

# Watching the Watchdog:

## How Pakistan is Front Paged and Headlined?

A report on trends in Pakistani media

September / October, 2005

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### Empowering the individual

Center for Civic Education-Pakistan (CCE) is a nonprofit organization that functions as an independent research, civic education, training and advocacy body. The CCE provokes creative ways of thinking and promotes tolerance for dissenting viewpoints to tackle the problems emanating from the transformation in the Pakistani society and its changing norms and values. The mission of the Center for Civic Education Pakistan is to empower the individual by promoting values of responsible citizenship and principles of democracy in Pakistan.

The main aim of the CCE is to cultivate and nurture civic culture, civic courage and values of freedom, tolerance, peace, rule of law and democracy to strengthen civil society. For this the CCE conducts civic education, facilitates democratic dialogue, arranges trainings, and runs advocacy campaigns besides undertaking research on issues that shape our social, political and economic future. The CCE critically examines existing socio-economic policies and suggests alternatives besides monitoring democratic developments to make Pakistani democracy inclusive and meaningful.

In its work the CCE targets a cross section of society particularly the politicians, the parliamentarians, lawyers, doctors, engineers, entrepreneurs, industrialists, businessmen, agriculturists, academia, intellectuals, journalists, youth, students, women, minorities and civic activists to promote active citizenship with realization of civic and economic rights.

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HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED

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September-October, 2005

Centre for Civic Education Pakistan  
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HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED

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Prologue:

Watching the watchdog:

The officials of state-run Pakistan Television Corporation, Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, two Private Television Channels (*GEO and Hum TV*) and one FM radio (*FM-100*) along with representatives of three major political parties (*Pakistan Muslim League, Pakistan Peoples Party and Muttahida Qaumi Movement*) came up with an interesting understanding to jot down guidelines for Pakistani media for election coverage just before the Local Elections 2005.

The effort was made by the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association and representatives of the Ministry of Information, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) and Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) also participated in the deliberations. The out come of this process was exactly what Centre for Civic Education Pakistan (CCEP) is trying to establish through this Media Monitoring Exercise, supported by European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). Therefore the spirit of this effort was reiterated by the CCEP at a seminar on ‘Role of Media in Democratic and Electoral Processes’ in November 2005.

Nevertheless we are constrained to say that the findings of this Media Monitoring Exercise establish that at least two television channels that inked these guidelines forgot to adhere to them in their coverage of Local Elections 2005. We honestly feel that this incremental achievement should not die in wilderness and hope that the emerging culture of ‘Watching the Watchdog’ will yield better results when the nation will have next general elections due in 2007. We are reproducing these guidelines in this report for future reference and a reminder. We also urge the political parties and the civil society groups to take lead in initiating a meaningful debate on these guidelines and contribute towards realizing them.

**Guidelines for Pakistani media for election coverage**

1. Balance in election broadcasting for news and current affairs requires Radio and TV stations to apply equitable focus to the campaigns of all political parties. In this context “equitable” means sharing time between parties on the basis of the following formula:

- (i) Proportionate to the number of votes received at the previous election by each party
- (ii) Including a factor for the number of candidates being fielded by each party

2. **Extent of coverage :**

**News:** Start coverage as soon as the date of the election is announced and increase airtime as election nears.

**Current Affairs:** Produce regular series of dedicated programs at fixed times focusing on voter education covering the details of the electoral process and the rights all voters including women and other disadvantaged groups have.

Public or private entertainment channels must also contribute to Voter Education. Young voters should be encouraged to understand the purpose, importance and process of elections. This can be done with the use of short messages between the music that will explain the reasons for voting and the importance of participation.

3. **The News and Current Affairs:** Editors set up an election coverage cell and cover news down to district level, with equitable allocation of time. This unit should comprise persons who are generally impartial and objective.
4. Airing of official news should be restricted to the reporting of the event itself and not include electioneering material. News and comments must be clearly differentiated.
5. The source of opinion polls should be identified. Only the results of entirely credible polls should be quoted. The broadcasting of the results of any opinion poll must be treated with the utmost caution.
6. The election cell should allocate resources equitably for the coverage of all parties’ campaigns.
7. The State media should provide free air time to contesting parties on the following basis:
  - (a) All registered parties that have fielded candidates should be offered 5 minutes prime time (6 pm-11 pm) on a one-time basis with the following ground rules
    - (i) This must be an outside studio recording or a self-produced video or sound recording.
    - (ii) Such material must comply with the Election Law.
    - (iii) There must be no editorial control beyond confirming the above section (ii) and that the duration is not in excess of that allocated.
    - (iv) There must be signed agreement for the delivery date of the completed material for broadcast.
  - (b) 50 minute of recorded programs should be offered to major political parties after the date of the scrutiny of nomination papers on an equitable basis to be agreed between the parties and the broadcasters.

The parties should be fielding candidates in more than one province. Regional parties should be accommodated on a regional basis.

The party head or nominee should participate in each program.



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Each time allowance should include a section concerning the party's manifesto followed by Question and Answer.

All programs will be presented by professional journalists. These programs will be pre-recorded in the broadcasting station without any editing except with the agreement of the party concerned. Programs will not be broadcasted that contain material that violates Election Law.

**8. Party advertising :-**

- i. Must be at fully-publicized, open market rates.
- ii. On State media no party can purchase all the available time.
- iii. The broadcaster has the right to refuse government advertisements that contain electioneering material.
- iv. Private media must abide by PEMRA law boundaries of "balance" in this respect.
- v. Advertisement slots must be made available on a first come first served basis.
- vi. No party can buy more than 15 minutes from any 24 hour advertising cycle.
- vii. No party may have more than 2 x 30 second slots in prime time i.e. 6 pm to 11 pm.
- viii. All election advertisements must be stopped 48 hours before polling day.
- ix. As with Free air time, ads will be refused if they contain content contrary to Election law.

**9. Training in the skills of election coverage. It is the responsibility of each organization to train their broadcasters to:**

- be honest,
- be unbiased
- be impartial
- to report without fear or favour
- to base his/her report on facts
- to base his/ her report on professionalism

10. Self-censorship (omitting or distorting facts because of fear of punishment) must be discouraged by management by providing legal, financial, emotional and all other support to its journalists.
11. Outside pressure to control the editorial content must be resisted and recorded by management and the professional unions and associations.
12. Apart from "free air time", no candidate or party can claim a particular journalist to conduct an interview.
13. Succumbing to the temptation to accept a favour from anyone in return for favourable reporting is a grave violation of professional ethics and subject to disciplinary action.
14. No journalist should identify his or her political preference. For independent political commentators, this can depend on the issues under debate.
15. Journalists should not be allowed to appear in vision or voice on any party-sponsored program or advertisement.

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**16. Media monitoring and public dealing:**

Media houses should hold regular meetings with political parties and civil society groups for feedback on their election coverage. Recognized media monitoring institution should be facilitated in their work by broadcasters whenever possible. Media bodies should designate and publicize persons and procedure to receive and redress complaints from political parties on election coverage. All such complaints must be addressed on a daily basis throughout the official campaign period. All unresolved complaints must be referred to the Election Commission of Pakistan for prompt adjudication.

**17. Right of Reply:**

Any party or candidate has the right of reply to unsubstantiated allegations aired against them. Such a reply must be given reasonably proportionate prominence and be restricted to the nature and scope of the original allegation.

The deficit of these guidelines is that they cover the electronic media outlets only. However, the positive aspect is that the Pakistan Television whose foundation documents clearly define its mandate, "to carry out instructions of the Government of Pakistan with regard to general pattern or policies of programmes, announcements and news etc." has also signed it. The CCEP strongly advocates that the newly created Pakistan Broadcasters Association of private television channels and Association of Independent Radios (AIR) should own and facilitate enforcement of this document. For the public service broadcasters the CCEP suggests to devise some mechanism to report back to the Parliament on its implementation. Traditionally, the Election Commission of Pakistan issues a Code of Conduct for Public Service Broadcasters at the time of general elections. In future the scope of such code could be expanded along with evolving some mechanism to monitor its implementation in an effective manner.

As far as the print media is concerned All Pakistan Newspapers Society (APNS) and Council of Pakistan Newspapers Editors (CPNE) should also come forward and evolve some agreeable parameters in consultation with mainstream political actors. Concerned civil society groups should also come forward to monitor the media contents in the light of these guidelines and relevant codes of ethics and conduct. We are optimistic that this kind of engagement and civic vigilance will definitely help strengthen Pakistani democracy.



## Chapter 1 Methodology for Media Monitoring:

This is the second in the series of reports aimed at monitoring and evaluation of news content on selected electronic and print media outlets of Pakistan. The September 2005 report, like the previous one, attempts to identify strengths and weaknesses of the national media in playing its due role.

The report relates to a period that coincided with campaign for District, Tehsil Town and City *Nazims* (Mayors) throughout the country. This media monitoring exercise continues to focus on priorities of the news media outlets vis-à-vis common man's issues. During September 2005 as well the common man continued to find itself lost on the front pages and headlines particularly amid powerful publicity battles between the candidates of *Nazims* supported by national political parties, both in government and opposition.

The September 2005 report also aimed at finding out as to what extent the Pakistani media was able to strengthen democratic institutions by provoking people into genuine thinking and action on national issues. And, whether the national media's editorial priorities genuinely reflected and helped create awareness of real problems being faced by the citizens and the society?

This, we must remember, was private broadcasters' first ever local body election coverage. The findings of this report can help stimulate a healthy public debate on the role of common citizens in setting news media's agenda particularly the all powerful public service broadcaster like Pakistan Television.

### Why print and broadcast media?

The print media sample for September 2005 was six national newspapers. The print media is selected because it continues to be an important independent source of information and contributes significantly in formulating public opinion. The broadcast sector, as we know, has until recently been under the state control. Even though the newspapers cannot compete with the broadcast medium due to low national literacy rate, the freedom of press had

### Research sample:

The research sample includes a total of six English / Urdu language national newspapers for the month of September 2005. Namely: Dawn (Islamabad), The News (Islamabad), and Daily Times (Lahore) in English and Jang (Karachi), Nawa-e-Waqt (Islamabad) and Khabrain (Lahore) in Urdu. Similarly three public / private sector national television channels namely, Pakistan Television, GEO and ARY One World were selected for the monitoring. On the basis of experiences from August, 2005 media monitoring exercise, in terms of resources and skill constraints, the sample size for September 2005 was reduced to a manageable size.

### Print media content sample

#### 1. *Front Page:*

The front page monitoring involved counting frequency of appearance of the selected subjects and their clusters on the front page of each newspaper to get an idea who gets what and how many times. Apart from the news, pictures, occasional comments, and news sources (news agency, reporter or official release) were also counted to see if there was a pattern in some newspapers determining their public interest news agenda in a particular way under particular circumstances. Here each selected cluster or the issue has been measured in terms of frequency of appearance either as normal news or a headline on the front page. Needless to say that there may be some publications which rely more on news wire services, and therefore, have little professional or editorial judgment of their own to their front pages being monitored.

#### 2. *Editorial:*

The editorial, considered as a mirror to a newspaper's policy, was examined to see what particular issue got how much and how frequently the newspaper's editorial attention. Furthermore, how many of the editorials of a newspaper, may be supportive, critical or balanced from an official perspective. This again is to see if a particular newspaper has a pattern in determining its policies towards government actions that have far reaching impact on public interest issues. Since the editorials get maximum attention of the state authorities, the highlighting of public interest issues would at times mean provoking the authorities into quick action on particular public interest issues.

#### 3. *Opinions on editorial pages (columnists):*

The newspapers prominently publish disclaimers about the views published on Op-Ed pages. The very fact of the editorial prerogative to finally select and edit the articles for the pages gives a newspaper some leverage in ensuring observance of editorial policies, if any. Here again frequency of debate on select public interest issues was monitored as also the question of how many articles were critical, supportive or balanced from an official perspective.

#### 4. *Letters to Editors:*

The monitoring exercise analyzed selected newspapers' Letters to the Editor columns. Answering this question helped us, to some extent, in ascertaining the citizens' role or say in media bodies' agenda setting. Given an opportunity which issues and concerns citizens' would like to highlight in media space. Disagreement with the



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editorial policies of a newspaper should not, ideally speaking, become a disqualification, for a letter to the editor or an opinion piece, for publication. If a newspaper publishes a letter from its readers, which opposes its editorial policy or contents of an article published on editorial page or news, it only shows the courage of the newspaper to accommodate the right to dissent. Such a policy helps generate healthy debate on important national issues, an essential to the democratic process.

For monitoring purposes each of the letters to the editor, of the selected newspapers have been marked either as Editorial Support (ES) and Editorial Disagreement (ED). Thereafter number of such letters have been counted to see as to which newspaper accommodates how much of the people's right to disagree and more importantly if there was a pattern of curbing dissent.

**Broadcast media sample?**

The news broadcast organizations selected for this media monitoring project include three national TV channels. These include the all powerful state-run Pakistan Television which has a country-wide reach through its terrestrial monopoly and the urban-centered, and satellite-based national private TV channels namely GEO and ARY One World. The electronic channels selected for the exercise represent main stream information networks both public and private.

The sample as seen in the table shows a few days missing from the monitoring period. This was either due to disruption of cable TV services to the monitoring team or some other technical difficulties on a particular day. Some margin of error therefore is duly acknowledged apart from the fact of subjective biases of the monitors who were however reasonably briefed about the activity.

**Broadcast media content sample**

The monitoring of television channels included two main programme sections:

**1. TV News Headlines:**

The 9:00 o'clock news culture, very well embedded in Pakistani society courtesy the monopoly of Pakistan Television. Today we are living with 24-hour television but the 9:00 o'clock news still enjoys special significance. We privileged the Prime Time news bulletins of selected TV channels for monitoring to calculate the time and frequency accorded to select public interest issues by these channels. This would only reflect the channels' priorities vis-à-vis public interest issues especially in the headlines which have a dramatic affect attached to it due to its presentation. The main news items compete with each other on different editorial grounds to be in the bulletin and the competition to be in the headlines or to be the top headline is even tougher.

**2. Main news bulletins:**

In the detailed post-headline news bulletins the focus of monitoring was to measure the duration given to the select public interest issues. This becomes even more important given the fact that the television is an important source of information in a country with low literacy rate. The frequency and duration of news items relating to selected public interest issues would help the media think about the need for adopting international best practices in dealing with similar circumstances.

