and to either ban or impose penalties on newspapers, in the case of infringement of government's directives (Jabbar, 1997).

The system of 'press censorship' or 'press advice' was also introduced during General Ayub Khan's regime (1958-1969), which compelled newspapers to operate and publish content according to the government's directives (Ali and Gunaratne, 2000, p. 160). The tenures of second and third military rulers General Yahya Khan (1969-71) and General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) respectively can be seen as the continuation of repression saga against press freedom in Pakistan through the suppressive media laws.

The last military regime of President General Pervez Musharraf can be viewed as a paradox of liberalism and authoritarianism (1999-2008). For instance, he promulgated Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance (2002) to liberalise the local media market. The PEMRA Ordinance (2002) implicated in a number of private television and radio channels in the country. General Pervez Musharraf also introduced two press laws including the Press Council of Pakistan Ordinance (2002) and the Press, Newspapers, News Agencies and Book Registration Ordinance (PNNABRO, 2002) during his regime. These laws were introduced to restrict the government's power to ban any publication. Despite these liberal initiatives, media especially the television news channels faced immense pressure from Musharraf's government, reflecting the authoritarian mind-set of Pakistan's army (Rehmat, 2007).

Apart from the military dictatorship, one of the key issues impinging on press freedom is the existence of 'competitive authoritarianism' in Pakistan. The competitive authoritarianism differs from the full autocratic regimes. In complete authoritarianism, state totally controls the media. However, in the competitive authoritarianism, democratic norms exists but are quite often abused. For instance, the electoral process is not fair as it should be; corruption is high; political power is generally abused; democratic norms are manipulated and political and civil liberties are mostly curbed through the repressive measures. The existence of legislature, judiciary, elections and an outspoken media (legal and influential) pose threats to authorities in the competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky and

Way, 2002, pp. 53-54). As a corollary, in such sort of authoritarianism (as in the case of Pakistan) media personnel and civil society members face threats, harassments, killings and arrests in order to curb criticism against the government.

In authoritarian countries like Pakistan, it is often viewed that the freedom of press is largely constrained due to political pressures and the government's restrictions (Kalter, 1983; Hussain, 2010, pp. 125-135). However, freedom of expression and press freedom might have varying levels in different countries, depending on the social structure in which the press or media operates. Siebert et al. (1956) stated that "the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which they operate" (Siebert et al., 1956 cited in Christians et al., 2009, p. 3). This highlights the importance of understanding the social structure of Pakistan's society.

2.2.3 Social texture and the environment for freedom of expression

Pakistan's society reflects the pervasiveness of feudal and tribal cultures. Particularly, the rural masses of the country are more subservient and suppressed due to their poor economic condition. The widespread feudal or tribal culture across the four provinces of Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and Khyber Phakhtunistan has caused negative impacts on the social progress and development of Pakistan. Still feudal elites strive to maintain a "status quo" and the societal stagnation by depriving the masses from education and development to maintain their power sphere (Haqqani, 2006, p. 223).

Ironically, Pakistan's tribal and ethnic customs restrain the women's progress in the rural areas and deprive them to exercise their basic human rights. Apparently, women in the rural areas have no or very less freedom of expression since the Pakistani society is patriarchal in nature. However, women in the urban areas are comparatively more expressive and considerably active in the mainstream socio-political and professional lives (International Media Support, 2009).

Moreover, ethnic pluralism is the main cause of social clashes and differences in Pakistan (International Media Support, 2009). History reveals that the ethnic clash between the East (present Bangladesh) and the West Pakistan divided the country into two parts in 1971. This ethnic divide still persists within the four provinces of Pakistan; representing ethnic entities of Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Muhajirs or Urdu speaking (those who migrated from India).

The negative impacts of ethnic pluralism in Pakistan are noticeable. Firstly, it gives a rich culture, but makes the formation of a national identity and centralised rule difficult. Secondly, ethnicity tends to shape the image of Pakistan's national institutions. For instance, Pakistan's army is "a distinct ethnic identity" as the majority of its officers belongs to the largest provinces of Punjab and Khyber Phakhtunistan (Cohen, 2002; Zirker, 2008). Thirdly, the ethnic division among provinces is the major cause of consensus dilemma between politicians in Pakistan. Thus, the implications of ethnic pluralism in Pakistan are evident.

Furthermore, the social environment for the freedom of expression is constrained in Pakistan. 'Social taboos' restrict individuals to talk freely about the socially unaccepted or less tolerated issues such as blasphemy, honour killing, homosexuals, and euthanasia. Any sort of expression cannot be against the Islamic values as described in Pakistan Panel Code (1860). For instance, the Articles 292, 293, 294 of Pakistan Panel Code (1860) restrict obscenity in expression through prohibiting the sale of obscene content. Despite this legal restriction, obscene content (published or video recorded) can be easily found in the local markets. Besides, the Article 299 of Pakistan Panel Code (1860) restricts derogatory speech against any religion including Islam. The Article 299 (sub-section C) of Pakistan Panel Code (1860) restricts any speech derogatory to Holy Prophet (peace be upon him).

These cultural and legal restrictions on freedom of expression indicate the level of press freedom in Pakistan. In recent years, the liberalisation of media market in Pakistan has resulted in a number of private television news channels. While this proliferation of media outlets has facilitated the culture of political discussions, there are no well-established social avenues for the public debates. For political and the issues of common concern – the public generally use conventional means of wall chalking, posters, banners and pamphlets to express themselves. There is no legal restriction on the private expressions of the public, except of rallies or violent protest (if they breach the law and order situation). Sometimes, speeches on the loudspeakers of mosques are banned by the government because of growing religious extremism across the country.

The proliferation of internet and progress in the information communication technology's infrastructure has provided the Pakistani citizens different alternative ways of expressions such as mobile phones, social interaction sites and YouTube. Now, the public has many other ways to share their feedbacks and opinions, apart from the old tradition of

letters to editors in Pakistan. However, the freedom of expression on internet is often restricted by Pakistan's government and judiciary[9].

2.2.4 Economic realm

Pakistan is a densely populated country, where more than the 40 per cent of population lives below the poverty line. Approximately, the 37 per cent of population lives in urban areas and the rest of them in rural areas with a heavy dependence on agriculture and home industries (Asian Development Bank, 2009). The financial situation of Pakistan depicts an apprehensive picture with the growing debt servicing budget, low tax revenue and substantial budget allocation for army (Diamond, 2002). Declining economy and the heavy dependence on foreign aid are fuelling poverty, unemployment, corruption, crimes and other illegal activities (such as smuggling, drug trafficking, terrorism and bribery). Furthermore, the failure of alternating civilian and military administrations to ensure the good governance is perhaps the last nail in the coffin. Figure 1, below, illustrates the prevailing issues of Pakistan.

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[9] "The Lahore High Court on May 19 2010 ordered Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) to block the social network website Facebook and hundreds of other pages in response to a Facebook user calling for an Everybody Draw Mohammed Day. The court later ordered the blocking of YouTube for the same reason. The ban has affected the use of numerous other websites, including Flicker, Wikipedia, Google, Twitter, some parts of BBC, and accessing the internet through the Blackberry mobile service. The *Express Tribune* has reported that the total number of blocked websites has reached 1,000.

Previously, Pakistan has banned access to YouTube, Blog spot and Flicker, along with sites relating to corruption by political officials, human rights abuses by the army, nationalist political parties and religious minorities. These expansive blocks of internet content violate Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states that all individuals have a fundamental human right to 'to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers … through any other media of his choice.'

Pakistan signed the ICCPR in 2008. Any curbs on the right to free expression must be strictly limited. The curb must be provided by a law, which is clear and understandable, the interference must pursue a legitimate aim as set out under Article 19(3) of the ICCPR, and the restrictions must be necessary and proportionate. The blocking of millions of pages is clearly disproportionate."

See "Decisions by the Pakistani High Court to ban numerous international websites and services violate international human rights law" on www.article19.org/.../Pakistan-freedom-of-expression-on-internet-must-be- respected.pdf

Figure 1: The prevailing issues of Pakistan

Pakistan	Corruption	Lack of transparency and accountability
Authoritarianism Military interventions	Lack of good governance and Constitutional lacunae	Economic crises: Poverty, unemployment, Financial debts
Feudal or tribal culture Dynastic politics	Weak political and civil institutions	Lack of basic human rights and justice
Ethnic, Linguistic and Sectarian Pluralism	Religious extremism and terrorism	Gender inequality

2.3 Media landscape in Pakistan

Pakistan's media is quite vibrant in Southeast Asia. However, the media operates under the *competitive authoritarianism*. Independent media exists with the constitutionally protected rights of freedom of expression and access to information under the Articles 19 and 19 (A) of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973). However, the ruling authorities use different mechanisms to suppress the voice of media through: constitutional manipulations, financial incentives, taxes, the selective allocation of government's advertisements and stringent media laws. Journalists are also banned, imprisoned and harassed by the government being critical of its performance. Thus, there is always a tension between the government and the media outlets.

The media ecology can be characterised as pluralistic and competitive. It reflects ethnic, linguistic and class division. The Urdu-language media is popular and enjoy a wide range of readership or viewership, especially in the middle class of the society. There is an existence of both conservative and liberal strands within the Urdu-language media. The English-language media is limited to newspapers and has a very low mass readership than the Urdu-language media. The reason behind the lesser readership of English-language newspapers is the linguistic barrier and Pakistan's less literacy rate. However, the English-language media has a greater leverage on policy makers, politicians, elite class, civil bureaucracy, industrialists and professionals (Siraj, 2009).

The vernacular media also exists in provincial and regional languages including Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu, Saraiki and Kashmiri languages (International Media Support, 2009). The cross-media ownership dominantly characterise Pakistan's mainstream media with the influence of major media groups such as Jang Group, the Herald Group, Nawa-e-Waqt Group, Business Recorder Group, ARY digital network and the Lakson Group.

Furthermore, in the past, there used to be only one state-owned television channel known as Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV). However, in the last ten years, there has been a proliferation of private television news channels in Pakistan. At present, there are over 80 local television channels available to the Pakistani viewers via cable and satellite, along with many other international television channels. This mushrooming of satellite television news channels has helped to reduce the information vacuum and the state monopoly on the broadcast media. The growth of private television news channels has positively implicated in the culture of political discussions, which is imperative to increase the public awareness in Pakistan.

In terms of the 'sources of revenue', the print media either Urdu or English rely on an estimated 33 per cent of the government's advertisements, apart from the advertisements given by multinational companies. On the other hand, private television channels' and radio stations' owners mainly derive their revenue from commercial advertisements given by multinational companies (see Table 1).

Apart from the local Press Council, there are five main media associations in Pakistan, namely: All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS), The Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE), Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), Pakistan Press Foundation (PPF) and the Association of Television Journalists (ATJ). Each province has its own journalist union as well. For instance, journalists in Karachi have their union called as Karachi Union of Journalists (KUJ). There are two national news agencies currently in operation including Pakistan Press International (PPI) and the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP). Table 1, below, describes Pakistan's media landscape and its basic statistics.

Table 1: The media landscape of Pakistan[10]

Print media				
Total number of publications (newspapers, weeklies and monthlies)	**Languages**	**State-owned**	**Private newspapers**	**Sources of revenue**
1684 (approximately)	Urdu, English, Sindhi Punjabi, Pashtu, Gujrati, Saraiki	None	100 per cent	• 33 per cent of the government's advertisements. • Advertisements given by multinational companies.

Television channels					
Total number of televisionchannels		**Languages**	**Stated-owned**	**Private televisions channels**	**Sources of revenue**
News	**Entertainment**				
25 (approximately)	More than 50	Urdu, English, Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtu, Baluchi and Kashmiri	PTV 6 (approximately)	Over 75 (approximately)	• **State-owned PTV:** Government and advertisements given by multinational companies. • **Private channels:** Advertisements given by multinational companies.

Radio channels				
Total number of radio stations	**Languages**	**State-owned**	**Private**	**Sources of revenue**
110 (approximately)	Urdu and English mainly	Radio Pakistan and 4 FM stations	106 FM stations countrywide (approximately)	• Government and advertisements given by multinational companies.

News agencies
State-owned: • Associated Press of Pakistan (APP) • Pakistan Press International (PPI) **Privately owned: None** **Foreign new agencies:** • Associated Press of America (APA) • Agency France Press (AFP) • Reuters

Media regulatory bodies	
State-owned	**Media organisations**
• Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) • Press Council (under the Press Council Ordinance, 2002)	• All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) • The Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) • Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) • Pakistan Press International (PPI) • Association of Television Journalists (ATJ) • Provincial journalists' unions in Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta.

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[10] According to statistics released by the Press Information Department of Pakistan (PID) in 2010 and statistics released by PEMRA in 2010. Also see http://www.radio.gov.pk/cms/index.asp?PageId=20

See http://www. academy.itu.int/moodle/pluginfile.php/40036/.../Session-V_Tahir.pdf

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter described Pakistan's religious, social, political, economic and media backgrounds to highlight the complexity of environment in which the Pakistani journalists perform their work. The chapter highlighted some key facts about Pakistan's background:

- The political environment of Pakistan is highly volatile because of recurring military interventions in the national politics. The political system of the country can be characterised as a competitive authoritarian system, where media freedom is quite often attacked and democratically elected government restrain the freedom of expression in different ways (see Chapter 1).
- Pakistan's society has some key features, precisely: ethnic pluralism, social conservatism, sectarian polarity, religious extremism and gender disparity. The country's economic condition is also quite unstable by virtue of massive debts. More recently, safety and terrorist threats have become a big challenge for the public and the working journalists both. These facts suggest that Pakistan's contextual complexity might affect the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom.

Previously, international studies of press freedom dominantly focused on the institutional perspective of journalism and identified a variety of environmental constraints, which affect the journalists' work and press freedom in different contexts (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Nam and Oh', 1973; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Niazi, 1986; Price, 2002; Rozumilowicz, 2002; Jabbar, 1997; Riaz, 2007; Siraj, 2009; Amin, 2010; Popeseu, 2010). However, a very less attention was paid to study the individual journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom especially in Pakistan (see Siraj, 2009).

Hence, the main rationale to undertake this study was to investigate the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom within the context (environment) of Pakistan. This study linked the journalists' attitudes towards these two concepts with the environment in which they operate; and therefore, used the new institutionalism theory as a framework. The next chapter situates this study in relation to the prior studies of journalism, conceptualisations and measures of press freedom in order to identify gaps in the existing literature while articulating the framework of this study.

Chapter 3

New Institutionalism: A framework to explore the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan

3.1 Introduction

The concept of press freedom[11] is highly contested in the academic circles. There is no consensus on what constitutes 'freedom' and the notion of the 'press' is often disputed particularly in the digital era, where traditional media organisations (newspapers) no longer monopolise mass communication. When dealing with such complexities, it is helpful to return to the core concepts and unpack what is meant by the terms 'freedom' and the 'press' to help position and provide a workable framework for investigating press freedom in Pakistan.

Carter (2011) suggests that freedom exists in relation to three things: an agent/s, constraints and purposes. "Thus all claims about freedom refer at least implicitly to an *agent* who is free from certain *constraints* to realise a certain purpose or set of *purposes*." Some scholars might challenge this simplistic analysis, suggesting that freedom must go beyond a lack of constraint to require the positive rights or actions such as affirmative action (Fish, 1994; Saduruski, 2001). Notwithstanding possible criticisms, Carter's characterisation highlights the fact that freedom needs to be understood holistically in relation to those who exercise freedom (agents or actors), the purpose for which the freedom is being used and the context or environment in which the freedom is exercised.

When the term press is added to freedom, the complexity magnifies, as there is a little agreement about who the press is? Moreover, scholars disagree on the roles performed by the 'press', resulting in a lack of agreement around the types of constraints from which the press should be free.

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[11] International conventions and constitutions emphasise the importance of freedom of expression as the foundation of a well-functioning and free media (eg: the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 19; European Convention on Human Rights, 1953, Article 10; the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, Article 19; Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, 1990, Article 22; the WSIS's Declaration of Principles, 2003).

It is widely accepted that freedom of expression and freedom of information (public's right to know) are the two indispensible rights associated with the freedom of press (see Cater, 1977; Himelboim and Limor, 2008, p. 237). The freedom of expression is a fundamental human right. For example, Article 19 of the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1976) acknowledges that the right to freedom of expression includes "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice" (see Article 19.2). However, the exercise of freedom of expression carries duties and responsibilities. Hence, the individual right to freedom of expression is not absolute and can be subjected to certain permissible restrictions such as protecting the rights or reputations of others; national security or preserving public order, public health or morals standards within communities (European Convention on Human Rights, 1953, Article 10.b; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1976, Article 19.3).

Press freedom is not a fundamental human right; however, its importance has been acknowledged in the World Summit on the Information Society Declaration (2003), which emphasises the essential role of freedom of the press and freedom of information in the transition from industrial society to knowledge societies. The WSIS's Declaration of Principles (2003) declares that independence, pluralism and diversity of media are essential to the Information Society. It emphasises "the responsible use and treatment of information by the media in accordance with the highest ethical and professional standards", suggesting the freedom of press can be legitimately constrained to ensure the responsible practice.

Freedom of expression and press freedom are not interchangeable concepts. Nevertheless, they are heavily interrelated and co-dependent notions, where freedom of expression is a condition of press freedom (particularly in terms of accessing a diversity of information and ideas). Moreover, press freedom is a concept which is closely linked to journalism and the roles it performs. For instance, several previous studies addressed the importance of a free press in relation to different roles performed by journalism in any society (Lasswell, 1948; Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964; Rogers, 1974; Schudson, 1997;

Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999, 2006; Orsten, 2008; Baran and Davis, 2009). Consequently, the meanings given to press freedom can be affected by how journalism is conceptualised. Zelizer (2004) contends that there are five key perspectives which have informed the scholarly inquiry into journalism. Journalism has been conceptualised and analysed in terms of: a profession, people, text, a set of practices, and an institution (pp. 32-43).

Each of these perspectives to journalism can affect the understandings of press freedom in relation to three questions: who should be free, for what purposes and from what types of constraints? However, the WSIS's Declaration of Principles (2003) acknowledges that the meaning of freedom of expression and press freedom may vary in different societies (see also Hocking, 1947). This implies that the notions of freedom of expression and press freedom can also be understood beyond Zelizer's conceptual typology of journalism.

In Pakistan, journalists work in a volatile political environment and a complex cultural context. The society reflects male dominance, ethnic plurality and sectarian polarity (Freedom House, 2008; International Media Support, 2009). In recent years, safety has emerged as one of the biggest challenges for journalists because of terrorist threats and religious extremism in the country (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). These factors may have implications for the level of press freedom and freedom of expression that can be exercised by the working journalists in Pakistan.

Particularly, the pluralistic nature of Pakistan's society might affect the journalists' ability to form a shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom. To begin this analysis, it is important to position this study within the previous researches. This means situating this study in relation to journalism, press freedom and freedom of expression while articulating the theoretical framework of this study. Thus, this chapter uses Zelizer's conceptual typology of journalism to review the past studies of press freedom, highlighting how the prior understandings of press freedom have been conversant with different perspectives of journalism. The chapter goes on expounding the theoretical framework of this study.

3.2 Literature review

3.2.1 Perspectives of journalism

Journalism within the academy has been examined from many perspectives. Zelizer (2004) posits five key perspectives of journalism, namely: a profession, people, text, a set of practices, and an institution. While all of these perspectives are interrelated, each orientation valorises a discrete aspect of journalism and necessitates the use of different theoretical and methodological approaches to investigate it.

The study of journalism is frequently informed by treating it as a 'profession'. A profession is generally defined as an "occupation that has assumed a dominant position in the market place" (Breit, 2011, p. 7; Freidson, 1970). In the academic circles, professions have been dominantly conceptualised in terms of the 'traits' professions exhibit, such as the "use of expertise or specialised knowledge; formalised education to develop the specialised knowledge; serving society by offering professional services; upholding ethical standards; exercising power and self-governance." (Volti, 2008 cited in Breit, 2011, p. 7)[12]

'Journalism as a profession' has also been described in terms of the 'values' journalists possess. Therefore, professional journalists worldwide are seen as possessing at least five common values: a commitment to public service, objectivity, autonomy (freedom), immediacy and ethics (Deuze, 2005). Among all of these values, 'freedom' is probably the most "rigorously articulated" professional value (Reese, 2011, p. 5). For example, some previous studies into press freedom investigated that how press freedom was promoted in the professional codes of ethics worldwide (Laitila, 1995; Hafez, 2002; Himelboim and Limor, 2008; see sub-section 3.2.2). These studies primarily focused on the importance of freedom of expression and press freedom in journalists' codes of conducts.

Noticeably, 'traits' and 'values' approaches to journalism draw on the normative factors, which seem to be "stemmed from the potent influence of the profession and the role of education" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983 cited in Powell, 2007). Hence, drawing on the normative factors, these approaches emphasise the role of specialised knowledge and obligatory dimension (code of conduct) to articulate journalists' actions.

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[12] Zelizer (2004) points out that sociologists classify professions by a "checklist of traits – certain levels of skills, autonomy, service orientation, licensing procedures, testing competence, organisation, codes of conduct, training and educational programs." (p. 33)

The 'values approach' to journalism has also been linked with the cultural factors, highlighting that journalists' professional standards may differ because of cultural variations. For example, Weaver (1998) in a cross-national survey of 21 countries found journalists possessing mostly similar characteristics worldwide. However, his study concluded that there was a lack of agreement about the professional standards in the surveyed countries. Hence, Weaver's study (1998) reflected an uncertainty about the persistence of shared journalistic values worldwide (Berkowitz, 2011, p. 19). This means that freedom as a professional value may have diverse meanings; and therefore, press freedom can be understood differently across the globe.

More recently, professions have been conceptualised in terms of 'power' instead of the specific 'traits' and 'values' approaches that unify members of a profession. The 'power approach' emphasises to consider the ways "journalism as a profession wins the social approval to define and control work and its relationship with actors" (L'Etang and Pieczka, 2006 cited in Breit, 2011, p. 7). The 'power approach' to describe profession seems to traverse the regulative element of rule setting and normative factors both to define and control actions of its members. This suggests that 'journalism as a profession' basically establishes itself on normative and regulative elements that characterise actions (work) of its members.

When analysing press freedom, problem can emerge with the 'traits' and 'values' approaches because of their emphasis on the normative principles around which journalists' actions are structured. These approaches overlook the environmental factors that shape and restrain journalists' actions. The 'power approach' is also not without complexities. This approach to profession emphasises its relationship with actors; however, it does not concern itself how actors define and control their actions? Consequently, this approach does not inform about the level of actors' freedom and empowerment implicit in their actions.

Moreover, there is a tradition of understanding journalism in terms of the 'people who work as journalists'. This approach generally "focuses on the high-ranking individuals who are employed by recognised and elite mainstream news institutions." It "privileges" some individuals as journalists slicing out many other technical and creative people who are involved in the process of journalism (Zelizer, 2004, p. 40). One of the advantages of this approach is that it distinguishes between 'journalists' and 'communicators' and helps in providing an explicit focus of the study. For example, this study investigated journalists'

understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom, and thus required the researcher (me) to differentiate between 'journalists' and 'communicators' (see Chapter 4, sub-section 4.5.2).

In journalism academic circles, scholars have a little agreement about who qualifies as a journalist? It is largely viewed that journalists do share similar characteristics, values, roles and work routines worldwide despite the cultural differences (Weaver, 1998, p. 456; Deuze, 2005, p. 19; Himelboim and Limor, 2011). However, some international comparative studies have described journalists on the basis of their background, education and experiences. For example, Splichal and Sparks (1994) conducted a survey among journalism students of 21 countries and found "similar level of expected professionalization, degree, quality of training, and extent of journalistic apprenticeship, despite national locations." Likewise, Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) undertook a comprehensive study to describe journalists on the basis of their educational backgrounds and experiences (see Zelizer, 2004, p. 39). Thus, these journalism inquiries suggest that the perspective of 'journalism as people' bring together the trait approach to profession and normative factors to study about individual journalists.

The new media technologies have made it more difficult to define journalists since journalism is evolving with the technological advancements. Zelizer (2004) points out that "technologies of news relay broaden the field of who might be considered as a journalist and what might be considered journalism" (p. 23). Today, journalists are increasingly viewed as "media workers" who are multi-skilled and hence can be seen as "reporters", "news makers", "producers", "bloggers" and "content curators" (Deuze, 2007; Witschge and Nygren, 2009, p. 37). This work-based characterisation of journalists highlights the importance of their individual freedom, suggesting the imperative of analysing press freedom at two individual levels of concepts and practices (see sub-section 3.2.2 and Chapter 5)

Journalism is often understood as a 'set of practices'. Zelizer (2004) defines journalistic practices in terms of the routine work that journalists undertake. She suggests that journalists are engaged in the work of "news gathering, breaking news, news writing, news making and production regardless of the differences in types, technology and audiences of the news media" (p. 42). In this regard, many scholars have suggested

culture[13] as one of the important factors that shapes journalists' practices, resulting in the notions of "journalistic culture" (Donsbach and Patterson, 2004; Keeble, 2005, p. 57); "journalism culture" (Gurevitch and Blumler, 2004, pp. 336-337); "news culture" (Deuze, 2002) and the "culture of news production" (Schudson, 2003, p. 186).

The localisation of journalism implicates in the national journalistic cultures, which reflect differences in the professional and cultural environments of journalists (Esser, 1998; Weaver, 1998; Donsbach and Patterson, 2004; Shoemaker and Cohen, 2006; Hanitzsch, 2007; Berkowitz, 2011, p. 33)[14]. Thus, the diversity of professional and cultural environments results in the varying levels of journalists' agency (actions or practice) and press freedom in various countries worldwide (Hafez, 2002; Amin, 2010). This fact invokes to take an institutional perspective of journalism while analysing press freedom, thereby to investigate the 'environmental constraints or factors' that affect journalists' actions (practice).

Defining 'journalism as an institution' reflects a broader environmental approach that sees journalism as an institutional setting (structure) featured by "economic, political, legal and social privileges" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 36). The institutional perspective of journalism or the press is not a recent tradition and draws on the legacy of fourth estate (Powe, 1991; Asante, 1997). In this perspective, journalism or the press appears as a political, social and economic institution and thereby requires additional freedom beyond an individual's freedoms of expression and information. More recent advancement in the fourth estate approach to journalism has posited the term media as an institution, which incorporates traditional (newspapers and periodicals) and new media (such as television, radio and internet) both.

The institutional perspective of journalism reflects a nexus between "news institution and the government, the market, the world of culture, the educational system, and the religious establishment" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 37). This indicates that the environment in which journalism institution operates can be characterised by certain factors such as: coercive elements (state and political pressures), regulative factors (either rules or formal

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[13] "Culture is thought to be the common value-based interpretations, artefacts, organisational forms and practices of a group of human beings elated to a specific environment." (Casmir, 1991 cited in Hai Tran et al., 2011, p. 172)

[14] "International communication scholars have long acknowledged that cultural traditions, as well as national and regional philosophies, form the foundation of the press in countries throughout the world." (Hai Tran et al., 2011, p. 172; Fischer and Merrill, 1970; Winfield et al., 2000)

and informal sanctions),[15] normative factors (professional standards) and cultural aspects (norms). Thus, this perspective of journalism dominantly emphasises the impact of institutional environment (context) on journalists' actions. However, it overlooks the role of actors' agency (actions) in any institutional setting.

The definition of 'journalism as a text' focuses on the news story as a way of describing "what journalists produce when gathering and presenting news". The central point here is the evolving notion of the 'text' to define journalism content. News story in the digital era is no more adhered to the traditional forms of printing but can take forms of images, visuals and audio content. Therefore, this approach reflects on the "public use of words, images, content, accounts or news stories produced and presented by journalists" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 38). This implies that the journalism content is an outcome of journalists' actions utilised by the public. The press or media, in that case, emerges as a disseminator of journalism content. Hence, this perspective of journalism signifies the necessity of an individual's freedoms (of expression and information) and collective freedom of the press (to publish) and the public (to access a variety of information and ideas).

Previously, some studies analysed the news texts, the expression of opinion through languages and the significance of language in news production by using content and discourse analysis (Dijk, 1983, 1985, 2006; Fairclough, 1995; Chimombo and Roseberry; 1998; Schiffrin and Hamilton, 2003; Tolson, 2006; Montgomery, 2007). These past studies privileged 'language' while examining the news text. In terms of analysing press freedom, the focus on the 'language' of news text is significant to study discourses around the freedom of expression. However, the prior language-based studies of news texts did not reveal the 'lived experiences' of journalists (actors). These studies were limited to the analysis of freedom of expression and press freedom within the recorded culture of language. This means that the textual analysis of journalism has a methodological limitation since it provides no insights into the journalists' agency and their lived experiences in relation to press freedom.

In brief, the aforementioned perspectives of journalism are interrelated somehow. However, each of these perspectives tends to privilege a distinct aspect of journalism and can affect the ways press freedom is understood or analysed. Therefore, the following

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[15] Formal sanctions refer to legal restrictions; whereas informal sanctions refer to the limitations arising from cultural norms, moral values and society that may result in journalists' self-censorship.

section uses Zelizer's typology of journalism to review the prior studies into the conceptualisations of press freedom, addressing how the previous understandings of press freedom have been informed by the various perspectives of journalism.

3.2.2 Concepts of press freedom

Zelizer's (2004) conceptual typology highlights that each perspective of journalism draws its links with press freedom in a different manner. For example, 'journalism as a profession' establishes itself on the core value of freedom to define professional roles of its members. The definition of 'journalism as people' and 'a set of practices' substantiate the importance of journalists' freedom in their attitudes and actions. 'Journalism as a text' primarily emphasises the freedom of news content. However, this approach interconnects the individual journalistic freedom with the collective freedom of the press and the public. The 'institutional perspective' of journalism necessitates freedom from the environmental constraints by virtue of different roles that a free press performs in any society. Thus, depending on how journalism is understood, press freedom can assume different qualities in relation to three questions, namely: who should be free? For what purposes and from what types of constraints freedom is required?

Freedom for whom (Agent)

Given the variety of ways in which journalism has been conceptualised, 'freedom' appears as belonging to different agents. Therefore, scholars have much disagreement about who should exercise press freedom? The United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (1948) recognises that freedoms of expression and information are individual rights (see Article 19). Thus, press freedom can be viewed as an individual right of a journalist since freedoms of expression and information are the two indispensable components of press freedom. When analysing press freedom, some prior studies recognised the significance of understanding press freedom through the lens of people who are called as journalists. For example, Siraj (2009) surveyed 100 Pakistani journalists belonging to the electronic media in cities of Rawalpindi and Islamabad to investigate their perceptions of press freedom during General Pervez Musharraf's regime[16].

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[16] "The freedom of press in Pakistan was shrunken in both print and electronic media during General Pervez Musharraf's regime. At numerous cases - press was barred from covering opposition's protests, public's events, corruption and the abuses of power by the public's servants. There were censorships, press advice, substantial issuance of government's advertisement to favourite media organisations, forcing off opposition leader's interview on a private television channel,

Siraj's study (2009) highlighted the increasing growth of print and electronic media in Pakistan. This study revealed some positive implications of media liberalisation in Pakistan, especially in terms of the "social and psychological gratification" of the Pakistani audience. However, his study found that the implications of this proliferation of media were not evident in relation to the freedom of press. Journalists' feedbacks revealed that a majority of them (78 per cent) was not "satisfied" with the overall current condition of media in Pakistan. More than half of the surveyed journalists (55 per cent) viewed press laws and ethics as a barrier for press freedom. The study highlighted that journalists' safety, cross–media ownership and the government's control on advertisements were the main constraints for press freedom in the country.

Siraj's study (2009) unpacked the importance given to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists; however, his study did not reveal any qualitative insights into the journalists' attitudes and agency (action) in relation to these two concepts. This necessitated the investigation of the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom, thereby to reveal their lived experiences in a constrained environment of Pakistan (see Chapter 5).

Furthermore, press freedom is also understood as a collective right belonging to three agents: the profession, the press and the public. The professional characterisation of journalists suggests that freedom is one of the core values underpinning journalism, which is generally buttressed through the professional codes of conducts (Deuze, 2005). Nevertheless, some previous studies revealed that the professional importance of freedom of expression and press freedom varied across different socio-political contexts. For instance, Laitila (1995) examined the journalists' obligation towards freedom of speech and information in a comparative study of 30 codes of ethics from 29 European countries. The study found that the most commonly stressed principles in the majority of codes were, precisely: to protect the right to freedom of expression; to ensure the free flow of accurate and unfiltered information; to protect basic human rights and to restrain the discrimination of race, sex or ethnicity.

Other studies contended that the prominence of press freedom and freedom of expression varied in the codes of ethics according to the environment in which they were

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dozens of reporters were beaten and arrested during the tussle between the President's election and the Supreme Court." (Adnan and Matiullah, 2005 cited in Siraj, 2009)

formulated[17]. For example, Hafez (2002) analysed 34 codes of ethics from countries of North Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Muslim Asia. His comparative analysis of codes of ethics in these regions aimed to investigate the difference between Western and Oriental philosophies of journalism. The study revealed an "intercultural consensus" on the professional values of truthfulness and objectivity underpinning the journalism profession. However, the study found differences in the status attributed to the freedom of expression (pp. 225-250).

Hafez's study (2002) highlighted that freedom in most codes was qualified by the cultural considerations or permissible limitations, where it could cause harm to other individual rights (such as privacy, reputation and so on)[18]. While mentioning about the codes of ethics in Pakistan, he highlighted cultural and political restrictions both on journalists' freedom. He pointed out that the CPNE's code of ethics[19] was devised with some limitations, where it could cause harm to "the glory of Islam, security and defence of Pakistan, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency and morality." (p. 237)

Similarly, Himelboim and Limor (2008) compared the perceptions of press freedom across 90 countries by conducting a quantitative analysis of 242 codes of ethics to identify the professional context in which journalists enact press freedom. The study revealed that most codes of ethics tended to focus on the normative principles to stipulate the acceptable conduct of journalists while doing their work. It was found that almost half of the analysed codes did not address the freedom of press in any way. The codes of conduct of newspapers and media organisations encompassed a "limited reference to press freedom", putting the obligation of protection of press freedom on journalists' unions and journalists themselves (pp. 255-256).

Moreover, the freedom of press is viewed as a collective right of the press and the public as well. For instance, the United States' inquiry on the Freedom of Press, which had resulted in the Hutchins Commission Report (1947), recognised the freedom of press as belonging to the press and the public. The Hutchins Commission (1947) suggested that "a

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[17] Codes are generally formulated by "different journalistic societies" with "different perceptions" on ethical standards and values (see Jackquette, 2007, p. 21).

[18] The freedom of speech in Islam is grounded on a variety of principles, including *hisbah* (commanding good and forbidding evil); *nasihah* (sincere advice); *shura* (consultation); *ijtihad* (independent juristic reasoning); and *haqq-al-mu'aradah* (the right of constructive criticism)" (Kamali, 1997 cited in Breit, 2011, p. 68).

[19] CPNE refers to the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors.

free press must be free to all who have something worth saying to the public" (cited in Gunaratne, 2002, p. 347). The "press was understood as the printing press, not as the newspaper press, so that freedom of the press was thought of in the same terms as freedom of speech. The press was a tool that citizen used to speak." (Nerone, 1995 cited in Gunaratne, 2002, p. 347)

Likewise, Nordenstreng (1999) viewed the freedom of press as belonging to the press and the public both. In support of his argument, he distinguished between the freedom of press and the freedom of individual expression, highlighting that the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights guaranteed the freedoms of expression and opinion to individuals not to the press or media owners. Therefore, press freedom cannot be seen as the freedom of "individual expression or a human right" (Gunaratne, 2002, p. 346). However, it must be recognised that the freedom of expression is an essential condition for a free press.

Some other studies posited press freedom as a public right, suggesting that the institutional legitimacy of the press was originally grounded on the "principle of publicity"[20]. For instance, Splichal (2002) viewed press freedom as the "citizens' right to publish" and described the press as an "organ of public" (pp. 22-23). He suggested that the press should be free from constraints affecting the public's expression and their right to know. This highlights that the freedom of press involves three interrelated factors: independence in the public's expression, freedom of information and the freedom of the public to access a diverse media without any barrier (McQuail, 2005).

Freedom for what (purposes or roles)

The various perspectives of journalism highlight that the freedom of press is an individual and a collective right both. In both positions, agents need to be free from constraints to achieve certain purposes. Individual journalists need to be free not just in their understandings (concepts) but also in their practices (actions). Therefore, journalists require two key individual rights including the freedom of information and the freedom of expression. These two rights are essential for journalists given their duty to report the

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[20] "The principle of publicity denotes a universal belief in the freedom and independence of human nature and reason, the concept of freedom of the press exemplifies primarily support for the independence and freedom of a privileged social 'estate' in the sense of the press as the Fourth Estate." (Splichal, 2002, pp. 22-23)

reality in the public interest. However, it is contended that the idea of "news (text) as a mirror" to reality is a myth. For instance, Broersma (2010) argued:

> News does not neutrally reflect the social reality or empirical facts at all. It is a social construction. Events and facts do not have intrinsic importance but become important because they are selected by journalists who adhere to a culturally and ideologically determined set of selection criteria.[21] (p. 16)

Furthermore, journalism or the press requires additional freedom beyond the individual rights. But why does the press or journalism require an additional freedom further than the rights of an individual to freedoms of expression and information? The answer is implicit in the professional and the institutional roles that journalism or the press performs in any society.

Journalism as a profession legitimises its freedom through the collectively defined professional roles that individual journalists perform in the public service. Christians et al. (2009) identified five types of journalistic roles: (i) monitoring – "collecting, processing and disseminating information", (ii) facilitative – "improving the quality of public life" (iii), radical (watchdog) – "surveillance and exposing abuses of power", (iv) collaborative – "promoting economic and social development" and (v) strategic – "identifying and solving problems in the public interest" (cited in Breit, 2011, p. 124). However, there is no one fixed typology of journalists' roles given the diversity of professional environments and rhetorical styles to describe them.

Moreover, the institutional approach to journalism acknowledges that journalism operates as an institutional setting (structure) to perform a variety of roles in social, political and economic domains. This implies that journalism serves as a political, social and economic institution. In the political realm, journalism or the press functions to mediate between the government and the public. This means that the press requires freedom to facilitate the public's participation in the political process and debate around political matters (Schudson, 1997; Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999, 2006; Orsten, 2008).

As a social institution, journalism or the press draws its fundamentals from the 'social functionalist approach' and performs different functions in any society, namely:

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[21] "Communication is a symbolic process; whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed." (Habermas, 1990, p. 23)

surveillance, correlation and transmission of culture (Lasswell, 1948; Baran and Davis, 2009, pp. 234-236); development (Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964; Rogers, 1976); empowerment and participation (UNESCO, 2009). In this perspective, the Hutchins Commission Report (1947) suggested:

> A free press is *free for* the expression of opinion in all its phases. It is *free for* the achievement of those goals of press service on which its own ideals and the requirements of the community combine and which existing techniques make possible. (Cited in Gunaratne, 2002, p. 347)

Thus, two key aspects of press freedom were emphasised in the Hutchins Commission Report (1947): the ability of the press to perform basic services and the ability of the public to access a diverse and responsible press. The report gave rise to the notion of a socially responsible media, where normative conditions of performance are attached to the privilege of press freedom. The Hutchins Commission report (1947) presented a code of social responsibility requiring the press to perform five basic services, precisely: (i) "providing a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context that gives them meaning", (ii) "serving as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism", (iii) "projecting a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society", (iv) "presenting and clarifying the goals and values of the society" and (v) "providing full access to the day's intelligence".[22]

The Hutchins Commission Report (1947) also acknowledged the role of the public in preserving and promoting press freedom, recommending the civil society support for bolstering a socially responsible press. In more recent times, social responsibility has been reinterpreted as 'freedom with responsibility' to mean avoiding harm to other individual rights, not inciting violence or hatred and avoiding offence to any community or individual (Hocking, 1947; Kamali, 1997; Alexander, 2000).

Furthermore, in many quarters, journalism or the press is especially seen as the watchdog of public and private institutions (such as religious, political and more recently commercial organisations). However, earlier some studies critically scrutinised the ideal of watchdog, suggesting it a symbolic notion when political and market pressures constrain

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[22] See http://web.cci.utk.edu/~bowles/Hutchins-recommendations.html

journalists' freedom (Kalter, 1983[23]; Schultz, 1998). For instance, Sparrow (1999) stated that "only rarely and to limited extent are the news media able to act as a significant checks on national government or as advocates of public interests." (p. 4)

Particularly, the watchdog role of journalists is pragmatically a cliché in authoritarian countries (like Pakistan), where journalists perform their work in a constrained environment. Ostensibly, the major constraint comes from the government (either military or democratic) that wields restrain on media (Niazi, 1986; Jabbar, 1997; Ali, 1997; Riaz, 2007; Siraj, 2009). Nevertheless, the Pakistani journalists do confront political, legal, economic and safety constraints too while performing their work (Freedom House, 2012; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012; see Chapter 7).

The recent advancements on the notion of fourth estate tend to view journalism or the press as an economic institution, buttressing its commercial roles through the converging patterns of ownership and market de-monopolisation. The intersection of the press or journalism with the market has positive implications in terms of the plurality of expression in the public interest. However, it is also viewed that threats to freedom of expression are much posed by commercialism and corporate sphere more than the political groups and the government (Himelboim and Limor, 2008, p. 247).

Freedom from what (environmental constraints and factors)

The institutional perspective of journalism dominantly views the freedom of press as a collective right of the press and the public. Therefore, it attempts to justify the freedom from large-scale constraints. Previously, many scholars recognised this fact, which resulted in the descriptions of a free press with regard to the environmental constraints and factors (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Hachten, 1989; Powe, 1991; Price, 2002; Rozumilowicz, 2002)[24].

Constraints are generally understood in terms of restrictions and limitations. However, there is a disagreement about what can be considered as a restriction or limitation

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[23] Kalter (1983) in "The Fourth Estate in the Third World" accounted that "indeed not many Westerners do understand the particular economic and political constraints that bedevil the Third World countries. Their young governments are frail, and the economic development their people so desperately need depends on a degree of stability. They have neither an economic base to support an independent press nor a tradition of civil liberties to nourish it. And if their governments are often quick to impose editorial control, it is because they know well the press's power and have good reason to fear it." (p.12)

[24] The Hutchins Commission on the Freedom of Press suggested that "a free press is free from compulsions from whatever source, government or social, external or internal." (Cited in Gunaratne, 2002, p. 347)

on a free press? Constraints on journalism or the press can be seen through social, political, legal and economic perspectives. Nevertheless, journalists are vulnerable to personal constraints too such as self-censorship, professional issues and a lack of safety. Possibly, these constraints arise from the environment in which they work.

Many previous studies of press freedom suggested the government's control or restriction on the press as one of the main political constraints for its freedom (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Popeseu, 2010). Hence, an absence of the government's control or restriction was viewed as one of the necessary conditions for the working of a free press. For example, Nixon (1960) concluded that a free press requires journalists to be free to disseminate news; and subject to limited controls in the form of media laws particularly relating to distribution, content or format (text), censorship, the issuance and suspension of newspaper's licensing (see Kent 1972, p. 68).

Some past studies revealed that the absence of government's control had positive implications for the press to perform its roles. For example, Stein (1966) viewed the government's restrictions as one of the environmental constraints on a free press. He pointed out that the absence of censorship and the government's control might result in a market place of ideas - where "ideas, opinions and theories are served up to citizens for their acceptance" (Stein, 1966 cited in Gunaratne, 2002, p. 345). This means that the freedom from government's control facilitates the discovery of truth; the public's right to know and fosters the diversity of expressions through a free press (Campbell and Sadurski, 1994).

Stein's (1966) description of a free press highlighted that freedom from constraints is essential for actors' agency (either the press or journalists) to perform their roles in any society. Similarly, Nam and Oh' (1973) recognised the importance of freedom for actors' agency. They suggested that the "press as a sub-system" should be guaranteed autonomy (freedom of action) to perform its adversary roles such as the discovery of truth and vigilant criticism on the wrongs of government and other institutions (Nam and Oh', 1973 cited in Becker et al., 2007, p. 7).

Furthermore, Weaver (1977, 1985) in his cross-national study of a total 134 countries across the globe identified three elements of press freedom: "the relative absence of government's restrain on media, the relative absence of non-governmental restraints on

media and the dissemination of diversified ideas to the larger audience." He found that "an increased mass media development resulted in a greater accountability of government and in a lesser government's control of the press." (Cited in Becker et al., 2007, p. 6)

Other previous studies considered the freedom from legal and economic constraints as important while describing press freedom. For example, Lowenstein (1970) viewed the freedom of press as a negative right with an absolute independence. He argued that "a completely free press is one in which newspapers or periodicals, news agencies, books, radio and television have absolute independence and critical ability, except for the minimal libel and obscenity laws." (Lowenstein, 1970 cited in Becker et al., 2007, p. 6)

Lowenstein's (1970) concept of the absolute press independence is somehow questionable in countries where media receive state subsidies. Public service broadcasters, such as British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Deutsche Welle (Germany), Radio France International, Radio Moscow (Russia) and Voice of America (VOA) have been criticised as lacking the necessary independence because they receive the government's subsidies (Gunaratne, 2002, p. 344). However, such criticisms have been deflected in recent years as the increasing concentration of media ownership has provoked debates on the abuse of free speech right and press freedom by the media owners for their commercial interests (McChesney, 1999, 2004; Doyle, 2002).

A few scholars specifically focused on the factor of market de-monopolisation in their descriptions of a free press. For example, Price (2002) and Rozumilowicz (2002) emphasised the removal of state monopoly from the media for the existence of an independent media. Rozumilowicz (2002) stated that media ownership is crucial in deciding the level of its freedom. Free press flourishes, if the media structure is de-monopolised of the state or market concentration, thereby ensuring an internal and external pluralism.

With regard to press freedom, a number of prior studies looked at social, political, cultural, economic and legal perspectives as 'factors' instead of 'constraints' (Nixon, 1960; Weaver 1985; Hachten, 1989; Lee, 1991; Rozumilowicz, 2002). For example, Nixon (1960) found a positive correlation between press freedom and social factors such as the per capital income or living standard (Nixon 1960); literacy rate and mass media development particularly the circulation of newspapers and TV or radio reach in countries (Nixon 1960; Weaver 1985). However, studies in some Asian countries like Singapore and Taiwan

revealed that high income did not translate into the improved levels of press freedom (Hachten, 1989; Lee, 1991). These studies also unpacked that the media's growth and national development initiatives did not ensure a high level of government's accountability, suggesting a negative correlation between press freedom and national development.

Rozumilowicz (2002) highlighted the importance of social and legal factors for press freedom. She stated that press freedom is not possible without legal and social supports for it. In terms of 'legal support', she meant the existence of regulations that could prevent media market from the unnecessary government's interventions and to foster the freedom of all stake-holders including advertisers, media owners and audience (through market access and competition). She defined the 'social support' in terms of journalists' trainings, which lead to professionalism and a tolerant environment necessary for the working of a free press (Rozumilowicz, 2002 cited in Becker et al., 2004, p.3).

Moreover, the media's environment of any country varies according to social, political and legal structures in which it functions and the national ideology that shapes journalists' attitudes (Merrill, 1974, pp. 23-24)[25]. Consequently, the level of press freedom and the types of constraints may take various forms, depending on the socio-political and cultural characteristics of different countries. For example, in investigating press freedom, Amin (2010) analysed "freedom as a value in Arab media". He stated:

> Press freedom in Arab countries and the practices of Arab journalists are still threatened by a censorial political culture, one that develops in an environment usually dominated by a single political party. Overt censorship and self-censorship are commonplace in the Arab news media today. (pp. 125-135)

Hence, Amin's study (2010) highlighted the implications of political and cultural restrictions for the Arab journalists and thereby revealed the level of press freedom in the region. Another recent study of press freedom offered a broad categorisation of constraints, identifying environmental and personal constraints both to define press freedom. For instance, Popeseu (2010) suggested a few conditions to describe a free press, precisely: (i) politically – free from the government's censorship, intimidation, physical violence and control on sources of information; (ii) legally – constitution protects a free press and laws

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[25] Hallin and Mancini (2004) used the system approach while addressing the differences between press systems. They suggested that "to see the differences between press systems in full perspective, then, one must look at social systems in which press functions." (p. 9)

facilitates free reporting; (iii) economically – no government's financial manipulations and the existence of multiple independent media outlets and (iv) professionally – individual journalists are able to report government's misdeeds, journalists can present marginalised point-of-views and they do not employ self-censorship (p. 6).

Thus, the institutional perspective of journalism tends to dominate the prior understandings of press freedom. This means that press freedom is a large-scale phenomenon and that is characterised by socio-political, legal and economic attributes. The next section reviews the past studies into the measures of press freedom, highlighting how different perspectives of journalism have informed the development of global press freedom indicators.

3.2.3 Measures of press freedom

The discussion in the previous section highlights the freedom of press as a contentious concept since journalism has been conceptualised in different ways, resulting in a lack of agreement about questions, namely: who should be free, for what purposes and from what types of constraints? Likewise, there is no one criterion of measuring press freedom. Individual scholars (in the past) and international organisations monitoring press freedom have developed various indicators that primarily evaluate the impact of environmental constraints on press freedom. This means that the global press freedom metrics are largely informed by the institutional perspective of journalism, but valorises different factors while evaluating press freedom.

For example, Nixon (1960) used two IPI[26] surveys (1955, 1959) and formulated a panel in order to analyse press freedom and found that "social indicators like per capital national income, adults' literacy rate and the level of daily newspaper circulation were positively correlated to the level of press freedom as measured by the International Press Institute" (Lee, 1991, p. 154; Becker at el., 2007). Nixon's (1960) press freedom indicators can be developed to take account of factors such as corruption, institutional transparency, legal restrictions, political pressure and the participation of citizens in the development of any country.

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[26] International Press Institute (IPI) is a global organisation, which is dedicated to the promotion and protection of press freedom and the improvement of journalism practices. Founded in October 1950, the IPI has members in over 120 countries.

In the following years, Lowenstein (1970) developed a measure PICA (Press Independence and Critical Ability), comprising of 23 indicators to evaluate press freedom. The PICA measure did not encompass the broad socio-political and economic factors to assess the level of freedom of expression and press freedom. Later, Kent (1972, p. 157) used Lowenstein's measures (1970) in order to study the single aspect of government's control and restrictions on press. He noticed that 15 out of total 23 PICA's indicators reflected the government's restrictions (Lee, 1991, p. 155).

