

Relationship of Media and Imran Khan: An Analytical Study

Muhammad Ahmad Hameed

MPhil Scholar, Department of Media & Communication Studies, The Islamia University of
Bahawalpur
ahmad.hameed21@gmail.com

Dr. Awais H. Gillani

Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur

Rashid Minhas

MPhil Scholar, Department of Media & Communication Studies, The Islamia University of
Bahawalpur

Abstract

In a time of unparalleled worldwide interconnectedness, media functions as a powerful enabler of social change. Media networks, which were first intended to be a platform for individuals to produce, assess, and exchange information, have changed and now have a big impact on social norms and behavior. This study explores the complex connection between Imran Khan and the media, looking at Pakistan's media environment from August 2018 to April 2022. Imran Khan made effective use of the Internet as a vital source of information during his administration. This qualitative study offers a detailed analysis of the opinions, attitudes, and feelings of seasoned journalists from prestigious newspapers and TV networks around Pakistan through semi-structured interviews. Eleven journalists all with at least ten years of experience were having talks at their homes or places of employment, and the questions were sent out by email beforehand. The research reveals a difference in media coverage based on affiliation with or opposition to the government, when the gatekeeping hypothesis is applied to the study's findings. Media organizations that supported the press thrived financially and professionally, while those viewed as being against the press were subject to heightened scrutiny and punitive actions. Online harassment of journalists was further exacerbated by the proliferation of troll farms with ties to the government. The study's observation that authoritarian and democratic countries use similar strategies to control the media is intriguing. An in-depth examination of the complex relationship between Imran Khan and the media, as interpreted by the Gatekeeping Theory of Communication Studies, is necessary in order to fully comprehend the media's impact on the evolution of society. Although the piece acknowledges President Musharraf's beneficial contributions to media freedom, it also emphasizes how social media has become the dominant force in modern times, giving everyone access to the world. This study adds to the growing body of knowledge about how important the media is in forming societies and assisting in the difficult process of democratic government.

Keywords: Social Media, Regime, Journalists, Freedom, Qualitative Study, Democratic Governance

1. Introduction

The "fourth estate" or "fourth power" is the media, according to Voltmer (2006) and Ripolles et al. (2014, p. 26), the media have described academia as a platform for displaying politics. The political process acts as a source of knowledge for citizens since they actively engage in it (Ripolles et al., 2014). In a democracy, the media act as society's watchdog. In today's world, the media is more critical than ever. It is referred to as a media control function since it preserves citizens' rights. Mass media is used to track the movements of political and governmental elites, investigate injustices and power abuses, and identify errors that are occurring. Voltmer (2016) argued that we currently live in the society, where media has a considerable influence on our opinions, attitudes, and actions. It is essential to be aware of the potential biases and intentions of the media we consume if we are to demonstrate a deeper awareness of the world around us. We should actively look for opposing viewpoints. The public's most efficient gatekeepers for these organizations are the media. When running campaigns on particular problems, creating studies about particular nations, or making funding appeals, organizations convey their information through the selective media filter. 2002, p. 36, International Council on Human Rights Policy.

1.1 Background

In the past, the government in Pakistan strictly managed and regulated the media. Media censorship was prevalent throughout the country's military regime, and several newspapers were shut down or banned for publishing articles that were critical of the government's policies. Press freedom in Pakistan has faced several difficulties throughout its complicated history. Pakistan is one of the most dangerous countries for journalists, according to a report by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), with many reporters there experiencing threats, harassment, and assault. According to the CPJ research, threats against Pakistani journalists have come from a variety of sources, including militant organizations, political parties, and governmental institutions. Several high-profile instances of journalists being assaulted or killed for their work have occurred in recent years, notably the 2018 murder of writer Jamal Khashoggi. In the 2021 World Press Freedom Index, Pakistan was placed 145th out of 180 nations, according to a Reporters without Borders report. The report points out that while Pakistan has a broad media landscape with many sources and platforms, the government nevertheless maintains a strong degree of control over the media. The report also emphasizes the dangers to journalists working in the nation, such as intimidation, censorship, and assault. Despite these difficulties, there have recently been some encouraging developments, such as the introduction of new media channels and improved internet access. According to a survey by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Pakistan now has more options for citizen journalism and media freedom thanks to the growth of social media and digital platforms.

