Professional Milieus Challenged By Pakistani Journalists On Twitter

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Abstract

As the journalists' role conception manifests in their journalistic outputs (role performance), this study attempts to predict the role conception of Pakistani journalists by examining their role performance on Twitter. Professional milieus standardized by Thomas Hanitzsch, i.e., Populist Disseminator, Detached Watchdog, Critical Change Agent, and Opportunist Facilitator, serve as the theoretical basis for the current study. This research examines the tweets of the top 20 journalists of Pakistan with the most followership on Twitter through Content Analysis of their six months' tweets. Findings reveal that the Detached Watchdog professional milieu dominates the journalistic practices in Pakistan, which challenges the claims of Thomas Hanitzsch's study. He suggests that the Detached watchdog milieu dominates the developed or Western countries in the journalistic field but developing, transitional and authoritarian countries practice the Opportunist Facilitator professional milieu. Considering Pakistan, a developing country, the current study's findings show that the Detached Watchdog professional milieu dominates the journalistic practices in Pakistan. The study also reveals that despite the convergence of media and extensive Twitter usage in Pakistan, traditional electronic media is still a popular medium and Twitter traffic of Pakistani journalists highly depends on their active presence on electronic media.

Keyword: *Professional milieus; Pakistani journalists; Twitter; Role performance; Convergence of media; Populist Disseminator; Detached Watchdog; Critical Change Agent; Opportunist Facilitator; Content analysis*

Introduction

The convergence of media has implications not only on the operations of media houses and media personal but has also

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changed the way journalists used to approach the news. It has overall changed the dynamics of journalism in terms of operating systems, roles of journalists, gatekeeping of news as well as the ethics and norms of journalism. This study aims to map the journalistic role according to their professional milieus and the perception of their function in a society with special reference to social media i.e., Twitter. Twitter is proved to be the second most popular social media being used in Pakistan. Therefore, studying the role performance of Pakistani journalists in changing journalistic dynamics through Twitter is important.

Twitter has appeared as a reliable data source. A country like Pakistan with a huge population of almost 223.0 million, internet paved its way to reach more than 61.34 million people (27.5% of the population) where 46.0 million are active social media users. Interestingly, the rate of internet users is increasing by 27% annually. Hootsuite also mentions Similarweb's ranking of websites where Twitter is one of the topmost used social media in Pakistan with 5,500,000 monthly traffic (Hootsuite & Social, 2021). Hence, the study aims to study how Pakistani journalists' see their role, orient their role, and perform their role on Twitter, categorically addressing the following research questions.

RQ1. What are the prevailing professional milieus of Pakistani journalists?

RQ2. What does their role performance on Twitter depict about their role conception?

RQ3. What content is posted through Twitter to justify the role performed by a journalist?

The researcher studies the tweets of 06 months from January 2018 – June 2018 of top 20 Pakistani journalists with the most followership on Twitter. The primary objective of the study is to analyze the role performance of Pakistani journalists on Twitter. The objectives of the study are as follows.

- To cognize the professional milieus of journalists practiced in Pakistan
- To analyze the content of the tweets posted by the Pakistani journalists
- To infer the role perception of Pakistani journalists from their role performance

The study is important in terms of the prediction of role orientation of Pakistani journalists with the help of their role performance inferred from their tweets. Therefore, it has the potential to predict the journalistic culture in Pakistani society and its relevance with the political, social, and cultural setup.

Deuze (2005) identifies five ideal elements of occupational ideology among journalists i.e., a) provide a public service; b) neutral, objective, unbiased and credible; c) free, independent, and autonomous; d) speed, immediacy, and truth; e) ethics, rightfulness, validity, and legitimacy (pp. 446–447). However, Weaver (1998) accepts that the differences in journalistic roles occur due to national journalistic cultures. Similar ideas have been explained in various comparative studies such as, Berkowitz, Limor, & Singer, 2004; Donsbach & Patterson, 2004; Esser, 1998; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006. They also admit that the professional milieus are grounded in journalists' perception of their journalistic roles socially, hence it varies from country to country.

Therefore, the researcher's concern is to find out how differently that role is played on social media by Pakistani journalists. Often national settings translate into discrete and prominent journalism cultures, it has ample evidence in media system analysis (e.g., Donsbach and Patterson, 2004; Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hanitzsch, 2007; Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Preston, 2009; Weaver, 1998). Following this debates, Thomas Hanitzsch defines four professional roles of journalists i.e., a populist disseminator, a detached watchdog, a critical change agent, and an opportunist facilitator. This research aims to analyze Pakistani journalists' role, based on the four professional milieus defined by Thomas Hanitzsch through their tweets.