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**3. Talk shows:**

The talk shows' focus of monitoring is again on the number of times the selected public interest issues were discussed. It may be noted that the structure of talk shows greatly differ from each other and thus even when a talk shows only involves interaction on phone line we consider the guests on phone as participants. Another interesting thing monitored in the TV talk shows is the categories of guests that have been invited, like how many politicians, diplomats, academicians, media persons, retired army officers etc. were invited by a TV channel and if that channel can make its talk shows more broad-based and pluralistic.

**Research Methodology:**

It has always been difficult to establish a direct link between particular content of news media and the specific election results of the country. This was because of lack of media monitoring in the past and also lack of media's relevance to the electoral process and vice versa. This study aims making the media relevant to democratic process in Pakistan.

The study will be focusing on measuring both quantitative i.e. who got how much? and qualitatively i.e. issues and institutions versus personalities aspects of available information in national and regional electronic and print media. For this purpose certain public interest issues relating to individuals, institutions and social factors have been determined and defined to see which one of these got how much of representation in the national media. The issues defined have also been divided into different cluster groups along with the assumptions attached to these.

A list of issues, their codes, cluster groups and parameters (coordinates/definition) is annexed at the end of this chapter before the analysis report.

**Cluster groups, assumption and indicators:**

**1. Political parties :**

**Assumption:** To see how much of space and importance media gives to the affairs of country's political parties, which are institutional bases of a democratic set up, and in what manner?

**Indicators:** All political parties represented in the current parliament.

**2. Protocol personalities:**

**Assumption:** The national media in general and state media in particular focuses more on personalities and their statements than the institutions and real issues through investigative journalism.

**Indicator:** The President, the Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers, and Ministers.

**3. Institutions:**

**Assumption:** The media must educate the people about institutions and issues rather than promoting personality cults, which negate the very process of democracy. There are many institutions that contribute in nation's democratic experience and ensure good governance and could easily be accommodated in scheme of such study. However keeping in view the on going local elections only two institutions with direct relevance were selected.



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**Indicator:** For the purpose of monitoring, Court of Law is the only institution monitored on newspapers front page whereas institutions, like the Parliament, overlap with indicators of political parties and personalities.

4. **Local Election campaigns:**

**Assumption:** The press must proactively inform and educate the people about the election issues and electoral process and facilitate healthy debate to develop informed citizenry and not just who said what. Did the press do it?

**Indicator:** News reports about local body election campaigns to involve the people in the electoral debate. These include reports about corner meetings and statements by local election candidates, their press releases, interviews of Nazims and Naib Nazims and advertisements of local election candidates.

5. **Promoting violation of EC Code of Conduct:**

**Assumption:** The Election Commission of Pakistan announced a Code of Conduct for Local Election-2005. The media consciously or subconsciously promoted illegal electoral practices without pointing out to the illegality and gives an impression to the viewer that such illegalities are too normal to be debated. By doing so the press becomes a party to the illegality.

**Indicators:** TV channels not pointing out to illegalities of electoral campaigns while showing, for instance, local body candidates pledging allegiance in public meetings to some political party and using party forum for the local elections, which are a non-party based. Similarly promoting election code violation also means promoting activities of ministers using official resources to support their favorite local body candidates without pointing out the fact that they could not use official sources to support a candidate as per election code. (See, *Election Code in annexure*)

6. **Reporting violation of EC code**

**Assumption:** Violation of election code is a story to build a sense of rule of law in the society.

**Indicator:** Reports that exclusively focused on such illegal electoral practices and telling the people how law abiding or otherwise their local body representatives may or may not be, after they get elected.

7. **Social issues**

**Assumption:** Social issues always get neglected on the front pages of the press if these are not taken up by important personalities through statements only. These issues are usually ignored or not given proper space in news in order to accommodate some political statements or advertisements. The list of selected issues is purely a subjective choice of the CCE-Pakistan with the consideration that they should figure prominently during election. Many other issues like economy, development initiatives and freedom of expression etc could be included in such studies.

**Indicators:** Health, Environment, Education, Gender, and Human Rights

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8. **Others:**

These are the categories of issues which do not find mention in the list of indicators, issues like foreign policy matters and international happenings etc.

**Codifying issues, scale of measurement and instructions for monitors**

Monitors needed to know how and what to look for while examining news media space in newspapers and TV channels. They were provided with a list of cluster groups, the issues there-under along with their short names (codes) and formatted survey forms both for newspapers and TV channels. The monitor was given multiple choice options for defining a news item as per selected subjects.

For example, one of the issues to be monitored was the amount of space or coverage provided by a newspaper or TV channel to the Local Election Campaign cluster. This issue was codified as LEC. The monitor for the newspaper after monitoring news will first refer to definition of local election campaign, according to which it includes reports about corner meetings and statements by local election candidates, their press releases, interviews of Nazims and Naib Nazims and advertisements of local election candidates. The monitor will then write one-sentence news about such an issue in the given space in the survey form, then in front of it mark it as LEC. If he thinks that the news item also contained a statement by the President then he may also mark it as PR (a code for the President) and hence the multiple choice. Thereafter the monitor, for a newspaper, will record the frequency and measure the space in percentage (of the whole front page) given to this subject and for TV, the monitor will record time. Another scale would be the number of news items both in newspapers and TV on a particular subject that has been codified.

The multiple choices do make the life difficult for the analyst who has to calculate the choices in time and space. However from the view point of the impact of a news item with multiple entities even duplicate calculation wouldn't do much harm to final analysis. We may call this a 'margin of error'. We must remember that life offers no absolutes and hence multiple-choice is a way of life.

**CCE-Pakistan's frame of reference:**

1. Democracy and functional representative institutions at local, provincial and national level are the only best hope for good governance and viable future.
2. Education, economy, health, environment, gender, human rights and rule of law are major issues confronting the nation and these issues should figure in every civic and electoral campaign.

In the nutshell, education, health, environment, human rights and rule of law are the major issues confronting the nation and these issues should figure in every civic and electoral campaign. Basically, democracy and functional representative institutions at local, provincial and national levels are the only hope for good governance and accountability and they too deserve some serious attention by media. Therefore any debate in media is expected to focus on democratic institutions, social issues and electoral process rather than publicity and propaganda of a few personalities.



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At the analysis stage these codes were further classified into Interest Groups clusters as following:

**Interest Group (IG) clusters and codes:**

- |    |                                |  |
|----|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. | Political Parties              | (party names abbreviations-list annexed) |
| 2. | Protocol personalities         | (PR, PM, GOV, MIN, CM)                   |
| 3. | Institutions-Courts            | (CT)                                     |
| 4. | Local Election Campaigns       | (LEC)                                    |
| 5. | Election Commission            | (EC)                                     |
| 6. | Promoting Violation of EC Code | (PVC)                                    |
| 7. | Reporting Violation of EC Code | (RVC)                                    |
| 8. | Social issues                  | (HEA, EDU, HR, GI, ENV)                  |
| 9. | Others                         | (O)                                      |

- Political parties cluster includes all parties represented in the parliament.
- Protocol personalities cluster includes; the President (PR), the Prime Minister (PM), Ministers (MIN), Governors (GOV) and Chief Ministers (CM).
- For Institutions cluster only Courts have been included to see how much of space is given by the TV channels to the rights based issues emanating from courts of laws.
- LEC includes coverage of local elections and the candidates.
- The EC cluster included only the Election Commission to see how much priority TV channels gave to Election Commission.
- The PVC cluster means subconscious promotion and publicity of election code violations as a way of life through TV programmes.
- RVC cluster is opposite to it where a TV channel investigates and reports such violations.
- Social issues include Health (HEA), Education (EDU), Human Rights (HR), Gender Issues (GI) and Environment (ENV).
- The Other (O) issues are those which have not been selected as IG under a deliberate decision on frame of reference by the CCE but for the purpose of monitoring exercise they have been clustered and calculated in terms of time they occupy at the cost of select IGs.

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**Codes Card for Monitors**

- |   |   |       |
|---|---|-------|
| <b>1. DEMOCRACY:</b>  |   |       |
| <b>a. Local Elections:</b>  |   |       |
| i. Local Elections Campaigns                                      | - | LEC   |
| ii. Election Commission   | - | EC    |
| <b>b. Political Parties</b>                                       |   |       |
| <i>(Those with representation at National / Provincial level)</i> |   |       |
| a. Pakistan Peoples Party – Parliamentarians                      | - | PPPP  |
| b. Pakistan Peoples Party - Sherpao                               | - | PPPS  |
| c. Pakistan Muslim League   | - | PML   |
| d. Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz                                 | - | PMLN  |
| e. Pakistan Muslim League – Functional                            | - | PMLF  |
| f. Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal  | - | MMA   |
| g. Muttahida Qaumi Movement                                       | - | MQM   |
| h. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf                                       | - | PTI   |
| i. Awami National Party   | - | ANP   |
| j. Jamhuri Watan Party  | - | JWP   |
| k. Balochistan National party                                     | - | BNP   |
| l. Pashtumkhva Mili Awami Party                                   | - | PKMAP |
| m. National Party   | - | NP    |
| n. Alliance for Restoration of Democracy                          | - | ARD   |
| <b>c. Government:</b>   |   |       |
| a. The president  | - | PR    |
| b. The prime minister   | - | PM    |
| c. Governors  | - | GOV   |
| d. Chief Ministers  | - | CM    |
| e. Ministers  | - | MIN   |
| <b>2. GOVERNANCE:</b>   |   |       |
| a. Promoting Violation of Code                                    | - | PVC   |
| b. Reporting Violation of Code                                    | - | RVC   |
| c. Performance of Previous  |   |       |
| i. Promotional Performance Report                                 | - | PPR   |
| ii. Balanced Performance Report                                   | - | BPR   |
| iii. Critical Performance Report                                  | - | CPR   |
| <b>3. SOCIAL SECTOR:</b>  |   |       |
| a. Education  | - | EDU   |
| b. Health   | - | HEA   |
| c. Environment  | - | ENV   |
| d. Human Rights   | - | HR    |
| e. Gender Issues  | - | GI    |
| <b>4. COURTS</b>  | - | CT    |
| <b>5. NEWS SOURCES:</b>   |   |       |
| a. Official Release   | - | OR    |
| b. Staff Reporter   | - | SR    |
| c. News Agency  | - | NA    |
| <b>6. OTHERS</b>  | - | O     |



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**Codes Coordinates:**

1. **Local Elections Campaign (LEC):**  
*Coverage of Local Government Candidates  
 Statements / Speakers / PRs / Pics / Interviews of Nazims & others  
 Adverts of Local Government Candidates.*
2. **Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP):**  
*Statements / PRs / Pics / Interviews / Orders etc.  
 Party Names / Flags / Rallies / Meetings*
3. **Political Parties (PP):**  
*Party Leaders / Statements / Pics / Interviews / Debates*
4. **The President (PR):**  
*Handouts / Statements / Interview / Press Conference / Meetings / Pics / Public Meetings*

**Governors, Chief Ministers and Ministers      SAME AS ABOVE**
5. **Code of Conduct**  
*PVC      -      Promoting Violation of Codes  
 RVC      -      Reporting Violation of Code*
6. **Education (EDU):**  
*Budget / Grants / Pics / Teachers / Students / Fee Structure / Education Standard*
7. **Health (HEA):**  
*Budget / Hospitals / Medicines / Doctors / Health Policies / patients*
8. **Environment (ENV):**  
*Budget / Policies / Pollution / Laws*
9. **Human Rights (HR):**  
*Crimes & rape / Justice / Children / Poverty / Freedom of Expression / Police / Judiciary*
10. **Gender Issues (GI):**  
*Women in Parties / Debate on Issues / Women Employment / Discrimination*

HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED

**Guidelines for Monitors:**

- **“Social Indicators”** stands for a special report by the media itself and not based on the coverage of a protocol personalities.
- A report on government policies, not comprising of the views or Public and Opposition shall be marked as **“Biased Frame”**.
- **“PPR”** stands for a report prepared by media based on its own views and not the interviews or statements by the Government Officials or Ministers.
- The Social Welfare activities of the president and the prime minister during the coverage given in newspapers or on State run media shall not be included in the Performance Report.
- The Ministers and Advisors shall be marked as **“Ministers” (MIN)**.
- The Ministers affiliated with any Political Party shall be marked as **“MIN”**, whereas, the coverage to the Chief Minister NWFP (on State run Media only) shall be marked as **“CM” and “MMA”**.
- The coverage given to the Chief Minister NWFP (on Private Media) shall be codified as **“CM”**; however, if the news item relates to MMA, then it shall also be marked as **“CM” and “MMA”**.
- The news coverage to Hasba Bill, if relates to MMA, shall be marked as **“MMA”** else it shall be codified as **“Others” (O)**.
- The coverage given to prominent political actors shall be marked in affiliation to their respective political party.
- The newspaper Editorials shall be marked as **“Supportive, Critical or Balanced”** from the government perspective.
- Critics on the government or its policies by the ruling PML shall be marked as **“Critical”**.
- Any news item, editorial or report that violates the Election Code of Conduct in any shape, and is being printed or telecasted by the media without highlighting such violation shall be codified as **“Promoting Violation of Code” (PVC)**.
- Any news item, editorial or report that violates the Election Code of Conduct in any shape, and such a violation is highlighted by the media, shall be codified as **“Reporting Violation of Code” (RVC)**.
- A news item/report comprising of prominent government officials or stake holders shall not be codified under Social Indicators.
- The coverage given to a political actor also bearing social weight-age shall be marked according to the news source. For example: A political party rally shall be marked with the respective party code, and, the news relating to social welfare activities shall be marked under the Social Indicators.
- The Ministers of State shall be codified under **“Ministers” (MIN)**.
- **“Balanced Frame”** refers to the opinion of both parties and both sides in a news or discussion.
- The coverage given to the Codified personalities on electronic media shall be calculated separately as **“Narrative Duration”** and **“Visual Duration”**.
- The development packages announced by the Codified personalities during election campaigns shall be marked as **“PVC”**; however the news item may not contain any other violation of the Election Code of Conduct.
- The Ministers who are also party bearers shall be codified under political party codes if they are attending party meeting, however they shall be marked as **“MIN”** if the news related to official meetings.
- All selected TV programmes shall be monitored, however the programmes comprising of the Codified personalities or issues shall be calculated in terms of duration and codes.
- The Column No. 3 of the Electronic Media Monitoring Form shall be filled in accordance with the **“Guest Intro List”**.
- The opening frame shall be codified as:
  - **Historic** for past or background of the issue.
  - **Current** for the present nature of the issue.
  - **Futuristic** for the future prospects of the issue under discussion.



