FREE MEDIA AND DICTATORIAL STATE IN PAKISTAN: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY AND MUSHARRAF-ERA PAKISTAN MEDIA

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Ramallah ZAHIR

KOCAELİ 2020

T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İLETİŞİM ANABİLİM DALI
İLETİŞİM BİLİMLERİ BİLİM DALI

FREE MEDIA AND DICTATORIAL STATE IN PAKISTAN: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY AND MUSHARRAF-ERA PAKISTAN MEDIA

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Ramallah ZAHIR

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Akın DEVECİ

KOCAELİ 2020

T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
İLETİŞİM ANABİLİM DALI
İLETİŞİM BİLİMLERİ BİLİM DALI

FREE MEDIA AND DICTATORIAL STATE IN PAKISTAN: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY THEORY AND MUSHARRAF-ERA PAKISTAN MEDIA

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Tezi Hazırlayan: Ramallah ZAHIR

Tezin Kabul Edildiği Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu Karar ve No: 03.02.2020/03

Jüri Başkanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Akın DEVECİ

Jüri Üyesi: Doç. Dr. Sedat ÖZEL

Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi. Süleyman DEMİREL

Jüri Üyesi:

Jüri Üyesi:

KOCAELİ, 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZET

1999'da Pervez Müşerref'in Pakistan'da iktidara gelmesinden hemen sonra, ülke ABD'nin liderliğindeki Afganistan'daki savaşa karıştı. 2007 yılında istifasına kadar süren Müşerref'in yönetimi, Pakistan'da medyanın çoğaldığını gördü. Kuralının başlangıcında Müşerref Pakistan'da medya için benzeri görülmemiş bir liberalleşme süreci başlattı. Ne yazık ki Müşerref'in kuralı sona erdiğinde (2007), Pakistan derin politik kriz, dini şiddet ve terörizme yakalandı ve bu da onu kendi liberalleşme politikalarını tersine çevirmeye zorladı ve sonuç olarak medyadaki vidaları sıktı. Böylece, bu Pakistan'da yaklaşmakta olan bir çelişki olarak kaldı: basın özgürlüğünün sembolü olmaktan diktatörlük durumuna geçmeye. Müşerref'in medya karşısında çelişkili pozisyonuna yol açan koşullar açıklanmıyor. Pakistan gibi az gelişmiş sömürge sonrası toplumda etnik, kültürel ve mezhep gibi birden fazla fay hattı vardır. Bununla birlikte, uçucu mahalleler ve Pakistan'ın Soğuk Savaş'tan bu yana parçası olduğu küresel savaşlar gibi dış faktörler de var. Dolayısıyla, devlet ve ulus arasındaki ilişki kalıcıdır ve ülke her zaman patlak tuğlasındadır. Böyle bir ortamda, basının rolünü incelemeye yönelik yaklaşımın nüanslı olması gerekir. Dolayısıyla Müşerref'in basın özgürlüğü konusundaki çelişkili konumları bu bağlamda incelenmelidir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma hem Otoriter hem de Liberter basın özgürlüğünün içeriğine odaklanmayı amaçlamaktadır ve postülasyonları medyanın sorumlu bir şekilde kullanılmasının sosyal istikrar ve gelişime katkıda bulunabileceğini öne süren Sosyal Sorumluluk Teorisinin savunulmasını savunmaktadır. Bu, zayıf devlet kurumlarına ve liberal basın özgürlüğü kavramlarına sahip toplumların, devlet ve toplum arasındaki gerilimin artmasına katkıda bulundukları ve aynı şekilde medyanın otoriter kontrolünün toplumun diktatör olarak bastırılmasına izin verdiği için zararlı olabileceğini savunuyor. Çalışma, Müşerref'in çökme kuralının son altı ayında Pakistan'da en yüksek popülerliğe sahip olan iki medya kuruluşu Geo ve Nation'ın söylem analizini içeriyor.

Anahtar Kelimeleri: Otoriter Rejim, Medya Sorumluluğu, Müşerref, Pakistan, Basın Özgürlüğü

ABSTRACT

Immediately after Pervez Musharraf took power in Pakistan in 1999, the country saw itself tangled in the United States-led war in Afghanistan. Musharraf's rule, which lasted until his resignation in 2007, the period saw a proliferation of media in Pakistan. At the beginning of his, rule Musharraf initiated an unprecedented liberalization process for media in Pakistan. Unfortunately, by the time Musharraf's rule reached towards an end (2007), Pakistan was caught in deep political crisis, religious violence, and terrorism which forced him to reverse his own policies of liberalization and as a result, he tightened the screws on media. Thus, this remained an impending contradiction in Pakistan: from being a symbol of press freedom to assuming dictatorial status. The circumstances that led to Musharraf's contradictory position vis-a-vis media remain unexplained. In the underdeveloped post-colonial society like Pakistan which has multiple fault-lines such as ethnic, cultural and sectarian running through it. Coupled with this are the external factors such as volatile neighborhoods and the global wars that Pakistan has been part of since the Cold War. Thus, the relationship between state and nation remains in perpetual and the country is always at the brick of implosion. In such an environment, the approach to examining the role of the press requires to be nuanced. Thus, Musharraf's contradictory positions on press freedom must be examined in this context. Therefore, this study is aimed at focusing on the contentions of both Authoritarian and Libertarian press freedom and argues in defense of Social Responsibility Theory whose postulations suggest that responsible use of media can contribute to social stability and development. This argues that the societies with weak state institutions and liberal notions of press freedom can be detrimental as they contribute to the escalation of tension between state and society and in the same way Authoritarian control of media allows dictatorial suppression of the society. The study involves discourse analysis of two media outlets, Geo and Nation, which had the highest popularity in Pakistan during the last six months of Musharraf's crumbling rule.

Keywords: Authoritarian Regime, Media Responsibility, Musharraf, Pakistan, Press Freedom.

TABLES AND FIGURE

INTRODUCTION

The nation-state of Pakistan was established on 14th August 1947, the day colonial Britain ended its 200-year rule over the Indian subcontinent. As per the founding and ideological fathers of the newly formed nation, 'the land of pure', Pakistan, would be a state to provide political security for the millions of distraught Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. (Jalal, 2014) Therefore, in the process of demarcation of boundary lines of Pakistan, nearly a million people, more Muslims than Hindus and Sikhs, died in ensuing communal violence. (Dalrymple, 2015) However, the years following its establishment, the journey for the newly demarcated territory was even more bumpy and bloody. Soon it had to contend with global and regional realities. Pakistan's establishment coincided with the beginning of the Cold War, and at the same time, as a Muslim country, it was naturally tied with the wars and revolutions in the Middle East and Gulf. Pakistan had to face tough choices between joining Communist the USSR and the anti-Communist Western alliance. It ultimately ended up joining the Western alliance against its close rival India, which the West saw as leaning towards the USSR. (McMahon, 1994).

At the same time, the external factors put a strain on the internal dynamics of Pakistan. Pakistan became a nation out of consociation between disparate peoples which included, sects like Sunnis, Shias, Ahmadi's; ethnic groups like Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochis, Bengalis (later separated as Bangladesh in 1971) and Pakhtuns; and other cross-cutting groups like Sufis, Salafi, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs. (Haleem, 2003). These factors kept constant pressure on the Pakistani state and its stability. The first test for the Pakistani nation and the state, which was ideologically formed on the Muslim identity or the nationals, was in 1971 when Bengali nationalists launched a struggle against Pakistani state due to the high handedness of Punjabi dominated military and bureaucracy. The Bengal province (also called as Eastern Pakistan) eventually separated from Western Pakistan with the help and intervention or India and formed the state of Bangladesh. (Sisson and Rose, 1990).

Ever since Pakistan has remained a boiling pot of multiple cross-cutting identities. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1980, Pakistan saw itself as a frontline in the war, backed by Western powers and Gulf monarchies against the rising Communist threat. The war, which lasted until 1988, gave rise to Mujahideen who came from across the world to fight Communists in Afghanistan. The Mujahideen too eventually became a burden of Pakistan, and Pakistan kept engaged in Afghan civil war post-1988. When the civil war ended in 1994, Pakistan backed group called the Taliban came to power lasting until they were overthrown by the US invasion in 2001.

Meanwhile, a lingering dispute of Kashmir between Indian and Pakistan also acted as an impending security differential for the country. The two countries have fought three wars on the issue of Kashmir, resulting in huge losses on both sides. It continues to occasionally flare-up between the two nuclear powers.

Pakistan saw, through most of its history except for few occasions, coups, with dominant military rulers coming to power: 1958 coup which saw the appointment of Ayub Khan, 1977 coup by Zia-ul-Haq and 1999 coup by Pervez Musharraf. Thus, Pakistan's history, for the most part, has been fraught with wars, within and with external forces, coups, terrorism, ethnic and sectarian clashes.

Literature Review

In such a scenario media's role has been very complicated in Pakistan. Media has had to be contended with multiple forms of censorship, ranging from directly imposed by the state or self-censorship due to fear. (Parveen and Bhatti, 2018) Providing a compact press role and freedom theory has been highly complicated matters given the factors or disparity of Pakistani social landscape, multiple centers of power and influence of external force. One could argue for Libertarian theory based on the factors of disparate groups that constitute Pakistani society. Under this theory, one could argue how all such social grouping can gain a proportionate voice. But one could also argue against the notion of excessive freedom provided to multiple centers that eventually put a strain on the state. This is especially true in the case of third world countries whose states are too weak to manage the conflicting voices of all the groups which either leads to the rise of dictators, as in the case of Pakistan or implosion of the states, like Afghanistan. Then comes the Authoritarian theory and as an alternative to

Libertarian theory. It is assumed that an authoritarian control over the media by the state would prevent an internal clash and conflict of interest between state and multiple social groups as well as among the groups themselves. However, such a centralized control over media, it is argued, eventually leads to the development of an irresponsible and unaccountable state, which leads to the marginalization of the society in general. The period of Musharraf's rule in Pakistan from 1999 to 2007 offers a laboratory example to test the merit of Libertarian and Authoritarian theories of media.

Immediately after Pervez Musharraf took power in Pakistan in 1999, the country saw itself tangled in the NATO-led war in Afghanistan. During the rule of Pervez Musharraf, which lasted until his resignation in 2007, Pakistan saw a proliferation of media; local, national and international outlets began to spring up throughout Pakistan. At the beginning of his rule, Musharraf initiated an unprecedented liberalization process for media in Pakistan, but by the time Musharraf's rule reached towards an end (2007), Pakistan was caught in deep political crisis, religious violence and terrorism, forcing him to reverse his own policies of liberalization and tighten the screws on media. Thus, this remained an impending contradiction in Pakistan: from being a symbol of press freedom to assuming dictatorial status. The circumstances that led to Musharraf's contradictory position vis-a-vis media remain unexplained.

In the underdeveloped post-colonial society like Pakistan, which has multiple fault-lines such as ethnic, cultural and sectarian running through it, and coupled with this are the external factors such as volatile neighborhood and the global wars that Pakistan has been part of since the Cold War, the relationship between state and nation remain in perpetual tension and the country at the brick of implosion. In such an environment the approach to examining the role of the press requires to be nuanced.

Thus, Musharraf's contradictory positions on press freedom must be examined in this context. Therefore, this study is aimed at focusing on the contentions of both Authoritarian and Libertarian press freedom and argues in defense of more rationalist Social Responsibility Theory whose postulations suggest that a responsible use of media can contribute both to social stability and development, and an amicable relationship among different social groupings as well as between state and general society (Alavi, 1989: 1527-1534).

Statement of Problem

Thus throughout this study, it will be underscored that the countries with weak state institutions liberal notions of press freedom can be detrimental as they contribute to the over-assertion, emboldened attitude of disparate groupings, which leads to the escalation of tension between state and society, and in the same way Authoritarian control of media allows dictatorial suppression of the society.

This Study, while advocating the postulations of Social Responsibility Theory of the press, shifts the focus of analysis from State to Society in order to explain the relationship between State, Society, and media. This study highlights the variables -- internal and external -- social, political, economic and historical that affect this relationship between the three.

Research Questions

1) How does freedom of press affect state institutions in Pakistan?
2) How does Musharraf's' pseudo press freedom burst as internal and external pressure grow?
3) How press freedom proves both as hope for democratization and stabilization as well as a threat of destabilization for post-colonial societies like Pakistan?

Research Objectives

1) To explore the relationship between Pakistan's state, society, press
2) To examine internal and external factors that plunged Musharraf's regime from liberalism towards authoritarianism
3) To expose the fragility of the notion of press freedom in post-colonial societies that undergoes a strain because of internal challenges and external influence.

Hypothesis

1) In post-colonial countries, Social responsibility Theory is more viable than Authoritarian and libertarian theory.

2) Democratic media and the authoritarian regime are incompatible because the internal and external pressures automatically antagonize the two.

Research Limitations

It is not within the parameters of research separately major the impact of print and electronic media; it would be a difficult task in fact because the print was most of the time reflection of the talk shows, press conferences conducted on electronic media.

Research Methodology

This study has employed qualitative analysis of Musharraf's speeches, media talk shows and analysis of newspapers' opinions, articles of two different moments. One, first three years of Musharraf's regime and second last one and a half year of Musharraf's regime, in order to gather the information that would conform to our theoretical arguments. The study borrowed substantially from secondary sources, i-e quantitative and qualitative studies that have already been undertaken regarding the role of media in Musharraf's period. In this study, we holistically analyzed these sources in order to provide a consolidated explanation of normative media theories. This study was an attempt to put all the work that has already been done on Musharraf and media into a proper theoretical perspective

<div align="center">**CHAPTER ONE**</div>

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. ESTABLISHMENT OF PAKISTANI NATION-STATE IN SOUTH ASIA

After the decades-long struggle for the rights of Muslims in the Hindu majority and dominated the Indian subcontinent, which was then ruled and governed by Britain, All-India Muslim League finally presented the Lahore Resolution in March 1940, calling for the establishment of an independent and separate state for the Muslims of the subcontinent. The resolution recognized that Muslims formed the majority in the North-Western and Eastern zones of British India, thus would be contiguous for the formation of the sovereign state of Pakistan for Muslims (PD, NA).