A more comprehensive comparison of Nixon's and Lowenstein's measures was conducted by Weaver (1977, 1985), who analysed the impact of economic and political factors on press freedom. Weaver's (1977) study found that there was a correlation between economic development, political system and press freedom. His analysis revealed that the economic growth reduced the political stress; and as a corollary, enhanced the freedom of press. Weaver (1985) suggested that "an increased mass media development resulted in a greater accountability of government and in a lesser government's control of the press." (p.106)

Moreover, Becker et al. (2004, 2007) evaluated press freedom indicators developed by some international organisations. They compared press freedom indicators and methodologies developed by Freedom House, International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). Becker's et al. (2004) study revealed the reliance of these international organisations on 'standardised' press freedom metrics and the 'quantitative methods' of survey and scoring to evaluate press freedom across the world. This means that these international organisations do not consider cultural and contextual variations while measuring press freedom. Some scholars suggest that cultural and contextual variations can affect the way press freedom is measured and what is seen as an indicative of press freedom (Hai Tran et al., 2011, pp. 171-76). Therefore, given the complex nature of Pakistan's society, this study investigated the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indicators to compare them with the existing global press freedom metrics (see Chapter 6; sub-sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2).

3.2.4 Gaps in the reviewed literature

The notions of freedom of expression and press freedom are framed differently, depending on how journalism is conceptualised and analysed. Literature reviewed in sub-section 3.2.1

suggested three prominent perspectives of journalism, namely: journalism as a profession, journalism as people and journalism as an institution. These three perspectives of journalism largely informed the previous studies of press freedom.

The prior professional studies of journalism primarily focused on the importance of freedom of expression and press freedom by investigating how these notions were articulated in the journalistic codes of ethics (Laitila, 1995; Hafez, 2002; Himelboim and Limor, 2008). Nevertheless, the quantitative analysis of professional codes of ethics did not address about journalists' agency while giving effect to these two concepts in their real life. Thus, these past professional studies of press freedom suffered from a methodological limitation because these studies did not provide any qualitative insight into journalists' attitudes and agency (actions) in different contexts.

The freedom of expression is largely viewed as an 'individual human right', despite the fact that it is an inseparable component of press freedom (the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; Nordenstreng, 1999). This indicates that the concept of freedom of expression draws its connections with the perspective of journalism as people by focusing on an individual's freedom. In this regard, literature reviewed in sub-section 3.2.2 highlighted a very few studies that investigated the journalists' perceptions of press freedom in Pakistan. For example, Siraj (2009) studied the journalists' perceptions of press freedom in Pakistan by using the quantitative method of survey. However, there is a dearth of academic studies, which offer qualitative insights into the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in the country (see Chapter 5).

The prior studies into the conceptualisations of press freedom dominantly focused on the institutional perspective of journalism. For example, previously a number of scholars linked the concept of press freedom with journalism by virtue of its institutional roles in any society (Lasswell, 1948; Lerner, 1958; Schramm, 1964; Rogers, 1976; Schudson, 1997; Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999, 2006). Whereas, many other scholars emphasised the environmental constraints and factors while describing press freedom.

Thus, it is evident that the concept of press freedom in scholarly circle has been largely understood at an environmental level (see sub-section 3.2.2). To some extent, Zelizer's institutional perspective of journalism provides a framework to study the environment in which journalists work. However, this approach overlooks the role of

actors' agency and attitudes in any institutional setting (as explained in the sub-section 3.2.1 of this Chapter).

Furthermore, international organisations monitoring press freedom mainly evaluate the impact of environmental factors on the journalists' agency and more broadly media freedom. This implies that international organisations tend to take an 'institutional perspective' while measuring press freedom. However, the problem stems from the application of 'standardised' indices that might fail to capture contextual and cultural intricacies while evaluating press freedom worldwide. It is contended that culture can affect the ways press freedom is understood and measured (Hai Tran et al., 2011, pp.171-76). Therefore, this study investigated the journalists' views of press freedom in a pluralistic society of Pakistan (see Chapter 6).

The aforementioned gaps in the reviewed literature highlights that Zelizer's conceptual framework is useful to investigate the distinct aspects of journalism and press freedom. Nevertheless, none of these perspectives of journalism helps to analyse press freedom holistically at the individual level and the environmental level both. These facts necessitated to articulate a theoretical framework that could inform the analysis of press freedom in Pakistan at three levels, namely: conceptual level (understanding), practice level (action) and environmental level (context). Therefore, this study used the 'new institutionalism framework' moving beyond Zelizer's conceptual typology of journalism. The following sections provide a brief explanation of the intuitional theory and the notion of institutionalism. It goes on explaining the new institutionalism theory as the framework of this study.

3.3 Towards an understanding of new institutionalism

3.3.1 Institutional theory and institutionalism

Institutional theory deals with the study of 'institution' and has contributed a worthwhile knowledge in the fields of economics, political science, sociology and journalism (Veblen, 1898; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Zucker, 1977; March and Olsen, 1984; Hall, 1996; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 1995; Zelizer, 2004). However, institutional theorists have valorised various aspects while studying 'institutions' in different disciplines, resulting in no single institutional theory and the 'concept of institution' (see Table 2).

In journalism, the institutional theory has inspired many scholars to "look at journalism as an institution" in different countries of the world (Curran and Seaton, 1985; Curran and Gurevitch, 1991; Schultz, 1998; Caspi and Limor, 1999; Sparrow, 1999; Fox and Waisbord, 2002; Cook, 2006) The institutional perspective posits journalism as an institutional setting (structure) that exists or functions in relation to other social, political and economic institutions in a broad environment. The connection of journalism with other institutions in a broad environment signifies its functions in different domains (such as society, politics and economics).

Thus, the institutional approach to journalism mainly focuses on the environment in which journalism operates, thereby puts less emphasis on actors' agency in any institutional setting. Particularly, the institutional approach to journalism has largely informed the previous concepts and measures of press freedom. Therefore, the freedom of press is widely understood and evaluated in relation to the environmental constraints and factors that affect the working of a free press and journalists (see sub-sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3).

Table 2: Institutional theory in various disciplines

Institutional theory			
Discipline	**Concept of institution**	**Key Focus**	**Commonality**
Journalism	"Institution is a setting (structure) that exists or functions in relation to other social, political and economic institutions in a broader environment." (Zelizer, 2004, p. 36)	• Journalism institution. • Environment in which the press or journalists operates.	**Focus on the study of *'institution'* and *'environment'* in which it operates**
Political science	Institutions are "both formal structures and informal rules and procedures" that impact on attitudes, actions and power of political actors. (Sparrow, 1999, p. 5)	• Political institution. • Political environment. • Actors' attitudes, actions and power.	
Economics	"Institution is a framework through which human beings interact. They establish supportive and competitive relationships, which constitute a society and more specifically an economic order." (Sparrow, 1999, p. 5)	• Economic institution. • Market environment. • Actors' interactions and relationships.	
Sociology	"Institutions are social structures. They are underpinned by schemas, rules, norms and routines, which are established to shape social actions of actors." (Scott, 2004, pp. 408-414)	• Social institution. • Environmental factors (normative, regulative and cultural). • Actors' attitudes and actions.	

Institutional theorists in the field of political science have described 'institutions' as "both formal structures and informal rules and procedures that structure conduct" (Sparrow, 1999, p. 5). Political theorists see 'institutions' as a part of the political landscape, which affect attitudes (perceptions), actions, (behaviours) and the power of political actors (either state or individuals). This means that institutionalists in the field of political science tend to look at the political institution from three major aspects: political environment (setting or landscape), attitudes and power (Bell and Head, 1984: Fenna, 1998).

In economics, theorists have viewed 'institutions' in relation to the market environment in which actors either organisations or individuals operate and interact (see North and Thomas, 1973; North, 1981, 1990). Therefore, economists suggest that "institution is the framework through which human beings interact. They establish supportive and competitive relationships, which constitute a society and more specifically an economic order." (Sparrow, 1999, p. 5)

In sociology, the institutional theory sees 'institution' as a "social structure" and tends to focus on the "processes" by which social structure "including schemas, rules, norms and routines become established to shape social actions of actors" (Scott, 2004, pp. 408-14). This means that 'institutions' are comprised of normative (professional standards), regulative (rules, formal and informal sanctions) and cultural factors, which emerge from the institutional environment. The sociological theorisation of 'institution' has largely informed the institutional theories of organisations as well. Therefore, most of the institutional theories in the disciplines of sociology and organisational theory have focused on the environment (context) and its impact on actors.

While institutional theories in different disciplines put emphasis on a variety of aspects, it is evident that they have basically studied 'institution' in relation to the 'environment' in which it operates. The substantial emphasis on the aspect of 'environment' by institutional theorists has resulted in the notion of 'institutionalism'. Powell and DiMaggio (1999, p. 1) suggests that "institutionalism is not so much study of (or about) institutions, but rather a distinctive approach to study social, economic and political phenomena in the wider context." The notion of 'institutionalism' presents a paradox since institutional theorists have paid attention to the individual (micro) and the environmental (macro) levels of analysis differently. This means that 'institutionalism' can assume different meanings, depending on the level of emphasis given to the 'environment'

and individual 'actors' by theorists. Noticeably, scholars have theorised two types of institutionalisms, namely: the old institutionalism and the new institutionalism. Thus, the next sub-section explains these two types of institutionalisms.

3.3.2 Old versus New Institutionalism

Since 1970s, the term 'new institutionalism' has gained much attention by the institutional theorists, particularly in the disciplines of political science and sociology (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Although, the term 'new institutionalism' has diverse meanings in different disciplines but it is widely theorised around three major assumptions: firstly, institutions matter; secondly, institutions operate in an environment that can affect actors' agency; and thirdly institutions are maintained and upheld by actors (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Scott, 1995; Kamel, 2009). This suggests that the theory acknowledges the role of environment and actors' agency both in any institutional structure (setting).

The new institutionalism derives its origin from the old institutionalism; however, both approaches are "distinct" despite sharing some similarities (March and Olsen, 1984, p. 738). Beginning with the **commonalitie**s, both approaches view institutions as playing a key role in various domains. For instance, in economics, institutions perform a crucial role in monitoring markets and reducing the transaction cost (Hodgson, 1988; North, 1990). In political science, institutional structures are viewed as one of the main sources of carving "power, preferences and behaviours of political actors" (March and Olsen, 1984, 1989; Rhodes, 1995). In the field of sociology, institutions provide a normative framework in the form of rules that influence actors' attitudes and that are shared by them as a taken-for-granted aspect of their routine life (Parson, 1956; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991).

Another common feature between the old and the new institutionalism is that both see the *rational actor model* as less effective due to the influence of environment, which reduces the rationality of actors to pursue their own goals[27]. **Differences** between the two sorts of institutionalisms stem from their approaches towards the understandings of: (i) institution, (ii) institutional environment, (iii) actor-environment relationship and (iv) organisational dynamics (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, pp. 12-14).

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[27] *Rational actor model* suggests that actors are rational and self-interested. Institutions are created by the rational actors for the pursuit of their own objectives (see sub-section 3.3.3).

The first **difference** arises from the old and the new conception of **institution**. The old institutionalism sees institution as a contextual and historical product that is underpinned by an "informal structure" (Selzenick, 1957; Scott, 1987, p. 494). Whereas, the new institutionalism approach views that "institutions affect on actors either individuals or organisation" through a "formal structure" of rules and routines (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). The new institutionalism also acknowledges the role of actors' agency (action or practice) in upholding any institution. For instance, Parson (1960, pp. 21-22) stated that an institution is comprised of a normative structure of rules through which organisations gain legitimacy for their "existence and operation". What is the role of individual actors in this normative structure? He suggested that individuals serve to internalise these norms, which underpin their actions too.

Furthermore, both approaches acknowledge the importance of environment; however, they conceptualise the **institutional environment** in which actors operate differently. The old institutionalism sees organisations ingrained in the local communities with an informal structure and mode of interaction (Selznick, 1949). In contrast, the new institutionalism suggests that institutions operate in an environment, which is comprised of other institutions. Thus, the 'institutional environment' influences on actors' agency through coercive, regulative and normative elements (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Kamel, 2009, p. 76).

In the new institutionalism's structure, organisations and individuals operate at a field or national level (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). This indicates that the new institutionalism theory conceptualises the 'environment' in two different ways. In the first camp, some theorists view news organisations as operating in a 'unified field' in which news organisations perform common or shared activities such as news-making and dissemination (Kaplan, 2006, p. 176; Cook, 2006). This version of the new institutionalism theory sees journalism as an institution that is governed by its own principles, reflecting a certain degree of autonomy from the external pressures (Benson, 2006, p. 188). Theorists in this camp seem to draw inspiration from Bourdieu's field theory[28] (Cook 1998; Sparrow, 1999). In the second camp, theorists view the organisation's environment as a societal sector that provides norms to define organisation and its peculiar field. This approach

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[28] Bourdieu's field theory shares some similarities with the new institutionalism theory. Both theories suggest that "fields or institutions are governed by the shared rules leading to a certain level of homogeneity" (Benson, 2006, p. 188; Benson, 2005).

reflects the influence of some early institutional approaches based on the normative framework (Parson, 1956, 1960; Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

The **actor-environment relationship** in both types of institutionalisms is also not same. The old institutionalism primarily concerns itself with the influence of environment on individuals and organisations. In contrast, the new institutionalism theory suggests an inter-woven relationship between actors and their environment. It not only recognises the influence of environment on actors' actions and attitudes, but also acknowledges the role of actors' agency in upholding any institution (Scott, 1995; Kamel, 2009, p. 77).

Another difference between the old and the new institutionalism is based on the **organisational dynamics**. Organisations in the old institutionalism's structure are infused with values, and they constantly change themselves according to the demands and characteristics of local community (Selznick, 1957; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). The new institutionalism emphasises the cognitive scripts and the normative frameworks, which shape actors' actions in any institutional setting (see Parson, 1956; Zucker, 1977). It views organisational structures persistent and stabilised due to the homogeneity of rules and routines that guide actors' actions and behaviours. In the new institutionalism's structure, organisations operate at a field or national level with the taken-for-granted principles. This makes organisations homogenised and stable, constraining their capacity to adapt.

Table 3: Differences between the old and the new institutionalism[29]

Main features	Old Institutionalism	New Institutionalism
Organisational Structure	Informal	Formal
Environment	Local Community	Field, sector or society
Organisational Dynamics	Change	Persistence, stability
Key forms of cognition	Values, norms and attitudes	Classification, routines, rules and scripts

3.3.3 Various schools of thoughts in the New Institutionalism theory

The term new institutionalism is not based on a "unified body of thought" (Hall, 1996, p. 936). It constitutes a variety of perspectives in different disciplines. In political science and economics, the new institutionalism theory divides itself into two prominent schools of

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[29] See Powell, W.W., and DiMaggio, P.J. (1991). *The New Institutionalism in Organisational Analysis.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.13.

thoughts including the 'historical institutionalism' and the 'rational choice institutionalism' respectively. A third school of thought comes from the sociological tradition, which is named as 'sociological institutionalism' (Scott, 1995). Each school conceptualises the notion of 'institution' in somehow similar fashion. The basic difference arises from their "understanding of the nature of the beings (either institutions or individuals), whose actions are being structured" (Steinmo, 2008, p. 162).

Figure 2: Various schools of thoughts in the New Institutionalism theory

Rational Choice institutionalism

The rational choice institutionalism draws substantially from the field of economics (Scott, 1995, p. 27). It is based on three basic assumptions: (i) actors are rational and self-interested, (ii) institutions are created by the rational actors and (iii) individuals do engage themselves in shaping the institutional environment to optimise their own goals. The rational choice institutionalism suggests that the survivability of institutions depends on its utility by the individual actors. It views actors as strictly driven by their own objectives, which reflect their strategies to maximise benefit (Self, 1993; Hall, 1996, p. 945).

Noticeably, the old and the new institutionalism both view the rational actor model as less effective. The old institutionalism posits that actors either individuals or organisations are intensely entrenched in their historical and social context. Therefore, the level of actors' agency is constrained due to the dominant influence of environment. The new institutionalism theory acknowledges the role of actors' agency in maintaining any institutional structure. However, the theory also posits that actors are controlled by the institutional context either through coercive or regulatory processes, normative obligations and cognitive scripts (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Hence, both types of institutionalisms suggest that the rationality of individuals is either reduced or constrained because of the influence of context (environment) on their actions.

Historical institutionalism

The historical institutionalism emerged during 1960s and 1970s in the field of political science (Steinmo et al., 1992). It views institution as a structure that is comprised of both formal and informal rules, procedures, routines and norms and has a tendency to impact on actors' actions (Krasner, 1988, pp. 72-73). The impact of institutions on actors' actions can be seen with two different perspectives (Hall, 1996). In the 'calculus approach', individuals possess the strategic behaviour to optimise their benefit or objectives. In this approach, institutions impact on actors' attitudes and preferences through different enforcement mechanisms (such as penalties).

The 'cultural approach' draws its links with the social constructivism. This approach suggests that actors operate in their institutional environment or world-view, which tends to shape their actions and behaviours (see also Chapter 4, section 4.2). The institutional environment influences on actors' attitudes through the standardised rules and scripts that shape their understandings and, as a corollary, action is constructed (Hall, 1996, p. 939). Both approaches hold important positions while canvassing the impact of institutions on actors' actions (Steinmo, 2008).

Sociological institutionalism

The sociological institutionalism in organisational theory has introduced a cultural approach in the new institutionalism tradition. It views human beings as "social actors", who behave habitually while following the "logic of appropriateness"[30] (Steinmo, 2008, p. 162). In this perspective, institutions are comprised of "cognitive scripts", formal rules and procedures that are "culturally – specific practices" (Hall, 1996, p. 946). Individuals as "social actors" follow these formal rules to shape their actions that are tied up with their interpretations too. Whereas, organisations tend to adhere with the peculiar institutional practices so as to extend their legitimacy and to be valued in the larger cultural context. Thus, the sociological institutionalism recognises the role of actors' (either individual or organisation) agency in upholding any institution.

The sociological institutionalism also suggests that actors are influenced by their institutional environment (Meyer, 2007). The institution and its environment can impact on

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[30] In the sociological institutionalism, the logic of appropriateness guides the actions of social actors (Steinmo, 2008).

actors' agency through three types of processes or factors including "coercive", "normative" and "mimetic" (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). The coercive factors[31] encompass "political pressures and state actions". Normative forces[32] influence actors through the professional standards. Drawing on a more phenomenological aspect, actors adopt these professional standards "mimetically" (habitually)[33], reflecting the taken-for-granted standards (Meyer, 2007, pp. 791-792).

Moreover, "institutions are transported by various carriers, cultures, structures, and routines – and they operate at the multiple levels of jurisdictions in any context" (Scott, 1995, p. 33). The institutional structure (environment) is comprised of three pillars including cognitive or cultural[34], normative and regulative[35] structures (Scott, 1995). Hence, the environment in which any institution operates does have an influence on actors' agency through various factors. Table 4, below, explains the institutional mechanisms suggested by Scott (1995) and Powell and DiMaggio (1991).

Table 4: Institutional mechanisms by Scott (1995) and Powell and DiMaggio (1991)[36]

Institutional Pillars	Regulative	Normative	Cognitive
Basis of compliance	Expedience	Social Obligation	Taken for granted
Mechanisms	**Coercive**	**Normative**	**Mimetic**
Indicators	Rules, Laws, Sanctions	Certification, accreditation	Prevalence, Isomorphism [37]
Basis of legitimacy	Legally Sanctioned	Morally Governed	Culturally supported

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[31] Coercive factors involve "political pressures and the force of the state, providing regulatory oversight and control" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2).

[32] Normative forces include the influence of profession and the role of education. Scott (2001) defined them as "evaluative and obligatory dimension of the institutional order" (see also DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2).

[33] Mimetic forces "refer to the habitual and taken-for-granted responses of individuals to circumstances of uncertainty" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2).

[34] Cultural or cognitive factors entail "shared conceptions and frames through which meaning is understood" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2; Scott, 2001).

[35] Regulative factors include "rule setting and sanctioning" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2).

[36] Scott, R. (1995). *Institutions and Organisations*. London: Sage Publications, p. 35.

[37] DiMaggio, P.J., and Powell, W.W. (1983). 'The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality on Organisational fields'. *American Sociological Review, 48*, 147-160.

3.4 New Institutionalism in Journalism: Framework for this study

The new institutionalism theory has been used in many domains such as sociology, political science, organisational studies, journalism and economics with certain distinctions (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Lowery, 2011). However, this study used the new institutionalism in organisational theory. In this perspective, the new institutionalism attempts to reconceptualise journalism as an institution. The theory acknowledges that journalism as an institution is "comprised of shared concepts, practices, roles, norms, routines, rules and rituals, which make the news media distinct than other institutions" (Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010, p. 76). Thus, in journalism, the new institutionalism theory derives its origin from the early institutional studies of 1970s that attempted to scope the standardised media routines, news-making, the patterned roles and values of news workers by using the ethnographic research approach (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Golding and Elliot, 1979).

Numerous recent studies have also explored the standardisation of roles, values and routines within journalism (Sparrow, 1999, p. 8; Deuze, 2005, Cook, 2006, pp. 160-61; Himelboim and Limor, 2011). These studies have revealed that the standardisation of journalists' conventions occurs; despite differences in the types, audiences and technologies of news organisations (Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010, p. 77; March and Olsen, 1989; Zelizer, 2004; Lowery, 2011). For instance, some theorists have suggested that news organisations operate in a unified field and perform common or shared activities such as news making and dissemination (Sparrow, 1998, p. 8; Kaplan, 2006, p. 176; Cook, 2006). This approach to new institutionalism sees journalism as an institution, which is governed by its own principles and possesses certain degree of autonomy from the external pressures (Benson, 2006, p.188).

In terms of professional values, journalists do share five common norms or values worldwide, namely: public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Deuze, 2005). There is also consensus among scholars on the conceptions of journalists' roles worldwide (Himelboim and Limor, 2011, pp. 74-76). Journalistic identities based on their roles as watchdog, informer, disseminator, interpreter, gatekeeper and educator are widely recognised across the different regions of the world (Christians et al., 2009). Thus, most of the institutional inquiries of journalism reflect the Western

understandings of professional orientation, when expound it as an institution and address the homogeneity of news organisations in terms of shared routines, roles and values.

Moreover, "institutions are carved by certain carriers such as professional routines, culture and structure" (Preston, 2009, p. 119). Professions and nation-states are the "primary modern shapers" of the institutional structures (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, pp. 147-48). Therefore, cultural and social factors shape the institutional environments that can affect actors' actions and interpretations (Scott, 2001; Koelble, 1995, p. 241). This is particularly important in journalism, which is performed across different cultures and political contexts and hence provides the varying levels of individual and collective freedom of expression.

Pakistan is a highly pluralistic country. There are three key features of Pakistan's society: ethnic diversity, sectarian polarity and gender disparity. These societal features tend to shape the media ecology of Pakistan as well. For example, Pakistan's mainstream media is comprised of working journalists of various ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Urdu speaking), religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders. Media organisations also reflect the diversity of languages because of the existence of multi-linguistic media organisations. However, the mainstream media organisations in Karachi, operate mainly in English and Urdu languages (see Chapter 2, section 2.3)

Considering these facts, this study posited that 'ethnic diversity', 'gender disparity', 'sectarian polarity' and 'context' might affect the journalists' ability to form a shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Therefore, drawing on the new institutionalism framework, this study offered an institutional analysis of journalism and freedom of expression in Pakistan at three levels, namely: conceptual (understanding), practice (action) and environmental (context) levels. At conceptual and practice levels, this study investigated the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan, identifying any shared understanding and practice of these two concepts amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Furthermore, in the past, some Pakistani scholars and country reports by international organisations highlighted certain factors that affected the journalists' work in Pakistan, namely: societal conservatism; political pressures, government's restrictions, military intimidations, legal manipulations and radicalism (Niazi, 1986; Ali, 1997; Jabbar,

1997; Mohiuddin, 2007; Siraj, 2009; Freedom House, 2010, Committee to Protect Journalists, 2011). Thus, at an environmental level, this study explored the various types of influences and constraints, which affected journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan. It must be mentioned that the new institutionalism theory theorises the 'environment' as a field or societal sector (see sub-section 3.3.2). However, this study considered the 'environment' as religious, social, political, legal, economic and organisational environments in which journalists undertake their routine work in Pakistan; and therefore, focused on the context (environment) more broadly. Figure 3, below, illustrates the theoretical map of this study.

Figure 3: The theoretical map of this study

Finally, there were three reasons behind choosing the new institutionalism theory to inform this study. Firstly, most of the previous studies of press freedom focused less on actors' attitudes and agency (action or practice) while defining press freedom. As a result, the prior studies of press freedom did not provide sufficient insights into the level of actors' empowerment and participation in any institutional setting. The new institutionalism theory recognises the role of actors' actions (agency) in maintaining an institution through their

shared interpretations and practices. Therefore, the theory provided a rationale to identify any shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study (see Chapters 5 and 6). Secondly, the new institutionalism theory suggests that institutions operate in an environment, which is comprised of some other institutions constituting an institutional environment. It emphasises the impact of environment on actors' actions. Therefore, the theory facilitated to investigate the influence of environment on journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression in Pakistan (see Chapter 7).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter expounded the theoretical framework of this study while positioning it in relation to journalism, press freedom and freedom of expression. Therefore, the chapter used Zelizer's conceptual framework of journalism to review the prior studies into the conceptualisations and measures of press freedom. Consequently, this chapter highlighted that how the previous concepts and measures of press freedom were informed by the various perspectives of journalism. Literature reviewed in this chapter suggested that the prior studies of press freedom were largely informed by three perspectives of journalism, namely: journalism as a profession, journalism as people and journalism as an institution (see sub-sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

The past professional investigations of journalism widely focused on how the notions of freedom of expression and press freedom were buttressed in the journalists' codes of ethics worldwide (Laitila, 1995; Hafez, 2002; Himelboim and Limor, 2008). However, most of the previous studies of press freedom emphasised the institutional perspective of journalism while conceptualising and measuring it. Thus, the prior inquiries of press freedom emphasised the impact of environmental constraints on the journalists' work in diverse contexts (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Niazi, 1986; Hachten, 1989; Ali, 1997; Jabbar, 1997; Price, 2002; Rozumilowicz, 2002; Amin, 2010; Popeseu, 2010).

Noticeably, the conceptualisation of 'journalism as people' inspired a very few scholars to offer the individual level analysis of press freedom, especially in Pakistan (see Siraj, 2009). This indicated a lack of literature addressing the journalists' understandings

and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in the country. More precisely, in the past, not any Pakistani scholar investigated the notion of press freedom at the individual level and the environmental level both.

The aforementioned gaps in the reviewed literature required this study to analyse press freedom holistically at three levels, namely: conceptual (understanding), practice (action) and environmental (context) levels. Thus, this study linked the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom with the environment in which they operate. This necessitated the use of new institutionalism framework, which recognises the role of actors' agency and environment both in any institutional setting.

To explain the new institutionalism framework of this study, this chapter firstly described the institutional theories in different disciplines and the concept of institutionalism. Subsequently, this chapter offered a comparison between the old and the new institutionalism. This comparison highlighted some common and distinct aspects between the both types of institutionalisms. The chapter also explained different schools of thoughts in the new institutionalism theory.

Finally, this chapter articulated the new institutionalism framework, which informed this study at three levels: conceptual (understanding), practice (action) and environmental (context) levels. At a conceptual level, this study investigated the meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists, thereby to identify any shared understanding of these two concepts amongst them (see Chapter 5). This study also explored the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan and compared them with the existing global press freedom metrics, thereby to identify any gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators (see Chapter 6)

At a practice level, this study investigated the ways journalists described their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom, and attempted to identify any shared practice of these two concepts amongst them (see Chapter 5). At an environmental level, this study analysed the influence of environmental constraints on the journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan (see Chapter 7).

In brief, this study investigated press freedom holistically at three levels and attempted to address the lived experiences of journalists, who participated in this study. This necessitated the use of an 'ethnographic' research approach and the 'qualitative methods' of data collection. Thus, the next chapter explains the methodology of this study, before presenting the findings and discussions of all four research questions (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Chapter 4

Research design: Ethnographic research in Karachi (Pakistan)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design of this study. Research design is a sort of blue print that outlines the broad philosophical assumptions, research process, comprehensive methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2009, p. 3). As stated in Chapter 1 (section 1.5), this study was purely a qualitative research. Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study sought to explore the influence of factors such as ethnic pluralism, gender disparity, sectarian polarity and context on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. This required the use of an ethnographic research approach in order to address the lived experiences of journalists, who participated in this study. Data were collected by using a range of qualitative research methods including in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD), document review and direct observation. The reason behind the use of four different data collection methods was to ensure validity through the process of triangulation. The 'contextual thematic analysis' was used to analyse the gathered data thematically. Thus, this chapter describes the research design of this study and discusses some key aspects in detail, precisely: research paradigm, the strategy of enquiry, research approach, methodology, data analysis, validity and ethics.

4.2 Research paradigm: Constructivism

World-view or research paradigm is the key set of "beliefs that guide actions". Research paradigm provides a framework for undertaking any research and helps in "recognising our observations and reasoning" (Guba, 1990, p. 17). It helps to investigate the "research problem from different theoretical and methodological perspectives" (Blaikie, 2000, p. 109). This study used the 'constructivism' paradigm to analyse the collected qualitative data for all research questions. Constructivism as a paradigm primarily focuses on the investigation of the ways people give meanings to certain phenomena and "make sense of their experiences" in the environment in which they live. Within the constructivism

paradigm, the people's interpretations and actions define the reality of their experiences. The reality is "shaped" by a number of factors, namely: "gender", "sect", "ethnicity", "culture", "age", "class", "race" and more broadly "context" to portray the lived experiences of people (Liamputtong, 2010a, p. 11). This study covered four major aspects of reality including ethnicity, sect, gender and context to investigate the impact of these factors on the journalists' understandings and practices (actions) of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan.

Earlier, in journalism studies, many scholars employed the constructivism paradigm to study news practices and content. For example, Schudson (1978) worked on the "social history of American newspaper journalism" and depicted the "construction of expectation for objective news during the penny press era in the early nineteenth century" (Winch, 1997, p. 15). Tuchman (1978) examined the construction of news worthiness by journalists from their perspectives or "the way they see the world". Gans (1979) studied the "news values and socialising practices" as the determining factors of covering any event or a news story.

Other prior studies also confirmed about the constructivist stance of journalists to construct news stories. For instance, Zelizer (1990) stated that "journalists come together by creating stories about their past, which they routinely and informally circulate to each other.........Stories that contain certain construction of reality, certain kind of narratives, and certain definition of appropriate practice." (Zelizer, 1990 cited in Winch, 1997, p. 14)

In the past, some institutional theorists recognised the 'social constructivism' approach while addressing about the process of institutionalisation (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Zucker, 1977; Hall, 1996)[38]. For example, Berger and Luckmann (1967) viewed institutionalisation as "a process of construction of a shared reality by individuals that

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[38] Previously, some institutional theorists recognised the social constructivism approach while scoping the process of institutionalisation. For example, Berger and Luckmann (1967) viewed institutionalisation as "a process of construction of a shared reality by individuals that supports a social order. They viewed individuals as the creator of a social order through the typification of their habitual actions and interpretations. The repetition of these actions with the similar interpretations by one-self and others lead to institutionalisation." Typification here refers to the idea that "certain forms of actions are associated with certain classes of actors" (Scott, 1987, p. 495).

The social constructivism approach also influenced some institutional theorists of 1970s, who linked it with cognitive aspect. For example, Zucker (1977) suggested that "institutionalisation is the process by which individual actors transmit what is socially defined as real and, at the same time at any point in the process, the meaning of an act can be defined as more or less taken-for-granted part of this social reality. Institutionalisation is rooted in *conformity* – not conformity engendered by *sanctions* (whether negative or positive), nor conformity resulting from a black box internalisation process, but conformity rooted in taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life...........institutionalisation operates to produce a common understanding about what is appropriate and fundamentally, meaningful behaviours." (p.728)

support a social order." However, the prior inquiries into the new institutionalism theory emphasised the construction of actors' actions through the standardised rules and routines, rather than the construction of a reality (Hall, 1996).

Hall (1996, pp. 939-48) pointed out the influence of 'social constructivism' approach on the new institutionalism theory. Previously, some historical institutionalists suggested that the construction of actors' understandings and actions might be influenced of their world-view in which they operate (Steinmo, 2008). This means that the institutional environment can play an important role in shaping the actors' interpretations and actions. Moreover, some past sociological inquiries of new institutionalism posited the constructed actions of actors as the "culturally - specific practices" underpinned by the institutional "cognitive scripts and moral templates" (Scott, 1995; Meyer, 2007).

Based on these premises, there were two reasons to choose this paradigm. Firstly, the 'social constructivism' approach tends to investigate the "social conventionalisation, perception and knowledge in everyday life" (Flick et al., 2004, p. 88). These knowledge, cognition and understandings of various social phenomena can be referred as 'constructs'. Schutz (1962, p. 59) amplified the concept of 'constructs' in a way that "all our knowledge of the world, in common sense as well as in scientific thinking, involves constructs, which is a set of abstractions, generalisations, formalisations and idealisations, specific to the relevant level of thought." (Schutz, 1962 cited in Flick, 2004, p. 89)

These understandings (constructs) can be examined by having an access to the natural setting (environment) of activities under investigation. For this purpose, I conducted the fieldwork in Karachi for three months so as to investigate the journalists' understandings and practices of press freedom and freedom of expression within their working environment (Karachi). Secondly, the 'radical constructivism' approach supports the notion that "human knowledge is a human construct." It suggests that the construction of human knowledge and meanings can be influenced by contextual and cultural factors (Glasersfeld, 1992, pp. 30-31). Therefore, the 'radical constructivism' approach was also used to identify any possible influence of cultural or contextual factors on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Karachi (Pakistan).

Largely, the constructivism paradigm facilitated the use of qualitative methods that could investigate the subjective meanings and the socially constructed actions of the Pakistani journalists. Therefore, this study used four qualitative methods of data collection to describe the journalists' understandings and practices (actions) of freedom of expression and press freedom within the context of Pakistan. Figure 4, below, explains the constructivism paradigm of this study.

Figure 4: The constructivism paradigm of this study[39]
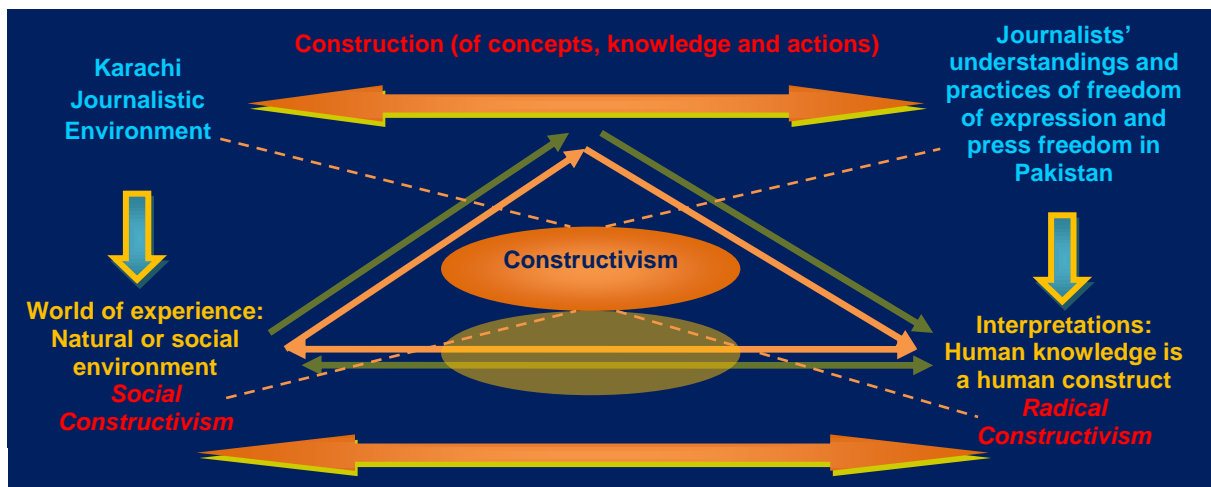
4.3 Strategy of inquiry: Qualitative methods

The qualitative methods of data collection were used in order to investigate all research questions due to the explorative nature of this study. This required the inclusion of 'inductive', 'interpretive' and 'constructivist' features to investigate the research objectives of this study. Thus, by using an 'inductive' research strategy, I began with the collection of data and that was followed by data analysis (Blaikie, 2000, p. 9; Bryman, 2001, p. 264).

Moreover, qualitative research primarily focuses on 'words' or 'stories' that people narrate to the researcher (Liamputtong, 2010a, 2010, b). Essentially, qualitative research emphasises the people's interpretations and meanings that they give to social issues, reflecting their lived experiences in a particular context (Corti and Thompson, 2004, p. 326). Therefore, "qualitative data are reliable because they document the world from the

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[39] See Flick, U, E., Kardorff.V., & Steinke, I. (2004). *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Thousand Oaks.

point-of-view of the people, rather than presenting it from the perspective of the researcher" (Hammersley, 1992, p. 45). Largely, qualitative research draws itself on the constructivist stance, which emphasises the use of 'words' to describe meanings, actions and the people's experiences. Journalists in Pakistan have their own world of experience, which is shaped by the local context and culture. Therefore, the 'interpretative' feature of qualitative research enabled me to analyse the journalists' understandings and practices of press freedom and freedom of expression from their perspectives, reflecting their lived experiences (Bryman, 2001, p. 264).

The 'constructivist' stance of qualitative research emphasises the social interaction with those, who construct the reality or phenomenon (Bryman, 2001, p. 264). Therefore, I ensured an active interaction with the Pakistani journalists of different ethnicities, religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders during my fieldwork in Karachi. The use of qualitative research methods helped me to investigate all research questions in detail, instead of merely mapping out findings by using the quantitative research methods. Moreover, Gubrium and Holstein (1997) suggested four different traditions of qualitative research[40] (see Bryman, 2001, p. 265). This study used 'naturalism' and attempted to explore the social reality of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan, originally revealed by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study.

4. 4 Research approach: Ethnography

Ethnography derives its origin from anthropology and focuses on culture as an "organising concept". It basically concentrates on unveiling meanings – especially, those meanings that characterise a "specific community and its practices" (Cramer and McDevitt, 2004, p. 121). It attempts to describe and explain the lived reality and experiences of a particular society or group according to an "insider's perspective" and to the possible closest original meaning (Fetterman, 1998). Ethnography is "a distinct approach that attempts to interpret its findings from a cultural perspective" (Rice and Ezzy, 1999, p. 14). An ethnographer tries to unfold all aspects of cultural or social life, and in doing so, needs to be deeply involved into the life

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[40] Gubrium and Holstein (1997) suggested four different traditions of qualitative research. i) "Ethno-methodology seeks to understand that how social order is created through talk and interactions", which has a naturalistic orientation, ii) Emotionalism "exhibits a concern with subjectivity and gaining access to inside experience and concern with the inner reality of humans", iii) Postmodernism "focuses on method talks, sensitive to the different ways of social reality that can be constructed" and iv) Naturalism "seeks to understand the social reality in its own terms, originally as it is" (cited in Bryman, 2001, p. 265).

and routines of social group or community under investigation (Lindlof, 1995, p. 20). However, defining ethnography is somehow difficult as the term is quite often replaced by the 'participant observation' because of the required deep involvement and extended participation of ethnographers in the field of investigation. Bryman (2008) argued that "it is difficult to distinguish between ethnography and participant observation. It is possible that the term ethnography is sometimes preferred because the participant observation seems to put heavy emphasis on observation." (Atkinson and Hammersely, 1998, pp. 110-111)

In ethnographic studies, the 'level of observation' and the 'role of ethnographer' may vary, depending on the nature and limitations of the study. Despite substantial emphasis on the method of participant observation, an ethnographic study may combine other methods of data collection such as in-depth interview and focus group discussion (Christine and Holloway, 2002, pp. 129-31). Moreover, the use of ethnography as a research approach in the field of sociology is in practice since the early 19th century (Gold, 1997; Marcus and Fischer, 1986, 1999). In journalism studies, the tradition of ethnography gained momentum in the late 1970s, when several scholars used the institutional approach to explore the journalists' newsrooms routines and professional lives in diverse contexts (Elliot, 1972; Tuchman, 1978; Schlesinger, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980).

In journalism, some prior ethnographic studies completely relied on the method of participant observation for data collection (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). However, this study did not use the method of participant observation primarily because of three reasons. Firstly, I was not well-trained to conduct the 'complete participant observation' in a culturally constrained and sensitive society of Pakistan, where cultural protocols (such as dress and behaviour) need to be followed more carefully. Secondly, it was difficult for me to devote time and ensure the complete level of participation due to the selection of considerable number of media organisations in this study. Thirdly, my 'level of accessibility' was different in the selected media organisations. Therefore, my role as an ethnographer was 'observer-as-participant' with the partial level of involvement (see Table 10, sub-section 4.5.3). Figure 5, below, illustrates the process of ethnography used in this study.

Figure 5: The process of ethnography used in this study
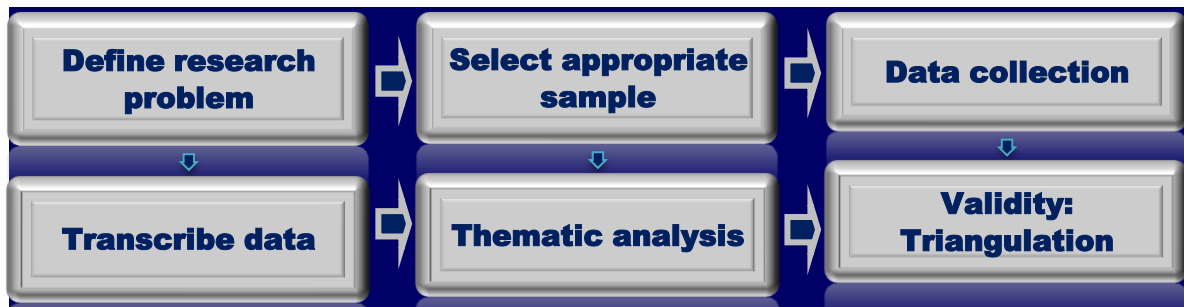
Furthermore, conducting an ethnographic research in Pakistan was not without requisites and limitations (see Appendix I). However, there were certain reasons to choose the 'descriptive ethnography' as a research approach in this study. Firstly, ethnography focuses on cultural and the people's peculiarities that distinguish one group or community from others (Christine and Holloway, 2002, p. 130). Therefore, as a research approach, it enabled me to provide a thick description of the journalists' lived experiences in Pakistan, reflecting their specific culture and context. Secondly, it facilitated me to explore the research objectives being part of the Pakistani culture and to interview journalists in their real work setting (i-e in Karachi). Finally, it helped me to work with an unstructured data, preventing the necessity of coding at the point of data collection (Greetz, 1973; Gray et al., 2007, p. 43).

4.5 Methodology

4.5.1 Research questions

This study investigated the following research questions:

- RQ1: What meanings do Pakistani journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom?
- RQ2: How do Pakistani journalists describe their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom?
- RQ3: Are there any gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators?

- RQ4: What are the various influences and constraints that affect journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan?

4.5.2 Sampling and selection criteria

Sampling means to choose a comparatively small group of individuals from whom one can collect data in order to take a broad view about a large group (Gray et al., 2007). In this study, the 'purposive sampling'[41] was used. The purposive sampling refers to the "selection of certain groups or individuals for their relevance to the issue being studied" (Gray et al., 2007, p. 105). The purposive sampling was chosen so as to ensure the representation of journalists from five ethnicities (i-e Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Urdu speaking); religious sects (Shia and Sunni); male and female genders and from print and electronic media both (i-e newspapers and television news channels).

It must be mentioned that 'journalists' as the subject of this study were considered as individuals who were employed by Pakistan's mainstream newspapers and television news channels; and who were engaged in the jobs of reporting, news gathering, news monitoring, news anchoring, editing, news and current affairs programs' production and administrative jobs (such as director and controller news).

Sampling for media organisations

In this study, 22 media organisations including newspapers and television news channels were selected by using the purposive sampling - whereby five Urdu-language newspapers, seven English-language newspapers and 10 Urdu-language television news channels.[42] These media organisations were selected because of their strong influence and nationwide coverage in Pakistan.[43] The main location of selected newspapers and television news channels was Karachi. The reason to choose media organisations from Karachi was bi-fold, precisely: (i) it is the media hub of Pakistan and (ii) journalists from five ethnicities and two

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[41] Purposive sampling is one of the types of non-probability sampling that is often used for qualitative research (Gray et al., 2007).

[42] There was no 24/7 English language television news channel operating in Pakistan at the time of data collection for this study (i-e from January 28 2012 until April 28 2012).

[43] It must be mentioned that the 'online news media' in Pakistan in either print or electronic media (i-e newspapers' and television news channels' websites) do not comprise of separate staffs to update the online news. Therefore, the 'online media' was not considered as a 'separate medium' to select journalists for this study.

religious sects (Shia and Sunni) work there. This also helped to reduce the travelling cost and to avoid the possible safety risks in other cities of Pakistan.

Sampling for in-depth interviews (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 and RQ4)

The interview sample was consisted of a total 40 working journalists (male and female, approximately 80:20 ratio) in Karachi, adults ranging in age from approximately early 20s to 70s, from five ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Urdu speaking) and two religious sects (Shia and Sunni). Journalists were selected from the most influential media organisations of Pakistan by using the purposive sampling. There were two reasons to select journalists from newspapers and television news channels. Firstly, print media is the birth place of journalism in Pakistan. Therefore, a majority of journalists, who work for the television news channels, also hold the print media background. Secondly, there is a blur line between the newspapers and the television journalists because of cross-media ownership in Pakistan.

Sampling for focus groups discussions (RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 and RQ4)

The sample for focus groups discussions was consisted of two separate groups of male and female journalists with six journalists in the female focus group and five in the male focus group respectively. Selection of journalists for the focus groups discussions was made from the selected media organisations by using the purposive sampling.

Sampling for press freedom indices

Press freedom metrics developed by four international organisations were selected by using the purposive sampling. These international organisations included Freedom House, Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) and Reporters without Borders. These international organisations were selected because of their longevity and wide global range to measure press freedom in different countries of the world. In addition, these international organisations evaluate press freedom through a variety of indices mostly in legal, political and economic areas. The selected press freedom metrics were used to compare with the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indicators, and thereby to identify any possible gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators (i-e RQ3).

4.5.3 Data collection strategies

This study used four qualitative methods of data collection, namely: in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD), document review and direct observation. In-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were used as the main data collection methods. As mentioned above, journalists for one-on-one interviews and focus groups discussions were selected from 22 media organisations in Karachi by using the 'purposive sampling'. Document review and direct observation were used as the supplementary data collection methods in this study. Thus, the following sub-section explains each of these data collection methods in detail.

In–depth interview

Interview as a data collection method facilitates researchers to engage in a conversation that is pursued with an objective of gathering information and that is relevant to the research problem. In qualitative research, the term 'in-depth interview' is slightly different than the conventional or fixed-format interview. There are many distinct features of an in-depth interview for qualitative research, briefly: (i) it leads to an interactive conversation with semi-structured questions, (ii) it invokes the deep interrogation of research problem while avoiding the close ended questions, (iii) it permits the researcher to do the follow-up questions and to navigate the conversation in the direction of research problem and (iv) it does not involve merely an exchange of words, but also provides an opportunity to make the direct observation of physical and emotional responses of the interviewee (Yanow and Shea, 2006, pp. 135-137).

In this study, semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as the 'main data collection method' in order to investigate all four research questions. There were two reasons to choose in-depth interviews as the main data collection method. Firstly, I aimed to gather a rich data on the topic of research. Secondly, I attempted to ensure my active participation while conducting in-depth interviews (see Silverman, 2006). In this study, the use of semi-structured interviews (face-to-face) was quite important in order to have a holistic and thorough analysis of the research problem. Initially, approximately 70 journalists were contacted through e-mails and telephone calls, before travelling to Karachi for the fieldwork. Formal requests to journalists for in-depth interviews were sent in August

2011. All journalists were given the relevant information about the research project, draft questionnaire and the potential risks related to this study.

Journalists, who participated in this study, were notified about the nature of this study due to the sensitivity of research topic and the volatile political situation of Pakistan. Journalists could also feel discomfort while talking about other ethnicities and religious sects; therefore, they were informed about the objectives and the nature of this study. A tentative list of journalists was drafted, once they provided their consents through e-mails and telephone calls to participate in this study. This was done as a pre-fieldwork preparation so to avoid the problem of 'accessibility' to journalists during the fieldwork.

Finally, the fieldwork was commenced on January 28 2012 after receiving the 'ethical clearance' from the University of Queensland, Australia. A total 40 journalists of various age groups, genders, ethnicities and religious sects were interviewed from the selected 22 media organisations in Karachi (see Tables 5-10). All interviewed journalists were the full-time paid employees of the selected media organisations. Among the 40 interviewed journalists, 11 were also members of Karachi Press Club (KPC), Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), Karachi Union of Journalists (KUJ) and the Association of Television journalists (ATJ). All interviews were conducted in the journalists' offices in Karachi; except five interviews, which were taken at Karachi Press Club on the request of journalists.

Journalists were informed that all interviews would be audio-recorded in their mother-tongue (i-e Urdu-language) and interview transcripts would be translated in English-language later (in verbatim). This decision was made on the request of journalists so as to avoid the language barrier. Journalists from the English-language media were also interviewed in their mother-tongue in order to maintain the uniformity of recorded language. Moreover, the clarity of interview questions was ensured so as these could be easily understood by the participants of this study. I also avoided the use of sensitive language in the follow-up questions, keeping in view the cultural sensitivity of Pakistan's society.

Furthermore, all interviewees were given the 'project information sheet' and their 'informed consents' were also obtained. Interviewees were notified that their names would remain anonymous and would be referred as numbers (between1-40) in this thesis. Overall,

no major limitation came across while undertaking one-on-one interviews. However, there were some limitations. For example, it was difficult to access the female journalists because of the male dominance in Pakistan's mainstream media. Another issue was related to the recurrent political strikes in Karachi, which caused the cancellation of interviews appointments on many occasions.

Focus group discussion (FGD)

Focus group discussion is one of the useful qualitative data collection methods, particularly to produce a rich account of the research problem through an interactive discussion. Focus group discussion is a distinct method than the 'group discussion' because it entails specific topic and target groups to be engaged in the discussion (Flick, 2006; Morgon, 1988). In this study, focus groups were categorised into two groups of male and female journalists, who were from the selected media organisations. The 'gender-based' classification of both focus groups was done so as to explore the research problem from the perspectives of male and female journalists. These groups could also be categorised on the basis of journalists' ethnicities or religious sects; however, it was difficult to arrange discussions with journalists of various ethnicities and religious sects in separate groups.

