

## **Impact of Political Environment on Media Freedom in Pakistan**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study has been conducted to determine editorial independence of broadcast journalists in current political environment of Pakistan. Journalists from top news channels were approached to explore the political pressures that bar journalists to conduct their professional duties freely. Survey was conducted to analyse the level of media freedom based on perception of the professionals. It is found that political factors have a considerable influence on media practice. Freedom of media is being affected by the current democratic set-up of the country.

**Key Words:** Freedom, Media, Newsroom Journalists, Politics, News Channels, Invisible Pressures, Media Control, Editorial Independence

### **Introduction**

Media shapes public opinion and journalists shape media contents but content is not shaped freely. Media sets the agenda but who sets media agenda? What agenda is forced to hide and what to propagate; different situations may have different influencing factors that affect media practice of broadcast journalists in Pakistan. Journalists have to follow not only the legal bars but also the possible political pressures that limit media freedom or editorial autonomy. The study practically tests media freedom in Pakistan because content generators, i.e. the journalists can paint a clear picture of press freedom with brush of their perception. Journalists are part of media who generate contents after a numbers of filters. Media professionals may suffer threats, owner's interference and job insecurity if they exercise their right of editorial freedom. So in a democratic society mass media are mirror but the researcher thinks the mirror approach of media is blurred by the lens of political prussers. If media in Pakistan is free, why the country would have fallen at 159<sup>th</sup> position on World Press Freedom Index? Are media really free? What bars are there? These are the questions need to be answered to flourish free society based on free media, human rights and hence democracy. Because freedom of media is essential for democracy and in order to measure democracy, freedom of media may be used as a barometer. Evolution the quality of freedom of media may lead evaluation in democracy. As Joseph M K also said that media are as much as protector of national freedom, sovereignty and the qualities of civilizations as

legislature or the judiciary (Joseph, 1997). Keeping in view Joseph's approach, in a country like Pakistan where democracy and dictatorship have been overlapping each other, as martial law has been imposed four times since independency of the country in 1947, it is very important to explore level of press freedom to determine state of democracy, sovereignty and national freedom. It is obvious that audience can easily see the transmitted news agenda on TV screen but could not see the agenda being hidden from them by the news room. This study surfaces the hidden agenda and explores the restrictions on practicing media freedom by the professionals. Previous literature of media freedom depicts that freedom with responsibility seems the only way to improve media-government relations in third world countries and if universal laws of journalism are implemented for media and the regimes, then it will serve betterment of society.

## **Review of Literature**

In scholars view, freedom of media is directly linked with democracy and freedom from state and owners' interference. As William Hachten says media freedom is the right of media to report and to criticize without retaliation from the government (Hachten, 1997). Dr Shahzad Ali in his book, *Press, Pressmen and governments in Pakistan: misbehaving powers and positions* quotes Sunwoo Nam as saying, "without freedom of speech and press popular sovereignty is not tenable, hence press freedom, as the sine qua non of democratic civil and political rights, and has a universal appeal". (Ali, 2012, p. 2). According to Arvind Kumar, freedom from government control is needed, but it should not target professional autonomy of the media. He further says when media work in free environment, the professionals may face hurdles owing to the commercial motivations of the owners (Kumar, 2000). In view of Karol Jakobowich, "A system of free and democratic media cannot be created without a stable democratic system in an open society" (Jakobowich, 1985). Freedom of media can provide the resources to the audience to make their assessment who are the good and bad guys in politics and take the responsibility as a watchdog on behalf of public to prevent government abuses (Gurevitch and Blumler, 1990). As Pakistan is a democratic society and role of media for democracy cannot be ignored. Article 19 of the constitution of Islamic republic of Pakistan says, "Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court or incitement to an offence." (The Constitution of The Islamic republic Of Pakistan, 2015). United Nations Article 19 universal declaration of human rights is also about freedom of expression. The article says, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". (United Nations)

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Freedom of expression is basic right of citizens as per constitution of Pakistan but the country ranks 159th position in the world press freedom index. (World Press freedom Index 2015, 2015).