Pakistan's to be Father of the Nation Ali Mohammad Jinnah, who was the former ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity in the Indian subcontinent, gave his speech in which he presented his Two-Nation Theory. The theory became the basis for the establishment of the state of Pakistan, underscoring that Hindus and Muslims were two separate "nations". Jinnah's fear that Muslims, despite their numerical vastness in India - 100 million at the time of Partition, or 20 percent of Total subcontinent's population - would become second-class citizens in post-independence India and, therefore, a separate nation-state would protect the political rights of the Muslims in the subcontinent. However, despite sharing a common identity based on religious affiliation, Muslims were divided along regional, linguistic, class, sectarian, and ideological lines. The call for Muslimness disrupted the politics throughout the Indian subcontinent (Jaffrelot, 2002).

The national boundaries of the newly formed state were demarcated along the lines of religion. The two provinces in the subcontinent which were at the center of this demarcation were Punjab and Bengal – but not the exclusive -- where the lines between the newly formed states were drawn along the religious lines between Hindus, Sikhs on the Indian side and Muslims to Pakistan side. The 1947-Partition led to the death of over a million people and the displacement of more than 14.5 million people.

However, after the Partition only 60 percent of the Muslim population were able to become citizens of Pakistan rest chose or had to stay in India and remain minority under Hindu domination.

Aisha Jalal writes that:

"Commonly attributed to age-old religious animosity between Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, the impetus for the creation of Pakistan can be largely traced to the federal problems that emerged as a byproduct of British rule. Prior to the colonial conquest of India, religion was not the primary organizational feature defining relations between regional peoples and sovereign power. Economic and social interconnections between the different regions of the subcontinent forged over the centuries had helped establish a loosely woven framework of interdependence that not only survived but also was considerably strengthened with the onset of British rule. The emergence of a sovereign Muslim nation-state of Pakistan based on the partition of the two main Muslim-majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal dramatically altered the political balance between center and region in the subcontinent, disrupting social networks as well as flows of cultural and material exchange. The political differences and mass violence that marked the transition from colonialism embittered relations between the two nation-states that replaced the British raj." (Jalal, 2017: 1-2)

Ever since the Partition of 1947, India and Pakistan have made sure that this hostility be carried into the future, and they have fought three wars since then: two over the disputed Muslim majority and Indian controlled region of Kashmir – 1965and 1999 - and one over East Pakistan in 1971 which resulted in the formation of Bangladesh due to Pakistan's brutal military crackdown in the eastern wing containing a majority of its Muslim citizens.

1.2. MILITARY RULES IN PAKISTAN

The state of Pakistan was formed seven years after the resolution was passed and two years after World War II came to an end - Pakistan independence and establishment day became August 14, 1947. But this was just the beginning of the fraught history of Pakistan. The territorial division of the country of Pakistan - divided into East and West with India cutting in the middle - would become a historical nuisance. (In 1971 East separated from West due to West's dominance over the East, and Indian intervention). Pakistan's geographical location in the region, surrounded by neighbors like India on its east, China in the north, Afghanistan and Iran on its east,

have kept Pakistani state on toes to struggle with multiple woes. The journey became even more difficult for Pakistan with the Cold War starting as soon as the state was established, and the lingering dispute with India over the territory of Pakistan. With the Pakistani state braving multidirectional pressures, securing territorial and state integration remained an urgent necessity for it. Therefore, the state became an important locus in the newly formed nation, and control over the state also become a point of contention.

Table 1. Military Rulers of Pakistan

Military Rulers	Position	Duration
Mohammad Ayub Khan	Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, second President of Pakistan	1958- 1969
Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan	Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, third President of Pakistan	1969 – 1971
Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq	Chief of Army Staff, President of Pakistan	1977 – 1988
Syed Pervez Musharraf	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs and the Chief of the Army Staff, President	2001- 2008

Table 2. Important Events in the History of Pakistan

Date	Events
1938	The two-nation theory: Ideology used by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
1940	Started Muslim self-awakening and identity movement by Jinnah
1946	Elections between Muslim and Congress: Congress won 90% of non- Muslim seats Muslim league won 87% of Muslim majority
1947	Islamic Republic of Pakistan
1948	Father of Nation (Jinnah) died in Karachi
1958	First Military coup attacked by Muhammad Ayub Khan
1965	Indo-Pak war over the issue of Kashmir
1969	2nd coup d'état of the country by Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan
1971	Independence of East Pakistan as Bangladesh
1977	11 years of Military dictatorship government was formed by General Zia-ul- Haq. Execution of elected prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.
1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan — war lasted over 9 years
1988	The Soviet Union signed an accord with the United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan and agreed to withdraw its troops
1988	Benazir Bhutto first lady prime minister in the Muslim world
1989	India attacked Kashmir which is a disputed region between India and Pakistan
1990	Benazir Bhutto was dismissed from her seat because of corruption charges on her
1991	Nawaz Sharif came to power through elections
1993	Nawaz Sharif resigned because of military pressure
1993	Again, Bhutto came to power through elections
1996	Bhutto had to resign because of corruption allegation charges
1997	Nawaz Sharif came back to power by winning elections
1999	Kargil war between General Pervez Musharraf seizes power in coup. India and Pakistan.
2001	Musharraf took over Pakistan as a President
2007	Dictator (Musharraf) had to give resignation.

With so many disparities and fault-line in the newly formed state of Pakistan, the nation-building process became urgent to contain such divisions. Thus, in the official narrative of nationhood, religious identity became a privileged and fundamental component as it was the only common denominator that could contain the divisions and achieve internal unity for the Pakistani state to succeed.

Khan states that:

> *"During a visit to Dhaka University in 1948, Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah flatly refused to accept the demands of Bengali students for recognition of Bengali as a national language, which led to riots on the streets of Dhaka, considered the first language riots in Pakistan, led by Sheikh Mujib Ur Rehman. Sheikh Mujib Ur Rehman, then a student leader, later they demanded that their province, the Northwest Frontier Province, be renamed 'Pashtunistan' to reflect their ethnolinguistic identity.3 This laid the foundations for a unitary state structure and the undemocratic development of Pakistan. It also provided the basis for a ruling elite composed of Muhajirs (refugees from India after the 1947 partition), military personnel, and bureaucrats. Gradually Punjabis replaced Muhajirs4, and   later   still alliances with the religious right became a useful policy tool" (Khan, 2009: 3-4).*

The crisis caused by internal and external factors undermined the democratic processes in Pakistan and for the better part of its history led military rulers, the best-organized institution in Pakistan thanks to its colonial legacy, to overtake the center-stage due to its political and economic role in the Pakistani nation-building process, and the state itself. (Giunchi, 2014: 11).

1.2.1. Mohammad Ayub Khan (1958-1969)

The first military coup of 1958 holds significance because it, according to a thesis produced by Naghman Chaudhry, set the path for the subsequent three coups in Pakistan. Although it had multiple reasons, the most important among them are internal and external threats facing the Pakistani nation-state, strong military-bureaucratic alliance and colonial legacy of the military institution which after the creation of the Pakistani state became the only effective state institution (Chaudhry, 2012: 11).

Ayub Khan rose swiftly through the military ranks to become the commander in chief in 1951. The years of the political crisis in Pakistan the then President Iskander Ali Mirza, who received support from the army, abrogated the constitution to make way for Ayub Khan as chief martial law administrator. But Ayub Khan immediately declared himself as president and exiled Mirza. Khan tried to restore the dwindling economy through agrarian reforms and attracted industrial production and encouraged foreign investment. Ayub Khan's rule continued through the 1960s amid a clampdown

on democratic institution and opposition until 1969 only to be succeeded by another military ruler General Yahya Khan (Dobell, 1969: 294-310)

1.2.2. Muhammad Yahya Khan (1969-1971)

Yahya Khan was close to Ayub Khan Chief of the Army Staff of Pakistan, participating with him in the first martial law in 1958. After serving as the commander of the armed forces in Kashmir in 1965 war between India and Pakistan, he was promoted to the rank of the Chief of the Army Staff in 1966. He inherited the Ayub Khan-era political and economic crisis of Pakistan and was appointed as Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. Six days after assuming that rank, he became the President of Pakistan on March 13, 1969. During his regime, most of the seats were filled by military men and he was too dependent on his fellow military people. He founded the Council of Administrators comprising four military men of whom he was the head – though this was replaced by Council of Ministers in August 1969 to give the council a civilian look. Due to his lack of interest and personal devotion, it is argued, Pakistan saw its dismemberment during his regime, with Eastern wing breaking away from Western to make way for the state of Bangladesh in 1971. His reign was short-lived thus Pakistan could not see any drastic changes in administrative machinery and structure. However, his rule was underscored by these significant features such as holding of Pakistan's first free elections on adult franchise in which Pakistan People's Party succeeded in West Pakistan and of Awami League in East Pakistan that confirmed the drastic political differences between the two wings of the country, and which led to the War between East and West and finally a separation with the help and intervention of India for the East. After the division of Pakistan into Pakistan and Bangladesh, the public pressure grew against Yahya Khan and he finally resigned and asked Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to form the government (Ziring, 1974: 402-420).

1.2.3. Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988)

Pakistan another spell of military rule began with Zia-ul Haq grabbing power in 1977 in a bloodless coup and ousting then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, assuming president's office in 1978 and retaining the office of the army chief. Zia began his rule by going against his initial promises of holding elections within 90 days

and began to censor political activists, arresting and flogging journalists, banning of student unions and banning Daily Musawat and Daily Sadaqat. It is during his rule that the Islamization process of the Pakistani state took off, with Shariati benches constituted at the high court and Supreme Court levels. Shariati benches were meant to revisit the laws deemed un-Islamic. Congregation prayers were to be offered at government offices and all offices to remain shut during Friday prayers.

In 1979 Zia hanged Bhutto despite split verdict and international appeals. Zia's rule was marked the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan's western neighbor. This posed a direct threat of spread communist waves to Pakistan. Zia intervened in the Afghan war with the help of the United States of America and the Arab Gulf regime. While Zia's Pakistan became the frontline of the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan began to train jihadis to fight against Soviets in Afghanistan, Zia at the same consolidated his power through the 1980s. Islamization process in Pakistan intensified with the establishment of Federal Shariati Court in 1980, Islamizing school syllabi, severe punishment against fornication, theft, insulting Prophet (PBUH) and Holy Quran, declaring Ahmadis as non-Muslims, and amendment of Articles 62 and 63 of the Constitution-making parliamentarians' qualifications subject to 'Islamic' morality. (Shah, 2012: 11).

Pakistan's continued engagement with jihadis in Pakistan, Kashmir, and Afghanistan is the legacy of the period of the 1980s when Pakistan faced an imminent threat from the Soviets. İt was Islam that began a rallying cry in and national mobilizing factor for Pakistan. Zia's rule came to an end -- at the same time when Soviets began to retreat from Afghanistan – with his death in a plane crash on August 17, 1988. His decade long rule left a lasting mark on the society and polity of Pakistan. (Dawn News, 2017: 11)

1.3. MUSHARRAF AS A MILITARY MAN AND MUSHARRAF AS A DICTATOR

In October 1999, while on his return from a visit to Sri Lanka, the then Chief of Army Staff and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Pervez Musharraf found himself dismissed by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and his plane was prevented to land in Karachi. The armed forces of Pakistan, however, came to

rescue and took control of the airport and other government installations and deposed Sharif. Therefore, Musharraf became the head of the military government and this is how his nine-year rule as Pakistan's latest military dictator began. In the aftermath of the Kargil War between India and Pakistan in 1947, there were already rumors about a military takeover in Pakistan. Thus, Nawaz Sharif trying to prevent Musharraf's plane from landing could be interpreted as a preemptive step to protect his regime.

Musharraf had a long way to go before becoming the most powerful man in Pakistan. He was born during colonial days in 1943 in New Delhi, four years before Partition of the subcontinent. After the Partition in 1947 Musharraf moved to Karachi in the newly formed state of Pakistan. The son of a diplomat Musharraf lived and did his early schooling in Turkey between 1949 and 1959.

Before joining the Pakistan army at a young age in 1964 he went to Pakistan Military Academy in 1961. He also studied at the Royal College of Defense Studies. Just one year after joining the army, Indian-Pakistan 1965 war started in which participated as the second lieutenant. In the 1990s he got promoted to major general and assigned an infantry division and later he served as deputy military secretary and director general of military operations. It was Nawaz Sharif who promoted Pervez Musharraf to four-star general in October 1998, bringing him to prominence and making him the head of the armed forces. In the summer of 1999, he led his armed forces to launch an attack on Indian occupied Kashmir through Kargil, which was later called off due to international pressure.

After coming to power Musharraf declared an emergency in Pakistan and immediately suspended the constitution, dashing the hopes of a transition to democracy, and betraying his own image of moderateness. He assumed the role of Chief Executive. Within months he purged the government of political enemies and created a seven-member civil-military council for the governance of the country. Prime Minister's secretariat was closed and the staff was removed. Nawaz Sharif was put under house arrest and then deported to Saudi Arabia. Pakistan, the country which had grown used to see military rulers over taking civilian government since the creation of the state, did not see any protests, although the coup was condemned internationally.

Musharraf declared on his take-over of power in Pakistan:

> *"My dear countrymen, AsalamOAlaikum: Pakistan today stands at the crossroads of its destiny - a destiny which is in our hands to make or break. Fifty-two years ago, we started with a beacon of hope. Today that beacon is no more, and we stand in darkness. There is despondency, and hopelessness surrounding us with no light visible anywhere around. The slide down has been gradual but has rapidly accelerated in the last many years. Today, we have reached a stage where our economy has crumbled, our credibility is lost, state institutions lie demolished, provincial disharmony has caused cracks in the federation, and people who were once brothers are now at each other's throat. In sum, we have lost our honor, our dignity, our respect in the comity of nations. Is this the democracy our Quaid-e-Azam had envisaged? Is this the way to enter the new millennium?"* (Thompson, 1999:11)

Musharraf put forward seven-point agenda for Pakistan:

1) *"Rebuild national confidence and morale.*
2) *Strengthen federation, remove inter-provincial disharmony and restore national cohesion.*
3) *Revive the economy and restore investors' confidence.*
4) *Ensure law and order and dispense speedy justice.*
5) *Depoliticize State institutions.*
6) *Devolution of power to the grass-roots level*
7) *Ensure swift and across the board accountability"* (Behuria, 2009: 3-4).