## Chapter 2 Electronic media

### TV Monitoring

TV monitoring sample was taken from national spectrum which included the terrestrial state-run Pakistan Television with a nation-wide audience and two private satellite-based and urban-centered cable TV channels GEO and ARY One World. The monitored programmes included Prime Time main news bulletins and talk shows. The period of monitoring was 01-30 September, 2005 during which time only a few of the daily samples were missed due to technical reasons like cable interruptions.

### Aim of monitoring TV channels:

The monitoring exercise was undertaken at the time when the Local Bodies Elections had just been concluded at Union Council level and elections for Nazims and Naib Nazims for Districts, Towns and Tehsils got under way. The exercise focused on calculating the duration and frequency of news reporting and discussion in selected TV programmes of different Interest Groups (IGs) during the time. This would basically give us an idea of how professional and pluralistic our TV media was during an election period and if the TV media remained free, fair and public interest oriented during the electoral process.

### How TV monitors acted:

As evident from above, these Interest Group clusters have been sub-divided into actual entities and both have been codified and abbreviated to facilitate the monitors. The monitors were provided with specially formatted survey forms. They would watch a news item or a talk show, outline the news or theme of talk show on the form, put an IG code or codes in front of the news or talk show and then calculate its duration and frequency. Some news items could attract more than one code resulting into multiple-choice system breaching the ideal percentage scale. But this does not disturb our approach of finding out the frequency and duration of IGs occupying the media space. Their one time appearance can therefore have multiple characteristic that should not be overlooked. Again there were headlines that did not relate in any way to select IGs and these were marked as "O" and excluded from monitoring.

### Questions answered:

In accordance with the assumptions and considerations of the CCE-Pakistan explained in the research methodology chapter, the following questions have been designed to be answered to reach a reasonable conclusion:

1. Which IGs, how many times, dominated any of TV news headlines?
2. How many times and which IGs hit the first TV headline?
3. How much time was given to IGs in main body of TV news?
4. How many times IGs were debated in TV talk shows?
5. What and how political and professional groups were represented in talk shows?

### Which IGs, how many times, dominated any of TV news headlines?

For the TV viewers, headlines have a special cumulative effect on their perception and thinking. These short sentence news dramatized with music create a sense of urgency and immediacy among viewers about whatever is being said. The headlines therefore have a subtle influence, right or wrong, over the thought agenda of the viewer. The remote controlled TV era, where entertainment starved people have multiple options on the tip of their fingers, has only enhanced the importance of headlines, because many people switch a news channel only to listen to the headlines and then they are gone. Headlines show-case the main news bulletins and if these fail to sell then TV channel loses the audience. Headlines also to a great extent reflect the overall news policy, if any, of a TV channel, in other words the priorities of that TV channel. It is in this context that the monitoring exercise focused on headlines of the three TV news bulletins to answer the question of how many times and which interest group was powerful enough or perceived to be a priority issue by which TV news channel during the month of September 2005.

### Overall picture:

The overall picture that emerged from September 2005 monitoring exercise continues to have a dominating presence of the state and authorities just like the previous findings about August 2005. The private media continues knowingly or unknowingly to adopt state media's approach to some extent.

	ARY ONE WORLD	GEO	PTV	Total
Political Parties	53	27	-	80
Protocol Person	42	34	62	138
Institutions, Courts	1	-	1	2
Local Elections Campaigns	1	3	5	9
Election Commission	3	4	-	7
Promoting Violation of Codes	-	1	-	1
Reporting Violation of Code	-	-	-	-
Social Issues	4	6	-	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>247</b>

Frequency of codified issues in headlines



HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED

Some of the interesting findings of the exercise are as follows:

- **Protocol personalities**, especially the President, the Prime Minister continue to dominate TV news headlines, particularly on PTV, during the month of September 2005.
- All TV channels collectively headlined protocol personalities 138 times; PTV, 62 times; GEO, 34 and ARY One World 42 times.
- Among all the TV channels PTV lead the headlines tally for the president and the prime minister 28 and 31 times respectively.
- Private TV news collectively / respectively headlined the President, and the Prime Minister for 37 and 26 times.
- Among private TV news, GEO headlined the President 17 times and ARY One World 20 times.
- Among private TV news, ARY One World led the headlines tally for the Prime Minister with 15 times and GEO 11 times.
- Other protocol personalities headlined by all TV channels included; Chief Ministers, 1 time; Ministers, 14 and Governor 1 time. ARY One World headlined Ministers 7 times, GEO headlined Ministers 4 times, and PTV, 3 times.
- **Political parties**, even ruling PML, continued to be absent from PTV's headlines. Similar was the story of the opposition parties in PTV headlines.
- Both private TV channel collectively news headlined opposition parties 40 times, whereas all political parties (represented in parliament) were collectively headlined 46 times.
- Among private TV news, ARY One World headlined MMA for the highest of 10 times among political parties. Similarly, GEO headlined ARD and MMA 5 times each.
- Both private TV news collectively headlined ruling PML 6 times, 4 times by GEO.
- Both private TV news collectively headlined MMA 15 times; PPP-P, 9; and PML-N 3 times got headlined by ARY One World only.
- PPP-P got a maximum of 7 headlines by ARY One World, followed by 2 of GEO.
- **Local Election Campaign**, the Election Commission and Courts also dominated TV news headlines.
- All TV channels' news headlined Local Election Campaign (LEC) 9 times; Election Commission (EC), 7 times and Courts (CT) 2 times.
- PTV led the tally for LEC headlines with 5 times, followed by 3 times headlines of GEO and one time headline by ARY One World.
- Of the 7 times EC was headlined by all TV channels, 4 times it was headlined by GEO and 3 times by ARY One World.
- Of the 2 times Courts were headlined by all TV channels, PTV and ARY One World did it one time each.

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		ARY ONE WORLD	GEO	PTV	Total
		Freq	Freq	Freq	Freq
Code	EDU	1			1
	ENV	1			1
	HEA	1	1		2
	HR	2	5		7
Total		5	6		11

Frequency of TV news headlines about Social Issues

- Social issues continued to attract little attention in all TV news headlines.
- PTV as usual not even once headlined a social issue while both private TV channels headlined social issues 11 times.
- Human Rights issues were headlined by both private TV channels 7 times, out of which 5 headlines belonged to GEO and 2 to ARY One World.
- Of the 6 times GEO headlined Social Issues, 5 related to Human Rights (HR), and one was about Health.
- Of the 5 times ARY One World headlined the Social Issues, 2 related to Human Rights, 1 each related to Education, Environment and Health.
- Of the 6 times GEO headlined the social issues, 2 related to Human Rights, 3 related to Gender Issues (GI) and one issue related to Health.
- Of both private TV channels only GEO promoted violation of election code through 1 headline.
- None of the two private TV channels even once headlined report about violation of the Election Code where the violation was directly pointed out and the violation of election laws was made an issue.
- PTV too did not even once headlined violation of the Election Code.

**How many times and which IGs hit the first TV headline?**

The first headline comes with a bang. This is supposedly the most important event of the day or an update on an unfolding of a dramatic event. In this way selecting the news with a bang becomes a challenge for the News Editor and it clearly becomes a testing point for an organization. The first TV headline therefore has a very special effect on the perception and thinking of the viewers, something for which numerous Interest Groups (IGs) are at times in competition with each other for. Each of the first TV headlines was marked with a code and at times more than one code under the multiple choice system.

- **Protocol personalities**, especially the president, and the prime minister continued to dominate the top-TV-headline-with-a-bang in the month of September 2005.



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- All TV channels frequently made protocol personalities a subject of their first TV news headline with a total of 64 times; PTV did it 27 times; GEO 17 times, and ARY One World 20 times
- Among all TV channels PTV continued to lead the first headline tally for the President and the Prime Minister with 19 and 7 times respectively.
- Private TV news collectively and respectively made the President, and the Prime Minister their first headline 22 and 9 times respectively.
- Among private TV news ARY One World made the President its first headline 12 times and GEO 10 times.
- The Prime Minister's first headline among private TV was prominent in GEO, 5 times; and in ARY One World 4 times.
- The case for some **Political Parties** making the first headline seems to get weaker in September 2005, especially on the state run PTV where political parties continue to be absent from any of the headline as stated earlier. In this way there is no question of some opposition parties hitting the first headline.
- On private TV channels too September 2005 just once saw a political party hitting the first headline of TV news. It was the MMA which was lucky enough to have been first-headlined on ARY One World.
- All TV news channels never even once made **Local Election Campaign** their first headline. Election Commission was first headlined just for once by GEO and Courts too were first-headlined just for once by ARY One World.
- **Social issues** too were only once first-headlined by GEO and that was about Human Rights.

**Television news:**

Television acts as a powerful medium in a situation like Pakistan, where lack of literacy makes majority of the people more dependent on radio or television. According to some estimates the print media has a limited per day sale of just about 4 million in a country of 150 million people. It was in this situation that the state media with maximum out reach remained the most important source of information.

With the recent emergence of private Radio and TV media, the state media continues to set the TV industry's news agenda to a great extent. The private media does not enjoy the level of access to official events like the state media and similarly it does not have the ultimate terrestrial out reach to the decisive TV audience across majority of the rural areas of Pakistan where cable TV service does not exist. The situation may improve with the introduction of Direct to Home (DTH) service.

In this situation TV news channels have a greater responsibility to the society. To what extent they are shouldering these responsibilities is evident from the results of our monitoring exercise. This exercise gives us an empirical statement of who got how many times and how much time in main TV news bulletins, which, as discussed earlier, are the most powerful source of information for the majority of illiterate Pakistanis. Once again the assumption here is that some of the selected IGs should in principle get more space on TV news than other IGs, if we want to serve the

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society with free and fair information. The headline monitoring mainly focused on who and how many times, i.e. number of headlines for a select IG whereas for news reports focus is also made on the duration of a news report about a selected IG.

Following are the main findings of the monitoring of mainly three TV news bulletins, not just the headlines, including the state-run Pakistan Television.

- **Protocol personalities**, especially the President, and the Prime Minister continue to dominate all TV news particularly on PTV, in terms of their frequency and duration of appearance.
- Protocol personalities were mentioned in sample news bulletins (excluding headlines) of all TV news channels about 831 times (up from 704 times in August 2005) with the total time duration of 21 hrs 23 min 6 sec (up from 17 hours 24 minutes 45 seconds in August-2005).
- PTV with a duration of 16 hrs 4 min (up from 13 hrs 26 min 23 sec in August) took the lead in frequency and duration of reporting protocol personalities with 570 times (up from 462 times in August).
- Among private TV channels ARY One World took the lead with 2 hrs 50 min 46 sec of reporting protocol personalities 136 times. It was followed by GEO 125 times (2 hrs 28 min 20 sec).
- Among all TV channels, PTV news reported on the President 70 times (up from 42 times in August) with duration of 3 hrs 12 min 40 secs (up from 01 hr 59 min and 43 sec in August), and the Prime Minister 145 times (up from 139 times in August) with duration of 5 hrs 6 min 44 sec (up from 05 hrs 18 min and 15 sec in August).
- All private TV channels news collectively reported the President 65 times (01 hrs 52 min 4 sec) whereas the Prime Minister was reported 71 times (01 hrs 20 min 29 sec).
- Among private TV news reports ARY One World covered the President 33 times for 1 hr 4 min and 6 sec, and the Prime Minister 38 times for 40 minutes. It was followed by GEO 32 and 33 times respectively for the President and the Prime Minister with the respective duration of 47 min and 58 sec and 40 min and 30 sec.
- **Political parties** coverage by all TV channels varies remarkably. A total of 15 political parties represented in the parliament were detected on the monitor's TV radar.
- All three sample TV channels collectively reported about these political parties for 325 times with the duration of 06 hours 13 minutes and 18 seconds.
- PTV led the tally of reporting about political parties with 129 times (3 hrs 5 min 19 sec) out of which ruling Pakistan Muslim League was reported 76 times (01 hr 56 min 46 sec). It was followed by ARY One World which reported political parties 120 times with the duration of 01 hr 46 min 52 seconds. GEO reported political parties 76 times with duration of 01 hr 21 minutes and 7 seconds.
- **Local Election Campaign** got news reported by all sample TV news channels 52 times for a total duration of 01 hrs 36 min and 37 sec.
- PTV led the tally by news reporting LEC 27 times (01 hr 01 min 57 sec), followed by GEO 21 times (30 min 52 sec), ARY One World 4 times (3 min 48 sec).



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- Within the LEC there was not a single report with emphasis on the performance of incumbent Local Bodies' representatives which could be described as **Balanced Performance Report (BPR)** as these contained both sides of the opinion. There were 13 one sided **Promotional Performance Reports (PPR)** aired only by PTV to publicize the work of ruling party backed local body incumbents.
- Of the 31 times **Courts** were news reported by all TV channels, PTV took the lead with 17 times, followed by 7 times each by GEO and ARY One World.
- **Social issues** as defined got news reported in all sample TV news bulletins with a total of 106 times.
- PTV and GEO news reported Social Issues 47 and 46 times respectively while ARY One World reported these for 13 times.
- Human Rights issue was news reported by three sample TV news channels 33 times, out of which 20 belonged to GEO and ARY One World 9 times.
- Gender Issues (GI) were news reported by by three TV news channels 20 times, out of which 11 belonged to GEO; 8 to PTV and 1 to ARY One World.
- Education (EDU) issues were news reported 21 times, out of which 16 belonged to PTV, 3 belonged to ARY One World, and 2 to GEO.
- Health (HEA) issues were news reported by all sample TV news 24 times, out of which 15 belonged to GEO; 8 times PTV and one time by ARY One World.
- Environment (ENV) issues were news reported by all sample TV news 15 times, out of which 13 belonged to PTV; and one time each by GEO and ARY One World.
- All three sample TV channels news reported for a total of 148 times items which encouraged and **Promoted Violation of Election Code** as a part of politics and a way of life.
- PTV's main news bulletin, if not the headlines, contained highest number of such mischievous reports which numbered 110.
- GEO was next in the line as it promoted election code violation through a total of 38 such news reports, while ARY One World did not include a single news report which could promote violation of election code.
- For **Reporting Violation of Election Code (RVC)** among all three channels only one TV channel, GEO twice reported such violations as it directly pointed out the violation of election laws. PTV and ARY One World did not for once include such a news report in its main news bulletin.