2. Literature review

Siraj and Hussain (2017) reviewed the freedom of the press in Pakistan. The study's primary thesis supported the idea that Pakistani journalists lack the freedom to choose the news and information they want to report on. The choice of which news to broadcast depends on how sensitive it is, and editorial management makes that judgment. Gatekeepers work for and serve those in power since Pakistan's modern media is reliant on advertising money. Therefore, political, social, economic, and concentrated ownership are constraints on journalistic sovereignty.

Najam Sethi, March 2021 the authorities disregarded Imran Khan's illegal behavior because, according to the other columnist, the system was on his side. The columnist goes so far as to assert that the army manipulated the 2013 election in his favor and that the establishment even planned for his sit-in during the election. When the agenda wasn't finished, by designating him as a revolutionary leader at the time, the establishment dispatched him to Islamabad to stage sit-ins. to

overthrow the Nawaz government. In 2014 and 2016, attacks occurred in Sharif, Islamabad. However, he failed because of the people.

According to a Reporters without Borders report (The News, 2021), the government financially restricts critical media. Homes and attacks on bloggers and journalists were frequent. (The News, 2021) During the Khan presidency, Regulators of social media and electronic communications have become obedient to governmental directives.

Mazhar Barlas, March 2021, portrays Imran Khan favorably and shows him as a person who might have lived a better and more pleasant life. The columnist declares that he chose politics not for popularity or monetary gain, as he already had them, but rather to improve his country and its people after listing all the other excellent possibilities open to him in life to cover his expenses. He could have lived a life of luxury in England as a cricket analyst or as the chancellor of Bradford University. In Pakistan, he also had the choice of being Nobody would have minded him if he had selected any of these. He was recognized as a national hero who was loved and respected by the entire country. The chairman of the PCB, the head coach of the Pakistan cricket team, or a social worker (Dawn, 2020)

Jang News Imran Khan is portrayed in a primarily negative light. He is regarded as an establishment-backed politician who, despite having been active in politics for many years, is still looking for ways to gain power. It was said that his sit-ins were unlawful and that he was self-centered and egotistical. Furthermore, it was stated that Imran Khan may seize Mr. Sharif and gain power through the Panama issue. The Panama case verdict was expected to influence his future political views. His clumsy comments regarding the foreign players were used as proof to highlight how egotistical and self-centered he was.

VOA, 2021 A key tactic for restricting media freedom is to make the sector's financial difficulties worse. The media has become more reliant on government advertising as a result of the economic downturn. The government used it as a negotiating chip to deny critical media their fair share under Imran Khan's administration. Massive layoffs and salary reductions as a result of this. Between 2017 and 2021, more than 4,000 journalists were laid off, claims the Federal Union of Journalists. Hameleers, 2018 The Imran Khan administration employed hundreds of people on its massive social media team to promote its positions and refute dissenting opinions. The majority of the journalists reported that online trolls had attacked them. Several journalists asserted that edited images of them and their family members were distributed to publicly humiliate them.

3. Problem Statement:

Pakistan's media environment has always been filled with difficulties, including censorship, threats against journalists, and historical government control. In spite of recent improvements like expanded internet connectivity and new media outlets, the nation is ranked poorly in the World Press Freedom Index. The Committee to Protect Journalists draws attention to ongoing dangers that impede the media's ability to serve as a watchdog for democracy and come from a variety of sources. The study also reveals complicated dynamics in the connection between politics and media during Imran Khan's administration, when journalists faced restrictions on their independence and the rise of social media as a double-edged sword. To promote a more open and democratic society, the main issue is how to deal with Pakistan's media's safety, independence, and changing dynamics.

3.1 Hypothesis:

1. The mainstream media cannot support Imran Khan.
2. Influence of Imran Khan's government in the development of media.
3. Imran Khan uses the internet as a source of information during his reign.

3.2 Objectives of the study

Objectives of the study are to know the

1. Influence of Imran Khan's government in the development of media.
2. Social Media is power of Imran Khan.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

Gatekeeping is the process of managing the channels via which information is shared with the broader public. When information is filtered, a number of processes and checkpoints must be satisfied before it can be made available to the wider public. Whether or whether the general public should see or hear a certain piece of news is decided by the media. Gatekeepers are the ones who filter the messages while carrying out the gatekeeping operation. Reporters, editors, and writers make up this group. Even government representatives participate in the gatekeeping procedure (Shoemaker & Vos, 2014).