The initial steps of Musharraf like the former military rulers were to develop a strategy to garner his support base in order to strengthen his hold on power yet appear as a legitimate ruler and give an air of civility to his rule.

He established the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) in 1999 to promote good governance, strengthen democracy and reconstruct state institutions, within the parameters as highlighted by the seven-point agenda of Musharraf. The Bureau recommended the reconstruction of Local Governments and the Police which were approved in August 2000 by the NSC and the Federal Cabinet. The Local Government Ordinance, 2001 was promulgated by the provincial governments. Establishing local bodies had been a general practice of military rulers to promote their own legitimacy as a representative body.

Soon after 2001, he gave himself the role of the presidency and he became more and more authoritarian after September 11 happened that year. Pakistan as a non-NATO ally of the US-led so-called war-on-terror and invasion of Afghanistan turned

its focus outward. Musharraf began a peace process with India in order to fully concentrate on Pakistan's Western border with Afghanistan where war was simmering between the NATO powers and Taliban, the Pakistan ally insurgent group which had taken power in Afghanistan in 1996.

Musharraf's policies of appeasing the US in order to get its support to resolve the Kashmir dispute with India brought Pakistan to the brick with Islamic groups who were residual from the 1980's Afghan war and whom Pakistan had cultivated as a counterforce against Indian large military's belligerence. Musharraf's rule, his alliance with Americans, and his peace overtures towards India put him in a difficult position in the complex country he was ruling. While he seemed to show honest peace overtures towards India, India very conscious of Pakistan's position in the aftermath of September 11, used this opportunity to gain more weight on Kashmir against Pakistan. Besides, Americans put more pressure on Musharraf to take action against Islamic groups who were fighting against the US in Afghanistan and were threatening the UN supply-line that passed through Pakistan. Musharraf's steps against Islamic groups eventually and his dictatorial policies that led to political crisis and terrorist attacks in Pakistan. He himself survived many attacks throughout his rule. By 2007 as the turmoil loomed in Pakistan Musharraf became equally despotic.

In 2007 he desired to become president again but faced tough opposition from Pakistan's Supreme Court. He sought to hold tow posts, as a president and as head of the military. He also attempted to suspend the chief justice, which got his elections delayed. Musharraf re-imposed emergency in November, suspending the constitutions again, dismissing chief justice, arresting opposition leaders, imposing restrictions on the press.

By the end of his rule in a few months, he lifted the emergency in December, resigned from the military post, restored the constitution, but protecting certain amendments that were enacted during an emergency. Musharraf participated in parliamentary elections in 2008 and performed very poorly, thus suggesting a rejection of his rule as president. The result of the election was the coalition of opposition parties led by Nawaz Sharif and Asif Ali Zardari, Benazir Bhutto's, who was assassinated in a suicide bomb attack in December 2007, husband. The governing coalition in 2008

began impeachment proceedings against Musharraf after citing his grave constitutional violations. Faced with impending charges Musharraf announced his resignation in August 2008.

1.4. MEDIA LANDSCAPE IN PAKISTAN

The history of media in Pakistan goes back to the pre-Partition era when most of the news outlets that are now main media organizations were actually engaged in the struggle for political independence and the creation of the state of Pakistan. Thus, the idea that media should be independent was either elusive or obsolete, given that media was the main channel through which Pakistani nationalists reached out to masses. National independence and nation-building were thus the main features of the pre-Partition era Pakistani media and it continued to be so after the creation of Pakistani state.

As mentioned earlier military ever since the creation of Pakistan has been the most dominant institution in the country. Their privileges from the colonial period have made sure they retained a substantial influence on the polity of the subsequent nation of Pakistan. Thus the nationalistic agenda in Pakistan was mainly defined by Pakistan military for the most part of the history, and the military narrative received acceptance among masses because the external factors like the Afghan wars, Kashmir Dispute, and some internal factors like ethnic crisis that resulted in separation of East Pakistan and also religious crisis caused by these wars and different ethnicities and religious communities living in Pakistan. An eternal warlike situation gave rise to the militarism of the state and widespread corruption of bureaucracy in Pakistan (Riley, 1978: 11).

These factors gave the military more and more powers and led to the control of media by the military. Ayub Khan the first military ruler of Pakistan controlled the media through Pakistan Security Act, by replacing the management of a few newspapers with those who conformed to his rulings to prevent anything that would endanger the security. As the socialist slogans grew around the world the first Pakistani military administration suspected editors of the media houses to have socialist leanings. This happened to the publishing house called Progressive Papers Limited (PPL) and its newspapers, The Pakistan Times, Imroze and Lailo Nahar.

The PPL was transformed into National Press Trust in 1964. Newsmen working under the new media group made sure they staunchly supported the military regimes and their actions. the newsmen also supported the martial law and emergency that was imposed after Yahya Khan came to power in 1969. National Press Trust was provided with 50 percent of the country's advising budget, as it was estimated in 1983, during Zia-ul-Haq's regime.

Media and Governance in Pakistan: A Controversial yet Essential Relationship, 2010, Marco Mezzera and Safdar Sial. NPT while giving precedence to economic interests not only showed conformity to military rulers but even during the civilian rule of Pakistan People's Party in the 1970s it also compromised on its own freedom.

During Zia-ul-Haq's, the staunchest of the military rulers, time in 1980s Pakistani media organizations along with individual journalists saw the toughest time. A senior Pakistani editor who worked with prominent news organizations like The Star and Geo states that:

"During the regime of Zia ul Haq, the relationship between the news media and the government was openly adversarial. The press saw a lot of pre-censorship and "advisories." If you did not heed warnings, you faced imprisonment or the possibility that your publication would be shut down. As a result, many good journalists indulged in self-censorship, which was the most debilitating consequence. In the 1990s, during the period of civilian rule, there was a small opening. Still, the government attempted to buy or coerce journalists to report favorably. Since working journalists could not be bought, the management was targeted through tactics such as newsprint quotas and cutting government advertising." (Aslam and Ali, 2009: 2-3).

He even highlighted the media officials were persuaded and threatened by the officials of the civilian governments of Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto in the 1990s to drop stories that were critical of their policies or that exposed corruption scandals (Aslam and Ali, 2009: 3). Newsprints were confiscated and blackmail was done through the blocking of advertising.

1.5.   MEDIA AND MUSHARRAF ERA

After the death and end of the rule of Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan in the late 1980s Pakistani media, especially television began to see privatization and public-private collaboration. Television networks such as Shalimar Television Network (STN) forming a public-private partnership with CNN in an agreement that allowed the STN to rebroadcast CNN's transmissions. In 1990 the STN came to an agreement with M/s Network Television Marketing (NTM) that led to the success of STN by launching family shows, breaking the national monopoly of the state television channel Pakistan Television Network (PTV) which was the only television channel in Pakistan until 1990. Along with these developments, Pakistan also saw the emergence of private production houses during the period of the 1990s. The growth of television broadcasts was a window out of the stifling rule of Zia-ul-Haq when such broadcasts would be prohibited. Thus, when Musharraf came to power in 1999 he inherited this legacy from the 1990s.

1.5.1. Media Liberalization

The beginning of Musharraf's rule coincided with the technological development and expansion of communication channels in Pakistan. With Musharraf's initial liberal overtures media in Pakistan received a boost. Musharraf not only talked about opening up the media sector he also implemented his promises – the moves gave hope to the media community for a new era in Pakistan. At a time when the leaders of two major political parties Pakistan's People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) were out of the country, Musharraf, in order to attain legitimacy for himself as a ruler who rose to the status through what is known as soft coup, he pursued policies that not only sent messages of hope in Pakistan but also throughout world. (Siddiqui, 2015: 11).

Media liberalization in Pakistan in post-9/11 period could also be attributed to the general economic liberalization to counter the economic crisis that the country was going through for a long time due to sanction imposed occasionally and most importantly the sanctions of 1998 that were imposed by the US due to country's testing of nuclear weapons, and to draw investments and aid from western countries by promoting free speech. (Gul and Obaid, 2017: 42-43).

In the historical context of Kashmir, it is a well-known fact that the most unprecedented steps towards media liberalization were carried out during the time of Pervez Musharraf, the last military dictator of the country. Media assumed freedom that was not even experienced during the time of the civilian regimes of Pakistan during the 1990s, who even continued some of the policies of the 1980s military dictator, Zia-ul-Haq's policies of media clampdown. The dictator liberalizing the media, which grew so powerful that it eventually brought him down in 2008, can thus be called as Pakistan paradox.

It is stated that since 2002 Pakistan media saw mushrooming growth. The liberal laws put an end to the monopoly of the state over electronic media, television broadcasting and FM radio licenses began to be issued to various private media outlets. Eventually, the number of media channels grew from a mere three to 90, which included six terrestrial and nearly 80 privately owned satellite and cable television channels. The radio channels grew from one to more than 100.

At the same time, a media regulatory authority was established in Pakistan in 2002 called as Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) to regularize and liberalize the media in Pakistan. The main purpose of the body was to control the cross-ownership of the media, so it does not lead to the concentration of media ownership.

Immediately after the attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States, one of the most popular yet controversial news channels, Geo TV, was launched in Pakistan, but the channel was supposed to operate from Dubai city of the United Arab Emirates, the country which has been a hub for decades for the Pakistani elite convicts. The Geo network was not allowed to operate from Pakistan because, according to some journalists, the network had cross-media ownership of print and broadcasting which was deemed to monopolize the Pakistani market.

Aslam states:

"Geo TV had a formidable impact because it was reaching many more people than a local television station could. Initially, people in power didn't understand technology, how were things being shipped out of Pakistan, how was the footage being sent to Dubai, I have never before seen the kind of

impact we were able to create in a very short period of time. In 2003, as the Iraq war was starting and there were excitement and turmoil in Pakistan, things were changing in very interesting ways. To his credit, Musharraf tolerated a lot of criticism, parodies and ridicule. So, we assumed that this was a benevolent dictator, somebody who wanted to be loved. We talked critically about his uniform and about the military's role in politics. Musharraf was very telegenic and used the media as much as possible to get his positions across (Aslam and Ali, 2009: 32-36).

Musharraf's liberalization of media and wider Pakistani society could also be his response to dilute the growing pressure from the international community, the US pressure to support its war in Afghanistan that started in late 2001, a few militant attacks in India. During Musharraf's rule, Pakistan was engaged in multidirectional talks with the US and other western allies on the issue of Al-Qaeda and Taliban, on the one hand, and India on Kashmir including the Agra Summit 2001 in which Musharraf presented his Four-point Formula, on the other hand. (Rana, 2018: 11).

This multidirectional engagement with the world tested Musharraf's dichotomous role, as a military ruler - not democratically elected civilian ruler - and as a liberal man with strong beliefs in democracy. One author wrote:

"For Pakistan, the incident of September 11 was a watershed in its domestic and external affairs. The Musharraf government turned the tables on New Delhi by banning five of the most notorious religious organizations, which were accused by India of attacking its parliament. However, General Musharraf's diplomacy also put India in a defensive position when the United States and the international community supported Pakistan's stand and urged India to resume dialogue to resolve all disputes, including Kashmir. The world community also conveyed the message to Indian leaders that they cannot forever pretend that everything is simply the work of terrorists, motivated by Pakistan's territorial ambitions or by perverted Islam or both. Thus, Pakistan successfully internationalized the Kashmir issue, isolated Indian diplomatic efforts and sought a resolution ideally through multilateral means, preferably by American involvement in the region. Pakistan also sought to protect its nuclear assets from any escalation of the conflict that might lead the US to use special forces to eliminate Islamabad's nuclear arsenal, perhaps in a joint action with India, to avoid the risk of a nuclear war." (Hilali, 2011: 95-101).

1.5.2. Musharraf Begins Media Clampdown

Towards the end of his rule, Musharraf began to realize the consequences of his liberalization policies when media became a powerful tool to bring him down. Musharraf forced Chief Justice of Pakistan Muhammad Iftikhar Chaudhry to resign in March 2007 after accusing him of misconduct. As the Chief Justice refused to resign, Musharraf made him non-functional, first time to happen such a thing. President Musharraf invoked his authority under Article 209 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan to refer the alleged abuses of office by the Chief Justice to a Supreme Judicial Council. He was barred from performing his functions as the Chief Justice or a judge of the Supreme Court during an in-camera proceeding until the reference was made and called upon to answer the allegations raised against him. The lawyers began to protest in support of the Chief Justice, mobilizing every section of the Pakistani society in support of Justice Chaudhry. There was huge violence in Karachi when Chaudhry arrived in there in May, with many people who were agitating to restore the Chief Justice to office. However, in a dramatic event unfolding on July 20, 2007, the Chief Justice was reinstated by the thirteen-member Court and dismissed the charges leveled against him, and Musharraf too accepted the ruling while publicly accepting that judicial independence was essential for governing the country (Shroff, 2007: 11).

> *"However, it was the media coverage of the event unfolding during this time that made the issue a household matter in Pakistan. The convergence of old and newly emerging digital media such as mobile phones, text messaging, camera phones played an instrumental role in organizing protests by university students who expressed their voices against the dictatorial regime of General Pervez Musharraf."* (Yusuf, 2009: 11).