Initially, 20 journalists were contacted and listed for two focus groups discussions through e-mails and telephone calls. Journalists, who participated in the male and female focus groups discussions, were informed about the details of this study (such as research topic and possible risks). A tentative list of journalists for both focus groups discussions was drafted, once they gave their consents to participate in this study through e-mails and telephone calls. All participants of focus groups discussions were informed that the language of discussion would be Urdu-language (i-e mother-tongue) and all audio-recorded transcripts would be translated in English-language (in verbatim).

Finally, two focus groups discussions of male and female journalists were conducted at Karachi Press Club. Total six female and five male journalists participated in both focus groups discussions respectively[44]. All participants were given the 'project information sheet' and their 'inform consents' were obtained prior to both focus groups discussions. Journalists in both focus groups were also informed that their names would remain

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[44] One journalist in the male focus group requested to withdraw his participation because of an urgent call for the coverage of an event. Therefore, the male focus group discussion was comprised of five participants.

anonymous and would be referred as alphabets in this thesis (i-e between A-F for the female focus group and between G-K for the male focus group).

Moreover, some difficulties were occurred while organising the focus groups discussions. For example, it was difficult to gather the focus groups participants at the same time and place. Both focus groups were comprised of journalists from newspapers and television news channels; therefore, it was a big problem to avoid the clash of participants' working hours in Karachi. Also, the recurrent political tension in the city caused the cancellation of the female focus group discussion thrice, which was quite inconvenient for me and participants both. Another main challenge was to prevent both focus groups participants from the possible psychological risks, which could arise due to their ethnic and religious sensitivities. For this purpose, I requested participants of both focus groups to respect each other points-of-views during discussions. Tables 5-10, below, explain the general information about journalists (who participated in this study).

Table 5: Age groups of journalists who participated in this study

| Classification | In-depth interviews | Focus groups discussions | |
		Male Focus group discussion	Female focus group discussion
Age group 1: 20-30	7	1	6
Age group 2: 30-40	16	2	---
Age group 3: 40-50	7	1	---
Age group 4: 50-60	7	1	---
Age group 5: 60-70	---	----	---
Age group 6: 70-80	3	---	---

Table 6: Gender ratio of journalists who participated in this study

Data collection method	Total number of journalists	Number of male journalists	Number of female journalists
In-depth interviews	40	34	6
Focus groups discussions	11	5	6

Table 7: Ethnicities of journalists who participated in this study

| Classification | In-depth interviews | Focus groups discussions | |
		Male focus group discussion	Female focus group discussion
Urdu speaking (Indian migrants)	21	2	3
Sindhi	4	----	----
Punjabi	8	----	2
Baluchi	4	----	1
Pashtu	3	3	----

Table 8: Religious sects of journalists who participated in this study

Classification	In-depth interviews	Focus groups discussions
Sunni	28	All participants in male and female focus groups
Shia	10	-------
Sunni and Shia	1	-------
No sect	1	-------

Table 9: Academic and professional qualifications of journalists who participated in this study

Classification	In-depth interviews	Focus groups discussions
Academic qualification in Journalism or Mass Communication (Bachelor or Master)	10	• 4 (Female focus group) • 1 (Male focus group)
Academic qualification in any other discipline (Bachelor or Master)	26	• 2 (Female focus group) • 4 (Male focus group)
Did not mention the academic education	4	------
Professional and on-job trainings	All interviewees	All participants

Table 10: Job designations of journalists who participated in this study

Classification	In-depth interviews	Focus groups discussions
Upper Management[45]	11	-----
Middle Management[46]	29	All participants of both focus groups

Document review

Documents review was used as a supplementary data collection method for the research questions two and four of this study (see Chapters 5 and 7). Systematic web-search for documents relevant to the research topic was done such as the Constitution of Pakistan (1973), the existing media laws in Pakistan and the professional codes of ethics devised by the Pakistani and international media organisations (see Chapter 7). Latest press freedom reports and indicators developed by the selected international organisations were also reviewed (see Chapter 6).

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[45] Upper management includes journalists who work on the designations, namely: MD (Managing Director), editor and the member of editorial board, chief correspondent, directors, controller news and President or Vice President of any journalist union.

[46] Middle Management includes journalists who work on the designations, namely: executive news' producer, producer, news' anchor, current affairs' anchor, reporter, sub-editor and news desk's in-charge.

Direct observation

I conducted the direct observation of journalists and their media organisations during my visits to the selected media organisations in Karachi (January 28 2012 – April 28 2012). Direct observation was used as a 'supplementary' data collection method for the research questions two and four of this study. For research question two (RQ2), I observed the journalists' newsrooms activities and work routines in their respective offices (see Chapter 5). For research question four (RQ2), I observed the journalists' working environment (within and outside their media organisations) in Karachi (see Chapter 7).

The journalists' newsrooms activities were considered as their 'work' of: news gathering in monitoring rooms and the filing of stories at news desks, news-making, news production, breaking news and news dissemination (i-e broadcasting or publishing). This classification of journalists' work was adopted from Zelizer's perspective of "journalism as a set of practices" (see Zelizer, 2004, p. 42). In journalism studies, previously some ethnographic studies during 1970s relied on 'complete participant observation' (examples: Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). However, in this study, I had the partial level of participation to observe journalists and their working environment because of a few limitations (see section 4.4).

Direct observation was also made to supplement the data of research question four (RQ4). For this purpose, I observed the environment of working journalists in Karachi (Pakistan). The new institutionalism theory conceptualises the institutional 'environment' at field, sector and national levels to theorise the impact of environment on actors' agency. However, in this study, the institutional environment was considered as 'religious, social, political, economic, legal and organisational environments' in which journalists work in Karachi (see Chapter 7). While this conceptualisation of 'environment' somehow resonates with the traditional institutional perspective of journalism, this study considered the 'environment' more broadly to investigate the environmental constraints faced by the Pakistani journalists (see also Zelizer, 2004).

To ensure 'accessibility', initially e-mails were sent to journalists in the selected media organisations, before travelling to Karachi for the fieldwork in November 2011. Final appointments to visit the selected media organisations were taken on telephone, once the fieldwork had commenced on January 28 2012. Moreover, 'participant observation' is

considered as the trade mark of an ethnographic research. Therefore, it was important to clarify my 'role' and 'level of participation' as an ethnographer in this study.

Gold (1958) identified four different roles of ethnographers based on the level of observation including "complete participant", "the participant-as-observer", "the observer-as-participant" and "complete observer" (Flick, 2006, pp. 216-217). In this study, I had the *partial* level of participation because of my 'observer-as-participant' role during the fieldwork. In this kind of participation, the researcher does not take part in any kind of work to observe people, and his or her role as a researcher is known to the participants of study. Therefore, I did not engage myself in any kind of journalistic work to observe journalists in Karachi. All journalists were informed that they would be observed. Table 11, below, describes the observation metric of this study.

Table 11: The observation metric of this study

What?	**Overt** and **unsystematic** observation of: • The journalists' newsrooms activities and work routines in Karachi **(RQ2 – see Chapter 5).** • Religious, political, social, legal, economic and organisational environments in which journalists work in Karachi **(RQ 4 – see Chapter 7).** • The environment inside and outside of Karachi Press Club (see Chapter 7).
Where?	• Karachi Press Club. • The environment inside and outside of the selected media organisations (i-e Karachi city).
When?	During visits to the selected media organisations and Karachi Press Club.
How?	Observatory notes in the field journal (diary).
Accessibility	Initially e-mails were sent to access journalists in the selected newspapers and television news channels.
Role of observer	**Observer-as- participant**
Level of observation	**Partial**
Phases of observation	• **Descriptive observation**: The overall description of environment in Karachi. • **Focused observation**: "Concentrates on aspects that are relevant to the research questions." • **Selective observation**: The observation of core aspects or themes (Flick, 2006, pp. 206-207).
Fieldwork journal's accounts	• **Condensed account**: The brief description of observations during the fieldwork. • **Descriptive account**: The detail notes of observation.

Thus, data for this study were collected by using four qualitative methods including in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD), document review and direct observation. These data were analysed thematically by using deductive key themes and inductive sub-themes. In this study, interviews and focus groups discussions data were interpreted using 'numbers' to indicate the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme. The following sub-section explains the interpretation of interviews and focus groups discussions data in this thesis, before expounding the method of data analysis.

4.5.4 Interpretation of interviews and focus groups discussions data

In this study, the data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were interpreted numerically. Notwithstanding possible criticism, this study relied on numbers to augment the thematic analysis of qualitative data. Therefore, this section explains the conventional ways in which qualitative data are interpreted and different perspectives on the use of numbers in qualitative research. Subsequently, this section expounds the use of numbers to interpret interviews and focus groups discussions data in this thesis.

Qualitative research draws itself largely on the constructivist stance, which emphasises the use of 'words' to describe the people's meanings, actions and experiences; therefore, the 'use of numbers' to interpret qualitative data is widely seen as contentious (Rossman and Wilson, 1994; Ford-Gilboe et al., 1995; Sandelowski, 2001, p. 230; Maxwell, 2010). For example:

> The use of numbers in qualitative research is controversial. Particularly since the 'paradigm wars' of the 1970s and 1980s, many qualitative researchers have rejected the use of numerical data in their studies and reports for philosophical reasons. Primarily, this is because they have believed that numerical data are incompatible with a constructivist stance for research. (Maxwell, 2010, p. 475)

> One myth about qualitative research is that real qualitative researchers do not count. Contained in this myth are the depictions of words and numbers as two different and opposing entities that cannot easily or 'shamelessly' coexist without considerable effort. Indeed, qualitative research is often defined by the absence of numbers. (Sandelowski, 2001, p. 230)

Despite these arguments, previously many researchers supported the 'use of numbers' in qualitative inquiries, primarily to offer the systematic description of large qualitative data (Becker, 1970; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Hammersley, 1992; John, 1992; Erickson, 2007). Some prior ethnographic studies also relied on the use of numbers to support their qualitative arguments (Heath and Street, 2008).

The verbal quantification of data in qualitative studies (such as 'majority', 'many', 'most' and 'a few') needs the numerical power of numbers, which makes the interpretation of qualitative data more precise (Becker, 1970). In spite of this explicit rationale, some past studies particularly highlighted the significance of using numbers to analyse qualitative data thematically. For example, Sandelowski et al. (2009) stated that the use of numbers in qualitative research helps to recognise the emerging patterns "or otherwise to extract meaning from qualitative data, account for all data, and verify interpretations" (p. 210). Likewise, interpreting data numerically can make patterns to "emerge with greater clarity" (Dey, 1993 cited in Sandelowski, 2001, p. 231). This implies that qualitative studies can rely on numbers for the systematic and rigorous description of findings and emerging themes.

Furthermore, the most common purpose of using in-depth interview and focus group discussion (FGD) in any study is to explore the research topic in detail. Therefore, interview and FGD data are mostly in the form of 'subjective transcripts'. The interpretation and analysis of interview and FGD data depends on certain factors, namely: (i) the type of research and paradigm, (ii) the type of data analysis, (iii) the amount of required analysis from the collected data and (iv) the extent to which data can be interpreted systematically. This implies that there is no single approach to interpret and analyse data in qualitative research (Stewart et al., 2007).

Thus, it is important to pay attention on why interviews and focus groups discussions data were interpreted numerically in this thesis? There were many reasons behind the 'use of numbers' to interpret interviews and focus groups discussions data in this thesis, as explained below:

- **The type of research and paradigm**: This study was a qualitative research and used two main approaches to 'constructivism paradigm', namely: the social constructivism and the radical constructivism. In principle, the social constructivism approach posits that individuals construct meanings and perceptions, which reflect

their world-view and cultural context in which they operate or live (Flick et al., 2004, p. 88). From this perspective, qualitative data emphasise that how participants talk about certain issues; whether they are able to establish a consensus on the discussed theme or topic; and how they construct meanings about issues. Drawing on these premises, this study used numbers to interpret the data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions for two reasons. Firstly, to describe the meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom across the various sub-themes, which necessitated the quantification of the journalists' responses to research question one. Secondly, to investigate any shared understanding of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst journalists, thereby to reveal the level of consensus around these two concepts amongst them.

- **The type of data analysis**: Interviews and focus groups discussions data in this study were analysed 'thematically'. This required the quantification of the journalists' responses in each sub-theme. As a result, the use of numbers facilitated to indicate the prevalence of different sub-themes across the data set of all research questions.

- **The amount of required analysis**: In-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were used as the 'main data collection' methods in this study. Therefore, the required amount of analysis was to compare the data of in-depth interviews with the data of both focus groups discussions.

- **The systematic interpretation of data**: There are "seven established criteria, which suggest the following headings as a framework for interpreting coded data: words; context; internal consistency; frequency and extensiveness of comments; specificity of comments; intensity of comments; big ideas" (Krueger, 1994 cited in Rabiee, 2004, p. 658). The term "frequency relates to consideration of how often a comment or view is made, while having enough insight to 'spot a gem' when it comes along." Moreover, the term extensive refers to "the number of participants who express a particular view" (Rabiee, 2004, p. 659). Therefore, in this study, the use of numbers was necessary to interpret the frequency and extensiveness of sub-themes.

Despite the aforementioned reasons, it is important to look at the use of 'numbers' to interpret interviews and focus groups discussions data with regard to the new

institutionalism framework. This study posited that factors such as 'ethnic plurality', 'sectarian polarity', 'gender disparity' and 'context' might affect the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan (see Chapters 1 and 3). Therefore, this study used the new institutionalism framework, which deals with the standardisation of "concepts, practices, routines, rules, values and roles" (Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010, p. 76). The theory facilitated to analyse whether a shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom prevailed amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study.

In brief, I interpreted interviews and focus groups discussions data numerically because of three reasons. Firstly, to describe the 'level of consensus' around the concept and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. This required the use of numbers to identify any shared understanding and practice of these two concepts amongst journalists. Secondly, to explain the prevalence of sub-themes in the journalists' responses to all research questions of this study. Finally, to interpret the large qualitative data set systematically and thematically in relation to the new institutionalism framework of this study. To reiterate, the new institutionalism framework of this study primarily aimed to investigate the level of consensus amongst the Pakistani journalists; and therefore, necessitated the use of numbers to quantify the journalists' responses in each sub-theme.

4.6 Data analysis: Contextual thematic analysis

This study used thematic analysis in order to provide a rich description of qualitative data. There are several ways to analyse qualitative data and thematic analysis is one of such ways (Gray et al., 2007). Thematic analysis is often considered as a "poorly demarcated" and an unclear method of analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2008, p. 77). Scholarship suggests that thematic analysis aims to identify 'themes' or 'patterns' within the qualitative data. It helps to classify data under relevant themes in order to interpret the various aspects of research topic (Boyatzis, 1998; Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2008). As an analytical tool, it provides a systematic way to analyse data. However, it can be bewildering because of its similarity with some other methods of analysis such as grounded theory and content analysis.

Thematic analysis somehow resonates with the 'grounded theory', when themes emerge from the collected data inductively. The basic difference between the two is that the grounded theory is a theoretically bound method of analysis for the purpose of generating a theory. However, thematic analysis is not done with an aim of generating a theory (Silverman, 2000). Classification of themes under the coded categories makes it similar to the 'content analysis', although in many cases the content analysis is done with the pre-existing categories.

Furthermore, thematic analysis is a flexible method in terms of its analytical approaches. The 'realist approach' to thematic analysis attempts to interpret experiences, meanings and reality of participants. The 'constructionist approach' to thematic analysis seeks to analyse the ways in which the "broader social context" impact on the meanings, experiences or the reality constructed by people (Willig, 1999; Braun and Clarke, 2008, p. 9). This study used the 'contextualist approach' to thematic analysis, which combines realist and constructivist approaches both.

4.6.1 Rationale

There were a number of reasons behind the use of thematic analysis in this study. Firstly, it is a systematic method of analysis. It permits the flexibility of approach to analyse data under the various themes or patterns relevant to research topic (Stirling, 2001; Boyatzis, 1998). In this study, the gathered data were in the form of 'transcribed and translated text'.

Inter-textual analysis does help to analyse the language of texts and to investigate the relation between 'language and social context' (Fairclough, 1989, 1991). Previously, several scholars examined media or news texts, the expression of opinion through languages and the significance of language in news production by using discourse analysis (Dijk, 1983, 1985, 2006; Fairclough et al., 1997; Chimombo and Roseberry; 1998, pp. 307-337; Schiffrin et al., 2003; Bednarek, 2006; Tolson, 2006; Montgomery, 2007).

However, this study did not use the 'textual analysis'[47] because it was not interested to explore the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom within the 'recorded culture', such as the 'language' of a text (Dewdney and Ride, 2006, p.

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[47] Textual analysis combines linguistic and inter-textual analyses. The main focus of analysis is on phonology, semantics, vocabulary and the sentence's structure to analyse meanings. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 194)

278). This study was also not interested to investigate the ways language shapes the actors' interpretations of certain phenomena in diverse contexts. Instead, it attempted to explore the impact of socio-political context and culture on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan.

Moreover, it was important to consider that what data revealed in terms of a journalist's world-view and reality in Pakistan? Data unpacked the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. It revealed different types of constraints, which affected journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression in Karachi. Therefore, this study used the 'contextual thematic analysis' to analyse the influence of cultural and contextual factors on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom.

4.6.2 Process of thematic analysis for this study

A six step process was followed in order to analyse the gathered data thematically. In the first step, I familiarised myself with the transcripts of collected data to achieve a "sense of the whole" data corpus[48]. The second step was of the 'initial coding', in which I read the transcripts of interviews and focus groups discussions data in order to list up the significant statements or interesting features relevant to all research questions of this study. Then, I separated these significant statements or interesting features from the transcripts of interviews and focus groups discussions data so as to code them in the coding manual. I also prepared a list of key words in the coding manual. In the third step, I listed the relevant 'key-themes' and 'sub-themes' by using 'deductive' and 'inductive approaches' respectively. There were three key-themes that emerged from the new institutionalism framework deductively[49], namely: 'conceptual' (understanding), 'practice' (action) and 'environmental' (context) levels of analysis (as shown in Figure 6).

I decided 'key-themes' on the basis of the capacity of key-words to address the significant aspects of the new institutionalism theory in relation to all research questions (see also Chapter 3, section 3.4). Within the new institutionalism framework of this study,

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[48] Data corpus refers to the entire collected data for this research project. This includes transcripts of 40 semi-structured interviews, two focus groups discussions (male and female groups), relevant documents and observatory notes.

[49] In a deductive approach themes emerge from the theory; whereas, in an inductive approach themes emerge from the collected data (Boyatzis, 1998).

these key-themes aimed to scope the "cultural or context - specific influences"[50] on the journalists' understandings and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Thus, in this study, 'culture' was considered as the national culture and 'sub-cultures' were viewed as the 'ethnic sub-cultures' of Pakistan. Furthermore, I also used the 'inductive thematic analysis' to analyse the various sub-themes emerged from the collected data of this study. Figure 6, below, illustrates the thematic analysis of this study.

Figure 6: The thematic analysis of this study

Key-themes (Deductive)	•Sub-themes (Inductive)
Conceptual (understanding) level	• The journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan (RQ1) • The journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan (RQ3)
Practice (action) level	• The journalists' practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan (RQ2)
Environmental (context) level	• Constraints that affect journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan (RQ4)

In the fourth and fifth steps, I 'identified' and 'defined' the emerged sub-themes respectively by using the semantic and the latent approaches (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2008). In the 'semantic approach', the common key-words in the journalists' responses (data set)[51] to each research question indicated the main features of sub-themes. In the 'latent approach', data extracts[52] reflected the underlying ideas that were useful to identify and define sub-themes at conceptual, practice and environmental levels.

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[50] Sociological institutionalism suggests that routines, procedures and forms used by organisations should be seen as the "cultural and context specific practices" (Hall and Taylor, 1996, p. 946).

[51] Data set "refers to all data from the entire corpus that is being used for a particular analysis". Data set in this study were chosen according to their relevance to the research questions of this study (Braun and Clarke, 2008, pp. 77-101).

[52] Data extract "refers to an individual coded chunk, which has been extracted from an individual data item". This includes quotations in order to provide sufficient evidence to support the findings and analysis in any study (Braun and Clarke, 2008, pp. 77-101).

It must be mentioned that the identification of sub-themes in the latent approach resonates with the constructivism paradigm and some method of analysis (such as discourse analysis). However, "not every latent level thematic analysis is constructionist" (Braun, 2008, p. 85). Finally, I used the identified sub-themes to provide a thick description of each research question, and supported it by the original statements of journalists, who participated in this study. Table 12, below, explains the process of thematic analysis used in this study.

Table 12: The process of thematic analysis used this study

Steps	Process
1: Establishing familiarity with the whole data corpus of this study	Establish familiarity with the transcripts of collected data to achieve the 'sense of the whole' data corpus of this study (interviews' and focus groups discussions' transcripts).
2: Initial coding of the significant statements and interesting features in the journalists' responses to all research questions	• Read the transcripts of collected data. • Focus on the 'significant statements or interesting features' directly relevant to the research problem of this study. • Separate the 'significant statements or interesting features' from the transcripts of interviews and focus groups discussions data. • Now code the 'significant statements or interesting features' in the coding manual. • List KWIC (the key-words in context).
3: Searching for themes	Re-read the transcripts of collected data to look for relevant sub-themes.
4: Identifying themes	• Check, if key-words indicate any relevance with the emerging sub-themes in journalists' responses to all research questions. • Generate an initial thematic map.
5: Defining and naming themes	• Use the semantic and the latent approaches to name and define sub-themes. • Collate sub-themes for each research question separately (with the reference of interviewees' numbers and focus groups participants' alphabets).
6: Analysis	Provide a detailed description and analysis of research problem.

4.7 Validity: Triangulation

The principle of 'triangulation' was used in order to maintain the validity of this study. In social science, the term 'triangulation' refers to the "observation of research problem from at least two different aspects" (Flick, 2000). In this study, data were collected by using four qualitative methods including document review, in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD) and direct observation so as to ensure validity.

4.8 Ethics

The application regarding the ethical clearance of this study was lodged before travelling for data collection in November 2011. In this study, to obtain the University's ethical clearance was a requisite because it involved human interaction. It was important to collect data in accordance to the University's (UQ) ethical guidelines. Therefore, data collection was commenced after receiving the ethical clearance in January 2012. It must be mentioned that this study received the ethical clearance by the 'Behavioural and Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee' of the University of Queensland (UQ). The allocated project number by the committee was **2011001310** (see Appendix II).

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research design of this study. The chapter began with the explanation of 'constructivism paradigm' and described the ways it was used in this study. Two main approaches to constructivism paradigm were used in this study, namely: the social constructivism and the radical constructivism. Drawing on these approaches, this study investigated the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Moreover, this study used an 'ethnographic' research approach to provide a deep insight into the journalists' lived experiences in Pakistan. Therefore, data were gathered by using four 'qualitative methods' including document review, in-depth interview, focus group discussion (FGD) and direct observation. The chapter also described the process of thematic analysis used in this study. Thus, this thesis onwards, presents the findings and discussions of all research questions, before presenting the conclusion of this study (see Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9)

Chapter 5

Freedom of expression and press freedom: Journalists' understandings and practices in Pakistan

5.1 Introduction

Literature reviewed in Chapter 3 highlighted the multifarious understandings of journalism; freedom of expression and press freedom in the 21st Century (see sub-sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). This chapter explores the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Karachi. It investigates whether journalists of different ethnicities, religious sects (Sunni and Shia) and genders have a shared understanding and practice of these two concepts. Consequently, this chapter offers insights into press freedom in pluralistic societies like Pakistan by describing the ways journalists understand and practice freedom of expression and press freedom within Karachi. The chapter seeks to identify possible gaps between the journalists' understandings and practices of these two concepts by presenting the findings and discussions of the first two research questions of this study, namely:

1. What meanings do Pakistani journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom? (RQ1)

2. How do Pakistani journalists describe their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom? (RQ2)

To investigate these research questions, data were mainly collected through the qualitative methods of in-depth interview and focus group discussion. Direct observation was used as a supplementary data collection method for the research question two of this study. These data were analysed thematically using two 'deductive key-themes', namely: the conceptual (understanding) level and the practice (action) level. These two deductive key-themes were derived from the new institutionalism framework of this study. Each key-theme was classified into sub-themes, developed by identifying the common key-words (semantic approach) and underlying ideas (latent approach) according to how frequently terms emerged in the journalists' responses of both research questions (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2008).

The 'conceptual level' theme was categorised according to the meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. Journalists of different ethnicities, religious sects (Sunni and Shia) and genders participated in this study. The meanings attributed to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists were categorised into nine inductive sub-themes, emerged from interviews and focus groups discussions data. These sub-themes were (ranked in the order of prevalence): (i) freedom with responsibility, (ii) freedom of expression without any fear or pressure, (iii) press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction (iv) discovery of truth, (v) freedom of information, (vi) freedom to report, (vii) professionalism, (viii) freedom to criticise and (ix) freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare.

At a 'practice level', data were classified according to the ways journalists described their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. Again, data gathered through in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were analysed 'inductively' to identify any shared practice amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. Their inductively generated responses were categorised into six sub-themes to identify the key factors, which shaped journalists' ability to practice freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. These factors were (ranked in the order of prevalence): (i) organisational influence, (ii) journalists' safety, (iii) social influence, (iv) pressure groups' influence, (v) economic influence and (v) political influence.

5.2 Journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan (Conceptual level – RQ1)

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Pakistan's society is highly pluralistic and polarised in nature; and therefore, the country is prone to recurring ethnic clashes and sectarian violence. Despite this fact, Pakistan is facing some other challenges such as religious extremism, volatile political situation, a lack of rule of law and declining economy (see Chapter 2). More recently, safety threats have emerged as one of the biggest challenges for the Pakistani citizens because of terrorists' attacks countrywide. Consequently, Pakistan is recognised as one of the most "deadliest places" for working journalists in the world (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). Given the contextual complexity of practicing journalism in countries like Pakistan, question arises about how do journalists working in such

challenging environments conceptualise freedom of expression and the notion of press freedom. This following section offers insights into this issue by addressing the meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. Thus, the following section reveals whether a shared understanding of these two concepts exists amongst them.

5.2.1 Findings: Meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom

Unlike Nordenstreng (1999), participants in this study did not draw a line between the rights of press freedom and freedom of 'individual expression'. The data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions revealed that journalists did not distinguish between these two rights. Almost half of them (i-e 26 out of 51) described the rights of freedom of expression and press freedom together, whereby a few journalists (i-e 3 out of 51) explicitly stated that these two rights are same. For instance, interviewee number 16 stated that "freedom of expression and press freedom are the same things."

Overall, however, data revealed that freedom of expression and press freedom were seen as different things by different journalists (see Figure 7; Appendix III). For example, 21 out of 51 journalists saw freedom of expression and press freedom to mean 'freedom with responsibility'; 19 described these concepts as 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' and 15 saw it as 'press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction'. Less frequent responses included 'discovery of truth' (12), 'freedom of information' (9), 'freedom to report' (9), 'professionalism' (9), 'freedom to criticise' (5), and 'freedom to highlight the issues of public interests or welfare' (3).

Data revealed that journalists described freedom of expression and press freedom at a personal level, reflecting their experiences and working context[53]. However, there was some connection between the Pakistani journalists' understandings and the previous conceptions of press freedom as canvassed in the literature review (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2). For example, journalists defined freedom of expression and press freedom in terms of: 'freedom with responsibility' (see Hocking, 1947; the Hutchins Commission Report on Freedom of the Press, 1947; Alexander, 2000), 'discovery of truth' (see Stein, 1966), a 'journalist's ability to criticise' (see Lowenstein, 1970), 'accessibility of

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[53] Context here refers to religious, social, political, legal, economic and organisational environments in which journalists work in Pakistan.

information' (see McQuail, 1987, 2005) and 'freedom in the public interest' (see McQuail, 2005). Interestingly, unlike some past studies, journalists did not define freedom of expression and press freedom in terms of the government-media relationship (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Weaver, 1977, 1985).

It was found that journalists viewed the 'freedom from' environmental constraints as an important aspect of press freedom. For example, the sub-themes of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' and 'press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction' dominantly indicated the journalists' emphasis on the freedom from constraints. Whilst the sub-themes of 'discovery of truth', 'freedom of information', 'freedom to report', 'freedom to criticise' and 'freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare' suggested the necessity of freedom for journalists and the public (see Appendix III).

These findings were not surprising because a number of studies canvassed in Chapter 3 emphasised the importance of 'freedom for' journalists and the public, suggesting the link between press freedom and the roles of journalism or journalists in any society. Numerous other past studies of press freedom emphasised the 'freedom from' environmental constraints or factors, which shape and determine press freedom and freedom of expression in any society (see sub-section 3.2.2).

There was no obvious or apparent influence of the journalists' ethnicities, religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders on their understandings. For example, 21 out of 51 journalists described freedom of expression and press freedom as 'freedom with responsibility; whereas 19 out of 51 journalists described these two concepts as 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure'. These most prevalent sub-themes were comprised of journalists from different ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtu, Baluchi and Urdu-speaking), genders (male and female) and religious sects (Shia and Sunni). Other three sub-themes also consisted of journalists from various ethnicities, religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders. These sub-themes were: 'press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction', 'discovery of truth' and 'freedom of information'.

'Context' (religious, social, political, legal, economic and organisational environments) was found as the most dominant influence in shaping the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. For example, 21

out of 51 journalists defined freedom of expression and press freedom as 'freedom with responsibility' - whereby the core Islamic values of not causing harm to anyone (11), respecting the national interest (3), not inciting violence or hatred (2), respecting other rights (1) needed to be upheld. Noticeably, 11 out of 17 interviewees, including five senior managers and editorial staffs of the television news channels, saw doing no harm as being the most important responsibility that could curtail freedom of expression (see Figure 7, sub-theme 1). A further two journalists stated not inciting violence was important.

The notion of 'freedom with responsibility' is prominent in Islamic values and Pakistan's religious tenets (see the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights, 1981, Article 12; Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, 1990, Article 22; Pakistan Panel Code, 1860, Article 295). However, the notion of 'freedom with responsibility' is widely acknowledged by the Western academics (see Hocking, 1947; Alexander, 2000) and human rights instruments (see the United Nations' Declaration of Human Right, 1948, Article 19; European Convention on Human Rights, 1953, Article 10.b; the WSIS's Declaration of Principles, 2003), suggesting some commonality in understanding of freedom of expression and press freedom across different cultures and media environments.

Within the concept of 'freedom with responsibility' there were marked differences in the perspective of to whom journalists are responsible? A number of journalists viewed responsibility in terms of not causing harm to others (i-e 12 out of 21 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme). A few journalists (i-e 2 out of 21 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme) saw not inciting hatred and violence as important while talking about the sub-theme of 'freedom with responsibility'. This indicated that journalists emphasised the responsible use of 'freedom for' journalists and the public.

Journalists from the state-owned television saw the "respect for national interest" as one of their main responsibilities. For example, interviewee number 36 stated that "press freedom and freedom of expression mean to respect the national interest while broadcasting any news. It should be seen whether the news affect the national interest or not?"

Individually, in their one-on-one interviews, a majority of journalists described the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom as 'freedom with responsibility'. When journalists came together in the focus groups discussions, the sub-theme of 'freedom with responsibility' was less frequently used to describe these concepts. In the collective

setting of both focus groups discussions, the sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' was emphasised (see Figure 7, sub-theme 2). Therefore, 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' was the second most common sub-theme. For instance, 19 out of 51 journalists described freedom of expression and press freedom in terms of being free from 'fear' and 'pressure'. This sub-theme was particularly emphasised by journalists from the television news channels, with 10 out of 19 journalists, who defined in this sub-theme, were from the television news channels. Journalists revealed that fear or pressure might emerge from many factors ranging from organisational policy, ratings, political and religious parties. For example:

> Press freedom and freedom of expression mean that whatever idea or concept is in my mind, I work on it without any fear. No matter, it is the fear or pressure of the television news channel's rating, my organisation and any political party. I work with full freedom and without threats of my murder or kidnapping. (Interviewee number 5)

Interestingly, the sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' was emphasised less by the individual interviewees than the participants of male and female focus groups discussions. For example, all participants in the male focus group discussion and three out of six participants in the female focus group discussion saw the factor of being free from fear or pressure as important or essential to the exercise of freedom of expression and press freedom (see Figure 7, sub-theme 2).

In addition to emphasising the freedom from fear and pressure, the television journalists viewed 'professionalism' and journalism ethics[54] as necessary components of freedom of expression and press freedom. They highlighted the need to exercise responsibility while using the free speech right. For example, a total nine journalists (out of 51) defined freedom of expression as 'professionalism', with five of those nine journalists, were from the television news channels. This might be seen as the influence of organisational environment on journalists' understandings, particularly when journalists working in the television news channels confront more pressures and issues related to professionalism than those from Pakistan's print media (see Siraj, 2009; International Media Support, 2009). For example, the participant E of female focus group discussion said that "I

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[54] Journalism ethics refers to the journalists' practice of certain professional values, namely: objectivity, decency, autonomy and impartiality (see Deuze, 2005).

do not think that ethics are being practiced in the Pakistani media, especially in television news channels."

The majority of journalists, who were doing the jobs of news production and full-time reporting in the beats of politics and national affairs, defined the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom as: 'freedom with responsibility' (i-e 18 out of 21 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme); 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' (i-e 15 out of 19 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme); 'freedom of information' (i-e nine out of nine journalists, who responded in this sub-theme); 'discovery of truth' (i-e 12 out of 12 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme) and 'freedom to report' (i-e nine out of nine journalists, who responded in this sub-theme).

Largely, the data of research question one, suggested the possible link between journalists' understandings and their context (especially organisational and religious environments). In this perspective, interviewee number 27 stated:

Like all freedoms, press freedom should be exercised with responsibility especially in Pakistan, where people are sensitive about religious and cultural issues. Media organisations also have different affiliations and ideological[55] orientations, which affect their perceptions of freedom of expression and journalists' work. While journalists do have their personal perceptions of freedom in Pakistan, they generally do not work against organisational policy.

The above-mentioned statement of interviewee number 27 indicated a gap between the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom. Hence, the section 5.3 of this chapter identifies the journalists' ability to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom, thereby to underline the gap between their understanding and practice of these two rights in detail (see sub-sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2).

Furthermore, the majority of male interviewees and the participants of male focus group discussion said that there should be certain restrictions on freedom of expression and press freedom, either in the form of media laws or self-regulation. Three out of six

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[55] Ideology here refers to "a system of beliefs or characteristic of a particular group, including – but not limited to the general process of the production of meanings and ideas within that group" (see Berkowitz, 2011, p. 19). This study has adopted Deuze's (2005) description of ideology in the peculiar context of journalism because it focuses on the peculiarity of a group, their ideas and characteristics that affect their agency (action or practice).

participants in the female focus group discussion did not see 'self-regulation' as a restriction; instead they viewed it as a working code of conduct (self-regulation) to guide their work. For instance, the participant C of female focus group discussion stated that "there should be self-regulation, which is not a restriction in my opinion." Whereas, the other three participants of female focus group discussion emphasised restrictions on freedom of expression through the promulgation of media laws (see Figure 7, sub-theme 3). For instance, the participant A of female focus group discussion said that "there should be media laws explaining what should be on-aired and what can benefit or harm the society?"

Moreover, the **most prevalent**[56] sub-themes in the data of in-depth interviews (ranked in the order of prevalence) were: (i) freedom with responsibility, (ii) freedom of expression without any fear or pressure, (iii) press freedom and freedom of expression without any restrictions, (iv) discovery of truth, (v) freedom of information, (vi) freedom to report and (vii) professionalism. The sub-themes of 'freedom to criticise' and 'freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare' were the **least prevalent** sub-themes in the data of in-depth interviews.

The male focus group discussion data revealed the sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' as the **most prevalent** one. The female's focus group discussion placed 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure', 'press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction' and 'freedom to report' as the three most common sub-themes (see Figure 7). Thus, the data of in-depth interviews strongly validated the data of both focus groups discussions in the sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure'.

It must be mentioned that both focus groups discussions were comprised of journalists, who were doing the job of reporting in beats, namely: politics, crime, business and social issues. Despite the nature of their job, not any participant in both focus groups discussions viewed the sub-themes of 'freedom of information' and 'freedom to criticise' as important while defining the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom. Hence, these sub-themes emerged as the **least prevalent** ones in the data set of both focus groups discussions. Figure 7, below, illustrates the findings of research question one (RQ1).

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[56] The **prevalence** (P) of sub-themes was decided on the basis of the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme (out of 51 journalists, who participated in this study).

Figure 7: Interviews and focus groups discussions findings of research question one (RQ1)

	Conceptual level: Sub-themes (RQ1)	In-depth interview Number of journalists	Male focus group Number of journalists	Female focus group Number of journalists
Sub-theme 1 (P=21)	Freedom with responsibility	17 out of 40	2 out of 5	2 out of 6
Sub-theme 2 (P=19)	Freedom of expression without any fear or pressure	11 out of 40	5 out of 5	3 out of 6
Sub-theme 3 (P=15)	Press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction	11 out of 40	1 out of 5	3 out of 6
Sub-theme 4 (P=12)	Discovery of truth	11 out of 40	0 out of 5	1 out of 6
Sub-theme 5 (P=9)	Freedom of information	9 out of 40	0 out of 5	0 out of 6
Sub-theme 6 (P=9)	Freedom to report	4 out of 40	2 out of 5	3 out of 6
Sub-theme 7(P=9)	Professionalism	7 out of 40	0 out of 5	2 out of 6
Sub-theme 8 (P=4)	Freedom to criticise	4 out of 40	0 out of 5	0 out of 6
Sub-theme 9 (P=3)	Freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare	1 out of 40	2 out of 5	0 out of 6

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

In terms of validity, interviews and focus groups discussions data were not consistent. For example, individual interviewees' responses in the sub-themes of 'freedom of information' and 'freedom to criticise' did not validate the data of both focus groups discussions. Not any participant in both focus groups discussed about these sub-themes (see Figure 7, sub-themes 5 and 8). The data of in-depth interviews moderately validated the data of female focus group discussion in the sub-themes of 'press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction', 'discovery of truth', 'professionalism' and 'freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare'.

Considerably, the data of in-depth interviews strongly validated the data of both focus groups discussions in three sub-themes, that is: 'freedom with responsibility', 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' and 'freedom to report'. However,

there was subtle difference in the level of emphasis given to these sub-themes by the individual interviewees and focus groups participants (see Figure 7, sub-themes 1, 2 and 6).

By and large, data suggested that journalists recognised three key aspects while defining freedom of expression and press freedom, namely: (i) responsibility, (ii) freedom from fear and pressure and (iii) freedom for themselves and the public (see the description of sub-themes in Appendix III).

5.2.2 Discussion

Pakistan's socio-political structure is prominently featured by Islamic values and competitive authoritarian system. Journalists work in a polarised society and a customised democratic environment - where notwithstanding the constitutional guarantee, freedom of expression and press freedom are often attacked (see Chapter 2). Given the contextual complexity of Pakistan, debate about the meanings of freedom of expression and press freedom becomes imperative. Thus, this section discusses the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom within Karachi and Pakistan more broadly.

Literature reviewed in Chapter 3 suggested that most of the previous studies into the conceptualisations of press freedom emphasised the environmental constraints or factors, suggesting the importance of 'freedom from constraints' in relation to press freedom. These prior inquiries of press freedom focused on the institutional approach to journalism, and thereby emphasised the influence of environment on journalists' agency and the press more broadly (see sub-section 3.3.2). Data revealed that 'context' (environment) was the most dominant influence in shaping the journalists' understandings of press freedom and freedom of expression in Pakistan. For example, the two most common sub-theme describing press freedom and freedom of expression were: 'freedom with responsibility' and 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' (see Figure 7, sub-themes 1 and 2).

As aforementioned, a number of journalists emphasised the sub-theme of 'freedom with responsibility'. The dominance of this sub-theme might be linked to Pakistan's Islamic context. Journalists also viewed the sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' as important while describing the notions of freedom of expression and press freedom. Particularly, journalists from the television news channels emphasised the 'freedom from' fear and pressure of organisational policy, ratings, political and religious

parties (see sub-section 5.2.1). This indicated the influence of Pakistan's context on the journalists' understandings, suggesting that their understandings were largely informed by the institutional perspective of journalism (see Chapter 3, sub-sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

While the sub-theme of 'freedom with responsibility' might be related to Pakistan's Islamic context, this sub-theme reinforces the notion of social responsibility that resonates with Islamic and Western values both. Islam associates the right of freedom of expression with certain responsibilities in order to avoid harm to other individual rights, incitement of violence or hatred and offence to any community or individual (see Kamali, 1997). The Western theory of 'social responsibility' as articulated in the Hutchins Commission Report on the Freedom of Press (1947) described the freedom of press in relation to moral duties (responsibilities) and accountability whereby:

> Freedom of speech and freedom of the press were moral rights that carried with them accepted moral duties.................Freedom of press for the coming period can only continue as an accountable freedom. Its moral rights will be conditioned on its acceptance of this accountability. (The Hutchins Commission Report, 1947 cited in Gunaratne, 2002, p. 346)[57]

McQuail (2005) identified four different sorts of responsibilities for which journalists are legally, morally and socially accountable. Based on the social responsibility perspective, these responsibilities include: "assigned", "contracted", "self-assigned" and "denied responsibilities"[58]. The Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study, emphasised the moral and social responsibilities while defining freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, interviewee number 2 stated that "press freedom is very essential for any civilised society, but the practice of responsibility is necessary along with this right. If I am free, this freedom is associated with certain responsibilities."

When defining freedom of expression and press freedom, interviewee number 16 particularly emphasised the social responsibilities and said that "freedom of expression means that one expresses whatever he or she likes, as long as, the expression does not hurt

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[57] See also Harper and Yantek, 2003, p. 137.

[58] "Assigned responsibilities include many matters covered by the law and regulation, against which media have no legitimate grounds for appeal. Contracted obligations arise because of some implied covenant between the press and the society maintained by convention and mutual agreement. Self-imposed obligation mainly refers to the voluntary professional commitments to observe certain ethical standards and to serve the public interest. To deny responsibility may be an essential expression of freedom as easily as an evasion of duty." (McQuail, 2005, p. 92)

anyone or incite hatred and violence." Likewise, interviewee number 25 stated that "press freedom means that one respects other individual rights."

It must be mentioned that 12 out of 21 journalists, who described press freedom and freedom of expression as 'freedom with responsibility', accentuated some moral and social consequences, precisely: incitement to violence, provocation of hatred and harm to other individual rights (such as privacy and reputation). Noticeably, the aforementioned interviewees' statements resonate strongly with the Article 12, sub-sections (a) and (e) of the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1981) which states:

> a) Every person has the right to express his thoughts and beliefs so long as he remains within the limits prescribed by the Law. No one, however, is entitled to disseminate falsehood or to circulate reports which may outrage public decency, or to indulge in slander, innuendo or to cast defamatory aspersions on other persons. e) No one shall hold in contempt or ridicule the religious beliefs of others or incite public hostility against them; respect for the religious feelings of others is obligatory on all Muslims.[59]

While the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1981) recognises the importance of freedom of expression, it imposes some permissible limitations or responsibilities while exercising this right. Likewise, Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (1990) suggests:

> (a) Everyone shall have the right to express his opinion freely in such manner as would not be contrary to the principles of Shari'ah. (b) It is not permitted to excite the nationalistic or doctrinal hatred or to do anything that may be an incitement to any form or racial discrimination. (Article 22)

Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (1990) highlights that Islam associates the right of freedom of expression with the principles of Shari'ah. Thus, a question arises as to whether freedom of expression in Pakistan is qualified by the Shari'ah principles, which "refers to the totality of the Islamic Law pertaining to the faith and conduct of every Muslim where God and His injunction reign supreme. There is nothing that falls outside this corpus of divine law" (Nerawi, 2009, p. 178). Given the diversity of religious sects and schools of thoughts within Pakistan and in other Islamic countries, Shari'ah principles can be

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[59] See the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1981) at http://www.alhewar.com/ISLAMDECL.html

interpreted differently across diverse geographical and cultural settings. The global survey conducted by the 'Pew Research Centre's Forum on Religion and Public Life' (2012) reveals that "Shari'ah has different meanings, definitions and understandings, based on the actual experiences of countries with or without Shari'ah."[60]

The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) takes into account the Shari'ah principles such as in the cases of adultery (Wasti, 2009). However, the Article 19 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) does not oblige the Pakistani citizens or working journalists to follow the Shari'ah principles while exercising their right of freedom of expression. Therefore, the journalists' understandings of 'freedom with responsibility' can be linked with the Islamic values of not causing harm and incitement of violence or hatred rather than the Shari'ah principles.

As noted previously, the notion of 'freedom with responsibility' is not unique to Islamic values or principles. It has been well recognised in most of the Western conventions on human rights (see Chapter 3). Hence, the journalists' understandings of 'freedom with responsibility' can be seen as influenced by Pakistan's Islamic context and Western values both[61]. However, the journalists' responses to research question one and the follow-up questions did not articulate that from where they took inspiration to understand freedom in terms of responsibility. Therefore, this aspect needs to be further investigated.

A few journalists (i-e 2 out of 51) had contradictory views on the notions of 'freedom with responsibility' and 'self-censorship'. For instance, interviewee number 8 said that "responsibility and self-censorship are the two different things. There is a fine line between them, which is important to be understood. It is not necessary that if someone is

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[60] See a worldwide survey report by the 'Pew Research Centre's Forum on Religion and Public Life' at http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-executive-summary/

[61] The Western conventions such as European Court on Human Rights (ECHR) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) associate certain duties and responsibilities while exercising the free speech right.

For example, Article 10, sub-section (2) of ECHR states that "the exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others."

Article 19 (3) of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) suggests that "the exercise of freedom of expression carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such are provided by law and are necessary." (See Article 19 Memorandum (2002) at http://www.article19.org/pdfs/analysis/pakistan.prs.02.pdf)

demonstrating responsibility, he is imposing self-censorship." On the contrary, interviewee number 28 said that "every journalist has a responsibility while exercising his or her right of freedom of expression, which is called as self-censorship."

While the sub-theme of 'freedom with responsibility' appeared as the most common sub-theme in the journalists' responses to research question one, data highlighted the subtle difference of emphasis given to this sub-theme by the individual interviewees and focus groups participants. It was found that journalists in their one-on-one interviews emphasised more on the responsible use of freedom of expression (see Figure 7). Journalists saw the factor of responsibility as less important aspect of press freedom, when they came together collectively in both focus groups discussions. This was surprising because some prior studies of press freedom in Pakistan revealed a lack of responsibility and professionalism in the television news channels (Siraj, 2009; International Media Support, 2009). Therefore, there is a need to bolster the notion of 'freedom with responsibility' amongst journalists at a collective level in order to ensure the practice of responsible journalism in the Pakistani media.

Many other Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study, emphasised the factors of 'fear' and 'pressure' while describing the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, 19 out of 51 journalists defined these two concepts in terms of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' (see Figure 7, sub-theme 2). The majority of journalists, who defined the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom in this sub-theme, were from the television news channels. Interestingly, journalists mentioned that 'fear' or 'pressure' might emerge from many factors, namely: organisational policy, television news channels' ratings, religious groups, political parties and threats to journalists' physical safety. For example, the participant C of female focus group discussion stated that "press freedom means that a journalist can speak or do anything without the fear of his organisational policy." However, one interviewee talked about fear or pressures more explicitly and stated:

> Press freedom and freedom of expression mean that whatever idea or concept is in my mind, I work on it without any fear. No matter, it is the fear or pressure of the television news channel's rating, my organisation and any political party. I work with full freedom and without threats of my murder or kidnapping. (Interviewee number 5)

Data revealed an environment of 'fear' and 'pressure' in Pakistan. For example, the participant I of male focus group discussion said that "no one can say anything because of fear and pressure. This condition prevails in Pakistan's print and electronic media both." Another interviewee while highlighting the fearful environment in Pakistan said:

> Actually, there are several difficulties in Pakistan, such as violence. We cannot do reporting openly. There is an environment of fear here. We work under pressure and we have accepted this environment mentally. Now we are used to of it. (Interviewee number 9)

Noticeably, individual interviewees emphasised the sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' lesser than the participants of male and female focus groups discussions (see Figure 7, sub-theme 2). This suggested that journalists saw the 'freedom from' fear and pressure as a collective problem; and therefore, articulated this issue rigorously during both focus groups discussions (see Chapter 7).

A number of journalists, who participated in this study, linked freedom of expression and press freedom with the 'discovery of truth' (see Figure 7, sub-theme 4). The notion of 'discovery of truth' derives its origin from the marketplace of ideas theory (Stein, 1966; Lane, 1995, pp. 48-50; Baker 1989, p. 8, Goldman, 2004). The theory necessitates the investigation of truth for a free flow of information, diversity of ideas and rational decision making through the freedom of expression (Belsey and Chadwick, 1992, p. 15). Unlike the traditional imperative for the discovery of truth, journalists in Pakistan, associated the reporting of truth and investigative journalism with the severity of consequences that they might confront. Moreover, 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' was suggested as an essential pre-condition for the discovery of truth and investigative journalism by journalists. For instance:

> For me, press freedom is that…………………Can you write truth? Can you write what is real? Without any fear that your expression will affect your organisation, you and your family in any way. This does not mean that you write whatever you want. But, if you cannot write or report the real situation even being aware of it - then there is no press freedom. In Pakistan, people do not talk about reality………………………So, if you can speak the truth without fearing of serious consequences – that is press freedom for me. (Interviewee number 33)[62]

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[62] Dots in this quotation indicate the interviewee's pauses while answering to research question one.

'Freedom of information' was also seen as an essential component of press freedom by some journalists. For instance, nine out of 51 journalists viewed press freedom in terms of the 'accessibility of information' and the 'people's right to know' (see Figure 7, sub-theme 5). For instance:

Press freedom and freedom of expression are basically the people's right to know. Similarly, access to information is again the people's right to know........A citizen must aware of to whom he gives the tax and what is the utility of his given tax? For the process of accountability, this right to know is necessary. (Interviewee number 15)

Findings revealed that journalists who were doing the job of reporting; especially in beats of politics, crime and national affairs defined the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom as: 'freedom with responsibility', 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure', 'discovery of truth', 'freedom of information' and 'freedom to report' (see sub-section 5.2.1). Some journalists, who participated in this study, faced challenges while reporting stories related to politics and crime. This implies that the issues around politics and national affairs cannot be debated or reported freely in Pakistan. For instance:

I have mostly worked in beats of politics and crime. To report on the local political issues - is not without challenges. Particularly, doing an investigative story about military, some political or religious parties and government can cause serious consequences for journalists. (Interviewee number 9)

While 'context' emerged as the most dominant influence in shaping the journalists' understandings in Pakistan, data suggested that their understandings were also informed by the 'value approach' to journalism profession (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.1). A number of journalists defined press freedom and freedom of expression in terms of 'professionalism', with a majority of them was from the television news channels (see Figure 7, sub-theme 7). Particularly, journalists linked the concepts of press freedom and freedom of expression with the aspect of journalism ethics (see Appendix III). For example, the participant E of female focus group discussion said that "freedom of expression means that one speaks with objectivity and ethics. I do not think that ethics are being practiced in the Pakistani media, especially in television news channels."