Journalists Redefined: Networked Individuals & Online Journalists

Grant et al., (2010) in their study addressed three gaps in previous knowledge, firstly, to simply find out what Australian politicians are doing on Twitter. Basic queries addressed in this domain were, who is tweeting, what is the frequency of their tweets and what are they tweeting about? Their second, concern was to find out what benefits do the journalists gain from this specific platform. In this study they answered all these concerns by clarifying and quantifying the benefits accrued by journalists on Twitter and why. Lastly, they addressed the major question that what is the uptake of social media especially Twitter for Australian politics. The study tended to answer that if this medium (Twitter) broadened or restricted the political dialogue space? Did it help to collectively shape our world in a better way or was this a risky, threatening, or fragmentary tool? Grant et al.,

(2010) suggested in their study that in Australia, Twitter has provided a platform to leading politicians, journalists, and politically active audiences to connect, interact and shape the political discussion and debate.

Likewise in their study, Lasorsa et al., (2012) based on Singer's (2005) hypothesis on normalizing Twitter, addressed certain questions covering what is the usage of microblogging sites (such as Twitter) by journalists? What content are they posting and what is the frequency of their usage? What new and notable features are emerging and what changes are seen in conventional journalistic norms? It analyzed the content of the tweets of journalists who were the most popular based on their followership on Twitter to understand and determine to what extent tweeting/microblogging is changing mainstream journalistic practices and norms. This study examined a large-scale quantitative content analysis of around 22,000 tweets in great detail. Considering that Twitter is an application that can evolve anytime with new technology, still, the study managed to provide a snapshot of the journalism profession which is trying to make sense of itself in this new domain of technology.

Similarly, we do not know how Pakistani journalists are using Twitter; how this tool is helping them in their respective field; who is getting benefits from being on Twitter; and if Twitter is facilitating them, in a productive way or otherwise. These and such studies help the researcher address the first RQ1.

RQ1. What are the prevailing professional milieus of journalists in Pakistan?

Internet is changing the way people perceive and receive their news fast. News consumers in this era, are living in an interconnected world where the information has more importance than their lives. Considering the challenge, journalism as a profession is responsible to deliver that information. In this vein, journalism has to move to cyberspace to reach out to the new audience from conventional media of newspapers, TV, and radio. Therefore, to survive and to stay ahead in their field, news organizations have to adapt to new products and technology in a valuable way (Stassen, 2010; Ludtke, 2009; Beckett, 2008).

In the last century, innovations in audio, visual, and digital areas have redefined the term "journalist" professionally. Not only this, but these innovations have also changed the perceptions of journalists as well about their work. This is the result of an adaptation process that is not only shaped due to socio-cultural changes but also due to technological considerations (Steensen, 2010). Researchers worldwide are intriguingly finding out how media digitization such as hypertext, interactivity, and multimedia affects journalistic norms, practices, and roles (Deuze M. , 2003; Deuze M. , 2005; Lewis, Kaufhold, & Lasorsa, 2009; Phillips, 2010; Phillips, Singer, Vlad, & Becker, 2009).

As Twitter provides the opportunity to interact with a large audience rapidly, that is why, journalists filter news on their own, include or exclude information frequently without following traditional ways of sending the news to section editors first (Farhi, 2009). Journalists present on these social networking sites tell us how stories are formed, share their opinions on news events, and share the context of news coverage development.

However, a certain element of transparency is to be maintained to have the trust of audience (Hayes et al., 2007). Hermida (2009) believes that news media organizations make efforts to present validity to their audience and help integrate social networking platforms into established journalism norms and values.

Not only this digital landscape is changing the dimension of research, but also changing the ways, perceptions, and the positions of journalists about themselves. Journalists are branding themselves on Twitter by updating their published profiles in which a brief description of themselves and their work is given, sometimes to represent their personal information while mentioning their personal or organizational websites' links is also provided by them (Hanusch & Bruns, Journalistic Branding on Twitter, 2016).

Considering the role of professional journalism in society, the use of Twitter by journalists has an impact on the ecology of journalism. The current study also takes a suggestive approach that future researchers must pay more attention to understand how Twitter is used within the journalistic context. Therefore, it intends to see the role performed by journalists on Twitter and how they are using Twitter in their journalistic sense, addressing the next two RQs.

RQ2. What does role performance on Twitter depict about role orientation or role perception of Pakistani journalists?