In contrast, Imran Khan's regime has taken a more subtle approach to gatekeeping by selectively controlling the flow of information through the use of social media and digital surveillance. While there is still a degree of censorship and control over traditional media outlets, the administration has been more willing to tolerate criticism and dissent in the public sphere. However, the government has also been accused of using digital surveillance and social media monitoring to silence dissenters and manipulate public opinion. Human Rights Watch reported in 2020 that the Imran Khan government has been increasing its control over the media, including through the use of the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority to target and censor news channels (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

4. Research Methodology

The researchers adopt the qualitative method and descriptive approach to analyze the data. Data collection: newspapers, articles, books, interviews, speeches. The present research focuses on the qualitative nature of research. It decides the heading of a research project, structure from the starting to the last step of composing the research/exploration report. Qualitative/Subjective Research.

The current study used a qualitative research design. The researcher used the method of in-depth interviews for data collecting. When the researcher wished to thoroughly investigate the phenomenon, this method was best. The informants thoroughly described the problem throughout the interview. The participants were able to express their own thoughts, perceptions, and emotions. Eleven Pakistani journalists most of them with a minimum of ten years' experience in the media were interviewed for this study. They were experts in the field who provided insightful information (Islam & Rehman, 2016). The study's main goal was to learn more about Pakistan's press freedom conditions. It was important that the informants had experience in their respective fields because of this. The researcher conducted interviews before transcribing the information. Every interview started in Urdu and was later translated into English. The final transcripts were printed once the research questions and supplementary questions' key arguments had been determined by consensus.

Interview No. 01: Gareeda Farooqi

The period of Imran Khan, and the dynamics in the period of Imran Khan are altogether different. His party is very active on social media, and he has been driving a large part of his media power through social media. During the tenure of Imran Khan, that last window was also closed. It was very suffocating; you could not speak on any channel. In any case, the voice was completely strangled during the tenure of Imran Khan Imran Khan's era, the state operators were much stricter

and more involved in cruelty, and a lot of oppression had taken. So, Imran Khan's rule was worse for journalists.

Interview No. 02: Talat Hussain

The Imran Khan era was the system of that era. The standard should be maintained. So, something was happening in his era that was not happening in the leadership of a dictator's era, namely, that you cannot criticize the dictator; you are closed nowadays. If the same opportunity was given during the dictatorship, it was taken. Imran Khan did not know how to do his duty to the state institutions, due to which there was enough space in the media. And there was no legal shame in it. Imran Khan is not brave, as he shows or pretends, and if any question is asked of him that is tough to answer, he gets angry or leaves his seat.

Interview No. 03: Matiullah Jan

The steps in Imran government taken for media was very deplorable(shameful) kidnapping, torture ban on journalists and media channels arrests, raids, joblessness was observed in Imran Khan era. He cannot take any good steps for media if anything was discussed for safety of journalist it was just talks nothing else. He used social media as Hitler use media as propaganda tool. He survives just because of social media main stream media has no worth in Imran Khan point of view but its fact social media's popularity cannot survive long.

Interview No. 04: Ather Kazmi

Imran Khan understands the importance of digital media as compared to other politicians. On the other hand, the opposition cannot accept Khan as a politician, and they cannot accept digital media as a form of media. Khan believes in the freedom of the media, but he was unhappy with the performance of some media, as he always mentions them in his speeches as well. He is against the media, which works as an agenda-setter and spreads false news. He said that a segment of journalists intentionally spread negative propaganda against him and his party to fulfil a specific purpose.

Interview No. 05: Muzamil Suharwardy

The Imran Khan era, the opposition has no right to speak against him openly. Imran Khan cannot do anything good for journalists; even during his regime, up to 500 journalists have lost their jobs due to salary cuts. It is not about some specific journalists whose shows get taken off the air. Imran Khan used social media as a negative propaganda weapon because it was not possible to defame anyone in mainstream media, but because social media have no regulations, it is easy to spread untrue information. Social media is a temporary tool.

Interview No. 06: Nasarullah Malik

Imran Khan was perplexed because his relationship with the media was not as good. When he failed in any step, he blamed the media and targeted them. Imran Khan's social media team was strong; they aggressively targeted the opposition, and he was always active and focused on social media. He used social media. He critiqued the media but could not deny freedom of speech.

