



Watching the Watchdog: How Pakistan is Front Paged and Headlined?

A report on trends in Pakistani media

Centre for Civic Education Pakistan
with support from
European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights
European Union





Research and Analysis:

Matiullah Jan

Zafarullah Khan

Data Analysis:

Minhajul Haq

Iltaf Hussain Ansari

Coordinator:

Muhammad Aly Khan

Monitoring Team:

Quraysh Khattak, Nazeer Ahmad, Habibur Rehman, Rizwan Ashfaq, Salman Hafeez, Nadia Aniq, Arisha Akram, Asma, Rafiq Abbasi, Natasha Kamal, Nasir, Tariq Sial, Abdul Rauf Bazmi, Muhammad Saeed Babar, Altaf Hussain Ansari, and Syed Zeeshan Hussain

- Centre for Civic Education Pakistan will welcome reproduction for training purposes and dissemination of the contents of this publication with proper acknowledgement.
- Contact: Centre for Civic Education Pakistan
G.P.O. Box 1123, Islamabad
E-mail: contacts@civiceducation.org
Website: www.civiceducation.org

Disclaimers:

- The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of Centre for Civic Education Pakistan and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Union.
- Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy of this publication. The CCE-Pakistan does not accept responsibility of any omission, as it is not deliberate. Nevertheless we will appreciate provision of accurate information to improve the next edition.

Table of contents

1	Prologue	iv
2	Methodology	1
3	Electronic Media	13
4	Print Media	32
Annexes:		
I	Electronic Media Monitoring Form	56
II	Print Media Monitoring Form	59
III	Code of Ethics by Election Commission of Pakistan	62



Prologue:

Watching the watchdog

Media Monitoring is a methodology to systematically register and review the contents which various media offer in different types of messages. In the discipline of media studies there are three distinct approaches to monitor media.

- 1 *Economy of Production:* The approach focuses on understanding structural factors influencing the production and distribution of media. The questions like ownership and allied commercial and political interests of the media houses.
- 2 *Consumption of Media:* The approach is based on audience studies to gauge and appreciate the impact of media.
- 3 *Contents of Media:* Under this approach the contents, their text and context are examined to know who got what?

In Pakistan with the emergence of a large number of television channels, FM radios and newspapers, power of the media to influence ideas and attitudes at all levels of society has increased significantly. The Centre for Civic Education Pakistan with assistance from European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) embarked on this exercise by adopting the third approach with an assumption that the contents of media are part and parcel of nation's socio-economic and political life, experiences and realities.

While almost all human experiences are mediated and opinions are discursive formations it is important to dissect what choices the formal media offers. What people retain or forget is a question of memory, but there is ample evidence in the body of knowledge about media that the information disseminated through various media has cumulative effect. In societies where there is a democratic deficit rulers use and abuse the pseudo environment created by media to 'manufacture consent and conformity' where as in democratic dispensations media can 'stimulate change.' Many media scholars regard information and communication as "the nerves of government and society" and within this context describe the media monitoring as "an audit of democracy."

Pakistan is a mediagenic society. Over the years various mediums of mass communication have been fully embedded in peoples' lives. Despite low literacy newspapers are important channels of information dissemination. The emergence of vibrant private electronic media has increased discursive spaces. The primary function of media is always to inform the public of significant facts, however unpleasant or disturbing they may be. Media monitoring allows a systematic surveillance of media performance in order to describe and critically evaluate it. The exercise of measuring quantitatively the relative share of attention and space allotted to issues and concerns in the flow of news helps trace the trends. It is also crucial because the data gathered through monitoring enables a move beyond one-sided complaints to constructive dialogue with the media.

The rationale for media monitoring could be derived from following considerations. First is the enormous influence that mass media enjoy as an instrument to shape public and private minds. Second the article 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights that states, *“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.”* Similarly the article 19 of **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights** says: *“Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice. The exercise of the rights provided for in this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary: (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; (b) For the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals”.*

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan also reaffirms this right with a few ifs and buts. It article XIX says: *“Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, and there shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by law in the interest of the glory of Islam or the integrity, security or defence of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court or commission of or incitement to an offence.”*

This set of article XIXs bestows a sort of constitutional and legal status to media and rights based approach for access and freedom of information emanates from these articles that can not be separated from other rights and universally recognized liberties. The third consideration is associated with the legal regimes various countries have regarding media and these regimes enshrine certain responsibilities as well. Similarly voluntary associations of journalists have also evolved and agreed on codes of ethics that club elements of responsibility to the professional endeavors of journalists and pursuits of media organizations. Therefore it will be naïve to put media out side the political and sociological ethos of the nation. All these consideration in mind make media monitoring an exciting activity.

In Pakistan the tradition of media monitoring is very weak. During 2002 elections a modest step was taken to monitor country's public sector broadcaster, Pakistan Television that resulted in action from the Election Commission of Pakistan to ensure balanced reporting and share for competing political parties at taxpayers' expense. Some other non-governmental organizations have also conducted single issue media monitoring.

The Centre for Civic Education Pakistan with support from European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) has conducted this pilot process that is unique in so many ways; its multi sectoral approach and for the first time a significant size of media outlets have been made a sample for the study. Still here we need to clarify that ours is not a politically motivated initiative rather we have tried to speak on behalf of citizens. It is at best a voluntary model of “Watching the Watchdog.”



The monitoring of media performance is an idea whose time has arrived and it appears that not only this mechanism needs to be formally institutionalized, because it requires huge mental and material energy. It is an extensive, time-sensitive exercise, that demands meticulous efforts, careful analysis and astute judgment by the monitors who prepare and present monitoring reports, where findings demonstrate that whether the media is contributing or not to strengthen democracy, holding free, fair and transparent elections, stronger political parties, good governance, an engaged civil society and a healthy social sector. The results of monitoring illustrate absences and imbalances in straight forward terms to which media can respond. The information gathered adds weight and authority to criticisms that can otherwise be dismissed as personal and unsubstantiated points of view.

This is the first report based on the data collected during August 2005, the Centre for Civic Education Pakistan hopes that it will inspire the media professionals and other actors in the civil society to embrace the challenges of new media environment and help promote democracy as a culture, mindset, method of interest articulation, and a mechanism of representation through peoples' will.

Zafarullah Khan
Executive Director
Centre for Civic Education Pakistan

Chapter 1

Methodology for media monitoring:

Access to accurate and timely information is essential to the health of democracy and to ensure that citizens make informed choices besides keeping a check on the functioning of their elected representatives and the government.

With the above in mind, over all aim of the proposed media monitoring exercise is to identify strengths and weaknesses of national media in playing a role in supporting democratic process in the country. The media monitoring exercise was aimed to gauge the trends, priorities and contents of print and electronic media public as well as private during the months of August-October, 2005. The period of the exercise coincided with the Local Bodies Elections-2005 and release of report comes at a time when the whole exercise seems to have been overtaken by the tragic earthquake of October 8, 2005. Unfortunately, it took an earthquake to bring the common man to the front pages and headlines of our national media, something which we were looking for in normal times. It is feared that the current patriotic and humanitarian fervor will fade away when the national media will resume its traditional media interests.

The common man has always found it difficult to hit media's front pages and headlines during normal times and particularly during elections when the resourceful political forces competing for limited media space. Print and broadcast media come under tremendous pressure during electoral campaigns which become a litmus test of their editorial independence and success or otherwise of their role as defenders of the public interest.

The underline purpose of such a study therefore is to see as to what extent the Pakistani media is able to strengthen democratic institutions by provoking people into genuine thinking and action on national issues. Whether the national media's editorial priorities genuinely reflect and help create awareness of real problems being faced by the society or it trivializes debates on serious problems and thus prevents their democratic solution?

The study becomes even more pertinent as the budding private broadcasters face their first ever local body election coverage. The findings of this study will be disseminated widely for a public debate that will hopefully generate a healthy debate on the role of common citizens in the process of agenda setting by media organizations, particularly the all powerful public service broadcaster like Pakistan Television.

Why print and broadcast media?

Print media was selected because it has traditionally been the only recognized independent source of information and opinion making. The broadcast sector 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 traditionally been gauged through newspapers conduct and it still has a strong public opinion making influence. The battle for the freedom of press has long been fought amid mounting pressures and attacks on the newspapers



from the state which has all along been resorting to a stick and carrot policy in dealing with journalists. Therefore, examining the prospects of these newspapers standing up to the pressures will be a key finding of this study.

Due to low literacy rate country's broadcaster, especially the state-controlled television and radio with their monopolistic outreach have been playing a formative role in developing national mindset on different issues. Broadcast sector has recently been freed from government monopoly with the permission to private sector to own private TV channels and FM radios. This is a fascinating experience for the people of Pakistan. Watching and hearing the voices of dissent and divisive debates has opened a new window of information on issues which have been a taboo for the state media. The only limitation facing the private TV channels is their satellite transmission which is accessible only in urban areas and not in the majority rural areas.

Given such limitation of the private broadcast sector, it has always been the state-controlled Pakistan Television that played a formative role in opinion making over the last five decades of Pakistan existence. It continues to enjoy its terrestrial monopoly and therefore be an important sample for this media monitoring exercise.

Research sample:

The research sample includes 11 English/Urdu language and national/regional newspapers for the months of August, 2005. Similarly five public/private sector national and regional language TV channel were selected for the monitoring during the same period. The period of August, 2005 was selected to examine media's conduct during electoral process that preceded local body elections across Pakistan.

Which newspapers and what pages?

The newspapers selected for this media monitoring project include both national and regional publications in Urdu and English. We tried to accommodate maximum geographical diversity, ideological pluralism and languages.

1. Dawn (English-National-Islamabad)
2. The News (English-National-Karachi)
3. The National (English-National-Islamabad)
4. Daily Times (English-National-Lahore)
5. Jang, Karachi (Urdu-National-Karachi)
6. Jang, Rawalpindi (Urdu-National-Rawalpindi)
7. Khabrain (Urdu-National-Lahore)
8. Balochistan Times (English-Regional-Quetta)
9. Intikhab (Urdu-Regional-Quetta)
10. The Statesman (English-Regional-Peshawar)
11. Daily Aaj (Urdu-Regional-Peshawar)

Table 1: Sample profile of newspapers



Following are some of the implementation issues faced during monitoring exercise:

Media Monitoring culture is new in Pakistani context. This poses certain challenges like lack of any workable methodology and availability of trained media monitors. All earlier efforts had been focused on single issue or targeted a limited sample. This exercise was pretty exhaustive both in terms of size and scale.

