

## **Effects of Media Control on Democracy in Pakistan**

Democracy is the form of government in which people have the authority to choose their legislators and they become their representatives in the assemblies. Who the people are, how would they be elected and what authorities are derived from the legislators and other administrative matters are mentioned in the constitution of country which is also considered as the holy book of the state. Studies of democracy and democratic transitions place emphasis on the attitudes, values and behavior patterns of ordinary citizens. (Tessler , 2008). The term “Democracy” was first used in ancient Greek’s political philosophy in the city state. It is derived from the word “Demos” which means people and “Kratos” which further is synonymous to strength. Basically, democracy is the form of government which protects basic human and fundamental rights of the masses. “Freedom of Expression” is as indispensable human right as it nourishes democracy and it enables people to share their ideas, views and opinions with other fellow citizens and to raise voice for themselves. If the government works against the interests of masses and have tyrannical inclination, people have right to protest and oppose the ruling party as democratic governments are accountable to the people who have elected them. In ancient city states people could directly hold their rulers accountable but with passage of time as states grew in size and population, and people could no longer directly be in contact with their rulers. It gave rise to the institution of “Press” to bridge the communication gap between the governments and their voters.

Free Press has a crucial relationship with health of democracy as it acts as a government watchdog by scrutinizing the policies and performance of the governors on the behalf of the governed. Free press is also an advocate of democracy and this is the main reason that dictators

and non-democratic governments are threatened by freedom of speech. Wherever, there are illegitimate governments are growing in the world, they try to suppress public opinion by hijacking media and communication tools. Freedom of expression is the first hurdle between their illegitimate rule and their priority is the adjudication of the press, journalist and human right activists. This proves the fact that free media is the basic element for the sustenance of democracy.

By comparing the contrasting media of the two states, this argument can be supported that England is known as the “mother of parliaments”, as it has an ideal form of democracy with ‘freedom of expression’ being a practiced human right in the state. On the other hand, if one sheds light on the politics of Gulf states, the monarchs have continuously sabotaged people’s right to express. Assassination of Jamal Kashoggi is a brutal example of their control over the media and people’s right to criticize them.

In fact, media isn’t just a medium now, it has become a vital tool of twenty first century which has ability to nurture and protect masses. One can revolutionize world through the power of media.

Whether it is American Presidential Elections or Iraq War, media has always played its central role. In the election campaigns, communication measures such as frequency of interpersonal discussion of elections and exposure to differing viewpoints might help to predict knowledge of candidates on salient issues and interest in campaign. Other factors that might impact likelihood of voting include personality traits, group influences, perceived political efficacy, perceived candidate images, and reactions to external events such as terrorist attacks or economic downturns. The specifics of each campaign, including the records and personalities of candidates

and the perceived closeness of the race, undoubtedly have a direct effect on campaign interest and likelihood of voting, and probably an indirect effect on knowledge. (Drew, 2006)

History proves that as world evolves, it also changes its ways to fight. Today, you don't need tanks and troops to conquer the world as intellectual battle has taken over the traditional physical wars. And media would be the emerging and most effective weapon of these wars. Media is also a threat for those who don't believe in democracy, humanity and peace.

Pakistan is an undeclared military state from the last half century and that is why Pakistan is a state which is very uncomfortable and dangerous for media professionals. If we take a look at the history of the region, instability has prevailed for a long time in politics and it has desensitized people. This is the main people have welcomed military governments. Pakistan has faced five martial laws in previous 73 years and it has terribly injured the democratic values of the country. First martial law administrator, Field Marshal Ayyub Khan, imposed a ban on the radio and they couldn't broadcast speech of Fatima Jinnah (Sister of Quai- e- Azam). He also conducted a referendum and didn't let the journalists cover it except for those from the governmentally controlled state radio and state television. Even the newspapers got the results from state televisions and radio. Later, General Zia- ul- Haq banned press and had many working journalists arrested. However, General Pervaiz Musharraf issued licenses to the private channels and started a new era of media in Pakistan, but he also tried to manipulate and control media at the same time. He didn't let media cover the lawyer movement in 2007.