Interview No. 07: Oriya Maqbool

Imran Khan has used it correctly on social media, and above all, he has used it brilliantly. Some of its popularity came from those who liked it. Their access was not through this medium. Other people were in charge of media pay. Then they had no choice but to proceed through social media. Therefore, on social media, Imran Khan may be away, Imran Khan may not be in favor of Imran Khan, and everyone uses the media for their own purposes.

Interview No. 08: Mujeeb ur Rehman Shami

Some of them were confused; they had good relations; and they were not satisfied with the media people. Whatever their failure was, wherever it happened, they attributed it to the media, and if someone wrote against them, they would liken it to envelope journalism. So that was their mindset. But everyone kept expressing it. But as for me, the meetings continued. The conversation continued. He also listened to the conversation. They had YouTubers with them. He has also been accepted as a social media activist, so the condition of social media in his time has been enough. He also listened to the conversation. They had YouTubers with them. The social media team, which is the team of PTI, was very effective, and it used to tell them who their wrong opponents were, criticize them, and try to protect them. No other political party had social media, and Imran Khan used to keep what he had in direct contact with people from the court. And he had an eye on one thing. So, there was a lot of acting, but he keeps in touch with people. He was particularly focused on advancing his affairs through this medium. The biggest decision of Imran Khan was during his tenure, when the NAB also caught Shakeel ur Rehman and there was no case at all. He was arrested and had to go to jail for several months. And then there were attacks. The law could not reach those responsible. It was a mistake. We did not deny what the rest of journalism is; they used to criticize it. And they used to ask for money, and so on, I heard them by their name, and they told me that the courts are doing their job and providing security. He took action against it. But he said it could have been done in a better way.

Interview No. 09 Nadia Mirza

Imran Khan has not taken any important steps for the journalistic community. Khan's popularity is rising, and social media has played a very important and vital role in Imran Khan's career and popularity. Imran Khan played with great skill and talent, and his government used it very well. There is no doubt that Imran Khan used the media for his own purposes. Imran Khan used it in the best way. Imran Khan used to get angry with every person and every journalist. He used to criticize, even if it was constructive criticism, but he always discredited it. He also took action and called it envelope journalism.

Interview No. 10: Yashfeen Jamal

The way Imran Khan has used social media to gain popularity for his politics, there are no two opinions about it. There is no doubt. Mr. Khan has used social media very extensively. They get this art. One of the biggest reasons for using social media is evident if you look at the big social media bloggers of today. There are influencers, and YouTubers. They also want to run away and stand with Khan Sahib because their presence with Khan Sahib will help them grow, and Khan Sahib will definitely support them again. They also promote or sell them to him. It seems that ultimately, after their influence is developed, they will support Khan Sahib. It is not very possible for us to tell the good or bad decisions of any era like this, but if you come and ask me about any such decision from Imran Khan's era, which is if it was harmful, I think that the attempt to amend the PICA Ordinance could have been very harmful. The human rights bill that those people were working on but it could not be passed, but where that bill went is also the same because Shireen Mazari is on record, she said that she does not know what happened to that bill. That bill went missing.

4. Findings**4.1. The mainstream media cannot support Imran Khan.**

Imran Khan used to get angry with every person and every journalist. He used to criticize, even if it was constructive criticism, but he always discredited it. He also took action and called it envelope journalism. Some of them were confused; they had good relations; and they were not satisfied with

the media people. Whatever their failure was, wherever it happened, they attributed it to the media, and if someone wrote against them, they would liken it to envelope journalism. So that was their mindset. But everyone kept expressing it. But as for me, the meetings continued. The conversation continued. He also listened to the conversation. Imran Khan was perplexed because his relationship with the media was not as good. When he failed in any step, he blamed the media and targeted them. It is not about some specific journalists whose shows get taken off the air. Imran Khan used social media as a negative propaganda weapon because it was not possible to defame anyone in mainstream media, but because social media have no regulations, it is easy to spread untrue information. Social media is a temporary tool. Khan believes in the freedom of the media, but he was unhappy with the performance of some media, as he always mentions them in his speeches as well. He is against the media, which works as an agenda-setter and spreads false news. He said that a segment of journalists intentionally spread negative propaganda against him and his party to fulfil a specific purpose.

4.2.Imran Khan uses the internet as a source of information during his reign.