**Talk shows democracy:**

The news reporters are supposed to provide information and facts without personal opinion unless they include interviews in their story to reflect both sides of opinion on an issue. TV talk shows, however, provide a forum for expression of personal opinion by experts or representatives of different shades of opinion. But this programme too is not free for all. TV channels policies get reflected during the whole process that creates a talk show. Starting from

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production, editing, selection of topics and guests, to the choice of telecast time of airing and duration, reflect the context that a channel aspires to disseminate among the public.

For the month of September 2005 talk shows of three TV channels have been monitored to see (1) which codified issues/Interest Groups (IGs) or clusters have been discussed and for how many times; (2) to what extent these talk shows accommodated a broad-based and balanced representation of societal views. The sample included: GEO's 'Aaj Kamran Khan Kay Saath' and 'Capital Talk', PTV World's 'News Night' and ARY One World's 'News and Views'.

Before we proceed to the findings it may be mentioned again that the IGs codified were marked on each talk shows as their focus of discussion was a multiple choice. This means a talk show discussing a political party (XY) may also be marked for PVC (Promoting Violation of Election Code).

Following are some important findings of the TV talk shows monitoring.



**News Night-PTV World**

News Night is aired immediately after the Prime Time *Khabarnama* (news at 9 p.m.). During the sample period of September 2005 the talk show continued to focus more on protocol personality cluster just as it did during the previous month of August, 2005. However unlike the previous month when it focused more on the Prime Minister this time it was the President who dominated News Night's time. The show continued to lack plurality of views and focus on public interest issues.

In 24 episodes of News Night PTV World did not for once produced debates on local election campaigns during September 2005. Just like the previous month the channel did not produce a talk show that could focus on accountability of the out going local bodies leaders and their previous performance in order to educate people about their role as a voter and their rights. None of the talk show exclusively focused on Election Commission, or social issues like Environment, Health, Education and Gender.

One of the News Night shows focused exclusively on ruling Pakistan Muslim League (PML). Like the previous month no other political party was lucky to get such a favor from the state media run on taxpayers' expense. By publicizing ruling PML through such talk shows PTV World promoted violation of election code especially when the debates would make reference to the ruling PML as a player in the local elections, which were otherwise a non-party based and use of official resources for electoral process was also illegal. It may not be a coincidence that News Night not once discussed and debated the issue of election code violation, like some private TV talk shows did.

About 8 shows were aired during the month which had nothing to do with the selected IGs, an air time that could have served public interest in a better way if the talk shows had focused more on issues directly affecting people in the given political scenario.



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### Aaj Kamran Kay Saath (GEO-TV)

This is a private GEO TV talk show accessible mainly to cable TV service customers in majority of the urban areas of Pakistan. Unlike PTV it is supposed to have no compulsion for publicity of official views. A total of 68 chunks were monitored during the sample period of September 2005.

Even being private the TV channel through this programme gave maximum attention to the cluster of protocol personalities, 17 times out of which the President was discussed 14 times and the Prime Minister was not discussed during the period even for once. Another major focus of the talk show were the Social Issues which were discussed 8 times. Human Rights issue was discussed for seven times, and Gender Issues were raised only once in the programme.

Political parties were discussed in the programme for a total of 7 times. Ruling PML got discussed 4 times and ARD 3 times. This was indeed very timely and positive and something that served the people's appetite for a political debate. One programme each was devoted to Local Election Campaign, Courts, and one programme amounted to promoting violation of election code. For 35 times the talk show discussed issues unrelated to the research and codified as Others – "O".



### Capital Talk (GEO-TV)

This talk show continued to make little impact on our monitoring coordinates. Out of a total of 8 programmes it discussed for one time each the subjects of Education, Human Rights, Local Election Campaign, MMA, PML, PPP, and the President. It also once discussed local election campaign in a manner that amounted to promoting violation of election code.



### Views on News (ARY One World)

Surprisingly, out of a total of 17 Views on News talk shows monitored, 15 were on the issues unrelated to our monitoring which were marked as "Others". One talk show focused on the President and another focused on the Prime Minister. Other codified issues like Political Parties, Social Issues, Election Campaign and other institutions were never discussed in the talk show, which proved to be a non-starter for our monitoring and analysis.

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## Chapter 3 Print Media:

Just to reiterate the print media situation in Pakistan we mention here that unlike the television sector the newspapers' public reach is restricted by factors like low literacy rate and lack of regional language press. In a country of 150 million people the overall print media sale per day is estimated to be just about 4 million.

In spite of all this the print media is still an effective source of information. In fact till date Press Freedom in Pakistan has always been indexed through the print media variable as the private broadcast sector is only a recent phenomenon. While the newspapers in English have been able to reflect a degree of freedom and professionalism in Pakistan, it was the Urdu press which bore the brunt of government pressures. The successive governments always looked at the Urdu press as the ultimate friend or foe which by virtue of its reach to the educated urban middle class could harm or protect the state and governments' image. The English press even when more critical did not directly threaten the public image of successive governments due to its limited reach. This in fact helped governments to argue to the world that the press in Pakistan was free. English press has indeed been the most immediate sample available for the world to gauge the level of press freedom in Pakistan.

The press freedom issue has not been the resultant of the government-press struggle alone but also the struggle within the media industry. The struggle started from the level of ownership where competition for market through quality services has been distorted by the influx of public money in media business through lucrative government publicity campaigns.

#### Newspapers Monitoring:

Newspapers monitoring sample was taken from national spectrum which included Daily Dawn, Islamabad (English); The News, Islamabad (English); Daily Times, Lahore (English); Khabrain, Lahore (Urdu); Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad (Urdu) and Jang, Karachi (Urdu).

The period of monitoring was 01st to 30th September 2005 during which no monitoring day was missed.



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**Timing of media monitoring:**

The newspapers monitoring exercise coincided with elections of Districts, Tehsils and Union Councils' Nazims, and Naib Nazims and it focused on calculating the frequency of appearance of selected Interest Groups (IGs) during the period. It was an attempt to find out what kind of pluralism was exhibited on the front and editorial pages of the major newspapers. This also helped in getting an idea of how professional and inclusive newspapers were during an election period and if the newspapers remained free, fair and public interest oriented during the electoral process.

**How newspaper's monitors acted:**

As evident from above, the defined IG clusters have been sub-divided into actual entities and both have been codified and abbreviated to facilitate the team of monitors. The monitors were provided with specially formatted survey forms divided into different sections. The sections included Front Page, Editorials and Letters to the Editors.

**On the front page** the monitors counted for the number of times a particular codified issue was raised by the newspaper and entered a single sentence to identify the news item and then marked it with a particular code and even multiple codes. A story could be about the President (PR) and PML if, for instance the former addressed the party's gathering. The codes were then counted to see which abbreviation or code appeared how many times on the front page. The actual news size was ignored for this particular exercise because of the time consuming nature of the effort and only the frequency of appearance of the codified issues was taken into consideration.

Also monitored, for September 2005 was the ratio of news reports sourced by newspapers' own reporters and news wire agencies published on front pages. By doing so it was to be seen as to how serious the news process was in each of the sample newspapers. The assumption here was that greater the number of reports attributed to news correspondent the bigger is the news team of that newspaper and thus a more serious news process in the organization. Similarly, if there were more news reports on front page attributed to news wire services then it reflected that the organization lacked sufficient news infrastructure.

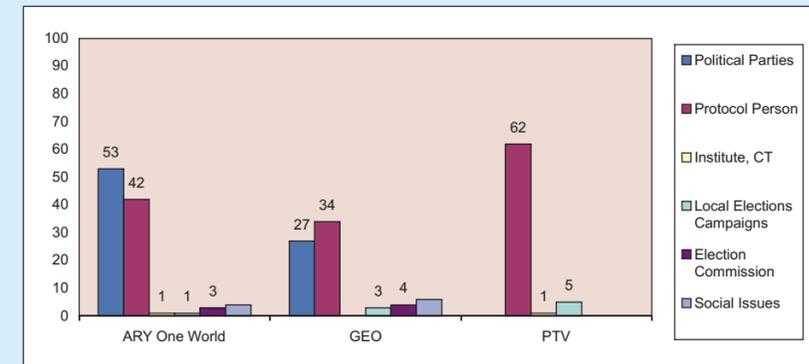
**On the editorial page** newspapers' editorials were examined to see which issues were raised for how many times by the newspapers. The editorials, which are supposed to reflect the newspapers position, if any, on particular issues. The monitors wrote the subject of editorial and marked it with appropriate IGs code to be counted later. The editorials were also marked as balanced, critical or supportive to government policies. This was to see the newspaper's equation with the government.

Another important section on the editorial page is the Opinion Articles by people from different walks of life who are experts of their fields. While almost all newspapers display a disclaimer about the views expressed in the articles still the very process of selection and editing of the privileged articles for publication obviously gives the newspaper the right to implement its editorial priorities for this section. The monitors examined these articles to see which codified subject got mentioned for how many times and again if it was balanced, critical or supportive of government policies.

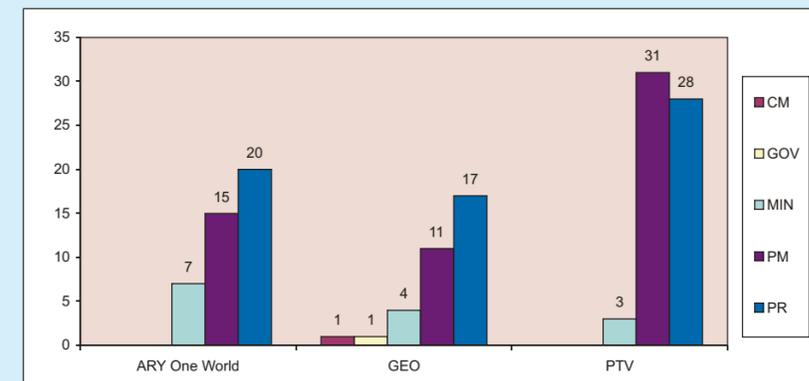


HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED

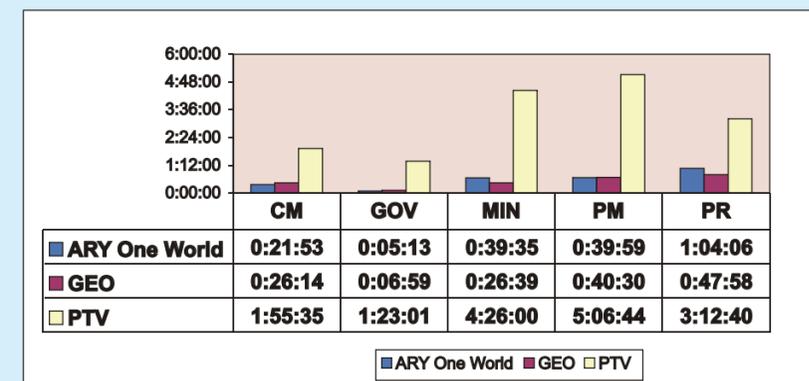
**Graphical depiction of findings:**



Frequency of Codified Issues in Headlines



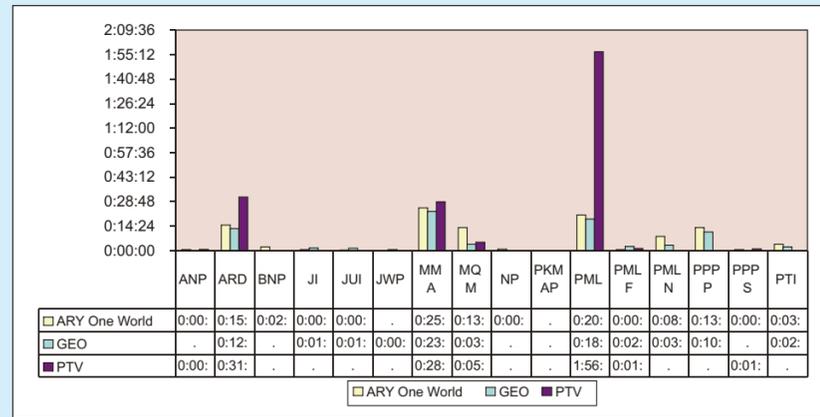
Frequency of headlines about Protocol Personalities



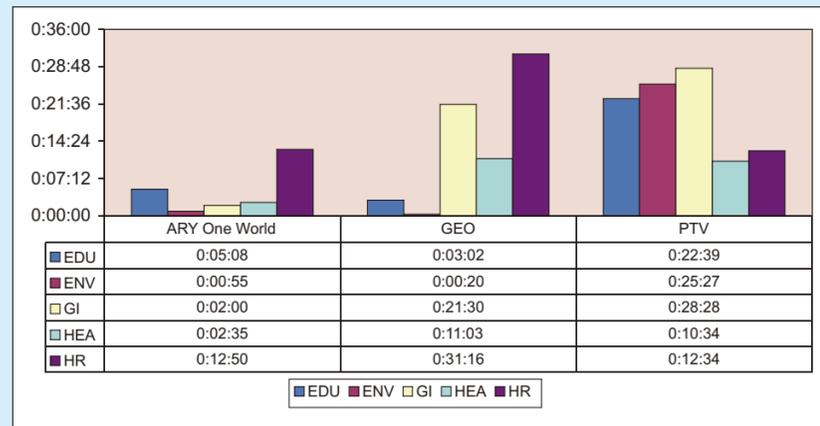
Duration given to each Protocol Personality



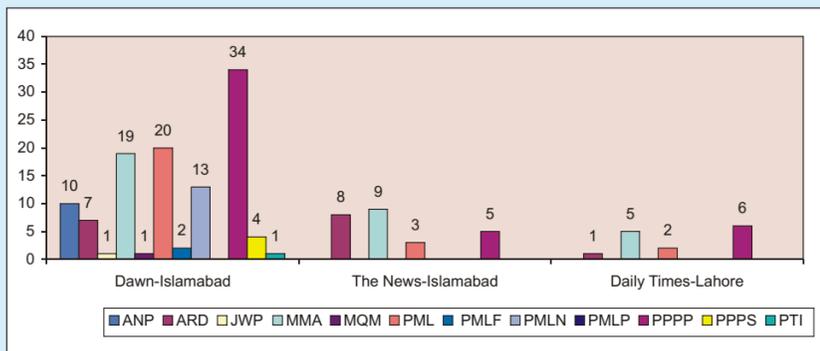
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Duration given to each Political Party