There is another view point, as some journalists think Pakistani media is not very controlled and still not playing its role in awareness of people; media is not effective in strengthening democracy in Pakistan. Despite this, the media is free and liberal in Pakistan; still it hasn't done much in enhancing democratic traditions in the country. While the media's role as a source of

information and watchdog has been appreciated, it is interesting that its role as an agenda setter and especially as a civic forum has been hugely castigated. Also it has been acknowledged that media owners and the financiers have a negative influence on the role of the media. Journalists working conditions are also not very conducive for them to work earnestly. (Saleem, 2016)

## **Rationale**

Pakistan should not be Islamic and democratic; possessing these qualities as two distinct and separate attributes. Democracy should become an aspect of its Islamic-ness, a part of the definition of the Islamic state. (Ghulam W. Choudhury, 1988) Our Founder also wanted himself to form a democratic country where we all can enjoy the freedom to speech. Jinnah imposed 1935 act with few basic amendments until Pakistan formed its own constitution and it also shows that Pakistan is formed for democracy. Moreover, Mr. Jinnah was the man who supported press freedom. Miss. Fatima Jinnah said while talking to the Dawn Newspaper that Quaid always stood for development and freedom of press. Quaid recognized the importance of free and fair medium of communication for a democratic state so that's why he himself started two newspapers for his nation.

The basic agenda to conduct this research is that we want to know what our aspiring journalists think about democracy, how they see this democratic process and what are their understandings about media control, press freedom and freedom of expression. I do agree with it that a lot of people in Pakistan have different opinions about democracy, many people think that some kind of military is more beneficial but that is because those people have not witnessed a pure democracy. I want to chalk out what our aspiring journalists think about democracy and freedom of control in Pakistan. And what are their views about this controlled media and do they agree with this control and what are they looking forward to for the future and democracy in Pakistan?

## **Problem Statement**

Being a citizen of a democratic country, we all believe that freedom of expression plays a key role in the nourishment of democracy, also it is a fundamental human right. All the citizens must have access to the information and facts so they can analyze how the governors govern. They can share their views and ideas freely for their representatives and can applaud or criticize them freely for their policies. In this research, we want to know if the media is empowered and independent enough to do its job. And if not, then what are the factors hindering it and who are those powerful individuals not letting media do its duty of whom they are not doing their job. And, if the media is not independent enough how is democracy surviving in the region.

## **Objectives**

We have few objectives to conduct this research. The objectives we want to achieve by this research are,

- To highlighting the deep connection between the media and democracy in a democratic state.
- To discuss the importance of free media.
- Challenges which journalists have to face in a country like Pakistan.
- To evaluate what our aspiring journalists think about control on media.
- Impact of censorship on aspiring journalists.
- Future of journalism

## **Research Question**

We are living in a country with strict censorship in the era of free media. The basic agenda for conducting this research is get to know what are the views of our aspiring journalists about this

censorship and how this censorship will affect democracy in Pakistan. With the responses of our targeted audience we realize what would be the future of free media, freedom of expression and democracy in Pakistan.

## **Theory**

In healthy democracy it is the duty of the media to play the role as watchdog instead of a lap dog. We have the example of western progressive democracy where the media is working as a watchdog, western media is the example where the media is playing the vital role for the nourishment of democracy and the freedom of their people. It is also playing the role to create awareness and educate the masses. During the presidential elections in the US, the media educated people about the elections, candidates and the importance of vote. It ensured that the freedom of expression is used in a positive way to guide their people. It also helped to highlight the positive and negative aspects as well as initiated debate among people to understand the matter. And all these are helpful for the development of a healthy democracy. These are the results of free and responsible press. These are the basic elements of “Libertarian Theory” and we have also implemented the Libertarian Theory to conduct this research.

## **Literature Review**

In recent decades, Pakistan’s media has been bold and vocal about national and international issues. Freedom of media increased the impact of journalists in shaping people’s opinion but it has also sparked backlash from those at loss. Consequently, Pakistan became one of the most dangerous countries for journalists to live in. Pakistan’s journalists aim to promote their country and be vocal against terrorism. After a long era of oppression, they now can challenge governmental policies too. But still there isn’t still a universal professional set of norms and

values for all the journalist in the world to follow. Journalists shape their priorities and opinions on the basis of the domestic circumstances they face. (Pintak, 2013)