The practice of professional responsibility and ethics is often viewed as undermined by the commercial interests of media owners, raising scepticism about the abuse of free

speech right in journalism (Schultz, 1998; McChesney, 1999, 2004; Picard, 2004, pp. 55-56). Therefore, the journalists' practice of ethics is one of the effective ways to ensure the professional responsibility (see Bardoel, 2007)[63]. A few journalists highlighted the issue of professionalism in television news channels, despite the existence of codes of ethics devised by the local journalists' unions in Pakistan[64]. For example:

> To be very honest, professionalism is a big problem here. If you know the theory, to implement on it............in this environment........is a big challenge.............We do have a Press Council and codes of conducts developed by some journalists' unions, but again it is the point of implementation, which is problematic. (Interviewee number 3)[65]

Previously, a number of media scholars linked the notions of professional responsibility and accountability (Hodge, 1986; Bertrand, 2000; McQuail, 2005; Terzis, 2007, pp. 444-45). In the mechanism of responsibility and accountability, it is important to decide "to whom journalists are answerable?" Christians et al. (1998) identified five stakeholders to whom journalists are responsible to answer, namely: journalists themselves, the public (audience or readers), their organisation, (newspapers and broadcasting organisations), their professional colleagues and the society. Among all of these stake holders, two are the most important to whom journalists are accountable: the public and the society. Findings revealed that a very few journalists emphasised the aspect of 'public interest' while defining the concepts of press freedom and freedom of expression (see Figure 7, sub-theme 9). For example, one participant of the male focus group discussion stated:

> Press freedom and freedom of expression mean that you talk freely on the issues of public interest. However, we should take care of certain boundaries in relation to press freedom. We should not hurt sentiments or interests of any ethnic or religious group directly, just for the sake of public interest. (Participant I, male focus group discussion)

Literature reviewed in Chapter 3 suggested that some previous studies of press freedom considered the journalists' abilities to criticise and to highlight the issues of public

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[63] Bardoel (2007) identified four ways of accountability: market, political, professional and public accountability.

[64] See code of ethics devised by the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors (CPNE) at http://mediacommissionreview.org/code-ethics-council-pakistan-newspaper-editors-cpne/ and code of conduct devised by Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) at http://pfuj.pk/code-2/

[65] Dots in this quotation indicate the interviewee's pauses while talking about the issue of professionalism in the Pakistani media.

interest as an essential constituent of press freedom (see Lowenstein, 1970; McQuail, 2005). However, only a few journalists talked about the sub-themes of 'freedom to criticise' and 'freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare' (see Figure 7, sub-themes 8 and 9). This is surprising due to the detrimental actions of Pakistan's army and democratic governments against certain journalists, who have been critical of the state's institutions.

Findings revealed that journalists had a difference of opinion, when talking about the restrictions on freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, a number of journalists emphasised the sub-theme of 'press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction', suggesting their support for the notion of 'absolute freedom' (see Lowenstein, 1970; the United States' First Amendment, 1791[66]; see Figure 7, sub-theme 3). The majority of journalists emphasised the need for 'positive restrictions'[67] on freedom of expression and press freedom (either in the form of media laws or self-regulation). Not any journalist, who participated in this study, supported for 'negative restrictions' on freedom of expression such as censorship and any other suppressive action by the government or media organisations.

Finally, data analysis suggested that journalists gave meanings to freedom of expression and press freedom across the same sub-themes; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects and genders. The factors of cultural diversity (ethnic pluralism), sectarian polarity and gender disparity did not indicate any relation with the journalists' understandings of these two concepts. Data revealed that 'context' played a crucial role in shaping the various understandings of journalists in Pakistan.

The varied understandings of journalists were due to four 'contextual' aspects: (i) different ideological orientations of journalists and media organisations (ii) the various affiliations of media organisations, (iii) the varying levels of freedom and social influence in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media and (iv) the various schools of thoughts to define the nature of restrictions on freedom of expression and press freedom. As a corollary, there was no 'shared' or 'institutionalised' understanding of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. For

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[66] See the US's Congress Bill of Rights at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/bill_of_rights_transcript.html

[67] 'Positive restriction' on freedom of expression means to limit the free speech right - where it causes: violence or hatred, harm to other individual rights (of privacy and reputation) and harm to any community or particular group.

example, interviewee number 37 stated that "there is no consensus at all because everyone defines freedom of expression differently. Every television channel has its own definition."

Data analysis highlighted the division of journalists into left and right **ideological[68] orientations** in Karachi. The left wing refers to the liberal mind journalists; whereas, the right wing refers to the religious or nationalist journalists. The dichotomy of these orientations prevails at three levels in the Pakistani media, precisely: the individual journalist level, the organisational level and the journalist union level. For instance, interviewee number 5 stated that "there are different schools of thoughts and every media organisation has its own definition of freedom of expression and press freedom. And within media organisations, there are right and left wings among journalists." Similarly, interviewee number 19 talked about the affiliations of media organisations and stated:

Not only with freedom of expression, there is a difference of opinion on every issue. The local journalists' unions are divided in different groups and media organisations have different affiliations. Thus, there is no one collective meaning of press freedom and freedom of expression in Pakistan.

This study revealed leftists and rightist media organisations across both Urdu and English languages media in Pakistan. For example, interviewee number 3 stated that "there are political and religious affiliations in media organisations." This study also found the varying **levels of freedom** and **social influence** in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media. According to one interviewee:

Freedom varies according to medium here. Journalists from the Urdu-language media do not have substantial freedom than those from the English-language media. The basic reason behind this is that the 95 per cent of Urdu-language newspapers and television news channels are read and watched by the Pakistani population. The English-language media has a very small readership or viewership. Perhaps, that is why, the English-language media has more freedom. (Interviewee number 17)

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[68] Ideology here refers to "a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular group, including – but not limited to the general process of the production of meanings and ideas within that group" (see Berkowitz, 201, p. 19). This study used Deuze's (2005) description of 'ideology' in the peculiar context of 'journalism as a profession' because it focuses on the peculiarity of a group, their ideas and characteristics which affect their agency (action or practice).

Interestingly, journalists also had **various schools of thoughts** to define the nature of restriction on freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Data revealed two prominent schools of thoughts in this regard. Firstly, journalists from the 'liberal school of thought' suggested no restriction on freedom of expression and press freedom. Therefore, 15 out of 51 journalists advocated for the 'absolute freedom'. Secondly, the 'Islamic or social responsibility school of thought' advocates for the positive restrictions and self-regulation so as to avoid incitement of violence or hatred, harm or offence to anyone. The majority of journalists, who participated in this study, supported for the second school of thought (see Figure 7, sub-theme 3).

The new institutionalism in organisational theory posits that journalism as an institution is comprised of "shared concepts and values" (see Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010: 76). Therefore, the institutionalisation of journalism is rooted in the "commonality" of actors' concepts and values (see Zucker, 1977, p. 728; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). Nevertheless, data suggested that journalists gave a variety of meanings to freedom of expression and press freedom because of different contextual influences, negating the news institutionalism's homogeneity hypothesis at the conceptual level. In this regard, one interviewee highlighted some imperative questions and said:

> Journalists do not have consensus on the meanings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Media organisations do not have clear policies and perceptions of freedom. I do not see journalism as a developed institution in Pakistan. Journalism can be seen as institutionalised around the journalists' common work routines and roles. But what is freedom of expression? What are the boundaries of free speech right? What should be the policies of media organisations to ensure the responsible use of freedom of expression? Unfortunately, there is no clear answer since there is no consensus on these issues! (Interviewee number 14)

Thus, there was no 'institutionalised' or 'shared' understanding of these two concepts amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. As a result, 'freedom' can be seen as a contested value in the local journalism institution, suggesting an uncertainty about the institutional legitimacy of journalism in Pakistan.

5.3 Journalists' practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan (Practice level – RQ2)

Reports by international organisations highlight that volatile political situation, ethnic dispute, sectarian violence, safety risks and pressure groups constantly affect the work of journalists in Pakistan (International Media Support, 2009; Freedom House, 2011; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012, 2013). Considering these challenges, this section identifies the ways journalists described their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom and unpacks whether a shared practice of these two concepts exists amongst them.

5.3.1 Findings

Data revealed that there was no 'shared' practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. Therefore, the journalists' responses to research question two could be categorised into three groups. The first group comprised of 10 journalists and represented those who 'could practice' their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom while at work. Journalists in this group were less prone to pressures and threats because they were working in beats such as health, education and current affairs.

The second group consisted of other 13 journalists, who did not respond to the research question two of this study. The third group included journalists, who described different abilities to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, 28 out of 51 journalists were from this group and constituted the majority. Journalists in the third group used words such as "try to", "depend", "have to compromise", "practice can cause problems" and "cannot practice" in order to describe their inability to practice personal understandings. For example, many journalists emphasised the sub-theme of 'organisational influence' to describe their inability to practice personal understandings (i-e 19 out of 51 journalists). Therefore, the sub-theme of 'organisational influence' appeared as the first most common sub-theme in the data set of research question two (see Figure 8).

Particularly, the television journalists, who were doing the jobs of reporting and news productions talked about the ways they faced their organisational influence. They suggested that their organisations intervened in routine work by imposing policies and pressures to

attain business and vested interests. Journalists also highlighted that organisational affiliations with political parties and religious groups restrained them from practicing their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

Noticeably, individual interviewees did not talk much about the sub-theme of 'organisational influence'. However, almost all participants in both focus groups discussions highlighted this sub-theme as a major problem to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom (see Figure 8, sub-theme1). Organisational constraints were articulated more explicitly at the collective focus group level, indicating the journalists' mutual urge to improve their level of empowerment at least within the organisation. Table 13, below, explains the journalists' described abilities to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan.

Table 13: The journalists' described abilities to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Karachi (Pakistan)

Groups	Number of journalists	Described abilities	Affect on personal understanding	Rationale
1	10	Do practice	No compulsions (constraints)	Did not confront direct pressure and threats while at work
2	13	No response	No response	No response
3	28	• Try to • It depends • Have to compromise • Practice can cause problems • Cannot practice	Confronted: • Limitations • Practical hindrances • Problems • Compulsion	Due to: • Organisational influence • Journalists' safety • Social influence • Political influence • Pressure groups' influence • Economic influence
	Total: 51			

'Journalists' safety' was another influence mentioned by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. For instance, six out of 51 journalists highlighted different safety risks, which restrained them from exercising their personal understandings. Hence, 'journalists' safety' appeared as the second most common sub-theme in the journalists' responses to research question two. Data revealed that the most pressing concern raised by the interviewed journalists was regarding their physical safety. It was found that journalists had to employ self-censorship in order to avoid consequences such as life threats, kidnapping, attacks and even murder. However, only one participant in the male focus group discussion talked about some safety threats, which he faced while at work. This was

surprising because all participants in the male focus group were doing the job of reporting; especially in the risky beats of crime, politics, business and social affairs. Whereas, participants in the female focus group discussion did not express concerns about their safety because they were mainly assigned to report social and health topics, which did not involve risks (see Figure 8, sub-theme 2).

In addition to their safety concerns, a few journalists mentioned the substantial influence of 'pressure groups'. For example, four out of 51 journalists talked about different pressure groups in Pakistan. Journalists highlighted the existence of different types of pressure groups in the country, namely: religious organisations, ethnic groups, business groups, land grabbers and mafia, advertising agencies, cable operators, feudal and tribal lords, government officials, non-governmental organisations and media owners.
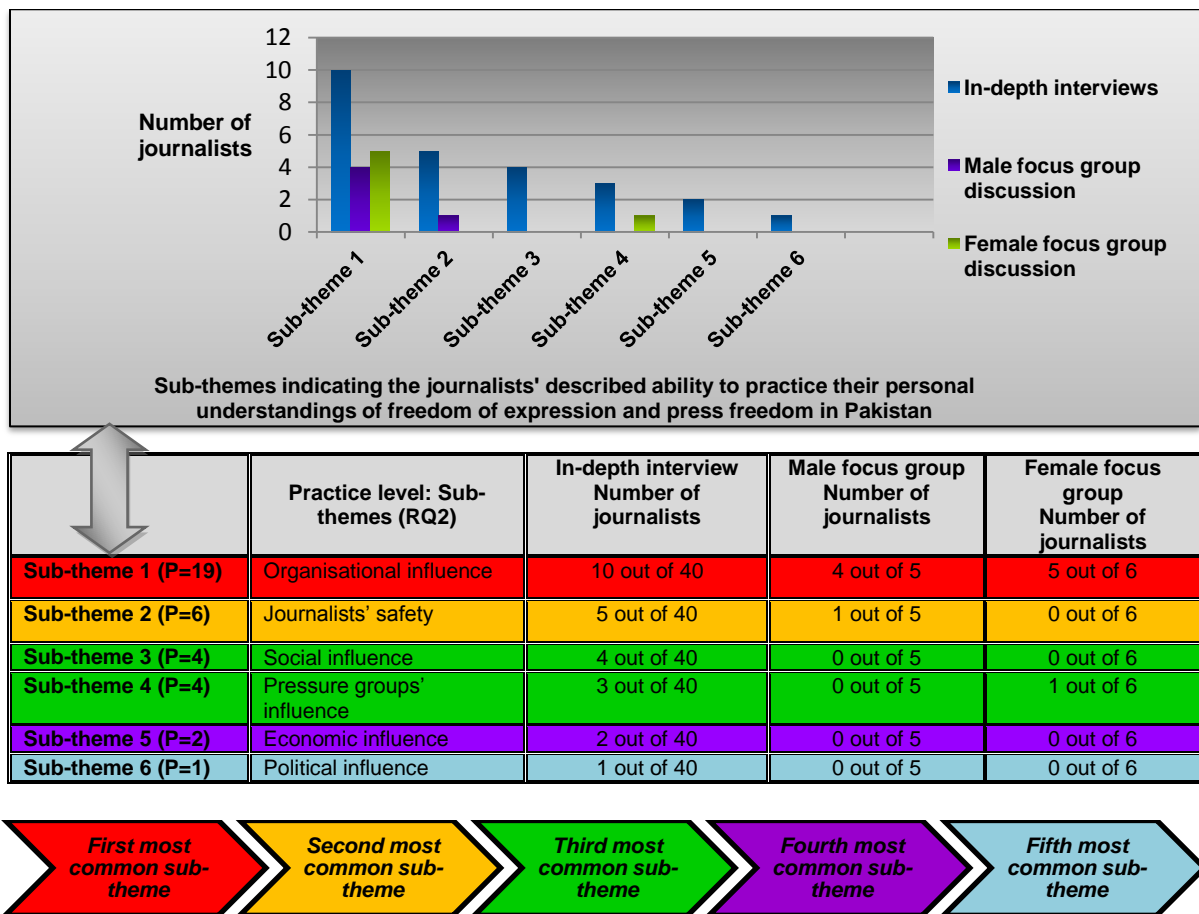
Moreover, four out of 51 journalists suggested that they faced 'social influence' while at work mainly in the forms of religious and cultural values. Journalists were unable to express their views on certain issues such as blasphemy, homosexuals, trans-genders and honour killing. Noticeably, not any participant in the male focus group emphasised the sub-themes of 'social influence' and 'pressure groups' influence'. While one participant in the female group discussion highlighted the prevalence of pressure groups in Pakistan, none of them saw the sub-theme of 'social influence' as important to describe their ability to practice personal understandings. This is interesting; especially when the issues of gender disparity and violence against women in Pakistan are well documented by some international human rights' agencies (Asian Human Rights Commission, 2012).

Participants in the female focus group discussion did not talk about the sub-theme of 'social influence' while responding to the research question two of this study. However, they did highlight the impact of social constraints on their work, when answering to the research question four of this study (see Chapter 7). A few journalists also highlighted the sub-theme of 'economic influence'. For instance, two out of 51 journalists mentioned the commercial interests of owners, bribery, low salaries and job sacking that affected their work. Journalists revealed that they were either compelled to serve the commercial interests of their owners or were inclined towards envelope journalism due to their low wages. Consequently, these economic influences restrained them from practicing their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

It was found that participants of both focus groups discussions did not see the 'economic influence' as crucial to affect their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. This was astonishing because participants of both focus groups discussions did talk about some economic constraints and organisational influence while responding to research question four (see Chapter 7).

Interestingly, despite the volatile political situation of Pakistan, only one out of 51 journalists mentioned the sub-theme of 'political influence' as a problem to practice personal understanding. While the participants of both focus groups discussions highlighted different 'political constraints' in their response to research question four (see Chapter 7), none of them saw the sub-theme of 'political influence' as particularly affecting their ability to practice personal understandings. Figure 8, below, illustrates the findings of research question two (RQ2).

Figure 8: Interviews and focus groups discussions findings of research question two (RQ2)

	Practice level: Sub-themes (RQ2)	In-depth interview Number of journalists	Male focus group Number of journalists	Female focus group Number of journalists
Sub-theme 1 (P=19)	Organisational influence	10 out of 40	4 out of 5	5 out of 6
Sub-theme 2 (P=6)	Journalists' safety	5 out of 40	1 out of 5	0 out of 6
Sub-theme 3 (P=4)	Social influence	4 out of 40	0 out of 5	0 out of 6
Sub-theme 4 (P=4)	Pressure groups' influence	3 out of 40	0 out of 5	1 out of 6
Sub-theme 5 (P=2)	Economic influence	2 out of 40	0 out of 5	0 out of 6
Sub-theme 6 (P=1)	Political influence	1 out of 40	0 out of 5	0 out of 6

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

Thus, the **most prevalent**[69] sub-themes in the data of in-depth interviews (ranked in the order of prevalence) were: 'organisational influence', 'journalists' safety', 'social influence', 'pressure groups' influence' and 'economic influence'. Participants in both focus groups discussions substantially emphasised the sub-theme of 'organisational influence'; therefore, this sub-theme emerged as the **most prevalent** one in the data of focus groups discussions. Participants in both focus groups discussions did not talk at all about the sub-themes of 'social influence', 'economic influence' and 'political influence' while responding to research question two. Therefore, these sub-themes emerged as the **least prevalent** ones in the data set of both focus groups discussions and did not 'validate' the individual interviewees' responses in these sub-themes (see Figure 8).

Furthermore, the direct observation of the journalists' newsroom activities in Karachi revealed that they were doing common routine work of news gathering, news making, news production and news dissemination (i-e broadcasting or publishing). Hence, journalists were observed as performing the similar 'professional roles' as persistent in other parts of the world (see Zelizer, 2004; Christians et al., 2009; Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2). This implies that journalism is institutionalised around the journalists' shared work routines and roles in Pakistan.

Noticeably, journalists were seen as being pressurised by the marketing departments of their media organisations mainly to produce the news content, which generate revenue. However, journalists were noticed as facing pressures from many other corners as well. For instance, they were observed as facing pressure calls from the local political parties and religious groups (mainly in the forms of protests and torturing of media organisations' offices)[70]. Thus, the observatory notes of research question two strongly validated the individual interviewees' responses in the sub-themes of organisational influence and pressure groups' influence. Table 14, below, explains the observation metric of research question two (RQ 2).

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[69] The **prevalence** (P) of sub-themes was decided on the basis of the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme (out of 51 journalists, who participated in this study).

[70] These observations were made by repeatedly visiting to the selected media organisations in Karachi during the fieldwork of this study (i-e from January 28 2012 till April 28 2012).

Table 14: The observation metric of research question two (RQ2)

Method	What was observed?	When observed?
Direct observation	The journalists' newsroom activities or work of: • News gathering in the monitoring rooms and at the news-desks(where reporters file stories) • News-making and production • News dissemination (i-e broadcasting or publishing). (See the description of journalists' work in Zelizer, 2004, p. 42)	During visits to the selected newspapers and television news channels in Karachi

5.3.2 Discussion

What meanings do journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan? This question is imperative. However, another related and pressing issue relates to how do journalists depict their ability to exercise their rights of freedom of expression and press freedom in this highly pluralistic and complex society. This section discusses the ways journalists' belonging to Pakistan's mainstream media (in Karachi), described their ability to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom (i-e the research question two of this study).

Only 10 out of 51 interviewed journalists felt that they 'could practice' their right of freedom of expression at work in the way they believed or understood it should be exercised. The majority of journalists stated that they experienced problems, hindrances, compulsions and limitations while attempting to do this including internal newsrooms' and/or organisational influences particularly in the form of organisational policies, the varying levels of freedom and social influence in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media and the various levels of safety risks. Whilst journalists acknowledged a number of legal restrictions, safety concerns and formal policies restricted their activities and their ability to 'practice' freedom of expression, most problems and limitations had a more latent chilling effect manifested through self-censorship.

'Organisational influence' emerged as one of the major compulsions or hindrances, which restrained journalists from exercising freedom of expression in the manner they thought it should be exercised. There was a clear difference between how journalists understood freedom of expression and how they experienced it in their day to day work (see Figure 8, sub-theme 1). 'Organisational influence', primarily in the form of newsroom's or organisational policies, emerged as the most commonly identified reason for journalists' inability to exercise their personal understandings of freedom of expression.

Like many Western countries, freedom of expression is particularly vulnerable to the commercial imperatives of mainstream media. In relation to Western media, Benson and Neveu (2005, p. 51) observed that "journalism is prone to hazards, most prominently due to profitability issues" (see Benson and Neveu, 2005, p. 51). According to Karachi's journalists who took part in this study, these observations are equally applicable to the Pakistani media. Tensions between the business objectives of media and journalistic values were frequently cited as a problem in terms of journalists exercising freedom of expression. For example, interviewee number 34 stated that "practical hindrances could be there because we cannot do a story against any company, if it gives us advertisements. This is our organisational policy." Likewise, interviewee number 39 explicitly said, "organisational commercial policies are the biggest problem." This issue emerged as a particular problem for television journalists who commonly stated the news channels' ratings affected the journalists' capacity to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. For instance:

> The culture of television news channels is based on ratings. We do not work on social issues because people do not watch them. Especially, television news channels in Karachi focus less on social and community issues. Journalists in most of the television news channels here are expected to produce news content according to the local market's trends and their owners' business interests. (Interviewee number 5)

The wave of profitability and hyper-competition has resulted in the corporate sphere of powerful media giants across the globe. Numerous scholars have observed that the commercial exploitation of free speech right seems inevitable in the profit-driven trends of media markets worldwide (Bagdikian, 1989; McChesney 1999, 2004; Splichal, 2002, p. 41; Barendt, 2005). Therefore, journalists' practices of freedom of expression and press freedom can be seen as dependent on media owners' interests and market trends. The case of Pakistan's mainstream media is certainly not unique because there is a strong tendency of

media organisations to operate on a number of explicit and implicit policies, which chiefly aim to promote business interests over journalistic interests. As stated by interviewee number 3:

> There is a corporate media in the entire world, which operates to achieve its own business interests. Being a corporate entity, media organisations do have the right to maximise their profit. However, there is no clear policy in Pakistan's media that whether they should do this by compromising on the fundamental principles of journalism or by abusing the right of freedom of expression. (Interviewee number 3)

Karachi's journalists, who participated in this study, frequently stated that media owners' policies and interests affected their practices of freedom of expression and news content, validating Altschull's (1984) "second law of journalism", which emphasises the tendency of media owners to decide the news content according to their interests (see McQuail, 2000, p. 198).

Journalists involved in this study identified powerful groups (such as government, political parties, religious organisations and military) as an important influence in the way freedom of expression is exercised in Pakistan. For example, interviewee number 22 stated that "one cannot write against Pakistan's military and a local political party in Karachi. Government wields its power through advertisements." There are many other examples of ways powerful groups affects journalists' work in the country. For example, Pakistan's last election to date, which was held in May 2013, depicted the ways journalists and media organisations were used by powerful political groups in their election campaigns. According to SAMAR's[71] report, a non-profitable local organisation operating for the development of Pakistan's media, "all broadcast media monitored failed to comply with the basic obligations of balance and equitable coverage of parties and candidates." The 2013's election in Pakistan raised several questions about journalists' freedom to report because media content reflected the paid content of political parties more than journalists' reports and the public opinion (Schmidt, 2014, p. 15). This is not too surprising because the political environment of Pakistan has always been restrictive for journalists since its

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[71] "Society for Alternative Media and Research (SAMAR) is a non-governmental organisation and it is based in Pakistan's federal capital Islamabad. The organisation was founded in 2005. Since 2008, the organisation has been working on a project 'strengthening democratic media development in Pakistan' with the collaboration of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung." See details at http://www.english.pakvotes.pk/monitoring-of-election-coverage-by-electronic-media-in-pakistan-1-6-may2013/

inception as an independent country. The influence of political groups is inevitable because Pakistani journalists operate in a competitive authoritarian system, where democratic norms are quite often attacked due to the vested interests of either ruling authorities or powerful groups including political parties, non-state actors and militant organisations (see also Chapters 1 and 2).

Furthermore, the researcher observed that journalists were hesitant to talk freely especially about government, certain political parties, military, intelligence agencies and militant organisations because of safety risks. Journalists replied quite precisely when talking about political and institutional (government and military) threats, which underlined their hesitance to talk about these groups. However, despite their hesitance, a number of journalists highlighted their concerns regarding their physical and psychological safeties (see Figure 8, sub-theme 2; Chapter 7). For example, one interviewee stated:

> In Pakistan, one cannot write freely because of threats from different corners. There is a fearful environment, which causes difficulties for us. We have to write thoughtfully. Some people give us direct threats too. They try to access our family. So far, many journalists have been targeted and killed. (Interviewee number 19)

Journalists' safety and protection emerged as a serious/crucial issue in Pakistan. International organisations monitoring press freedom regularly highlight the incidents of journalists' killings, kidnapping, attacks and imprisonment. In most incidents, investigative journalists are attacked and it is always difficult to accuse any particular group or institution directly. For example, in September 2010, Umer Cheema, an investigative journalist of The News, an English daily newspaper with a nationwide coverage, was attacked and physically tortured by unknown attackers. This was a serious case of violence because the victim was parade naked with shaved eyebrows, and ironically the attackers remained unidentified (Cheema, 2010). Subsequently to this incident, the assassination of Asia Times' Online correspondent Saleem Shehzad, in May 2011, was another case that caught the attention of international organisations protecting journalists' rights worldwide It was reported that Saleem was assassinated for his critical and investigative reports against some state's institutions (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). More recently, in April 2014, Hamid Mir, a senior journalist of Geo News (a private television news channel), was attacked by unknown assailants in Karachi. Mir survived the injury of six bullets in this assassination's attempt.

The above-mentioned cases are only a few examples of violence and attacks against journalists in Karachi. In recent years, 'safety threats' have spawned serious challenges for the working journalists across Pakistan; especially in the conflict areas of Baluchistan and Khyber Phakhtunistan (see also Chapter 7). According to a recent report by Amnesty International[72] (2014):

> Pakistan has a reputation for having a fearless and vibrant media. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, it is one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists, judging by the extent and severity of harassment and other abuse they face. The US-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) ranked Pakistan as the fourth most dangerous country in the world for journalists, while Reporters Without Borders placed the country 158th out of 167 documented countries in its World Press Freedom Index for 2014. (p. 8)

> Amnesty International's research shows that journalists risk abuses in practically every corner of the country. They must confront a range of "red lines", a general term used by media workers to describe the unspoken boundaries of public discussion accepted by state and non-state actors in Pakistan's media landscape. (p.8)

Safety risks are not merely a challenge for Pakistani journalists, but also for international journalists working in Pakistan. It is worthwhile to quote here the murder of Wall Street Journal's reporter, Daniel Pearl, who was kidnapped and later assassinated in 2002 in the Southern port city of Karachi. In the same year, four local people were sentenced for the assassination of Daniel Pearl, especially when Pakistan's government confronted immense international pressure. A recent report by Amnesty International (2014) highlighted the level of journalists' safety working for foreign media in Pakistan. The report revealed:

> In recent years, all foreigners based in Pakistan, including journalists, have had their travel through the country drastically curtailed by the authorities' often ad hoc application of travel and visa restrictions. Some journalists are restricted to one or more cities and all are excluded from carrying out unauthorised travel to dangerous and politically sensitive areas like Baluchistan, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (henceforth 'the Tribal Areas') and interior Sindh. The authorities have increasingly required foreign journalists to apply for No Objection Certificates (NOCs) before visiting these areas. (Amnesty International, 2014, p.23)

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[72] Amnesty international is a non-governmental international organisation that works to protect human rights worldwide.

Foreign journalists are generally immune from direct harassment or abuse from the ISI or other state's security personnel. 'There are two thin layers of protection as a foreign journalist in Pakistan. First, you work for a foreign organisation. Second, you are a foreign national,' one Islamabad-based foreign correspondent told Amnesty International. However, on some rare occasions even foreign journalists have fallen victim to threats and attacks. (Amnesty International, 2014, p. 23)

Thus, apart from 'organisational influence', journalists' safety and protection is one of the major problems for working journalists in Pakistan. I think these two challenges play a crucial role in shaping the journalists' practices of freedom of expression and press freedom, and tend to differentiate their practices from journalists working in Western countries, who certainly do not face severe safety risks.

Notwithstanding these facts, only one participant in the male focus group discussion mentioned some safety issues, when responding to the research question two of this study. Noticeably, not any participant in the female focus group discussion emphasised the sub-theme of 'journalists' safety'. This is surprising because Pakistan ranks third on the list of most unsafe countries for women (The Express Tribune, 2011). Even as focus groups participants did not face safety issues to exercise their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom, they did mention the issue of journalists' safety in Pakistan while responding to research question four (see Chapter 7). Some other journalists, who participated in this study, highlighted the existence of various 'pressure groups' in Pakistan (see Figure 8, sub-theme 4). For instance:

Religious or political groups, military and government - they all become a pressure group and hinder the journalists' work in Pakistan. Some groups exert pressure by approaching the upper management of media organisation, or they intimidate us by sending bullets. At times, they call us, informing about the activities of our family. Sometimes, they hit us by car and this has happened to me. (Interviewee number 22)

In past, there were a number of instances when government and intelligence agencies acted as a pressure group to suppress media's and journalists' freedom in Pakistan (see also Chapter 7). For example, the last military regime of General Pervez Musharraf is always critically scrutinised by journalists because of his suppressive actions against some television news channels. In November 2007, the president Musharraf's government imposed emergency in the country. Subsequently, the military ruler suspended the

Constitution of Pakistan (1973) and all fundamental human rights under this Constitution. Supreme Court's and High Courts' judges were required to take an oath; those who refused to do so were imprisoned in their homes including Justice Iftikhar Chaudary, the Chief Justice of Pakistan. Journalists and media organisations covered the public's agitation and rallies live after the imposition of emergency on November 3, 2007. However, media organisations had to pay the cost of their live coverage of public's rallies because some television news channels faced government's pressure through the suspension of transmissions. According to Khan and Joseph (2008):

> During the first few days of emergency, in November 2007, the four major news channels (GEO, ARY One World, AAJ TV and Dawn News) and three international channels (CNN, BBC World and Al-Jazeera) were taken off the air. (p. 35)

A more recent example of pressure groups' influence on journalists' work in Pakistan is an attack on AAJ TV, a Karachi-based private television news channel. In June 2012, four unknown armed assailants attacked the television news channel's office when it was covering the public's rally in the support of Justice Iftikhar Chaudary, the Chief Justice of Pakistan. While commenting on this incident, one of the Daily Dawn's journalists wrote, "this is a direct attack on media freedom and is a chilling indication of how vulnerable journalists are not just in the field but now even in their offices and studios" (Haider, 2012).

Noticeably, it is not always government and intelligence agencies that exert pressure on the working journalists and media organisations in Pakistan. At times, particularly television news channels face pressure from militant religious organisations for not broadcasting their point-of-views. For instance, according to a Reuters' report, mentioning about a local militant organisation's statement on the website of Daily Dawn (a national English newspaper), "we had informed the management of AAJ TV to include our view on issues, but the channel had become a mouthpiece of government" (Reuters, 2012). Interestingly, journalists working in Pakistan have to follow Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority's policy to not to broadcast the statements and interviews of banned militant and religious organisations. For example, according to interviewee number 5, "we are restricted to broadcast the interview of Taliban's leaders and the statements of banned militant organisations." Hence, these examples indicate that journalists' freedom in Pakistan is under severe pressure and describe their inability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

Markedly, in Pakistan, pressure does not only come from the aforementioned sources but also from the society itself. Cultural values, religious norms and feudal system result in a constant pressure for the working journalists. For instance, a few interviewees talked about how the 'social influence' affected their ability to practice personal understandings. For instance, interviewee number 33 stated, "expression cannot take a precedent in front of Islamic values." This implies that Islamic values and religious norms do guide journalists' work in Pakistan, despite organisational policies. However, it is vital to look at the ways religious norms guide or shape journalists' practices of freedom of expression in Pakistan.

From a legal perspective, the journalists' practice of freedom of expression in accordance to religious norms can be linked with Pakistan's law, which requires working journalists to follow Islamic norms while at work (see Pakistan Panel Code, 1860, section XV). The Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors' code of ethics also encompasses the Islamic principles of not causing harm to individual rights (of reputation and privacy); to avoid the incitement of violence or hatred and no offence to Holy Qura'an, Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) and Islam as a religion. This means that Pakistani journalists have to follow religious norms while practicing their right to freedom of expression and when doing their jobs, in spite of their personal attitudes towards Shari' ah principles.

For many scholars, particularly from the area of cultural studies, the connection between journalists' practices of freedom of expression and religious norms might be because of Pakistan's culture, which reflects Islamic values as articulated in the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) and Pakistan Panel Code (1860). Notwithstanding possible criticism or disagreement, it is important to underline that Pakistan's culture does not merely mirror Islamic values. Therefore, Islam as a religion cannot be 'entirely' seen as part of Pakistan's culture, which represents four major and diverse ethnic sub-cultures in Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunistan provinces (see Chapter 2). These ethnic sub-cultures do not completely portray Islamic values and embody provincial customs as well. For example, interviewee number 14 stated:

> Pakistan is an Islamic country and journalists are bound to follow religious norms not only morally but also legally. Pakistan's blasphemy laws are famous for its penalties and the provisions related to respect to Holy Qura'an and no offence to Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h). Islamic norms related to Hijab or Burqa (veil) largely define Pakistan's culture, which is

very common in all provinces of Pakistan. However, I should mention that every province has its own ethnic sub-culture that tends to dominate and perhaps undermine Islamic values in many instances. You see the cases of *Karokari* (honour killing). This is against Islamic values. I think the cultural foundation of Pakistan is contentious.

Hence, fundamental to an understanding of journalists' practices in Pakistan, it is also imperative to analyse the extent to which ethnic sub-cultures and issues influence their personal practices of freedom of expression. As aforementioned, a very few interviewees viewed 'social influence' and ethnic issues as a hindrance to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. Noticeably, not any participant in both focus groups discussions talked about the sub-theme of 'social influence', when responding to the research question two of this study (see Figure 8, sub-theme 3).

Data revealed that journalists' ethnicities or ethnic sub-cultures did not affect considerably their capacity to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. This might be due to the reason that Karachi is a cosmopolitan city, which does not represent the influence and dominance of any particular ethnic sub-culture. However, when answering to the research question four of this study, many journalists did talk about different ethnic issues and cultural constraints. The research question four of this study investigated 'environmental constraints' faced by journalists during their routine work (see Chapter 7). This means that Pakistan's cultural environment affected journalists' right to freedom of expression and their routine work, but did not influence their personal practices of freedom of expression and press freedom largely.

Thus, this study revealed the impact of culture and religion on journalists' practices; therefore, it is imperative to analyse the extent to which these two aspects guided the journalists' practices of freedom of expression. As mentioned previously, journalists' responses highlighted two prominent sub-themes including 'organisational influence' and 'journalists' safety' to describe their inability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom (see sub-section 5.3.1). This means that 'social influence', more specifically 'culture' and 'religion', had not the full-fledged influence in shaping the journalists' personal practices of freedom of expression and press freedom. Therefore, the aspects of 'culture' and 'religion' can be seen as *partially* affecting the journalists' capacity to practice their personal understandings of these two rights in Pakistan.

Moreover, data analysis suggested that the level of 'social influence' and 'pressure groups' influence' could vary in Pakistan's Urdu and English languages media. This means that the journalists' ability to practice their personal understandings might vary according to the language of newspapers and television news channels in Pakistan. According to one interviewee:

> There is more freedom in the English-language media; especially in social, cultural and religious aspects because the sale of English-language newspapers is less. In the Urdu-language newspapers, sensitive things are written less because even a minor thing can cause reaction. Thus, journalists from the English-language media have more independence and they can express their opinions more openly than those from the Urdu-language media. (Interviewee number 14)

The aforementioned discussion highlights how media organisations' linguistic background can shape news content and journalists' practices of freedom of expression in Pakistan. The most common way this is manifested is through self-censorship as individual journalists negotiate Pakistan's complex and sensitive environment (Siraj, 2009). Findings also revealed that journalists, who participated in this study, had the varying understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom within the mainstream Urdu and English languages media of Karachi (see sub-sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). Among the selected 22 media organisations explored in this study, four major media groups dominate the local media market, namely: (1) the Jang Group of Newspapers, (2) the Nawa-e-Waqt Group of Newspapers, (3) The Lakson Group and (4) the Herald Group of Publications.

Each of these above-mentioned media groups have a different ethnic origin and own multiple media organisations, reflecting the trend of cross-media ownership in Pakistan's mainstream media. The following section looks at the *ethnic origin*, *ideological leaning* and the *style of reporting* of these media groups, to compare and contrast journalists' practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan's Urdu and English languages newspapers and television news channels:

1. **The Jang Group of Newspapers**: The media group was established in 1942 in Delhi by Mir Khalil-ur-Rehman. After independence it was moved to Karachi. At present, it is the most influential media group in the country, comprising a range of Urdu and English languages' publications and four TV channels. The most

prominent media organisations owned by this group are *Daily Jang* (Urdu-language newspaper), *The News* (English-language newspaper) and *GEO News* (Urdu-language television news channel). *The News* reflects leftist ideological orientation and "hosts" the journalists of liberal mind-set to report primarily national and international issues. On the contrary, *Daily Jang* and *Geo News* represent and publish 'rightists' and 'moderate conservative' perspectives respectively. (Mezzera and Sial, 2010, pp. 16-17; McMillion, 2014, p. 153)

2. **The Nawa-e-Waqt Group of Newspapers:** The media group was established in 1940 by Hameed Nizami, who was "one of the founding fathers of journalism in Pakistan". The media group was initially established in Lahore (the Punjab province of Pakistan). However, it gradually expanded its operation across the country. The major media organisations owned by this group are *Daily Nawa-e-Waqt* (Urdu-language newspaper), *The Nation* (English-language newspaper) and *Waqt News* (Urdu-language television news channel). Since its beginning, the group has been supporting rightist wing and have been advocating Islamic or nationalist ideology. Its Urdu and English languages' media organisations both host journalists pre-dominantly from the right ideological leaning. Therefore, the style of reporting in either *Daily Nawa-e-Waqt* or its sister newspaper *The Nation* reflects the rightist policy, bolstering pro-Islam's and pro-Pakistan's perspectives.

3. **The Herald Group of Publications:** The media group is usually known as the Dawn Group. It was established by Pakistan's founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah in 1941 in Karachi (the Sindh province of Pakistan). The group owns two major media organisations including Daily Dawn (an internationally well-known English-language newspaper) and Dawn News (Urdu-language television news channel). The Dawn Group is re-known for its liberal and progressive orientation. The group hosts journalists mostly from the leftist ideological orientation and reports sensitive investigative stories and socially less-tolerated issues.

4. **The Lakson Group**: The group was established in 1954 in Karachi. It is one of the well-known and influential business groups in Pakistan. The group is run by Lakhani brothers, who belong to Karachi-based Agha Khan's community. The Lakson Group owns three major media organisations under its subsidiary called as Century Publication Group including *Daily Express* (Urdu-language

newspaper), *Express Tribune* (English-language newspaper) and *Express News* (Urdu-language television news channel). By enlarge; this business-oriented group represents the leftist ideological orientation in its Urdu and English languages' media outlets both. The style of reporting in *Daily Express* and *Express Tribune* newspapers reflects the liberal mind-set of journalists with the out-spoken editorials and reports on sensitive issues. However, the *Daily Express* also hosts some journalists from conservative mind-set (Mezzera and Sial, 2010, pp. 16-17; McMillion, 2014, p. 153).

Despite their ethnic origin, news stories published and broadcasted by these media groups do not privilege any particular ethnic-sub-culture (Siraj, 2009). Perhaps, this is because these media groups primarily operate in Urdu and English languages. Therefore, these media groups tend to cater the needs of their target audience especially in the cosmopolitan and port-city of Karachi, which is the media-hub of Pakistan[73].

Surprisingly, this study did not find any relation between journalists' practices of freedom of expression and their media organisations' ethnic cultural roots. However, journalists revealed the difference in their 'level of freedom' in English and Urdu languages' media. This suggests that the 'level of freedom' within the same media group could be different on the basis of the language of newspaper and television news channel. For instance, "English-language media is generally considered more professional, accurate, liberal and democratic (Mezzera and Sial, 2010, p. 20).

To a large extent, these findings are not new and surprising because Pakistan's English-language media has always been considered as more liberal and vocal, publishing investigative stories and addressing socially less-debated and tolerated issues. Ostensibly, the difference in the level of freedom in Pakistan's Urdu and English languages media can be linked with media organisations' left (liberal/progressive) and right (Islamic/ nationalist) ideological leanings (International Media Support, 2009; McMillion, 2014).

A number of journalists mentioned 'economic influence' as a problem, which affected their ability to exercise their personal understandings of freedom of expression and

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[73] The **case of Pakistan's vernacular media** is different than the mainstream media operating in Karachi. The vernacular media in Pakistan primarily focuses on community issues, local crimes and tend to bolster provincial traditions through its cultural programs (Siraj, 2009). In this perspective, the ethnic origin of province-based newspapers and television news channels can influence the content of news and journalists' practices.

press freedom (see Figure 8, sub-theme 5). Journalists highlighted that 'job insecurity' and 'envelope journalism' were the key economic problems, which constrained them from exercising their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. For instance, interviewee number 22 stated that "in big news channels - jobs are gone overnight. There is no job security. Envelope journalism is also common in Pakistan. How can one think about the quality of journalism and freedom with such corruption?" In spite of these facts, in April 2013, the Supreme Court of Pakistan released a list of journalists who accepted financial incentives and gifts from the secret fund of the information ministry. The Supreme Court of Pakistan further intended to provide another list of journalists who received bribes from the government and other institutions in order to ensure media accountability and the quality of journalism in the country (Express Tribune, 2013).

Journalists' responses to research question two further revealed that their ability to practice personal understandings was not restrained much by the local political groups or the government in Pakistan. For example, only one out of 51 journalists mentioned the sub-theme of 'political influence' (see Figure 8, sub-theme 6). While political influence did not substantially restrain journalists from practicing their personal understandings of freedom of expression, their responses to research question four revealed the ways political influence affected their routine work (see Chapter 7).

Hence, the majority of journalists, who participated in this study, were unable to exercise their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom because of various influences, namely: organisational influence, journalists' safety, pressure groups' influence, social influence, economic influence and political influence (see Figure 8). Consequently, data analysis revealed a gap between the journalists' concepts and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan (see Appendix IV). The nature of these influences not only underlined the local environment (context) in which Pakistani journalist practiced their personal understandings of freedom of expression, but also suggested the difference between their practices and journalists working in the West.

When analysing journalists' practices from the lens of 'religion' and 'culture', again the difference between Pakistani and Western journalists' practices is evident. For instance, data revealed that journalists' had to confront 'social influence' in the form of Islamic norms while exercising their personal understandings of freedom of expression and while doing their jobs. As mentioned previously, this is not surprising given Pakistan's strict

blasphemy laws and the fact that part of Pakistan's cultural milieu reflects Islamic values (apart from local ethnic customs), which differentiates Pakistani journalists' practices from journalists in the West.

Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study found that the Pakistani journalists did not have a 'shared' practice of freedom of expression and press freedom. The study revealed differences in journalists' ability to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, only 10 out of 51 journalists 'could practice' their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom (see Table 13). The majority of journalists (i-e 28 out of 51) expressed their inability to practice personal understandings of these two rights because of four main reasons, precisely: organisational influence, safety risks, pressure groups' influence and social influence. Moreover, 'self-censorship' was a common way in which these hindrances, limitations and threats to freedom of expression and press freedom were manifested. As one interviewee confessed:

> I think many journalists do practice their personal interpretations of freedom of expression. However, we do have to exercise self-censorship and follow organisational policies while undertaking our work. We are unable to report the perspective of every stakeholder and we are used by powerful groups. (Interviewee number 40)[74]

Interview and focus groups discussions data suggested that the varied practices of journalists were due to three other contextual aspects: (i) organisational policies, (ii) the varying levels of freedom and social influence in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media and (iii) the various levels of safety risks. As discussed earlier, the sub-theme of 'organisational influence' emerged as one of the major hindrances, which affected the journalists' ability to practice their personal understandings. According to interviewee number 7:

> See! I have to take care of my organisational policy. I think journalists do try to practice their individual interpretations of freedom of expression. However, media organisations have different environments, policies and limitations that impact on the collective or shared practice of freedom of expression. (Interviewee number 7)

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[74] See also Chapter 7, which elaborates other reasons of journalists' self-censorship in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, the professional environment of television news channels is completely different as compared to newspapers. Pakistan's print media (either in English-language or Urdu-language) pays more attention on the professional standards[75] than the electronic media, and it is considered as more institutionalised. In this perspective, interviewee number 22 said, "the print media is quite institutionalised. The problem is caused because of electronic media. Television news channels do not give proper training to their journalists. There is also a persistence of corporate thinking in most of the local television news channels."

Similarly, the levels of 'freedom' and 'social influence' can be different in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media. To some extent, this fact describes the journalists' capacity to practice their personal understandings. For example:

> Differences could be there because freedom varies according to medium in Pakistan. I think journalists from the English-language media are freer as compared to those from the Urdu-language media. You can see that how freely the local English-language newspapers publish about the social issues of domestic violence, trans-genders and honour killing. (Interviewee number 32)

The difference between Pakistan's Urdu and English languages media has always been evident, especially in terms of news stories' narratives and the strength of investigative stories. According to Mezzera and Sial (2010):

> There are clear differences between the English-language and Urdu-language media in the quality of the subject matter, the use of politically sensitive terminology, the analytical frameworks used and the communication perspectives. These differences are more visible in print media, where only a few original investigative reports appear in the Urdu-language media as compared to English-language print media. Urdu-language newspapers rely on their monitoring desks, which lift, or follow, the news and reports from electronic media. (p. 20)

Journalists also revealed about their 'varying levels of safety' while at work. The data of in-depth interviews unpacked that investigative journalists were more prone to physical and psychological risks. For example, interviewee number 2 said that "we do face harassment and risks while doing the investigative stories related to some institutions and

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[75] Professional standards here refer to objectivity, ethics and accuracy (See Deuze, 2005).

political parties. It is really difficult to report any political news, if it affects the interests of any local political party, especially in Karachi." Chapter 7 of thesis provides a comprehensive account of different types of safety risks and other constraints faced by Pakistani journalists, which affected their right to freedom of expression and routine work (i-e research question four).

In conclusion, responses to research question two revealed that there was no 'shared' or 'institutionalised' practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. The new institutionalism in organisational theory valorises the aspect of "shared practice" while defining journalism as an institution (see Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010, p.76). Therefore, the diverse practices of journalists around the notions of freedom of expression and press freedom raise questions about the institutional grounding of journalism in Pakistan.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter addressed the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Data analysis at the **conceptual level** suggested that journalists gave meanings to freedom of expression and press freedom across the various sub-themes, reflecting their lived experiences and individual attitudes (see Figure 7). 'Context' appeared as the most dominant influence in shaping the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. It was found that 'freedom with responsibility' and 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' were the two most common sub-themes, which reflected the influence of context (environment) on the understandings of journalists. This highlighted that journalists mostly emphasised the aspects of 'freedom for' (themselves and the public) and 'freedom from' fear or pressure while giving meanings to freedom of expression and press freedom (see sub-section 5.2.1)

Noticeably, the prior studies of press freedom did not valorise the aspect of 'freedom from fear and pressure' while conceptualising it. (Gunaratne, 2002; see also Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2). Hence, the aspects of fear and pressure can be seen as unique to Pakistan's context, despite its similarities with some other countries in terms of political structure and instability (such as Fiji). Moreover, this study revealed that there was no apparent influence of journalists' ethnicities, religious sects and genders on their understandings. It was found

that the various understandings of journalists were due to four contextual aspects: (i) different ideological orientations of journalists (ii) the various affiliations of media organisations, (iii) the varying levels of freedom and social influence in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media and (iv) the various schools of thoughts to define the nature of restrictions on freedom of expression and press freedom.

Data analysis at the **practice (action) level** suggested that there was no 'shared' practice of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. For example, some journalists revealed that they 'could practice' their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom while at work. However, the majority of journalists mentioned their 'inability' to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. In this perspective, the most dominant sub-themes describing the journalists' inability to practice personal understandings were: 'organisational influence', 'journalists' safety', 'pressure groups' influence' and 'social influence' (see Figure 8). This study found that journalists did not have a 'shared' practice of freedom of expression and press freedom. Data suggested that the varied practices of journalists were because of three contextual aspects: (i) organisational policies, (ii) the varying levels of freedom and social influence in Pakistan's English and Urdu languages media and (iii) the various levels of safety risks.

Thus, data highlighted an evident gap between the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom, indicating their lesser level of empowerment and participation within the institution of journalism in Pakistan (see Appendix IV). The new institutionalism in organisational theory sees journalism as an institution that is comprised of "shared concepts, practices, routines, roles, norms and values" (see Jaasaari and Olsson, 2010, p. 76). This study revealed the shared work routines and professional roles of journalists, who participated in this study (see sub-section 5.2.2). However, there was no 'shared' understanding and practice around the concepts of freedom of expression and press freedom amongst journalists. These findings suggest that 'freedom' is a contested concept in Pakistan. The notions of freedom of expression and press freedom do not form a central plank in the institutionalisation of journalism in the country. Therefore, the local journalism institution can be seen as lacking the cohesion.