1. A proper training and curriculum was needed for continuing such an exercise
2. Subjective biases of the monitor/coder on different issues are not ruled out. Because there was an element of detachment between the monitors and the research analysts. The analyst drew their inferences on the basis of filled monitoring forms.
3. Newspapers were selected on their geographical and ideological disposition
4. 10-days newspapers missing for logistical reasons like press holiday on August 14, 2005 and late or non arrival of newspapers published from Quetta, Karachi and Lahore
5. The standard front page of a newspaper measured includes paper's mast head.
6. Urdu daily Jang has been taken for monitoring from two cities i.e. Karachi and Rawalpindi.
7. News paper monitoring form was modified to include sources of news for August 15-31, 2005

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 the idea who gets what and how many times. Apart from the news, advertisements, pictures, cartoons and occasional comments 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.

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 focusing on this issue is based on an analysis of selected newspapers' letter to 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 editorial policies of a newspaper should not, ideally speaking, become a disqualification, for a letter to 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 if the letters to the editor of the selected newspapers have been marked either as Editorial Agreement (EA) 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.

5. News sources/staff reporter or news agency

Seriousness of news process is another important factor in professional evaluation of a news media outlet and newspapers in particular. One basic method of doing this is to examine the extent of reliance of print news media organizations on news wire services or their own reporters. A simple understanding in this regard is that a news media organization, which has more stories from their own correspondents than the news agencies, is more serious in news process than others. 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.

The sample for this exercise includes newspapers only and that too the second half of August, 2005, i.e. from August 15 to 31, 2005. Content generation costs and if a newspaper privileges wire service this might be an indicator of being understaffed or a reflection of reluctance to spend on intellectual components of the newspaper.

Which broadcasters and what programmes?

The news broadcast organizations selected for this media monitoring project include both national and regional 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, satellite-based national and regional underdog private TV channels.

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.

1. PTV (Urdu-National): Public Service Media with an obligation to inform at taxpayers expense.
2. Geo (Urdu-National): Country's major private channel with wide audience in cable-networked urban Pakistan.
3. APNA TV (Punjabi-Regional): Country's first Punjabi language TV Channel
4. AVT Khyber (Pushto-Regional): Country's first Pushto language TV Channel
5. KTN (Sindhi-Regional): Country's first Sindhi language TV Channel

Table 2: Sample profile of TV channels

The electronic channels selected for the exercise represent main stream information networks both public and private. Inclusion of regional channels is to study the trends among emerging regional information culture in regional languages.

The monitoring of TV channels included two main programme sections:

1. TV News Headlines

9:00 o'clock news culture is very well embedded in Pakistani society courtesy the monopoly of Pakistan Television. Today we are living with 24-hour television but 9:00 o'clock news still enjoys special significance. We privileged the Prime Time news bulletins of select TV channels were monitored to calculate the time and frequency accorded to select public interest issues by these TV channels. This would only reflect 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 as well the focus of monitoring was the duration of space 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 select public interest issues would help the media think about the need for adopting international best practices in dealing with similar circumstances. The monitoring of news bulletins of state-run Pakistan Television (PTV) has given us some alarming though interesting results. TV news bulletins monitored may differ in their durations and timings depending on the priorities of the respective news organization.

3. Main talk shows

The talk shows' focus of monitoring is again on the number of times the select 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 diplomats, 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. The political parties include those currently represented in the parliament

Indicator: President, 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.

Indicator: For the purpose of monitoring Court 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

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 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 candidate 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

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 thereunder 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 select 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 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 analyst who has to calculate the choices in time 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 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 level 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.



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.



Codes Card for Monitors

1. DEMOCRACY:

a. Local Elections:

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-----|
| i. Local Elections Campaigns | - | LEC |
| ii. Election Commission | - | EC |

b. Political Parties

(Those with representation at National / Provincial level)

- | | | |
|--|---|-------|
| 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. Pashtunkhwa Mili Awami Party | - | PKMAP |
| m. National Party | - | NP |
| n. Alliance for Restoration of Democracy | - | ARD |

c. Government:

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|-----|
| a. President | - | PR |
| b. Prime Minister | - | PM |
| c. Governors | - | GOV |
| d. Chief Ministers | - | CM |
| e. Ministers | - | MIN |

2. GOVERNANCE:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|-----|
| 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 |

3. SOCIAL SECTOR:

- | | | |
|------------------|---|-----|
| a. Education | - | EDU |
| b. Health | - | HEA |
| c. Environment | - | ENV |
| d. Human Rights | - | HR |
| e. Gender Issues | - | GI |

4. COURTS

- CT

5. NEWS SOURCES

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|----|
| a. Official Release | - | OR |
| b. Staff Reporter | - | SR |
| c. News Agency | - | NA |

6. OTHERS

- O



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. 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



Guidelines for Monitors

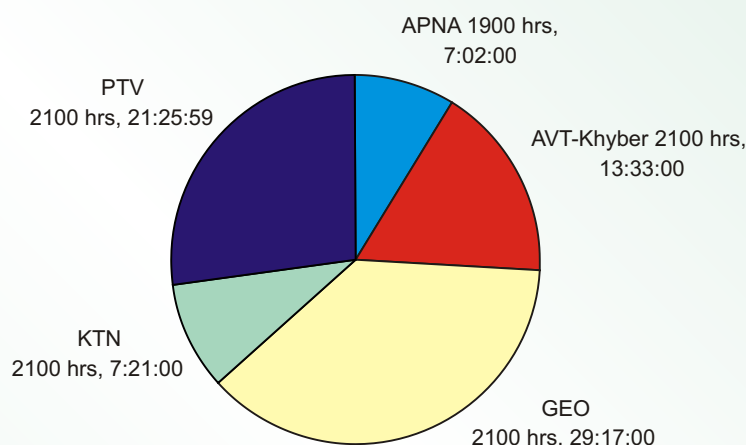
- “**Social Indicators**” stands for a special report by the media itself and not based on the coverage of a protocol personalities.
- A report on government policies, not comprising of the views or Public and Opposition shall be marked as “**Biased Frame**”.
- “**PPR**” stands for a report prepared 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 and regional spectrum which included the terrestrial state-run Pakistan Television with a nation-wide audience and four private satellite-based and urban-centered cable TV channels. The monitored programmes included prime time main news bulletins and talk shows. The period of monitoring was 1- 31 August, 20 05 during which time only a few of the daily samples were missed due to technical reasons like cable interruptions. Sample profiles of news bulletins and talk shows can be seen in the table below.



Sample Profile of TV Monitoring

	Mean duration per day (h:m:s)	Total duration monitored (h:m:s)	Days Monitored	Days Missed
1 APNA	0:15:04	7:02:00	28	3
2 AVT -Khyber	0:27:06	13:33:00	30	1
3 GEO	0:56:40	29:17:00	31	0
4 KTN	0:15:12	7:21:00	29	2
5 PTV	0:41:29	21:25:59	31	0
Total	0:31:40	78:38:59	149	6

Aim of monitoring

The monitoring exercise coincided with local body elections and it focused on calculating the duration and frequency of news reporting or discussion in select 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 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 consideration 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 five 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 August, 2005.

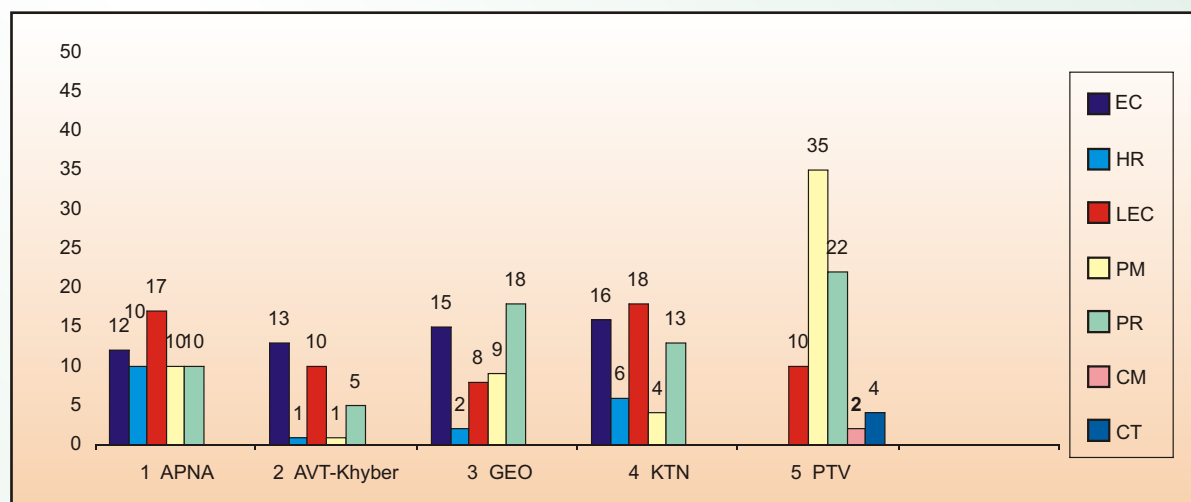
Overall picture

The overall picture that emerged from monitoring exercise has a dominating presence of the state and authorities. Over the last 50 years the state television plastered people's minds with images of the President, the prime ministers and state authorities. These images have restricted people's sense and understanding of news to such images and this is hard to be scratched from people's mind and also the minds of private media managers. The end result is that the people and the private media continue to think that the news on television is mainly the news about the president, the prime ministers, ministers, and governors.