RQ3. What content is posted through Twitter to justify the role performed by a journalist?

Theoretical Foundation

Media sociology literature suggests that there are empirical and theoretical challenges in the concept of role conception and role performance. The extensive literature strengthens the fact that journalistic professional roles must not be considered as some universal standard, but it is something that "adapts itself to its cultural contexts related to nation and press system" (Berkowitz, 2011, p. 1).

To empirically provide a theoretical basis to the current study, the researcher is using Thomas Hanitzsch's proposed global professional milieus. These roles have been used in other studies to identify role performance of journalists on social media as well.

Thomas Hanitzsch (2011) identified four global professional milieus: the populist disseminator, detached watchdog, critical change agent and the opportunist facilitator from survey responses of 1800 journalists in 18 countries. These milieus were considered in national and organizational contexts. The milieu about detached watchdog is more dominating in the western world however, the opportunist facilitator milieu prevails in developing, transitional and authoritarian countries. Where there was more corporate and commercial influence, less was the professional autonomy. Hanitzsch conducted cluster analysis on the survey responses of 1800 journalists from more than 350 news organizations in 18 different countries around the world which was a mix of developed and developing countries. To empirically identify global professional milieus, an analysis was conducted on 12 statements used to measure insights of

journalists of their professional roles. To remove acquiescence bias, all scores were standardized as well.

Populist disseminator is the first professional milieu. Journalists in this group are more concerned about audience. Out of other three, the journalists in this milieu provide interesting information to audience and gives the news which concerns the widest possible audience. Secondary characteristic of this role is of a detached observer who does not take active and participatory role in reporting. Monitoring functions is least observed in this group.

The second professional role and milieu of journalists is a detached watchdog. Their primary attribute is their social position as detached observers. This role makes them skeptical and critical towards government and business conglomerates or elites. The journalists emerging from this cluster consider themselves as watchdogs. Therefore, the content of their information is mostly political which enables citizens to make informed political decisions. They do not work for social change neither they formulate a public opinion, nor do they set the political agenda. They are also against the idea of supporting official policies for development and prosperity. This is the most observing and practicing milieu of western journalists.

Critical Change Agent is the third professional role/milieu of journalists. They somehow resemble detached watchdogs while being critical towards the business elite and government. However, their driving force is interventionism. They emphasize the importance of social change, influence public opinion, and set the political agenda as well. Mostly, they

motivate their audience for civic activity and political discussion. They do not agree with the idea that journalists must convey a positive image of political and business elites or leadership and they oppose providing public support to strengthen government policies. They are least oriented towards audience as they do not attract wide audience neither they provide interesting information.

The fourth and last professional milieu is of opportunist facilitator. They consider themselves as the constructive partners of government in political transformation and economic development. They mostly support official policies and convey a positive image of the ruling elite i.e., political and economic leadership. They do not consider themselves as detached observer neither they believe in the mobilization potential of journalism. As they are close with political powers, therefore, they do not willingly act as watchdogs of government.

Hanitzsch demonstrates that these four professional milieus exist everywhere in the world, but their density and distribution are uneven and totally depend upon the social and cultural perception of journalists' roles themselves. He learned that most of the opportunist facilitators come from developing, transitional and authoritarian countries (Hanitzsch, 2011).

The same model has been adopted and used by Edson C. Tandoc who cross-checked the role orientation and role performance of journalists on Twitter in the Philippines. He combined content analysis of tweets with a survey of journalists to question the assumption that the role conception of journalists is reflected in their journalistic outputs. The study considered

tweets as the personal outputs of the journalist's orientation of their role and assumed that these tweets should bear the impression of journalists' perception of their role. To verify this, the content of the tweets is analyzed which checked the impression of their role conception (Edson C. Tandoc, Cabañes, & Cayabyab, 2018).