Previous researchers have adopted different areas to study media freedom and editorial independence in Pakistan. Researchers worked on state of media freedom from journalists' perception to journalists-government relations, *government influence on media content to* public survey and analyzing contents based on previous findings at international and national level. For example, Siraj (2008) analysed journalists' perception of media freedom based on pressmen and government relationship, concluding that successive regimes favor freedom of media but took U-turn when transmitted content irritated the ruling classes and consequently the press was reproached. Freedom House report (2015) on media freedom in Pakistan is also worse stating media is not free in Pakistan stating 65 points out of 100. . Riaz (2008), in his study, "Government Influence on Print Media Content in Pakistan: Pakistani Journalists' Perspective" also conducted print media journalist survey and concluded that the government has a strong influence on print media content in Pakistan due to its advertising power.

As freedom of media is a debatable concept in international communication research. Many definitions of press freedom have been suggested over time (Becker, Vlad, & Nusser, 2004). Even though there is no agreed-on clarification of concept of press freedom. It is associated with the independence of the media in opinion of different scholars.

Paul Ansah (1991) explains freedom is to disseminate information and ideas through mass media without government control. In 1947, Commission on Freedom of the Press otherwise known as the Hutchins Commission Report on Freedom of the Press in the USA reported its findings to the public in which it defined press freedom in these words.

"As with all freedom, the freedom of the press means freedom from and also freedom for. A free press is free from compulsions from whatever source, governmental or social, external or internal. And a press is also free press for the expression of opinion in all its phases."

Clement Asante (1997) does not see a complete freedom for the press. He says that there are levels or degrees of the freedom. No country in the world has an absolute freedom of the press but different degrees of the freedom. George Githii (1971; cited in Asante, 1997) suggests that any serious discussion concerning the definition of press freedom essentially include economic, social, cultural and political factors.

According to William Hachten (2005) press freedom means "the right of the press to report, to comment on, and to criticise its own government without

retaliation or threat of retaliation from the authority,” which he calls “the right to talk politics” (Hachten, 2005, p. 32).

Nam and Oh (1973) define the concept as a fearless independent adversary to criticize the policies and personnel of the power elite. Kelley and Donway (1990) argue that free press means watchdog, media ability to keep government in check. Hallin and Mancini (2004: 3) say media systems operate under many political, economic, cultural and social systems which, in turn, influence the adaptability and application of these theories and approaches on relationship between the media and governments.

Extant literature says the entire process of media content dissemination to the general public involves different interests. These interests are personal interests of information source or journalist, ownership interests of media organizations, reputation of politicians, agenda of interest groups, policy implications for governments, fame of advertisers’ products, size of the target market and preferences of the audience (McManus 1994; Schudson 2003; Strömbäck & Karlsson 2011). According to Leeson and Coyne, governments may seek to regulate or influence the flow of information to the audience. This control may be direct, such as when states monopolize media ownership in their nations, or indirect, when they exert financial pressure on private media outlets to cover news in a certain way (Leeson and Coyne, 2005).

What is journalistic autonomy? Research literature indicates that it is based on the freedom to speak and publish, and freedom from interference in that activity (c.f. Carpentier 2005). At the level of journalistic practice, autonomy refers to the latitude that a professional has in performing duties (Reich & Hanitzsch 2013: 135). In an institutional context, autonomy involves independence from other socio-political institutions, like the state and the market (Örnebring 2013: 39).

Warren Breed (1955) in his study social control in the newsroom views that news selection is not only assessed by journalistic standards but shaped by social factors, such as editorial hierarchy, conflict avoidance and normative behaviour. Institutional routines, socialisation processes and professionalism collectively contribute to limiting the autonomy of the professionals in shaping news. For Zvi Reich and Thomas Hanitzsch (2013) practice of media freedom by the professionals is restricted on external and internal levels. The external aspect is related to powerful forces restricting the political autonomy of the media outlets, including policy, state censorship, legislation and regulation. While, internal restrictions regarding journalists’ freedom to make decisions are management pressures, commercial factors and forces inside the news organisation. Reich and Hanitzsch (2013) also found that levels of media freedom practiced by the professionals are possible to predict based on journalists’ perceptions of the kinds of influences affecting their routine work. The authors also give political environment to have been influencing journalists’ levels of editorial autonomy.