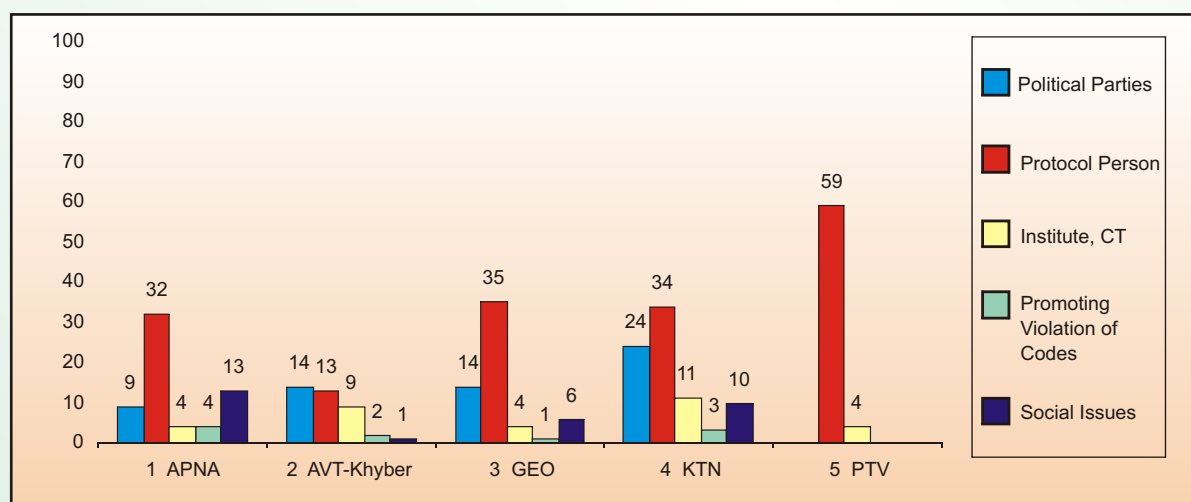
The psychological mind set of the nation refuses to find news outside the domain of governments and authorities. While this may not be completely unjustifiable, given the state of statism (a society which depends too much on state) in Pakistan, the private media today faces

the challenge of undoing this situation. They will have to make deliberate effort to steer clear of the state media's, what some say, "opium war" on its people that saw misleading and propagandist pieces of information during war and crisis.

The private media does not seem to acknowledge the challenge and situation and is therefore knowingly or unknowingly becoming an extension of the traditional approach. This indifference of the private media is leading to promotion of traditional statism whereas it should be encouraging people to look at their information needs and sources in an independent manner. This is not merely a fear but an empirical conclusion, though with limitations, of the monitoring exercise that focused on news bulletins in general and headlines in particular.



Frequency of codified issues in headlines

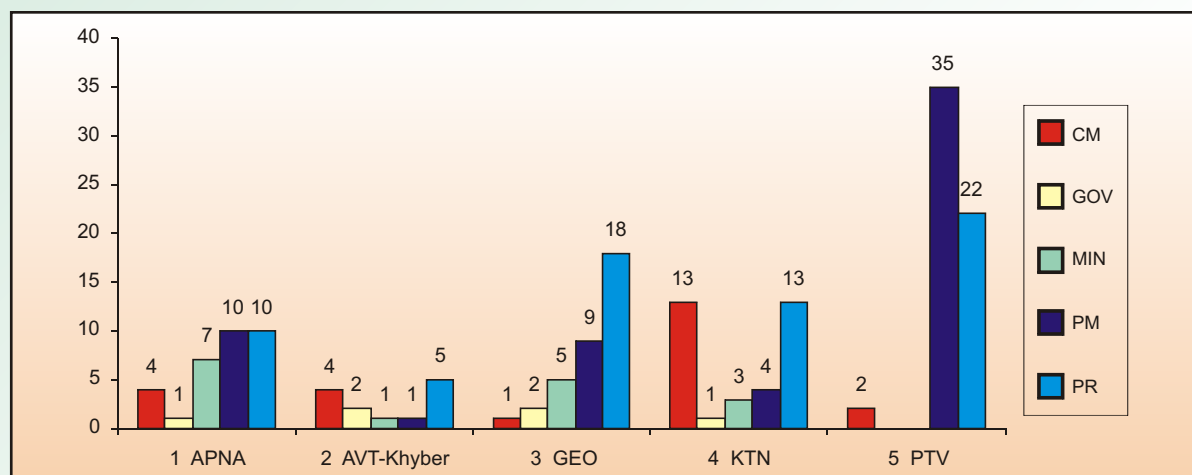


Frequency of codified issues in headlines



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

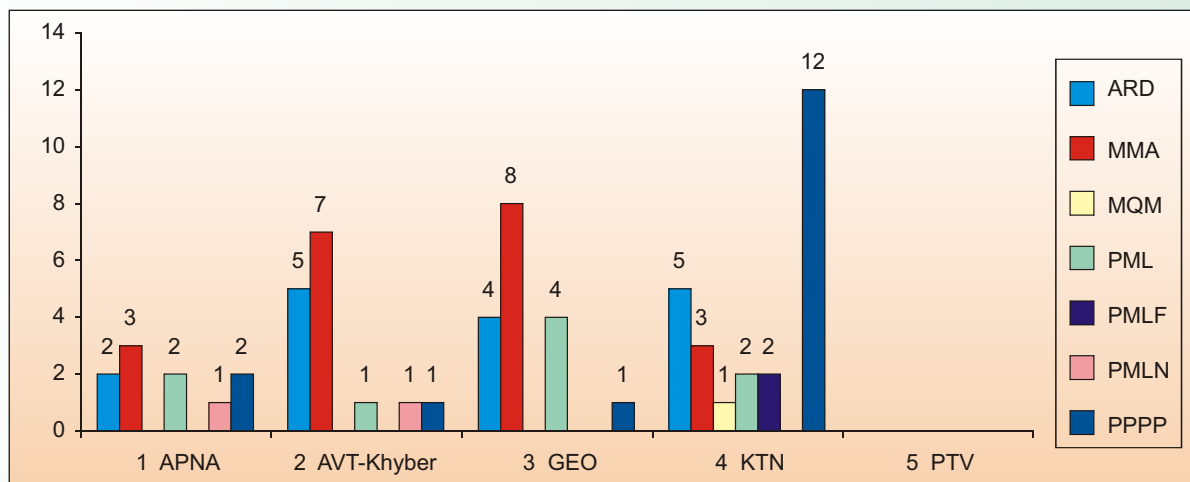
- **Protocol personalities**, especially the President, the Prime Minister dominate TV news headlines, particularly on PTV.



Graph Shows frequency of headlines about Protocol Personalities

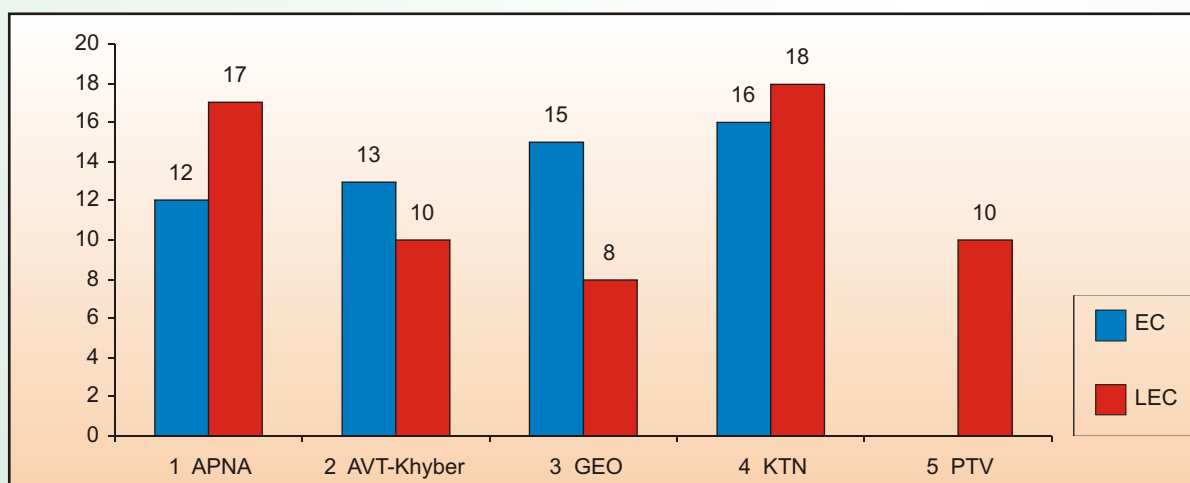
- All TV channels collectively headlined protocol personalities 166 times; PTV, 55 times; KTN, 34; GEO, 33; APNA, 31 and AVT (Khyber) 13 times.
- Among all TV channels PTV lead the headlines tally for the President and the Prime Minister with 22 and 35 times
- Private TV news collectively/respectively headlined the President, and the Prime Minister for 46 and 24 times
- Among private TV news, GEO headlined President 18 times; KTN 13; APNA 10 and AVT Khyber 5 times.
- Among private TV news, APNA lead the headlines for the Prime Minister with 10 times; GEO, 9; KTN, 4; and AVT Khyber once.
- Other protocol personalities headlined by all TV channels included; chief ministers, 24 times; ministers, 16 and Governors 6 times. KTN headlined CM 13 times followed by APNA and Khyber with 4 times each and then GEO only once.
- **Political parties**, even ruling PML, could not make it to be a PTV headline similar was the story of the opposition parties on PTV
- Private TV channel headlined opposition parties 55 times whereas the private TV news collectively headlined all political parties 61 times
- Among private TV news headlines for political parties, KTN took the lead by headlining political parties 24 times followed by GEO & AVT (Khyber) 14 times each and APNA headlined political parties 9 times.
- Private TV news collectively headlined ruling PML 9 times, 4 times by GEO
- Private TV news collectively headlined MMA 21 times; PPP, 16; and PMLN twice.
- MMA got a maximum of 8 headlines by GEO followed by 7 on AVT Khyber
- PPP got a maximum of 12 headlines by KTN, followed by 2 of APNA and one each by AVT (Khyber) and GEO.