In the current study, these four professional milieus have been adopted and are divided into content categories according to the operationalization done by Tandoc, afterward a coding sheet was developed based on this combined framework and the model presented by Hanitzsch and applied by Tandoc.
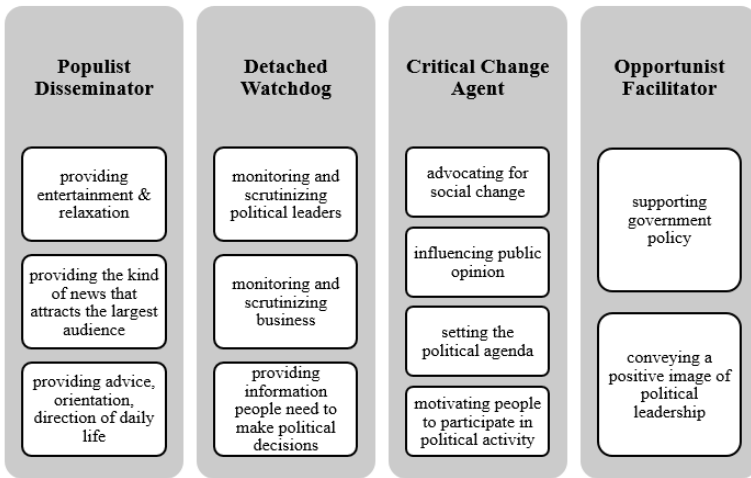
Populist Disseminator	Detached Watchdog	Critical Change Agent	Opportunist Facilitator
providing entertainment & relaxation	monitoring and scrutinizing political leaders	advocating for social change	supporting government policy
providing the kind of news that attracts the largest audience	monitoring and scrutinizing business	influencing public opinion	
providing advice, orientation, direction of daily life	providing information people need to make political decisions	setting the political agenda	conveying a positive image of political leadership
		motivating people to participate in political activity	

Figure 1: *Professional Milieus of Journalists' Model*
(Based on Thomas Hanitzsch and Edson C. Tandoc research)

Methodology

Quantitative Content Analysis is performed to analyze the tweets according to four professional roles defined by Thomas Hanitzsch i.e., a Populist Disseminator, a Detached Watchdog, a Critical Change Agent, and an Opportunist Facilitator. As the study is

exploratory in nature, therefore, the researcher is employing Content Analysis of the tweets posted by the key Pakistani journalists.

The universe of this study are Pakistani journalists who appear on prime time talk shows on Pakistani news channels and are using Twitter with a minimum of one million followership. The time period of the study is 06 months from January 2018 – to June 2018.

The researcher used the Purposive Sampling Technique. Tweets from the top 20 journalists who have a followership of more than one million, at least, are the sample of the study. Tweets are analyzed by using a constructed week sampling technique.

To identify the top journalists, the researcher selected 14 TV news channels initially including ARY News, Geo News, News One, 92 News, Dawn News, Neo News, Aaj News, Express News, Samaa TV, Abb Takk, Waqt News, Din News, Dunya News, Capital TV. A list of 76 journalists conducting prime time talk shows was developed. Afterward, top 20 journalists with more than 01 million followership were chosen: (In descending order starting from 4.91 million followers to 1.05 million followers as of July 26, 2018**)**

Table 1: *Followership of Journalists in Pakistan (2018)*

Journalists	Followership
Hamid Mir	4.91 million
Mubasher Lucman	4.5 million
Kashif Abbasi	2.95 million
Syed Talat Hussain	2.82 million
Najam Sethi	2.6 million
Waseem Badami	2.49million
Shahzeb Khanzada	2.39Million
Kamran Khan	2.28 million
Iqrar-ul-Hassan	2.27 million
Asma Shirazi	2.11 million
Nadeem Malik	2.10 million
Moeed Pirzada	1.6 million
Rauf Klasra	1.43 million
Rabia Anum	1.31 million
Meher Bukhari	1.2 million
Jasmeen Manzoor	1.2 million
Nasim Zehra	1.16 million
Saleem Safi	1.1 million
Mansoor Ali Khan	1.08 million
Maria Memon	1.05million

Tweets of these journalists were collected and extracted by using Twitter Advanced Filter Based Search. Quantitative Content Analysis was performed to analyze the tweets according to four professional roles defined by Thomas Hanitzsch i.e. a Populist Disseminator (PD), a Detached Watchdog (DW), a Critical Change Agent (CCA), and an Opportunist Facilitator (OF). The same categories (indicators) were adopted by Edson C. Tandoc Jr. in his research titled "Bridging the Gap: Journalists' role orientation and role performance on Twitter".

Populist Disseminator: This scale was based on three items: providing entertainment and relaxation; providing the kind of news that attracts the largest audience; and providing

advice, orientation, and direction for daily life. This scale is reliable, Cronbach's alpha = .68.

Detached Watchdog: This scale was based on three items: monitoring and scrutinizing political leaders; monitoring and scrutinizing business; and providing information people need to make political decisions. This scale is also reliable, Cronbach's alpha = .83.

Critical Change Agent: This scale was based on four items: advocating for social change; influencing public opinion; setting the political agenda; and motivating people to participate in political activity. This scale is reliable, Cronbach's alpha = .70.