Musharraf had already begun to realize the power of media, which had grown out of President's own control, by 2006 onwards, and the government-run by him had begun its attempts to muzzle media when journalists and media outlets were threatened, beaten or killed by his government officials, military-men and other henchmen. Human Rights Watch, in this context, wrote a letter to the General Pervez Musharraf in April 2007, highlighting the list of incidents related to media and journalists:

> *"Human Rights Watch is concerned about concerted and increasing attempts by the Pakistan government to muzzle the press. The attempt to*

silence Aaj TV, the violent attack on Geo TV, improper pressures on Dawn, and torture and other physical attacks on journalists in many parts of the country are only some of the well-known examples of attacks on the media. Independent monitoring groups such as Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF) continue to document the steady erosion of press freedom under your government. In October 2002, Pakistan was ranked 119 out of 166 countries in the RSF Press Freedom Index. By December 2006, this ranking had slipped to 157." (Letter to President Musharraf About Attacks on Journalists in Pakistan, 2007).

He issued National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) in October 2007 which the press realized as virtually whitewashing the previous financial crimes and misdemeanors that were committed by Benazir Bhutto, her husband Zardari and other politicians. Media followed these events through discussions, talk shows. Therefore, widespread and active coverage of multiple events put more and more pressure on Musharraf which turned Musharraf into more and more authoritarian, thus declaring an emergency in November 2007, banning all television channels, disallowing critical people to come on talk shows. The crisis of Musharraf's fragmented identity – a democrat and a dictator – was exposed when his confrontation with the country's largest television network Geo TV reached the peak and forced the network, which was operating from Dubai, to shut down in November 2007 using the laws that were supposed to regulate the media.

A decade long rule by Musharraf and his dealings with media first a convenient marriage and then a bitter divorce highlights the certain fact about the society of Pakistan as well as the media theory that needs to be examined in the context of Pakistan. The case of Pakistan provides an opportunity to revise the Libertarian, Authoritarian and Social responsibility theory and how media, society and ruling regimes interact among themselves. This is going to be the area which we are further exploring in this thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The groundbreaking and comprehensive work that introduced the four normative theories of the press, Libertarian theory, Authoritarian theory, Social Responsibility theory and Soviet Communist theory, is Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm's 'Four Theories of the Press: the Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do', published in 1956. The basic hypothesis that the authors presented in the book are: "The press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates. Especially, it reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individuals and institutions are adjusted.' (Siebert et al., l956: 1–2).

The book was published in the aftermath of the WWII and beginning of the Cold War between capitalist West and socialist East when the media and mass communication field was seeing tremendous growth around the world as well as in academia. Thus, it became necessary to understand the role of media in societies. This book was essentially important because it gave reasoning to analyze how the press, social structures and the society's political values and moral philosophies were linked. The book, however, was challenged at multiple fronts. For example, some highlighted its oversimplification of the history and shortcomings of its analysis. Today, in a multipolar world there has been a need felt for new thinking about the role of the press. It is in this light that the role of the Pakistani media will be studied keeping in view the book's main hypothesis and the country's social and political context.

2.1. LIBERTARIAN THEORY

Libertarian theory is one of the four normative theories of the press which gradually emerged from the liberal philosophy growing in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards. Libertarian theory is often considered as the binary opposite of the Authoritarian theory of the press. It is the writings of John Milton and later John Stuart

Mill whose philosophy was mainly cited by scholars as to the origin of the Libertarian theory of the mass media. The summary of the theory is given by the authors Siebe and Schramm (1956) as:

> *"The libertarian theory of the function of the mass media in a democratic society has had a long and arduous history. This history has paralleled the development of democratic principles in government and free enterprise in economics. The theory itself can trace a respected lineage among the philosophers of ancient times, but it received its greatest impetus from the developments in western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From Milton to Holmes it has stressed the superiority of the principle of individual freedom and judgment and the axiom that truth when allowed free rein will emerge victorious from any encounter. Its slogans have been the 'self-righting process' and the 'free marketplace of ideas'. It has been an integral part of the great march of democracy which has resulted in the stupendous advancement of the well-being of humanity. It has been the guiding principle of western civilization for more than two hundred years.* (Siebe and Schramm, 1956: 70).

> *The theory advocates the "free marketplace of ideas" just like the free flow of objects and goods in a free market. Libertarian press is free from censorship and control of the authority. The main advocates and philosophers of Libertarianism were Lao Tzu, an early sixteenth-century philosopher, John Locke, epic poet, John Milton in the seventeenth century and the essayist John Stuart Mill. Milton referred to the self-righting process through free expression: "Let truth and falsehood grapple". (Milton, 1644) (Mill, 1859) Novelist and essayist of the twentieth century, George Orwell, also gave his own definition of libertarianism: "allowing people to say things you do not want to hear"* (Animal Farm, 1945).

The basic argument endorsed by the Libertarian theory of press is that the press should act as the Fourth Estate reflecting public opinion. Press ownership under the libertarian system is likely to be private and should be free from defamation, obscenity, impropriety, and sedition, the aspect that comes close to the Social Responsibility theory to be discussed later in this chapter. The principle guiding the assumptions of the Libertarian theory of the press is that the press should be free to perform its functions. Man is looked upon as a rational being with inherited natural rights - one of which is the right to pursue truth.

Notwithstanding the idealistic assumptions of the Libertarian theory of the press, the theory has recently come under heavy criticism by the scholar who sees its assumptions as contradictory and widely departing from the concepts as originally conceived by the early philosophers. The main criticism highlights its three

contradictory aspects:

1) *"Nerone (1995) argues if the media power were radically transferred to individuals narrow local interests would dominate and would consequently affect the collective action.*
2) *Nordenstreng (2013) underscores the deviation of the Libertarian theory of press from the original philosophy of libertarianism that particularly engaged with freedom of expression and searches for truth".*

Scholars who consider Milton as the father of self-correcting truth present a few lines from his masterpiece Areopagitica as an example. Milton wrote,

> *"And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so, Truth is in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?"* (Altschull 1990: 40).

The main point of these lines, according to Nordenstreng (2013), was to oppose the licensing and censorship of printing. The philosophy postulates that if all kinds of viewpoints are allowed to be presented to the public it would be ultimately publics judgment to discern truth from falsehood, hence a pluralistic society. Thus, according to this philosophy self-righteousness will automatically challenge in the process. Therefore, Milton's philosophy of self-correcting truth is in direct opposition to the liberalism of the market that facilitates the reign of the wealthy at the cost of weak, a confrontation of un-equals. Thus, the analogy between the liberalism of the market and liberalism of idea, that is being cultivated today, proves to be flawed.

John Stuart Mill, a British philosopher, was one of the most influential thinkers in the history of classical liberalism. Mill was a great advocate of individual freedom and opposed the unlimited control of the state and society. Writing two centuries after Milton, in his On Liberty (1859) opposed the censorship but at the same time, his philosophy on freedom, society and individual was much more nuanced than simplistic. He did not completely support the idea of a free marketplace of ideas and advocated the intervention of the state in a certain condition.

Mill states, *"Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians".* (Mill, 1859: 14).

From this line Mill's notion of a responsible society, individual and limits to their free are clear in order to maintain a just system within a society and attainment of higher values. Elaborating on Mill's philosophy of freedom of expression and opinion, Nordenstreng (2013) states that "the freedom of opinion and its expression was not for Mill an end in itself; he (Mill) viewed it as 'the necessity to the mental well-being of mankind (on which all their other well-being depends'". (7)

Mill was doubtful of the notion that in the free encounter between truth and falsehood truth will win; rather he even in his personal experiences observed that falsehood became a dominant public opinion.

> *"It is a myth that the standard justification for press freedom by the doctrine of the free marketplace of ideas comes from the classics of liberalism. Milton and Mill do not provide direct support for contemporary neoliberalism and cannot be taken as the basis for a libertarian theory of the press. The legacy of original liberalism represents rather social democracy and corresponds to a social responsibility theory of the press".* (Nordenstreng, 2013: 8)

> *Nordenstreng (2013) also raises the question of power and morality that could determine the guiding rules of freedom. In modern-day capitalist societies, the free market has also resulted in the concentration of media control in a few powerful countries. Such a concentration results in an unequal, biased and one-sided flow of information and ideas. (9)* (Majid, et el., 1991)

In this context Nordenstreng (2013:11) writes:

> *"… freedom applied to media is a notoriously problematic concept. Moreover, it is a deceptively ideological concept-especially when understood to be simple and apolitical. We must, therefore, be alert and critical in order to avoid ideological traps and complacency fed by top rankings in international comparisons. After all, we are always bound to a certain tradition, and our thinking with all its concepts and paradigms is constructed rather than inherently given".*

2.2. AUTHORITARIAN THEORY

The Authoritarian theory of the press developed from the philosophical underpinnings of Plato which the third-century BC philosopher outlined in his Republic. (Siebert et. al. 1956:12) The theory implies state control over the channels of communications and the flow of information and opinions. While the press, publishing and printing were seeing a growth in Western Europe in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries, the states and ruling regimes directly took control of it. They also offered a few private individuals the rights to invest and control the publishing houses which for them became a lucrative business. The condition for the private individuals, who were generally wealthy, for holding such rights was to strictly follow the line of the state and not to rock their boat. For the rulers, it was an inexpensive way to control the press and the flow of information. (Siebert et. al. 1956: 18-19) .

Siebert et. al. (1956: 19-20) state:

"The major problem in the most authoritarian systems was establishing effective restraints and controls over the privately-operated media. The western nations tried numerous methods with varying degrees of success, and it can be said no single method of control was successful over an extended period. One of the earliest methods of assuring favorable treatment for the government policies was the granting of special "permits" ("patents", as they were called) to selected individuals to engage in the art and mystery of printing. In England, this device was expanded in time into an elaborate system of trade regulation. Patents were issued to well-disposed printers for various classes of published works such as law books, schoolbooks, religious books, histories, plays and many others. Special care went into the selection of the printers who were to be entrusted with producing printed matter which concerned affairs of state. When the earliest form of newspapers appeared it too was assigned to individuals who in return for the exclusive monopoly of purveying news were all too ready to agree to publish only that which forwarded the policies of the state".

The main feature of the authoritarian states or rulers is that they believe in their own self-righteousness and constructed their own "truth". As rulers, they impose this truth to the general society, through force or by co-opting them. European Church, according to Siebert et. al. (1956), which had control over society, was an example of how the powerful and influential section of the presented their own truth as the general truth.

In the twentieth century during the interwar period Italian fascist dictator Mussolini and German Nazi leader Adolf Hitler gave the latest example of how media could be used by the rulers to promote their own point of view (the truth) and denounce all other narratives countering that view. Nevertheless, they were examples of absolute control over the aspects of communication between the ruler and the subjects. The Authoritarian theory of press is applied to describes the situations where states mainly

view the mass media as an instrument at all ties. The role of the media is to act as a propaganda tool for the ruling regimes.

2.3. SR THEORY OF THE PRESS

As discussed by Nordenstreng (2013), the origin of the theory can be traced from the philosophical writings of John Stuart Mill and John Milton, who have been granted the status of fatherhood by the scholars on Libertarian theory. As shown above, "the legacy of original liberalism represents rather social democracy and corresponds to a social responsibility theory of the press". (Nerone, 1995:8) The theory of Social Responsibility of the press evolved over a long period of time from the philosophies of those thinkers who believed in the ideals of democratic society, liberty and freedom of speech. The writings of these thinkers had a profound influence on the development of the Social Responsibility theory. We shall leave the debate about the philosophical origins of the Social Responsibility aside because what concerns us at the moment, for the purpose of this thesis, is the theory's current academic discourse – as it is employed to examine the media presently.

2.3.1. Failure of Libertarian Theory

Scholars argue that failure of the Libertarian theory of the press resulted in the search for a more responsible press that complements the social and political demands unfolding on the ground. (Siebert, et al., 1956: 93) The main point of contention in the Libertarian theory was the conception of the term "freedom". Social Responsibility theory underscores the concept of positive liberty while the Libertarian theory was born out of the concept of negative liberty. (Nordenstreng, 2013) (Siebert, et al., 1956: 93). According to Hocking (1947), positive liberty or "positive freedom is a defining feature of our humanness but must constantly be etched out of our tendency to serve ourselves rather than use our liberty for the common good". (Berry, 1995: 86) The Social Responsibility theory is also different from that of Libertarian theory in its view of the nature and functions of the state: the social Responsibility theory postulates that the state should help a society to obtain the services it requires from the press if the self-regulated and self-righting features of the community life are insufficient to provide them. Another difference between the two theories lies in the description of the nature of freedom of expression: for the Libertarian theory freedom of expression

is a natural right. While as for the Social Responsibility theory it a moral, rather than an absolute, right. The man, according to the Libertarian principle, is primarily a moral and rational being - who will hunt for and be guided by truth. However, the Social Responsibility theory regards man lethargic - who needs to be prodded by the alert elements of a community into exercising his reason.

2.3.2. Rise of the SR Theory

Generally speaking, the factors that contributed to the evolution of the Social Responsibility theory was the transition of social and political structures, from monarchy to democracy, the rise of participatory political systems as well as the growth of print that triggered a parallel growth in literacy, effected a change in political, religious, and social thinking European among masses. Across the Atlantic, a newly emerging nation then, the United States of America, provided an impetus to this movement in Europe and declared freedom of speech and expression as sacred and non-negotiable through different Amendments.

Libertarian theory proposed that political authority rested with the individual. The role of the state was to provide space and the individual was supreme in politics, a belief enshrined in the US Constitution. The Libertarian theory posited that anyone could operate a printing press, irrespective of which political party one belonged to. The cultivation of partisan press, it was believed, would provide disparate versions of reality. The contribution of the libertarian ideals to the society was that it displaced the centrality of the ruling regime and gave access to press and printing, in terms of ownership as well as consumption/readership, to the general public. But it was just a matter of time when people started questioning the main assumptions of the Libertarian theory and began to imagine a more responsible press, in correspondence with the social, economic and political developments in the world, to control the misuse or negative practices of the freedoms of the press. (Christians and Fackler, 2014).