- PMLN got only 2 headlines, one each by APNA and AVT Khyber and none by GEO and KTN
- PMLF got 2 headlines by KTN only



Frequency of headlines about Political parties

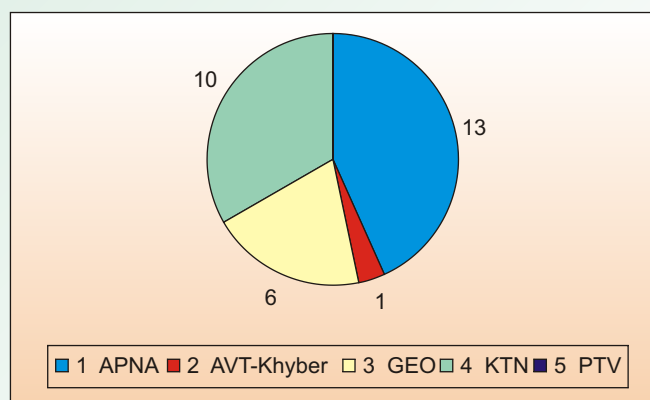
- **Local election campaign**, the Election Commission and courts also dominated TV news headlines.
- All TV news headlined Local Election Campaign (LEC) 63 times; Election Commission (EC), 56 times and Courts (CT) 32 times.
- KTN lead the tally for LEC with 18 headlines, followed by 17 of APNA, 10 each by AVT Khyber and PTV and 8 LEC headlines by GEO.
- Of the 56 **EC headlines** of all TV channels, KTN again led the race with 16 headlines about EC (more than the 13 headlines given to the President), followed by 15 of GEO, 13 of AVT Khyber and 12 of APNA. PTV did not have a single headline about the EC during the period.
- Of the 32 times **Courts** were headlined by all TV channels, KTN again took the lead with 11 times, followed by AVT Khyber 9 times and 4 times each by GEO, APNA and PTV.



Television wise frequency of headlines about EC and LEC



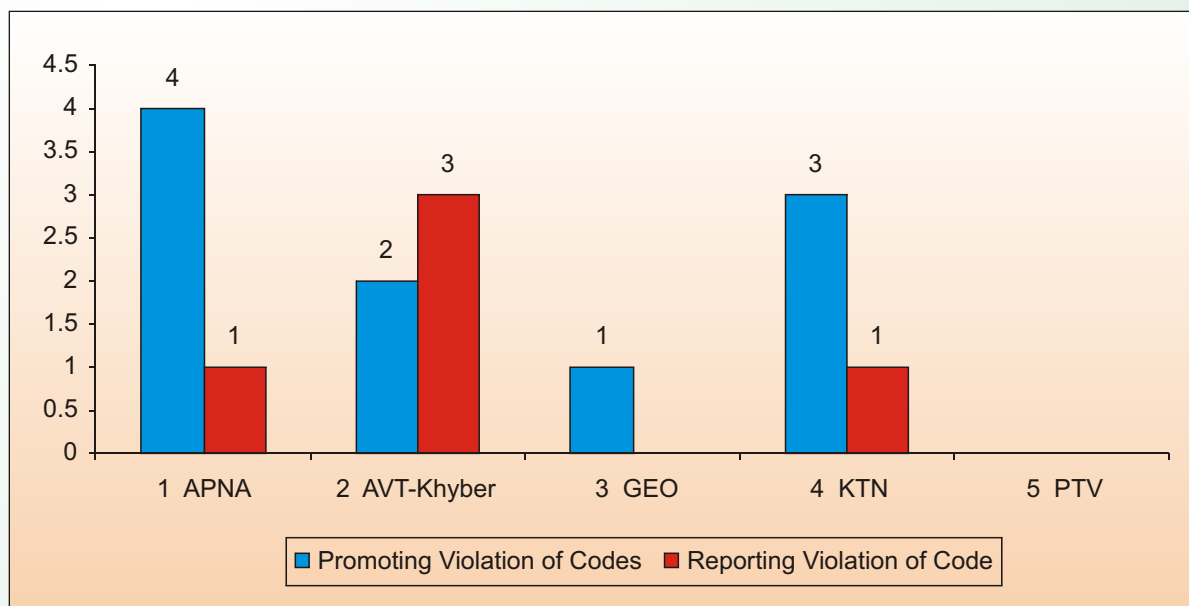
- Social issues found little mention in all TV news headlines.
- PTV not even once headlined a social issue.



Frequency of headlines about Social Issues

- Regional TV news channels APNA, and KTN headlined social issues prominently
- Human Rights issues were headlined by private TV news 19 times, out of which 10 headlines belonged to APNA and 6 to KTN.
- APNA took the lead in headlining social issues 13 times followed by KTN 10 times; GEO, 6 times and AVT Khyber only once.
- Of the 13 times APNA headlined social issues, 10 related to Human Rights (HR), and one each about Education (EDU), Environment (ENV) and Health (HEA).
- Of the 10 times KTN headlined the social issues, 6 related to human rights, 3 to education and one issues related to 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.
- AVT Khyber headlined a social issue only once and that related to Human Rights.
- All private TV channels headlined a total of 10 reports that 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 reports.
- APNA promoted election code violation through a total of 4 headlines, followed by KTN which headlined 3 such reports, and then AVT Khyber, 2 and GEO did it once.
- All private channels collectively headlined 5 reports wherein **violation of election code was directly pointed out** and the violation of election laws was made an issue.
- Regional TV news channels APNA, and KTN headlined social issues prominently
- Human Rights issues were headlined by private TV news 19 times, out of which 10 headlines belonged to APNA and 6 to KTN.
- APNA took the lead in headlining social issues 13 times followed by KTN 10 times; GEO, 6 times and AVT Khyber only once.
- Of the 13 times APNA headlined social issues, 10 related to Human Rights (HR), and one each about Education (EDU), Environment (ENV) and Health (HEA).
- Of the 10 times KTN headlined the social issues, 6 related to human rights, 3 to education and one issues related to 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.
- AVT Khyber headlined a social issue only once and that related to Human Rights.
- All private TV channels headlined a total of 10 reports that 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 reports.
- APNA promoted election code violation through a total of 4 headlines, followed by KTN which headlined 3 such reports, and then AVT Khyber, 2 and GEO did it once.
- All private channels collectively headlined 5 reports wherein **violation of election code was directly pointed out** and the violation of election laws was made an issue.



Frequency of headlines about PVC and RVC

- Reporting Violation of Code (RVC) was headlined by AVT (Khyber) 3 times and one time each by KTN and APNA.
- PTV did not even once headline violation of election code.

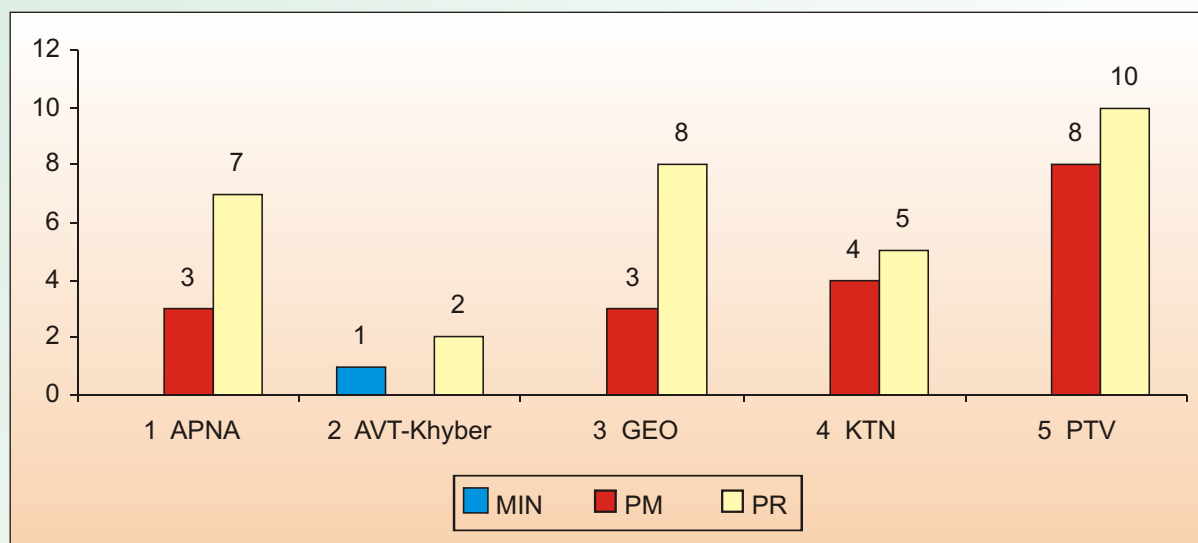
How many times and which IGs hit the first TV headline?

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 dominated the top TV headline with a bang.

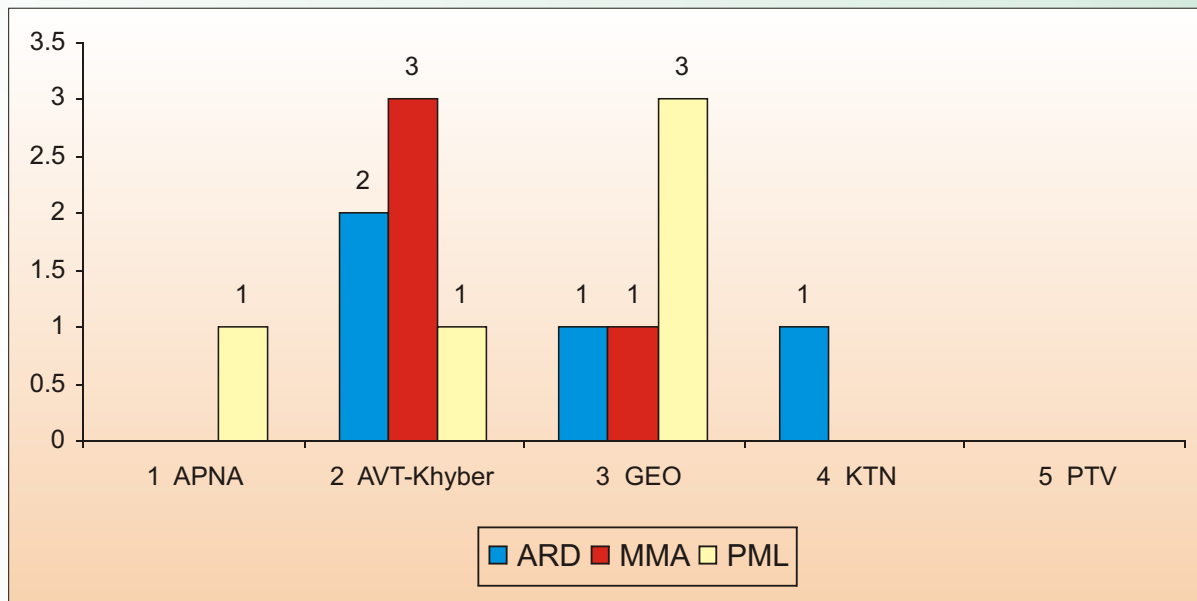


- All TV channels frequently made protocol personalities a subject of their first TV news headline with a total of 51 times; PTV did it 18 times; GEO 11 times, APNA 10 times each; KTN 9 times; and AVT (Khyber) 3 times.