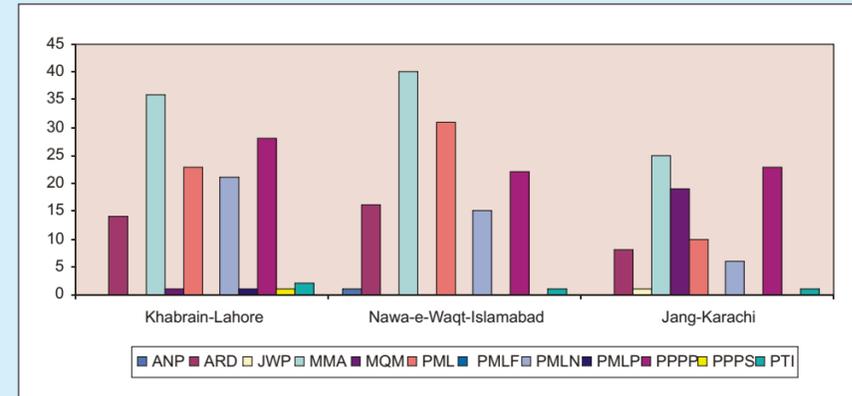
Duration given to Social Issues



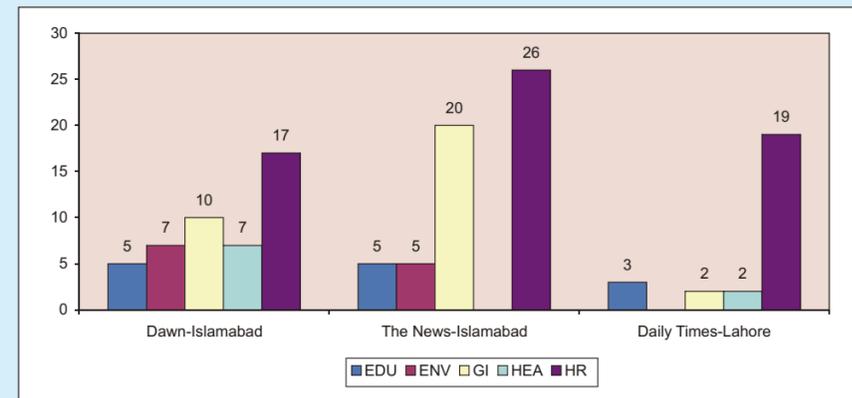
Frequency of appearance of Political Parties on the Front Pages of English dailies



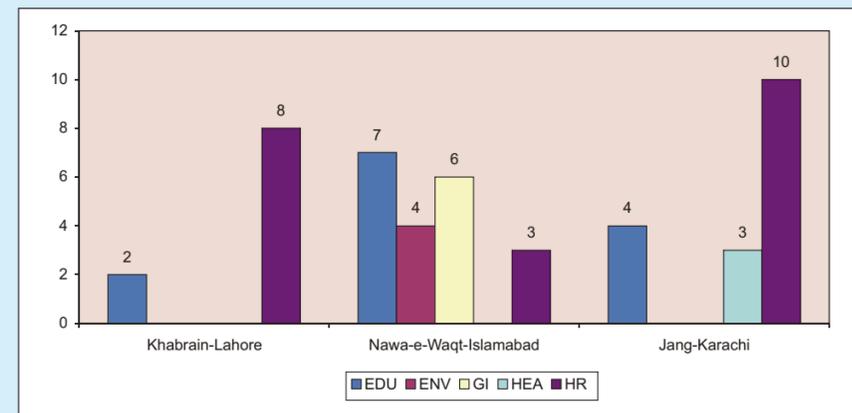
HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED



Frequency of appearance of political parties on the front pages of Urdu dailies



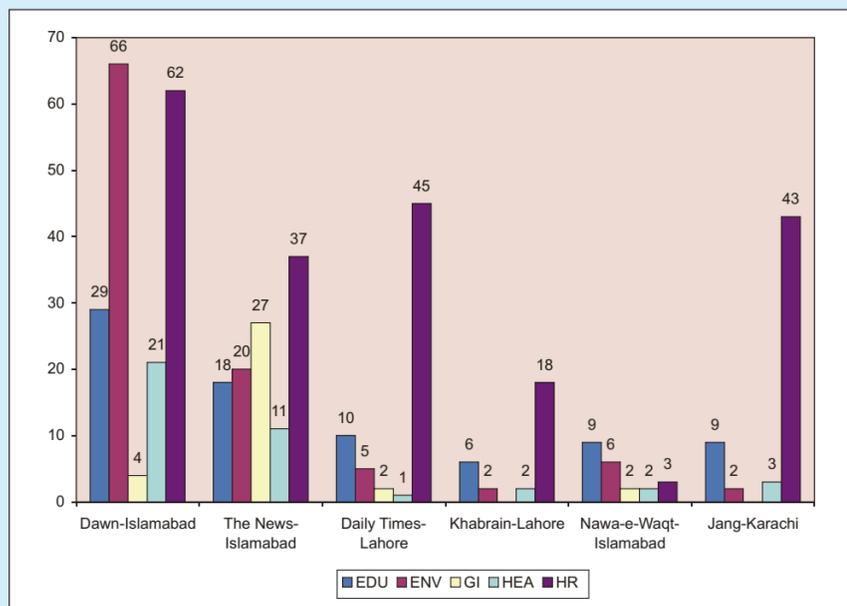
Opinion Articles: Frequency of Social Issues in English Newspapers



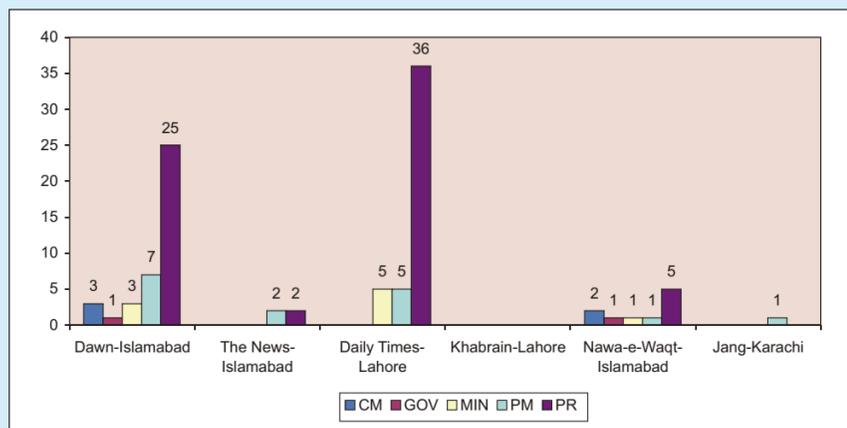
Opinion Articles: Frequency of Social Issues in Urdu Newspapers



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Letter to Editor: Frequency of Human Rights issues in all newspapers



Letter to Editor: Frequency of Protocol Personalities appeared in all newspapers

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The monitors also studied 'Letters to the Editors' from common citizens. The monitors marked IGs codes in front of each title of the letter. Interestingly, here, the monitors looked into newspapers level of tolerance towards those letters which opposed newspaper's position or opinion articles published. The monitors were required to mark each of the letters for Editorial Disagreement (ED) or Editorial Support (ES).

Questions answered:

In accordance with the assumptions and considerations privileged by the CCE-Pakistan, duly explained in the research methodology chapter the following questions have been designed to be answered to reach a reasonable conclusion:

1. Which IG, how many times, hit front page?
2. Which newspaper relied how much on its reporters or on the news wire services?
3. Which IG, how many times and in what manner figured in newspaper editorials?
4. Which IG, how many times and in what context was debated in opinion articles?
5. Which IG, how many times and in what manner was debated in Letters to the Editor?

Notwithstanding the double edge weapon aspect of the front page, at times certain important public interest issues are over shadowed by the debates between power brokers. Therefore, mere appearance of such debates on front page, good or bad for some is not without a cost for the issues of common people who become a trampled grass under the fighting elephants. It is exactly this diversion from public interest issues that the monitoring exercise looked at regardless of how negative or positive front page publicity may or may not be for some of the IGs.

The front page monitoring exercise was just a beginning and a cautious start which is not in any way aimed at giving judgments on the professionalism of senior editors and journalists who indeed are working in a unique Pakistani socio-political environment. The monitoring exercise was in fact a car's rear view mirror reflection of the path the editors had already traveled on and to see if their car was leaving behind a trail of smoke or leaking fuel, and if they need to look for a service station to rectify the situation.

How Pakistan is front-paged?

During the sample period of September 2005 all codified issues were reported on the front pages of six sample newspapers for 1,749 times. Out of this frequency of the codified issues English newspapers frequency was 633 times and Urdu newspapers' frequency of front paging codified issues was 1,116 times.

Protocol personalities, especially the President, and the Prime Minister continued to dominate the front pages in terms of the number of times they got reported for any reason. The findings further give credence to the prevailing phenomenon of "protocol journalism" or "statement journalism," as we may call it.



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The protocol personalities' cluster, which included the President, the Prime Minister, the Governors, the Chief Ministers and the Ministers, got the highest frequency of reference, i.e. 724 times, on six sample front pages during the monitoring period. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged protocol personalities 524 times. Three English language newspapers collectively front-paged protocol personalities 200 times.

Among the "protocol personalities" the Prime Minister got front-paged by eleven newspapers for a total of 542 times and the President 479 times, the Ministers got the front page coverage for 406 times, the Chief Ministers 304 times and the Governors for 187 times. Among all sample front pages in general and Urdu front pages in particular Nawa-e-Waqt front paged protocol personalities for 207 times followed by Khabrain Lahore which front-paged protocol personalities 183 times. Next in the line was Jang, Karachi (Urdu) 134 times.

During September 2005 maximum frequency of the front page coverage by Jang Rawalpindi for a protocol personality was 84 times given to the President by Nawa-e-Waqt, followed by 79 times coverage of the President by Khabrain, Lahore (Urdu), and then Nawa-e-Waqt referred to the Prime Minister 72 times on its front page. 171 times given to the Prime Minister. Urdu Daily Jang Karachi's front page news reports mentioned the President 70 times. Urdu Daily Khabrain Lahore gave the Prime Minister the front page coverage 44 times. Among Urdu language newspapers maximum front page coverage given to Ministers was Nawa-e-Waqt, 46 times followed by 18 times each by Jang, Karachi and Khabrain, Lahore.

Among English newspapers, Dawn, Islamabad gave coverage to the President 37 times, followed by 32 times of Daily Times, 28 times front page coverage was given to the President by The News, Islamabad. For the Prime Minister Dawn, Islamabad gave him front page coverage 20 times; The News 18 times, and Daily Times, Lahore 11 times. Among English language newspapers out of a total of 61 times front page coverage Dawn, Islamabad covered Ministers 51 times during the sample period.

This is followed by **Political Parties' cluster** which received a collective reference frequency of 497 times on the six sample front pages. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged political 346 times. Three English language newspapers collectively front-paged political parties 151 times.

Among the political parties opposition MMA once again received maximum front-page coverage of 134 times by all six newspapers, PPP-P 118 times, ruling PML 89 times, PML-N 55 times, ARD 54 times, MQM 21 times, ANP 11 times, five each for PPP\_S and PTI, 2 each for JWP and PML-F.

Among all the sampled front pages, Khabrain, Lahore front paged political parties 127 times, the highest, followed by 126 times by Nawa-e-Waqt, 112 times by Dawn, Islamabad, 93 times by Jang, Karachi, 25 times by The News, Islamabad and 14 times by Daily Times, Lahore. The lowest front page coverage of political parties of 14 times came from Daily Times Lahore again followed by second lowest of 25 times by The News, Islamabad.

Among political parties, MMA got maximum front page appearance frequency of 40 times in Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad,



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followed by 36 times front page coverage given to MMA by Khabrain, Lahore. PPPP follows with 34 times front page coverage in Dawn, Islamabad during September 2005. PML got 31 times front page coverage by Nawa-e-Waqt, PPPP got 28 times front page coverage by Khabrain, Lahore, while Jang Karachi gave MMA front page coverage 25 times.

The **social issues cluster** continued to be third in front page priorities. This means a collective frequency of coverage relating to issues like Health (HEA), Education (EDU), Environment (ENV), Gender Issues (GI) and Human Rights (HR). The front pages of six newspapers referred to these social issues for 256 times during the September 2005 monitoring period. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged social issues 87 times. Three English language newspapers collectively front-paged social issues 169 times. Among the Social Issues, Human Rights issue got front paged for the maximum of 170 times in all six newspapers, followed by Environment 32 times, Education 28 times, Health 18 times, Gender Issues 8 times.

Surprisingly, English daily Dawn beat Urdu newspapers in leading the tally for front paging the Social Issues cluster for 108 times during September 2005. Jang Karachi followed with front page coverage of social issues 47 times, The News Islamabad, 37 times; Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad 26 times, Daily Times Lahore, 24 times and Khabrain Lahore front paged social issues 14 times only.

The maximum frequency of front page coverage by any newspaper for a Social Issue was again, surprisingly, given by Daily Dawn, Islamabad, when it gave Human Rights issue front page coverage 57 times. This is followed by 37 time front page coverage of human right issue by Jang, Karachi, 28 time front page coverage to Human Rights by The News, Islamabad. Environment got front paged 23 time by Dawn Islamabad and five time by Jang, Karachi. The lowest front page coverage of social issues of 14 time by Khabrain Lahore.

**Local Election Campaign (LEC)** related issues and events got attention of the front page editors i.e. 90 times. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged LEC 62 times. Three English language newspapers collectively front-paged LEC 28 times.

The maximum times LEC got front page coverage was 26 times by Khabrain Lahore followed by 25 times by Jang Karachi, 19 times by Dawn Islamabad, 11 times by Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad, 6 times Daily Times Lahore, 3 times The News Islamabad.

The **Election Commission (EC)** got front page coverage for 29 times in six sample newspapers. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively front-paged the EC 25 times. Three English language newspapers collectively front-paged the EC 4 times only, and that too by Daily Dawn. Urdu Daily Khabrain Lahore led the tally by front paging EC for 11 times, followed by 7 times each by Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad and Jang Karachi.

The **Courts (CT)** got reported for their case hearing, judgments or judges' statements for 67 times. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged Courts 33 times. Three English language newspapers collectively



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front-paged Courts 34 times. This is the only code where English newspapers collectively have more frequency of front paging than the Urdu newspapers. The constitution and laws are in English and so are the court judgments and therefore court stories are very cautiously translated in Urdu and timidly placed in Urdu newspapers.