Thus, a group of scholars, who formed the Hutchins Commission or the Commission on the Freedom of Press that was funded by the founder of the Time magazine, Henry Luce, were assigned in the 1940s to look into the matter. The commission was led by the then president of the University of Chicago, Robert Hutchins, and it had no journalist as a member. After a deliberation of four years, the

commission came up with a report, putting forward in 1947 certain guidelines for a socially responsible press. The first observation was that the media outlets had a limited number and that people were often self-interested and sometimes lazy. After reviewing what the real functions of the press to society should be, the commission proposed a socially responsible press, thus giving birth to what came to be known as the Social Responsibility theory of the press. The commission listed some goals for the press, including the need for truthful and complete reporting of all sides of an issue.

The Commission came up with the following conclusion that the press played a significant role in the development and stability of modern society, so it must be imperative that a commitment of social responsibility be imposed on mass media. That the press has a moral obligation to consider the overall needs of society when making journalistic decisions in order to produce the greatest good. Though there had been debates about the journalism codes of ethics for decades, the Commission's report came to be considered as a landmark by scholars; some believed it was an important reassertion of the modern media's role in a democratic society.

2.3.3. Main Assumptions of the SR Theory

The basic principle of the Social Responsibility theory of the press is that the press should be free to perform its functions, but the exercise of that freedom has to be controlled an amount of responsibility. If the press fails to meet its responsibilities within a society, the social responsibility theory holds that the government should encourage the media to comply by controlling it, thus enabling the state intervention. The theory holds that the press has the right to criticize the government and other state institutions but at the same time it has certain basic responsibilities to maintain the stability of a society. Scholars have underscored how Social Responsibility theory allows for state intervention – although, the press holds the right to criticize the government and other institutions, it also has a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and by responding to society's needs and interests. Instead of doing what pleases it, the press is obligated to respond to act in accordance with a society's requirements.

The basic proposal advanced by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, as pointed out by Denis McQuail (1987: 139) are as follows:

"The media have obligations to society, and media ownership is a public trust. News media should be truthful, accurate, fair, objective and relevant. The media should be free, but self-regulated. The media should follow agreed codes of ethics and professional conduct. Under some circumstances, the government may need to intervene to safeguard the public interest."

2.3.4. SR Theory and Press Ethics

As vague and ambiguous as these postulations are, they were for journalists and media persons troublesome when it came to practice. The method of the operation of the forums remained a question. Whose values were to be presented and the meaning of the 'intelligent discourse about the day's events' in short prime time newscast became a challenge. The more the goals presented by the commissions in its postulation of the Social Responsibility theory were problematized by the scholars the more confusion emerged, perhaps for the good of the theory itself and the society in general. However, the central role of the press, as per the postulations of the theory, could be easily gauged: freedom has to be exercised in accordance with the utmost responsibility of the societal interest.

From the very inception of its evolution, the Social Responsibility theory bordered on the formulation of the ethics of the press. These formulations became evident when they were clearly introduced by the Commission on Freedom of Press which gave rise to the professional journalistic associations who have self-formulated codes of ethics and official journalistic standards designed to encourage responsible behavior by their members. This theory emphasized the moral and social responsibilities of persons and institutions that operate the systems of mass media. The theory's provision for self-regulation revolves around the concept of ethics. Ethics is the moral philosophy concerned with the standards of good and bad conduct, the rightness or wrongness of an action. Ethics has been described as the self-regulation as opposed to official or state legislation that entails an outside constraint, which is a characteristic of state law. (McQuail, 1987: 117) listed the basic tenets that guide the theory of Social Responsibility. His work, while highlighting the ethical dimension of the social responsibility principle, included accepting and carrying out certain societal duties; setting high professional standards of truth, accuracy, objectivity, balance and informativeness; regulating itself in accordance with the law; having media pluralism,

which is multiplicity of voices, to represent divergent viewpoints; accountability to society, their medium and others; and that people have the right to expect them to perform creditably.

2.3.5. The SR at Present

The proliferation of media, media technologies and globalization of culture, economy and politics in correspondence with the spread of democratic forms of government, the notions of a responsible media that can give voice to disparate social groups and at the same time meet local, national and global standards of media ethics has also received an impetus. Thus, the scope of the Social Responsibility theory of media ethics has also grown. The theory has encouraged debates on media freedom and responsibility.

But certain crucial questions remain: how much have the media practitioners and journalists abided by the postulations of this theory – how ethical have they been professional? Despite the growth of new media technologies that have given rise to access to information and idea to weaker sections of the society, weaker communities, the global information flow still remains controlled by the powerful Western nations The global and national ownership of the media is still concentrated with few powerful agents; in that scenario, what is the position of those who are politically or socially deprived? With the privatization of media, there is a growing race for profitability which has given rise to market-driven media. The phenomenon often runs by the covering or overblowing of trivial issues at the cost of serious social and political issues which have a huge consequence.

2.4. NEOLIBERALISM THEORY OF PRESS

Neoliberalism is broadly conceptualised in two ways: there is the political economy approaches according to which neoliberalism exists as a 'free market' ideology and capitalist formation; the other is cultural studies perspectives that includes governmentality studies, which emphasize its political, cultural, social and discursive dimensions. First and foremost, neoliberalism has been defined as economic ideology, system and formation. The neoliberal political economy and neoliberal capitalism have a wider currency. Critical political economy postulates that the

analysis of economy and the analysis of politics cannot be separated (Mosco, 2009). Marxists theorize that politics and economy are regional domains of an interlocking capitalist-liberal democratic system. However, economy has been treated as primary. Therefore, media and communication systems are also treated as essential elements of a capitalist system that are dependent on the production of information, representations and data. The media corporations, which are driven by profit motive, are instruments of ideological domination. They are the vehicles of legitimization of capitalist interests and norms. They argument the one-dimensional pursuit of economic growth.

Neoliberalism represents a particular regime of capital based on a realignment of the relationship between market, state and labour (Hope, 2012). For some scholars, neoliberalism is the return of the free market as a guiding ideological principle of economic and social life. Thus, in this sense, neoliberalism echoes the liberalism of the nineteenth century (McChesney, 1998). The advocates of neoliberal questioned the assumptions about the necessity of state intervention in the market. Neoliberalism considers the interests of the state, public and citizens as synonymous with market competition and the pursuit of economic freedoms. The privileging of the market ideologically enabled the development of a media landscape that prioritized the interests of large conglomerates (Herman and McChesney, 1997) who assumed, and were given, the power to shape national media systems according to their own institutional priorities (Hope, 2012).

The scholars underscore the problematic how neoliberal policies have reshaped the dynamics of media ownership and regulation. Before the neoliberal era, media policies in liberal democracies were typically governed by a mix of market and protectionist logics. The precise configuration of the policy regime depended on the national context and medium. States generally asserted themselves in protectionist ways that constrained the autonomy of commercial media or, in the case of broadcasting, simply assumed the prerogative of monopoly state control. The neoliberal era institutionalized a very different policy vision. A commitment to the 'privatization, deregulation, liberalization and globalization' of markets became the raison d'être of media and telecommunication policy both within individual states and in transnational bodies like the European Union and the World Trade Organization (Hesmondhalgh, 2008).

2.5. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

So far, we have seen every normative theory of the press that we have discussed in this chapter leaves scope for use and abuse. All the theories deal with the concept of freedom and limits of it and highlight the discourse on ethics and morality and the amount and situations in which state and law can intervene for the purpose of social good. The theories also bring to our focus the relationship between state and society and state and the individual. The discourses on Libertarian theory and Social Responsibility theory are particularly important because they emphasize a wide range of issue that includes global and local business organization, civil society groups, other non-profit pressure groups, national, local and international organizations and institutions which aim to uphold the human rights and freedoms. At a time when new nation-states have proliferated, global power has decentered and new power centers are emerging, the world is moving away from the bi-polarity of the Cold War and the uni-polarity of the post-Cold War era to multi-polarity. West no more has a monopoly over the global economy, military power, idea and cultural products. (Hall, 1997; Sparks, 2007; Matos, 2012; Currie and Thobani, 2003). Yet while during this decentralization of the global affairs which has encouraged weaker communities, groups and nations to reassert themselves, the emergence of new media technologies, globalization of markets and issues and problems such as environment, refugee crisis because of the prolonged wars and so on, which are the mutual concern of the global communities, are also a corresponding phenomenon. This dichotomous nature of the human world at this moment has triggered a requirement for a more nuanced approach to the theories of media ethics and freedoms (Park, 2000).

Pakistan, a nation of disparate ethnicities, religions, regions, and cultures, which only saw its establishment in 1947 after a long fraught and turbulent movement against British colonists – but more than the British it was the Hindu counterpart of the Muslims in the Indian sub-continent who in fact was perceived as the main challenge by the Muslim leaders against their so-called political interests. In the pre-independence era, there were often communal clashes in the Indian sub-continent between the over-whelming Hindu majority and the minority and territorially diffused Muslims. Therefore, Muslim leaders, fearing the political domination of the majority Hindus through their numerical superiority in post-independence united India, began

34

to mobilize under the All Indian Muslim League first for political and legal guarantee within united India, and when leaders like Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru of Congress Party opposed that, Ali Mohammad Jinnah finally in 1940 declared his agenda for the creation of Pakistan, a separate nation for sub-continental Muslims.

Finally, after Pakistan was created in 1947, its long journey for creating a national narrative began and continues. But because of the Cold War and wars with India, this journey has been very rough. Pakistan has gone through military rules and dictatorships. It has suffered a bloody division of the originally conceived nation resulting in the separation of East Pakistan, what is now known as Bangladesh, in1971. It has a dispute with India over Kashmir, and with Afghanistan over the borderline called Durand Line. Pakistan has also seen outbursts of separatist movements in Baluchistan, and more recently it has seen a scourge of terrorism from those who were fighting in the name of Islam after September 11, 2001 attacks in the US. Apart from these factors, Pakistan has seen an acute economic downturn, and population rise crossing over 200 million, and hence it is deemed as one of the poorest countries in the world. The social, economic and political turbulences in Pakistan have also manifested their effects on media in Pakistan.

Therefore, keeping in view all these factors, it would be problematic to apply the same standards of freedom and liberty to every nation of the world. As the international affairs and local affairs of a state becomes more and more rationalism base, rich and strong nations in such a system have a luxury for broader freedoms. For poorer nations stability often comes at the cost of freedoms. Pakistan is no exception. For such nations, a Liberal media with absolute liberty as an option is long overdue. Liberal media, as has been discussed, has been criticized for lack of responsibility and accountability. Thus, putting more pressure on the weaker states, which in turn results in the state becoming more authoritarian. The case of Pakistan under Musharraf has been a classic example of that phenomenon. Therefore, in this study, arguments will be in support of a more responsible media role.

CHAPTER THREE

3. MUSHARRAF'S PARADOX OF MEDIA FREEDOM: BETWEEN LIBERALIZATION AND AUTHORITARIANISM

3.1. THE PERIOD OF 1990s AND MUSHARRAF'S RISE TO POWER

Ever since the establishment of the nation-state of Pakistan, the country has seen many tumultuous events throughout the history. There has been a constant overthrow of the democratic institutions or elected governments in Pakistan, fueled by both internal as well as external factors. Thus, these events have had their impact on Pakistani media as well. Many events of 1990s have influenced the freedom and liberty of media through this period. So it becomes necessary to give an overview of the circumstances that brought Musharraf to power and that led to his media liberalization policies.

1990s was the period where Pakistan was still waking from its decade-long participation in one of the last battles of the Cold War: Pakistan sided with the Western powers against Soviets in Afghanistan in 1980. Almost entire Pakistani society and state was involved in the war, supporting Mujahideen both militarily as well as morally against the communist forces in Afghanistan. Pakistan was still involved in the civil war of early 1990s in Afghanistan following the Cold War.

Within Pakistan many political events unfolded in the country in 1990s. Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) came to power in intervals in Pakistan during this period amid controversies and accusation of electoral rigging. Both governments are dismissed for corruption charges. Nawaz Sharif after coming to power began economic liberalization process in Pakistan in 1991. Meanwhile there was also ethnic violence recorded in Sindh province during this period between Urdu speaking Muhajirs and ethnic Sindhis.

It was these factors that would pave the way for Musharraf to become one of the military dictators in Pakistan's history.

General Pervez Musharraf became 13th Chief of the of the powerful Army of Pakistan on 6th of October 1998. Although he was third in line after General Ali Kuli Khan and General Khalid Nawaz Khan, Musharraf superseded just because of being favored by then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.

It Is believed that Nawaz thought of Musharraf as an officer with liberal and democratic views. Since the Prime Minister had already been forced to step down as in 1993 by the military, therefore such caution could be thought of as natural.

Now, while at helm, Musharraf launched his long-wished-for attack in Kargil against Indian occupation of the region. Thus, started what came to be known as "Kargil War" in 1999. The war lasted for many months before the international community put pressure on Pakistan, due to which the country had to withdraw, resulting in Pakistan's failure to gain its objectives. The conflict resulted in the straining of the relationship between Musharraf and Nawaz Sharif.

Following a debacle in the war, it was rumored that military will take over the government in Pakistan, or that of Musharraf's resignation. Just after his visit to Sri Lanka, when Musharraf tried to come back to his country, the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif dismissed him from the command of the army.

Some Army sources also claim that Sharif ordered the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) to divert the plane to India but then it was routed to Nawabshah. Then military police units led by Lieutenant-General Muzaffar Usmani sealed the civilian airport and also seized the control tower, allowing the plane to land on a runway. The military police seized the control of the state-run media, television headquarters and encircled the Prime Minister Secretariat building while gaining control of the international airports and cutting off the international phone lines. On 12 October, 1999 Musharraf declared Emergency, suspending all the National and State Assemblies, dismission Prime Minister and all the Federal Ministries.

3.2. MEDIA LIBERALIZATION AND THE FACTORS LEADING TO THE MUSHARRAF'S LIBERAL MEDIA POLICIES

The period of 1990s in which Pakistan saw a number of socio-political events taking place, driven by factors within and from without. Side by side the country also saw the rise of satellite television in the period. In 1991-92 PTV, Pakistan's state television network started its satellite transmission. With the result television saw an expansion throughout the country, reaching out to the remote corners of the country. In the same period private broadcasting networks such as Network Television Marketing (NTM) also started its operations in Pakistan. Hence not only the local television channels but Pakistani people also began to have access to foreign television channels as well. Communication technology was seeing a boom in Pakistan during that period.