Frequency of first headline about protocol personalities

- Among all TV channels PTV lead the first headline tally for the President and the Prime Minister with 10 and 8 times respectively
- Private TV news collectively and respectively made the President, and the Prime Minister their first headline 22 and 10 times respectively
- Among private TV news GEO made the president their first TV headline 8 times; APNA for 7 times; KTN did it for 5 times and AVT Khyber 2 times. AVT Khyber once gave first-headline to a minister.
- The Prime Minister's first headline among private TV was prominent in KTN, 4 times; and in GEO and APNA it was 3 times each and there was none on AVT Khyber.
- The case for some **Political parties** making the first headline seems to be even weaker, especially on the state run PTV where political parties were not even in any of the headline as stated earlier. In this way there is no question of some opposition parties hitting the first headline.
- But on private TV channels political parties hitting the first headline was not unusual as they collectively hit the first headline 13 times
- Private TV news channels collectively first-headlined the opposition parties 8 times (ARD, 4 times; MMA, 4 times)
- AVT Khyber took the lead by first-headlining MMA 3 times and ARD 2 times, followed by GEO which first-headlined both ARD and MMA one time each.
- Private TV news collectively first-headlined ruling PML 5 times, 3 times by GEO and once each by APNA and AVT Khyber.
- There were no first-headlines by any TV channel for PPPP (but ARD) as also other political parties.
- None of the TV channel made **Local election campaign**, EC or Courts as their first headline.



Frequency of first headlines about Political Parties

- **Social issues** were never first-headlined by any TV channel even though some private channels did have following headlines relating to social issues.

Television news:

Television acts as a powerful medium in a situation like Pakistan, where lack of literacy makes majority of 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, and unfortunately, at times, disinformation for the people of Pakistan.

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 rural areas of Pakistan where cable TV service does not exist. While the situation may improve with the introduction of Direct to Home (DTH) service in terms of reaching out to the people the DTH will have consequences of its own for the viewers who are likely to be drawn more towards entertainment channels from a spectrum of over 200 TV channels than the serious TV news channels. This may again benefit those interest groups who never want the people to listen to the news and have an opinion on national issues. This will indeed help them claim the support of "silent majority" as an argument to legitimize their extra-constitutional rule.

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 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 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 duration of a news report about a select IG.

Following are the main findings of the monitoring of mainly 5 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 new channels about 704 times with the total time duration of 17 hours 24 minutes 45 seconds.

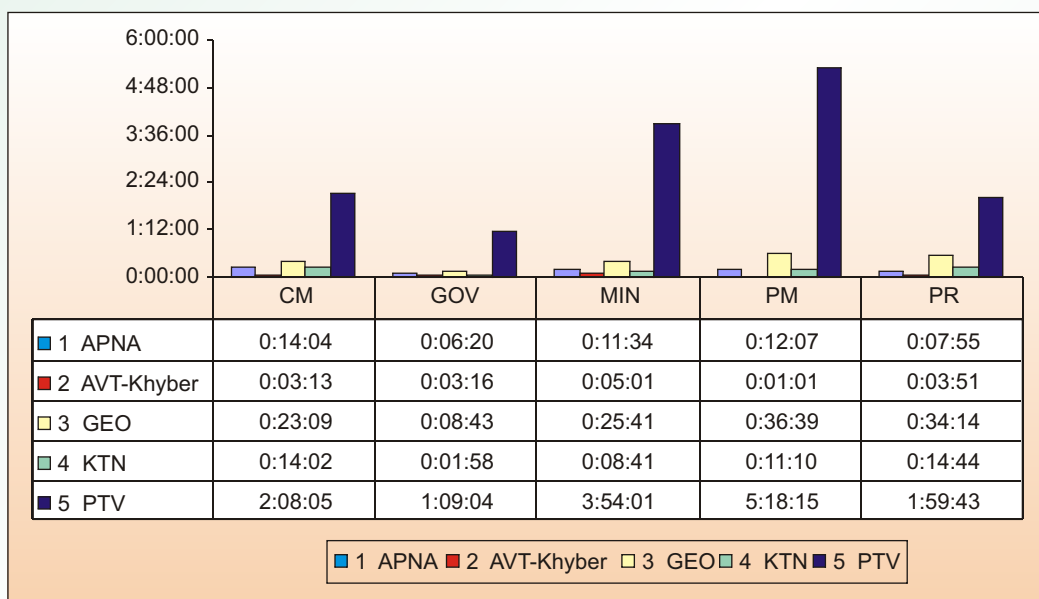


Table and graph indicating the duration given to each protocol personality

- PTV with duration of 13 hrs 26 min 23 sec took the lead in frequency and duration of reporting protocol personalities with 462 times.
- Among private TV channels GEO took the lead with 02 hrs 02 min and 48 sec of reporting protocol personalities 108 times. It was followed by APNA 70 times (49 min 47 sec), KTN 49 times (49 min 25 sec), and AVT Khyber 15 times (16 min 22 sec).
- Among all TV channels, PTV news reported on the President 42 times with duration of 01 hr 59 min and 43 sec, and the Prime Minister 139 times with duration of 05 hrs 18 min and 15 sec.
- All private TV channels collectively news reported the President 59 times whereas the Prime Minister was reported 57 times.

- Among private TV news reports GEO covered the President 28 times for 34 min and 14 sec and the Prime Minister 29 times for 36 min and 39 sec. It was followed by KTN 15 and 8 times respectively for the President and the Prime Minister with duration of 14 min and 44 sec and 11 min and 10 sec. APNA TV news reported the President 12 times (07 min 55 sec) and the Prime Minister 18 times (12 min 07 sec). AVT Khyber reported the President 4 times (03 min 51 sec) and the Prime Minister 2 times (01 min 01 sec).
- **Political parties** coverage by all TV channels varies remarkably. A total of 12 political parties represented in the parliament were detected on the monitor's TV radar.

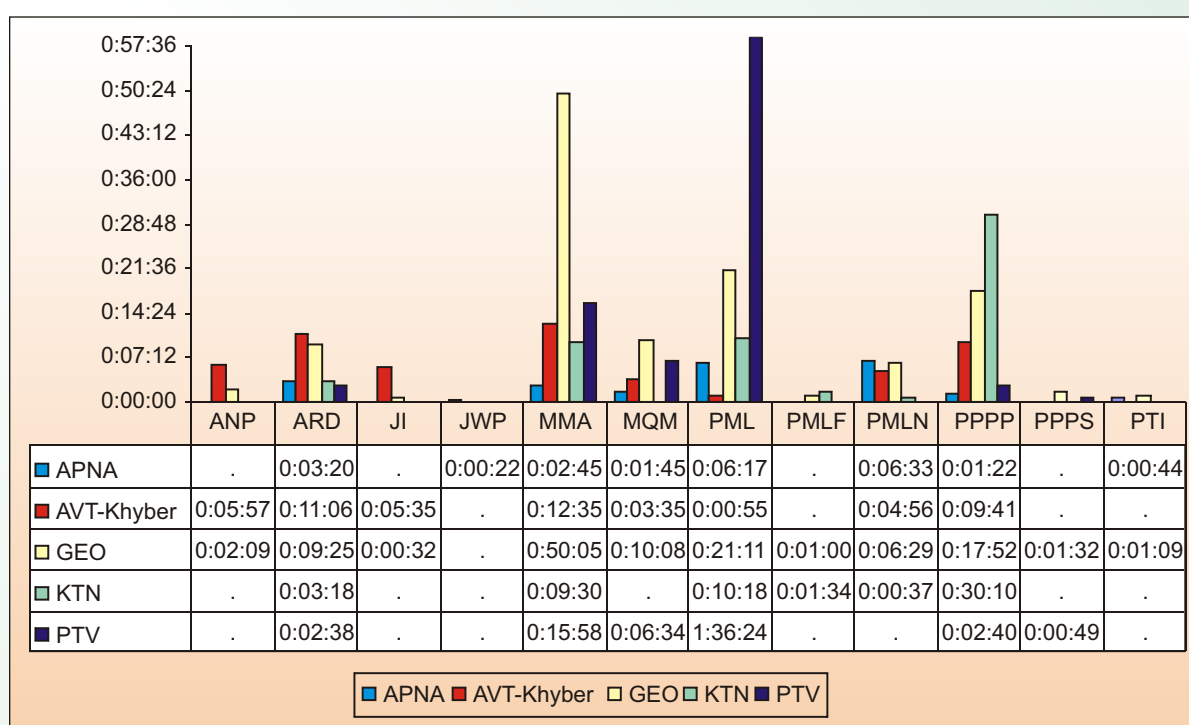


Table and graph indicating the duration given to each Political Party

- All sample TV channels collectively reported about these political parties for 291 times with the duration of 05 hours 44 minutes and 46 seconds
- PTV and GEO led the tally each with 94 reports, which referred to political parties with respective duration of 02 hrs 03 min 49 sec and 01 hr 47 min 35 sec respectively. A subsequent break up of parties and their coverage would make a clear difference between the two channels' approach towards political parties.
- Private TV channels collectively reported on political parties 197 times. Private TV channel GEO reported political parties 94 times (01 hr 47 min and 35 sec); KTN 44 times (51 min and 01 sec); APNA 30 times (21 min and 39 sec) and AVT Khyber 29 times (40 min and 42 sec).
- All sample TV channels reported the ruling Pakistan Muslim League (PML) 106 times (02 hrs 15 min 05 sec) and its ruling partners MQM 23 times (22 min 02 sec) and PPPS 3 times (02 min 21 sec). Adding other ruling partners like PMLF (3 times).