## **Pakistan media industry**

Waseem (2006) also argues that the growth of private TV channels has ended domination of the state owned broadcast. Many Pakistani viewers now watch international broadcast through cable. With the establishment of Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) in March 2002, the media industry claimed to have stepped into the arena of freedom. The slab on private media ownership was raised, making room for privately owned TV channels disseminating news, infotainment and entertainment content. Before year 2000, private media was limited to print and state broadcast was only PTV. And now there are 89 satellite TV channels in Pakistan (PEMRA).

According to Gallup survey 2014, more than half of Pakistan's population has access to satellite TV channels transmitted through cable and national news market share is at third position in overall genre. Total population of Pakistan is 180 million and 26.5 million and total TV house holds are 21 million with 11.5 million cable connections. (Gallup, 2014).

These are 24-hour news channels offer breaking news and headlines round the clock and current affairs programs and different shows. (BBC Pakistan Profile Media). Notable privately national news channels are: AAJ News, ABB Tak, AJK TV, ARY News, Samma, Capital TV, Channel 5, Channel 24, 92 News, Dawn News, Koh-e-Noor, Din News, Dunya TV, Express News, Geo Tez, Geo News, Indus News, Jaag (CNBC Pakistan), News 7, Khyber News, Metro One, News One, Royal News, Sabz Baat, Vsh News, and Waqt TV.

## **Newsroom and journalists**

Newsroom is a place where news from all over the world are gathered, filtered, edited and transmitted. Editorial staff working in newsroom is divided into different departments. There are four major departments that deal with news content. And all these departments are supervised by a top management like controller news and directed news.

1. Assignment Desk
2. Content Desk
3. Production Desk
4. Rundown Desk

Assignment desk is responsible to assign the reporters about coverage of news and events. It gathers all the news reports in raw form from different reporters stationed in different bureaus all over the country and out Pakistan as well. It provides the content to the news room for assessment, after gate keeping not-needed content at its level.

Content desk works on editing copy (text draft of TV reports or news stories) of the reporters and edit and refine it as per official policy.

Production Desk deals with visuals, voice over and packages. The desk gets the visuals SOTs (Sound on Tape) edited, arranges voice over for recorded reports and finally produce news reports or packages for air transmission.

Rundown desk is a final filter of the content before transmission. The desk is responsible to arrange stories and news reports in a news bulletin, checks quality of content and production, briefs news anchors about rundown of bulletin and makes hourly headlines. Rundown Desk along with the other desks get direct directions from Director news or controller news about manufacturing of content and transmission as per the official policy. This is the point the editorial staff recognizes the level media of freedom they have after bearing pressure in political context.

## **Methodology**

This study is quantitating in nature, the observable phenomena is media freedom in Pakistan and the researcher examined cause and effect relationship i.e. political factors affecting media freedom of the journalists. Survey research method was employed to collect data. As the study was based on perception of journalists, therefore a questionnaire was formulated and distributed to top ten news channels of Pakistan. This technique was used because leading world organisations like Reporters Sans Frontiers (RSF) also used the same method. The questionnaire was formulated in Likert scale following the same technique by RSF.

All broadcast journalists and all broadcast news organizations in Pakistan are population of the study but only top ten news channels of Pakistan based on viewership rating were taken as a sample study. These top channels are, Express News, Samma, Geo News, ARY News, Dunya News, AAB TAK, AAJ News, Dawn News, News One and Ninety Two news based on Gallup survey of Pakistan. Sampling of journalists were further narrowed down and only those broadcast journalists were approached who work in Head offices of these top ten channels based in Lahore and Karachi with minimum professional experience of five years. Reason to select newsroom journalist is very simple. News from all over Pakistan and the world land in news room, reporter file stories in news room. Newsrooms also have wire services like Associated Press, Reuters, and Agence France Presse in head offices. Top management sits in news room and this is the room where editorial decisions are made. As the news room journalist execute policies and news agenda after following instructions from top management. Therefore the newsroom editorial staff best knows what content is allowed to go on air and the professionals are instructed to restrict the content. Perception of news room staff can best tell state of media freedom in Pakistan while transmitting the media content. As reporters work outside from head offices and sit in their respective bureaus in different cities, therefore they little know the situation of gatekeeping and editorial decision making in newsroom. That is the reason reporters have been skipped in this survey. Geographically the survey research was conducted in Karachi and Lahore, because all these ten channels Head offices are based in the

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two largest cities of Pakistan. Sampling size was 200 journalists from ten channels with frequency of 20 journalists from each channel. Keeping in view the nature of the study, purposive sampling has been employed.