Opportunist Facilitator: This scale was based on two items: supporting government policy and conveying a positive image of political leadership. This scale is reliable, Cronbach's alpha = .78.

Reliability and Inter-coder reliability

One of the vital steps in content analysis is the concept of reliability (Wimmer and Dominick). For the current study, inter-coder reliability is measured according to Holsti's formula (1969) i.e. R=2M/N1+N2 where R is reliability, M is the number of Coding decisions two coders agreed upon, N1 and N2 are individual coding decisions taken by the first and second coder respectively. Inter-coder reliability measured for current study is around 89%.

Results & Analysis

The researcher shares summary statistics of the four professional milieus and the content categories to answer all the RQs one by one.

Table 2: *Summary Statistics of Professional Roles*

	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Sum
PD	840	.525	1.132	0	9	441
DW	840	.667	1.669	0	20	560
CCA	840	.294	0.843	0	7	247
OF	840	.033	0.295	0	6	028

Where, PD = Populist Disseminator;
DW = Detached Watchdog;
CCA = Critical Change Agent;
OF = Opportunist Facilitator

Table 2 provides the summary statistics of various role performances. The count of sub-categories (12) for 7 days of 06 weeks and for all the 20 journalists is 840. The results show that the DW has the highest mean value of .667. This indicates that most of the journalists are playing the role of DW in Pakistan. Whereas, OF is the least played role by journalists in Pakistan. The maximum value of DW is 20 which also shows that some of the journalists have a high inclination towards DW that s/he sent out 20 tweets in a single day on the same issue.

To explain the content categories (indicators) of the major professional milieus, the researcher ran basic statistical analysis on all the 04 roles separately. To understand the orientation of journalists on a microscopic level. It also provides a sense of the kind of content which is disseminated through tweets.

Figure 2: *Journalists performing Detached Watchdog Role on Twitter(a)*

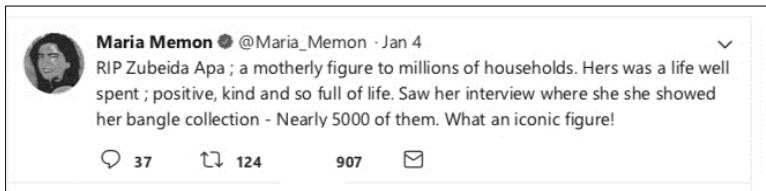**Figure 3:** *Journalists performing Opportunist Facilitator Role on Twitter*

Figure 4: *Journalists performing Populist Disseminator Role on Twitter*

Figure 5: *Journalists performing Critical Change Agent Role on Twitter*

Table 3 provides the summary statistics of sub-categories of Populist Disseminator role. According to these stats, journalists tweet about the kind of news that attracts the largest audience the most as its sum is 228 and the mean value is .271. PER (providing entertainment and relaxation) has the second-highest mean value out of these three i.e., .184 Therefore, the two most common topics covered under the PD role state that mostly journalists provide audience-centric news and post soft content like entertainment, culture, sports. From the operationalization of this sub-category, we can also say that these journalists have the temperament to share their personal lives, including casual pictures and activities, on Twitter as well.

Table 3: Summary Statistics of Populist Disseminator Categories

	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Sum
PER	840	.184	.559	0	6	155
NLA	840	.271	.770	0	7	228
AOD	840	.069	.342	0	4	058

Where, PER = providing entertainment and relaxation

NLA = Providing the kind of news that attracts the largest audience

AOD = Providing advice, orientation, the direction of daily life

Table 4 explains the summary statistics of the Detached Watchdog role. The Detached watchdog role is the most important role in the Pakistani context as this role has the highest mean value out of other professional milieus and it is performed by most of the journalists.

Table 4: Summary Statistics of Detached Watchdog Categories

	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Sum
MSP	840	.396	1.100	0	14	333
MSB	840	.020	0.149	0	02	017
IPD	840	.250	0.789	0	10	210

Where, MSP = Monitoring and scrutinizing political leaders

MSB = Monitoring and scrutinizing business

IPD = Providing information people need to make a political decision

These three sub-categories on the content of tweets show that most journalists monitor and scrutinize political leaders in their tweets as the MSP mean is 0.396 and out of 840 entries, 333 were related to MSP. Most of the journalists tweeting about MSP means that the content of the tweets is mostly related to criticism on government or political leaders, state institutions, or stakeholders, sometimes even questioning the military. Journalists also questioned the status quo in their tweets. Some tweets directly mention (tag) politicians and question or criticize them. But there are many tweets that do not necessarily contain any comment but simply report certain news, which still depicts the orientation of those journalists of what they consider important to be shared publicly through Twitter.