- All sample TV channels collectively reported main opposition parties ARD, PPP, PMLN, MMA, and JI for 172 times
- The state-run PTV news reported ruling PML 70 times with a total duration of 01 hr 36 min 24 sec. Ruling party partner MQM got reported by PTV 7 times for 06 min 34 sec.
- PTV reported about the opposition MMA 14 times with total duration of 15 min 58 sec and PPP one time for the duration of 02 min 40 sec. ARD got reported by PTV two times for 02 min 38 sec.
- Sample private TV news channels collectively news reported ruling PML 36 times, of which 19 times was by GEO. GEO also reported PPP for 19 times. Sample private TV news channels collectively news reported 155 times.
- State run Pakistan Television news reported PML, 70 times; MQM, 7 times, PPPS, 1 time; MMA 14 times; JI, zero times; PPP, 1 time; ARD, 2 times; PMLN, zero times; ANP, zero times; and PTI, zero times.
- Private TV channel GEO news reported PML, 19 times; MQM, 11 times, PPPS, 2 times; MMA 36 times; JI, 1 time; PPP, 19 times; ARD, 8 times; PMLN, 6 times; ANP, 2 time; and PTI, once.
- Private TV channel KTN news reported PML, 8 times; MQM, zero times, PPPS, zero times; MMA 8 times; JI, zero time; PPP, 23 times; ARD, 3 times; PMLN, 1 time; ANP, zero time; and PTI, zero time.
- Private TV channel APNA news reported PML, 8 times; MQM, 3 times, PPPS, zero times; MMA 5 times; JI, zero time; PPP, 3 times; ARD, 4 times; PMLN, 7 times; ANP, zero time; and PTI, 1 time.
- Private TV channel AVT Khyber news reported PML, 1 time; MQM, 2 times, PPPS, zero times; MMA 10 times; JI, 3 times; PPP, 7 times; ARD, 7 times; PMLN, 4 times; ANP, 4 times; and PTI, zero times.

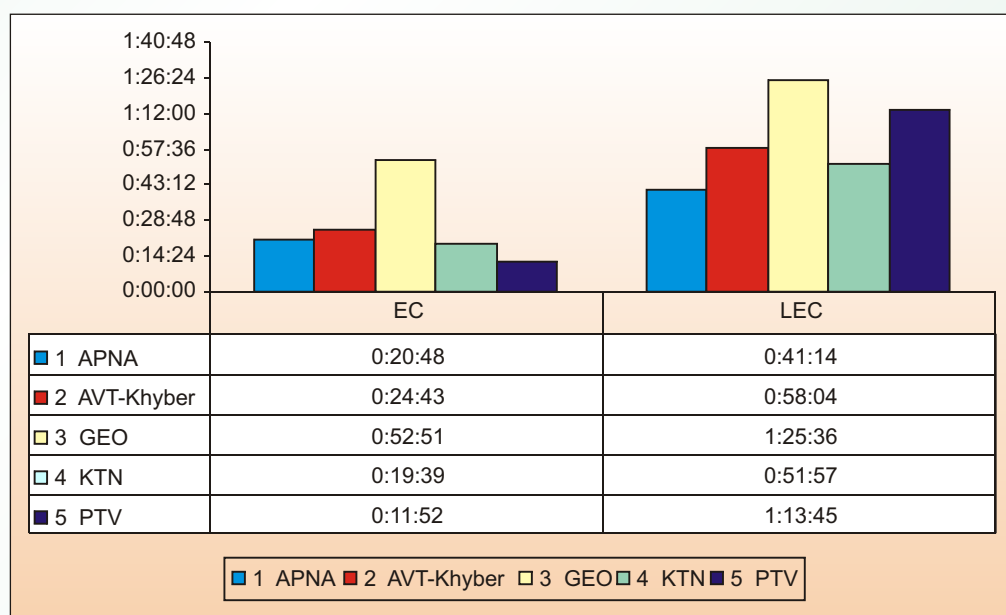


Table and graph indicating the duration given to LEC and EC

- **Local Election Campaign** got news reported by all sample TV news channels 230 times for a total duration of 05 hrs 10 min and 36 sec.
- GEO lead the tally by news reporting LEC 65 times (01 hr 25 min 36 sec), followed by APNA with 60 times (41 min 14 sec), PTV 42 times (01 hr 13 min 45 sec) , AVT (Khyber) 32 times (58 min 04 sec) and KTN 31 times (51 min 57 sec). In terms of duration PTV was second, AVT third, KTN fourth and APNA fifth.
- In terms of state versus private media while PTV news reported LEC 42 times (01 hr 13 min 45 sec), all sample private TV channels collectively reported LEC 188 times.
- Within the LEC there was little emphasis on the performance of incumbent local body representatives. A total of 4 such reports were telecast by all TV channels which could be described as **Balanced Performance Report (BPR)** as these contained both sides of the opinion. Of the total of 4 BPR, 2 belonged to GEO, and 1 each to APNA and AVT Khyber.
- There were 10 one sided **Promotional Performance Reports (PPR)** aired only by PTV to publicize the work of ruling party backed local body incumbents. • Of the 45 times **Courts** were news reported by all TV channels, AVT (Khyber) took the lead with 12 times, followed by GEO 10 times, PTV, 9 times and 7 times each by KTN & APNA.
- **Social issues** as defined got news reported in all sample TV news bulletins with a total of 128 times.
- PTV and GEO news reported social issues 38 and 39 times respectively; APNA 27 times; KTN 20 times; AVT (Khyber) 9 times.
- Human Rights issue was news reported by all sample TV news 55 times, out of which 19 belonged to APNA; 17 to GEO, 12 to KTN; 5 to AVT Khyber and only 2 to PTV.

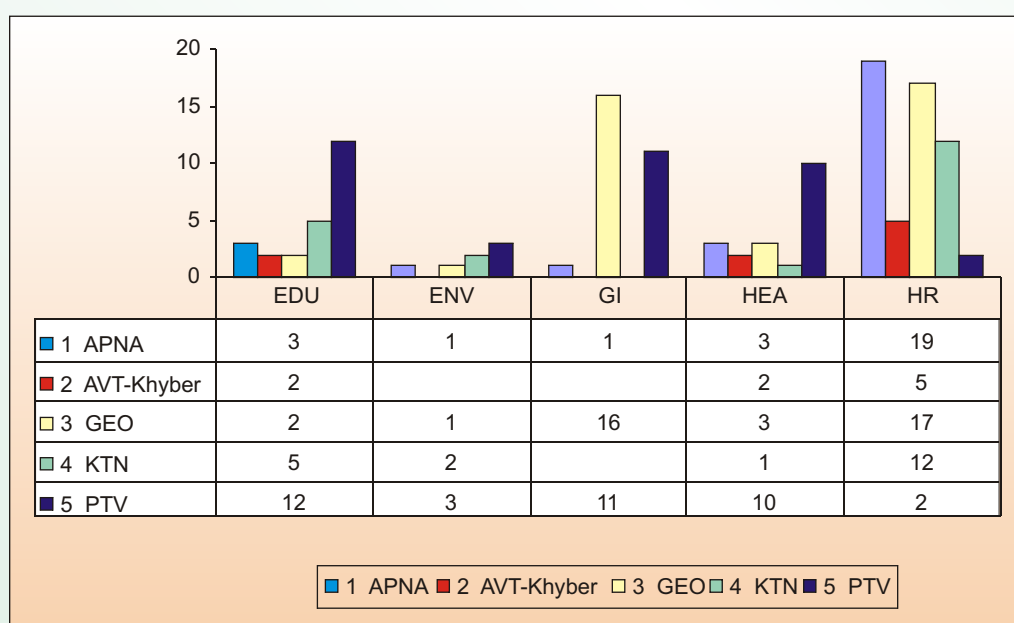


Table and graph indicating the duration given to Social Issues



- Gender Issue (GI) was news reported by all sample TV news 28 times, out of which 16 belonged to GEO; 11 to PTV and 1 to APNA. Other channels didn't report on gender issues in their sample bulletins during the select period
- Education (EDU) issue was news reported by all sample TV news 24 times, out of which 12 belonged to PTV; 5 to KTN; 3 to APNA; and 2 each to GEO and Khyber. Other channels didn't report on the issues in their sample bulletins during the select period
- Health (HEA) issue was news reported by all sample TV news 19 times, out of which 10 belonged to PTV; 3 each to GEO and APNA; 2 to AVT Khyber and one to KTN.
- Environment (ENV) issue was news reported by all sample TV news 7 times, out of which 3 belonged to PTV; 2 to KTN; and 1 each to APNA and GEO. AVT (Khyber) didn't report on the issues in their sample bulletins during the select period.
- All sample TV channels news reported for a total of 198 times items which encouraged and **promoted violation of election code** as a part of politics and a way of life.