### **Conceptualization of political factors**

In this study, the term ‘political factors’ refers to influences which come from state and state/government and politicians. The researcher assesses the degree of political control over the content of news media. Issues examined include the editorial independence of private TV channels; access to information and sources; official censorship and the vibrancy of the media. Perception of professionals about media freedom has been measured by analyzing the following political factors and pressures.

### **Govt ads or subsidies**

It refers to TV commercials issued by Press Information Department at Federal level or Director General Public Relations (DGPR) on provincial level. How much the government is controlling TV channels by issuing the Ads to different channels to get favourable coverage and how journalists perceive this tool?

### **Controlling journalists**

Political affiliations of journalists limit media freedom as government also controls like-minded journalists through number of invisible benefits. To what extent government controls content by giving press releases and press releases? Journalists go to self-censorship owing to pressures and threats by the government to avoid penalties. How much journalists are free from this pressure? To what extent the media content are being controlled by the government by controlling influential journalists and how to deal with this practice; perception of professionals has been measured by the Likert scale research instrument.

### **Right to information**

Do journalists get information from government departments easily? If yes then it means government encourages media freedom. But do the journalists have easy access to RTI to function freely? Survey questionnaire measures it.

### **Equal political coverage**

Equal political coverage means objectivity without fear or favour. How much media is performing watchdog role?

## Revelations without threat

Powerfull institutions usualy exert pressure on media on revealing unfavorable content. This indicator also paints a clear picture of state of media freedom. Do Pakistani journalists think the situation exists?

### Research questions

1. Does the government control media through ads or subsidies?
2. Are there any invisible pressures to chain media?
3. Do journalists have easy access to Right To Information?
4. On Political coverage, are journalists free enough without fear or favor?
5. Are revelations against powerful government institutions acceptable?

### Data analysis

Descriptive statistics has been used to measure media freedom on Likert scale. Statistics on the ordinal scale from 1 to 5 [1: Strongly Disagree that Political factors have no influence of media freedom to 5 Strongly Agree that these factors affecting media freedom]. In other words 1 and 2 means media is free in Pakistan whereas 4 and 5 means media is not free in Pakistan with 3 is a neutral value on the scale.

Ordinal scale on Media freedom implies measurement of media freedom in perception of professionals. If political pressures curtail media freedom, the scale is as follows, 1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Neutral, 4= Agree and 5= Strongly Agree. In case of political environment influence of media freedom, computation mean value of 4.1 is obtained, which means that media is not free in current political environment of Pakistan.

Political Environment of Media Freedom		
N	Valid	200
Mean		4.1607
Median		4.0667
Std. Deviation		.54383
<b>Detailed Analysis</b>		
<b>Question: Are News channels economically dependent on direct or indirect government ads or subsidies?</b>		
Data show political environment affecting media freedom in Pakistan and professionals think that different political pressures confine editorial autonomy at different levels. In perception of professionals Government ads are a big toll to affect media freedom. As 70% of the respondents feel that news channels are economically dependent on direct or indirect government ads or subsidies. This practice of the government provide news channels a room to give favourable opinion to the government by filtering anti-government content in exchange of govt advertisement revenue.		



**Question: Distribution of government commercials is equal to all news channels without any favor?**

The professionals also think that distribution of government commercials is not equal to all news channels because they think the government also distribute mote ads to those channels who run favourable content for it. Data show that 66% of the respondents feel that government ads are not equal to all channels just because of its tool to have favourable coverage.

**Question: News Channels have to pay back in form of favorable govt content in exchange of subsidies?**

Similarly 77% of the respondents also think that the government “carrot” strategy to press media freedom is manipulated by the government to get positive coverage because news channels anticipate that they have to pay back in form of favorable govt content in exchange of these subsidies.

**Question: Officials favor certain news channels for beeper because of favorable editorial policy?**

Professionals also think that state official’s e.g. political leaders and ministers also give interview or beepers to those news channels who are like-minded or toe their policies. 75% of the respondents are of the opinion that these government officials certain news channels and not treat all media equally.