Figure 6: Journalists performing Detached Watchdog Role on Twitter(b)

However, MSB is one of the important categories, but it has one of the least mean values i.e., 0.020, out of all the 840 entries, only 17 tweets were related to this category. This is an interesting finding that not many journalists talk about economic or business issues or projects, which has certain implications for example being part of a private media they cannot question private enterprises and business conglomerates.

Table 5: Summary Statistics of Critical Change Agent Categories

	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Sum
ASC	840	0.071	0.387	0	06	60
IPO	840	0.135	0.493	0	05	114
SPA	840	0.076	0.389	0	07	64
MPPA	840	0.010	0.113	0	02	09

Where, ASC = Advocating for social change

IPO = Influencing Public opinion

SPA = Setting the political agenda

MPPA = Motivating people to participate in political activity

Table 5 shows the summary statistics of Critical Change Agent categories. Critical Change Agent role stands at number three out of four professional milieus. However, its further sub-categories explain that most of the content disseminated under this role was IPO, influencing public opinion with a mean value of 0.135 and 114 tweets covering the topic. It means the tweets gave messages about patriotism or nationalism. Some journalists conducted small polls to get public opinion about right or wrong values and ethics as well as about international activities. ASC and SPA have almost similar mean values i.e., 0.071 and 0.076, respectively. It reflects that 'setting the political agenda' and 'advocating for social change' have almost equal weightage in journalists' role orientation or perception. Interestingly, only 09 tweets were sent out on MPPA (Motivating people to participate in political activity) M=0.010 which shows that journalists do not openly invite, convince or influence the public to participate in political activities.

Figure 7*: Journalists performing Critical Change Agent Role on*

Twitter

Table 6: *Summary Statistics of Opportunist Facilitator Categories*

	Count	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Sum
SGP	840	0.002	0.048	0	01	02
PPL	840	0.030	0.283	0	06	26

Where, SGP = Supporting Government Policy

PPL = Conveying a positive image of Political leadership

Table 6 explains the summary statistics of Opportunist Facilitator categories. Opportunist facilitator is the least performed professional milieu by Pakistani journalists, it has only two further categories out of which PPL has 0.030 mean value and 26 tweets are in total sent out on this issue. The positive image of political leadership is conveyed by commenting about their dress code, or appreciating state institutions (military, judiciary, government) against corruption and political elite. However, out

of all the 12 sub-categories of the 04 professional milieus, SGP (supporting government policy) is the least talked about in tweets. It has M=0.002 and only 02 tweets are sent out which supported government policy. It depicts that in Pakistan, journalists do not take government or state institutions' side mostly but are more critical towards them.

Figure 8: *Journalists performing Opportunist Facilitator Role on Twitter*

Figure 9: *Journalists performing Opportunist Facilitator Role on Twitter*

Discussion & Implications on yhe Professional Milieus

Convergence of media has changed the dimensions and experiences of journalism culture all around the world. It has not only influenced mainstream media practices but has also cast an impression on the perception of journalism and journalistic practices as well. The current study sought to contribute to the changes taking place in the journalistic roles after convergence of media in this cyberworld. The extensive literature review led to the assumption that journalists' role conception manifests in their journalistic outputs, (hereinafter: role performance) (Donsbach, 2008), therefore this study is an attempt to predict the role conception of journalists by examining their role performance on Twitter.

As mentioned by Edson C. Tandoc et. al. (2018) the detached watchdog milieu prioritizes the detached observer role leading to the critical attitude of journalists towards the power elite. Populist disseminator milieu suggests that the journalists are more audience-centric, and they provide interesting information to seek appreciation and to attract the masses. The milieu of critical change agent also depicts a critical role of journalists

towards power elite but the difference between this role and detached watchdog is that it is a more active and involved role, journalists participate and take sides as well as journalists are not only critical to political leadership but also motivate public to be more active and participant for the collective goals. Lastly, the populist disseminator role is played by those journalists who consider themselves as the 'constructive partners of the government or state institutions.'

Hence, in the current study, the comparison of four professional milieus and the understanding of the content orientation of the tweets on their sub-categories, confirm that in Pakistan journalists perform detached observer role mostly. As the content of their tweets is more skeptical and critical towards government and business. In these tweets, business conglomerates and political elites are critically scrutinized. As these tweets are sent by journalists who consider themselves watchdogs, thus their content is more political which enables the public to make informed political decisions. Social change and setting the political agenda are not the priority of these tweets and they are mostly against development policies or projects initiated by governments.