English Daily Dawn Islamabad lead the tally by front paging Courts 20 times (22 times in August) followed by 13 and 12 times respectively by Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad and Jang Karachi.

### News sources:

A news agency provides information on commercial basis to the newspapers and these agencies compete with each other for quicker and accurate provision of information to the newspapers, which pay them on monthly basis for the service. News agencies have greater focus on information than investigative journalism and these rarely put names of reporters on their stories. Whereas the reporters of newspapers are recognizable personalities who have their names on the stories and have the freedom to investigate a story in depth unlike news agencies who rush the information about an unfolding event to the news desks of their clients.

During the September 2005 monitoring period the six selected newspapers published on their front pages 877 stories from News Agencies and 1,304 stories from their Staff Reporters. The three English language newspapers published 195 stories of news agencies and 360 stories of their correspondents / reporters. Similarly, the Urdu sample of front pages published 682 stories from news wire services and 944 stories from their correspondents / reporters.

Among English language front page, Daily Dawn Islamabad, had the highest number of 214 (up from 126 in August 2005) reports by its correspondents / reporters with only 30 (24 in August 2005) stories from news agencies. Next in the line reflecting serious news process is The News Islamabad, with 97 of its stories from its own sources / correspondents / reporters and just 79 stories from news agencies. Daily Times Lahore also reflects a degree of serious news process with 49 stories on its front page from its correspondents and 86 stories from news agencies.

Among Urdu language newspapers, Urdu Daily Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad had the highest number of 418 reports by its correspondents / reporters and 251 stories from news agencies. Next in the line reflecting serious news process is Jang Karachi, with 324 of its stories from its own sources / correspondents / reporters and 167 stories from news agencies. Khabrain Lahore also reflects a degree of serious news process with 202 stories on its front page from its correspondents and 264 stories from news agencies.

### How Pakistan is Editorialized?

The news reports are supposed to provide information and facts, without personal opinion, unless interviews are included in story to reflect both sides of opinion on an issue. A newspaper editorial, however, can take a position on any issue and suggest a way out. The editorial by the Editor therefore mirrors newspaper's policy on an issue even though such a policy is not supposed to interfere in the news reporting process involving facts.

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Even if the newspaper's editorial opinion is not supposed to interfere, it is at times hard to believe that this actually happens. A closer look at the editorials of the sample newspapers reveals some interesting patterns about their priorities and preferences. These patterns are more obvious on editorial pages if not the front pages. The choice of opinion articles, their editing and timing of publication is all but a matter of an unavoidable subjective judgment. This may be natural unless we suddenly discover a pattern in the process much to the detriment of the public interest.

In view of the above the editorials and the editorial pages including opinion articles and letters to editors have been closely monitored during the exercise. While the monitoring exercise gives the findings every reader is at liberty to create linkages within these findings and draw their own conclusions. Before we proceed to the findings it may be mentioned again that the IGs codified were marked on each of the editorial. Here again we are monitoring the frequency of debate and discussions on selected issues in editorials of the sample newspapers. Also to be seen is nature of editorials (critical, balanced or supportive) from government's perspective. In Pakistani context this might give us an idea of the extent to which any newspaper is ready to challenge the power brokers and hold them accountable for their deeds.

Following are some important findings of the monitoring exercise focused on editorials only:

**All codified issues** were raised for 289 times in 499 editorials of six newspapers during the monitoring period. The Other issues were discussed in the editorials for a total of 290 times. Three English language newspapers raised codified issues in their editorials 145 times and Urdu newspapers' frequency was 144 times.

Unlike the front pages of our sample newspapers the **Social Issues** topped the priorities in the daily editorials of the newspapers, clearly proving the saying that editorials are the conscience of a newspaper. Codified social issues were raised for a total of 130 times during the monitoring period. Out of these three Urdu language newspapers collectively debated social issues 57 times in their editorials. Three English language newspapers collectively debated social issues for 73 times during the period. The editorials in all six sample newspapers raised the issue of Human Rights 67 times during the monitoring period, 20 times each went to Education and Environment. Within the social issues cluster the sequence, if not the frequency, of front page priorities and editorial priorities was similar, i.e. Human Rights followed by Education.

English daily Dawn, raised social issues in its editorial for 44 times, the highest among six sample newspapers (Up from 42 times in August 2005), followed by 28 times of Urdu daily Jang Karachi, and 23 times of English language daily The News Islamabad, 19 times of Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad, 10 times of Khabrain Lahore and Daily Times Lahore raised social issues in its editorials 6 times only.

The maximum frequency of editorial debate on any of the social issue was monitored in Jang Karachi where the newspaper raised the Human Rights issue for 23 times. Dawn Islamabad followed with 22 times editorial debate on Human Rights. The News Islamabad and Khabrain Lahore raised the Human Rights issue in their editorials for 7 times each. Daily Times Lahore raised Human Rights issue for 5 times in its editorials. The issue of Education was



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raised by Nawa-e-Waqt in its editorials for 10 times, followed by 5 times debate in Daily Dawn's editorials. The issue of Environment was raised by Daily Dawn Islamabad in its editorials for 8 times during September 2005.

Now it would be interesting to see that out of a total of 130 times when social issues were raised by the editorials, how many times these were either critical or supportive of the government. The data shows that out of 130 instances of editorial focus on social issues the government was criticized for 85 times, and supported for 22 times only where as for 20 times the editorials balanced the debate. The biggest editorial criticism faced by the government during the monitoring period was 49 times on the Human Rights issue, followed by 14 times on the topic of Environment. Only on 13 instances the editorials supported the government on the Human Rights issues.

Just as in August 2005 report, the **Protocol Personalities** cluster, especially the President and the Prime Minister were the next focus of debate in editorials of the six monitored newspapers. In fact as the multiple choice worked there were editorials which were marked as both protocol personalities and social issues.

The protocol personalities cluster, which included the President, the Prime Minister, Governors, Chief Ministers and Ministers, was discussed in editorials for a total of 89 times. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively referred to protocol personalities 56 times. Three English language newspapers collectively editorialized protocol personalities 33 times.

Among the "protocol personalities" the President got discussed in editorials for a total of 49 times followed by the Prime Minister 26 times, Ministers got discussed in editorials 10 times, and Governor and Chief Ministers 2 times each. Among all sample editorial pages in general and Urdu newspapers in particular Urdu daily Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad discussed in its editorials the President 13 times, followed by 11 times by Khabrain Lahore, and 9 times each by Jang Karachi and Daily Times, Lahore. The Prime Minister got mentioned 7 times each by Khabrain Lahore and Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad. Daily Dawn and Jang Karachi discussed the Prime Minister in their editorials 5 times each.

As regards the position taken by the editorials vis-à-vis the government policies while discussing protocol personalities, statistics show that out of a total of 89 times protocol personalities discussed in editorials, the government was criticized for 23 times and supported for 43 times, whereas for 15 times the editorials avoided to take position and tried to balance their views. Going further into over all editorial impression of individual protocol personalities reveals more interesting facts. The President was supported by the sample editorials 25 times, and criticized for 12 times only. Similarly, 13 of the editorials supported the Prime Minister and only 5 criticized him for his policies.

The biggest editorial support of 45 times for the government policies came from Khabrain Lahore, which criticized the government in its editorials for 17 times only. The biggest criticism of 48 times came from Jang Karachi, which equally supported the government policies with editorial support of 44 times. Among English newspapers, the biggest editorial criticism of 39 times came from Dawn Islamabad, which supported the government policies for 8 times only.

The third in editorial priority were the **Political Parties'** cluster which received a collective reference frequency of 41

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times in sample editorials. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively discussed political parties in their editorials 15 times. Three English language newspapers collectively editorialized political parties 26 times.

Of the three sample newspapers Daily Times Lahore gave maximum editorial attention to issues relating to political parties by discussing these 18 times, followed by 8 times by Khabrain Lahore, 6 times by Nawa-e-Waqt, 4 times each by Dawn Islamabad and The News Islamabad, and one time by Jang Karachi.

Among the political parties opposition MMA attracted most of the editorial attention of the newspapers, 14 times followed by ruling PML with 11 times, ARD 6 times, PPP 5 times, PMLN 2 times, and one time each went to ANP, JUI and MQM.

**Local Election Campaign (LEC)**, which was discussed and debated in editorials for 8 times. This was the period, as we may recall, of Local Bodies' elections reaching their conclusion. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively took up editorially LEC issue 7 times. Three English language newspapers collectively raised LEC in editorials just one time (Daily Dawn, Islamabad). Urdu daily Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad discussed LEC in its editorials 5 times each, the highest among all six newspapers, followed by 2 times of Khabrain, Lahore.

The frame of editorials on LEC was an interesting finding. Out of a total of 8 editorials on the issue of local election campaign 5 of these criticized the conduct of local body elections and only 2 times the government got editorial support. In one editorial it appeared that the newspaper avoided adopting a clear position.

The **Election Commission (EC)** got editorial attention of six newspapers for 3 times only. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively discussed in editorials the conduct of EC for 2 times (Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad) and three English language newspapers 1 time (Daily Dawn).

The **Courts (CT)** got discussed in editorials of six sample newspapers for a total of 13 times. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively editorialized Courts 6 times, 2 times each. Three English language newspapers editorially discussed Courts 7 times. Dawn, Islamabad editorially discussed courts three times and the rest discussed Courts in their editorials two times each.

**Privileged opinions:**

**The codified issues** (excluding unrelated issues) were raised for 504 times only in 413 opinion articles of six newspapers during September 2005. The total number of articles here show only those related to the codified issues. Out of this frequency of the codified issues opinion articles in English newspapers discussed codified issues 262 times and Urdu newspapers' frequency of codified issues was 242 times.

Just as in August 2005 report **Social Issues** continued to dominate the opinion pages of the newspapers. For the present sample of six newspapers social issues were highlighted by opinion articles with a frequency of 83 times.



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This clearly shows that the intelligentsia of the country consistently wants to hold a proper debate on issues that affect people. Like before, the **social issues cluster** was first in opinion page priorities. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively raised social issues on their opinion pages 47 times. Three English language newspapers collectively raised these issues on opinion pages 128 times. The News Islamabad, allowed social issues to be discussed in its opinion articles 56 times, followed by 46 times of Dawn Islamabad; 26 times of Daily Times Lahore; 20 times by Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad, and social issues were raised in opinion articles of Jang Karachi 17 times and Khabrain Lahore raised the social issues 10 times.

Among the social issues, Human Rights issue got the maximum focus as this issue alone was taken up on opinion pages 83 times in all six newspapers, followed by Gender Issues raised in these articles for 38, Education 26 times, environment 16 times and Health 12 times.

The News, Islamabad took the lead by letting the Human Rights issues appear on its opinion pages for 26 times, followed by 19 times on opinion pages of Daily Times, Lahore; Dawn, Islamabad let the issue surface in its opinion articles 17 times, and Jang, Karachi allowed the issue to appear on opinion page for 10 times and Khabrain, Lahore let the issue raise its head 8 times in its opinion articles. The lowest opinion page debate on social issues cluster of 10 times came from Khabrain, Lahore (same as in August 2005).

**Protocol personalities** were the second focus of debate on opinion pages where the President, not even the Prime Minister, dominated the opinion articles on editorial pages of sample newspapers in terms of the number of time he got reported for any reason. Previous monitoring of opinion articles had similar finding. In the six newspapers the President got discussed in opinion articles for 97 times, the highest among protocol personalities. The other protocol entity following the president on the opinion pages are the “Ministers” who were discussed for 22 times only. The Prime Minister was discussed on opinion pages of six newspapers for 19 times.

Among all six sample newspapers Dawn, Islamabad opinion articles discussed protocol personalities for the highest of 49 times, followed by 48 times of Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad. The maximum frequency of opinion articles’ focus on particular protocol person was 97 times for the President. The maximum times opinion articles discussed the President was 31 times on Dawn, Islamabad editorial page, followed by 29 times of Nawa-e-Waqt, 14 times of Jang, Karachi, 11 times Daily Times, Lahore, 7 times Khabrain Lahore and 5 times The News, Islamabad. The Prime Minister was discussed in opinion articles of six newspapers for 19 times, only five of which are from three English newspapers.

Examining the tone of Opinion Page writers towards the President revealed some interesting facts. Of the six newspapers opinion pages and 97 times the President was discussed in opinion articles, 48 opinion pieces criticized the President and 15 supported him on numerous issues and for 13 times writers did not want to take position. Similarly out of the 19 times opinion articles mentioned the Prime Minister, he was criticized for 8 times whereas on 3 occasions he was supported. For three times the writer did not take a position vis-à-vis the Prime Minister and five times the issue did not involve codified subject.

Then comes the **political parties’** cluster, which received a collective reference frequency of 99 times in all sample opinion

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pieces. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively raised 59 times political parties related issues. Three English language newspapers collectively published opinion articles about political parties 40 times. The ruling PML was discussed in opinion articles all the six newspapers for 34 times followed by 25 times of MMA; 13 times of PPP; 8 times of PMLN; 7 times of ARD; 6 times of MQM, 3 times of PTI; 2 times of ANP and one time of PPP-S. The opinion pages of Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad allowed discussion on political parties in the opinion articles for 40 times, followed by 28 times discussion in opinion articles of Dawn Islamabad, 14 times of Jang Karachi, 7 times of Daily Times Lahore.

**Local Election Campaign (LEC)** related issues and events were fourth in number of times they got attention of the opinion article writers —55 times. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively debated LEC 43 times. Three English language newspapers collectively allowed LEC to surface in opinion articles 12 times. Urdu daily Nawa-e-Waqt published opinion articles, which discussed LEC for 19 times, the highest among six newspapers, followed by 16 times of Jang Karachi, and then 8 times opinion page discussion of LEC by Khabrain Lahore.

Six newspapers collectively indulged in **Reporting Violation of Election Code (RVC)** for a total of nine times in their opinion article, 8 times by The News Islamabad and one time by Dawn Islamabad. The **Election Commission (EC)** was part of the debate on opinion pages for just 3 times, one each by Dawn Islamabad; Khabrain Lahore and Jang Karachi.