Through Swedish Media Election and findings, the media has two major roles of informing people and keeping an eye on those who are in power and govern masses. In the contemporary world, people believe in democracy which drives its power from public opinion and participation. The safety of public opinion is largely shaped by media and in this way media becomes the most important tool in democracy. Media not only provides platforms for the candidates to express their ideologies but also amplifies the voices of people. (ASP, 2007)

James Carey in his essay analyzes the relation of society and media. He counters the negative attitude people hold about contemporary world. He remains an idealist in his belief that true and genuine conversation provides a way for better democratic process in a society. He emphasizes the belief that conversation is meaningful and values lies at the heart of communication studies. (Hardt, 2009)

Pakistan media has played an important role in awareness of masses during sectarian conflicts. Media reporting can add fuel to the fire if the reporters are not sensitive with the gravity of the situation. Role of media isn't only to present facts but how facts are being related and narrated are important. In this regard Pakistan media has pursued peace journalism through responsible reporting and has tried to avoid escalation of the violence and conflict. Media becomes the center of attention during crisis and masses depend on the information given by journalist for understanding the situation and perspective building. Even though media has always been observed to escalate wars but in sectarian conflicts. Pakistan media has also played a major role in bringing peace and stability in the country. (Hussain, 2017)

Authoritarian government bring with themselves a control on media but their strategies to control media still remain vague. The writer in this research has analyzed the Chinese propaganda apparatus which is a soft and non-traditional way of controlling media. The Chinese censorship system is somehow divided in the central and local authorities. The central authorities through conditional public opinion guidance which is a combination of banning reports, posing a direct threat to the existing government and giving direction to the public opinion. Authorities are frequent in controlling the media that spreads message within seconds to many people at a time. Local leaders tend to hide news in areas under their supervision so that the central authorities won't come to know about their misconduct. That's how media is censored by local and central government in the regime of Chinese Communist Party. (Tai, 2014)

The article also explores contribution of citizen journalism in the process of democracy in Africa. All the social, economic, political and legal factors that are involved in the growth of citizen journalism in the country. It also talks about how people perceive themselves through being able to communicate, spread their messages and play their part in the democratic transformation of the region. It further discusses how citizen journalism would be adopted and institutionalized with advancing technology and how media houses recruit and use online platforms. (Banda, 2010)

The article shed light on the control of media by the Portugal authoritative government during world word II and Spanish civil war on the name scarcity of resources in the country. The government of Portugal was controlling flow of information even before the start of war but war gave an excuse to the government for hiding facts from people. The writer calls it the artificial scarcity created by the government so that people couldn't access papers and radio frequencies to listen broadcasts for updates during the war. There was lack of electricity too in the region



between 1930s to 1940s and government took advantage of the conditions by obscuring facts from people. (Ribeiro, 2015)

Free and fair media contributes to more stable democratic practices in a country. Journalists, media laws and media owners are expected to be neutral in their conduct without favoring anyone. But this practice becomes hard because subjective approaches of journalists and interests of media owners come in a between the goal of creating an objective media.

Through researched data collected from Sindh it is highlighted that news-workers due to various political, economic, security and social problems aren't free to work and are dictated by their media group policies (Memon, 2013)

The article discusses that freedom, power politics and history are closely related to each other. There are different genres, and eras of censorship that includes the censorship of history itself. When history is censored, it impacts the contemporary politics of the world too. Certain types of governments hardly survive on basis of being elected or selected only. To create unity and passion among people they are bound together by an ideology that is rooted in the past and has strong basis of its existence. For these purposes history is censored and molded for government's benefits (Baets, 2002)

The developing countries of Europe and United States of America are seeing emergence of civic networking as a consequence of technological advancement. It is improving the participation of people in the democratic process and their access to information. But in the age of information this idealist dreams of converting the society into a more egalitarian one through civic networking still remains far away from reality as there remains a problem of unequal access of these technologies. There is a threat that this online system may fall in the hands and

manipulation of only free privileged people and all those who don't have access to these networks would remain unheard. (Movement, 1999)

After the Iraq war and incident of terrorism on world trade center in 2001, United states has always pointed out that Arab media has been subjective and against USA. Arab people and their working journalists see themselves as a part of struggle towards making the conditions Middle East better. US is criticized them for not being able to live up to the ideals. Most of Arab journalists share a collective Anti-America stance. The relationship between the western governments and Arab media should be reexamined and corrected with time. (Ginges, 2008)

For a long time, journalism and politics have worked in harmony with each other. Politicians represented themselves and addressed people through media and in return media responsibly gave people information they needed.