Thus, the next chapter expands the analysis of press freedom in Pakistan. It addresses the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in the country, and thereby to

explore whether a shared understanding of press freedom indices exists amongst them. The chapter compares the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indices with the existing global press freedom metrics, and thus identifies any possible gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators

Chapter 6

The journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan

6.1 Introduction

Findings in previous chapter revealed that 'context' was the major influence in shaping the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Scholarship suggests that cultural differences also affect the ways press freedom is conceptualised and measured (Hai Tran et al., 2011, pp. 171-76; Gunaratne, 2002). Hence, this chapter addresses the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan, comparing them with the existing global press freedom indicators.

At present, there are several international organisations, which evaluate and monitor the freedom of press in different parts of the world. Most prominent are Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). These international organisations have developed 'standardised indices' to survey and to compare press freedom in different countries of the world. Considered as a whole, these different surveys measure press freedom worldwide; but they do not portray the lived experience of journalists in their day-to-day work, offering a few insights into how journalists give effect to press freedom in diverse cultural and contextual settings.

Cultural and contextual variations can affect the ways press freedom is 'measured' or evaluated. Therefore, this chapter describes any possible connections and disconnections between the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indicators and the global press freedom metrics (i-e RQ 3). For this purpose, the chapter reviews the existing press freedom indicators developed by Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ).

Thus, in this study, the journalists' views of press freedom indicators were distilled 'inductively' through in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions to compare them with the global press freedom metrics. The collected data were analysed thematically using

a 'deductive key theme' – the 'conceptual level'. This key-theme was derived from the new institutionalism framework of this study.

The 'conceptual level' theme, describing the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indicators was categorised into twelve 'inductive sub-themes' (ranked in the order of prevalence), namely: (i) journalistic independence, (ii) broadcasted or published content, (iii) journalists' safety and protection, (iv) organisational influence, (v) political environment, (vi) economic environment, (vii) social environment, (viii) pressure groups' influence, (ix) media accountability, (x) public, (xi) level of self-censorship and (xii) professionalism[76] (see Appendix V). These sub-themes were analysed to reveal any possible gaps between the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indices and the global understandings of press freedom indicators. This also helped to identify any shared understanding of press freedom indicators amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study.

6.2 Findings

6.2.1 Institutional approaches and the existing global press freedom metrics

Review of institutional theories in Chapter 3 suggested that the 'new institutionalism' theory derives its roots from the 'old institutionalism' (see section 3.3, sub-section 3.3.2). Both approaches acknowledge the importance of institutions; however, they treat the 'institutional environment' differently. The old institutionalism posits that actors are deeply rooted in their social and historical contexts at a local community level. In effect, context or environment shapes the actors' attitudes and practices of certain phenomena.

The new institutionalism focuses on a 'non-local'[77] environment with the professional or societal boundaries (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, p. 13). The theory recognises that organisations or "individuals are empowered and controlled by the institutional context" in which they operate (Meyer, 2007, pp. 791-92). However, the new institutionalism theory does not merely concern itself with the influence of institutional

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[76] These sub-themes emerged by identifying the common key-words and underlying ideas in the journalists' views of press freedom indicators, expressed during in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions in Karachi (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2008). The **prevalence** (P) of sub-themes was decided on the basis of the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme (out of 51journalists, who participated in this study).

[77] In the old institutionalism approach, the local environment refers to "communities" (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, p. 13).

environment on actors' agency, but also acknowledges the importance of actors' agency in any institutional setting (Meyer, 2007). The theory recognises the role of actors' agency in upholding the institutional structure through their shared interpretations and practices (Scott, 1995).

Findings in previous chapter revealed that journalists (who participated in this study) did not have a shared understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom due to the dominant influence of context (see Chapter 5, sub-sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). The social environment, especially the local cultural values, appeared as one of the constraints to restrain journalists from practicing their personal understandings of freedom of expression; despite some other contextual influences (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.3.1). Thus, 'culture' and 'context' were the vital factors in shaping the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. This means that these factors can also affect the journalists' views of press freedom indicators and the ways they relate with the global press freedom metrics in Pakistan. Therefore, this section reviews the existing international press freedom metrics to identify any possible gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators.

Freedom House[78] evaluates press freedom in total 197 countries of the world through its panel of experts including members from local and international media organisations, multilateral organisations, government organisations and non-government organisations. The organisation ranks countries as "Free", "Partly Free", and "Not Free" by using a score system from 0 (best) to 100 (worst). Freedom House relies on the quantitative method of survey to assess press freedom worldwide. For example, the organisation has developed a set of total 23 survey questions divided into three main categories: the "legal environment", the "political environment" and the "economic environment". In effect, it attempts to assess the broader institutional environment in which media[79], journalists and bloggers operate in each country (Freedom House, 2013). However, the organisation does not evaluate the impact of 'social environment' on journalists' work while measuring press freedom (see Appendix VI A).

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[78] Freedom House is a US based non-profit organisation that has been evaluating press freedom since 1980. Initially, in 1978, the organisation began with publishing a global survey of freedom known as 'Freedom in the World'.

[79] Freedom House's press freedom metric focuses on the traditional and the new media both. It includes indicators that assess the level of economic, legal and political influences on the performance of print and broadcast media, individual journalists and bloggers (see Appendix VI A).

While evaluating the freedom of press, Freedom House employs the 'individual freedom' as the basic unit of assessment. The organisation uses a universal criterion, which is based on the Article 19 of the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights (1948). It states that "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers". This suggests that the organisation acknowledges the importance of individual actors and the level of freedom exercised by them. However, Freedom House ignores the fact that the concept of 'individual freedom' may vary in each country because of cultural and contextual differences. Therefore, the assessment of 'social environment' is important in the case of Pakistan, where cultural values do cause an influence on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression (see Chapter 5).

International Research and Exchange Board (IREX)[80] evaluates the independence and sustainability of media using the 'Media Sustainability Index' (MSI). The organisation measures the independence of media using a total of 40 indicators that are classified under five distinct objectives. Each country is ranked using a 'score system' against these objectives (see Appendix VI B). Unlike Freedom House; the organisation assembles diversified panellists to measure the media independence including representatives of NGOs, reporters, editors, advertising and marketing specialists, lawyers, media owners and academics. These panellists are recruited not only from the main cities in each country, but from other geographic regions too. More significantly, IREX ensures the representation of various genders, ethnicities and religions in its panel of expertise.

As compared to Freedom House's press freedom metric, the 'Media Sustainability Index' (MSI) developed by IREX does not assess the level of freedom for the online media or bloggers, instead it specifically assesses the independence of print and broadcast media. The organisation recognises that media organisations are entrenched in a 'non-local environment' with particularly "professional, industrial and societal boundaries". Therefore, it not only measures media as an independent business (see Appendix VI B, IREX's objective four) but also evaluates the quality of journalism and supporting institutions in

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[80] International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) is a non-profit and US-based organisation. It was founded in 1968 to promote exchanges with Soviet Union and the Eastern Europe. The organisation evaluates the existence of independent media in 20 states in four regions: Russia, South East Europe, Central Asia and Caucasus.

order to meet the professional standards (see Appendix VI B, IREX's objectives three and five).

International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) also takes into account an inter-woven relationship between 'environment' and 'actors'. The organisation evaluates the level of diversity of news sources and the access to information available to journalists and the public (see Appendix VI B, IREX's objective three). Drawing on sociological perspective, IREX also recognises the importance of 'social environment'. Therefore, the organisation assesses the legal regime and the social norms for the protection of free speech (see Appendix VI B, IREX's objective one). Thus, similar to Freedom House, the organisation substantially focuses on the broader institutional environment while evaluating the media independence.

Reporters without Borders[81] measures the 'violations' of press freedom across the world. The organisation conceptualises the "respect to media freedom" as "the amount of freedom journalists and the media have in each country and efforts made by the government to make sure that press freedom is respected." It evaluates the state of media freedom in 179 countries of the world using a questionnaire with five main criteria including: (i) violations affecting journalists and media organisations, (ii) the media's legal status, (iii) the journalists' legal status, (iv) legal doctrine and practice and (v) the available internet and technical resources (see Appendix VI C). The organisation monitors attacks on press freedom and journalists through its almost 150 correspondents worldwide. Each country is ranked in a 'Press Freedom Index' by using the quantitative method of 'score system'. Countries with a lower score indicate more press freedom (Reporters without Borders, 2012).

Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ)[82] especially investigates the attacks on journalists. The organisation conceptualises the freedom of the press as "the right of journalists to report the news without fear of reprisal." The annual reports by CPJ canvass the impact of political, legal and economic environments on media freedom in five different

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[81] Reporters without Borders is a non-profit and Paris-based organisation. The organisation evaluates press freedom in all five continents of the world. The organisation measures the level of freedom for both traditional (print and broadcast) and new (online) media.

[82] Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) is a US-based organisation, which has been monitoring the attacks on journalists since 1981.

regions, including: the United States, Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Europe. The organisation has developed a set of terminologies to classify the abuses and attacks on journalists such as murders, threats and physical torture (see Appendix VI D). It compiles a 'quantitative data' file every year. This file indicates the number of physical attacks on journalists; the cases of censorship; the cases of harassments, intimidations, imprisonment, missing or kidnapping relating to journalists. In doing so, CPJ uses various sources such as the members of media organisations in each country, government and non-government organisations and its own staff for the factual accuracy in its annual reports.

Hence, the selected international organisations take into account different factors affecting or empowering actors' agency[83] and the level of freedom of expression exercised by them. For instance, 'Freedom House' focuses on regulative[84], coercive[85] and economic factors. 'International Research and Exchange Board' (IREX) recognises regulative, cultural, normative and economic factors as important while measuring the media independence. 'Reporters without Borders' and 'Committee to Protect Journalists' (CPJ) both organisations evaluate the impact of coercive and regulative factors on the journalists' work and their level of freedom of expression worldwide (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991[86]; Hall, 1996, p. 939).

The aforementioned factors recognised by the selected international organisations measure the influence of institutional environment on press freedom. However, these factors may not reveal the level of actors' agency in giving effect to the freedom of expression in a culturally constrained environment of Pakistan (see Table 15). These organisations rely solely on the quantitative methods to measure press freedom, and thereby do not provide qualitative insights into the actors' agencies and attitudes towards press freedom indicators in diverse contexts. Therefore, the next sub-sections expound the journalists' previous

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[83] Actor agency here refers to a journalist's practice and action.

[84] Regulative factors include the "rule setting and sanctioning either through statutory or self-regulation" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2; Scott, 2001).

[85] Coercive factors involve the "political pressures and the force of the state or its institutions, providing regulatory oversight and control" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p. 2).

[86] Powell and DiMaggio (1991) suggest that the institutional mechanisms are comprised of coercive and regulative factors, which shape actors' attitudes and practices. This resonates with the 'calculus approach' of historical institutionalism, which emphasises the influence of institutions on actors through the 'enforcement mechanism', restrictions and regulations (Hall, 1996, p. 939).

knowledge of the existing global press freedom metrics (sub-section 6.2.2) and their views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan (sub-section 6.2.3).

Table 15: Factors that are valorised in the global press freedom metrics

International organisations	Press freedom metrics	Factors (See Powell and DiMaggio, 1991)
Freedom House	• Impact of legal, political and economic environments.	• Regulative, coercive and economic factors.
International Research and Exchange Board	• Impact of legal, social, economic and professional environments.	• Regulative, social, normative and economic factors.
Reporters without Borders	• Impact of legal, political, economic and institutional (government) environments.	• Regulative and coercive factors. • Journalists' safety and protection.
Committee to Protect Journalists	• Impact of political context on journalists' agency.	• Impact of coercive factors in the broader environment (mainly political influence, state's pressure and non-state actors' threats). • Journalists' safety and protection.

6.2.2 The journalists' previous knowledge of press freedom indicators developed by the selected international organisations

The data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions revealed that only a few journalists had the previous knowledge of press freedom indicators developed by the selected international organisations. Only four 4 out of 40 interviewees stated that they "have read" press freedom indicators developed by Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) and Reporters without Borders. Noticeably, 12 out of 40 interviewees and two out of six journalists in the female focus group explicitly stated that they "have never read" press freedom metrics developed by these organisations.

A number of journalists stated that they "have just read press freedom reports" given by these international organisations. For example, seven out of 40 interviewees; two out of six journalists in the female focus group and one out of five journalists in the male focus group said that they "have just read press freedom reports" and not the indicators. These journalists were from various ethnicities (selected for this study), Shia and Sunni religious sects, male and female genders, Urdu and English languages' media.

The majority of journalists, who participated in this study, did not mention whether they had read indicators previously or not. Therefore, I asked journalists a question, namely: have you ever read press freedom indicators developed by the selected international organisations? Interestingly, 16 out of 40 interviewees; two out of six journalists in the female focus group and four out of five journalists in the male focus group did not respond to this question.

The Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study, had different educational backgrounds, ethnicities, religious sects and genders. The respondents' information sheet of this study revealed that all of them were given on-job trainings by their respective Urdu and English languages' media organisations (including newspapers and television news channels). However, the journalists' previous knowledge of press freedom indicators had no link with their professional trainings, ethnicities, religious sects, genders and the language of their media organisation in Pakistan.

Figure 9: The journalists' previous knowledge of press freedom indicators developed by the selected international organisations
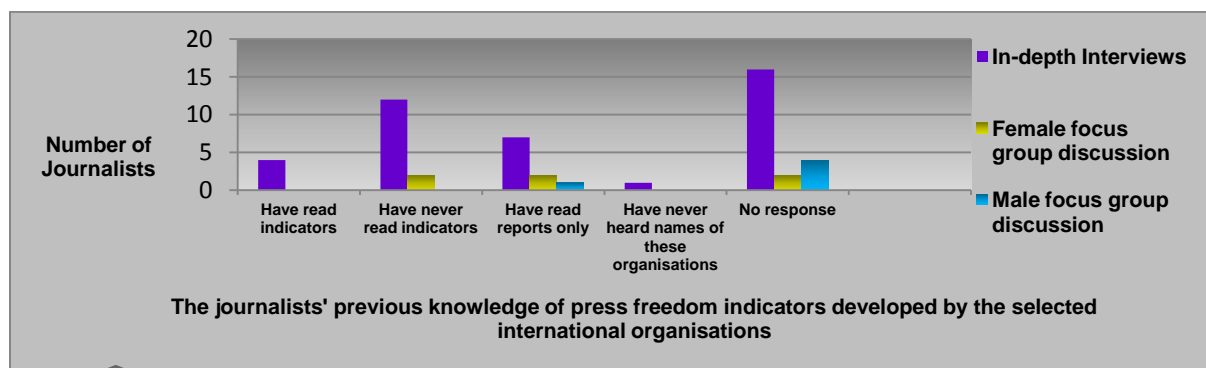

	Have read indicators	Have never read (clear NO)	Have read 'reports only'	Have never heard names of these organisations	No response	Out of total
Number of interviewees	4	12	7	1	16	40 interviewees
Number of participants (female focus group)	-----	2	2	-----	2	6 female journalists
Number of participants (male focus group)	-----	-----	1	-----	4	5 male journalists

6.2.3 The journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan

The data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions revealed that journalists viewed twelve sub-themes as indicative of press freedom, namely: (i) 'journalistic

independence', (ii) 'broadcasted or published content', (iii) 'journalists' safety and protection', (iv) 'organisational influence', (v) 'political environment', (vi) 'economic environment', (vii) 'social environment', (viii) 'pressure groups' influence', (ix) 'media accountability', (x) 'public', (xi) 'level of self-censorship' and (xii) 'professionalism' (see Figure 10). Hence, journalists had different views of press freedom indicators; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders. 'Context' (especially social, political, economic and organisational environments) appeared as the main influence in shaping the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan (see Figure 11, sub-themes 4, 5, 6 and 7). Figure 10, below, illustrates the thematic map of research question three (RQ3).

Figure 10: The thematic map of research question three (RQ 3)
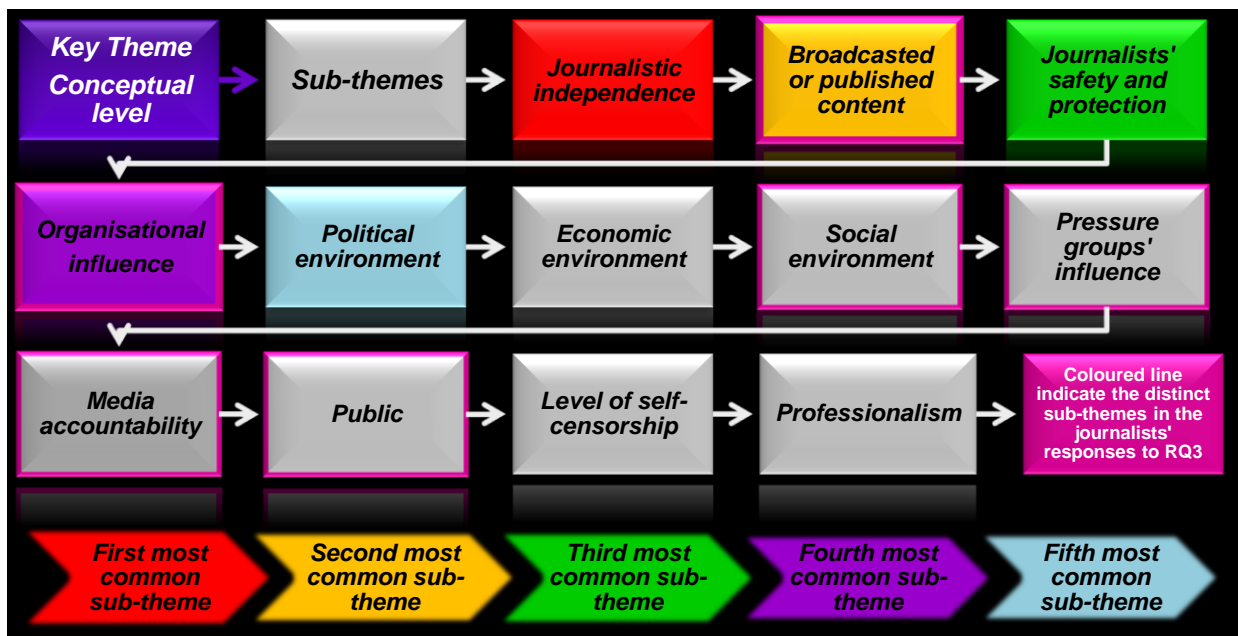
The sub-themes of **'journalistic independence'** and **'broadcasted or published content'** were the two most common sub-themes describing the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan. For example, 15 out of 51 journalists saw the sub-theme of 'journalistic independence' as one of the major indicators of press freedom. Journalists viewed the notion of 'journalistic independence differently – whereby freedom to criticise (7), freedom to report (4) freedom of opinion and investigative journalism (1), freedom of expression and opinion (1), freedom to criticise for the government's accountability (1) and freedom to report along with the freedom of criticism (1).

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While the individual interviewees saw the sub-theme of 'journalistic independence' as an important indicator of press freedom, participants of both focus groups discussions emphasised more on this sub-theme (see Figure 11, sub-theme 1). They highlighted the imperative of journalistic independence in terms of 'freedom to report'; 'freedom of investigative journalism' and 'freedom to criticise' (see Appendix V). Participants of both focus groups discussions were doing the job of reporting; especially in beats of crime, politics, business and national affairs. Therefore, their emphasis on the freedom of reporting, freedom to criticise and freedom for investigative journalism was not surprising.

The sub-theme of **'broadcasted or published content'** emerged as the second most common sub-theme. A number of journalists (i-e 14 out of 51) saw this sub-theme as an important indicator to measure press freedom in the country (see Figure 11, sub-theme 2). The majority of journalists, who emphasised the sub-themes of 'journalistic independence' and 'broadcasted or published content' as indicators of press freedom, were from the Urdu-language media including newspapers and television news channels both – whereby 'journalistic independence' (11 out of 15 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme) and 'broadcasted or published content' (nine out 14 journalists, who responded in these sub-theme). This indicated the influence of organisational linguistic environments on the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan.

Data suggested that there was some connection between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators. For example, a number of journalists viewed the sub-theme of **'journalists' safety and protection'** as one of the key indicators of press freedom (see Figure 11, sub-theme 3). For example, 13 out of 51 journalists saw different types of physical, psychological, financial and legal risks as indicators of press freedom – whereby journalists' killings (7), torture and financial insecurity (1), kidnapping (1), mental stress (1), threats (2) and life risk (1).

Particularly, journalists from the Urdu-language media talked more about physical risks than those who were from the English-language media. For example, eight out of 13 journalists, who responded in the sub-theme of 'journalists' safety and protection', were from the Urdu-language media. Indicators highlighted by journalists in this sub-theme were quite similar to the press freedom metrics developed by Committee to Protect Journalists and Reporters without Borders (see Appendices VI C and VI D).

The Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indicators also reflected some 'categorical similarities' with the press freedom metrics developed by Freedom House and International Research and Exchange Board (see Figure 11, sub-themes 5 and 6; Appendices VI A and VI B). For instance, four out of 51 journalists saw the **'political environment'** as one of the key indicators of press freedom – whereby past military regimes (2), controlled democracy (1) and political pressures (1). Moreover, merely three out of 51 journalists viewed the **'economic environment'** as an indicator of press freedom in Pakistan – whereby evolution of electronic media (1), the country's economic condition and stability (1) and the financial condition of media organisations (1).
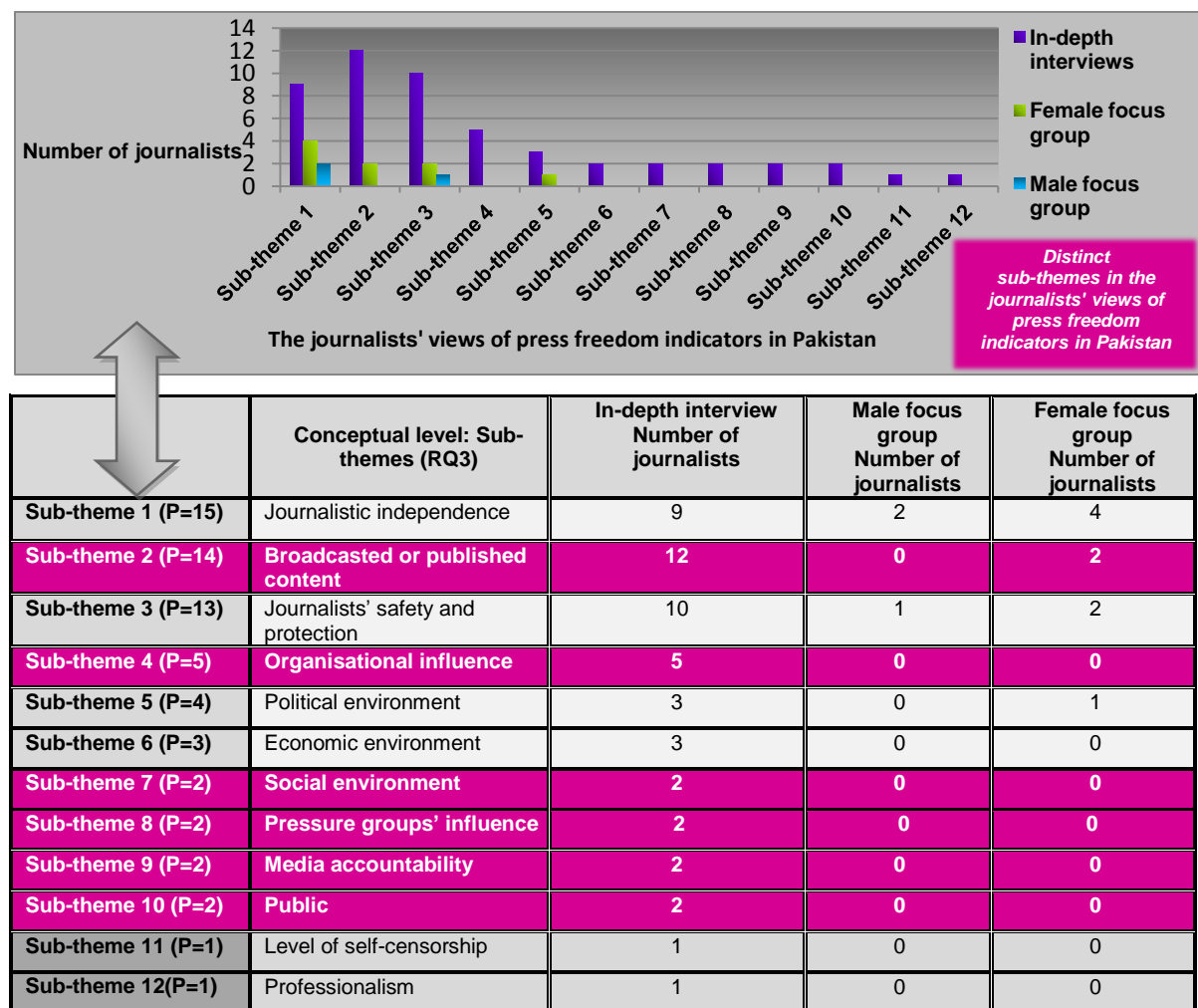
International organisations such as Freedom House and International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) do evaluate press freedom using the categories of 'political and economic environments'. However, these organisations do not assess the political system of any country while measuring the freedom of press. For instance, interviewee number 19 stated that "free journalism is not possible until controlled democracy would not be abolished". The evaluation of political system of any country is imperative in order to assess the level of press freedom and the government's attacks on media freedom (see Chapter 2).

The sub-themes of **'self-censorship'** and '**professionalism'** also indicated similarities with press freedom indicators of some international organisations. For instance, only one out of 51 journalists viewed the level of 'self-censorship' as an indicative of press freedom (see Figure 11, sub-theme 11). Noticeably, organisations such as Freedom House, IREX and Reporters without Borders do assess the level of self-censorship while evaluating press freedom (see Appendix VI). However, these organisations do not examine that why journalists and media organisations employ self-censorship in any country (see Appendix VI).

The journalists' responses to research question three revealed that they saw **'professionalism'** as one of the indicators of press freedom in Pakistan (see Figure 11, sub-theme 12). For example, similar to the IREX's press freedom indicators, only one out of 51 journalists suggested the factor of professional journalism as an important indicator to measure press freedom in Pakistan (see Appendix VI B).

The sub-themes of **'pressure groups' influence'** and **'social influence'** highlighted the impact of Pakistan's socio-political environments on the journalists' views of press freedom indicators. For instance, just two out of 51 journalists viewed the sub-theme of 'pressure groups' influence' as an indicator of press freedom (see Figure 11, sub-themes 7). Likewise, data suggested that only two out of 51 journalists viewed the sub-theme of **social environment** as an indicator of press freedom – whereby literacy rate (1) and the system of social justice (1). None of the selected international organisations take into consideration indicators such as literacy rate and the system of social justice to measure press freedom (see Appendix VI). Figure 11, below, illustrates the findings of research question three (RQ3).
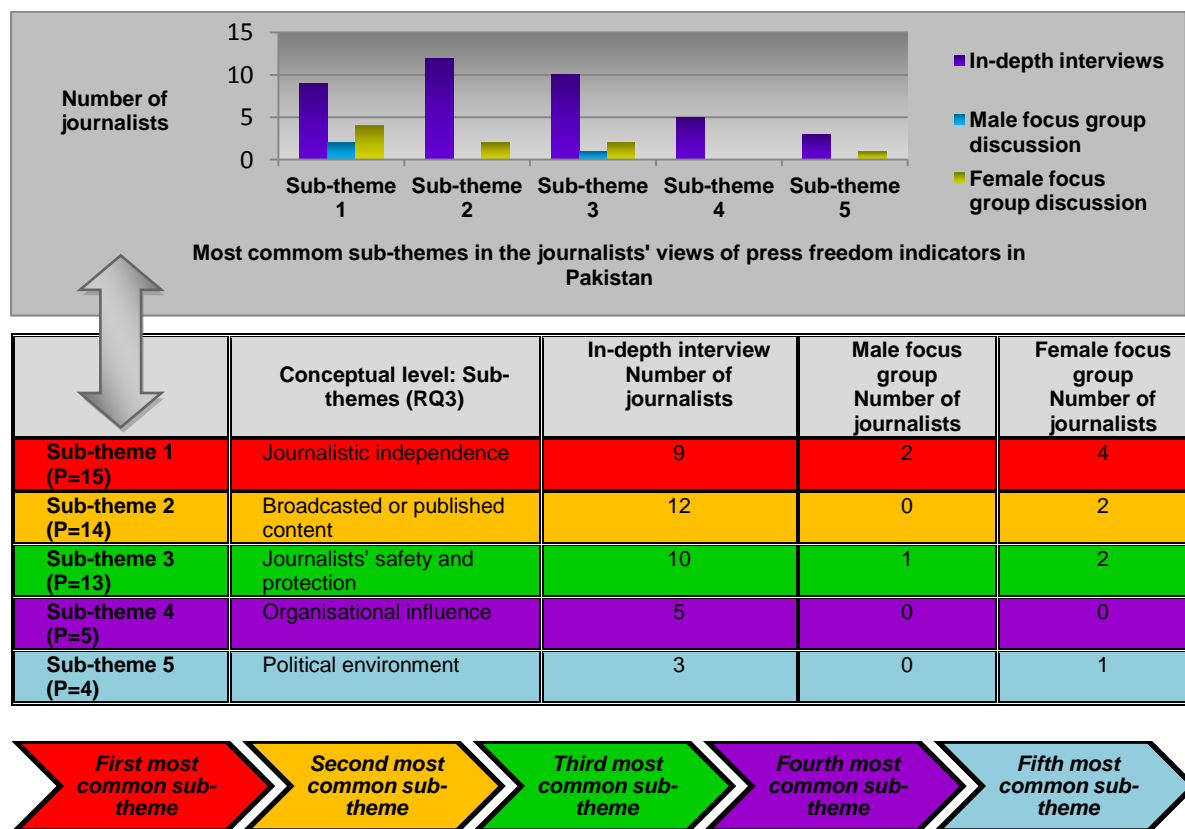
Figure 11: In-depth interviews and focus groups discussions findings of research question three (RQ3)

	Conceptual level: Sub-themes (RQ3)	In-depth interview Number of journalists	Male focus group Number of journalists	Female focus group Number of journalists
Sub-theme 1 (P=15)	Journalistic independence	9	2	4
Sub-theme 2 (P=14)	Broadcasted or published content	12	0	2
Sub-theme 3 (P=13)	Journalists' safety and protection	10	1	2
Sub-theme 4 (P=5)	Organisational influence	5	0	0
Sub-theme 5 (P=4)	Political environment	3	0	1
Sub-theme 6 (P=3)	Economic environment	3	0	0
Sub-theme 7 (P=2)	Social environment	2	0	0
Sub-theme 8 (P=2)	Pressure groups' influence	2	0	0
Sub-theme 9 (P=2)	Media accountability	2	0	0
Sub-theme 10 (P=2)	Public	2	0	0
Sub-theme 11 (P=1)	Level of self-censorship	1	0	0
Sub-theme 12(P=1)	Professionalism	1	0	0

Furthermore, there were six sub-themes that indicated a 'disconnection or a gap' between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators, namely: (i) broadcasted or published content, (ii) organisational influence (iii) pressure groups' influence, (iv) social environment, (v) media accountability and (vi) public (as shown in Figures 10 and 11).

The data of in-depth interviews revealed that the **most prevalent** sub-themes in the journalists' feedbacks to research question three were: 'journalistic independence', 'broadcasted or published content', 'journalists' safety or protection', 'organisational influence' and 'political environment' (see Figure 12). Participants in both focus groups discussions emphasised most on the sub-themes of 'journalistic independence' and 'journalists' safety and protection'. Therefore, these sub-themes appeared as the most common ones in their responses to the research question three of this study. Figure 12, below, illustrates the prevalence of sub-themes for research question three.

Figure 12: The prevalence of sub-themes (RQ3)[87]

	Conceptual level: Sub-themes (RQ3)	In-depth interview Number of journalists	Male focus group Number of journalists	Female focus group Number of journalists
Sub-theme 1 (P=15)	Journalistic independence	9	2	4
Sub-theme 2 (P=14)	Broadcasted or published content	12	0	2
Sub-theme 3 (P=13)	Journalists' safety and protection	10	1	2
Sub-theme 4 (P=5)	Organisational influence	5	0	0
Sub-theme 5 (P=4)	Political environment	3	0	1

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

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[87] The **prevalence** (P) of sub-themes was decided on the basis of the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme (out of 51 journalists, who participated in this study).

It was found that the individual interviewees gave less importance to the sub-themes of 'social environment', 'pressure groups' influence', 'media accountability', 'public', 'level of self-censorship' and 'professionalism' while talking about press freedom indicators in Pakistan. In contrast, the participants of both focus groups discussions did not talk at all about the sub-themes of 'organisational influence', 'economic environment', 'social environment', 'pressure groups' influence', 'media accountability', 'public', 'level of self-censorship' and 'professionalism;. Thus, these sub-themes appeared as the **least prevalent** ones in the data set of both focus groups discussions (see Figure 12).

In terms of validity, interviews and focus groups discussions data considerably validated each other in the sub-theme of 'journalistic independence', and to some extent in the sub-theme of 'journalists' safety and protection'. Overall, interviews and focus groups discussions data did not validate each other across many sub-themes, namely: 'organisational influence', 'economic environment', 'social environment', 'pressure groups' influence', 'media accountability', 'public', 'level of self-censorship' and 'professionalism'. Noticeably, not any participant in both focus groups discussed about these sub-themes; therefore, interviews and focus groups data did not validate each other in these sub-themes (see Figures 11 and 12). However, participants of both focus groups did highlight about social, organisational, economic and pressure groups' influences while talking about constraints that affected their work and right to freedom of expression (see Chapter 7).

Findings in previous chapter revealed that the majority of journalists were unable to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom because of organisational, social and pressure group influences (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.3.1). However, journalists did not substantially emphasise these aspects, when talking about the key indicators of press freedom in Pakistan. This indicated a contradiction in their responses to each research question of this study.

6.3 Discussion

There are a number of international organisations, which have developed standardised metrics to evaluate press freedom worldwide. However, in many parts of the world, it is not essential that journalists are aware of these international press freedom indictors. The journalists' feedbacks to research question three substantiated this fact. The majority of journalists, who participated in this study, had no prior knowledge of press freedom metrics

developed by the selected international organisations. Notwithstanding this finding, the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan reflected some connection with the indices developed by international organisations. For example, the sub-theme of **journalistic independence**[88] appeared as the first most common sub-theme, describing the journalists' views of press freedom indices in Pakistan (see Figure 12, sub-theme 1). Freedom House does take into consideration the journalists' ability to report freely while evaluating press freedom. International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) and Reporters without Borders focus more on the media independence.

This study revealed that journalists viewed the importance of 'individual journalistic independence' especially in terms of freedom of reporting and freedom of criticism. For example, interviewee number 21 stated that "there are several indicators. The biggest indicator is the evolution of electronic media in Pakistan. News anchors criticise the government in their programs openly and freely. Some journalists criticise in an indirect way." Similarly, the participant A of female focus group discussion briefly said that "earlier, we never did reporting against the Pakistani army. Today, we do criticise the Pakistani army." Another participant from the female focus group stated:

> One could not criticise army before, but now we can. We call PM and President with bad names even on-air. This is freedom and this is an indicator. NGOs are bringing up their reports. Religious reports are not only being published on minorities such as Ahmadis sect or Hindus, but even on Shia and Sunni religious issues and people do take action on these reports. These are all positive indicators. (Participant D, female focus group discussion)

The sub-theme of **journalists' safety and protection** also illustrated a connection between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indices. For instance, 13 out of 51 journalists suggested the sub-theme of 'journalists' safety and protection' as one of the important indicators of press freedom in Pakistan. Data revealed that it was the third most common sub-theme in the journalists' responses to research question three (see Figure 12, sub-theme 3).

Noticeably, press freedom indices developed by Freedom House, Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) do take into account the factors of

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[88] See the definition of journalistic independence in Appendix V.

journalists' physical and psychological safeties while measuring press freedom[89]. Likewise, in Karachi, journalists emphasised the issue of their physical safety due to the increasing number of journalists' killings day-by-day. For example:

> Again, I will repeat that to highlight or broadcast an issue is not a big deal......But... consequences for a journalist's safety and his family's wellbeing cause big issues. Our several journalists have been shot and targeted in different occasions. So, we are broadcasting issues with freedom even being aware of our life risk. (Interviewee number 1)[90]

> Reports by international organisations do highlight the constraints and safety risks, which affect journalists' work in Pakistan. These things do come on the record of media organisations as well. Many of our colleagues have been killed after severe threats. This does not happen in Karachi only, but in the entire Pakistan. See! This is an indicator of freedom! (Interviewee number 2)

> If you make the journalists' protection a criterion - then it is very less. Journalists do not use their right of freedom of expression because media organisations do not support them. Consequently, they work on stereotype topics. Government and media organisations both need to work together for the journalists' protection in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 28)

It was also found that 'not all' journalists lose their lives while at work in Pakistan. According to interviewee number 34:

> Journalism is the most dangerous profession in Pakistan in which most people are killed. When I met the CPJ's staff last time, I asked them to recognise the fact that journalists are not killed only while undertaking their work, but also due to some other reasons. Let say, if 20 journalists have been killed, there must be two to three among them who would not have been killed due to their work as a journalist. And they might have targeted due to their involvements in other activities...mostly due to their involvement in political activities.   (Interview number 34)[91]

These findings explicitly indicate that journalists' safety is a severe issue in Pakistan, which is regularly highlighted by international organisations monitoring press

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[89] IREX's Media Sustainability Index merely focuses on the legal protection of journalists (see Appendix VIB, IREX's objective 1).

[90] Dots in this quotation indicate the interviewee's pause while talking about journalists' safety level as one of the indicators of press freedom in Pakistan.

[91] Dots in this quotation refer to the interviewee's pause while talking about journalists' safety and their involvement in non-professional activities.

freedom worldwide. However, first-hand feedback from working journalists in Karachi suggested that a more accurate evaluation of journalists' safety could be derived by expanding press freedom indicators to look at the ways journalists are attacked and killed as a result of their involvement in non-professional and political activities, such as taking part in the gatherings and campaigns of local political parties.

Furthermore, some sub-themes indicated a **categorical connection** with the press freedom metrics developed by Freedom House and International Research and Exchange Board (IREX). For example, a few journalists viewed the sub-themes of **political environment** and **economic environment** as indicatives of press freedom. In this regard, interviewee numbers 16 and 19 peculiarly referred to the relationship between press freedom and the political system of Pakistan during various regimes. Interviewee number 16 highlighted the ways press freedom used to be restrained during the past military regime of General Zia and stated that "during General Zia's regime, Quranic verses about cruel rulers used to be censored." Another interviewee articulated the link between Pakistan's political system and press freedom more explicitly and said:

> At present, to some extent.........journalism is free in Pakistan, but you cannot call it completely free. Journalists have sacrificed for their right of freedom of expression. They have suffered imprisonment and physical torture, but still press is not free. Free journalism is not possible, until illiteracy would not be eradicated from the society and controlled democracy would not be abolished. (Interviewee number 19)

In the case of Pakistan, Freedom House's Press Freedom Indicator category of **political environment** could be expanded to take account of the level of direct and indirect (like political killings and threats) pressure exerted by local political parties on journalists and media. For example, interviewee number 2 stated:

> International organisations need to assess the ways local political parties give us threats. We receive threatening phone calls from them. In many incidents, journalists have been physically tortured and killed. Journalists work in a fearful environment due the pressure of a political party in Karachi. We cannot report political news freely. (Interviewee number 2)

These findings have also confirmed by a recent press freedom report by Committee to Protect Journalists, which has highlighted 'politics' as the most dangerous beat for working journalists in Pakistan (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2014). According to

CPJ's statistics, 56 journalists were killed in Pakistan since 1992 and 63 per cent of victim journalists were from political beat. Therefore, it is imperative to expand Freedom House's Press Freedom Indicator category of political environment for a deeper evaluation of the ways Pakistan's political environment influence journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression

The Chapter 7 of thesis further extends this analysis and explores ways the work of Karachi's journalists and their right of freedom of expression have been affected by Pakistan's mutable political environment particularly in relation to changing military regimes, which have dominated the country's trouble history.

Moreover, similar to Freedom House's and IREX's indices, three out of 51 journalists saw the sub-theme of **economic environment** as a key indicator of press freedom and suggested for the evaluation of journalists' financial condition and protection. Unlike the IREX's Media Sustainability Index, Freedom House does not assess the level of journalists' financial protection in terms of their job security and pay scale (see Appendix VI B, IREX's objectives two and four). Journalists revealed that how job insecurity affected their freedom in Pakistan. For example, interviewee number 25 stated that "within media organisations, either print or electronic media, journalists do not have job security. Anyone can be sacked due to any reason. In this way, media organisations curtail the freedom of journalists. I have experienced this personally." (See also Chapter 7)

The **level of self-censorship** was another sub-theme that indicated a **connection** between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indices. For instance, interviewee number 33 said that "the level of self-censorship indicates because this is a preventive measure." The selected international organisations do assess the level of self-censorship while evaluating press freedom. However, press freedom reports by these international organisations do not expound the reasons behind the journalists' self-censorship in Pakistan. Noticeably, the sub-theme of **professionalism** indicated a **categorical connection** only with the IREX's Media Sustainability Index (see Appendix VI B, IREX's objective two). For example, only one out of 51 journalists talked about **professionalism** as a key indicator of press freedom and stated:

I think that there used to be more professional journalism before. At present, different political and militant groups have recruited their own people in media organisations by

giving them journalism certificates or degrees from different universities and colleges. This is quite dangerous for journalism. So, in my opinion, professional journalism is one of the key indicators of press freedom. At least, journalists should be free enough to undertake their work and to perform their watchdog role. (Interviewee number 13)

Notwithstanding some connections, data revealed a number of **distinct sub-themes** that indicated a gap or disconnection between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators. Six sub-themes emerged as the **distinct** or **unique sub-themes** in the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan, namely: (i) 'broadcasted or published content', (ii) 'organisational influence', (iii) 'social environment', (iv) 'pressure groups' influence', (v) 'media accountability' and (vi) 'public'. Context**,** particularly the organisational linguistic background and socio-political environments, appeared as the most dominant factor to indicate a gap between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators (see Figure 13).

Figure 13: Sub-themes indicating a gap between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators in Pakistan

Broadcasted or published content	Organisational influence	Social environment	Pressure groups' influence	Media accountability	Public
Reflected the influence of organisational linguistic environment	Reflected the influence of organisational policies and owners' ideology or interests	Reflected the influence of social and cultural environments	Reflected the influence of country's socio-political environments		
11 out of 14 journalists in this sub-theme were from the Urdu-language media					

A number of journalists (i-e 14 out of 51), especially from the Urdu-language media, viewed the sub-theme of **broadcasted or published content** as one of the key indicators of press freedom. These journalists emphasised to assess the level of criticism and freedom in the broadcasted or published content. For instance, interviewee numbers 7 briefly said that "newspapers' or television programs' contents are the key indicator of press freedom."

However, three other interviewed journalists expounded the sub-theme of 'broadcasted or published' in more detail. They stated:

> You watch 8 pm evening current affairs' programs in Pakistan. You can see in these programs that how verdicts are given against the government and how it is criticised. So, this is the biggest indicator. There are many social issues in Pakistan. You can assess the way media and journalists do the accountability of government on the pressing issues of society. (Interviewee number 8)

> I think either newspaper or magazine content tell us about the level of freedom. There are many facts that we know, but we do not publish them. Again, the public is also aware of several facts, but those facts are not published in newspapers. So, newspapers' and television news' contents indicate the level of freedom. (Interviewee number 17)

> Objectively, you can assess the level of press freedom by watching the television news in Pakistan. Often, the local news bulletins are broadcasted in an objectionable language. Hence, the television news' content is an indicator. You watch it – you will come to know the level of freedom. (Interviewee number 31)

Some journalists related their level of freedom with editorial policy and owner's ideology. Therefore, they emphasised to assess the level of **organisational influence** and viewed it as an important indicator of press freedom in Pakistan. For example, interviewee number 1 said that "every organisation has its own policy, which indicates the level of freedom." Interviewee number 28 highlighted the implications of organisational influence in a way that "journalists do not use their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan because media organisations do not support them. Consequently, they work on stereotype topics." However, a more explicit description of press freedom indicator in the perspective of organisational influence (such as owners' policies) was given by one interviewee:

> News story indicates the level of freedom. Owner's ideology and editorial policy also indicate the level of press freedom. In Pakistan, journalists are practicing journalism without any training and they do not have idea about the meanings or indicators of press freedom. (Interviewee number 11)

Furthermore, as aforementioned, one of the major critiques of press freedom metrics developed by international organisations is that they ignore '**cultural and social environments'** while measuring press freedom (Hai Tran et al., 2011, p. 171; Gunaratne,

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2002). The journalists' feedbacks to the research question three of this study identified two important social factors as indicators of press freedom, namely: the 'system of social justice' and 'literacy rate'. Previously, some scholars examined the link between media freedom and literacy rate while conceptualising press freedom (Nixon, 1960; Hachten, 1989). However, the system of social justice appeared as a 'distinct social factor' to measure press freedom in Pakistan. For example, interviewee number 19 related press freedom with the factor of illiteracy and said that "free journalism is not possible until illiteracy would not be eradicated from the society." Another interviewed journalists talked specifically about the 'system of social justice' as an indicator of press freedom and stated:

> There should be no immunity for anyone. No matter, for a military chief or Chief Justice of Pakistan. The Islamic concept of social justice is that one offers him or herself for the Court's trial - regardless of his or her designation. So, this is one of the key indicators in my opinion. (Interviewee number 22)

Data highlighted some other social indicators as well, which international organisations may use to assess press freedom in Pakistan such as: (a) the journalists' self-censorship while reporting about religious, ethnic and cultural issues (b) social restrictions on religious speech such as blasphemy and (c) the equal media coverage of citizens; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects, genders and cast (see also Chapters 7 and 8).

The **influence of pressure groups** emerged as another distinct sub-theme that indicated a disconnection between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators. Press freedom reports by the selected international organisations do not reveal about the existence of various sorts of pressure groups in Pakistan, which not only cause threats to journalists' safety but also obstruct their routine work. For example, interviewee numbers 22 and 14 said:

> Actually, press freedom is a relative thing. It is different in the United States; Australia, Britain and in Pakistan. Last year, a foreign delegation visited here, so we had a discussion with them. They think that it is the police, government and army who suppress press freedom. They are unaware of pressure groups here. They do write about an arrested journalist, but do not write about the local pressure groups in Pakistan. Hence, monitoring should be done in a way that it assesses the level of criticism or freedom of expression within a country's social set-up, thereby to highlight different pressure groups. (Interviewee number 14)

You cannot ignore the government's pressure while talking about Baluchistan issue. There is a constant pressure of political groups in Karachi and pressure of militants in Kyhber Phakhtunistan. But, it does not mean that we do not have freedom. We do have freedom; however, at the same time there are threats and pressures. (Interviewee number 40)

Thus, data substantiated that Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts played an important role in shaping the journalists' views of press freedom indicators. Moreover, the sub-themes of **media accountability** and **public** also indicated a gap between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators. This implies that the question of 'who is watching the watchdog' is imperative for the effective functioning of journalism as an institution and for the role of a free press in the society. However, none of the selected international organisations evaluate the role of media organisations in promoting or curtailing press freedom and freedom of expression. For example, interviewee number 2 raised couple of questions in this regard:

Media organisations should also be monitored. What are their boundaries? To what extent freedom should be given to media organisations? Or to what extent media organisations give freedom to its reporters?..........It is important to assess that the information a reporter wants to give on-air, whether it is allowed to report by his or her organisation. These are all indicators of press freedom. (Interviewee number 2)

Findings in previous chapter revealed that the journalists' ability to practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom was largely constrained due to 'organisational influence'. Journalists highlighted the ways organisational policies and commercial interests affected their capacity to practice personal understandings (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.3.1). Interestingly, none of the selected international organisations monitoring press freedom evaluate the ways media organisations curtail and abuse a journalist's right of freedom of expression in Pakistan. Thus, given these findings **'media accountability'** appeared as a vital indicator of press freedom in the country. Pritchard (2000, p. 2) called the media accountability as a "conceptual muddle" and emphasised the need to define it explicitly. He defined media accountability as "the process by which media organisations may be expected or obliged to render of an account of their activities to their constituents" such as the public (Richards, 2005, p. 50).

Previously, some media academics identified different mechanisms by which media can be held accountable. For instance, Bertrand (2002) suggested that journalists can be held accountable under the 'Media Accountability System' (MAS) and listed several ways to ensure responsibility, namely: (a) legal regulations, (b) self-regulation, (c) public's criticism and (e) journalistic training. He argued that 'MAS' could best work with the moral pressure or self-regulations that could ensure both freedom and responsibility together (Bertrand, 2002, pp. 107-110; Nordenstreng 2000, p. 80; Black and Barney, 2004, p. 180).

Likewise, Bardoel (2007) identified four ways of accountability: (i) market, (ii) political, (iii) professional and (iv) the public. Hence, the question of 'who is watching the watchdog' is imperative to make the notions of responsibility and accountability compatible (see Curran and Seaton, 1988). However, it is not known that what are the effective ways to held journalists and media organisations accountable in Pakistan? Thus, this question still needs to be further investigated.

Besides, journalists opined the **'public'** as a key indicator of press freedom in Pakistan, revealing this sub-theme as one of the distinct indicators (see Bardoel, 2007). For example, interview number 24 clearly stated that "I think the main key indicator is public because only people can judge the level of journalists' freedom." Interestingly, in this study, journalists did talk about different constraints arising from the stringent media laws and a lack of access to information (see Chapter 7). However, none of them saw the **legal environment** and the journalists' or public's **access to information** as indicatives of press freedom.

Press freedom metrics developed by Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) and Reporters without Borders do encompass indicators that assess the **legal environment** of media and journalists (see Appendix VI A, VI B and VI C). However, these organisations do not evaluate the 'constitutional power' of ruling authorities to suppress freedom of expression. Noticeably, the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) reflects a paradox because it entails laws that protect and suppress the free speech right[92]. For example, during General Pervez Musharraf's regime, the section X of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) was used to suspend the fundamental human rights. As a corollary, some

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[92] See the Article 19 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) that guarantees freedom of expression with certain restrictions. At the same time, the section X of the Constitution (1973) empowers the government with the 'emergency rights' to suspend the fundamental human right of freedom of expression.

television news channels were banned in the country and the journalists' right of free speech was substantially curtailed (Freedom House, 2008; see Chapter 5, sub-section, 5.3.2).