The populist disseminator role is played as the second most prominent role amongst the journalists. Pakistani journalists perform this role by sending more audience-centric tweets. Their tweets provide information that a large audience can use, mostly consisting of entertainment or soft content. Journalists in this role do not perform active reporting and monitoring functions therefore, their tweets do not reflect that. Sometimes,

international issues are discussed and spoken about directly and do not necessarily involve national government or politicians in such tweets. If someone tweets about the deaths of prominent public figures, then those tweets are also marked under the same role.

Critical Change Agent professional milieu stands at the third in Pakistani context. These tweets have the content which is critical towards business elite and government just like detached watchdogs but interventionism is central to this role. The journalists performing this role through their tweets not only emphasize on the importance of social change but also set the political agenda and convince public to take part in political activities.

In Pakistan, journalists do not as such take part in the Opportunist Facilitator milieu. The study suggests that Pakistani journalists do not see themselves as a constructive partner of government in political and economic transformation. There are very few tweets found in this study that supported official policies or conveyed a positive image of the ruling elite and their development projects.

As we have established that the model adopted from Thomas Hanitzsch's work, for the current study, categorizes four major role orientations, known as professional milieus of journalists i.e. Populist Disseminator, Detached Watchdog, Critical Change Agent, and Opportunist Facilitator. After conducting the study in 18 different countries his study claimed that Detached watchdog milieu clearly dominates the developed or the western countries in the journalistic field however, several

developing, transitional, and authoritarian countries have Opportunist Facilitator professional milieu practiced. The current study, however, rejects the claim, considering Pakistan a developing country and after cross-checking the role performance of Pakistani journalists on Twitter, findings of the study show that Detached Watchdog professional milieu clearly dominates the journalistic practices in Pakistan.

As mostly they play the role of Detached watchdog, which shows that professional journalistic practices in Pakistan are similar to the western world, however, considering the societal differences, the journalistic culture can be different in western world and in Pakistan. This leads to another assumption, that the professional milieu practised in democratic republics is Detached Watchdog, the difference of economic stability (developed or developing countries) does not affect the practices of journalists, but it is probably the political system that influences the journalistic culture and practices. A similar analysis is that the journalists who act as Detached Watchdog have the tendency to act as Critical Change Agents and vice versa.

One important and distinct findings of the study are that the least used content category was 'Monitoring and Scrutinizing Business' which falls under the Detached watchdog milieu. It leads to two important impressions, firstly, the journalists and the organizations they belong to might have their economic interests that is why they do not talk about, in favour of or against, any business models working in the country or on any new economic project. Secondly, there is a possibility that journalists themselves do the gatekeeping of their own content on an individual level

and do not talk about the business and economic projects or commercialization in their personal tweets even. This finding helps infer that the gatekeeping cultures and factors are changing in cyberworld or social media. This is important to mention that Pakistan and China are working on China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the project has global economic importance, but in the span of these six months, no single tweet was sent out on CPEC (its prospects or controversies) by any top 20 journalists of the country who have the most followership. Some other infrastructure projects initiated by the ruling government of that time like Orange Train and Metro Bus projects are also not discussed anywhere. No discussion or tweet was sent out related to any business or multinational industry either. It requires a completely different study to find the reasons of this significant topic highlighted in the current research.

Another important trend observed during the study is the change in the journalistic practices of engaging directly with the audience. In past, on mainstream media, journalists were considered out of reach. It is found out in the current research those Pakistani journalists not only use Twitter to disseminate news but also engage with common masses by replying to their posts. Some journalists including, Rauf Klasra, Rabia Anum and Meher Bukhari engage with their followers extensively.