But the contemporary relationship that is observed between media and politicians is driving people away from media. Politicians lash on media for creating issues and increasing instability in the country while media portrays politicians as people who are working against the interests of people. This has been a major cause of distrust among people. The article highlights that this relationship of between journalists, citizen and politicians has turned itself into a Bermuda triangle. (Brants, 2013)

Critical solidarity means enabling students to understand the correlation and ramifications of their conducts by interpreting information and communication within social, political, historical, and economic contexts. Meanwhile, critical media literacy empowers people over their culture and thus allow them to create their own identities and play an impactful role in positively

shaping the social conditions and become an active participant of a democratic society. (Share, 2007)

The media landscape in China is among the most controlled in the world, primarily by using Great Firewall as their building block of censorship. During an experiment, when students were exposed to politically sensitive information, persistent changes in their beliefs, opinions, and intended behaviors were observed. This exposure made them more politically aware as well as less satisfied with the Chinese Government's performance, and more expected to demand changes in its institutions and further inclined to take actions to elicit changes themselves. (Yuyu Chen, 2018)

The mass media is believed to be able to develop 'empathy' among its consumers that can facilitate progress towards modern environments. Modernization theorists, along with the emphasis on the role of individuals in socio-economic development, have also encouraged the use of mass media to build national solidarity and coalition of purpose among developing nations; which are generally considered ill informed with less opportunities to learn the strategies and systems of the modern times. An approach to development journalism alludes that among the various ways in which mass media could provide information and entertainment, journalism was viewed as crucial means of providing impartial facts and evaluations in association to contemporary conditions. While, as per nation-building approach, journalists are placed as the government's partners; thus, to ensure social harmony and political stability press freedom should be restricted according to the economic priorities and development needs of the nation.

However, journalists could serve the public interest by helping in identifying the flaws in the design elements or enactment of policies, but their function was largely specified to support the overall strategy rather than to challenge it. Within this perspective, information

was 'a scarce national resource' that became 'the property of the state. Under this approach, the media should not contradict the authorities but support them. 'Dissent or criticism has no place in part because the alternative to the ruling government would be chaos (Michael Bromley, 2005)

Before talking about democratic state, one must understand its meaning. Democracy: derived from Greek words, 'demos' meaning 'whole citizen living within a particular city-state; and 'kratos' meaning 'power or rule', can be described as a process of group decision making by equal contribution of all the participants. In a democratic society, people should be considered as the primary source of political power, while government as merely its representative. Therefore, there must be independent judiciary, guarantees of civil rights and elections, and freedom along with the security to contradict, when required.

At the establishment of Pakistan, it was loudly stated by Quaid-e-Azam that this would be a state where every citizen will have equal share in privileges as well as obligations that would come to a citizen of Pakistan. But, unfortunately, today a very different picture is present before us and to preserve the integrity of democracy in Pakistan, government must practically take actions against bribery and criminal matters, because due to the saturated presence of related acts it has become the need of the hour to urgently consider solid executions. The Quaid's principles, which clearly depicts duties of government, can work as our guide on every vital issue to secure a stable and progressed future of nation. Furthermore, being well-aware of constitutional political methods, he was a prime supporter of "government of the people, by the people". But even his basic national motto of 'unity, faith and discipline' has always been ignored and over the years Pakistan has become a fragmented society, a fragile polity and a fumbling system. (Attiya Khanam, 2019)

However, the empirical research conducted by Shyamal K. Chowdhury, refers that between the two integrands of democracy, the voters' participation seems more impactful. Moreover, democracy and press freedom, indeed, have significant influence on corruption; though a change in timeline may influence the extent of corruption, but a dramatic change is improbable. The consequential correlation between press freedom and democracy delineate that corruption is directly influenced by it. (Chowdhury, 2004)