Finally, drawing on the new institutionalism framework of this study, data revealed that there was no 'shared' or institutionalised understanding of press freedom indicators amongst the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study. The varied views of journalists (about press freedom indices) were because of two contextual aspects, namely: (i) different organisational environments and (ii) the varying levels of 'socio-political influences' in Pakistan's Urdu and English languages media. For example, journalists from the Urdu-language media substantially identified different constraints caused by pressure groups, socio-political environments and organisational influence than those from the English-language media. As a result, journalists from the Urdu-language media emphasised the sub-themes of: 'broadcasted or published content', 'journalists' safety', 'pressure groups' influence', 'organisational influence', 'political and social environments'. Hence, no shared or institutionalised perception of press freedom indicators was revealed by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter unpacked the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan. Data suggested that only a few journalists had the prior knowledge of press freedom indicators developed by the selected international organisations. 'Context' was found as the most crucial factor in shaping the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan. Data analysis also revealed some similarities between the Pakistani journalists' views of press freedom indices and the global press freedom metrics. For example, the sub-themes of 'journalistic independence', 'journalists' safety and protection', 'political environment', 'economic environment', 'level of self-censorship' and 'professionalism' depicted a connection between the local and the global press freedom metrics (see sub-section 6.2.3).

Again, 'context' appeared as the most dominant factor in indicating a gap between the local and the global understandings of press freedom metrics. Therefore, the sub-themes of 'broadcasted or published content', 'organisational influence', 'pressure groups' influence', 'social environment', 'media accountability' and 'public' emerged as the distinct sub-themes in the journalists' responses to the research question three of this study. None of the selected international organisations take into account these indicators while measuring

press freedom. Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, it was found that journalists had various views of press freedom indicators. The diverse views of journalists were because of two contextual aspects, namely: different organisational environments and the varying levels of 'socio-political influences' in Pakistan's Urdu and English languages media.

Thus, the data analysis of the first-three research questions of this study revealed 'context' (environment) as the most pivotal factor in shaping the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Therefore, the next chapter proffers an 'environmental level' analysis of press freedom and unpacks the various types of constraints that affect the work of journalists in Pakistan. The chapter will also identify any grey areas that are ignored in press freedom reports by the selected international organisations.

Chapter 7

Freedom of expression and press freedom: An ethnographic account of challenges and constraints faced by the Pakistani journalists

7.1 Introduction

Media environment of any country varies according to social, political and legal structures in which it functions and the national ideology that shapes attitudes (Merrill, 1974, pp. 23-24). Findings in previous chapters substantiated this fact and revealed that 'context' (environment) played a crucial role in shaping the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Therefore, this chapter provides an ethnographic account of environmental constraints, which affect the work of journalists and their right to freedom of expression in Pakistan. The chapter seeks to identify any grey areas that are possibly overlooked by the selected international organisations while evaluating the freedom of press in the country. It presents the findings and discussion of the research question four of this study, namely: what are the various influences and constraints that affect journalists' work and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan? To investigate this question, data were collected through four qualitative research methods including: document review, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and direct observation. These data were analysed thematically using a 'deductive key-theme'– the 'environmental level'. This key-theme was derived from the new institutionalism framework of this study.

The 'environmental level' theme, describing different types of influences and constraints that affect journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression in Pakistan was categorised into ten 'inductive sub-themes' (ranked in the order of prevalence), namely, (i) journalists' safety, (ii) organisational influence, (iii) religious influence, (iv) social influence, (v) political influence, (vi) institutional influence, (vii) economic influence, (viii) professionalism, (ix) pressure groups' influence and (x) legal influence (see Appendix VII)[93].

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[93] These sub-themes emerged by identifying the common key-words and underlying ideas in the journalists' responses to the research question four of this study (see Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2008)[93].

7.2 Findings

7.2.1 Legal and professional protections for freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan

The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) guarantees the rights of freedom of expression and access to information with certain restrictions. The Article 19 and 19-A (under the 18th amendment, 2010) of the Constitution states:

> Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the security of Pakistan, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence. (Article 19 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973)

> Every citizen shall have right to have access to information in all matters of public importance subject to regulation and reasonable restrictions imposed by law. (Article 19-A of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 - under the 18th amendment, 2010)

The constitutional provisions for the protection of freedom of expression and access to information in Pakistan suffer from lacunae in terms of their explanations. The Article 19 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) does explain the nature of restrictions on freedom of expression, which is somehow similar to the Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights[94]. However, the Article 19-A of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973), which guarantees the right of 'access to information' does not explain the phrase "reasonable restrictions".

The section X of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) empowers the government with 'emergency rights' to suspend the fundamental human right of freedom of expression. For example, the last military ruler General Pervez Musharraf used the section X of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) to impose emergency in the country and to suspend the

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[94]The Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) states that (a) "everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers." (b) "The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others." (See Article 19 Memorandum, 2002)

fundamental human rights in November 2007[95] (Freedom House, 2008; see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.3.2). Thus, the basic structure of Pakistan's Constitution (1973) impinges negatively on the freedom of expression and press freedom. Moreover, at present, there are number of media laws that affect the freedom of press and the journalists' right of freedom of expression[96] in Pakistan. These media laws include:

- Criminal libel laws (Pakistan Panel Code, 1860)
- Blasphemy laws (Pakistan Panel Code, 1860)
- Official Secrecy Act, 1923
- Freedom of Information Ordinance, 2002
- Defamation Ordinance, 2002
- Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance, 2002
- The Press Council Ordinance, 2002
- Access to Information Ordinance, 2006

All of these media laws have been designed with certain restrictions. For instance, the Official Secrecy Act (1923) restrains the working journalists from accessing the information without the authorisation of government officers (Siraj, 2009). The Freedom of Information Ordinance (2002) is subject to several restrictions, which are generally defined by the government. The Article 14 of this Ordinance restricts government officers from disclosing any "exempt information" such as information that is likely to:

- "Hurt the national interest of Pakistan.
- Damage foreign relations with any other state.
- Result in commission of an offence.
- **Harm detection, prevention, investigation in any <u>particular case</u>.**
- Reveal the identity of a confidential source of information.
- Facilitate an escape from the legal custody.
- Invade personal privacy or information of any individual.
- Cause damage to the economy of Pakistan.
- **Cause damage to the financial interest of the public body.**

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[95] See also Dawn newspaper's report at http://www.dawn.com/news/1050371/fia-launches-probe-into-nov-2007-emergency

[96] The Press and Publication Ordinances (of 1960, 1963) were promulgated by General Ayub Khan, and this law used to be considered as a 'black law' for press freedom in Pakistan (see Chapter 2).

- Reveal information to a competitor of the public body." (the Freedom of Information Ordinance, 2002, Article 14)

It must be noticed that the Freedom of Information Ordinance (2002) does not define about "particular cases" in which public officials cannot disclose any information. The restriction on the disclosure of any information that might affect the financial interests of public bodies, restrains journalists from the investigation of corruption cases in the public bodies.

The 'Defamation Ordinance of 2002' and the Articles 499-500 of Pakistan Panel Code (1860) empower the state authorities to curb the autonomy of journalists and to cause a chilling effect on their right to freedom of expression through the Criminal Libel Laws (1860). Likewise, the clause 9 of the Defamation Ordinance (2002) imposes a minimum penalty of 50, 000 Pakistani Rupees and three month imprisonment on the working journalists, publishers and media owners. Furthermore, the existence of harsh 'Blasphemy laws' under Pakistan Panel Code (1860) substantially curtails the journalists' right of freedom of expression in Pakistan. The code states:

> Whoever, outrage religious feelings of any class deliberately and with malicious intentions, by words, either spoken or written or by visible representation shall be punished with imprisonment that may extend to ten years or with a fine. (Article 295, sub-section A)

> Whoever, damages a copy of Holy Qur'an or an extract from it and uses it in a derogatory manner for 'un lawful purposes' shall be punishable with imprisonment for life. (Article 295, sub-section B)

> Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation or by any imputation, innuendo, directly or indirectly, defiles the sacred name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) shall be punished with death, or imprisonment for life, and shall also be liable to fine. (Article 295, sub-section C)

Reports by international organisations suggest that Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority Ordinance (2002) has also been used (in the past) to curb the freedom of electronic media through the banning of some television news channels and the cancellation of their licenses (see Chapter 5, sub-section, 5.3.2). The country also have a Press Council; however, there is no practical participation of the media personals in it because of their reservations on its establishment and the Press Council Ordinance of 2002 (International Media Support, 2009).

Furthermore, there are two important professional codes of ethics in Pakistan, namely: code of conduct by 'Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists' (PFUJ) and code of ethics by the 'Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors' (CPNE)[97]. Both codes of ethics clearly abide the working journalists in Pakistan with the basic canons of journalism. For instance, the 'PFUJ's code of conduct' emphasises the high quality of journalism and the media responsibility for fair comment, honesty, accuracy, libel, contempt of court and copyright laws.

The 'CPNE's code of ethics' explicitly describes the do's and do not's for the working journalists. For example, the CPNE emphasises "responsibility, freedom of the press, independence, sincerity, accuracy, impartiality, fair play and decency" as the essential norms to be exercised by the working journalists. It urges journalists to avoid immorality or obscenity; vulgar or derogatory expressions against institutions, groups or individuals; allegations; the provocation of sectarian, parochial and provincial prejudices and hatred; the glamorisation of crime and the incitement of violence.

CPNE's and PFUJ's codes of conducts buttress the notion of 'freedom with responsibility' (McQuail, 1987; Kamali, 1997; see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.2.2). Ostensibly, these journalists' unions try to promote the freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. However, it is important to unpack the ground reality of constitutional and professional protections for the journalists' right of freedom of expression in the country.

In Pakistan, journalists work in a volatile political environment and a complex cultural context. The society reflects male dominance, ethnic plurality and sectarian polarity. In recent years, safety has emerged as one of the biggest challenges for the working journalists because of growing terrorist threats and religious extremism in the country (Freedom House, 2012; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). The following sub-section identifies the various types of environmental influences and constraints, which affected journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression in Pakistan. Thus, the sub-section attempts to reveal the lived experiences of journalists in relation to freedom of expression.

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[97] See the Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors' code of ethics (CPNE) at http://mediacommissionreview.org/code-ethics-council-pakistan-newspaper-editors-cpne/. See the code of conduct by Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) at http://pfuj.pk/code-2/

7.2.2 Various influences and constraints faced by the Pakistani journalists

The data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions suggested that journalists talked about 'ten sub-themes', identifying different types of influences on their routine work and right to freedom of expression (see Figure 14). **Context** appeared as the main factor in influencing the journalists' right to freedom of expression and their routine work in Pakistan. Journalists highlighted different contextual influences; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects and genders across the same sub-themes. Figure 14, below, illustrates the thematic map of research question four.

Figure 14: The thematic map of research question four (RQ 4)
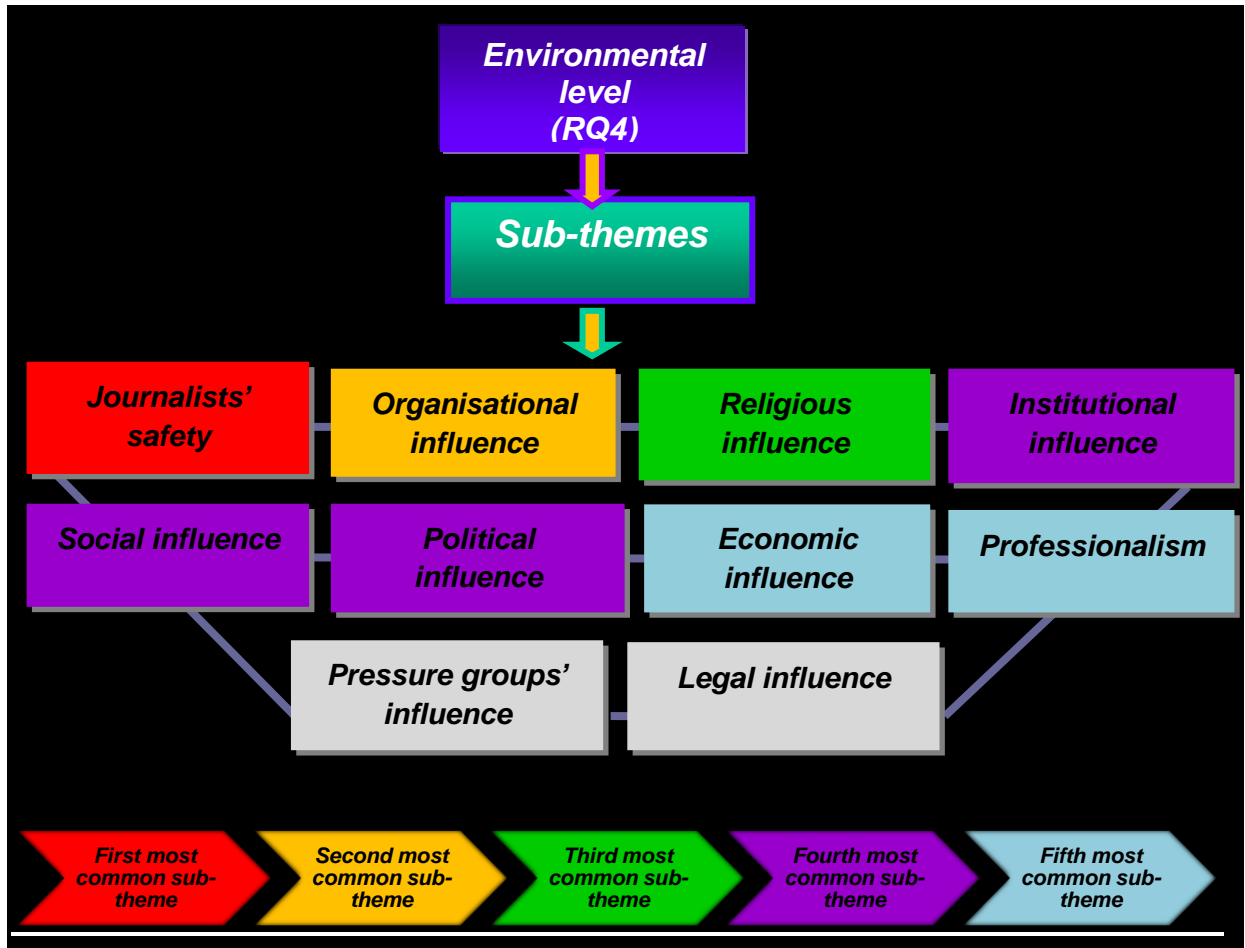
Findings revealed that **journalists' safety** and **organisational influence** were the two most common sub-themes indicating the contextual influence. For example, 'almost all' journalists highlighted some **safety issues**, which affected their routine work (see Figure 15, sub-theme 1). A majority of journalists (i-e 42 out of 51) mentioned the **organisational**

influence as a constraint for their individual right of freedom of expression (see Figure 15, sub-theme 2). Many other journalists, who participated in this study, highlighted different contextual influences, precisely: religious, social, political, institutional, economic, professional, pressure groups' and legal influences (see Figures 14 and 15).

Safety was one of the major concerns expressed by 'almost all' journalists, who participated in this study (see Figure 15, sub-theme 1). Particularly, journalists talked about issues related to their 'physical and psychological safeties'[98] – whereby general killings (18), killings due to non-state actors (1), killings due to their work of investigative journalism (1), killings due to the local hostile groups (1), political killings (1), physical torture (2), kidnapping/picking/missing (5), imprisonment (7), life's threats/risks (9), general threats (11), threats from the law enforcement agencies and ministries (3), harassment (1) and safety issues due to non-state actors (11). Noticeably, journalists from the television news channels highlighted threats by the law enforcement agencies and non-state actors both (see section 7.3).

Organisational influence emerged as the second most common sub-theme in the data set of the research question four of this study. A majority of journalists (i-e 42 out of 51), from either Urdu-language or English-language media, mentioned different types of organisational influences[99] – whereby organisational policy (32), organisational restrictions (3), owner's interests (10), owner's ideology (1), organisational control on news content (1) and the control of marketing and advertising departments on media content (1). Findings suggested that journalists especially from the television news channels viewed their 'organisational policy' as an intervention in their work and a major organisational influence restraining their routine work (see section 7.3).

Pakistan is an Islamic country. Therefore, the country's official religion can impact on the journalists' right of freedom of expression and press freedom. Many journalists (i-e 35 out of 51) talked about **religious factors,** which influenced their routine work[100] –

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[98] Many journalists highlighted the issue of their physical and psychological safeties in more ways than one (i-e 23 out of 48 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15).

[99] Some journalists highlighted the sub-theme of organisational influence in more ways than one (i-e six out of 42 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15).

[100] A few journalists highlighted the sub-theme of religious influence in more ways than one (i-e six out of 35 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15).

whereby sectarian polarity (9), various schools of thoughts (4), sectarian or religious extremism (4), militant/radical/religious organisations (8), Islamic values (2), Blasphemy law (3), Pakistan's religious ideology (2), sectarian prejudice (1), threats (1), limitations to criticise the religion (2), social sensitivity towards religious issues (2), a lack of tolerance (2) and the religious mind-set of the public (1). The majority of journalists who talked about the sub-theme of **religious influence** during in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions were from the Urdu-language media. Data suggested that social, political and institutional influences emerged as the fourth most common sub-themes.

Reports by international organisations do not provide the detail account of different **social influences** in relation to the freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. However, 34 out of 51 journalists talked about the affect of social factors on their right of freedom of expression and routine work[101] – whereby a lack of tolerance (8), violent attitude of people (1), a lack of education (3), a lack of awareness (2), ethnic division/groups (7), ethnic prejudice (1), linguistic issues (1), societal polarity (2), cultural taboos (5), feudalism (2), conservatism (5), male dominance (2), family restrictions (2), the social mind-set for the female journalists (2), social pressures (1), cultural or social norms (4), various schools of thoughts (1), the dominance of elite class in the society (1) and traditional/tribal society (2).

Noticeably, journalists from the English-language media emphasised the factors of 'cultural taboos' and 'conservatism' while talking about the **social constraints** that they faced while at work. Female journalists particularly stressed some gender-based factors, namely: the male dominance in Pakistan's journalism profession and society, family restrictions and the social mind-set of the public towards female journalists (see Appendix VII; section 7.3).

The unstable political situation and ethnic tension in Pakistan has also come under scrutiny by international organisations monitoring press freedom (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). Findings validated that journalists confronted the **political influence** mainly because of Pakistan's political system and situation. For instance, 34 out of 51 journalists mentioned different sorts of political influences[102] – whereby general political

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[101] A number of journalists highlighted the sub-theme of 'social influence' in more ways than one (i-e 18 out of 34 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15).

[102] A few journalists talked about political constraints in more ways than one (i-e 2 out of 34 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15).

influence (19), political pressures (6), political interests (1), tension between political parties (1), political affiliations of media organisations (2), political fear and threats (4), controlled democracy (1), the influence of opposition parties (1) and political barriers (1).

Many journalists highlighted the sub-theme of **institutional influence** as a constraint on their freedom of expression. For example, 34 out of 51 journalists collectively mentioned the **institutional influence** mainly from the 'government' and 'military'. A number of journalists specifically talked about the influence of military in the past (i-e 24 out of 34 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme) - whereby General Musharraf's regime (3), General Zia's regime (5), past three martial laws (12) and military influence at present (4). Journalists from the television news channels particularly highlighted the suppressive actions taken by the last military ruler General Pervez Musharraf during his regime.

Many other journalists mentioned the government's restrictions (i-e 24 out of 34 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme) - whereby the selective allocation of the government's advertisements (8), the government's pressure (4), suppression or less access to information (6), direct and in-direct threats (1), restrictions on interviews (2), the banning of certain television news channels (2) and the use of regulatory bodies against media (1). Some journalists collectively talked about the government's restrictions and the regular intervention of Pakistan's army into their work (i-e 10 out of 34 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme).

Noticeably, journalists from the print-media talked more about the government's control of advertisements; whereas, journalists from the television news channels emphasised the issues of 'information suppression' and a lack of 'access to information'. Findings suggested that overall there was no restriction on journalists to interview anyone by the Pakistani government. However, one of the interviewees mentioned the 'government's restrictions' to interview Taliban and the banned religious organisations in Pakistan (see section 7.3).

Furthermore, it was found that journalists faced many economic constraints as well while doing their jobs. For example, a number of journalists (i-e 32 out of 51) spoke about different **economic constraints**, which affected their right to freedom of expression at

personal and organizational levels[103] – whereby job insecurity (11), joblessness (1), contractual jobs (1), corruption in journalism (1), the issue of wage board award (11), a lack of resources and the poor economic condition of media organisations (4), cross-media ownership (6), the government's control of advertisements and (8) journalists' economic suppression by their media organisations (1).

Data suggested that journalists faced numerous professional challenges too. For instance, several journalists (i-e 32 out of 51) talked about the issue of **professionalism** in the Pakistani media[104] – whereby no professionalism (28), a lack of professionalism (3), no ethics (5), a lack of ethics (4), a lack of training or journalism education (12), a lack of responsibility (6), journalists' partiality (1), yellow journalism (2), envelop journalism (1), no originality in issues (1) and sensationalism (15). Journalists particularly from the television news channels expressed their concerns regarding the issues of sensationalism, a lack of ethics, responsibility and training.

One of the important constraints mentioned by the Pakistani journalists was the influence of **pressure groups**. Journalists highlighted the widespread prevalence of pressure groups in Pakistan. For instance, a number of journalists (i-e 25 out of 51) identified different types of pressure groups, which they confronted while doing their routine work[105] – whereby ethnic groups (3), linguistic groups (1), society (1), government (5), bureaucracy (1), feudal lords (1), intelligence or security agencies (2), religious/radical/sectarian groups (5), political parties (7), non-state actors (5), media owners (4), cable operators (1) and in-direct pressures from various corners (3). Interestingly, not any journalist from the state-owned media talked about pressure groups in Pakistan.

As aforementioned, the constitutional protection for the free speech right in Pakistan is subject to certain restrictions. There is a bulk of suppressive media laws as well that curtail freedom of expression in various ways. However, as compared to many other influences, not so many journalists talked about the sub-theme of **legal influence**. For

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[103] Some journalists highlighted the sub-theme of 'economic influence' in more ways than one (i-e 12 out of 32 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15)

[104] All journalists, who responded in this sub-theme, talked about the professional issues in more ways than one.

[105] A number of journalists talked about pressure groups in more ways than one (i-e 14 out of 25 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme; see Figure 15).

example, 21 out of 51 journalists identified some legal challenges and constraints - whereby[106] suppressive media laws (21), PEMRA's laws (2), defamation law (2), contempt of court (1), PPO (1) and access to information law (1). Figure 15, below, illustrates the findings of research question four (RQ4).

Figure 15: Interviews and focus groups discussions findings of research question four (RQ 4)
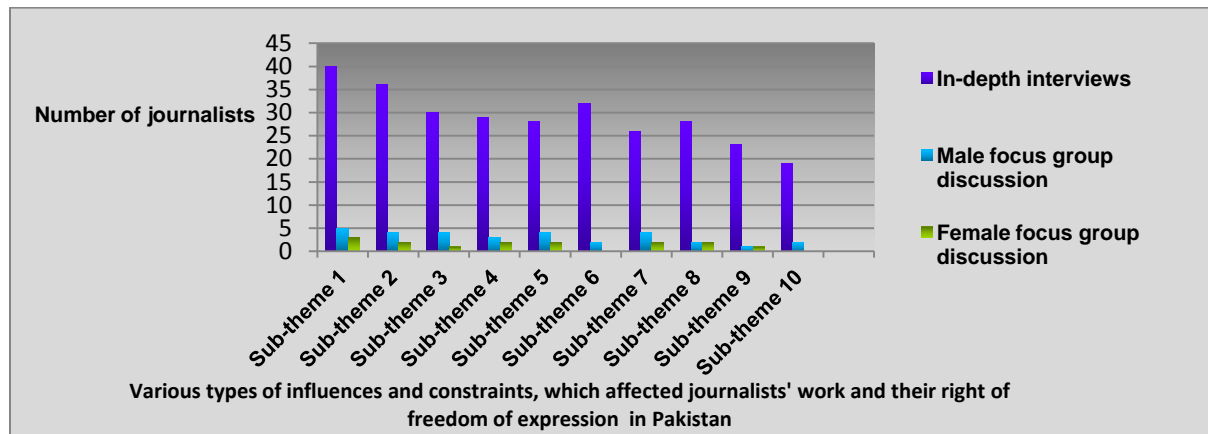
	Environmental level: Sub-themes (RQ4)	In-depth interview Number of journalists	Male focus group Number of journalists	Female focus group Number of journalists
Sub-theme 1 (P=48)	Journalists' safety	40	5	3
Sub-theme 2 (P=42)	Organisational influence	36	4	2
Sub-theme 3 (P=35)	Religious influence	30	4	1
Sub-theme 4 (P=34)	Social influence	29	3	2
Sub-theme 5 (P=34)	Political influence	28	4	2
Sub-theme 6 (P=34)	Institutional influence	32	2	0
Sub-theme 7 (P=32)	Economic influence	26	4	2
Sub-theme 8 (P=32)	Professionalism	28	2	2
Sub-theme 9 (P=25)	Pressure groups' influence	23	1	1
Sub-theme 10 (P=21)	Legal influence	19	2	0

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

Finally, the data of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions considerably validated each other, especially across the sub-themes of 'journalists' safety' and 'organisational influence'. Thus, these sub-themes appeared as the two **most common** ones. The data of in-depth interviews strongly validated the data of male focus group discussion in the sub-themes of: 'religious influence', 'social influence', 'political

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[106] All journalists, who responded in this sub-theme, talked about the suppressive media laws in Pakistan. However, seven out of 21 journalists, who responded in this sub-theme, explicitly mentioned some suppressive media laws.

influence' and 'economic influence' (see Figure 15, sub-themes 3, 4, 5 and 7). Unlike the individual interviewees, the participants of both focus groups discussions did not talk much about the sub-themes of 'pressure groups' influence' and 'legal influence'. Therefore these sub-themes appeared as the **least common** one in the data set of both focus groups discussions.

7.2.3 The ground reality of constraints

For the research question four of this study, the data of direct observation validated the findings of in-depth interviews and focus groups discussions. Safety was noticed as a big challenge for the public and the working journalists both. The local political situation in Karachi was observed as the main cause of safety risks for the working journalists. Constant political unrest, ethnic tension and sectarian conflict were observed in the city during the fieldwork of this study.

Interestingly, Karachi's social and religious environments were observed as highly sensitive in relation to freedom of expression. It was observed that a certain proportion of people and journalists in Karachi were quite liberal while talking about religious and cultural issues (such as blasphemy, sectarian violence, honour killing, forced marriages and gender disparities). It should be mentioned that not all journalists with liberal and secular mind-sets were observed as belonging to the elite class. However, most of them were educated with Master degrees in different disciplines.

It was observed that the local people in Karachi were using mobile phones, interactive forums such as Face-book; YouTube and Twitter to exchange their views. However, it must be mentioned that sometimes restrictions are posed on social media by Pakistan's government, as happened in the past many times (see Chapter 2). Notwithstanding the widespread social conservatism, televisions' dramas on some sensitive issues (such as trans-genders and honour killing) were observed being broadcasted on the local private television channels.

The economic condition of journalists was also appeared quite apprehensive. It was noticed that there was no fixed pay-scale of their salaries. Noticeably, none of the senior or popular journalists, who participated in this study, was observed as complaining about their financial problems. Field reporters either in the television news channels or the newspapers

were observed in a more challenging situation. They were seen as putting their lives at risks just to secure their jobs. For instance, in one of the mob protests outside Karachi Press Club, it was observed that a journalist and his cameraman were beaten by the violent protesters of a political group. Unfortunately, the organisational work environments of journalists were also observed as causing problems to them. An environment of pressure was noticed in most of the selected media organisations in Karachi. A lack of journalistic independence was viewed especially to broadcast or publish any news. For example, in most of the selected television news channels, it was observed that the immediate boss and news producers had the control on the content of news, instead of those reporting from the field.

Interestingly, in some cases, the media organisation's environment was the reflection of its policies and affiliations. For example, it was observed that the environment of stated-owned television channel (PTV)[107] was the testimony of Pakistan's cultural values. On the contrary, the private television news channels and newspapers reflected different working cultures and policies. For instance, a general vibe of hyper-competition, sensationalism and profit-maximisation was noticed in the television news channels.

It was noticed that the English-language newspapers in Karachi had more professional environment as compared to some Urdu-language newspapers and television news channels. It was found that journalists were compelled to work according to their organisational environments and policies. In brief, the working environment of journalists represented an apprehensive picture of the ground reality of freedom of expression in Pakistan. Thus, the data of direct observation suggested the influence of external (institutional environment) and internal (organisational) constraints both on the journalists' agency in Pakistan, indicating their lesser level of empowerment in the local journalism institution. Table 16, below, explains the observation metric of research question four.

Table 16: The observation metric of research question four (RQ 4)

Observatory metric		
What?	When?	How?
The direct observation of religious, social, political, economic, legal and organisational environments in which journalists perform their work in Karachi (see Chapter 4, sub-section 4.5.3).	While undertaking the fieldwork in Karachi (from January 28 2012 till April 28 2012)	Direct observation (as a supplementary data collection method)

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[107] PTV stands for Pakistan Television Corporation.

7.3 Discussion

Pakistan has its unique issues and challenges including constant terrorist threats, growing religious extremism, sectarian violence, internal political tensions, declining economy, a lack of rule of law and human rights, gender disparities and the polarisation of society. Given these challenges, this section discusses the impact of broader institutional environment on the journalists' right of freedom of expression and their work in Karachi and Pakistan more broadly.

Data revealed that **safety** was one of the biggest challenges for the Pakistani journalists while at work. This is not surprising given that Pakistan has been declared as one of the most "deadliest places" for the working journalists (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2010). Almost all journalists, who participated in this study, shared their experiences related to safety risks while doing their duties (see Figure 15, sub-theme 1). For example, one interviewee stated:

> Current difficulties are challenging and risky both. We receive life threats. A journalist can be attacked and people are doing journalism even in this situation. Previously, the threat perception was different. A journalist's family used to be aware that police has picked him, in case of his arrest. Today, the difficulty is that even a journalist's family does not know - who has picked him? Police or who else? And journalists' families wait for them until weeks. So, at present there are more serious challenges as compared to past. (Interviewee number 15)

Journalists work in a fearful environment in Pakistan, where their **physical** and **psychological safeties** are at stake most. Particularly, doing the investigative stories about certain institutions and reporting on sensitive issues are not without potential risks.. For instance, interviewee number 3 said that "there could be threats to my life or family, if I work on a sensitive story."

In recent years, the trend of 'target-killing' has victimised not only general citizens, but also the working journalists in Karachi. For instance, one interviewee stated that "in 2011, there were several incidents of target-killings in Karachi" (Interviewee number 5). Data revealed that journalists confronted threats from non-state actors especially in the conflict zones of Baluchistan and Khyber Phakhtunistan. In this regard, interviewee number

6 highlighted that "journalists face the threats of non-state actors in conflict zones and while talking about controversial issues such as Pakistan's Blasphemy laws." However, other two interviewed journalists particularly talked about threats in the conflict zones of Pakistan. They said:

> Believe you me that journalists from Karachi or Islamabad or Lahore get astound, when they hear stories from the journalists of Khyber Phaktunistan and FATA - that how much they are sustaining pressure. Many things do not come on screen. There is a huge difference between the situation of FATA[108] and Karachi. The difference is same as it was happened during Irish movement. There was a difference between the working journalists of Ireland and London. Or any CNN correspondent, who reports from Iraq, works in a war zone. His working situation is different than the one who is sitting in CNN Atlanta………..It is really a big deal, if journalists are working in this condition. Many of our colleagues have received threats and have been attacked also. Those who work in the conflict areas of Baluchistan and Khyber Phakhtunistan are more progressive and braver than us. (Interviewee number 29)

> I would say again that there are threats in some areas such as Sawat, Northern areas and Baluchistan. Journalists from different television news channels have been killed. So, there are certain risky areas countrywide and even in Karachi, where journalists could face life threats. (Interviewee number 40)

An **information barrier** has also created due to the fearful environment of Pakistan and life risks in conflict zones. Ironically, media organisations have to compromise on the quality of information from these areas. For instance, one interviewee highlighted:

> Let's take the example of Baluchistan. My reporters cannot go there. They have fear of their safety because they can be kidnapped or shot either by militants or government. Personally, as an editor, I feel that there are lots of issues, which we can be reported but these are never reported in the media due to safety threats. Baluchistan is a very good example. Another example is the war on terror. Our journalists cannot go in Waziristan as militants and army are there. So, we have to rely on the **second hand information**. (Interviewee number 34)

The dilemma of journalists' safety not only necessitates to ensure their safe access to the conflict areas in Pakistan, but also to improve the level of safety provided to them by the local law enforcement agencies and media organisations. For example, interviewee number

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[108] Federally Administered Tribal Area of Pakistan

40 highlighted the negligence of media organisations towards journalists' safety and said that "big television news channels provide blood proof jackets to their reporters in order to undertake their work. Small television news channels do not provide any security to reporters, drivers and cameramen." Likewise, interviewee number 32 stated:

> See! The policy is that those who are working in war zone or conflict areas, their lives are insured for a short period of time. The policy is no more effective - once a journalist comes back from the conflict area..............Our several journalists have been killed due to direct threats. We normally do our safety arrangements at own. Police usually does not provide any security; therefore, we have to be careful by ourselves. (Interviewee number 32)

A few journalists viewed their safety issue just a "myth", despite the substantial evidence of safety risks for them. For example:

> It is said that Pakistan is a dangerous country for journalists. Let me tell you that 90 per cent journalists, who were killed in the past, were not permanent employs of any media organisation. Except one or two, the majority of them were from the rural or tribal areas of Pakistan. These informers were on frontline during the war against terrorism, that is why, they were killed............Journalists, who work in cities and are popular in the mainstream media, not a single journalist among them has been hurt or killed so far. Now it has become a myth that journalists are not safe in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 25)

Furthermore, the sub-theme of **organisational influence** emerged as the second major challenge or constraint for the working journalists (see Figure 15, sub-theme 2). It was found that the work of journalists was affected largely because of their organisational policies and owners' vested interests. For example, interviewee number 9 said that "we have to follow the vested interests of our owners. Journalists cannot publish several stories that clash from the vested interests of media owners." Likewise, interviewee number 40 stated that "one has to obey the employer in Pakistan. Mostly, journalist cannot do anything beyond the policy." Data revealed that some journalists viewed the commercial interests or policies of their media organisations as a difficulty. For instance, interviewee number 28 highlighted that "if you ask about difficulties within the organisation, I would say that here news is mainly stopped because of marketing considerations." (see also Chapter 5, sub-section, 5.3.2)

Data revealed that journalists did not merely face **physical risks,** but also **financial risks** in the form of their forced jobs terminations. Some journalists were compelled to manipulate the information in order to serve the vested interests of their owners and for their personal financial protection. For example, according to a focus group discussion participant:

> Chances of my job termination can increase, if I do any story that hurts the vested interests of my owner and editor. In business reporting, the biggest challenge is the media organisation's financial interest because newspapers do have investments in other businesses, which are called as multiple businesses. I am forbidden to give the telecom industry's news because of my organisation's and editor's interests. Organisation tries to present the information after moulding it in a way that reality is contradictory to the given information. (Participant J, male focus group discussion)

Pakistan's **religious context** appeared as the third most dominant factor in influencing the journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression (see Figure 15, sub-theme 3). Pakistan is an Islamic country; however, the country's religious ideology and culture is controversial. Interviewee numbers 14 and 16 talked about the controversy of Islamic culture in Pakistan and said:

> The base of Pakistan is controversial since it is not clear that whether it has been established for Islam or not? In the post 9-11 situation, you see Abaya has come from Dubai and Saudi Arab. Now it is a fashion. Women have to take 'Burqa' (veil) in Baluchistan and tribal areas. This is part of their culture. Some people keep beard and some do not. So, the concept of Islamic values is controversial in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 14)

> Pakistan was founded as a secular and democratic welfare state. This did not mean that Pakistan was not a religious country. Quaid-e-Azam (the founder of Pakistan) had told himself that the state would not intervene in the individual lives of citizens.........No matter....if anyone is Muslim, Christian, Hindu and Parsi……………………………I think to be secular does not mean to be non-religious. It means that whoever has whatever believes can practice it. Earlier, there used to be tolerance here and Sunni people used to attend the Majlis of Shia religious sect[109]. Now, there are 72 religious sects, who call each other non-Muslim in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 16)[110]

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[109] Majlis means gathering.

[110] Dots in this quotation refer to the interviewees' pauses while expressing views on the religious controversy of Pakistan.

Despite the country's religious controversy, Pakistan is facing the issues of growing religious extremism and sectarian violence. This has implicated in a lack of religious tolerance among masses. Data revealed that journalists had to employ self-censorship while reporting on religious issues. For example, interviewee number 8 said that "if there is any clash between Shia and Sunni religious sects, we avoid broadcasting it." Similarly, interviewee number 17 said that "journalists have to be careful while writing about religious issues because of their sensitivity. Pakistan is a traditional society and no one tolerates here."

Blasphemy is a crucial religious issue in Pakistan. The Blasphemy laws under Pakistan Panel Code (1860), restrict the Pakistani citizens from any sort of derogatory speech against Islam and Holy Prophet (peace be upon him). Therefore, journalists have to be very careful in their religious speech to avoid any legal action and the public's reaction in general. This study substantiated these facts. For example, interviewee numbers 22 and 33 while commenting on the issue of blasphemy in Pakistan said:

> Blasphemy is a very sensitive issue here. In Pakistan, it becomes a collective issue. We are very sensitive towards religious symbols and icons. However, in Western countries, the right of freedom of expression permits to speak freely. (Interviewee number 22)

> When we write Holy Prophet, we do write '(peace be upon him)' or write 'Holy Qur'an'. So, these are the things that journalists have to do because they do not want hundreds of people coming and torturing their offices. In other countries, journalists have enough freedom and they do not need to talk about religion in a certain way……….Here, if someone has written a piece on ORKUT questioning religion……you can imagine the result. We can read that piece, if it is good. However, it cannot be published in newspaper. I think, at times, facts are not published due to religious and cultural constraints. (Interviewee number 33)[111]

Noticeably, the **law of blasphemy** is highly politicised in Pakistan. Therefore, in recent years, cases about the **manipulation of blasphemy laws** have increased in the country. Despite the sensitivity of this issue, a few journalists were able to report the manipulation of Pakistan's Blasphemy laws in Karachi. For instance, interviewee number 33 said that "ever since I have joined this newspaper, stories regarding the manipulation of

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[111] Dots in this quotation refer to the interviews' pauses while talking about the religious sensitivity of Pakistan's society.

Pakistan's Blasphemy laws come every third week. This indicates that Blasphemy laws are curtailing the public's right of freedom of expression seriously."

I think the public's reaction on religious issues is not as severe as the reaction of militant and religious organisations. Data suggested that religious and militant organisations were the major cause of life risks for the working journalists. Interviewee number 27 while sharing one of his experiences said:

> We receive threats from the militant organisations in Pakistan, and their notices or letters with a full list of charges against our newspaper. For example, 'people in XYZ[112] newspaper, be ready for your death because your male and female staffs mingle together. You write Qadyani's worship place - a mosque. Hence, be ready to face the consequences of your misleading publications. (Interviewee number 27)

Apparently, in Pakistan, journalists are aware of the fact that "a nation's journalism and the level of press freedom cannot exceed the limits permitted by the society and national ideology" (Merrill, 1974, p. 24). Thus, they accept the religious restrictions on their right to freedom of expression. For instance:

> Pakistan is an Islamic society and we do have our own values. Therefore, my perceptions and wishes do not matter substantially. I wish that there is no restriction on my freedom of expression, but still our society is not mature to the level where we abolish all restrictions. Some moral, religious or cultural restrictions will remain there - on which we have to compromise. (Interviewee number 20)

Not only religion, but also cultural taboos and the social texture of Pakistan's society prevent journalists from the free debate on certain issues such as homosexuals and honour killing. Many journalists identified multiple **social influences**, which affected their work and right of freedom of expression. Social conservatism, cultural taboos, ethnic plurality and a lack of tolerance and literacy were highlighted as the most restraining social factors by the Pakistani journalists. For instance, interviewee number 20 said, "Pakistan is a traditional society; therefore, journalists should not criticise anyone directly in their writings or speech since people are conservative here."

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[112] The name of newspaper has been replaced with alphabets in order to ensure the confidentiality of interviewee and his newspaper.

One of the serious implications of 'social conservatism' in Pakistan is a lack of freedom to debate on certain cultural issues, which mostly affect the Pakistani women. For example, interviewee number 21 talked about the women's right of free speech and said that "we must give the right of freedom of expression to everyone, especially to women." Interviewee number 22 talked about the women's right in Pakistan in relation to Pakistan's Hudood Ordinance (adultery law) and stated:

> Now you see the issues of honour killing and Hudood Ordinance (adultery law). How a woman can report that she is innocent? She herself is a victim. The fact is that women are arrested, if they admit sex. We did campaign against this Ordinance and pleaded to amend it. It was actually imposed by a dictator without any debate and consensus by religious scholars and other representatives of the society. Eventually, it was amended during General Musharraf's regime. Thus, this issue is also a kind of taboo in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 27)

Moreover, data revealed that journalists were compelled to employ self-censorship in stories related to 'ethnic clashes' and 'cultural taboos'. For example, interviewee number 11 stated that "we cannot criticise any religious sect and cultural taboo such as homosexuals. Still people do not talk about HIV aids openly." Whereas, interviewee number 14 talked about the journalists' self-censorship due to social taboos and said that "we have to exercise self-censorship while writing about cultural taboos and religious matters. There are several religious issues about which one cannot write. Sex is a taboo here. One cannot write about it." More importantly, one interviewee highlighted the ways journalists employ self-censorship in stories related to ethnic clashes. For example:

> Every day, something happens in Karachi because there are many groups who fight with each other. Let suppose, four people die in a firing incident and they belong to a particular ethnic group. When information will come to me, I would not report that who was Urdu-speaking or Pathan or Baluchi. I would only report the number of casualties, the location of incident and just that they belong to a political group. The reason for all this precaution is that my story might cause an ethnic unrest or reaction, which can increase the number of casualties. Therefore, we have to self-censor many facts. (Interviewee number 2)

Thus, the journalists' experiences in Karachi manifested the influence of **religious** and **social environments** on their work. Especially, a few female journalists revealed some 'gender-based problems' because of the male dominance in Pakistan's society and

journalism profession. For example, interviewee number 38 stated that "the male dominance in our society and journalism profession does not give a progressing space to female journalists. Occasionally, I face problems while information gathering because of my gender."

Pakistan's political environment does not lag behind to affect the work of journalists and their right to freedom of expression. Data revealed that many journalists (i-e 34 out of 51) confronted problems because of political pressures, threats and the political affiliations of their media organisations (see Appendix VI). The participant G of male focus group discussion unpacked some political constraints in Karachi. He stated:

> You see political matters in Karachi. In the last couple of years, relationship between the two local political parties has not been cordial on ethnic grounds. There is a constant tension between them. Now, writing against those two political parties can cause problem to journalists because they give direct threats to us. And within my organisation there might be problems due to the owner's political affiliations. (Participant G, male focus group discussion)

The internal politics of Pakistan reflects complexity because of ethnic disputes. Journalists can suffer risks at a personal level, if they hold the affiliation of any political party and ethnic group. For example, the participant H of male focus group discussion talked about the political affiliations of journalists and its consequences for them. He said:

> It is very difficult for a journalist to work, if he belongs to an ethnic group, which is in clash with another ethnic group politically. It is hard to survive in this situation. One of the journalists from a local private television news channel was killed on the same lines in 2011. He belonged to an ethnic group and had affiliation with a local political party in Karachi. So, journalists' political and ethnic affiliations can be harmful for them. (Participant H, male focus group discussion)

In addition, the powerful influence of Pakistan's army in national politics has not merely damaged the country's democratic system several years, but has hampered the development of press as an independent institution (Gregory and Revill, 2008). The **institutional influence** of Pakistan's army was confirmed by many journalists, who participated in this study. For example, journalists highlighted that censorship and the banning of newspapers and television news channels were quite common during the

military regimes of General Zia (1977-1988) and General Musharraf (1999-2008). For example:

> The former General Pervez Musharraf imposed restrictions on judiciary and promulgated emergency in the country. Media had played a crucial role in the restoration of judiciary movement, to the extent that General Musharraf had to shut down certain television news channels in November 2007. (Interviewee number 2)

> Qur'anic verses about cruel rulers used to be censored during General Zia's regime. Newspapers owners used to display the Qur'anic verses about cruel rulers. Those Qur'anic verses used to be removed from newspapers, whenever staff from the Press Information Department used to visit their offices. (Interviewee number 16)[113]

> It was the period of General Zia-ul-Haq, when I started my career. At that time, we never used to get a job. It was the period of imprisonment and unemployment and this continued until 1990. Then, we got a little bit freedom. (Interviewee number 25)

Journalists highlighted that to criticise Pakistan's army was not without risks for them (especially while at work). In this regard, interviewee number 5 said that "I cannot criticise Pakistan's army because my television news channel would be shut down and I might face consequences." Likewise, interviewee number 11 said that "I cannot criticise the Pakistani army because of life threats. Now big journalists do criticism on Pakistan's army, but within a limit." In this regard, one of the interviewed journalists talked more overtly and stated:

> Pakistan is a strange country, in a sense that it would be taken as against the national interest of country, if you talk against Pakistan's army. And there would be a contempt of court, if you say anything against the local judiciary. So, only one institution is left for criticism and that is the parliament. You can criticise the parliament as much as you can. (Interviewee number 13)

On the contrary, some journalists viewed an improvement in the journalists' ability to criticise Pakistan's army. Interviewee number 26 expressed his positive views in this regard and said:

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[113] See also 'Press in Chains' (Niazi, 1986).

There are two to three institutions here about which it is very difficult to talk and write in the Pakistani media. However, now army and judiciary are also criticised, if you look at the media content of the last two years. This is unprecedented in Pakistan. Earlier, sensitive institutions never faced criticism in Pakistan. Now criticism is being done on ISI Generals and on their political actions. We cannot get more freedom than this! It is opined worldwide that journalism is not free in Pakistan. I have a different opinion about it. Have ever American and British journalists written against their army or agencies? We write and speak openly about them. (Interviewee number 26)

I think there is a little improvement in relation to the level of journalists' criticism on Pakistan's army. However, in recent times, the nature of influence exercised by the Pakistani army has changed. For example, journalists highlighted the **information manipulation** and **news-feeding** by the intelligence agencies in Pakistan. According to interviewee number 14, "intelligence agencies have a big role in news-feeding and information manipulation. They have media cell. Media is fed by them." In this perspective, one interviewee talked in more detail and said:

Our intelligence agencies harass or pick journalists. However, serious problem occurs since they feed stories. Harassment is not problematic than the misinformation by them. So, as an editor, I have to be very careful because sometimes I do not recognise the **planted stories**. (Interviewee number 34)

As compared to past, today, the Pakistani media is far more liberalised. However, data validated that the last ruling government[114] in Pakistan had used different mechanisms to suppress the voice of media, peculiarly through the selective allocation of the government's advertisements. For example, interviewee number 23 said that "newspapers have to surrender their freedom, if government stops its advertisements." Likewise, interviewee number 34 stated that "the lever of state is advertisements. The government stops giving its advertisements, if we do anything against them. This is actually happening currently." This implies that Pakistan's media operates under the 'financial pressure' of the government. For example, one interviewee stated:

State has a key role in suppressing the freedom of expression because media organisations rely substantially on the government's advertisements. State sometimes uses it as a

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[114] Data for this study was collected during the regime of the former President of Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari (i-e January 28 2012 – April 28 2012).

manipulative tool. Either democratic or non-democratic governments, both have used advertisements as a suppressive tool against the media………The current government has prohibited the allocation of its advertisements for our newspaper. Some television channels substantially rely on the government's advertisements; therefore, they have to compromise a lot. And if they do not compromise, they do not get advertisements. (Interviewee number 9)

In addition, journalist highlighted the **access to information** as one of the crucial problems that they faced while at work. The Article 19 (A) under the eighteenth amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) does provide the right of access to information. However, journalists revealed the ground reality of this constitutional right in Pakistan. According to interviewee numbers 8, 32 and 40:

Access to information – Pakistan is a developing country and has not become liberal in that sense. Though, people and media organisations are getting more open in their expressions. However, it is difficult to get any information regarding the government. (Interviewee number 8)

The access to information law exists in Pakistan, but it is not practiced in reality. Information is not given, when we try to contact the respective authorities in government departments. We do not get the required document and information easily. (Interviewee number 32)

Yes, we do face difficulty at the government level. I have been doing crime reporting for the last ten to twelve years. I get the information from people and police easily, but the government does not give facts. They usually try to suppress the reality and hide their carelessness. (Interviewee number 40)

Some journalists viewed that the **access to information** was a problem just for the local journalists and not for the foreign journalists working in Pakistan. For example, interviewee number 11 said that "I would like to highlight that foreign journalist or media get information easily in Pakistan and they do have access to information." I think the prevalent situation particularly in the Northern areas of Pakistan suggests that access to information is a problem either for local or foreign journalists both due to safety threats.

Data revealed an 'information vacuum' in Pakistan because of **safety issues** and the **government's restriction to interview** the members of banned radical organisations and Taliban's leaders. Apparently, it is impossible to broadcast Taliban's point-of-views on media. For instance, interviewee number 5 stated that "according to PEMRA's rules, we

cannot conduct the interview of any Taliban's leader and statements by the members of any band religious organisation." On the contrary, interviewee number 29 said, "I do not think that there is any pressure from the government side at the moment, especially to interview anyone."

The Pakistani Government has imposed strict restrictions on journalists interviewing what are seen as extremist political and religious groups. The government has banned four religious organisations "including Shia Talba Tanzeem, Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaat (formerly known as Sipah-e-Sahaba), Karachi-based Peoples' Aman Committee and Tehreek-e-Naujawan Ahle-Sunnat Gilgit" (Pakistan Observer, 2012). Such restrictions have been used in other countries. For example, Germany outlaws anti-Semitic speech and numerous countries have enacted laws to discourage vilification and hate speech. However, two negative implications emerge from the Pakistani government's restrictions on journalists interviewing the leaders of Taliban and banned militant organisations. First, such restrictions marginalise the points-of-view of Taliban's leaders and banned religious organisations in the country, which distorts the true state of political debate and the diversity of political viewpoints in Pakistan. Potentially this could have a chilling effect on non-government's and non-mainstream's views. But, more importantly, it means these views are not exposed to analysis and commentary by mainstream media, leaving extremist views to go unchallenged.