**Question: Journalists easily get information based on RTI [Right to information] act?**

RTI Is considered a barometer to measure level of media freedom in any country. But at this level the professionals think media freedom is curtailed too. Information based on RTI is not easily available as 61 % of the respondents think that it is a difficult task.

**Question: Do you think some journalists receive benefits to give favorable coverage to a certain party other than regular salary from employer?**

Benefiting journalists is also a tool to bar them to criticize political personalities. As some journalists are ideologically or strategically attached to a certain political party and the party may use or these journalists get benefits ceding their autonomy for potential benefits. 72% of the respondents also agree to the same matter. Majority of the journalists think such journalists do receive benefits to give favorable coverage to a certain party other than regular salary from employer and this practice lead to kill objectivity at this level.

**Question: Do you think practice of “benefiting journalists” should be brought to law by legislation?**

Similarly, professionals also think that practice of benefiting journalists should also be brought to law by legislation. As 60% of the professionals see to state laws to prevail objectivity as suggests in the data in the following table.

**Question: Does the government monitor, threaten or advices journalists on airing content against its interests?**

In some cases the government uses different means to exert pressure on journalists to bar them criticizing openly. This situation is also being faced in practice as 56% of the professionals think the government monitor, threaten or advices journalist on airing content against its interests.

**Question: are journalists are not allowed to give equal coverage of all political parties?**

Similarly, universally all political parties should be given equal coverage, but strong parties get more coverage and average parties are marginalized. This may be owing to potential benefits. But 50% of the professionals think that this environment is not politically free to give equal coverage to all parties without favour or fear.

**Question: As a watchdog journalist, when you criticize a political party and in reaction pressure comes from that party to stop airing the news, does your news channel resist the external pressure?**

Pressure comes when a channel criticizes a political party, but question is whether the media outlet cedes to the pressure or challenges it? In perception of the professionals 38% of the respondents say that the channels resist the pressure and 37% of them do not nod to the situation, whereas 26% of the respondents remain natural. In a country with free media, political parties may not exert pressure and embrace criticism but in Pakistan open criticism is situational.

**Question: Media are not free to air revelations concerning military men?**

**Question: Are media free to air revelations concerning Judges and Politicians?**

**Question: Are media free to air revelations concerning soft targets?**

Here is an interesting situation, media are free enough to air revelations concerning politicians but they are not free to air revelations concerning military men or judges judiciary. 71% of the respondents says that TV channels are not free to air revelations concerning military men, 71% of them are of the opinion that revelations regarding judges are also not allowed but 63% of the respondents agree

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that media is allowed to air revelations regarding politicians as data say in the following three tables. This is also to clarify that in constitution of Pakistan as well as in PEMRA code, military and judiciary have been labeled as sacred cows but in case of individuals too media hesitates to air revelations regarding military men or judges.

Soft targets are those personalities that belong to bureaucracy, culture and sports personalities etc. But media are free enough to air revelations regarding soft targets. 69% of the respondents also reveal that for Pakistani media, hard targets are hard to criticize but soft targets are being hit harder by the media. Religious leaders are also a big pressure group that exerts pressure on media freedom. Professionals are very careful while criticizing religious leaders. 50% of the respondents are of the opinion that media hesitates to criticize religious leaders and their freedom is confined while transmitting religious content.

### **Conclusion and discussion**

In overall impression, influence of political factors on media freedom is above neutral mean value of 4.1 is also above neutral that means political pressures are restricting media freedom more than that of legal pressures.

Political environment of the country is the most influencing factor that confines media freedom in Pakistan as perceived by the working journalists. Findings show that political environment different pressures to restrict editorial autonomy at different levels. Major factors are state subsidies, unequal distribution of ads, political favoritism, use of Right To Information (RTI) tool, hidden benefits to journalists, government advice and political threats.

In perception of professionals Government ads are a big toll to affect media freedom. As 70% of the respondents feel that news channels are economically dependent on direct or indirect government ads or subsidies, the professionals are convinced that this practice of the government provide news channels a room to give favourable opinion to the government by filtering anti-government content. Government ads are run in shape of “paid content” notably during anti government protests and sit-ins. The findings say that the more paid content [a short promotional political documentary] by the government is officered to the news channels, the less anti-government coverage will be given.