For most part of the history, as mentioned elsewhere in this study, Media in Pakistan has remained under tight control of the state. The control generally had repercussions for the expansion of media, which did not rise beyond few channels or newspaper or publishing houses. Pakistan, until 1990, had only one state owned television network, Pakistan Television Network (PTV). After the end of the decade-long rule of Zia-ul-Haq in 1988, and introduction of elections in Pakistan in 1990s, the elected governments of PML-N and PPP began to relax the censorship of media, which led to a relative growth of electronic and print media in the decade. However, the governments themselves were averse with excessive media freedoms that might lead to the exposition of their own corruption. Here begins the ironic and paradoxical story of media liberalization of Pakistan. The liberalization policies of the media were introduced by the military dictator who would rule the state for nearly a decade, General Parvez Musharraf (1999-2007). Media in Musharraf's time saw unprecedented privatization and became a huge industry in Pakistan. Its role in Pakistan also grew accordingly, which will be discussed in this study.

Musharraf began to project his democratic and liberal credentials not only through liberalization and privatization processes, but those processes were also accompanied by the establishment of an independent regulatory body called Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) in 2002. The official narrative

behind creation of such body was to regulate the media ownership in order to enable an impartial and objective flow of news and information. Around 40 broadcasting channels were licensedby PEMRA.

The constitutional freedom of speech and press are highlighted in the constitution of Pakistan. Under the Article 19 and Article 19A of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of Pakistan. The Constitution grants PEMRA following powers:

1) *"Improve the standards of information, education and entertainment.*
2) *Enlarge the choice available to the people of Pakistan in the media for news, current affairs, religious knowledge, art, culture, science, technology, economic development, social sector concerns, music, sports, drama and other subjects of public and national interest.*
3) *Facilitate the devolution of responsibility and power to the grass roots by improving the access of the people to mass media at the local and community level.*
4) *Ensure accountability, transparency and good governance by optimization in the free flow of information".*

To what extent PEMRA was able to restrict concentration of media ownership and to what extent it was able to enforce a democratization of information is not completely within the scope of this study - part of it has already been covered by some scholars. (Gul, Obaid and Ali, 2017) But it can be argued that the more Pakistan saw emergence and rise of media channels, the criticism against government also saw a rise, and it became difficult for the ruler to contain such a wide spectrum of media.

Scholars have highlighted many reasons for liberalization of media in Pakistan during Musharraf's regime. Rather than just suggesting as Musharraf's personal views or preference as a democrat or liberal ruler as the sole reason for his liberalization policies, they argue that there were many external factors that forced him to pursue such policies. These reasons include socio-political atmosphere, as outlined earlier, in Pakistan as well as technological and economic factors. These factors included both internal as well as external elements.

Externally he received support from the US in early 2000s for his cooperation in West's so called "war on terror". Internally he was the sole arbitrator of power in Pakistan as most of the political leaders such as Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif were in exile. Thus, it was only natural for the General to present himself as a liberal and

savior of Pakistan amid political, social and economic chaos. Therefore, media freedom was just an important in the direction of "*Roshan Khayali*" or enlightenment. Many scholars believe that the purpose for such media freedom was to reach out to more and more Pakistani people at the local levels to counter his opposition, and send a signal to outside world that Pakistan was liberal nation with a liberal ruler, amid a strong propaganda in international media against Pakistan as an Islamist country after 9/11. Media was conceived as important instruments for wider democratization and public participation for Musharraf's policies of decentralizing of governance structures for which he passed Local Government Ordinance (LGO) in 2001 (Mezzera and Yusuf, 2010).

There was a pressure from international media technological trends as well which had peaked during this period. For Musharraf it was necessary, thus, to keep pace with the global trends. Therefore, there was a consolidated need, both internal and external, to adopt to the technological revolution happening around the world. The need for establishment of the PEMRA regulatory body in 2002 was raised by these factors. The expansion of media technologies also raised business opportunities for a number of media moguls in Pakistan (Rasul and McDowell, 2011).

3.3. 9/11 AND RISE OF MEDIA IN PAKISTAN

9/11 was an event that shook Pakistan, politically, socially and economically, as much as it shook the United States, if not more. Post-9/11 Pakistan became a frontline for West's war on terror, hosting US military bases and enabling passage of US resources through its territory. The country saw political fragmentation, rise of massive terror attacks and ever more economic vulnerability. Pakistan State witnessed immense pressure from all side, extremists, sectarian groups, ethnic assertions and terrorist groups. Nearly more than 70,000 people died in terrorist attacks in Pakistan. Throughout this period Pakistan was under dual pressure from the local militant groups, whom Pakistan had supported throughout earlier Afghan wars against foreign occupation, as well as the US that demanded Pakistan's support for its efforts in Afghanistan to tackle Taliban and other affiliated militant groups, included global jihadist groups, Al Qaeda (Katz, 2013).
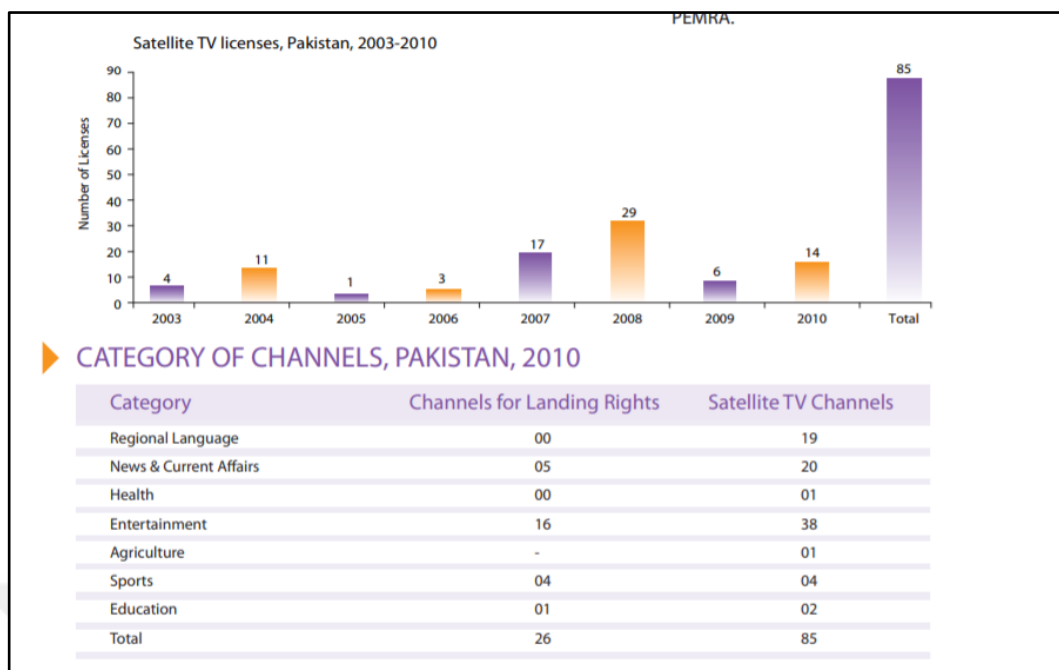
Satellite TV licenses, Pakistan, 2003-2010

Year	Number of Licenses
2003	4
2004	11
2005	1
2006	3
2007	17
2008	29
2009	6
2010	14
Total	85

▶ **CATEGORY OF CHANNELS, PAKISTAN, 2010**

Category	Channels for Landing Rights	Satellite TV Channels
Regional Language	00	19
News & Current Affairs	05	20
Health	00	01
Entertainment	16	38
Agriculture	-	01
Sports	04	04
Education	01	02
Total	26	85

Figure 1. Statellite TV Licenses, Pakistan, 2003-2010 (Annual Report, 2010: 16).

In this context the rise of media channels was a unique thing to happen in Pakistan because the country was under a military ruler, who gave himself executive powers and became more and more dictatorial over time.

> *"After the Afghan invasion in 2001, the western world, specifically US and UK, have invested big amounts of money in the development of media independence in Pakistan for their political and economic interests. They wanted to have their voice reached to general Pakistani public, thus, they invested in community-based radio channels, training of journalists and media lawyers training projects through US Aid programs."* (Gul, Obaid and Ali, 2017: 46)

There are some media giants in Pakistan which applied first for the PEMRA license and consequently they were the first to receive the license. These include Jung/Geo Group, owned by Independent Media Corporation of Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman. The television channels that the group launched after PEMRA licensing were Geo News (Urdu), Geo Entertainment (Urdu), Aag TV (Bilingual--English and Urdu, Geo Super (Urdu). Another was Nawa-i-Waqt Group which is in print media business since 1942. The group, which owned many publications such as Daily Nawa-i-Waqt (Urdu), The Nation (English), Nida-i-Millat (Urdu-Sunday magazine), Weekly Family (Urdu), Sunday Plus (English), Weekly Money Plus (English), Monthly Phool (Urdu-For children), launched its television channel Waqt TV in 2007. One of the most

popular is DAWN Group, owned by Saigol families and Hameed Haroon, and famous for liberal views. Its publication, Dawn English Newspaper, is one the oldest newspaper of Pakistan, founded by Ali Mohammad Jinnah in 1941. The other media giants that received license from PEMRA include Lakson /Express group, Daily Times Group and ARY Group.
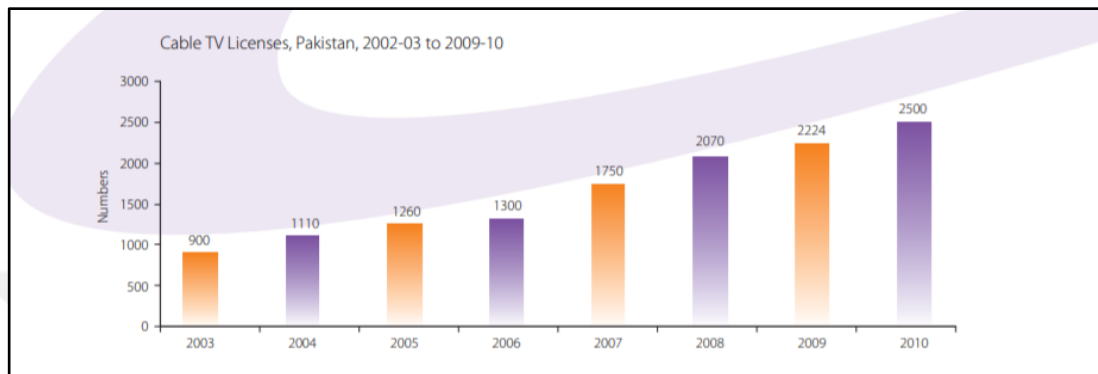

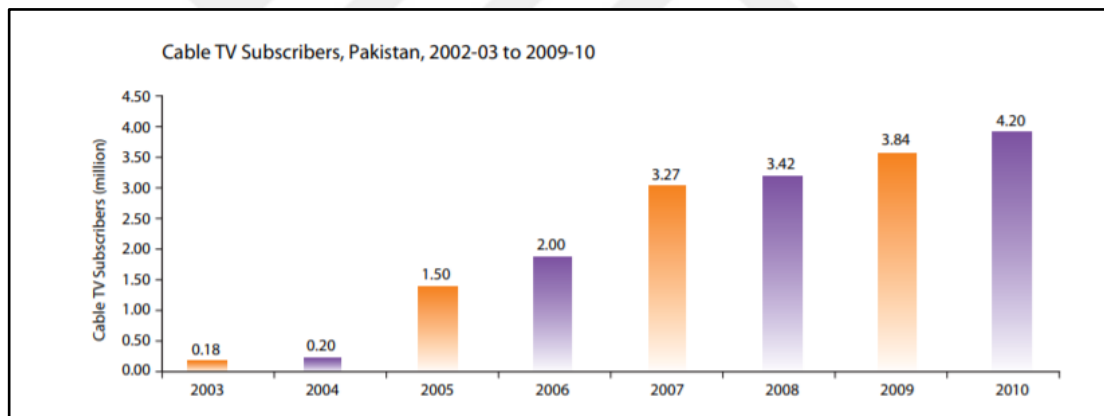**Figure 2. Cable TV Licenses, Pakistan, 2002-03 to 2009-10 (Annual Report, 2010: 20)**

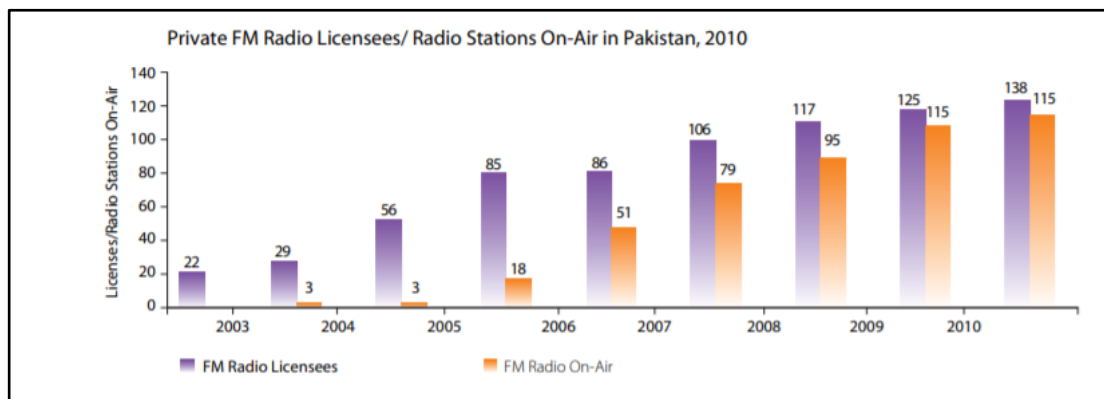**Figure 3. Cable TV Subscribers, Pakistan, 2002-03 to 2009-10 (Annual Report, 2010: 20)**

Figure 4. Private FM Radio Licensees/Radio station On-Air in Pakistan, 2010 (Annual Report, 2010: 21)

After the PEMRA liberalization policies, Pakistan saw emergence of an innumerable regional, multilingual media outlets, from 4 satellite TV channels in 2003 to 85 in 2010. Cable TV rose from 900 in 2003 to 2500 in 2010. FM radio licenses rose from 22 in 2003 to 138 in 2010.