Imran Khan understands the importance of digital media as compared to other politicians. On the other hand, the opposition cannot accept Khan as a politician or digital media as a form of media. Imran Khan used social media as effectively as Hitler used the media as a propaganda tool. He survives just because of social media. Mainstream media has no worth from Imran Khan's point of view, but social media's popularity cannot survive for long. Imran Khan used social media as a negative propaganda weapon because it was not possible to defame anyone, and since social media have no regulation, it is easy to spread untrue information. Social media is a temporary tool. The social media team of Imran Khan was strong; they targeted the opposition strongly. He was always active on social media and focused on it. He used social media. He criticized the media, but he couldn't deny the freedom of speech of company employees to express themselves freely. Imran Khan is the best user of social media; this was the best example in the history of Imran Khan. He hires teams to run media, other political parties fail to use media, and we have not seen the best social media user until now: Imran Khan, because he was a cricketer, has a fan following, and knows how to grab attention and publicity. Imran Khan has used it correctly on social media, and above all, he has used it brilliantly.

4.3.Influence of Imran Khan's government in the development of media.

The biggest decision of Imran Khan was during his tenure, when the NAB also caught Shakeel ur Rehman and there was no case at all. He was arrested and had to go to jail for several months. And then there were attacks. The law could not reach those responsible. It was a mistake. We did not deny what the rest of journalism is; they used to criticize it. And they used to ask for money, and so on, I heard them by their name, and they told me that the courts are doing their job and providing security. He took action against it. But he said it could have been done in a better way. The Imran Khan era, the opposition has no right to speak against him openly. Imran Khan cannot do anything good for journalists; even during his regime, up to 500 journalists have lost their jobs due to salary cuts. It is not about some specific journalists whose shows get taken off the air. The period of Imran Khan, and the dynamics in the period of Imran Khan are altogether different. His party is very active on social media, and he has been driving a large part of his media power through social media. During the tenure of Imran Khan, that last window was also closed. It was very suffocating; you could not speak on any channel. In any case, the voice was completely strangled during the tenure of Imran Khan. Imran Khan's era, the state operators were much stricter and more involved in cruelty, and a lot of oppression had taken. So, Imran Khan's rule was worse for journalists.

5. Discussions

The results of the qualitative investigation of media freedom in Pakistan under Imran Khan show that there is a complex interplay between social media, mainstream media, and the government. Understanding the complexity of the current situation requires an awareness of the historical background of media restriction and the difficulties faced by journalists. According to the data, the Imran Khan administration has significantly reduced media freedom, with journalists reporting on physical threats, financial hardships, and charges of dissent. The way the government treats social and mainstream media differently is one recurring issue. Imran Khan made good use of social media teams and sites like Facebook and Twitter. The results, however, imply that the mainstream media encountered hitherto unseen difficulties, including charges of prejudice, a lack of openness, and retaliatory actions against anti-government publications. The story shows how Imran Khan's administration deliberately suppressed dissenting opinions in traditional media while using social media to further its cause. The selective control and manipulation of information flow is clarified by the gatekeeping idea. Social media offered a channel for more direct connection, even though there were worries about false information, while established media struggled under constraints. The contradictory positions Imran Khan has taken on media freedom both endorsing its ideals and denouncing alleged biases highlight the intricate relationship between politics and journalism. Particular concern is the effect of Imran Khan's government on jobs for journalists. A wider financial difficulty for media professionals is suggested by reports of job losses and pay reductions that affected up to 500 journalists under his administration. Because of this financial susceptibility, it is important to investigate long-term media funding strategies that maintain editorial freedom while also ensuring profitability. Given Pakistan's placement in the World Press Freedom Index, the findings also address how the press is perceived internationally. There are still issues, such as political influence and journalistic threats, even though media variety and accessibility through digital platforms have improved. One useful way to find effective solutions for striking a balance between media freedom and governmental control would be to compare and contrast these difficulties with those in other nations.

The information presents a complex picture of Imran Khan's handling of the media throughout his presidency. On the one hand, his skillful use of social media as a potent instrument for political influence and communication is acknowledged. Khan was able to get beyond the limitations of traditional media because to his planned engagement and powerful social media staff. But this also calls into question the morality of using social media for political purposes in a responsible manner. The story is made more complex by the contradiction between Khan's alleged support for media freedom and his criticism of particular media organizations. In the interviews, he expresses his displeasure with the way the media has covered him and frequently charges them with disinformation. This conflict between defending media freedom and opposing some media activities highlights the fine balance necessary for a vibrant democratic media.