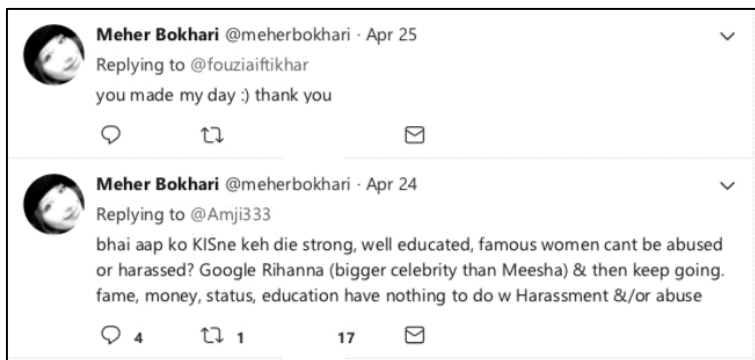*Figure 10: Journalists Engaging with Common Masses on Twitter*

Figure 11: Journalists Engaging with Common Masses on Twitter

Another important trend found is that Pakistani journalists strongly stick with the genre of their programs on electronic media and do not talk about the general public and social issues in their tweets. Most of the topics covered are in relation and accordance with their talk shows on electronic media, e.g.,

journalists having political talk shows, will mostly tweet about political issues. Iqrar-ul-Hasan is one journalist who predominantly played the role of Critical Change Agent, one reason is the hosts a show titled, *Sar e Aam*, which is directly related to social issues of the common masses. Najam Sethi, though tweeted very less, mostly tweeted about PSL and cricket. Likewise, Hamid Mir, Nasim Zehra, Meher Bukhari and others tweeted about political issues as their programs are political talk shows.
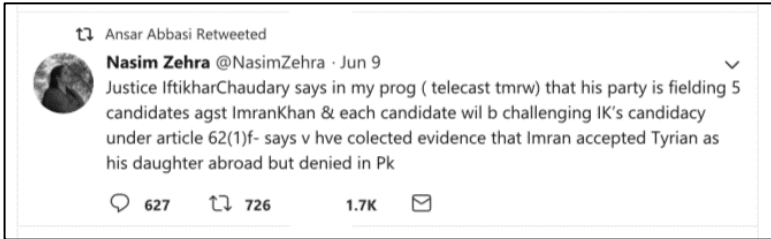

Figure 12: *Journalists Tweeting in relation with their Talk Show Genre (Nasim Zehra as DW)*
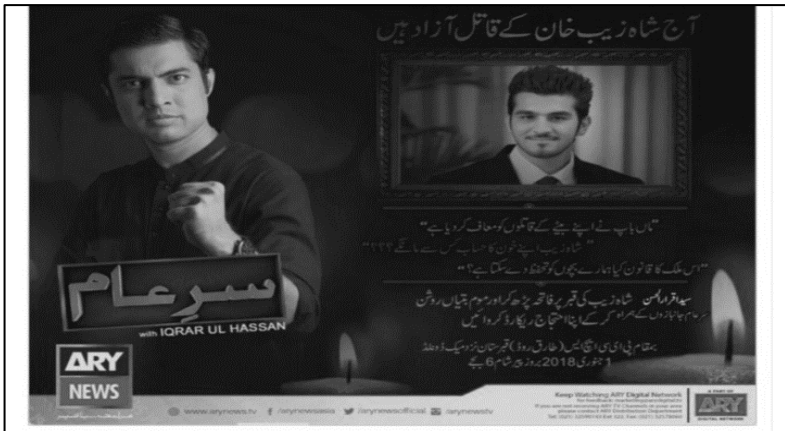

Figure 13: *Journalists Tweeting in relation with their Talk Show Genre (Iqrar-ul-Hasan as CCA)*

Figure 14: Journalists Tweeting in relation with their Talk Show Genre (Najam Sethi in February as PD)

This also lends support to the argument that role performed or manifested, bears the imprint of the role conception or perception. It is the similar argument given by Hanitzsch and Vos (2017) and is used in theoretical framework in the current study. This study helped predicting the cognitive roles of journalists as practised role performance in terms of Twitter.

Limitations & Scope

In continuing the conversation around professional milieus and journalistic roles, this study's findings must be understood in the context of various limitations. The content analysis categories were limited to the operationalization of the role typology we adapted from Hanitzsch model. Many other categories could be added considering the geographical atmosphere of Pakistani journalistic culture; thus, the study comes at the expense of other textual indicators of different role performances.

Secondly, the study covers the role performance of journalists on Twitter and does not verify journalists' role orientation by inquiring them through surveys or interviews. In future studies, role conception or orientation can be inquired to

cross-examine if journalists perform their role in line with what and how they perceive their role.

Despite these limitations, the study exhibits how Pakistani journalists are using Twitter and how they are normalizing it with their previous and existing professional norms, practices, and roles and how it is changing those professional norms and practices. This time is really exciting to be a journalist because it challenges existing methods to do their jobs and brings excitement to work in new media which is developing at an accelerated rate. The study of these new challenges and concerns helps journalists to perform according to the evolving role of journalism in this fast-changing world of social media.

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