According to a BBC report has had a significant impact on democratization of general Pakistani political structures and society. The report explains that these outlets immensely focused on local issues of the Pakistani public, therefore drawing more and more rural, peripheral social groups within the information orbit. The report argues that such decentralization of media prevented the centralization and monopoly of information with military or dominant federal state (Yusuf and Schoemaker, 2013).

Not only did the number of media outlets and audience numbers increase in Pakistan, media industry as a whole saw a tremendous growth of journalists and advertising revenues. Pakistan's important journalists' union, Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) witnessed a significant rise in membership, from 2,000 to 10,000 within ten years. Advertising revenues expenditures jumped from Rs. 7.25 billion to

In year 2001 – 2002, Pakistan's annual ad-spending, which was about Rs. 7 billion rose to nearly Rs. 30 billion by 2009. Similarly, cable television licenses jumped from 900 in 2002 – 2003 to 2700 (till 2014). (Qadri, Umer and Qadri, 2016:95).

3.4. PAKISTAN'S SOCIO - POLITICAL CHALLENGES DURING MUSHARRAF'S RULE

"In the beginning of Pervez Musharraf's rule, the General sent mixed signals. He appeared both as a liberal democrat as well as authoritarian. Musharraf gave himself Executive Powers, gave important administrative positions to military generals. He declared himself as president of Pakistan in 2001 while also remaining as head of the army. He sent the former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif into exile to Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, he began to talk about media freedoms and democratization at the local levels of Pakistan society, called as basic democracy." (Ziring and Burki, 2020).

Meanwhile, there were strained relations with the arch rival India and the USA over nuclear tests of 1998. The cumulative impact

of the present situation and policies pursued by previous governments was that Pakistan was facing severe economic difficulties" (Chandran, 2000).

Nevertheless, this was just the beginning of Musharraf's rule in Pakistan. The US invasion of Afghanistan that followed 9/11 bombings in the US shook the entire Pakistani society. Musharraf was forced by the US to join its so-called war on terror in Afghanistan. This triggered a resentment among the conservative pro-Taliban groups in Pakistan, who began to move to Afghanistan to help their brethren there against the invading American forces. In June 2004 Pakistan military launched its first offensive against suspected al-Qaeda militants and their supporters in tribal areas near Afghan border. At the same time the US began drone strikes to target al-Qaeda leaders in the area. Afghan war radicalized the Pakistani society and many groups pitted themselves against US forces. When US pressured Musharraf to take action against those elements in Pakistan, this groups, who were generally known as Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) began attacks inside the Pakistani territory. Thus, began the long spell of Pakistani terrorism which consumed thousands of lives in Pakistan. The more the situation deteriorated in Pakistan the more Pervez Musharraf consolidated his powers. In 2004 Parliament of Pakistan approved creation of military-led National Security Council to institutionalize the role of armed forces in civilian affairs.

3.5. LAL MASJID INCIDENT AND ROLE OF MEDIA

The most remarkable event to test President Musharraf's liberal and democratic credentials as a leader was the siege of Lal Masjid (or Red Masjid Siege) in July 2007. This was as much a media event as it was military event because most of the Pakistani media was engaged with covering the event and editorials actively supported or opposed or cautioned about the military actions and its aftermath.

The Lal Masjid was founded by Maulana Qari Abdullah in 1965 in Pakistani capital, Islamabad. The mosque played an important role in in Pakistan and Afghanistan's fight again communist Soviet invaders. It was an institute for preaching and preparing fighters. Maulana was very close to President General Zia-ul-Haq in 1980s, the time when Pakistan along with many Western and Gulf state were fighting Soviets in Afghanistan. After the Soviet retreated from Afghanistan in 1989, the mosque continued to function as a school for Islamic learning and housed several

thousand male and female students in adjacent seminaries. (Hassan, 2007).

When Musharraf began his support for the US-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, it sparked a conflict with Lal Masjid, whose leadership was openly pro-Taliban.

Abdul Aziz and Abdul Rashid, the two brothers who headed the seminary, denied having any links to the banned terrorist organizations but were strongly opposed to the "War on Terror" and the conflict in Afghanistan. They constantly condemned Musharraf's policies of supporting the west. There were continuously speeches pouring out of the mosque against the state policies, west and in support of banned militant groups. During 2006 and early 2007 the mosque raised its voice in favor of Shari'a Law, led vigilante raids and kidnappings. (Hassan, 2007).

Pakistani government led by Pervez Musharraf besieged the Lal Masjid and the adjacent Jamia Hafsa madrasah complex in July 2007. The Pakistani Pakistan Army's Special Service Group stormed the buildings and the operation resulted in 154 deaths, and more than 50 militants were captured (https://en.wikipedia.org).

> *"Lal Masjid siege was widely covered by Pakistani media, and according to some scholars media's perception on this event was mixed. While Urdu media was outrightly critical of critical of the State action against the mosque and the students, English media, though representing or addressing the liberal and elite class of Pakistani society, while favoring the state action, too cautioned the state against use of excessive force."* (Rahman and Eijaz, 2014).

3.6. SACKING OF CHIEF JUSTICE, EMERGENCY AND SLIDE OF MEDIA FREEDOMS

In March 2007 Chief Justice Chaudhry pronounced many judgements that would be considered important in Pakistan's history. Among all of them was the judgement related to privatization of Pakistan Steel Mills. This was considered as the most important profit-making national corporation for Pakistan. Another case was related to missing persons in which he forced the government to locate those persons, the judgement which triggered a clash between Musharraf's government and the judiciary. (Landmark Judgments of Justice Iftikhar, 2007).

Angered by the judgements, Pervez Musharraf asked the Chief Justice to resign for alleging that the Chief Justice showed misconduct in the presence of Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and six other uniformed generals. The Chief Justice's refused the order which finally ended up in his suspension. Musharraf also invoked his authority under Article 209 of the 1973 Constitution to refer the alleged abuses of office by the Chief Justice to a Supreme Judicial Council. First time in the turbulent history of Pakistan a Chief Justice has been made "non-functional". In response, Pakistani lawyers began a large non-violent movement for an independent judiciary in Pakistan, which attracted thousands of political and civil society activists. (Shroff and Nehra, 2007).

However, in a dramatic turn of events the thirteen-member Court offered a historic decision to reinstate the Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary and dismiss the charges leveled against him in July 2007. President Musharraf was forced to publicly accept the ruling, stating that judicial independence was essential for governing the country.

Scholars have pointed out that media's role was significant in the reinstatement of Pakistan's Chief Justice.

> *"The media, most importantly TV channels, were united to challenge the legitimacy of Musharraf's actions. It is this activism of media that helped the lawyers' resistance in obtaining support to challenge the illegitimate actions of the dictator… The Musharraf government became the enemy of both lawyers and the media, especially after the regime limited the freedom of media through curbs on TV channels and newspapers. This united the media, especially the prominent TV channels to intentionally challenge and declare the authority of General Musharraf.*
>
> *… Messages reached out to masses through the electronic media, especially the famous talk shows of Geo, Aaj and ARY ONE TV channels. It was also through the live talk shows on TV that Aitzaz Ahsan and the Attorney General of that time, Malik Qayyum, challenged each other for a live constitutional debate in March 2008. TV channels broadcasted this constitutional debate. Ultimately, via media many people became aware of the pertinent constitutional clauses vis-à-vis the case of CJ Chaudhry."*
> (Ahmed, 2013: 68)

Although, strong criticism against Musharraf had begun when Musharraf launched his Lal Masjid operation, but as mentioned earlier that criticism was

restricted to Urdu media only for its being pro-Islamic. Most of the English media, whose target audience is elite, English knowing class of Pakistani society, had favored Musharraf's operation against the students of Lal Masjid. (Rahman and Eijaz, 2014).

After media played an important role in mobilizing mass opinion in Pakistan against Musharraf's sacking of the Chief Justice of Pakistan, the President began to suppress media. The more challenge he saw from Pakistani civil society, the more authoritarian he become towards the end of his rule. Media which had thrived during early years of his rule was becoming the primary challenge for it now.

In November, as the President faced many challenges throughout the country, he declared Emergency, suspending constitutions and arresting judges and activists. (Rohde, 2007).

This time Musharraf was prompt to curb or ban media throughout Pakistan. Among the first institutions to be targeted following the emergency were the media and the courts. The Musharraf reversed all the freedoms that his regime had offered to media through PEMRA at the beginning of his rule in 2002. He amended media law and placed new import curbs on satellite dishes and digital receivers. The regulations prohibited the publication of material that is likely to risk or be prejudicial to the ideology of Pakistan or the sovereignty, integrity or security of Pakistan. These amendments also put restrictions on any material that is likely to incite violence or hatred or create interfaith disorder or be prejudicial to maintenance of law and order. Perhaps worst of it all was that the ordinance also made it illegal to discuss Supreme Court cases which would challenge the October electoral-college vote that had returned Musharraf to power. Live coverage of anti-government protests or reporting attacks that were antigovernment was declared illegal. The four major news networks, GEO, ARY One World, Aaj TV, and Dawn News, and other three international Channels, CNN, BBC World, and Al-Jazeera, were taken off the air (Khan and Joseph, 2008).

He pressed on that media cannot be allowed to disintegrate the country. This statement was in sharp contradiction with the one he had articulated when he had assumed power after coup. (Musharaf talks about Media limits, 2007) The biggest spat was recorded between Musharraf and Pakistan's biggest network and first private news

channel, Geo TV. The channel's transmission in Pakistan was shut down. (Pakistan's private Geo TV says forced to shut down, 2007).

The then secretary general of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), Mazhar Abbas describes the state of media when Emergency was imposed in Pakistan on November 3, 2007:

> *"In the next 90 days, Musharraf's government issued some very amazing notices to the channels and newspapers, copies of which are still in my record and for the first time would like to share with the people.*
>
> *Two major cases were registered against the PFUJ leaders; one on charges of sedition and another charging the PFUJ leadership, 300 other journalists and members of the civil society with trying to enter the Prime Minister House by force. The FIR was later sealed.*
>
> *All this was followed by numerous notices to newspapers and TV channels. Many people thought that General Musharraf banned the media on November 3, 2007 but the process had started much earlier when on September 28, channels received a show-cause notice stating that "No programme shall be aired which contains,*
>
> *(a) aspersions against the judiciary and the armed forces*
> *(b) any material amounting to contempt of court*
> *(c) contain any abusive comments that when taken in context, tend to or are likely to expose any individual or group or a class of individual to hatred or contempt.*
>
> *We knew that the 'emergency plus' was not against political parties but against the judiciary and the media, the two most emerging institutions in the post-March 9, 2007 struggle in support of the then-deposed Chief Justice of Pakistan, Iftikhar Chaudhry."* (Abbas, 2012)

However, the influence and size of media by this time was far too greater in Pakistan for Musharraf to control. There was a convergence of media; traditional media of print and electronic, especially television, had converged with the new digital media, Internet that allowed citizens to write blogs, send mails, share information on social media. One writer states that "when the government banned news channels during the November 2007 state of emergency, private television channels uploaded news clips to YouTube and live streamed their content over the internet, thus motivating Pakistanis to go online. In this context, the mainstream media showed the ability to be as flexible, diffuse, and collaborative as new media platforms." (Yusuf, 2009).

3.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

There has been an immense amount of work on media coverage of Pakistan's 2007 Emergency imposed by Pervez Musharraf and how the media forced the dictator to finally resign. But what is notable here is how the General Pervez Musharraf's journey from a liberal President who hailed the power of media in strengthening the democratic status of Pakistan to his turning onto a total dictator who would ban or control all the media in the name of integrity of his country. This journey reveals facts and aspects about the post-colonial countries, whose States are too week to contain the problems that perpetually keep their societies on edge, such as ethnic, sectarian, religious and economic tensions. Thus, liberties and restriction of media also come to be defined keeping in view these aspects of the societies.

CONCLUSION

The case of Pakistan during the President Pervez Musharraf reveals that when it comes to the post-colonial nation-states, one does not simply have to question the rulers' or states' ability to uphold the democratic and liberal ideals. In the modern non-egalitarian and disbalanced world it is important to have a full consideration of both internal as well as external variables that maintain a constant pressure on these society-- both states and nations. One has to consider both global power structure, in which the nations that have emerged out of a long and deep colonization of centuries just a few decades ago tend to be at the bottom, and the internal/local or national power structure where large majority of the population have been facing economic, religious, ethnic or sectarian discrimination and disempowerment. Post-colonial nations and their state generally tend to be weaker and poorer, caught in a multitude of conflicts among different groups or between different groups and the states. Thus, limiting the scope of the formation of national identity. The states of this countries tend to assume an authoritative role in the face of such challenges. Therefore, such a pressure is on every institution of the state, but it is more so on press.

Pakistan being a post-colonial nation-state is a multiple territorially concentrated ethnic groups which have their own counter claim of regional or local nationalism, such as Baloch nationalism, against the supranationalism of the federal state. It is also multi-religious population with nearly 10 percent of its two hundred million population as Hindu, Christian or Sikh. It has a powerful Shia population of about 20 percent. Pakistan has a long-pending but constantly festering Kashmir dispute with India. It is has been and continues to be a frontline state of wars in Afghanistan. These factors have constantly effected the state-society relation of which media is a mediator in the country.

Musharraf, as military general who gained power as the President of the country in a military coup adopted an "unnatural" or unconventional way of ruling through liberal means. Whatever the reasons for granting freedom and liberty to media, it obviously was just a matter of time when the authoritarian ruler Musharraf would

tighten the screws on media like every institution in the country. However, the Musharraf's paradox (first offering and then curtailing media freedoms) has to be located in the general social, political and historical context rather than just in the personality of the dictator and the nature of dictatorships.