The **Courts (CT)** got discussed on opinion pages of six sample newspapers for 12 times. Three Urdu language newspapers opinion articles collectively discussed Courts 8 times. Three English language newspapers collectively discussed Courts 4 times. Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad let opinion articles discuss Courts for 7 times, followed by 2 times each by Dawn Islamabad and The News Islamabad.

**Letters to the Editor: space for citizens**

Newspaper’s Letters to the Editor Section is the voice of the common people. Here the people write and react on the issues that either they want to raise or an issue that has already been taken up by an editorial or an opinion article. Apart from the newspaper’s disclaimer that it would not be responsible for the content of the letter, the very selection process and the problem of space gives some control to the newspaper on what may be published and what not.

Here are some interesting facts about monitoring of the Letters to the Editor section:

**All codified issues** were raised 644 times in 590 letters to the editor in six sample newspapers. English newspapers published a total of 468 letters to the editor. Urdu newspapers published a total of 122 letters to the editors. The codified issues were taken up by the people and allowed to be published by the English newspapers for 518 times and Urdu newspapers’ for 126 times only. The highest numbers of letters to the editors on any subject were published by daily Dawn, Islamabad— 230, followed by 130 of Daily Times Lahore, 108 of The News Islamabad, 58 letters published by Jang Karachi, 34 by Nawa-e-Waqt and 30 published by Khabrain Lahore.



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Just as in August, 2005 **Social Issues** dominated the Letters to the Editors section of the newspapers. This clearly reflects that given a choice the common citizens want to discuss the issues and problems that shape their lives. The stark contrast between newspapers front page priorities and the Letters to the Editor section's overall reflection poses a big challenge to the editors.

The six newspapers sample showed that the social issues were raised by the people for discussions and rejoinders 465 times. This also reflects the harmony between opinion page writers who share people's feelings on social issues clearly reflected in majority of their writings as seen before. Therefore, the social issues cluster is a dominant factor in letters to the editors section. Three English language newspapers collectively allowed social issues to figure in letters to the editor section 358 times whereas three Urdu language newspapers let social issues surface in their letters to the editor section 107 times.

Just like the focus of editorials and opinion pieces, the letters to the editor also focused on Human Rights issues. It was raised by all six newspapers for a total of 208 times. The maximum number of times Human Rights issue was raised in letters to the editor section was 62 times by Dawn Islamabad, followed by 45 times by Daily Times Lahore, 43 times by Jang Karachi, 37 times by The News Islamabad, 18 times by Khabrain Lahore and only three times by Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad.

An interesting aim of monitoring this section was to see the level of tolerance of the newspapers towards criticism of its editorial policies and even the opinion articles published by it. The monitoring exercise shows that not many newspapers allow a letter to be published which directly attacks newspaper's editorial policy and the position taken by their columnists. For instance Dawn, Islamabad published 77 such letters which opposed the thinking reflected either in newspaper's editorial, letters to the editor section, opinion article or news reports. This newspaper published 47 such letters which supported the newspaper in the above mentioned context. Similarly, Daily Times Lahore allowed similar criticism of paper's policies through 16 such letters from citizens. Khabrain, Lahore and Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad did not allow a single letter which did not agree with newspaper's perceived policies.

During September 2005 period as well Urdu newspapers were found to have been reluctant in allowing proper space to common citizens' voice through their letters to the editor section. Some observations point to encroachment, by official spokesmen, of the letters to the editor space, which is exclusively meant for the common citizens.

**Protocol Personalities** continue to haunt even the debate in the letters to the editor section. The President has dominated the debate as he is mentioned for 68 times in different context. Unfortunately, Urdu newspapers are not allowing much of letters to the editors from common citizens when these include comments on conduct of protocol personalities like the President. Only Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad published five letters relating to conduct of the President. No other newspaper not even for once published such a letter. English newspapers are doing relatively well in this regard as they published a total of 79 letters to the editors relating to the President.

This is followed by **Political Parties'** cluster which received a collective reference frequency of 40 times in all sample letters to the editors sections. The opposition MMA was discussed in letters to the editors section of all six newspapers for 12 times followed by ruling PML with 11 times, 6 times each by MQM and PPP, 4 times of ARD, one time PTI. For all the six times

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MQM was discussed it was in letters to the editor section of Dawn, Islamabad and the same newspaper gave space to citizens voice 5 times each on MMA and ruling PML.

**Local Election Campaign (LEC)** related issues and events were debated in the letters to the editor section 24 times, 7 times by Daily Times Lahore and 6 times by Dawn Islamabad, 5 times by The News Islamabad and 2 times each by all three Urdu newspapers. Letters to the editor section indulged in **Reporting Violation of Election Code (RVC)** for one time only, and that was by Dawn Islamabad.

The **Election Commission (EC)** was part of the debate on letter to the editor section for a total of 2 times only, one each in Dawn Islamabad, and daily Times Lahore. The **Courts (CT)** got discussed in letters to the editors section 7 times, of which 4 times it was discussed in letters to the editor section of daily Dawn Islamabad.



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## Third Media Monitoring Report October 1st – 10th 2005

### Background:

The media monitoring exercise was extended for October 1st – 10th, 2005 due to the change in schedule for elections of the Nazims of District and Tehsil Councils across Pakistan. The monitoring focus therefore was to examine the manner in which the media front-paged or news reported the electoral processes and if the political forces were in anyway able to control the news agenda of the national media.

One particular development threw the spanner in the monitoring framework forcing the monitors to add an additional coordinate factor (Disaster - DIS) to the monitoring exercise — the October 8, 2005 earthquake tragedy that killed over 80,000 people in the country's Northern Areas. The media naturally set aside its traditional news agenda to bring the common man to their front pages and headlines. The October 9 and 10, 2005 media coverage of earthquake overshadowed the findings from October 1 - 8, 2005. Unfortunately, the October 8 - 10 media coverage of the disaster could not be separately tabulated and thus it would be reflected in the overall results from October 1 to 10, 2005 monitoring.

### Research sample:

The research sample for this period did not vary from that of September 2005 except for the fact that disaster (DIS) was added to the list coordinates to be examined. The sample newspapers and TV channels and the monitoring scales remained the same. For TV monitoring the sample programmes like the main news bulletins and talk shows for each of the three channels remained the same as that of September, 2005. For newspapers, reporting each of the coordinate has been monitored for the number of time it has been reported on front page, in editorial, opinion articles, letter to the editor and the tilt on editorial pages.

Given the limited monitoring period of just 10 days and the unexpected October 8 tragedy factor which swept away the monitoring basis, reporting frequency of each of the coordinates may not be indicative of any trend or pattern of any



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significance. However, an effort will be made in the following lines to find answers to the following questions as an annexure to the previous monitoring reports of August and September - 2005.

1. Has the media followed traditional focus on protocol personalities?
2. Has there been a consistent pattern in giving more space to some political forces at the cost of others?
3. Have the social issues seen any improvement in their coverage?
4. Has the disaster coverage emerged as a powerful factor in news agenda?

**Overall picture**

The overall picture that emerged from October 1 - 10, 2005 monitoring exercise continues to have a dominating presence of the state and authorities just like the previous findings about September 2005. This phenomenon was in fact accentuated by the October 8, 2005 earthquake tragedy where the media completely relied on the official sources of information and the government swung into action on the media to show that it was in complete control of the situation.

As stated above the October 8-10, 2005 media coverage was not separately monitored but as evident from the over all results below, the disaster coverage of just three days on sample newspapers and TV media overshadowed the 10-days monitoring results as it suddenly came close to the coverage of protocol personalities who too got the windfall media spotlight from the tragedy.

**The television headlines:**

For the 10 days of October 2005 monitoring period in the private TV news headlines, just the two days of disaster led the frequency of being headlined with 18 times (ARY One World=11, GEO=7). Disaster frequency was followed by the coverage of the Prime Minister and Human Rights (here the definition was flexible to include the miseries of disaster victims) with 13 times each and then the President with 8 times.

Unlike the private media the state media appeared to have reacted slowly in prioritizing disaster *vis-à-vis* the Protocol Personalities. The PTV headlined the Prime Minister more frequently (18 times) than, for example, the disaster (16 times). However, just the October 8, 9 and 10 PTV news headlines did manage to give reasonable space to disaster even though with official color.

The local election campaign (LEC) did find space in the headlines 4 times by PTV, 3 times by GEO, 2 times by ARY One World. As usual the headlines were overall frequented more by issues which were never subject of the monitoring exercise or in other words these were codified as "Others or O."

Similarly, in the first headlines monitored the state media and private media both lead the headlines with disaster coverage. Out of the three days of earthquake disaster almost all three sample TV channels first-headlined the tragedy for three times in their sample news bulletins. Disaster related issues focusing on miseries of earthquake victims were first-headlined for 4 times by Geo and 2 times by ARY One World. The Protocol Personalities, the

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President and the Prime Minister, were respectively first headlined by ARY One World and GEO just once respectively.

In the light of above it can safely be concluded that during the period the media continues to follow the prevailing pattern of focusing more on protocol personalities, apart from the fact of the natural disaster emerging as a new contender for the news space in the TV headlines. The question of some political forces being given more space at the cost of others lacked an empirical response in the headlines apart from the fact that during these ten days the ARD got mentioned in the headlines just twice by GEO and once by ARY One World and PPPP got mentioned in the headlines once by ARY One World only. As far the Human Rights issues, as stated above they did find mention in the headlines. Finally, the disaster factor did emerge as a powerful indicator of re-adjusted news agendas.

**The News in Detail:**

Just the three days coverage of the disaster in sample TV news bulletins was able to compete with 10 days of news coverage for protocol personalities during the sample period. During the October 8,9, and 10, 2005 period the TV news samples were frequented by disaster coverage for a total of 96 times (ARY One World=23 times, GEO=10, PTV=63). Whereas, whole 10 days coverage of protocol personalities in the three TV news samples had a total frequency of 287 times.

ARY One World's frequency of three-day news coverage for disaster was 23 times *vis-à-vis* 38 times of its protocol personality coverage frequency for 10 days. Similarly, GEO's frequency of three-day news coverage for disaster was 10 times *vis-à-vis* 50 times of its protocol personality coverage frequency for 10 days. The state media's frequency of three-day news coverage for disaster was 63 times *vis-à-vis* 199 times of its protocol personality coverage frequency for 10 days.

Protocol personalities continued to compete for the news space on the three sample TV channels. The Prime Minister dominated the 10-days media scene with the frequency of 56 times followed by 29 times of the President.

Apart from the last three days of earthquake coverage, the October 1-10, 2005 period saw reasonable news coverage of Local Election Campaign (LEC) with a frequency of 36 times on the three sample TV channels (ARY One World=12, GEO=14, PTV=10). Interestingly, even with 10 days media monitoring the Promotion of Violation of Election Code (PVC) was recorded 58 times on the three TV news channels. PTV promoted such violations 35 times GEO TV did it for 19 times and ARY One World 4 times.

Among political parties, ruling PML took maximum frequency of 19 times on the state run PTV and also lead the frequency tally overall with 30 times. On private media MQM lead the frequency tally with 15 times on ARY One World and GEO collectively followed by 14 times of Jamaat-e-Islami which is in addition to MMA's 10 times on GEO and ARY One World collectively.



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**Talk shows democracy:**



**News Night-PTV World**

A total of 12 talk shows were monitored during the October 1-10, 2005 period. Only PTV News Night was able to reflect disaster debate during its shows on October 8 and 10, 2005. The private channels were slow to discuss the development because none of the talk show was scheduled for the post tragedy two days being monitored. The PTV was also able to hold two discussions on the LEC.

**Print Media:**

As stated earlier all the research coordinates and the print media sample remained the same for October 1-10, 2005 monitoring. The newspapers monitoring sample was taken from national spectrum which included Daily Dawn, Islamabad (English); The News, Islamabad (English); Daily Times, Lahore (English); Khabrain, Lahore (Urdu); Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad (Urdu) and Jang, Karachi (Urdu).

If it wasn't for the disaster **Protocol Personalities**, especially the President, and the Prime Minister would continue to dominate the sample front pages in terms of the number of times they got reported for any reason. Just the two days of front page, Disaster (DIS) coverage with frequency of 139 times almost equaled the 10-day front page coverage of the President and the Prime Minister (144 times). The two days of disaster related front page coverage was divided among sample front pages among Dawn (14 times), The News (4), and Daily Times (9), respectively. Interestingly, Daily Nawa-e-Waqt front-paged the President and the Prime Minister for the highest times of 40 and 28 times respectively.

The **Local Election Campaign** seems to have got reasonable 8 days front page coverage before being overshadowed by the disaster related front pages. Interestingly, both English and Urdu front pages sample gave almost the same number of local election stories during the limited pre-disaster period of monitoring. Dawn, The News, and Daily Times respectively covered the issue 13, 13 and 8 times, whereas Khabrain Lahore, Nawa-e-Waqt and Jang Karachi respectively covered the issue 9, 14 and 11 times. English newspapers on 6 occasions **Promoted Violation of Election Code (PVC)** whereas three Urdu dailies did this for 13 times and only twice did the English dailies **Reported Violation of Election Code (RVC)**. The Election Commission got a total front page frequency of 32 times in all sample newspapers out of which Nawa-e-Waqt alone reported about the EC 9 times.

Among the political parties, Muttahidda Majlas-e-Amal (MMA) attracted maximum front page coverage frequency of 31 times in the six sample newspapers. Urdu daily Jang Karachi front paged MMA for the highest of 9 times and among English newspapers daily Dawn reported MMA for 4 times. The other party which got the second highest frequency on front pages of sample newspapers is PPP frequented sample front pages for a total of 29 times out of which 11 times front page coverage was given to the party by daily Dawn alone. The ARD was separately front-paged for 11 times. The ruling PML was the third in line von front pages with frequency of 22 times followed by MQM of 14 times.

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Among the social issues, **Human Rights (HR)** was front paged 23 times each by Daily Dawn and Khabrain Lahore and 13, 18, and 12 times respectively by The News Islamabad; Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad and Jang Karachi. Daily Dawn also front paged environment for 11 times during the 8 days monitoring period.

**News sources:**

During the October 1-10, 2005 monitoring period the six selected newspapers published on their front pages 270 stories from News Agencies and 482 stories from their Staff Reporters. The three English language newspapers published 72 stories of news agencies and 149 stories of their correspondents / reporters. Similarly, the Urdu sample of front pages published 198 stories from news wire services and 333 stories from their correspondents / reporters.