The article shows the financial impact on media outlets, showing how their independence is impacted by the loss of advertising revenue. The independence of media institutions is further called into question by the government's power over regulating organizations. Raza et al (2022) say that journalists have to face numerous types of influences and pressures from owners, advertisers, business community, political, ethnic and religious groups for what to be covered or what not to be. The results also emphasize how social media shapes public opinion, highlighting how fleeting and easily abused. The study provides opportunities for more investigation. Examining global best practices for press freedom protection and media regulation may give Pakistani authorities some useful information. Furthermore, additional investigation into the

changing function of social media in shaping public opinion and its possible influence on traditional journalism would enhance our understanding of Pakistan's modern media environment.

6. Conclusion

Researchers examined the situation of media freedom in Pakistan from August 2018 to April 2022, during the populist administration of Imran Khan. Semi-structured interviews with senior journalists from illustrious newspapers and TV networks around the nation were done for this reason. The majority of journalists concurred that the Imran Khan administration severely curtailed media freedom in the nation. The journalists noted that there were primarily two methods used to impede the free flow of information: first, by physically attacking, kidnapping, intimidating, and accusing journalists of sedition; and second, by strangling the media outlets' economies by denying them their fair share of advertising. The PTI government's anti-media actions were unprecedented. Senior journalists reported that in the past. The Imran Khan era, the opposition has no right to speak against him openly. Imran Khan cannot do anything good for journalists; even during his regime. Imran Khan used social media as effectively as Hitler used the media as a propaganda tool. Imran Khan has been critical of the media in Pakistan, accusing it of being biased, sensationalist, and lacking in transparency and accountability. He has expressed unhappiness with the way the media has covered his government's policies and actions, and has accused some media outlets of being under the control of political parties or powerful business interests. He survives just because of social media. Mainstream media has no worth from Imran Khan's point of view, but social media's popularity cannot survive for long. Imran Khan used social media as a negative propaganda weapon because it was not possible to defame anyone, and since social media have no regulation, it is easy to spread untrue information. Social media is a temporary tool. In light of the gatekeeping theory, it is proven that media and social media are used for specific purposes. Gatekeeping is a selection procedure in which every piece of information is categorized according to its value and degree of interest. Occasionally, a single person or small group decides how much of the information is published or broadcast. After categorizing the information in a hierarchy that takes into account their needs, the person or gatekeeper decides whether the information is pertinent.

References

- Committee to Protect Journalists. (2021). Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/asia/pakistan/>
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. (2019). Freedom of the Press in Pakistan: Between Hope and Fear. Retrieved from <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/pakistan/15818.pdf>
- Hussain, S., Abbas, Q., & Sheikh, M. A. (2022). Media Freedom in a Populist Regime: Evidence from Pakistan. *International Journal of Communication*, 16, 20.
- Human Rights Watch. (2020). Pakistan: Growing repression under Khan Government. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/01/14/pakistan-growing-repression-under-khan-government>
- Rana, A. A. (2022). The rights of the juvenile in Pakistan. *International Journal of Human Rights and Constitutional Studies*, 9(3), 246–256. doi:10.1504/ijhracs.2022.123687
- Raza, M. R., Saeed, M. U., & Ali, Z. (2022). Media Concentration and Journalistic Independence in Pakistan Audience and Journalists' Perspectives. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, 12(1), e202205.
- Reporters without Borders. (2021). Pakistan. Retrieved from <https://rsf.org/en/pakistan>
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. P. (2014). Media gatekeeping. In *An integrated approach to communication theory and research* (pp. 89-103). Routledge.

- Siraj, S. A. (2009). Critical analysis of press freedom in Pakistan. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 1(3), 43.
- Voice of America. (2021, August 8). Proposed media regulator could further limit Pakistan's press. Retrieved from https://www.voanews.com/a/press-freedom_proposed-media-regulator-couldfurther-limit-pakistans-press/6209274.html
- Voltmer, K. (2010). The media, government accountability, and citizen engagement. *Public Sentinel*: 26, 2007 from <http://www.asiamedia.ucla.edu/article>.
- Voltmer, K., Selvik, K., & Høigilt, J. (2021). Hybrid media and hybrid politics: Contesting informational uncertainty in Lebanon and Tunisia. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 26(4), 842-860.