In spite of the state subsidies, the professionals also think that distribution of government commercials is not equal to all news channels because they think the political party in power, use it power muscles to distribute commercials. More ads are distributed to those channels who run favourable content for the advertiser.

It is also found that the government does not only control media by its financial muscles but it also flexes muscles of its authority. In other words the government uses stick and carrot strategy to get favorable media opinion. Majority of the professionals think that in some cases the government uses different means to exert pressure on journalists to bar them criticizing openly. It includes monitoring of TV screens in the relevant departments like Press Information

Department [PID] and Directorate General Public Relations [DGPR] at provincial and federal level and also threatens or advices journalist on airing content against its interests.

As political coverage dominates media content in Pakistan, therefore news channels reaction on controversial political statements from other politicians via phone, technically called “Beeper”. As news channels are hungry for beepers in a race of competition, therefore, only those high profile politicians respond to those channels that they enjoy good working relations with. But in a bid to develop these political relations, negative regarding those politicians is compromised and so is media freedom. Findings also depict the same as majority of the professionals think that state officials e.g. political leaders and ministers give interview or beepers to those news channels who are like-minded or toe their policies.

RTI is another government tool to control media freedom. Information is also hidid other than Official Secret Act. Majority of the professionals think media freedom is also being curtailed using RTI as a tool. Despite the RTI Act in Punjab and KP province, RTI based information is avoided or deliberately delayed. Majority of the respondents also think that RTI is not easily available and this opinion is given by 61% of the respondents.

Benefiting journalists is also a tool to bar them to criticize political personalities. As some journalists are ideologically or strategically attached to a certain political party and that leadership or party exploits these journalist and provides them benefits to give favorable opinion to them. A big majority i.e. 72% of the respondents also think that such journalists do receive benefits to give favorable coverage to a certain party other than regular salary from employer killing objectivity. The professionals also suggest that that practice of benefiting journalists should also be brought to law by legislation.

It is due to the political benefits that political parties are not given equal coverage, as findings show strong parties get more coverage and average parties are marginalized. Practicing media professionals think that Pakistan environment is not politically free to give equal coverage to all parties without favour or fear.

Results also show that pressure comes when a channel criticizes a political party but professionals have mix reaction on it. Findings show that Pakistan is a country where political criticism is accepted and channels usually don't bow to the pressures enjoying freedom at this level.

But news channels don't enjoy media freedom while covering military leadership and serving judges. Professionals think that media are free enough to air revelations concerning politicians but they are not free to air revelations concerning military men or judges in judiciary. 71% of the respondents says that TV channels are not free to air revelations concerning military men, 71% of them are of the opinion that revelations regarding judges are also not allowed but 63% of the respondents agree that media is allowed to air revelations regarding politicians. These findings also conform to the clauses of constitution of Pakistan. Because in the constitutions military and judiciary have been labeled as sacred

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cows but in case of individuals too media hesitates to air revelations regarding military men or judges.

Military and Judiciary are hard target to criticize but politicians and other findings are soft target for the media. Soft targets are those personalities that belong to civil bureaucracy, culture and sports personalities etc. Majority of professionals also think that media are free enough to air revelations regarding soft targets. There are numerous examples in which mass media bluntly criticized sports personalities after losing cricket match in mega events, police officers taking bribe are openly criticized, showbiz personalities are targeted once revelations against them are known to media but the same formula of criticism does not apply to the personalities belonged to the institutions labeled as sacred cows or the powerful elite or leadership that benefits the media institutions.

Finally results also show that religious leaders are also a big pressure group that exerts pressure on media freedom. Majority of the professionals think they have to be very careful while criticizing religious leaders. They also think that media hesitates to criticize religious leaders and their freedom is confined while transmitting religious content.

Concluding the above discussion, it can be stated that political influence bars professionals to practice media freedom and that influence includes government subsidies, government commercials, unequal distribution of commercials, source relationships RTIs, government advices and threats. It is also concluded that more powerful or resourceful a party is, the less media will be free to criticize it. The findings also imply that the more an institution is powerful the less it will be criticized. Findings depict the same in case of covering military, judiciary versus other celebrities.

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