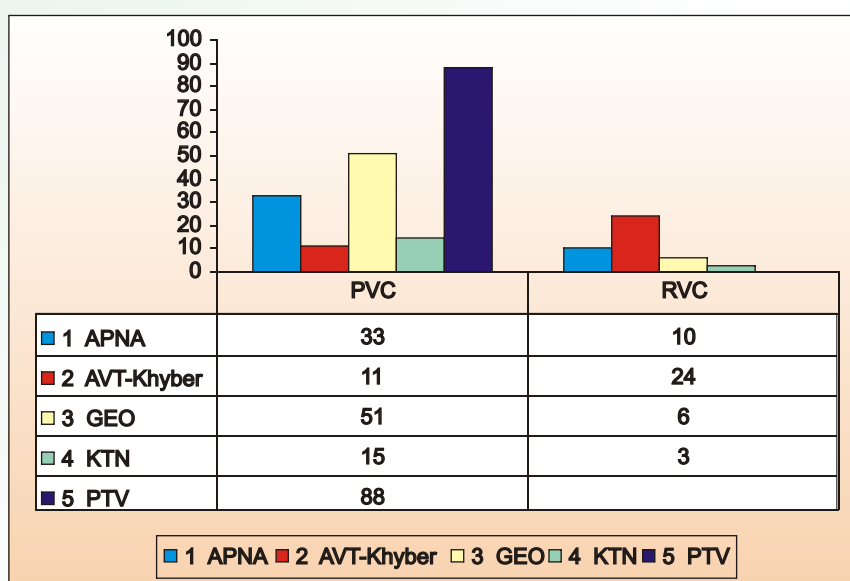


Table and graph indicating the frequency given to PVC and RVC

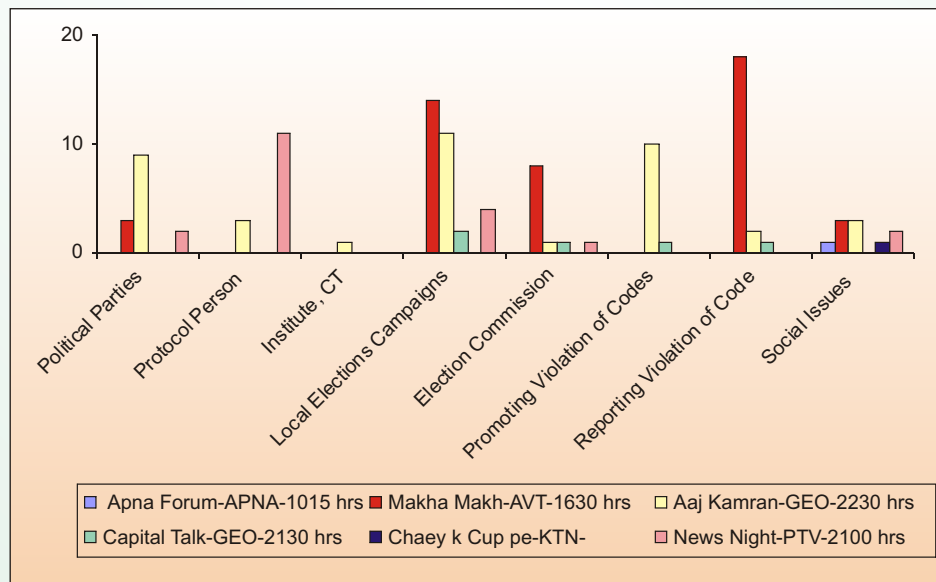
- PTV's main news bulletin, if not the headlines, contained highest number of such mischievous reports which numbered 88.
- GEO was next in the line as it promoted election code violation through a total of 51 such news reports, followed by APNA which gave 33 such news reports, and then KTN 15 and AVT Khyber, did it 11 times.
- All sample channels, except PTV, collectively news reported 43 times **reported violation of election code** where it was directly pointed out and the violation of election laws was made an issue. PTV did not for once include such a news report in its main news bulletin.
- AVT Khyber took the lead in doing so by airing 24 such investigative news reports followed by 10 reports by APNA, 6 by GEO and 3 by KTN.

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 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.

In view of the above talk shows of all five TV channels have been monitored to see (1) which codified issues or Interest Groups (IGs) have been discussed and for how many times (2) Then to what extent these talk shows reflected a broad range of views on an issue through balanced representation of different sections of society.

We may note here that only some of the TV channels seem to have made serious efforts in producing such talk shows. Some channels, especially the regional channels, did not seem to have done sufficient ground work to develop this genre. The issue at times was also the lack of capacity on the part of some TV channels to generate diverse contents. Any lack of depth in debate or representative character of the participants may not be therefore attributed exclusively to deliberate editorial biases and thus some issues getting highlighted at the cost of others. The situation is evident from the sample profile of the monitored TV talk shows given in the table below:



Frequency of appearance of each cluster in talk shows

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 the prime time live talk show of PTV World that focuses on wide range of issues and invites guests to deliberate on chosen themes. News Night is aired immediately after the prime time *Khabarnama* (news at 9 p.m.). During the sample period this talk show focused less on codified issues and more on protocol personality cluster and that too the prime minister. Basically, the show lacked plurality of views and focus on public interest issues.

In 28 episodes of News Night with a total duration of 19 hrs and 6 minutes the PTV World resorted to discussing or publicizing the prime minister's visits, activities and speeches for 7 times. Encouraging was the fact that PTV World produced debates on local election campaigns for four times. The election debate would otherwise get little time or just official perspective in the news bulletin but these talk shows did provide a detailed perspective to the people. However in these discussions the focus remained on role of the Election Commission or performance of the ruling PML. Unfortunately no talk show focused on accountability of the out going local body leaders and their previous performance in order to educate people about their role as a voter and rights. One talk show exclusively focused on Election Commission. One show each was devoted to the issues of environment and health, which is a positive sign. The talk show thrice saw the president's speeches, activities or certain policy statements being made a point of debate.

Two of the News Night shows focused on political parties role and both shows discussed only the ruling party. The ruling PML was lucky to have its view point put across in both talk shows. 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 9 shows were aired during the month which had nothing to do with the select 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. The News Night remained heavily poised in government's favor as government officials got maximum representation in the talk show. During the sample period News Night invited 47 guests of which 21 were government officials. The representation of elected political parties leaders was also very low as it stood at 5 participants only in 28 days. That may mean just one or two programmes where opposition parties may still not be represented. The retired army officers did fairly well because even being unrepresentative of any political party four of them got participation in News Night. There were 3 civil society representatives who appeared in the talk show during the sample period followed by 4 academicians, 7 diplomats and one media person.

Not a single election candidate was invited to the talk show even while it discussed local election campaigns four times, as stated above. Regional PTV centers, as public service broadcaster, did



not have a strategy to give free air time to at least district Nazim candidates through regional versions of News Night. Giving free air time and inviting election candidates to such talk shows is an essential component of public service broadcasting so that people get involved in political debates on national issues, and then having felt convinced enough or otherwise by the candidate, go to polls to exercise their right to vote. There is no standard policy of News Night on whether or not the talk show will be live. There isn't a standard policy on live questions on telephone either.



Aaj Kamran Kay Saath

This is a private GEO TV talk show accessible mainly to cable TV service customers in majority of urban areas of Pakistan. Unlike PTV it is supposed to have no compulsion for publicity of official views.

True to people's expectation, a major focus of the talk show was the Local Election Campaign (LEC) about which 11 programmes were held. This was indeed very timely and positive and something that served the people's appetite for political debate. One programme was devoted to Election Commission and another to a court judgment.

This was followed by another Interest Group (IG) issue of Promoting Violation of Code (PVC), where a TV channel news or talk show reports or discusses illegal electoral activities as a passing reference rather than stopping there and telling the people that this is violation of code. The talk show unfortunately for 11 times discussed either local election campaigns or other issues which instead of unveiling election code violation actually promoted it. If the TV channel does not point it out and just publicizes (promote) such illegal electoral activities then this does not serve the public interest and we must remind the TV channel that it shouldn't do it. Interestingly, GEO seems to be the only private TV channel which through its talk shows actively promoted violation of election code because the only other talk show which was monitored once for promoting violation of the election code was Capital Talk of GEO.

Fortunately Aaj Kamran Kay Saath also included two programmes where it actually discussed election code violations. This is encouraging for a media monitor. More encouraging was the fact that in the talk show the role of political parties was discussed and debated in a total of 9 talk shows of which MMA's role was discussed in 4 talk shows because its leader was also the opposition leader in the National Assembly. Two of the programmes discussed the role and policies of the ruling PML and one programme debated PMLN policies. Two programmes focused on what the Prime Minister said or actually did and one discussed the president's sayings or policies. MQM, ARD and ANP got one programme each that discussed their respective party policies. PPP and JI got no program focused on their party policies. Another positive aspect to Aaj Kamran Kay Saath show was its three programmes which focused on Human Rights (HR) issue. However there was no programme that exclusively raised social issues like education, health, gender issues and environment.



Capital Talk

This talk show made little impact on our monitoring coordinates. Out of a total of 7 programmes it did 2 programmes on local election campaign. But given the fact that there were only seven programmes as our sample the number of programmes discussing local election campaign, which is 2, is no less encouraging than the Aaj Kamran Kay Saath. If we double the sample arbitrarily bringing it at par with the sample of Aaj Kamran Kay Saath talk show then its one programme monitored as Promotion of Violation of Election Code (PVC) and one time Reporting Violation of election Code (RVC) is no different. The show discussed non codified issues in 4 programmes. One programme focused on Election Commission role and policies.



Makha Makh-AVT Khyber

AVT Khyber started this talk show Makha Makh (Face to Face) to highlight the performance of local governments and explore problems faced by the elected officials. Majority of guests were District/tehsil and town Nazimeen, UC nazimeen, councilors, journalists and official of the relevant government departments. The program was aired five days a week. After completion of the process of Local Government Elections 2005, the AVT Khyber management decided to discontinue the talk show.

AVT Khyber has been an interesting phenomenon to monitor. Like its news bulletins it adopted an aggressive outlook on some of the specified IGs (Interest group issues identified and codified). Like in its news it aggressively highlighted and debated the instances of election code violations in its talk show Makha Mukh. A total of 18 of the talk shows debated election code violations (RVC), 14 of the talk shows focused on over all Local Election Campaign (LEC), 8 talk shows highlighted and debated Election Commission role and policies. Interestingly, not a single talk show raised issues which could have been construed as Promoting Violation of election Code (PVC).

Political parties and their policies and statements also got reasonably debated and discussed through a total of 6 of the programmes. MMA got 2 talk shows, and one each focused on ARD, JI, PPP, ANP and MQM. None of the talk show focused on PML, president or the PM.

AVT Khyber continued its focus on social issues, a hall mark of its sample news bulletin. 5 of the programmes focused on social issues, 2 each on education and health and one on gender. Only 2 of the talk shows focused on Other (O) issues not specified in IGs.