Another consequence of the government's restrictions on journalists to interview Taliban's leaders is the targeting of journalists and media organisations by militant organisations, aggrieved because their views are not broadcast or disseminated. For example, in 2012, a local private television news channel's office (AAJ TV) was attacked in Karachi and the responsibility of this attack was accepted by a local militant organisation (Reuters, 2012; see Chapter 5, sub-section, 5.3.2).

Thus, this study substantiated the fact of **information suppression** in the Pakistani media because of safety threats and institutional influence. However, data also revealed the **role of media organisations** in **information suppression** due to corporate interests. The participant D of female focus group discussion highlighted the **internal blockage of information** by her media organisation and revealed:

One cannot give even breaking level news because of advertisements. Advertisers are our real client and our entire revenue comes from them. I would not mention the name of a food company. They were using a very high level of baking soda, which could cause cancer among consumers. This was a very serious issue. One of our reporters had the full list of ingredients as well. But the story was not published. Why? That food company could stop giving us its advertisements..So, this was a huge information blockage……………........There is not always the threat of death. I have been watching such information blockages for the last seven years. There was a bank scandal. We had documents that were provided by the Federal Investigation Authority (FIA) of Pakistan. But we could not publish report because we receive 25 per cent of revenue from that bank. This means the revenue of billions of rupees...................What else would be the violation of freedom of expression? Masses are not getting the news that they ought to receive. (Participant D, female focus group discussion)[115]

In this way, media owners are also part of the prevalent **pressure groups** in Pakistan. It was found that journalists had experienced the pressure from various corners such as government, ethnic groups, political parties, religious organisations, intelligence agencies and non-state actors while doing their jobs. However, the biggest challenge for them was to confront the internal pressure of their organisational policies and corporate interests. For example, interviewee number 15 said that "there is a pressure of owners' policies on journalist. We are asked to leave the organisation, if we do not agree with any policy."

Besides, Pakistan's **economic crises** indirectly influence the work of journalists; despite the religious, socio-political and institutional influences. Financial benefits such as bribery and other incentives to journalists by the government are common in order to influence them economically, especially in the print-media (Riaz, 2007, p. 159). One of the reasons of growing corruption and **envelop journalism** in Pakistan is the financial insecurity of journalists. In this situation, journalists appear as the 'rational actors' to pursue their self-interests (Hall, 1996, p. 945; see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.3.2). For example, interviewee number 34 talked about the poor economic condition of district reporters and said that "in television news channels, journalists do not get salaries even up to six months. District reporters are asked to bring advertisements in order to get their salaries.

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[115] Dots in this quotation refer to the interviewee's pauses while talking about information blockage by her media organisation.

Consequently, financial challenges compromise the freedom of a reporter or journalist." Regarding the economic influence, one of the focus group participants stated:

> Actually, newspapers publish favourable stories for those, who give advertisements. This increases their circulation at the end of the day. There is no purpose of bringing news from the field, if it is not published. There are more problems for the working journalists in Pakistan as compared to Europe and the United States. In Pakistan, journalists require economic freedom and job security so as they can report freely, without any sort of corruption and bribery. (Participant I, male focus group discussion)

Peculiarly, journalists from the television news channels expressed their concerns regarding the trend of random job termination and downsizing in the Pakistani media. On the other hand, journalists from the print-media complained about the delay in the implementation of the Wage Board Award[116]. For example:

> In newspapers, wages are very less. Some newly launched media organisations have introduced good salaries for their staff. You will surprise to know that even a media organisation like XYZ[117] has increased journalists' salaries after four years and not for every staff member of their organisation. Interestingly, this newspaper (XYZ) does highlight about the growing inflation rate in Pakistan. So, media organisations suppress journalists economically. The Supreme Court of Pakistan has also ordered the media owners to implement on the Wage Board Award, but none of the media organisations have implemented on it so far. (Interviewee number 11)

Moreover, a number of journalists especially from the television news channels highlighted the growing trend of sensationalism in the Pakistani media because of a lack of **professionalism** and journalistic training. For example, interviewee number 27 viewed that "there are no journalistic conventions in Pakistan's electronic media. A lack of professionalism is one of the major issues, which affects the practice of responsible journalism." Similarly, according to interviewee numbers 28 and 29:

> The source of income in television news channels is advertisements and we get it through ratings. So, the entire focus of media owners is to increase their television channels' ratings and revenue through sensational content......................We have even sensationalised the

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[116] The Wage Board "is a committee or board formed by the government of Pakistan for the purpose of fixing the rates of wages for journalists in the country. The board is constituted after every five years. Up till now seven boards have been formed" See description at http://zafarahmedku06.tripod.com/

[117] In order to ensure the confidentiality, the name of interviewee's media organisation has been replaced with alphabets.

concept of breaking news in Pakistan, which is affecting people. When we present any news as breaking news with a red theme, it creates anxiety among the public. Sometimes, breaking news does not have any news worthiness. (Interviewee number 28)

In Pakistan, there is a trend of ratings. Now there is a competition of ratings due to the abundance of television news channels. In this situation, the practice of editorial judgment and journalism ethics has badly affected. Every channel is operating for ratings. We broadcast political leaders' quarrels during assembly's sessions and television talk shows. There are incidents when journalists abuse their free speech right and intrude into public's private life to report sensational stories. Unfortunately, journalists here are not well trained to carry out their duties professionally. (Interviewee number 29)

Journalists in Karachi saw the lack of professionalism as one of the key issues affecting freedom of expression in Pakistan's media. Therefore, it is imperative to analyse the notion of professionalism and how it re-defines itself within the context of Pakistan. Scholarly literature indicates that the term 'professionalism' has been interpreted as the "consensus of the norms, which may apply to being and behaving as a professional within personal, organisational and broader political conditions" (Day, 1999, p.13). These norms largely indicate the values of professionals that underpin their practices and behaviours. In journalism studies, scholars have suggested five values common to professional practice, namely: freedom, objectivity, truth, decency and impartiality (Deuze, 2005). However, it is accepted that other values and ethical principles shape journalism practice including respect to individual rights (such as privacy, reputation) as well as respect to religions and national interest. Professionalism within journalism embraces "pro-active principles" (truth and independence) and "restraining principles" (such as respect to other individual rights). Thus, implicit in the concept of professionalism, is the notion of journalism ethics that refers to a set of normative principles which guide journalists' practices (McQuail, 2000, p. 151).

The elements of 'pro-active' and 'retraining' principles underpinning the notion of professionalism are emphasised by Western human rights instruments as well as Islamic values both (see Hocking, 1947; United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Articles 19 and 29; European Convention on Human Rights, 1953, Article 10 (a) and 10 (b); Cairo Declaration on Human Rights, 1990, Article 22). In the case of Pakistan, these professional principles can be seen as highly dependent on religious principles. For

instance, the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) and journalists' codes of ethics (such as Pakistan Federal Union of journalists' and the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors' codes of ethics) emphasise the responsible use of freedom of expression so as not to cause harm to the Islamic values of respecting the rights of others (like privacy and reputation). This reflects the influence of Pakistan's culture, which is largely grounded on Islamic values. However, journalists' practices are not only shaped by Pakistan's culture, but also by the newsrooms' and organisational cultures too. For example, some Pakistani media organisations do have rightist or Islamic ideological leaning such as the Nawa-e-Waqt media group and Jang group of newspapers. Journalists' narratives and the style of reporting are largely pro-Islam in these media groups. Noticeably, in English-language newspapers such as Daily Dawn and Express Tribune, the style of reporting is quite liberal. This implies that media organisation's or newsroom's culture do shape journalists' practices and their level of 'freedom' (Mezzera and Sial, 2010, pp. 16-17; McMillion, 2014, p. 153).

The aforementioned facts highlight that the professional context of Pakistan is complex because the notion of 'freedom' negotiates itself according to the media organisations' environments and more broadly Pakistan's culture, which reflects the milieu of Islamic and ethnic customs both (see Chapter 5, sub-section, 5.3.2). Hence, the concept of professionalism and ethical principles may vary according to different cultural and journalists' working contexts.

Literature reviewed in Chapter 3 highlighted that scholars do have consensus on journalists' professional values and ethical principles worldwide. Notwithstanding this consensus, journalists' codes of ethics and the notion professionalism may vary, depending on the context and culture of different countries. For example, Hafez's study (2002) highlighted that freedom in most codes was qualified by the cultural considerations or permissible limitations, where it could cause harm to other individual rights (such as privacy, reputation and so on)[118]. While mentioning about the codes of ethics in Pakistan, he highlighted cultural and political restrictions both on journalists' freedom. He pointed out that the CPNE's code of ethics[119] was devised with some limitations, where it could

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[118] The freedom of speech in Islam is grounded on a variety of principles, including *hisbah* (commanding good and forbidding evil); *nasihah* (sincere advice); *shura* (consultation); *ijtihad* (independent juristic reasoning); and *haqq-al-mu'aradah* (the right of constructive criticism)" (Kamali, 1997 cited in Breit, 2011, p. 68).

[119] CPNE refers to the Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors.

cause harm to "the glory of Islam, security and defence of Pakistan, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency, privacy and morality" (p. 237).

Hafez's study (2002) manifested that the notions of ethics and professionalism assume different meanings in different cultural contexts. This means that depending on the interpretation of rights and ethical standards within various cultures, the issues around professionalism could be different. The case of Pakistan is complex because the ethical context is more difficult by the cultural and religious contexts. Therefore, the issue of a lack of professionalism is complex because journalists need to be capable of dealing with complex contexts when reporting. For instance, when talking about the ethical complexity of Pakistan's media, interviewee number 29 stated:

> Journalists here are not well trained. Despite the existence of journalists' codes of ethics, they do not know how to perform their duties following the canons of journalism. Let me give you the example of Maya Khan's case. The morning show anchor recorded public's communication and their activities in a Karachi's park without their consent. I completely understand public's reaction on this incident because people certainly do not want to expose their private life on screen. In addition, a majority of people have a conservative mind-set in Pakistan and to broadcast the personal lives of married couples and public is certainly not acceptable here. Journalists need to be thoughtful about the cultural sensitivity and people's mind-set in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 29)

The abovementioned incident highlighted by interviewee number 29 is a worth mentioning example, which underlines a lack of professionalism in Pakistan's private television news channels. The quoted incident by interviewee number 29 occurred in January 2012, when a female morning show host of a private television news channel (SAAMA News TV) was observed "conducting a raid on a public park in Karachi and questioning couples about whether their parents were aware of their whereabouts and going as far as asking them about their marital status" (Express Tribune, 2012). In many Western countries, this incident might not be taken as a serious case of the intrusion of privacy. However, the aforementioned incident was seen as a severe intrusion in the public's private life and invoked debates about the practice of journalism ethics in Pakistan's media. This is not too surprising given the Islamic context of Pakistan. "Privacy, as a right, is so stressed upon in Islam, that the Qur'an says, 'do not spy on one another' (49:12). This would apply also to find out the details of another person's life without his or her consent" (Zahidi, 2012). Despite Islamic Sharia'ah principles, the Constitution of Pakistan (1873) and the

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Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors' code of ethics also emphasise to respect the privacy of individuals' private life. However, the aforesaid example indicates a clear gap between the theory and practice of ethical standards in Pakistan's media, especially in terms of respect to privacy.

Previously, some Pakistani scholars also highlighted the issue of professionalism in country's media (Siraj, 2009). While Karachi Press Club and other private media organisations do organise programs for journalists' trainings, it is imperative to enhance the quality of journalists' trainings and the level of their implementation on codes of ethics for professional journalism in the country. Above all, there is a pressing need to educate Pakistani journalists to deal with the cultural and religious complexities when reporting. Thus, journalists' responses revealed a complex professional context in Pakistan, which affected their routine work and the practice of freedom of expression.

Markedly, this study revealed that despite the existence of stringent media laws, not so many journalists talked about the sub-theme of **legal influence** (see sub-sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2). Overall, journalists confirmed the impact of institutional environment on their work and right to freedom of expression in several ways.

Finally, drawing on the new institutionalism framework, data analysis revealed that journalists had different experiences with regard to constraints and environmental influences under the same sub-themes; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects, genders and job descriptions. Particularly, journalists confronted constraints such as safety risks; organisational, religious and social constraints most while doing their jobs. This suggested the substantial impact of 'institutional environment' on the journalists' work in Pakistan.

This study revealed that journalists had to negotiate with pervasive external socio-political influences and the internal organisational constraints while doing their routine work. Hence, journalists appeared as 'passive actors' with a less level of empowerment, suggesting a constant 'tension' between actors (journalists) and their institutional environment in Pakistan.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the influence of institutional environment on the journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression in Pakistan. Journalists shared different experiences under the same sub-themes; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects and genders. 'Context' was found as the most crucial factor in influencing the journalists' work in Pakistan. Therefore, data suggested ten inductive sub-themes, which described the influence of contextual constraints on journalists' work, namely: journalists' safety, (ii) organisational influence, (iii) religious influence, (iv) social influence, (v) political influence, (vi) institutional influence, (vii) economic influence, (viii) professionalism, (ix) pressure groups' influence and (x) legal influence.

Data analysis revealed safety risks as one of the major constraints that affected journalists' work and that resulted in their reliance on 'second hand information' in the conflict zones of Khyber Phakhtunistan, Baluchistan and FATA. Journalists also highlighted the 'organisational influence' as one of the constraints, which affected their routine work and right to freedom of expression. Noticeably, international organisations monitoring press freedom do not evaluate the ways media organisations curtail the journalists' right of freedom of expression in Pakistan (see Chapter 6, section, 6.3; Appendix VI). The 'manipulation of information' was found to be occurred in the country due to government, military and organisational influences.

It was found that journalists had to self-censor the news stories because of organisational, religious, social, political and institutional influences. At an organisational level, owners' business interest appeared as the main reason, which resulted in journalists' self-censorship and information blockage. However, data revealed that individual journalists had to exercise self-censorship while at work because of growing religious extremism, ethnic tension, and social conservatism in the country.

Furthermore, in Pakistan, journalism has witnessed many dark phases of institutional influence during different democratic and non-democratic regimes. However, data unpacked the changed nature of military influence in Pakistan. In this regard, journalists highlighted an apprehensive aspect of 'news-feeding and planted stories' by the local intelligence agencies. Data revealed that journalists faced the government's influence mainly in the forms of selective allocation of advertisements, information suppression,

restriction to interview Taliban's leaders and the members of banned religious organisations (see section 7.3).

Finally, data analysis did not reveal an 'enabling institutional environment' for the Pakistani journalists to perform their institutional roles and routine work. Findings revealed that the environmental constraints in Pakistan were not just confined to the *coercive* attitudes of government, military, political parties and pressure groups. But religious extremism and a lack of tolerance emerged as the biggest social constraints for journalists.

Thus, this study confirmed the substantial impact of environmental constraints on the work of journalists, revealing them as 'passive actors' with a less level of empowerment in the local journalism institution. Notwithstanding this fact, this study revealed some grey areas, which might be considered for an effective and in-depth evaluation of press freedom in Pakistan. Therefore, the next chapter recommends six key-areas that international organisations may take into account while investigating the freedom of press in Pakistan.

Chapter 8

Recommendations for press freedom evaluation in Pakistan

8.1 Introduction

Freedom of expression and press freedom are sensitive issues in Pakistan. The sensitivity of debate around these two rights can be attributed to the constrained nature of Pakistan's society. Findings in previous chapters confirmed the influence of social environment on the work of journalists in Pakistan. However, journalists revealed many other types of influences as well, which affected their right of freedom of expression and routine work (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.3.1; Chapter 7). Annual press freedom reports by international organisations monitoring press freedom also highlight factors that affect journalists' right to freedom of expression in Pakistan (Freedom House, 2012; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2013). There is no denial with the significance of these reports. Nevertheless, some journalists, who participated in this study, expressed their concerns about the evaluation of Pakistan's press freedom by international organisations. For instance:

> I think international organisations do not have a deep-rooted monitoring of press freedom because journalism or media is not just confined to a few cities of Pakistan. These organisations should take into consideration the problems of journalists in the remote or rural areas of Pakistan too. (Interviewee number 20)

> 50 per cent of international organisations do not have the accurate data of reality in Pakistan. They get information through the sources, which collect data according to their own choice. These monitoring organisations have their own parameters. For example, how can they fit the European concept of child labour in Pakistan? They need to see the economic condition of Pakistan. More than the 40 per cent of Pakistani population lives below the poverty line. So what standards are they trying to implement here? International organisations monitoring press freedom need to think about their monitoring standards…..I do not believe on the monitoring of these organisations. (Interviewee number 23)

The above-mentioned concerns raised by the Pakistani journalists highlighted three important aspects in relation to press freedom evaluation: 'accessibility to remote areas', 'the accuracy of data' and 'monitoring standards'. I think one should acknowledge the

limitations of international organisations while monitoring press freedom worldwide. International organisations such as Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) evaluate press freedom in different regions of the world. It must be recognised that to have an access in the remote areas of each country is not possible for these international organisations. In the case of Pakistan, 'safety hazards' cause the accessibility to remote or rural areas almost impossible for the representatives of these international organisations. As a result, these organisations substantially rely on the sources within Pakistan to compile their press freedom reports.

Noticeably, these international organisations use surveys and scoring systems to assess press freedom worldwide (see Appendix VI). Consequently, press freedom reports generated by these organisations do not offer any qualitative insights into the state of freedom of expression and the journalists' lived experiences in different countries of the world. Moreover, the aforementioned international organisations use 'standardised' press freedom indices to evaluate press freedom across the globe, ignoring cultural and contextual differences that can affect the evaluation of press freedom (see Hai Tran et al., 2011, pp. 171-76).

Findings in Chapter 6 revealed 'context' as the most dominant influence in shaping the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan. For instance, journalists viewed the sub-themes of 'broadcasted or published content', 'organisational influence', 'pressure groups' influence', 'social influence', 'media accountability' and 'public' as indicatives of press freedom in Pakistan. These distinct press freedom indicators reflected the influence of context[120] on the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan. Noticeably, not any international organisation valorises these indicators in their press freedom metrics (see Chapter 6, sub-section 6.2.3).

An ethnographic account of the journalists' lived experiences of freedom of expression and press freedom also highlighted many 'grey areas', which can be considered by international organisations while evaluating press freedom in Pakistan (see Chapter 7). Therefore, this chapter proffers some recommendations to international organisations, invoking them to revisit their monitoring standards to evaluate press freedom in Pakistan.

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[120] Context here refers to religious, political, legal, economic and organisational environments in which journalists work in Pakistan.

8.2 Key areas of recommendations for press freedom evaluation in Pakistan

Drawing on the findings of this study (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7), I recommend six key-areas that international organisations may consider while evaluating press freedom in Pakistan, namely: (i) journalists' safety and protection, (ii) organisational influence, (iii) information suppression and manipulation, (iv) social environment, (v) local pressure groups and (vi) the manipulation of laws.

Figure 16: Recommended areas for press freedom evaluation in Pakistan
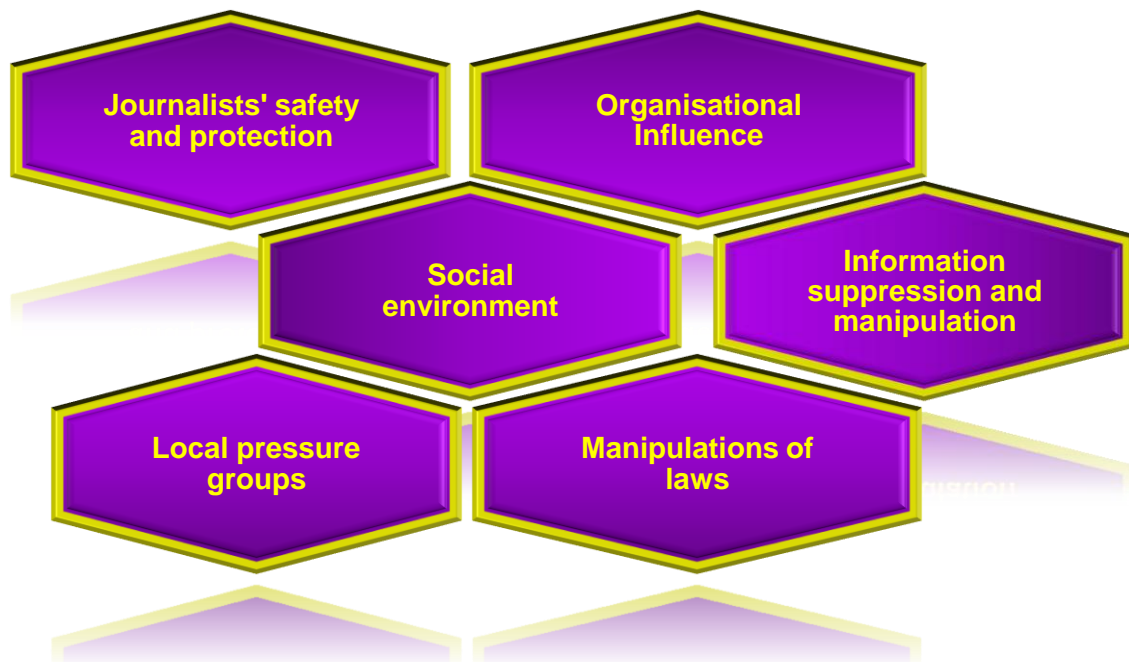
8.2.1 Journalists' safety and protection

The global press freedom metrics developed by international organisations do encompass indicators evaluating the level of 'journalists' safety and protection'. For example, Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) assess the violence against journalists worldwide (see Appendix VI). However, these organisations do not evaluate the 'level of safety and protection provided to journalists by their respective media organisations'. For example, interviewee number 40 said:

Let me give you an example of Liyari[121] area in Karachi. Two days back, we did reporting whole day there. Thousands of rounds were fired during the entire day. One cannot work without a blood-proof jacket in Liyari area. Big television news channels do provide blood-proof jackets to their reporters. Small television news channels do not provide any security to their reporters, driver and cameramen. We can be the target of police and gangs' firing both. (Interviewee number 40)

Journalists do face 'physical risks' in entire Pakistan because of recurrent political tensions and the sporadic incidents of terrorism (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). Hence, the provision of safety tools such as blood-proof jackets and life insurance by media organisations seems essential for the Pakistani journalists. Another important aspect is related to the 'journalists' financial protection'. A number of journalists, who participated in this study, revealed that they confronted financial risks because of their jobs terminations and low salaries (see Chapter 7). For example, interviewee number 2 said that "in some television news channels, journalists have not been receiving salaries for the last six months. None of the journalist's unions protest against it." Likewise, other two interviewed journalists stated:

The Wage Board Award is an old issue in the Pakistani media. Newspapers' owners have been using the delay tactics to implement on it for the past many years. The ruling government[122] is the first-ever government, who has passed orders for its implementation. (Interviewee number 36)

Journalists' unions do not highlight the salary and other financial issues of journalists, which is a big problem in the television news channels these days. Why do not they highlight this issue? Because media owners are the part of journalists' unions. (Interviewee number 37)

The Supreme Court of Pakistan and the former Pakistan's government have directed media owners to implement on the Wage Board Award. However, journalists are still not being paid according to the Wage Board Award in most of the media organisations of Pakistan. To provide journalists physical, financial and legal protections are primarily responsibilities of media organisations. Therefore, I recommend international organisations

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[121] "Liyari" is an area located in Karachi that is famous for the local gangs' war in Sindh province.

[122] Data for this study was collected in 2012 during the former government of President Asif Ali Zardari.

to assess the level of safety and financial protection provided to the working journalists by their media organisations in Pakistan.

8.2.2 Organisational influence

A number of journalists highlighted the 'organisational influence' as one of the major constraints, which affected their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom (see Chapter 5, section 5.3). Some journalists also viewed the level of 'organisational influence' as one of the indicators to assess press freedom in Pakistan (see Chapter 6, sub-section 6.2.3). It was found that journalists faced the 'organisational influence' mainly in forms of: organisational policies, owners' vested interests, organisational affiliations and job insecurity (see Chapter 7, section 7.3).

This study revealed the ways 'organisational influence' affected the journalists' freedom to publish and broadcast. Journalists highlighted that their owners' vested interests and policies quite often restrained them form publishing and broadcasting the news stories of public interest. For example, interviewee number 3 said that "media organisations have their own interests. Therefore, sometimes journalists are unable to break a big story. This compromises their freedom to report in the public interest." Interviewee number 9 confirmed this fact and said that "we have to follow the vested interests of our owners. We cannot publish several stories, which clash with their interests."

Other two interviewed journalists also talked about the impact of owner's policy and interest on their freedom to publish and broadcast. For example, interviewee number 23 stated that "journalists cannot publish news freely. Newspaper is an industry and only those news are published that suit to the media owners' interests." Similarly, interviewee number 31 said that "my many good stories are not published because they are against to the newspaper's policy." Hence, these are a few examples of how media owners curtail the journalists' right to publish and broadcast in Pakistan.

Ironically, organisational policies in the Pakistani media largely reflect the commercial interests of media owners, resulting in a less emphasis on the issues of public interest. In this perspective, interviewee number 11 stated that "the public interest is not considered because of advertising and marketing policies." Interviewee number 22 further validated this fact and said that "the content is published according to the demands of

marketing department." Similarly, interviewee number 33 while talking about the commercial interests of media owners highlighted that "we did not publish one of the news stories revealing a case of corruption in the XYZ bank[123] because it gives advertisements to our newspaper."

Despite the commercial interests, another driving policy of television news channels in Pakistan is to increase ratings (Siraj, 2009). In the pursuit of this policy, television news channels put the journalists' lives at risk, especially who are working in the beats of politics and crime. For example:

> We are also facing the problem of television news channels' ratings. There is a race for good footages. In foreign countries, journalists move aside along with their equipments in any violent situation. They do not care about good footages, in case of any safety risk. Here, we face organisational pressure to get good footages and visuals that can increase channel's rating. We have to take the footages of police's shelling and mob's torture by putting our lives at stake. (Interviewee number 40)

Some journalists, who participated in this study, emphasised the need of 'media accountability' in Pakistan. For example, "media organisations should also be monitored" (Interviewee number 3). Noticeably, none of the international organisations (selected for this study) evaluates the 'organisational influence' in relation to press freedom. Hence, I propose international organisations to evaluate the media's abuse of freedom of expression and the role of media owners in restraining the individual journalistic freedom in Pakistan.

8.2.3 Information suppression and manipulation

This study unpacked the journalists' problem of access to information in Pakistan, despite the existence of Freedom of Information Ordinance in the country (see Chapter 7, sub-section 7.2.1) For example, interviewee number 34 stated that "one of the difficulties is a lack of access to information." Journalists also highlighted the occurrence of 'information suppression and manipulation' at different levels in Pakistan. For some, it was the government and media laws that suppress information. For instance:

> In Pakistan, during military or civilian governments both, the suppression of information has been a big issue and we cannot report reality to the public. I have faced this problem.

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[123] To ensure the confidentiality and safety of interviewee, the name of bank has been replaced with alphabets.

You must have heard that one cannot speak on anything due to Official Secrecy Act (1923). So, nobody can talk freely because of this law. When you would not talk to relevant people or when you would not get the pertinent documents, then how would you get the information? In this situation, only 'he says or she says' kind of journalism would be done. Statements, press releases and statements by the lower-rank officers of political parties are not sufficient to make a news story! (Interviewee number 22)

Some journalists viewed that the intelligence agencies in Pakistan play an active role to manipulate the sensitive information through their 'planted or fed stories'. For example, interviewee number 14 said that "intelligence agencies have a big role in news-feeding and misinformation." Likewise, interviewee number 34 explicitly stated that "harassment is not that much problematic as compared to the misinformation by intelligence agencies. As an editor, I have to be very careful because sometimes I do not recognise the planted stories."

The more pressing question on this issue is whether the views of Taliban and militant organisations should be published or not? Pakistan's government has banned Taliban's groups and militant organisations in the country; and therefore, journalists cannot report their views in the media. However, the Pakistani journalists are facing a difficult situation because they receive threats from Taliban and militant organisations, if they do not report their point-of-views. According to interviewee numbers 29 and 34:

We receive calls of Taliban saying that 'your television news channel does not broadcast our news' and reporters in conflict areas receive threats because of this. Previously, Taliban distributed pamphlets notifying that 'we only broadcast the government's news and do not raise their voice'. This is an important debate that whether their point-of-views should be on-aired or not? We cannot on-air Taliban's point-of-views because the government has banned them. (Interviewee number 29)

What is happening in Baluchistan? Militant organisations ask journalists to publish their news stories; whereas, the government asks them not to publish the news stories of militant groups or organisations. Now we are stuck. The government and intelligence agencies both get annoy - if journalists publish news stories of militant organisations. On the other hand, journalists are attacked by militant organisations - if their point-of-views are not published. (Interviewee number 34)

Moreover, journalists revealed the ways media organisations manipulated their gathered information. Unfortunately, media organisations in Pakistan suppress and

manipulate information to cater their vested interests. For example, interviewee number 33 said, "I need to be very careful while writing about a tobacco company because the owner of my newspaper is the proprietor of that tobacco company. We cannot publish a story telling that tobacco affects the health." The Participant J of male focus group discussion shared his experiences in this regard and stated:

> I am forbidden to give news about telecom industry because of my newspaper's and editor's interests. Media owners try to present the information after moulding it in a way that the reality is contradictory to the given information. Let me explain you with an example………..KESC[124] has been in crises for the last two years. I was asked to file a story on this issue. KESC had sacked their employees in the figure of thousands. The editor was totally against the story, which I had filed. He reversed the entire news story from top to bottom and said that 'the new version of story would be published'. (Participant J, male focus group discussion)

International organisations monitoring press freedom do recognise the importance of 'access to information' for the working journalists and the public both (see Appendix VI). However, these organisations need to investigate the ways information is being suppressed and manipulated by the government, intelligence agencies and media organisations in Pakistan. This will help to canvass the ground reality of the public's right to know in the country.

8.2.4 Social environment

This study revealed that the journalists' practices of freedom of expression were also constrained by the social environment in which they work (see Chapter 7). A number of journalists, who participated in this study, viewed the social environment as one of the indicators of press freedom in Pakistan (see Chapter 6, sub-section 6.2.3). In this perspective, 'ethnic pluralism' and 'sectarian polarity' were highlighted as the two major factors, which affected the journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression. For instance, interviewee numbers 33 stated that "sometimes.....facts are not published due to religious and cultural constraints. Expression will not take a precedent in front of Islamic and cultural values." Another interviewed journalists talked in more detail about the impact of social environment on his work. He stated:

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[124] KESC means Karachi Electric Supply Corporation.

Earlier, except religion, I used to write about almost everything. It was difficult to write about religious issues because of Pakistan's social environment...............In religious stories; one has to be careful because people can misinterpret it. Let me give you an example. There are many occasions in which I self-censor the news stories because it can cause harm to the public. Let say, if somewhere 10 Pathans or Urdu-speaking people have been killed or in the case of sectarian killings, I would report the story without mentioning the ethnicities and religious sects of the killed victims so as to prevent the situation from becoming worse……………We are considered as anti-Islam, if we write about Gays' rights. Likewise, we are considered as anti-Pakistan, if we write about Hindus. The mind-set in Pakistan is conservative. (Interviewee number 34)

Moreover, this study validated the journalists' self-censorship because of social taboos, ethnic disputes and religious issues in Pakistan (see Chapter 6 and 7). Journalists also revealed that Pakistan's low literacy rate and a lack of tolerance in the society affected their freedom. For example, interviewee number 15 said that "there are the chances of conflict, if journalists criticise certain ethnic and religious matters. There is a lack of tolerance in our society." Interviewee number 19 specifically linked press freedom with the level of literacy and stated that "we are the member of a developing country, where people have a less level of tolerance. Hence, we cannot write freely. It is essential to eradicate illiteracy from the Pakistani society to improve the level of press freedom."

Furthermore, there is a male dominance in the Pakistani society, which results in the issue of gender disparity (see Chapters 1 and 2). This fact was confirmed by a few female journalists, who participated in this study. For example, interviewee number 11 quoted that "female journalists face the problems of gender harassment and inequality." On the other hand, interviewee number 37 talked about the professional difficulties of female journalists. She shared her experience and said that "there are often problems during information gathering. People are hesitant to give me information being a female journalist and they are not comfortable with me - as they are with my male colleagues."

Markedly, the global press freedom metrics overlook the evaluation of 'social environment' while assessing press freedom worldwide. I argue that press freedom may assume different levels according to the social norms and environment in each country. In this perspective, only IREX's Media Sustainability Index assesses the social norms, which protect the free speech right (see Appendix VI B; IREX's objective 1). Therefore, I recommend international organisations to develop press freedom indicators that can reveal

the impact of social environment on the journalists' work, especially in constrained societies like Pakistan.

8.2.5 Pressure groups' influence

This study revealed the pervasiveness of different pressure groups in Pakistan, which influenced the work of journalists in many ways (see Chapters 6 and 7). For example, interviewee number 22 stated that "religious or political groups, military and government - they all become a pressure group and hinder the journalists' work." Similarly, interviewee number 40 quoted that "I do not think so that journalists are free in Pakistan because their freedom is under pressure."

This study revealed a variety of pressure groups in Pakistan, as for example: government, military, intelligence agencies, religious organisations, ethnic groups, media organisations, land grabbers or mafia and cable operators (see Chapter 7). Press freedom reports and indicators developed by international organisations completely ignore the existence of pressure groups while evaluating press freedom in Pakistan. For example:

> International organisations think that it is the police, government and army that suppress press freedom in Pakistan. They are unaware of pressure groups here. They do write about an arrested journalist, but do not write about the local pressure groups in Pakistan. (Interviewee number 14).

Thus, international organisations are recommended to investigate about different types of pressure groups, which influence on the journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression in Pakistan.

8.2.6 Manipulation of laws

Most of the existing laws in Pakistan have been devised with certain restrictions (see Chapter 7, sub-section 7.2.1). This study confirmed the influence of Pakistan's laws on the journalists' work (see Chapter 7, sub-section 7.2.2). However, a very few journalists talked about the manipulation of laws in Pakistan. In this perspective, the most apprehensive fact was related to the manipulation of Blasphemy laws (see Pakistan Panel Code, 1860, section, XV). Interviewee number 33 highlighted:

Ever since I have joined this newspaper, stories regarding the manipulation of Blasphemy law come every third week……..Blasphemy is a weak law that can be manipulated by anyone. There is no clear rule, describing the specific situation in which blasphemy can occur and the number of required witnesses. People have personal agendas behind the manipulation of this law in Pakistan.

Noticeably, international organisations monitoring press freedom do report about the media laws, which curtail and facilitate the journalists' work and their freedom of expression worldwide (see Appendix VI). Nevertheless, international organisations do not assess the 'manipulation of laws' that can affect the journalists' work and the state of press freedom in any country. Thus, international organisations are recommended to investigate the ways media and Islamic laws are manipulated in Pakistan.

8.3 Conclusion

This chapter offered a few recommendations to international organisations evaluating press freedom worldwide including Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). The chapter suggested six key-areas for an effective evaluation of press freedom in Pakistan, namely: (i) journalists' safety and protection, (ii) organisational influence, (iii) information suppression and manipulation, (iv) social environment, (v) local pressure groups and (vi) the manipulation of laws. The proffered recommendations in this chapter were drawn on the lived experiences of the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study (mainly from the data of research questions two, three and four). Notwithstanding the aforementioned recommendations, I suggest that international organisations should not completely rely on the quantitative methods of data collection since these data are not sufficient to provide insights into the journalists' agency (practice) and contextual differences in relation to press freedom. Finally, the next chapter concludes this thesis and summarises the findings and contributions of this study.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Revisiting the problem and aims of this study

This study posited that Pakistan's socio-political and religious contexts might affect the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom. The political system of Pakistan can be described as a 'competitive authoritarian' system. Therefore, notwithstanding the existence of democratic rule, media freedom is quite often attacked through different ways such as: the promulgation of stringent media laws, the selected allocation of government's advertisements and the banning of television news channels and certain working journalists by government. It is well documented by the selected international organisations that journalists have also been killed, harassed and imprisoned being critical of the government and military in Pakistan (Freedom House, 2008, 2010; Committee to Protect Journalists, 2011, 2012). As a result, there is a substantial evidence of the government's authoritarian interventions in the journalists' work.

Pakistan's society reflects the dominant features of ethnic pluralism, sectarian polarity and male dominance. Therefore, this study posited that these factors might affect the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Considering the pluralistic nature of Pakistan's society, this study also posited that the factors of ethnic diversity, sectarian polarity and gender disparity might affect the journalists' ability to form a shared understanding and practice of these two rights.

Moreover, the existing global press freedom metrics do not take into consideration cultural and contextual differences while evaluating press freedom worldwide (see Chapters 1 and 6). To review the global press freedom metrics, this study specifically selected four international organisations including Freedom House, International Research and Exchange Board (IREX), Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ). These international organisations use 'standardised' press freedom metrics to evaluate press freedom and overlook the contextual differences in different countries of the world. Thus, this study posited that the application of 'standardised' press freedom metrics on a

pluralistic society like Pakistan might not capture the contextual complexities, which affect journalists' work and their views of press freedom indicators.

In brief, this study investigated the relationship between cultural pluralism and the journalists' attitudes towards freedom of expression and press freedom within the institution of journalism in Pakistan. Particularly, it sought to discover the influence of Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts[125] on the journalists' understandings and practices of these two concepts in Karachi. More specifically, this study had four key objectives:

- To investigate and describe the meanings given to freedom of expression and press freedom by the Pakistani journalists of various ethnicities, religious sects and genders.
- To analyse whether journalists practice their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.
- To compare the journalists' attitudes towards press freedom and freedom of expression with press freedom metrics developed by international bodies to measure these concepts.
- To explore the impact of environmental constraints on the work of journalists and their right of freedom of expression in Pakistan.

9.2 Summary of findings

The Chapter 5 of this thesis addressed the findings of the first two research questions of this study, namely: what meanings do Pakistani journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom? (RQ1) And how do Pakistani journalists describe their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom? (RQ 2) The gathered data for these two research questions were analysed thematically using two 'deductive key-themes', namely: 1) the conceptual level and 2) the practice (action) level. These key-themes were derived from the new institutionalism framework of this study.

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[125] The major aim of this study was to investigate the influence of Pakistan's religious and socio-political contexts on the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom. However, this study viewed 'context' as the religious, social, political, economic, legal and organisational environments in which journalists carryout their routine work in Pakistan.

At a 'conceptual level', data revealed that journalist gave a variety of meanings to freedom of expression and press freedom; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders. Journalists gave meanings to these two concepts under nine 'inductive sub-themes' (ranked in the order of prevalence), namely: (i) freedom with responsibility, (ii) freedom of expression without any fear or pressure, (iii) press freedom and freedom of expression without any restriction (iv) discovery of truth, (v) freedom of information, (vi) freedom to report, (vii) professionalism, (viii) freedom to criticise and (ix) freedom to highlight the issues of public interests or welfare (see Appendix III).

Data suggested that the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom were the reflection of their lived experiences and contextual influences. Therefore, at a conceptual level, the sub-themes of 'freedom with responsibility' and 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' emerged as the most dominant sub-themes, describing the influence of context on the journalists' understandings. Noticeably, the prior conceptions of press freedom did not take into account factors of 'fear' and 'pressure' while describing it (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2). However, there was some link between the Pakistani journalists' understandings and the previous conceptions of press freedom such as 'freedom with responsibility' (see Hocking, 1947; The Hutchins Commission Report on the Freedom of Press, 1947; Alexander, 2000), 'discovery of truth' (see Stein, 1966), 'a journalist's ability to criticise' (see Lowenstein, 1970), 'freedom of information' and 'freedom in the public interest' (see McQuail, 1987, 2005).

At a 'practice level', data suggested that journalists did not have a 'shared' practice of freedom of expression and press freedom; therefore, they could be categorised into three groups. The 'first group' was consisted of a few journalists, who 'could practice' their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, only 10 out of 51 journalists could practice their personal understandings of these two rights because their jobs did not involve direct pressures and threats. The 'second group' represented those, who did not respond to the research question two of this study (i-e 13 out of 51 journalists)

Noticeably, the majority of journalists revealed their 'inability' to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom while at work. For instance, 28 out of 51 journalists could not practice their personal understandings because of some influences. These influences (ranked in the order of prevalence) were: (i) organisational

influence, (ii) journalists' safety, (iii) social influence, (iv) pressure groups' influence, (v) economic influence and (vi) political influence (see Appendix III). This study revealed that these 'contextual influences' restrained journalists from practicing their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

Moreover, the Chapter 6 of this thesis discussed the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan, comparing them with the existing global press freedom metrics. The chapter presented the findings and discussion of the research question three of this study, namely: are there any gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators? Data for the research question three of this study were analysed thematically using a 'deductive key-theme' – the conceptual level. This key-theme was derived from the new institutionalism framework of this study.

The 'conceptual level' theme, describing the Pakistani journalists views of press freedom indictors was classified into 'twelve inductive sub-themes' (ranked in the order of prevalence), namely: (i) journalistic independence, (ii) broadcasted or published content, (iii) journalists' safety and protection, (iv) organisational influence, (v) political environment, (vi) economic environment, (vii) social environment, (viii) pressure groups' influence, (ix) media accountability, (x) public, (xi) level of self-censorship and (xii) professionalism (see Appendix V). These sub-themes were categorised to identify any gaps between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators, and to investigate whether any shared views of press freedom indictors exists amongst the Pakistani journalists.

Data revealed that press freedom metrics developed by the selected international organisations valorise a variety of 'environmental factors', which affect or facilitate the media freedom and the journalists' work worldwide. For example, Freedom House measures mainly the legal, political and economic environments of each country while evaluating press freedom. In this way, Freedom House focuses on 'regulative', 'coercive' and 'economic' factors while measuring press freedom.

International Research and Exchange Board (IREX) evaluates media independence using five key objectives: (i) "legal and social norms that protect and promote free speech and access to information", (ii) "journalism that meets professional standards", (iii) "multiple news sources that provide citizens with reliable and objective news", (iv)

"independent media that are well-managed businesses" and (v) "supporting institutions that function in the professional interests of independent media" (see IREX's methodology, 2012). Hence, the organisation acknowledges the importance of 'regulative', 'cultural', 'normative' and 'economic factors' while measuring press freedom. Reporters without Borders and Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) primarily focus on the journalists' safety and protection. Both organisations evaluate political and legal restrictions that affect the journalists' work; and therefore, emphasise 'regulative' and 'coercive' factors while assessing press freedom (see Chapter 6, sub-section 6.2.1).

Noticeably, international organisations monitoring press freedom evaluate the impact of institutional environment on journalists' work. Nevertheless, the aforementioned environmental factors recognised by these international organisations may not able to reveal the actors' agency in relation to freedom of expression and press freedom in the context of Pakistan. These international organisations rely on the quantitative methods of data collection, resulting in no qualitative insights into the actors' agency and attitudes towards press freedom and freedom of expression. Therefore, this study investigated the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan by using the qualitative methods of in-depth interview and focus group discussion (FGD).

This study discovered that a number of journalists had never gone through the press freedom indicators developed by the selected international organisations. Noticeably, the majority of journalists did not talk about their previous knowledge of press freedom indicators (see Chapter 6, sub-section 6.2.2). Data revealed that journalists had different views of press freedom indicators; regardless of their ethnicities, religious sects and genders. Markedly, the sub-themes of 'journalistic independence', 'journalists' safety and protection', 'political environment', 'economic environment', 'level of self-censorship' and 'professionalism' indicated a connection with the global press freedom metrics. However, the sub-themes of 'broadcasted and published content', 'organisational influence', 'social environment', 'pressure groups' influence', 'media accountability' and 'public' emerged as the distinct sub-themes. Thus, these sub-themes reflected a gap between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators (see Appendix VI).

Finally, the Chapter 7 of this thesis addressed the various types of influences and constraints faced by the Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study (RQ4). The ethnographic account of the journalists' lived experiences was analysed thematically using a

'deductive key theme' – the environmental level. This key theme was categorised according to the journalists' feedbacks to the research question four of this study. The 'inductively' generated responses of journalists were classified into 'ten sub-themes' (ranked in the order of prevalence), namely, (i) journalists' safety, (ii) organisational influence, (iii) religious influence, (iv) social influence, (v) political influence, (vi) institutional influence, (vii) economic influence, (viii) professionalism, (ix) pressure groups' influence, and (x) legal influence. These sub-themes indicated the dominant influence of environment on the actors' agency (journalists' actions or practices) in Pakistan.

The journalists' lived experiences in Pakistan also highlighted some 'grey areas', which may be considered by the selected international organisations while monitoring press freedom such as: organisational influence, information suppression and manipulation, social environment, local pressure groups and the manipulation of laws. The findings of the research question four of this study suggested context[126] as the main factor in influencing the journalists' right of freedom of expression and their routine work in Pakistan. Thus, the following sections analyses the findings of all four research questions of this study briefly.

9.3 Analysis

The Pakistani journalists, who participated in this study, did not distinguish between the rights of freedom of expression and press freedom. For example, one interviewee stated that "freedom of expression and press freedom are the same things" (Interviewee number 16). However, some scholars differentiate between these two rights. For instance, Nordenstreng (1999) argued that freedom of expression is an 'individual human right'; whereas press freedom is a 'collective right' of the 'press' and the 'public' (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2).

Nordenstreng (1999) apparently drew his argument on the universal definition of freedom of expression whereby, "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (see the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 19). The universal definition of freedom of expression does not provide any reference about the freedom of

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[126] Context refers to the religious, social, political, legal, economic and organisational environments in which Pakistani journalists carryout their work.

press. However, it must be acknowledged that freedoms of expression and information are the two indispensable components of press freedom.

It was found that journalists gave a variety of meanings to freedom of expression and press freedom; regardless of their ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, Pashtu and Urdu speaking), religious sects (Shia and Sunni) and genders. This indicated that factors such as 'cultural diversity' (ethnic sub-cultures), 'sectarian polarity' and 'gender disparity' did not play any role in shaping the journalists' understandings of these two rights. Nevertheless, 'context' was found as the major factor in shaping the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

Findings in Chapter 5 suggested that the 'socio-political' and 'organisational environments' had a prominent influence on journalists' understandings. For example, 'freedom with responsibility' emerged as the most common sub-theme, describing the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. In this perspective, most of the Pakistani journalists talked about the notion of 'responsibility' in relation to the core Islamic values of not causing harm, not inciting violence and respecting the rights of others (see Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, 1990; Kamali, 1997). This reflected the possible influence of Pakistan's Islamic context on the journalists' understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.

While the journalists' understanding of 'freedom with responsibility' can be linked to Pakistan's Islamic context, many Western international conventions and the journalists' codes of ethics also see respect to other individual rights as important while exercising the right of freedom of expression (see NUJ's code of ethics, 1936; the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 29.2; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1976, Article 19.2; IFJ's code of ethics, 1954; AJA's code of ethics, 1984; the WSIS's Declaration of Principles, 2003; see Appendix IX)[127]. This implies that the

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[127] "The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) has set out the main principles of British and Irish journalism since 1936. The code is part of the rules and all journalists joining the union must sign that they will strive to adhere to it." See at http://www.nuj.org.uk/documents/nuj-code-of-conduct/.

"The International Federation of Journalists' (IFJ) Code of Conduct, first adopted in 1954, provides a code of ethics adopted by all national representative journalists' organisations in Europe. Therefore, the IFJ's Code of Conduct provides the basis for a common understanding on ethical issues through voluntary adoption of journalists and publishers. In this area, IFJ sees no active role for national governments." See at http://www.ifj.org/en/articles/status-of-journalists-and-journalism-ethics-ifj-principles

Islamic and the Western interpretations of 'freedom with responsibility' are very much similar. However, as I discussed in Chapter 5, it was not clear whether journalists were influenced of Pakistan's Islamic context or they took inspiration from the Western values of responsibility. Thus, this aspect needs to be further investigated. Apart from this, journalists who viewed the notion of responsibility in terms of the 'respect for national interest' were from the state-owned television, suggesting the possible influence of 'organisational environment' on their understandings (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.2.1).

The sub-theme of 'freedom of expression without any fear or pressure' indicated the most striking contextual influence on the journalists' understandings in Pakistan (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.2.1). Particularly, journalists from the television news channels emphasised this sub-theme since they experienced more fear and pressure because of organisational policies, political parties and religious groups (see Chapter 5, sub-section 5.2.1). Hence, this sub-theme reflected the ground reality of environment (context) in which journalists work in Pakistan.

International organisations such as Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) recognise the factor of "fear" while defining press freedom. The organisation defines press freedom as "the right of journalists to report the news without fear of reprisal" (cited in Beckar et al., 2007, p. 18). On the contrary, many prior studies into the conceptualisations of press freedom largely focused on the environmental constraints such as the government's restrictions, economic and social limitations for a free press (Nixon, 1960, 1965; Stein, 1966; Lowenstein, 1970; Kent, 1972; Weaver, 1977, 1985; Price, 2002; Rozumilowicz, 2002). These studies did not valorise factors of 'fear' and 'pressure' while conceptualising press freedom.

Considerably, the previous studies of press freedom also paid less attention to investigate the journalists' attitudes towards freedom of expression and their lived experiences of this fundamental human right. This suggests that the notions of freedom of expression and press freedom in scholarly circle are not viewed as the 'lived reality' of

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See AJA's code of ethics at http://www.gwb.com.au/99a/ethics.html

See MEAA's code of ethics in Australia at http://www.alliance.org.au/code-of-ethics.html

journalists. Rather these concepts are mostly described in relation to pre-conditions and environmental factors, which affect the work of journalists and press freedom (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.2.2).

Moreover, the sociological inquiry of journalism highlights journalists as the 'sociological beings', who actually ground themselves in organisational and institutional settings to give effect their work (Zelizer, 2004, p. 47). Thus, the sociology of journalism resonates with the sociological institutionalism, which views actors as "social actors" whose attitudes and actions are largely informed by their world-view (see Chapter 3, sub-section 3.3.2). These premises support the fact that organisational and local environments do affect the actions (work) of journalist. And therefore, the lived reality of freedom of expression and press freedom might be different than the rhetorical descriptions of these rights.