Media Autonomy that isn't unhinged by exterior forces and an unfiltered democracy guarantees an environment that is free from politicized corruption. It is ascertained that democracy is often considered to be a mighty stratagem for the construction of a fair world as they exercise their right to select a candidate deemed worthy of the position of power. Moreover, a free media freedom is an integral tool facilitating public to make good choices for the greater good. The omnipresence of both a free media and open democracy empower the citizens to make sound choices thus promising an equitable future. In a democratic regime, media can play a dynamic part in representation of the correct profiles and accountability for corrupt acts which can contribute to a fair and corruption less society. (Porto, 2012)

In the civil society, the relationship between media and democracy multi-faceted and convoluted driven by many factors and stakeholders. Especially after the rampant prevalence of democracy across borders after the 1990s, one uniform democracy doesn't exist as political cultural varies according to geo strategic significance, religion, colonialization etc. The democracy interpreted in the developing nations vastly differs from the one in the countries run by former colonial masters. Although can be affected by regional and global influences, mainly it is the national impact that counts.

The process of democratization is neither uniform nor single mainly because of the underlying divergences in the developing and developed nations thus this narrative of multiple democracies was introduced to solve this dilemma of universality.

Whether the democratization process occurs through the evolutionary or revolutionary methods, a free media is always there to aid this change. Although the democratic struggles may vary according to the respective country ongoing this change, media can play a role in shaping a narrative. As democracy has never a perfect or final state, i.e. it is an ever changing and ongoing discourse, media needs to play a continuous part to implement it. (Ullah, 2009)

Nation goes through some major phases to become a stable democracy. Firstly, the pre-transition stage when everyone in the civil society doesn't want to change the status quo or disrupt the current social order. Whereas in the transition phase everyone believes in democracy and its power and it is the dominant paradigm in the society. Media is the proponent of democracy just after its victory in a society and the euphoria of falling the previous autocratic government is still there. During this era, citizens which also include journalists acquire the autonomy to live a free life thus democracy is liked by all.

However, as the transition process progresses, the media as well as the public become more skeptical of democratization especially during times of stress i.e. inflation, increased corruption, crime. (McConnell, 2002)

Achieving democracy in the western countries mean a fight against the those who are in hegemonic positions and other variable socio-political factors. However, in the developing nations, phenomenon of trans-culturalism prevail which also affect the overall democracy. Media can play a part in either demoting or promoting democracy and this whole discourse rests on the

question whether media is free or not. The democratization process will speed up if media prompts ideals congruent with democracy and facilitate members of society with quality and relevant information. But if the media doesn't challenge the power structure, democracy can never be achieved. (Chan, 2002)

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Methodology**

For the study quantitative methodology is used. Researcher has used survey method to collect the data from the respondents. Neuman (2013) defines survey as a “quantitative research in which the researcher systematically asks a large number of people the same questions and then records their answers. (p.49)

Survey research is an effective method of knowing the behaviors of the people towards an issues under investigation. For this study, survey research was selected as a method because respondents can express their opinion on media freedom and democracy

#### **Population:**

The universe or population for this study is students enrolled in media/ communication/ mass communication/ journalism/ TV/ Film studies students (BS/ MA/ MSc. / MS./ MPhil / PhD) in Universities located in Lahore city.

#### **Sampling:**

Simple random sampling is chosen as a sampling procedure. A sample of 200 respondents was taken from the population.

### **Survey Questionnaire:**

An instrument comprising of twenty-six items was developed. Out of twenty-six items eight items are related to demographic variables. All dependent variables are measured on five point Likert scale i.e. Strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree.

Following are the dependent variables:

1. Pro Media control
2. Pro-democracy
3. Media freedom essential for democracy
4. Promotes democratic norms
5. Skepticism on democracy
6. Understanding about democracy

### **Research Question:**

**RQ1.** What are effects of media control on democratic behavior of aspiring journalists of Lahore?

### **Hypotheses:**

Following hypotheses for the study.

H1. Aspiring journalists believes in Media control in Pakistan.

H2. Aspiring journalists believes in democracy as a governance system in Pakistan.



H3. Aspiring journalists believes that media freedom is essential for democracy in Pakistan in Media control in Pakistan.

H4. Aspiring journalists believes that media freedom promotes democracy in Pakistan.

H5. Aspiring journalists believes that media control creates skepticism in Pakistan.

H6. Aspiring journalists believes that media freedom enhances understanding about democracy in Pakistan.