As mentioned earlier, the problem of managing the countries are both internal as well as externally imposed. Internal problems may be attributed as problem of governance, the externally imposed problems, such as effects of Afghan war, dispute with India that guarantees triggering of military tension between the states of Pakistan and India at any strategic movement chosen by either of the countries or imposition of sanction by major economic powers. These external pressures far from dousing the internal challenges only flare them up. And the liberal media only acts as an instrument in this.

When Musharraf adopted liberal policies of media it was against his own status as a non-democratically elected ruler. When he began to face country's challenges he acted as an authoritarian ruler against those challenges, antagonizing different groups, including Islamic fundamentals, Baloch nationalists, from the Western powers to take action against terrorist elements that were threatening their interests in Afghanistan. Therefore, the problem has to be seen through multiple angles. Mere focus on the nature of dictatorships is simplistic.

Social responsibility theory offers more promising tools to address the problem. Socially responsible media not only takes the nature of dictatorial state that challenges the freedoms of institutions, including media, into consideration, but also the socio-political and historical variables that prevent any harmonious relationship between state and the society. It also questions the role of external powers that assume Machiavellian approach to exploit the vulnerability of poorer states, in this case Pakistan. The purpose of this study has been to challenge both the Authoritarian and Libertarian models of media freedoms because both of these approaches dispatch the social variables, internal as well as external, to periphery or non-existence. At the core, these approaches are statist, where the subject of analysis tend to be the state. But in Social Responsible model, the subject of analysis is society at large. In this study we have tried to divert our attention towards the question of society.

REFERENCES

Books

Altschull, J. Hebert (1990). From milton to mcluhan : the ideas behind American journalism. New York : Longman.

Aslam Imran and Ali Kamran A. (2009). Media matters in Pakistan: Middle East Report

Dobell, William M. (1969). Ayub Khan as president of Pakistan. Pacific Affairs.

Hall, Stuart (1997). The local and the global: globalization and ethnicity. In King A. (Ed.), Culture, globalization, and the world-system: contemporary conditions for the representation of identity (pp. 19-40). University of Minnesota Press. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttsqb3.6

Jaffrelot, Chriistophe (2002). Pakistan: Nationalism without a nation. Zed Books.

Javed, Shahid (1988). Pakistan under Zia: Asian Survey.

Khan, Ijaz (2009). Pakistan: nation-state, state-nation or multinational state?. Peshawar, KP: European Yearbook of Minority Issues

Matos, Carolina (2012). Globalization and the mass media. In: Encyclopedia of globalization. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

McQuail, Denis (1987). Mass communication theory: an introduction (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, London: Sage Publications.

Park, Myung J., and Curran, James (2000). De-westernizing media studies. New York, London: Routledge. doi: https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/45461935

Siebert, Fredrick Peterson, Theodore and Schramm, Wilbur (1963). Four Theories of the Press: The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. muse.jhu.edu/book/59151

Ziring, Lawrence (1974). The yahya khan intergnum.Asian Affairs

Articles and Other Printed Publications

Ahmed, Zahid Shahab (2013). "The role of the pakistani mass media in the lawyers resistance against the musharraf dictatorship, 2007-2009". Pakistaniaat, 4(3), 68. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/13510341003700360

Alavi, Hamza. (1989, July). "Nationhood and the nationalities in Pakistan." Economic and Political Weekly, 24(27), 1527-1534.

Behuria, Askok K. (2009). "How military dominates the political space in pakistan: a study of musharraf's rule (1999-2008"). Journal of Peace Studies. 16(1-2), 3-4

Bonnie, Brennen (1996)."John C. Nerone, ed*., Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 199"5. 205 pp., American Journalism, 13 (2), 244-245, DOI: 10.1080/08821127.1996.10731827

Chaudhary, Naghman (2012). *Pakistan's First Military Coup: Why Did the First Pakistani Military Coup Occur and Why Does It Matter?* (Master'sthesis). Retrieved fromhttps://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a560487.pdf

Currie, Damn H., and Thobani, Sunera (2003). "From modernization to globalization: challenges and opportunities". Gender, Technology and Development, 7(2), 149–170. https://doi.org/10.1177/097185240300700201

Khan, Zafarullah and Joseph, Brian (2008). "Pakistan after musharraf: the media take center stage". Journal of Democracy 19(4), 32-37. doi:10.1353/jod.0.0039

Riley, Marguerite Maude (1978). *Army rule in Pakistan: A case study of military* (Master's thesis).

Shah, Jamal (2012). "Zia-ul-haque and the proliferation of religion in Pakistan". International Journal of Business and Social Science, 3(12), 1-14

Electronic Resources

Abbas, Mazhar (2012, November 2). When Musharraf Silenced the Media. The Express Tribune. Retrieved from https://tribune.com.pk/story/459782/when-musharraf-silenced-the-media/ Erişim Tarihi 20.11.2019

Annuual Report (2010). To Falilate Growwth of Free & Fair Media, http://www.gilanifoundation.com/homepage/Free_Pub/PEMRA/Pemra%20annual_report_2010.pdf Erişim Tarihi 10.11.2019

Aziz, Shaikh (2015, May 03). A leaf from history: Four journalists flogged, two newspapers shut. Dawn Times. Retrieved from https://www.dawn.com/news/1179170 Erişim Tarihi 05.10.2019

Berry, W. E. (2013, July 24). Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press. Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08821127.1996.10731827?journalCode=uamj20 Erişim Tarihi 20.11.2019

Chandran, D. S. (2000, January 28). Pakistan's Economy-II: Challenges facing Musharraf. Retrieved from http://www.ipcs.org/comm_select.php?articleNo=317 Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Christians, Clifford G., and P. Mark Fackler. (2014, March 28). The Genesis of Social Responsibility Theory: William Ernest Hocking and Positive Freedom In The Handbook of Media and Mss Communication Theory. Retrieved from https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/book/10.1002/9781118591178

Dawn News. (2017, July 02). How Zia Ruled 1977-1988. *Dawn Times.* Retrieved fromhttps://www.dawn.com/news/1342695

Giunchi, Elisa Ada (2014). The Political and Economic Role of The Pakistani Military. Retrieved fromhttps://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/analysis_269_2014.pdf Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Gul, M., Obaid, Z. and Ali S. (2017). Liberalization of Media in Pakistan: A Challenge to Democracy. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321904818_Liberalization_of_Media _in_Pakistan_A_Challenge_to_Democracy Erişim Tarihi 15.10.2019

Gul, Mehnaz Obaid, Zia and Ali, Shahid (2017, December 19). Liberalization of Media in Pakistan: A Challenge to Democracy. Retrieved from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Liberalization-of-Media-in-Pakistan:-A-Challenge-to-Gul-Obaid/35a149d12e0c121c3456c6bb81a60311ae04f9f8 Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Hasan, Syed Shoaib (2007, July 27). South Asia | Profile: Islamabad's Red Mosque. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6503477.stm Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Hassan, Syed Atiq ul. (2007, July 12). Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) Saga has a history. Retrieved from https://www.mediamonitors.net/lal-masjid-red-mosque-saga-has-a-history/ Erişim Tarihi 05.12.2019

Hilali, A. A. (2001, September 11). Historical Developments of the Kashmir Problem and Pakistan's Policy September 11 (2001) Retrieved from http://sam.gov.tr/tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/6.-A.Z.-Hilali.pdf Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

India Today. (2015, January 20). General Zia and press freedom in Pakistan. *India Today.* Retrieved from https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/neighbours/story/19780615-general-zia-and-press-freedom-in-pakistan-818616-2015-01-20 Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Jalal, Ayesha (2017). The Creation of Pakistan. In *Oxford Research EncyclopediaofAsianHistory.*Retrievedfrom http://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-114 Erişim Tarihi 10.12.2019

Landmark Judgments of Justice Iftikhar. (2007, March 10). *DAWN*. Retrieved from https://www.dawn.com/news/236725 Erişim Tarihi 10.11.2019

Majid, Roya Akhavan and Wolf, Garf A. (2009, May 18). *American Mass Media and the Myth of Libertarianism: Toward an "Elite Power Group" Theory*. Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/ref/10.1080/15295039109366787?scroll=top Erişim Tarihi 05.11.2019

Mezzera, Marco and Yusuf, Sairah (2010, November 19). Devolution Row: An Asessment of Pakistan's 2001 Local Government Ordinance. Retrieved from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Devolution-row:-An-assessment-of-Pakistan's-2001-Mezzera-Yusuf/37c40078a63d53d5dfda1ce171e3ddc1a2ebc368 Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Mill, John Stuart (1869). On Liberty. Retrieved from http://www.bartleby.com/130/ Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Milton, John (1644). *Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England*. Retrieved January 21, 2006, from http://gutenberg.readingroo.ms/6/0/608/608-h/608-h.htm Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Musharaf talks about Media limits. (2007, November 26). *The News*. Retrieved from https://www.geo.tv/curbsonmedia/26112007.html#3 Erişim Tarihi 15.10.2019.

Nehra, Krishan S. and Shroff, Kersi B. (2002). Suspension and Reinstatement of the Chief Justice of Pakistan: From Judicial Crisis to Restoring Judicial Independence?. In *Library of Congress*. Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/law/help/pakistan-justice.php Erişim Tarihi 10.10.2019

Nordenstreng, Kaarle (2013). *Deconstructing Libertarian Myths About Press Freedom of Expression Revisited : Citizenship and Journalism in the Digital Era*. Retrieved from http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:uta-201309231372 Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019.

Pakistan: Between Radicalization and Democratization in an Unfolding Conflict. (2009, July). Retrieved from https://www.mediasupport.org/publication/pakistan-between-radicalisation-and-democratisation-in-an-unfolding-conflict/

Pakistan: Dawn Wire Service. (1999, September 25). Retrieved1999, September25fromhttps://asianstudies.github.io/areastudies/SouthAsia/SAserials/Dawn/1999/25sep99.html#coas Erişim Tarihi 11.11.2019

Pakistan: March 23, 1940: The Lahore Resolution. (2010, March 17). Retrieved 2010, March 17 from https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/march-23-1940-the-lahore-resolution.50871/ Erişim Tarihi 15.10.2019

Pakistan's private Geo TV Says Forced To Shut Down. (2007, November 16). Retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-media-geo/pakistans-private-geo-tv-says-forced-to-shut-down-idUSL1626797920071116 Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Qadri, Muhammed Ahmed, Umer, Naseem, and Qadri, Suwaibah (2016). Development of Media Policies and Reforms during In Pakistan With Reference To the Democratic and Dictatorship Regime. Retrieved from https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/29131 Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Rahman, Bushra Hameedur and Eijaz, Abida (2014, December 7). Pakistani Media as an Agent of Conflict or Conflict Resolution : A Case of Lal Masjid in Urdu and English. Retrieved from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Pakistani-Media-as-an-Agent-of-Conflict-or-Conflict-Rahman-Eijaz/634092a20cf14814e2f48f8ee2af6ca3748681ab Erişim Tarihi 05.10.2019

Rana, Uday Sing (2018, February 13). When Vajpayee and Musharraf 'Almost Resolved' the Kashmir Dispute. *News 18.* Retrieved from https://www.news18.com/news/politics/when-vajpayee-and-musharraf-almost-resolved-the-kashmir-dispute-1659481.html Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Rasul, Azmat and McDowell, Stephen D. (2011, June 28). Regulation and Media Monopoly: A Case Study of Broadcast Regulation in Pakistan. Retrieved from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Regulation-and-media-monopoly:-A-case-study-of-in-Rasul-McDowell/c9c2e4dd09733b409c29539a33fb51bcc640588d Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Rohde, David (2007, November 3). Musharraf Declares State of Emergency. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/03/world/asia/04pakistan.html

Shroff, Kersi B., and Nehra, Krishan S. (2007, August 1). Suspension and Reinstatement of the Chief Justice of Pakistan: From Judicial Crisis to Restoring Judicial Independence? Retrieved from https://www.loc.gov/law/help/pakistan-justice.php Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Siddiqui, S. (2015, June 15). Evolution of Title in Pakistan. *The Amplifier Magazine.*

Siege of Lal Masjid, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siege_of_Lal_Masjid Erişim Tarihi 10.11.2019

South Asia | Scores killed in Pakistan attacks. (2007, July 19). Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/6905808.stm Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Sparks, Colin (2007). *Globalization, Development and the Mass Media*. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781446218792 Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. (2019). Mohammad Ayub Khan.In *Encyclopedia Britannica.* Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mohammad-Ayub-Khan Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Thompson, Alastair (1999, October 18). Full Text of Gen. Musharraf's Speech to Pakistan. *Scoop Independent News.* Retrieved from

http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/HL9910/S00082/full-text-of-gen-musharrafs-speech-to-pakistan.htm Erişim Tarihi 15.11.2019

Yusuf, Huma (2009, January 12). Old and New Media: Converging During the Pakistan Emergency (March 2007 – February 2008). Retrieved from https://civic.mit.edu/2009/01/12/old-and-new-media-converging-during-the-pakistan-emergency-march-2007-february-2008/ Erişim Tarihi 15.10.2019

Yusuf, Huma (2009, January 12). Old and New Media: Converging During the Pakistan Emergency (March 2007-February 2008). Retrieved from https://civic.mit.edu/2009/01/12/old-and-new-media-converging-during-the-pakistan-emergency-march-2007-february-2008/ Erişim Tarihi 11.11.2019

Yusuf, Huma and Schoemaker, Emrys (2013, September). Policy Briefing: The Media of Pakistan - Fostering Inclusion in a Fragile Democracy? - Media Action. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/publications-and resources/policy/briefings/asia/pakistan/policy-pakistan Erişim Tarihi 15.12.2019

Ziring, Lawrence and Burki, S. Javed (2020, January 17). The Pervez Musharraf government. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan/The-Pervez-Musharraf-government Erişim Tarihi 10.11.2019