This study revealed the rights of freedom of expression and press freedom as 'rhetorical concepts' in Pakistan. Notwithstanding the constitutional guarantees, only a few journalists "could practice" their personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom at work. The majority of journalists, who participated in this study, described their inability to practice personal understandings. In this perspective, journalists mentioned that organisational, social, pressure groups', economic and political influences affected their ability to practice personal understandings (see Chapter 5, section 5.3). Above all, a lack of safety rendered them less empowered to practice personal understandings. This indicated a gap between the 'concept' and the 'practice' of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan.

The question that I take up here is how the new institutionalism theory informed the analysis of press freedom in a complex context of Pakistan. Newsrooms' ethnography in the selected media organisations of Karachi revealed that journalists had the common work routines and they were performing the common professional roles of surveillance, news-making, information gathering and dissemination. This was not surprising since Preston (2009) stated that "several institutional studies have observed a marked tendency for journalists of different media organisations in pursuit of the same kind of stories, collaborative sharing of news items and images and shared interpretations of issues". (p.120)

Despite shared routines and roles, the findings of this study suggested that journalists did not have a 'shared' understanding and practice of freedom of expression and press freedom because of the influence of context. This means that these two notions do not form a central plank in the institutionalisation of journalism in Pakistan, negating the new institutionalism's homogeneity hypothesis at conceptual and practice levels both (see Chapter 5). Thus, these facts invoke to look at some other possible areas where the homogeneity of journalism institution might suffer in Pakistan.

The new institutionalism posits that news organisations are "homogenised" in terms of shared routines, rules, and procedures. Previously, many institutional studies attempted to scope the standardisation of roles, values and routines within journalism (Sparrow, 1999; Deuze, 2005, Cook, 2006; Himelboim and Limor, 2011). However, Ryfe (2006) highlighted the paradox of new institutionalism's "homogeneity hypothesis". He stated that "news is or at least can be homogenous, but it can also be surprisingly variable" (p. 204). The variability of news is possible in Pakistan because media organisations have different religious and political affiliations. For instance, interviewee number 19 said that "media organisations have different affiliations in Pakistan." Thus, the media organisations' affiliations can be viewed as an important factor, which may result in the variability of news content in Pakistan's media.

The new institutionalism's premise of "shared rules"[128] also needs to be scrutinised closely. Some past institutional studies of journalism concluded that "news is an outcome of routine, largely implicit, organisational rules that all journalists follow" (Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980). However, these studies also identified the variability in the application of organisational rules affecting the journalists' news judgment and narrative style (see also Ryfe, 2006, p. 203). Given the fact that media organisations in Pakistan have various affiliations, this becomes important to investigate the ways these affiliations affect the nature and application of rules and more broadly the journalists' news judgment and narrative style.

Furthermore, 'context' appeared as the most dominant factor in shaping the journalists' views of press freedom indicators in Pakistan. In this perspective, there were six

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[128] March and Olsen (1989, p. 22) defined rules as "routines, procedures, conventions, roles, strategies, organisational forms, and technology…..we also mean the beliefs, paradigm, codes, cultures and knowledge that surround, support, elaborate and contradict those roles and routines." (Cited in Ryfe, 2006, p. 205)

sub-themes that indicated a 'disconnection or a gap' between the local and the global understandings of press freedom indicators, namely: (i) broadcasted or published content, (ii) organisational influence (iii) pressure groups' influence, (iv) social environment, (v) media accountability and (vi) public (see Chapter 6: sub-section 6.2.3).

Finally, this study revealed the dominant influence of environment on the journalists' work in Pakistan. Journalists' lived experiences unpacked the multiple levels of religious, social, political, institutional, legal, economic and pressure groups' influences that constrained their routine work. However, different safety risks and the media organisations' influence were found as the biggest challenges for journalists in the country. The majority of journalists, who participated in this study, narrated the ways media organisations curtailed their freedom of expression. It was found that media organisations' policies, affiliations and vested interests hampered the journalists' work in Pakistan. On the whole, journalists appeared as 'passive actors' with a less level of empowerment and participation within the institution of journalism in Pakistan (see Chapter 7).

The 'passive role' of journalists highlights the need to improve their level of empowerment. In this perspective, media organisations and the local journalists' unions can perform their roles. For example, the level of journalists' freedom can be improved, if media organisations exercise less intervention in their work through policies and financial pressures (such as job termination and low pay-scale). Media organisations and the journalists' unions in Pakistan both can organise educational and professional training programs for the working journalists, which can improve their levels of awareness and empowerment to go about their work in a highly constrained environment.

Besides, annual press freedom reports by international organisations do highlight constraints faced by the Pakistani journalists to some extent. Unfortunately, these organisations rely on the quantitative methods of data collection, resulting in press freedom reports that do not reveal the journalists' capacity to do their work freely in Pakistan (see Chapter 6). This means that international organisations monitoring press freedom need to revisit their methodology and indicators for an effective and thorough evaluation of press freedom in the country.

Thus, this study recommended six key-areas, which international organisations may consider while evaluating press freedom in Pakistan, namely: journalists' safety and

protection, organisational influence, information suppression and manipulation, social environment, local pressure groups and the manipulation of laws (see Chapter 8). The next section attempts to sketch the possible future scenario of journalism in Pakistan.

9.4 Future scenario of journalism in Pakistan

Over the past several decades, Pakistan's media witnessed the monopoly of state, in terms of ownership and content (see Niazi, 1986; Jabbar, 1997; Riaz, 2007). Consequently, 'protocol journalism' defined the journalism culture of Pakistan several years, when journalists used to engage more in events such as news conferences and news stories used to be the "mouth piece of politicians or state" (see Taylor, 2009, p. 27).

In recent years, the nature of journalism in Pakistan has changed because of market liberalisation. The fruits of this development are evident with the mushrooming of private television news channels and the plurality of news content. However, the de-monopolisation of media has implicated in the growing trends of commercialism, concentration and sensationalism. At present, in Pakistan, media owners deem to promote their economic interests through the 'market-driven journalism' and the approach of profit-maximisation drive their strategic choices (see Chapter 7).

Thus, I foresee that the commercial considerations of media owners will continue to shape the news content, resulting in the growth of market-driven journalism[129] and sensationalism in the Pakistani media. In this perspective, it is imperative to recognise that "quality journalism and healthy profits are incompatible. Good journalism is bad business, and bad journalism can be very good for business" (McChesney, 1999 cited in Harper and Yantek, p. 146; Picard, 2004, pp. 55-56). The conflict between business interests and professionalism seems to be inevitable. However, media owners in Pakistan will need to decide that to what extent they should pursue their business interests at the expense of quality journalism and the public interest (see also Schultz, 1998; Lacy, 2003, p. 133; Lauk, 2008).

All journalists, who participated in this study, narrated an apprehensive reality of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Journalists' lived experiences revealed the substantial level of political and institutional influences on their work (see

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[129] See also Herrick, 2003 (p. 284)

Chapter 7). Therefore, it can be said that 'protocol journalism' will continue to thrive in the Pakistani media (either state-owned or private media organisations). This also indicates that the 'political economy of news' will dominantly define journalism in Pakistan like elsewhere (see Golding and Murdock, 1991).

Moreover, the nature of the government's influence and military interventions has changed in recent times. Earlier, government or military used to intervene in the journalists' work mainly through suppressive media laws; controlled advertisements and censorship (see Chapter 2). However, as stated by interviewee number 15, "current difficulties are challenging and risky both. We receive life threats." The pervasiveness of pressure groups and non-state actors, cultural taboos, religious extremism, ethnic and sectarian conflicts and volatile political situation all together have aggravated the working situation for journalists in Pakistan. Considering these issues, I anticipate an increased level of the journalists' self-censorship, which is obviously not conducive for the quality of journalism in Pakistan.

Notwithstanding Pakistan's challenging scenario, I think there are positive prospects for the development of 'citizen journalism'[130] in the country. The majority of Pakistanis, who live in urban areas, have access to internet that provides them an opportunity to share information and discuss issues through blogging and social interaction websites.[131] The proliferation of internet in the country is worthwhile, but it is difficult to ascertain the future of 'online journalism'. Most of the established newspapers and television news channels in Pakistan have their news websites. However, the development of 'online journalism' in the country seems to be unlikely or difficult, especially in a scenario, when media organisations do not have enough resources and journalists are either not or less paid for their current jobs (see Chapter 7).

9.5 Theoretical, methodological and practical contributions

This study contributed an analysis of freedom of expression and press freedom in a pluralistic society of Pakistan using the new institutionalism framework. As discussed in Chapter 3, the new institutionalism theory establishes itself on two premises. Firstly, it recognises the influence of 'institutional environment' on the actors' attitudes and agency.

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[130] See Sterling, 2009, p. 297.

[131] See the internet users' statistics for Pakistan at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.NET.USER.P2

Secondly, the theory acknowledges the importance of actors' agency in upholding any institution through their shared interpretations, practices, routines and norms. Therefore, the new institutionalism theory substantially establishes itself on the homogeneity hypothesis. This study acknowledged both premises of the new institutionalism theory while analysing press freedom in Pakistan.

The new institutionalism is "not a monolithic literature" because theorists have understood the 'environment' in two contradictory ways. In the first camp, some theorists view news organisations as operating in a "unified field" in which journalists and news organisations perform common or shared activities such as news-making and dissemination (Kaplan, 2006, p. 176; Cook, 2006). In the second camp, theorists envisage the 'environment' as a "sector or society", which provides norms to define the organisation and its peculiar field. This approach reflects the influence of some early institutional approaches based on the normative framework (see Parson, 1956; Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

This study conceptualised the 'environment' more broadly as 'religious, social, political, legal, economic and organisational environments'; instead of considering it a "unified field" or mere a "societal sector". Therefore, this study provided the detailed account of the influence of environmental constraints on the journalists' work in Pakistan. Moreover, this study investigated the new institutionalism's homogeneity hypothesis from a cultural perspective while analysing press freedom in Pakistan. This helped to unveil the relationship between cultural pluralism and the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom within the institution of journalism in Pakistan.

From a methodological perspective, some previous studies of journalism investigated the journalists' newsroom routines and their professional lives by using the ethnographic method of 'participant observation' (Elliot, 1972; Tuchman, 1978; Schlesinger, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980). However, this study used four different qualitative methods of in-depth interview, focus groups discussion (FGD), document review and direct observation to buttress the institutional analysis of freedom of expression and press freedom. As a result, this study contributed the 'first-hand account' of journalists' lived experiences' of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan.

In terms of practical contribution, this study offered some recommendation to international organisations monitoring press freedom. These recommendations indicated

some pressing areas that these organisations may consider while evaluating press freedom in Pakistan (see Chapter 8). Notwithstanding the above-mentioned contributions, this study had certain limitations as discussed in the following section.

9.6 Limitations of this study

This study attempted to provide a comprehensive analysis of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Nevertheless, the study suffered some limitations. For instance, this study did not examine the 'news text' and 'journalism content'. Therefore, the focus of this study was limited to the analysis of freedom of expression and press freedom at three levels, namely: the conceptual level, the practice level and the environmental level. Consequently, this study investigated the journalists' attitudes and agency towards freedom of expression and press freedom within the context of Pakistan. Moreover, journalists for this study were only selected from newspapers and television news channels because Pakistan's 'online journalism' is not well-established. Though, the majority of media organisations have their news websites. However, media organisations do not employ a separate staff to update their news websites. Therefore, this selection criterion of journalists can be seen as one of the limitations of this study.

This study used four different qualitative methods of data collection including in-depth interview, focus group discussion, document review and direct observation. However, this study considerably overlooked the importance of 'complete participant observation' for an extensive ethnographic research in Pakistan. My role as an ethnographer was 'observer-as-participant' with the partial level of participation to observe journalists and their working environment. This study faced this limitation because data were collected from 22 media organisations within the time-period of three months in Karachi. Despite the large sample of media organisations and time constraint, this study had geographical limitations as well since data were collected only in Karachi because of safety risks in other cities of Pakistan.

Thus, these limitations highlight some potential areas of future press freedom inquiries in Pakistan, precisely: 'the analysis of media content revealing the discourses around freedom of expression' and 'the freedom of expression on internet'. However, many other aspects of freedom of expression and press freedom can be examined, arising from the possible gaps in this study.

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Appendix I

Ethnographic research in Pakistan: Requisites and limitations

A. General Requisites

As mentioned in Chapter 4, I travelled to Karachi for the fieldwork of this study (approximately for three months). For this purpose, travel approval and ethical clearance were required, which were obtained from the School of Journalism and Communication and the University of Queensland's Ethics Committee respectively.

B. Ethical and Legal requisites

The gatekeeper's approval

For this study, the gatekeeper's approval was not required in order to conduct the fieldwork in Karachi. Therefore, the government's and media organisations' permissions at any level were not needed to conduct this study. Pakistan's laws do not restrict the native students to undertake any sort of academic research. Research projects on Pakistan's media are very common in local and international universities. Also, Pakistan's laws do not forbid journalists to give interview to anyone. However, all recruited journalists were informed that their participation was 'completely voluntary' and they were free to withdraw their participation at any stage of this study.

Local customs and practices

As explained in Chapter 4, this study involved journalists of various ethnicities, genders (male and female) and religious sects (Shia and Sunni). Therefore, I made sure to follow the local customs while undertaking this research.

Confidentiality

The University of Queensland's ethical guidelines suggest maintaining the confidentiality of "identifiable information". The University's guidelines suggest:

> In all research involving human subjects, confidentiality of identifiable information is
> presumed and must be maintained unless the investigator obtains the express permission of

the subject to do otherwise, or in other limited circumstances. Participants have the rights to be protected against illegal invasions of their privacy and to preservation of their personal dignity.

The more sensitive the research material, the greater the care must be exercised in obtaining, handling, and storing data. Investigators should be cognizant of the following guidelines to ensure confidentiality. (See the University of Queensland's ethical guidelines at http://www.uq.edu.au/research/integrity-compliance/human-policies-legislation)

Thus, to abide with the University's ethical guidelines, the data of this study was treated as strictly confidential. The raw data was safely stored in a USB memory disc and in the locked office cabinet. Moreover, this study neither included the actual names of journalists, nor any information that might reveal the identities of any media organisation and agency. The personal details of all journalists were only used for the Methodology Chapter of this thesis and without mentioning their names. These details were, namely: ethnicity, religious sect, academic qualification, gender, job description and age group.

C. Limitations: Risk consideration

Risk to researcher (me)

In this study, safety was the major limitation because of Karachi's volatile political situation. Therefore, I went through the travel advice for Pakistan on a website, that is: http://www.smartraveller.gov.au/zw-gi/view/Advice/Pakistan. Controlled measures were taken in order to avoid some risks. For instance, I restricted my travel only to Karachi for the fieldwork and tried to keep my movement as minimum as possible within the city because of safety threats. There was no anticipated foreseeable physical risk, which could bring about due to the research methods of this study. However, I had a personal driver and security guard to avoid any physical risk while undertaking the field work in Karachi.

Risks to participants

Emotional and psychological risks

This study investigated the journalists' understandings and practices of freedom of expression and press freedom in Pakistan. Therefore, there was a possibility of emotional and psychological risks because of the sensitivity of the research topic. The University of Queensland defines[132] emotional and psychological risks as "emotional and psychological risks include the production of negative affective states such as anxiety, depression, guilt, shock, loss of self-esteem and altered behaviour."

To abide with the University's ethical guidelines, I ensured that not to include any 'sensitive question' in the research questionnaire of this study. However, I explained to all journalists that they had the right to withdraw their participation from the research immediately due to the 'voluntary' nature of their participation. They were also informed that the collected data would be immediately destroyed, in case of their withdrawal from this study. In general, interviewees and focus groups discussions participants were well-aware of cultural sensitivities around the issue of freedom of expression in Pakistan.

Social Risks

This research used focus groups discussions as one of the data collection methods involving journalists of different ethnicities and religious sects; therefore, one of the limitations was related to social risks. The University of Queensland defines social risks as:

> Social risks include alterations in relationships with others that are to the disadvantage of the subject, including embarrassment, loss of respect of others, labelling a subject in a way that will have negative consequences, or in some way diminishing those opportunities and powers a person has by virtue of relationships with others.

Pakistan is predominately a Muslim country with 80 per cent Sunni and 20 per cent of Shia religious sects. Therefore, to avoid social risks, I ensured a respectful and friendly environment for all participants during both focus groups discussions. Social risks were also further avoided by requesting participants to respect each other ethnicities and religious sects during discussion. For instance, in only one incident, two female journalists had

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[132] See at http://www.uq.edu.au/research/integrity-compliance/human-policies-legislation

argument about their ethnicities during the female focus group discussion. However, I diffused the situation by requesting them to ensure a mutual respect for each other.

Appendix II

Ethical Clearance for this study

THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND
**Institutional Approval Form For Experiments On Humans
Including Behavioural Research**

Chief Investigator: Miss Sadia Jamil

Project Title: Journalists' Perceptions Of Freedom Of Expression &
Press Freedom In Pakistan

Supervisor: Dr Rhonda Breit, A/Prof Pradip Thomas

Co-Investigator(s)   None

Department(s):   School of Journalism & Communication

Project Number: 2011001310

Granting Agency/Degree:

Duration: 31st July 2012

Comments:

Name of responsible Committee:-
Behavioural & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee
This project complies with the provisions contained in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and complies with the regulations governing experimentation on humans.
Name of Ethics Committee representative:-
Associate Professor John McLean
Chairperson
Behavioural & Social Sciences Ethical Review Committee

Date   19/1/2012   Signature

Appendix III

Definitions of themes for RQ1 and RQ2

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

Research Question One: What meanings do Pakistani journalists give to freedom of expression and press freedom?		
Key theme – Deductive	**Definition**	**Key theoretical words**
Conceptual level	In journalism studies, there are a wide array of concepts underpinning the journalistic practices. However, drawing on the new institutionalism framework, the term *'conceptual level'* for this study refers to the journalists' shared understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.	_Shared concept_ • *A Common understanding*
Sub-themes – Inductive	**Definitions**	**Key words from data set (RQ1)**
Freedom with responsibility (P=21)[133]	Means freedom of speech and writing to avoid <u>obscenity</u> and <u>indecency</u>. Also, respect for others rights so as <u>not</u> to <u>cause any harm</u>, not to <u>incite hatred</u> or <u>violence</u> and to <u>respect the national interest</u>.	• *Freedom of speech* • *Freedom of writing* • <u>*Respect for others rights*</u> • *Privacy* • *Reputation* • <u>*Cause no harm:*</u> • *To feelings of any community* • *Not to incite hatred/violence* • *Avoid obscenity and indecency* • *Respect for national interest*

Freedom of expression without any fear or pressure (P=19)	Means freedom of expression[134] without any sort of <u>pressure</u> or <u>fear.</u>	<u>*Free expression without pressure or fear of:*</u>
		
		• *Organisational policy or interest*
		• *Ratings & competition*
		• *Society and culture*
		• *Religion*
		
		• <u>*Pressure groups such as:*</u>
		   • *Political parties*
		   • *Religious organisations*
		   • *Feudal lords*
		   • *Cable operators*
		   • *Advertising agencies*
		   • *Industrial/business groups*
		   • *Land grabbers*
		   • *Military & intelligence agencies*
		   • *Government*

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[133] "P" refers to the prevalence of sub-themes in the journalists' responses of each question. The prevalence of sub-themes was decided on the basis of the number of journalists' responses in each sub-theme (out of 51 journalists, who participated in this study).

Press freedom and Freedom of expression without any restriction (P=15)	*Means freedom of expression or opinion & press freedom <u>without</u> <u>any sort of restriction</u>.*	<u>*No restriction either from:*</u> • *Society or culture* • *Religion* • *Government or Constitution* <u>*Restrictions to avoid:*</u> • *Harm or offence to anyone* • *Incitement of violence and hatred* • *Ill language, obscenity & indecency.*
Discovery of truth (P=12)	*Means to unveil facts, to publish reality or truth and to present the reflection of society.*	• *Unveil facts* • *Publishing reality or truth* • *Reflection of the society*
Freedom of information (P=9)	*Means to inform and aware people, to deliver better things and information that reach to masses without any barrier. It is the people's right to know.*	• *People's right to know* • *Inform and aware people* • *Accessibility of information*
Freedom to report (P=9)	*Means freedom to report facts without any restriction.*	• *Reporting facts*
Professionalism (P=9)	*Means freedom to perform the <u>journalistic roles</u> and <u>work</u> professionally and according to the <u>professional norms and values</u>.*	<u>*Professional work:*</u> • *News authenticity* • *Objectivity* • *Delivering accurate information* • *No sensationalism* <u>*Journalistic roles:*</u> • *Watch dog* • *Informer* • *Educator* • *Opinion maker* • *Mobilize* <u>*Journalistic work:*</u> • *Information gathering* • *News writing/making/production* • *Breaking news* • *News editing* • *Information dissemination* <u>*Journalistic norms and values:*</u> • *Independence* • *Honesty* • *Impartiality/ No ethnic bias* • *Responsibility* • *Truthfulness* • *Accuracy*
Freedom to criticise (P=4)	*Means to criticise and highlight bad things happening in the society.*	• *Ability to criticise* • *Watch dog role*
Freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare (P=3)	*Means to highlight the issues of <u>public interest and</u> welfare freely.*	<u>*Public issues related to:*</u> • *Growing terrorism and radicalisation* • *Safety* • *Health* • *Inflation* • *Education* • *Resource distribution* • *Justice and equality* • *Environment* • *Social/cultural issues (eg: taboos, blasphemy increasing divorce rate, adultery law)*

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[134] Freedom of expression here means freedom of speech, writing, communication and opinion.
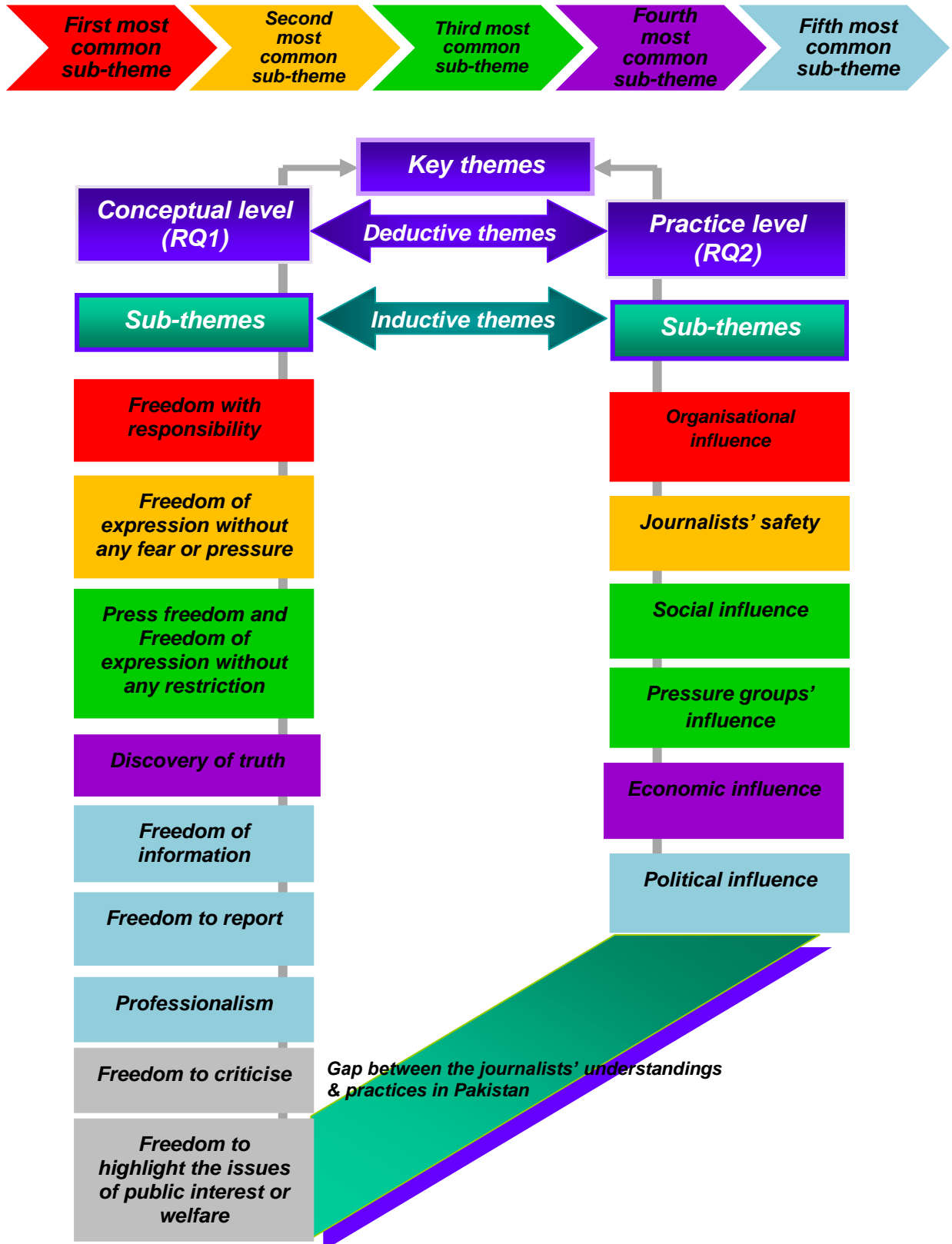
Research Question Two: How do Pakistani journalists describe their ability to practice personal understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom?		
Key theme – Deductive	**Definition**	**Key theoretical words**
Practice (action) level	In journalism studies, the journalists' practices' refers to the "way journalists gather, present and disseminate news". (Zelizer, 2004, p. 42) However, drawing on the new institutionalism framework, the term 'practice (action) level' for this study refers to the journalists' shared ability to exercise their understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.	Shared practices: • A common ability to exercise or to do something practically
Sub-themes – Inductive	**Definitions**	**Key words from the data set**
Organisational influence (P=19)	Means the extent to which organisation or its policy intervenes in the journalistic work and restrain their freedom of expression.	Organisational intervention in the form of: • Organisational policy • Information curtailment • Business interests • Affiliations with any group, party or school of thought • Self-censorship • Restrain on freedom of expression Journalistic work: • Information gathering • News writing/making/production • Breaking news • News editing • Information dissemination
Journalists' safety (P=6)	Means the safety of journalists from psychological, legal, financial and physical risks. Psychological risks include risks that might cause mental or emotional stress and discomfort to journalists. Legal risks include the risk of suppressive media laws that can obstruct the journalistic independence. Financial risks include the risk of economic issues that can affect the journalistic independence. Physical risks include the risk of physical harm to journalists either in any form.	Psychological risk • Stress • Threats • Harassment • Intimidation Legal risk • Suppressive media laws (i-e Criminal libel laws, 1960, Official Secrecy Act, 1923, Blasphemy law) Physical risk • Attacks • Kidnapping • Torture or violence • Killing Financial risk • Job insecurity • Journalists' sacking

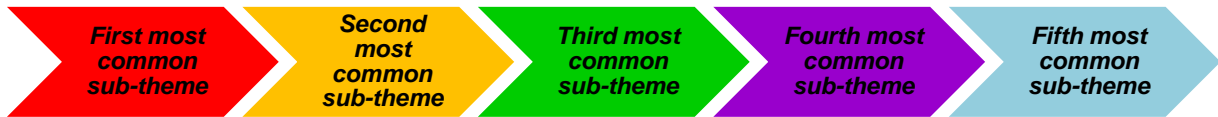|		
Social influence (P=4)	Means the influence of country's religion, culture, value system, social environment, literacy rate on the journalists' practices.	Country's religion: • Islam • Country's culture • Value system Social system: • Feudal & tribal system • Urban & rural • Literacy rate Social environment: • Conservative or traditional
Pressure groups' influence (P=4)	Means prevailing groups in the society who exerts pressure on journalists and media organisations for their own interests. And that ultimately affect on the journalists' practices of freedom of expression.	Prevailing groups: • Political parties • Religious groups • Ethnic groups • Business groups • Land mafia (grabbers) • Advertising agencies • Cable operators • Feudal and tribal lords • Government officials • Non-governmental organisations Practice of freedom of expression: • Ability to exercise freedom of expression
Economic influence (P=2)	Means the influence of country's economic condition and trends that might impact on the journalists' practices of freedom of expression.	Economic condition includes: • Per capital income • Journalists' pay scale • Job insecurity • Journalists' sacking Economic trends: • Commercial interests of owners • Bribery in journalism
Political influence (P=1)	Means the extent of political pressure and threats on press freedom, freedom of expression and journalists.	Political pressure on: • Individual journalists • Newspapers and television news channels Political pressure through: • Physical attacks • Harassments • Target killings • Kidnapping Political threats through: • Phone calls • sending items such as 'bullets' • Individual journalistic independence

Appendix IV

Thematic chart for Research Question 1 and Research Question 2

| First most common sub-theme | Second most common sub-theme | Third most common sub-theme | Fourth most common sub-theme | Fifth most common sub-theme |

Key themes

Conceptual level (RQ1) — **Deductive themes** — **Practice level (RQ2)**

Sub-themes — **Inductive themes** — **Sub-themes**

Conceptual level (RQ1)	Practice level (RQ2)
Freedom with responsibility	Organisational influence
Freedom of expression without any fear or pressure	Journalists' safety
Press freedom and Freedom of expression without any restriction	Social influence
Discovery of truth	Pressure groups' influence
Freedom of information	Economic influence
Freedom to report	Political influence
Professionalism	
Freedom to criticise	
Freedom to highlight the issues of public interest or welfare	

Gap between the journalists' understandings & practices in Pakistan

Appendix V

Definitions of themes for RQ3

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

Research Question Three		
Key theme – Deductive	**Definition**	**Key theoretical words**
Conceptual level	*In journalism studies, there are a wide array of concepts underpinning the journalistic practices.* *However, drawing on the new institutionalism framework, the term 'conceptual level' for this study refers to the journalists' shared understandings of freedom of expression and press freedom.*	*Shared understandings* • *A Common understanding*
Sub-themes – Inductive	**Definitions**	**Key words from the data set**
Journalistic independence *(P=15)[135]*	*Means individual journalistic freedom*	*Journalistic independence includes:* • *Freedom to report* • *Freedom to highlight issues* *Freedom of criticism* • *Direct and in-direct criticism* • *Freedom of opinion* • *Freedom of investigative journalism* • *Freedom of expression (writing and speech)*
Broadcasted or published content *(P=14)*	*Means the content that is published in a newspaper or magazine including news stories, articles and columns.* *The broadcasted content refers to the content of television news channels, which includes news stories, current affairs programs and talk shows.*	*Published content in newspapers and magazines* • *News stories* • *Articles* • *Columns* *Broadcasted content in television news channels* • *News stories* • *Breaking news* • *Current affairs programs* • *Talk shows* • *Prime time programs (8pm)*

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135 "P" refers to the prevalence of sub-themes.

Journalists' safety and protection *(P=13)*	*Means safety and protection of journalists from psychological, legal, financial and physical risks.* *Psychological risks include risks that might cause mental or emotional stress & discomfort to journalists.* *Legal risks include the risk of suppressive media laws that can obstruct the journalistic independence.* *Financial risks include the risk of economic issues that can affect the journalistic independence.* *Physical risks include the risk of physical harm to journalists either in any form.*	*Psychological risk* • *Stress* • *Threats* • *Harassment* • *Intimidation* *Legal risk* • *Suppressive media laws (i-e Criminal libel laws, 1860, Official Secrecy Act, 1923, Blasphemy laws)* • *Imprisonment* *Physical risk* • *Attacks* • *Kidnapping* • *Torture* • *Killing/casualties* • *Physical violence or targeting* • *Physical insecurity* *Financial risk* • *Job insecurity* • *Journalists sacking*
Organisational influence *(P=5)*	*Means the extent to which organisational policy and owner's ideology support the practice of freedom of expression OR intervenes in the journalistic work. Also, the level of freedom given to journalists by media organisations in which they work.*	• *Editorial policy* *Journalistic independence includes:* • *Freedom to report* • *Freedom to highlight issues* • *Freedom of criticism* • *Freedom of opinion* • *Freedom of investigative journalism* • *Freedom of expression (writing & speech)* *Practice of freedom of expression:* • *Ability to exercise the right of freedom of expression* *Organisational intervention in the form of:* • *Organisational policy* • *Information curtailment* • *Business interests* • *Journalists' sacking* • *Affiliations with any group, party or school of thought* • *Self-censorship*
Political environment *(P=4)*	*Means the extent to which Pakistan's political system influence on the journalists' ability to exercise freedom of expression.*	• *Controlled democracy* • *Military regimes*
Social environment *(P=2)*	*Means the extent to which Pakistan's religion, culture, literacy rate and system of social justice influence on the journalists' ability to exercise freedom of expression.*	• *Illiteracy* • *Islamic concept of justice* • *Equal justice* • *No immunity*

Economic environment *(P=2)*	*Means the extent to which prevailing economic condition of Pakistan and media organisations influence on the journalists' ability to exercise freedom of expression.* .	• *Economic stability* • *Governance* • *Per capital income* • *Journalists' pay scale* • *Job insecurity* • *Journalists' sacking* • *Financial independence of media organisations*
Pressures groups' influence *(P=2)*	*Means prevailing groups in the society that exerts pressure on journalists and media organisations for their own interests. And who ultimately affect the journalists' practice of freedom of expression.*	• *Political parties* • *Religious groups* • *Government officials* *Practice of freedom of expression:* • *Ability to exercise the right of freedom of expression*
Media accountability *(P=2)*	*Means monitoring of media organisations for the positive utility of freedom of expression to avoid abuse of this right.*	• *Abuse of freedom of expression* • *Media monitoring*
Public *(P=2)*	*Means the citizens of Pakistan*	• *Pakistanis*
Level of self-censorship *(P=1)*	*Means the extent to which journalists censor the published or broadcasted content or news by themselves.*	*Censor* • *Edit or ban*
Professionalism *(P=1)*	*Means to perform journalistic roles and journalistic work professionally and according to the journalistic norms.*	*Journalistic roles:* • *Watch dog* • *Informer* • *Educator* • *Opinion maker* • *Mobilise* *Journalistic work:* • *Information gathering* • *News writing/making/production* • *Breaking news* • *News editing* • *Information dissemination* *Journalistic norms:* • *Independence* • *Impartiality/ No ethnic bias* • *Responsibility* • *Truthfulness*

Appendix VI (A)

Freedom House methodology questions 2013[136]

A. LEGAL ENVIRONMENT (0–30 POINTS)

1. Do the constitution or other basic laws contain provisions designed to protect freedom of the press and of expression, and are they enforced? (0–6 points)

2. Do the penal code, security laws, or any other laws restrict reporting and are journalists or bloggers punished under these laws? (0–6 points)

3. Are there penalties for libelling officials or the state and are they enforced? (0–3 points)

4. Is the judiciary independent and do courts judge cases concerning the media impartially? (0–3 points)

5. Is Freedom of Information legislation in place, and are journalists able to make use of it? (0–2 points)

6. Can individuals or business entities legally establish and operate private media outlets without undue interference? (0–4 points)

7. Are media regulatory bodies, such as a broadcasting authority or national press or communications council, able to operate freely and independently? (0–2 points)

8. Is there freedom to become a journalist and to practice journalism, and can professional groups freely support journalists' rights and interests? (0–4 points)

B. POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT (0–40 POINTS)

1. To what extent are media outlets' news and information content determined by the government or a particular partisan interest? (0–10 points)

2. Is access to official or unofficial sources generally controlled? (0–2 points)

3. Is there official or unofficial censorship? (0–4 points)

4. Do journalists practice self-censorship? (0–4 points)

5. Do people have access to media coverage and a range of news and information that is robust and reflects a diversity of viewpoints? (0–4 points)

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[136] http://www.freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/Methodology_0.pdf

6. Are both local and foreign journalists able to cover the news freely in terms of harassment and physical access? (0–6 points)

7. Are journalists, bloggers, or media outlets subject to extralegal intimidation or physical violence by state authorities or any other actor? (0–10 points)

C. ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT (0–30 POINTS)

1. To what extent are media owned or controlled by the government and does this influence their diversity of views? (0–6 points)

2. Is media ownership transparent, thus allowing consumers to judge the impartiality of the news? (0–3 points)

3. Is media ownership highly concentrated and does it influence diversity of content? (0–3 points)

4. Are there restrictions on the means of news production and distribution? (0–4 points)

5. Are there high costs associated with the establishment and operation of media outlets? (0–4 points)

6. Do the state or other actors try to control the media through allocation of advertising or subsidies? (0–3 points)

7. Do journalists, bloggers, or media outlets receive payment from private or public sources whose design is to influence their journalistic content? (0–3 points)

8. Does the overall economic situation negatively impact media outlets' financial sustainability? (0–4 points)

Note: Under each question, a lower number of points is allotted for a more free situation, while a higher number of points is allotted for a less free environment. A complete list of the indicators used to make the assessments can be found online at www.freedomhouse.org

Appendix VI (B)

Media Sustainability Index (MSI) by International Research & Exchange Board (IREX)[137]

OBJECTIVES AND INDICATORS

Objective # 1: Legal and social norms protect and promote free speech and access to public information.

Indicators

1. Legal and social protections of free speech exist and are enforced.

2. Licensing or registration of broadcast media protects a public interest and is fair, competitive, and apolitical.

3. Market entry and tax structure for media are fair and comparable to other industries.

4. Crimes against media professionals, citizen reporters, and media outlets are prosecuted vigorously, but occurrences of such crimes are rare.

5. The law protects the editorial independence of state or public media.

6. Libel is a civil law issue; public officials are held to higher standards, and offended parties must prove falsity and malice.

7. Public information is easily available; right of access to information is equally enforced for all media, journalists, and citizens.

8. Media outlets' access to and use of local and international news and news sources is not restricted by law.

9. Entry into the journalism profession is free and government imposes no licensing, restrictions, or special rights for journalists.

Objective # 2: Journalism meets professional standards of quality.

Indicators

1. Reporting is fair, objective, and well sourced.

2. Journalists follow recognised and accepted ethical standards.

3. Journalists and editors do not practice self-censorship.

4. Journalists cover key events and issues.

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5. Pay levels for journalists and other media professionals are sufficiently high to discourage corruption and retain qualified personnel within the media profession.

6. Entertainment programming does not eclipse news and information programming.

7. Technical facilities and equipment for gathering, producing, and distributing news are modern and efficient.

8. Quality niche reporting and programming exists (investigative, economics/business, local, political).

Objective # 3: Multiple news sources provide citizens with reliable, objective news.

Indicators

1. Plurality of public and private news sources (e.g., print, broadcast, Internet, mobile) exist and offer multiple viewpoints.

2. Citizens' access to domestic or international media is not restricted by law, economics, or other means.

3. State of public media reflects the views of the political spectrum, are nonpartisan, and serve the public interest.

4. Independent news agencies gather and distribute news for media outlets.

5. Private media produce their own news.

6. Transparency of media ownership allows consumers to judge the objectivity of news; media ownership is not concentrated in a few conglomerates.

7. A broad spectrum of social interests are reflected and represented in the media, including minority-language information sources.

8. The media provide news coverage and information about local, national, and international issues.

Objective # 4: Media are well-managed enterprises, allowing editorial independence.

Indicators

Media outlets operate as efficient and self-sustaining enterprises.

2. Media receive revenue from a multitude of sources.

3. Advertising agencies and related industries support an advertising market.

4. Advertising revenue as a percentage of total revenue is in line with accepted standards.

5. Government subsidies and advertising are distributed fairly, governed by law, and neither subvert editorial independence nor distort the market.

6. Market research is used to formulate strategic plans, enhance advertising revenue, and tailor the product to the needs and interests of the audience.

7. Broadcast ratings, circulation figures, and Internet statistics are reliably and independently produced.

Objective # 5: Supporting Institutions function in the professional interests of independent media

Indicators

1. Trade associations represent the interests of media owners and managers and provide member services.

2. Professional associations work to protect journalists' rights and promote quality journalism.

3. NGOs support free speech and independent media.

4. Quality journalism degree programs exist providing substantial practical experience.

5. Short-term training and in-service training institutions and programs allow journalists to upgrade skills or acquire new skills.

6. Sources of media equipment, newsprint, and printing facilities are apolitical, not monopolised, and not restricted.

7. Channels of media distribution (kiosks, transmitters, cable, Internet, mobile) are apolitical, not monopolised, and not restricted.

8. Information and communication technology infrastructure sufficiently meets the needs of media and citizens.

Scoring System

A. Indicator Scoring

Each indicator is scored using the following system:

0 = Country does not meet the indicator; government or social forces may actively oppose its implementation.

1 = Country minimally meets aspects of the indicator; forces may not actively oppose its implementation, but business environment may not support it and government or profession do no fully and actively support change.

2 = Country has begun to meet many aspects of the indicator, but progress may be too recent to judge or still dependent on current government or political forces.

3 = Country meets most aspects of indicator; implementation of the indicator has occurred over several years and/or through changes in government, indicating likely sustainability.

4 = Country meets the aspects of the indicator; implementation has remained intact over multiple changes in government, economic fluctuations, changes in public opinion, and/or changing social conventions.

B. Objective and Overall Scoring

The averages of all the indicators are then averaged to obtain a single, overall score for each objective. Objective scores are averaged to provide an overall score for the country. IREX interprets the overall score as follows:

Unsustainable, Anti-Free Press (0-1): Country does not meet or only minimally meets objectives. Government and laws actively hinder free media development, professionalism is low, and media-industry activity is minimal.

Unsustainable Mixed System (1-2): Country minimally meets objectives, with segments of the legal system and government opposed to a free media system. Evident progress in free-press advocacy, increased professionalism, and new media businesses may be too recent to judge sustainability.

Near sustainability (2-3): Country has progressed in meeting multiple objectives, with legal norms, professionalism and the business environment supportive of independent media. Advances have survived changes in government and have been codified in law and practice. However, more time may be needed to ensure that change is enduring and that increased professionalism and the media business environment are sustainable.

Sustainable (3-4): Country has media that are considered generally professional, free, and sustainable, or to be approaching these objectives. Systems supporting independent media

have survived multiple governments, economic fluctuations, and changes in public opinion or social conventions.

Appendix VI (C)

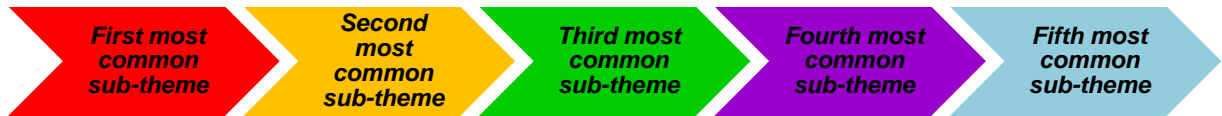**See RSF's methodology for the Press Freedom Index 2013 at http://rsf.org/index/qEN.html.**

Appendix VI (D)

Terminologies used by CPJ to measure attacks on journalists

All deaths	
Motive confirmed	*Only if the organization is certain that a journalists was murdered in direct reprisal for his work*
Motive unconfirmed	*When the motive is unclear*
Type of death	*Cross fire/combat: 'a killing on a battle field or in a military context'* *Dangerous assignment: 'death while covering a demonstration, riot, clashes between rival groups, and mob situations'.* *Murder: 'the targeted killing of a journalist in direct relation to his/her work'*
Murders	
Complete impunity	*"No convictions have been obtained".*
Partial impunity	*"Some but not all of those responsible have been convicted"*
Full justice	*"Everyone who is responsible is convicted"*
Suspected perpetrators in murder cases	
Political groups	*"Anti-government parties including insurgents and terrorists".*
Government officials	*"Civilian government officials including police".*
Paramilitary groups	*"Irregular armed forces allied with the government".*
Criminal groups	*"Criminals or members of criminal gangs".*
Mob violence	*"Crowds of people acting together but not otherwise organised".*
Local residents	*"Individuals inspired to violence by news coverage".*
Taken captive: *"Abduction or seizure of a journalist in the period directly before a murder".*	
Threatened: *"All forms of threats at any time before a journalist was murdered".*	
Tortured: *"means the journalist was physically and demonstrably tortured before being murdered".*	
See CPJ's methodology at http://www.cpj.org/about/research.php	

Appendix VII

Definitions of themes for RQ 4

First most common sub-theme	Second most common sub-theme	Third most common sub-theme	Fourth most common sub-theme	Fifth most common sub-theme

Research question four		
Key theme – Deductive	**Definition**	**Key theoretical words**
Environmental level	*Refers to social, political, legal, economic and organisational environment in which Pakistani journalists work.*	• *Institutional environment* • *Context*
Sub-themes – Inductive	**Definitions**	**Key words from data set**
Journalists' safety (P=48)	*Means <u>safety and protection</u> of journalists from psychological, legal, financial and physical risks.* *<u>Psychological risks</u> include risks that might cause mental or emotional stress & discomfort to journalists.* *<u>Legal risks</u> include the risk of suppressive media laws that can obstruct the journalistic independence.* *<u>Financial risks</u> include the risk of economic issues that can affect the journalistic independence.* *<u>Physical risks</u> include the risk of physical harm to journalists either in any form.*	<u>*Non-state actors:*</u> • *Criminals* • *Mafia groups (such as land grabbers)* • *Militants* • *Linguistics groups* • *Ethnic groups* • *Hostile groups* • *Pressure groups* • *Law enforcement agencies* • *Suppressive laws* <u>*Physical risks*</u> • *Life threats/risks* • *Killings* • *Attacks* • *Violence* • *Torture* • *Kidnapping* • *Missing journalists* <u>*Psychological risks*</u> • *Harassment and threats*
Organisational influence ***(P=42)***	*Means the extent to which organisational policy, <u>owner's interests and affiliations</u> intervenes in the <u>journalistic work</u> and <u>practice of freedom of expression</u>.*	• *Organisational policy* • *Organisational restrictions* • *Owner's interests* • *Commercial considerations* • *Owner's ideology* • *Organisational control*
Religious influence ***(P=35)***	*Means the extent to which Pakistan's official religion and religious environment affect on the journalistic work and freedom of expression*	• *Sectarian polarity* • *Schools of thoughts* • *Sectarian/religious extremism* • *Militants* • *Islamic values* • *Blasphemy* • *Country's ideology* • *Sectarian prejudice* • *Criticism on religion* • *Social sensitivity* • *Tolerance* • *Mind-set*

Social influence (P=34)	*Means the extent to which Pakistan's culture, literacy rate and social environment influence on the journalists' ability to exercise freedom of expression.*	• Tolerance • Education • Awareness • Ethnic division/group • Ethnic prejudice • Social polarity • Taboos • Feudalism • Conservative society/conservatism • Male dominance • Family restrictions • Social min-set • Social pressure • Cultural norms • Schools of thoughts • Elite dominance • Traditional/tribal society • Violent attitude • Volatile society • Linguistic issues
Political influence (P=34)	*Means the extent to which country's political system and political pressure influence on the journalistic ability to exercise freedom of expression.*	• *Political pressure* • *Political tension* • *Political affiliations* • *Political interests* • *Political fear* • *Political threats* • *Political killings* • *Controlled democracy* • *Political barriers*
Institutional influence (P=34)	*Means the extent to which military, intelligence agencies and government intervene in the journalists' work and curtail their freedom of expression*	• *Military regimes* • *Musharraf's regime* • *General Zia's period* • *Martial law* • *Controlled governments advertisements* • *Suppression or controlled information* • *Access to information* • *Direct or in-direct threats*
Economic influence (P=32)	*Means the extent to which prevailing <u>economic condition</u> of Pakistan and media organisations influence on the journalists' ability to exercise freedom of expression.*	• *Job insecurity* • *Job termination* • *Contractual jobs* • *Corruption in journalism: bribery* • *Cross-media ownership* • *Controlled government advertisements* • *Corporate interests* • *Wage board/salary issue* • *Resources* • *Economic suppression by organisation*

Professionalism **(P=30)**	*Means freedom to perform journalistic roles and journalistic work professionally and according to the journalistic norms and values (of accuracy, independence, impartiality, decency and truthfulness)* 264	• *Code of ethics* • *Journalism training/education* • *Responsibility* • *Intrusion/infringing other rights* • *Privacy* • *Journalistic partiality* • *Journalists own interest* • *Yellow journalism* • *Envelop journalism* • *Originality of issues* • *Sensationalism*
Pressure groups' influence **(P=25)**	*Means prevailing groups in the society that exerts pressure on journalists and media organisations for their own interests. And who ultimately affect the journalists' work and practice of freedom of expression.*	• *Ethnic groups* • *Linguistics groups* • *Society* • *Government* • *Bureaucracy* • *Feudal lords* • *Intelligence/security agencies* • *Religious groups* • *Sectarian groups* • *Radical groups* • *Political parties* • *Non-state actors* • *Media owners* • *Cable operators*
Legal influence **(P= 21)**	*Means the extent to which Constitution, existing media laws and other laws affect the journalists' work and suppress their right of freedom of expression.*	• *PEMRA Laws* • *Defamation* • *Contempt of court* • *Press & Publication Ordinance* • *Access to information law* • *Suppressive media laws*

Appendix VIII

Description of Wage Board Award in Pakistan[138]

Basically it is a committee /or board that is formed by the government of Pakistan for the purpose of fixing the rates of wages for journalists in the country. The board is constituted after each five years. Up till now seven boards have been formed. When Pakistan came into being there was no law for the salaries of journalists so at that time the government formed a press commission in 1954 to look after the working conditions and the wages which were being paid to the journalists at that time. The commission gave its decision in which it was stated that the government should constitute the wage board, which will decide the pays of journalists.

In order to give recommendation to the report of the commission the government promulgated an ordinance that is called "working journalists (condition of service) ordinance 1960". And then the government of Pakistan formed the first wage board in 1960. The board consists of a chairman who is or has been eligible for the judge of High court and the members no matter how many are selected by the government. The members of the board are the owners and employers of the newspapers, they are equal in quantity.

The decision of the board is binding on all newspaper owners that they would pay the journalists according to the decision of the board. According to the ordinance the board was supposed to decide the pays of only working journalists not for all of the employees of newspapers organisation. Later on in 1973 the government of Pakistan promulgated an Act that is called the 'newspaper employees (condition of service) Act 1973' now according to the Act the board is supposed to decide the pays of working journalists as well as the employees. The seventh wage award was given in 2001 but up till now it has not been implemented by the owners of the newspapers.

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[138] See this description at http://zafarahmedku06.tripod.com/

Appendix IX (A)

Status of Journalists and journalism ethics: IFJ's principles

See at http://www.ifj.org/en/articles/status-of-journalists-and-journalism-ethics-ifj-principles

Appendix IX (B)

Australian Journalists Association – AJA's Code of Ethics 1944

AJA's Code of Ethics1984-present

Recommended revised Media Entertainment and Arts Alliance's code (MEAA)

See at http://www.gwb.com.au/99a/ethics.htmland http://www.alliance.org.au/code-of-ethics.html