### **Conceptualization and Operationalization:**

**Pro Media control.** The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (2020) defines pro as, “on the affirmative side: in affirmation”, and defines control as, “to exercise restraining or directing influence over”, and media as, “members of the mass media”

Pro media control entails attitude and behavior that shows believe by respondents that media is essential for development of the society, to ensure human rights protection and to solve the problems faced by the Pakistani society. It deals with positive and constructive role of media in Pakistani society.

**Pro-democracy.** The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (2020) defines pro as, “on the affirmative side: in affirmation” and democracy as, “a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections”

Pro democratic attitude means believing that

rr democracy is the best government system for Pakistan. There cannot be any other form of government in Pakistan in present scenario. Respondents tends to express their opinion that they will remain committed to protect democracy in Pakistan.

**Media freedom essential for democracy.** Media has been defined by Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2020) as, “members of the mass media”, freedom as “liberation from slavery or restraint or from the power of another”, essential as “of the utmost importance” and democracy as “a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections”.

This variable measures the free media role for democracy in Pakistan. It also deals with role of free media in supporting democracy and creating an environment for the citizens wherein they can cast their vote during general elections.

**Promotes democratic norms.** The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2020) defines promote as, “to remember (something) from the past”, democratic as, “a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections”, and norm as “a set standard of development or achievement usually derived from the average or median achievement of a large group”

This variable measures the three most important democratic norms i.e. Justice, equality and tolerance via the role of free media in a society for promoting democracy.

**Skepticism on democracy.** The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2020) defines skepticism as, “an attitude of doubt or a disposition to incredulity either in general or toward a particular object”,

and democracy as, “a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections”

This variable caters to the debates that are generated via media control for creating dissatisfaction with democracy. It also deals with conspiracy oriented thinking created through media debates that highlight

**Understanding about democracy.** The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2020) defines understanding as, “the power to make experience intelligible by applying concepts and categories” and democracy as, “a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free elections”

This variable deals with understanding about democracy including making them understand benefits of democracy. It also tells respondents about structure and operations of democratic political system in the country.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Findings

Following are important findings of the study:

#### **Reliability:**

For the reliability of items Cronbach's Alpha was applied that generated the value of 0.731.

#### **Hypothesis Testing:**

Following are the research hypotheses along with their corresponding null hypotheses:

Following hypotheses for the study.

H1. Aspiring journalists believes in media control in Pakistan.

H1o. Aspiring journalists do not believe in media control in Pakistan.

H2. Aspiring journalists believes in democracy as a governance system in Pakistan.

H2o. Aspiring journalists do not believe in democracy as a governance system in Pakistan.

H3. Aspiring journalists believes that media freedom is essential for democracy in Pakistan in Media control in Pakistan.

H3o. Aspiring journalists do not believe that media freedom is essential for democracy in Pakistan in Media control in Pakistan.

H4. Aspiring journalists believes that media freedom promotes democracy in Pakistan.

H4o. Aspiring journalists do not believe that media freedom promotes democracy in Pakistan.

H5. Aspiring journalists believes that media control creates skepticism in Pakistan.

H5o. Aspiring journalists do not believe that media control creates skepticism in Pakistan.

H6. Aspiring journalists believe that media freedom enhances understanding about democracy in Pakistan.

H6o. Aspiring journalists do not believe that media freedom enhances understanding about democracy in Pakistan.

For the null hypothesis one sample t-test (one-tail) was applied that generated following results:

**One sample t test (one tail) table:**

Serial	Variable	t-Value	p-Value	Remarks
1.	Pro Media control	9.348	0.03	significant
2.	Pro-democracy	10.095	0.07	Insignificant
3.	Media freedom essential for democracy	4.894	0.60	Insignificant
4.	Promotes democratic norms	10.458	0.03	significant
5.	Skepticism on democracy	12.666	0.00	significant
6.	Understanding about democracy	10.454	0.05	significant

For the variables Pro Media control, promotes democratic norms, skepticism on democracy, understanding about democracy the obtained p-values are  $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ,  $p < 0.05$ , and  $p < 0.05$  respectively.

Hence H1o, H4o, H5o and H6o are not rejected. Therefore, corresponding research hypotheses are corroborated.

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