Among English language newspapers, Daily Dawn Islamabad, kept the lead by front paging the highest number of 71 reports by its correspondents / reporters with only 9 stories from news agencies. Next in the line among the English newspapers reflecting serious news process is Daily Times Lahore, with 44 of its stories from its own sources/correspondents / reporters and just 31 stories from news agencies. The News Islamabad also reflects a degree of serious news process with 34 stories on its front page from its correspondents and 32 stories from news agencies during the 10 days monitoring period.

Among Urdu language newspapers, Urdu daily Nawa-e-Waqt Islamabad also kept the lead with the highest number of 131 reports by its correspondents / reporters and 83 stories from news agencies. Next in the line reflecting serious news process continues to be Jang, Karachi, with 112 of its stories from its own sources / correspondents/reporters and 59 stories from news agencies. Khabrain, Lahore, also reflects a degree of serious news process with 90 stories on its front page from its correspondents and 56 stories from news agencies.

**How Pakistan is Editorialized?**

Even during this limited 10 days of monitoring, the editorial trends showed consistency in focusing more on social issues (40 times). Three English language newspapers collectively debated social issues for 26 times during the period. The three Urdu language newspapers collectively debated social issues 14 times in their editorials. The editorials in all six sample newspapers raised the issue of Human Rights 22 times during the monitoring period, 11 times went to Environment.

English daily Dawn's editorial continues to lead the debate on social issues, as it discussed the related subjects in its editorial for 15 times, the highest among six sample newspapers during the limited 10 days monitoring period. The maximum frequency of editorial debate on any of the social issue was monitored in Daily Dawn, Islamabad, where the newspaper raised the Environment issue for 7 times.

Now it would be interesting to see that out of a total of 40 times when social issues were raised by the editorials, how many times these were either critical or supportive of the government. The data shows that out of 40 instances of editorial focus on social issues the government was criticized for 24 times, and supported for 4 times only where as for 11 times the



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editorials balanced the debate. The President and the Prime Minister were discussed in editorials for a total of 16 times out of which the president was criticized and supported for 1 time each whereas the Prime Minister was criticized for 3 times and supported for 6 times.

On disaster issue, all sample newspapers, but Daily Dawn Islamabad, were quick to editorially comment on the earthquake tragedy within the next two days of the disaster. Nawa-e-Waqt had two editorials on the tragedy and the rest one whereas Dawn did not have a single editorial within the next two days of the disaster.

**Political parties** did not figure much in the editorials of 10-days monitoring period except for 3 editorials on the ruling PML, two of them in Daily Dawn.

**Local Election Campaign (LEC)**, which was discussed and debated in editorials for 13 times. This was the period, as we may recall, of local bodies' elections reaching their conclusion with the elections of District and Tehsil Nazims. Daily Times, Khabrain and Nawa-e-Waqt discussed local election campaign 3 times each.

**Privileged opinions:**

Just as in September 2005 report **Social issues** continued to dominate the opinion pages of newspapers for the limited period of October 1-10, 2005. For the present sample of six newspapers social issues were highlighted by opinion articles with a frequency of 47 times. This clearly showed a consistent pattern in the approach of intelligentsia of the country. Like before, the **social issues** cluster was first in opinion page priorities. Three Urdu language newspapers collectively raised social issues on their opinion pages 20 times. Three English language newspapers collectively raised these issues on opinion pages 27 times. The News, Islamabad, allowed social issues to be discussed in its opinion articles 12 times, followed by 10 times of Dawn, Islamabad; 8 times of Urdu Daily Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad; 7 times by Urdu Daily Jang, Karachi, and 5 times each by Urdu Daily Khabrain and Daily Times of Lahore.

***Tone and tenor of opinion articles on the President in English and Urdu newspapers***

Examining the tone of opinion page writers towards the President revealed some interesting facts. Of the six newspapers opinion pages and 31 times the President was discussed in opinion articles, 17 opinion pieces criticized the President and 6 supported him on numerous issues and for 7 times writers did not want to take position. Similarly out of the 3 times opinion articles mentioned the Prime Minister, he was never criticized for once and in fact supported once. For once the writer did not take a position vis-à-vis the Prime Minister.

**Letters to Editor: space for citizens**

Just as in September 2005 **Social issues** dominated the letters to the editors section of the newspapers during the limited period of October 1 - 10, 2005. This continues to reflect that given a choice the common citizens want to discuss the issues and problems that shape their lives.

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The six newspapers sample showed that social issues were raised by the people for discussions and rejoinders 156 times. Three English language newspapers collectively allowed social issues to figure in letters to editor section 114 times whereas three Urdu language newspapers let social issues surface in their letters to the editor section 42 times.

Just like the focus of editorials and opinion pieces, letters to the editor also focused on Human Rights issues. It was raised by all six newspapers for a total of 74 times. The maximum number of times Human Rights issue was raised in letters to the editor section was 30 times by Dawn, Islamabad as was the case in September, 2005 followed by 20 times by Daily Times, Lahore, 9 times by Jang, Karachi, 7 times by Khabrain, Lahore, 6 times by The News, Islamabad, and only 2 times by Nawa-e-Waqt, Islamabad.





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**TALK SHOWS**

**Television Programme Monitoring Form**

Title of the program \_\_\_\_\_

Programme Start Time \_\_\_\_\_ End Time \_\_\_\_\_ Total Duration \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Host \_\_\_\_\_

**1. Main themes of Programme / Issue under focus:**

Theme	Frame Biased / Balanced	Duration	Code

**2. Opening frame / context by Host (Historical / Current / Futuristic):**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**3. Guests:**

S.No	Name Govt / Party / Other	Total Time Allowed Mins / Secs
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		

Comments:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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**Annex-II**

**Print Media Monitoring Forms**

Monitor Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Newspaper Monitored: \_\_\_\_\_ City of publication: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Total Size of Front Page: \_\_\_\_\_ sq-cm / Column Width = \_\_\_\_\_ cm  
 Monitor's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

**Print Media Monitoring Form – Front Page Coverage**

Headlines	News Source	Size in Sq-cms	Code
<b>Headline:</b>			
<b>Banner:</b>			
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			
Cartoons:			
Pictures:			
Adverts:			
Occasional Comment:			
Total measurement of Codified News (Codified News + Pictures):			
Total measurement of Other News (Total Front Page size – Codified – Adverts = Others):			

Stories on the Front Page:

Anecdote: \_\_\_\_\_ Page # \_\_\_\_\_



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**Print Media Monitoring Form – Editorials / Op Eds.**

*Please write very Clearly*

List the “Editorials” including issues.

**Editorials**

S.No	Title	* Balanced / Supportive / Critical	Code
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

**Op Eds.**

S.No	Title	Writer	* Balanced / Supportive / Critical	Code
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				

\* From Government Perspective

HOW PAKISTAN IS FRONT PAGED AND HEADLINED

**Print Media Monitoring Form – Letters to the Editor**

*Please write very Clearly*

List the “Letters to the Editor” and issues raised.

S.No	Title	* Editorial Disagreement – ED Editorial Support - ES	Code
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			

**Cartoons on Editorial Pages**

S.No	Subject	** Neutral / Supportive / Critical	Code
1.			
2.			

**Couplets**

Subject	** Supportive / Critical	Code

\* From Newspaper Perspective

\*\* From Government Perspective



### Election Commission of Pakistan

Code of Conduct for Candidates

Elections for Local Governments 2005

#### Preface

1. It is the legal responsibility of the election commissioner to hold impartial, fair and transparent elections and for this he should take every measure, which he deems necessary.
2. I have a firm belief that by and large the people of Pakistan are democratic and whenever they got an opportunity to elect their representatives, they participated in the electoral process with enthusiasm for continuation of democratic process. As you are aware, not only several legal and administrative measures have to be taken for holding transparent elections, but it is also necessary to provide peaceful and conducive environment to a voter so that he can express his opinion freely and without any pressure or hindrance. This is possible when all the candidates and their supporters respect the law and the code of conduct and ensure its implementation.
3. I expect from all the candidates to abide by the code of conduct and play their role in promoting democratic values by fully cooperating with us in holding free, fair and transparent elections.

Justice Abdul Hamid Dogar

Acting Chief Election Commissioner

Islamabad, 13 July 2005.

#### Corner Meetings

1. Candidate can hold corner meetings to announce his/her election manifesto. Corner meeting means small gathering which can be addressed without loudspeakers, however, mega-phone can be used in corner meetings.
2. No candidate will be allowed to hold public gathering in a busy street, on main road or at roundabouts and will not take out any processions that can disrupt traffic and cause public inconvenience.
3. Candidate or his/her agent cannot not stop any opposing candidate from holding corner meetings or try to stop or disrupt any corner meeting of any opposing candidate.
4. Candidate or his/her agent will not be allowed to stop any opposing candidate from distributing handbills or leaflets. They shall not be allowed to try to disrupt or interrupt speeches of rival candidates.
5. Carrying firearms to corner meetings is not allowed and every candidate will be bound to follow the official orders in this regard. Candidates will not indulge in activities like aerial firing, use of fire crackers and other explosives at corner meetings.

6. No corner meeting can be held at religious places like *imambargahs*, mosques, temples, churches etc. Political gatherings and speeches will also not be allowed at these places.
7. No corner meeting will be allowed at places where other candidates are already holding corner meetings at the same time.
8. The candidate will make sure in advance that no restriction on holding corner meetings is in place candidate will strictly abide by that order.

#### Speeches

9. No candidate or his/her supporter will label his/her opponent as "Infidel" or "Traitor".
10. Candidates or their supporters will not make speeches that may arouse sectarian, religious and parochial feeling that and can hurt peoples' feelings. They will also avoid references to differences on the basis of gender, nationalities and language in their speeches.
11. Candidates or their supporters are barred from deliberately leveling baseless and concocted accusations against their opponents which can malign them and tarnish their image and popularity.
12. No candidate will make speech against solidarity, sovereignty, ideology, stability and security of Pakistan. They will not make speeches against moral values, law and order or say anything insulting against Pakistan.
13. No candidate will be allowed to propagate against his/her opponents on the basis of gender and will not prevent anyone from using his or her right to vote.
14. Candidate shall display responsibility and dignity in their election campaign and respect others' right of expression while presenting his/her views.
15. Candidates or their supporters will not make their opponents personal life a part of their campaigns and will not level baseless accusations against rival candidates. They will also refrain from wall-chalking.

#### Election Campaign

16. The elections for local government will be held on a non-party basis and no candidate will be allowed to use, directly or indirectly, the platform, flag, affiliation, monetary or material resources or any other help of any political, religious, ethnic or regional party or organization. (Section 152 (S) local Government Ordinance 2001.)
17. No election camp will be established on any road or passageway, which can hinder peoples' movement.
18. Candidates or their supporters will not take out processions on buses, trucks or other vehicles. They will also not take out torch-bearing processions in support of any candidate.
19. Candidates or their representatives will not announce, secretly or openly, any grant or donation for any institution of their council from the day of the announcement of the election schedule to the polling day.

#### Avoiding violence

20. Inciting violence or seeking support for violence is forbidden during the election campaign. Candidate or his/her supporters will not harm the life and property of any opponent.



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21. Candidates or their supporters will respect the sanctity of ballot box and will refrain from participating in any hooliganism at the polling station.

**Corrupt Practices**

- 22. Candidates will not indulge in any corrupt practices that falls under the purview of election crimes. For example offering bribes to the voters, threatening them, impersonation, campaigning within 200 meters of the polling stations etc. (Section 165 of the Local Government Ordinance.)
- 23. Candidates and their polling agents will fully cooperate with the polling staff so that voters can exercise their right to vote peacefully and without any hindrance.
- 24. Only voters, candidates, their polling and election agents or a person having a pass, issued by the Election Commission, provincial election commissioner or district returning officer, will be allowed to enter to the polling station. Special passes will be issued to national and international observers.
- 25. Polling agents will carry out their assigned duties at the polling stations and will not canvass in favor of their candidates directly or indirectly.
- 26. No candidate will spend more than the limit set by the law on his/her election campaign. The details are as under.

	<u>Punjab, Sindh and NWFP</u>	<u>Balochistan</u>
1. District Nazim	Rs.500,000	Rs.200,000
2. Tehsil/Town Nazim	Rs. 300,000	Rs. 150,000
3. Union Nazim and Naib Nazim (Joint candidate)	Rs. 100,000	Rs. 100,000
4. Reserved seats for Women/ labor and minorities in the district	Rs. 50,000	Rs. 50,000
5. Reserved seats for Women/labor/minorities in Tehsil/Town	Rs. 30,000	Rs. 30,000
6. Members union council	Rs. 20,000	Rs. 20,000

27. Federal and provincial ministers, ministers of state, advisors, and chairmen of standing committees will not use government vehicles in their own election campaigns or election campaigns of any other candidates. They will not hoist national or party flags on their vehicles nor use any other government resources during election campaign and will not announce any development projects. The members of the National Assembly, Provincial Assembly or Senate will not display on their vehicles any plate showing their identity as members of National, Provincial Assemblies or the Senate.

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28. **Some important eligibility criteria for the candidates in the local government elections under the local government ordinance 2001 are as follows.**

- A Pakistani citizen and not less than 25 years of age.
- Enrolled as voter in the electoral list of the concerned council.
- Have good moral character. He/she should be aware of Islamic teachings and practice these teachings. A minority candidate should be of good character.
- Shall not be an employee of Federal, provincial, local government or any constitutional government institution or any such other institution in which these governments hold major share except for the people who are holding elected offices in these government institutions or part time employees getting wages or fees for their services. If any person has retired from any such employment then at least six months must have been lapsed after their retirement.
- Educational qualification for Nazim or Naib Nazim is Matriculation certificate or its equivalent from any recognized institution.
- Not declared as insane by any competent court.
- Not terminated or forced to retire from government employment due to any moral misconduct.
- Not declared a defaulter of any financial institution or for non-payment of utility bills for six months or more by federal, provincial or local government.
- Not declared corrupt by any competent court for moral misconduct, or abuse of power.
- Not convicted for more than three months under the law or at least five years have passed since his/her release and, as public representative has not been convicted.
- Failed to submit election returns or has been convicted for spending more than the limit allowed by the law in the elections.
- Should be involved in activities against ideology, interests, security, unity, harmony, peace and stability of Pakistan or against social unity and law and order against Pakistani people.
- He/she should not have used platform, flag, and monetary and other resources of any political, religious or sectarian party or group.
- He/she should not have been declared bankrupt by any court.