APNA and KTN

Unlike their news bulletins the talk shows of both the TV channels did not make significance contribution to our monitoring exercise. Only one talk show of KTN was tracked during the sample period. Similarly, 3 talk shows of APNA were recorded during the same period and one of these related to education while the two others did not relate to the specified IG issues.



Chapter 3

Print Media:

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.

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 government 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 government-press struggle alone but also the struggle within of 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 and regional spectrum which included newspapers from Islamabad, Lahore, Karachi Quetta, Peshawar and Rawalpindi. Of the seven national and four regional newspapers there were six English and five Urdu language newspapers.

The period of monitoring was 01 to 31 August 2005 during which time only a few of the daily samples were missed due to logistical problems like non availability of newspapers. Sample profiles of newspapers can be seen in the table below.

Timing of media monitoring:

The media monitoring exercise coincided with local body elections 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. The 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 newspapers 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, and editorial page.

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, though only for second half of August, 2005 (15-31 Aug, 2005) was the ratio of news by newspapers' own reporters and news wire agencies published on front pages. To be answered was the question as to how serious news process was in each of the sample newspapers. The assumption here is that greater the number of reports attributed to news correspondent the bigger is 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 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 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 time and again if it was balanced, critical or supportive of government policies.

The monitors also studied 'letters to 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?

How Pakistan is front paged?

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.

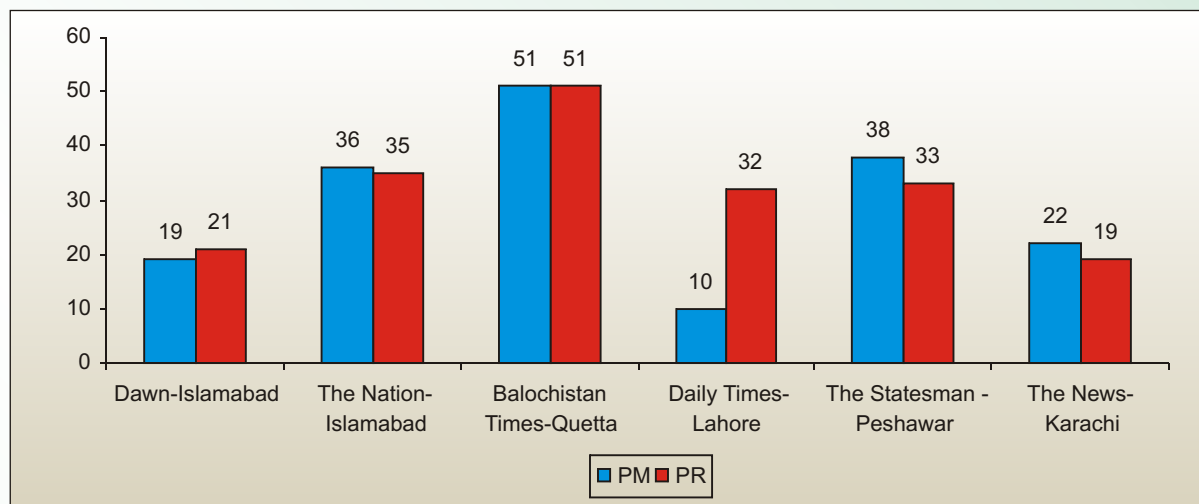
How Pakistan is front-paged?

All codified issues, including the 'Other' category, were reported for 4,792 times on the front pages of 11 newspapers for 320 days. Out of these issues those other than the codified as 'Other=O' were reported for a total of 372 times which reduced the total frequency of codified issues on front pages for the monitoring period to 4420. Out of this frequency of the codified issues (minus Others) English newspapers frequency of front-paging codified issues was 1,448 times and Urdu newspapers' frequency of front paging codified issues was 2,972 times.

Protocol personalities, especially the President, and the Prime Minister dominated the front pages of sample newspapers in terms of the number of times they got reported for any reason. The findings give credence to the currently recognized phenomenon of "protocol journalism" or "statement journalism."

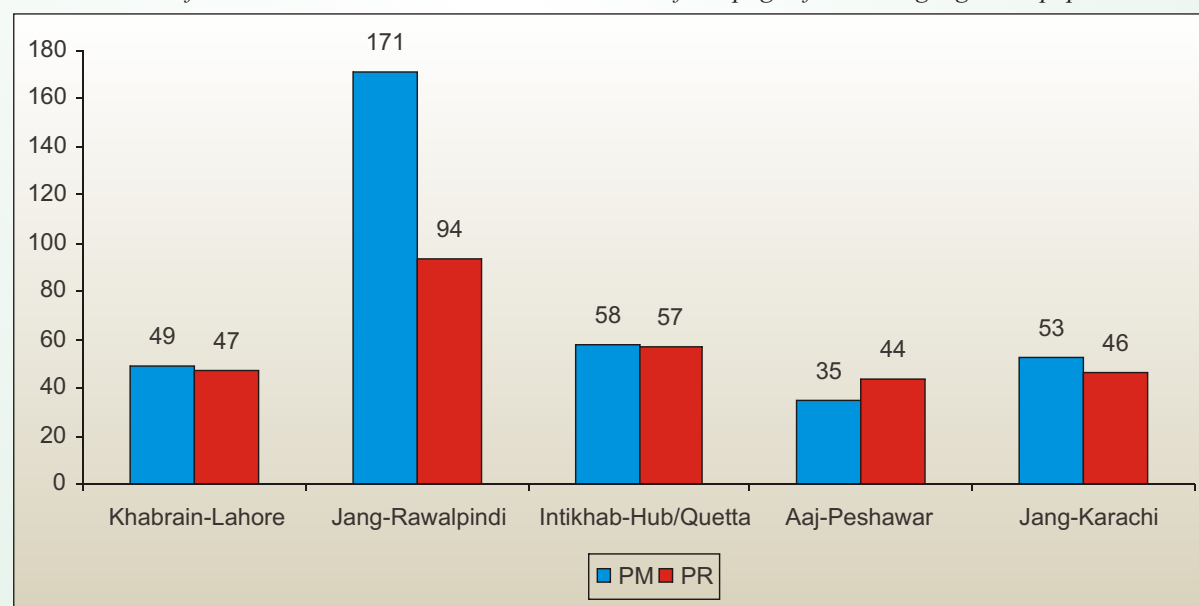
The protocol personalities' cluster, which included the president, the prime minister, the governors, the chief ministers and the ministers, got the highest frequency of reference, i.e. 1,752 times, on all sample front pages during the monitoring period. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged protocol personalities 1197 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged protocol personalities 555 times.

Share of the President and the Prime Minister on the front page of English language newspapers



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.

Share of the President and the Prime Minister on the front page of Urdu language newspapers



Among all the sample front pages in general and Urdu front pages in particular Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi, front paged protocol personalities for 458 times, the highest, followed by 270 times by daily Aaj, Peshawar. Maximum frequency of the front page coverage by Jang Rawalpindi for a protocol personality was 171 times given to the prime minister during August 2005, followed by 58 times by daily Intikhab, Quetta (monitored for 25 days). The president got front paged by Jang Rawalpindi 94 times, again the highest for the president among all sampled newspapers, followed by 57 times given to the president by daily Intikhab, Quetta. The lowest front page coverage of protocol personalities for 48 times came from English language Daily Times Lahore

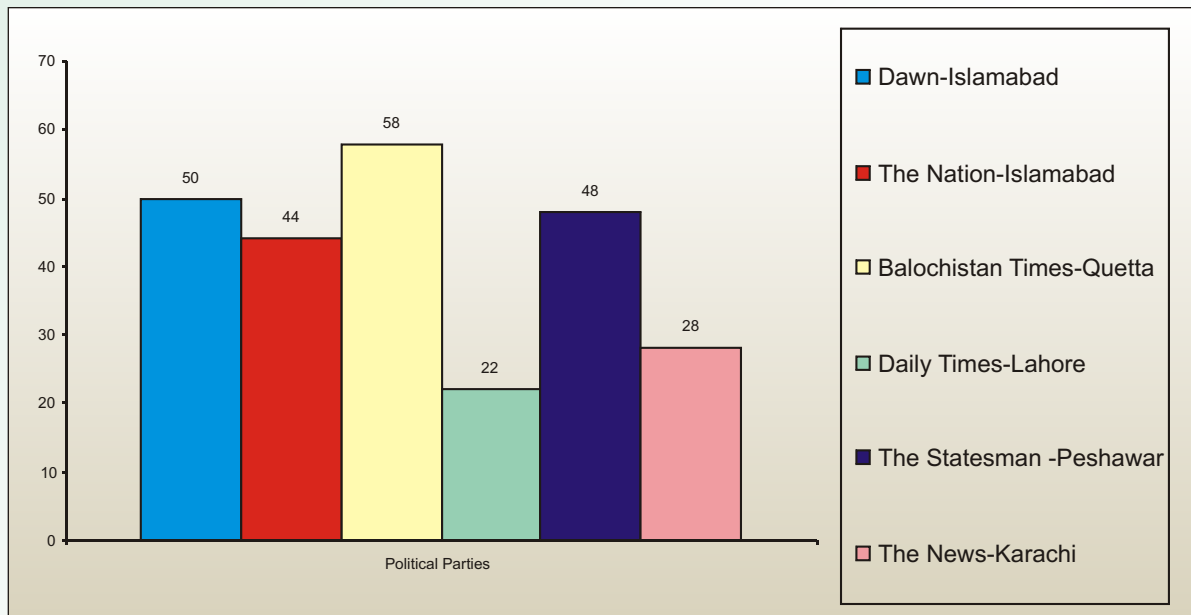


followed by second lowest of 50 times by The News Karachi.

This is followed by **political parties' cluster** which received a collective reference frequency of 909 times on all sampled front pages. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged political parties 659 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged political parties 250 times.

Among the political parties opposition MMA got front-paged by eleven newspapers for a total of 380 times, PPP-P 190 times, ARD 86 times, PML-N 65 times, MQM 52 times, ANP 36 times, BNP 18 times, PTI 10 times, JWP 10 times, PML-F 3 times and PKMAP 3 times.

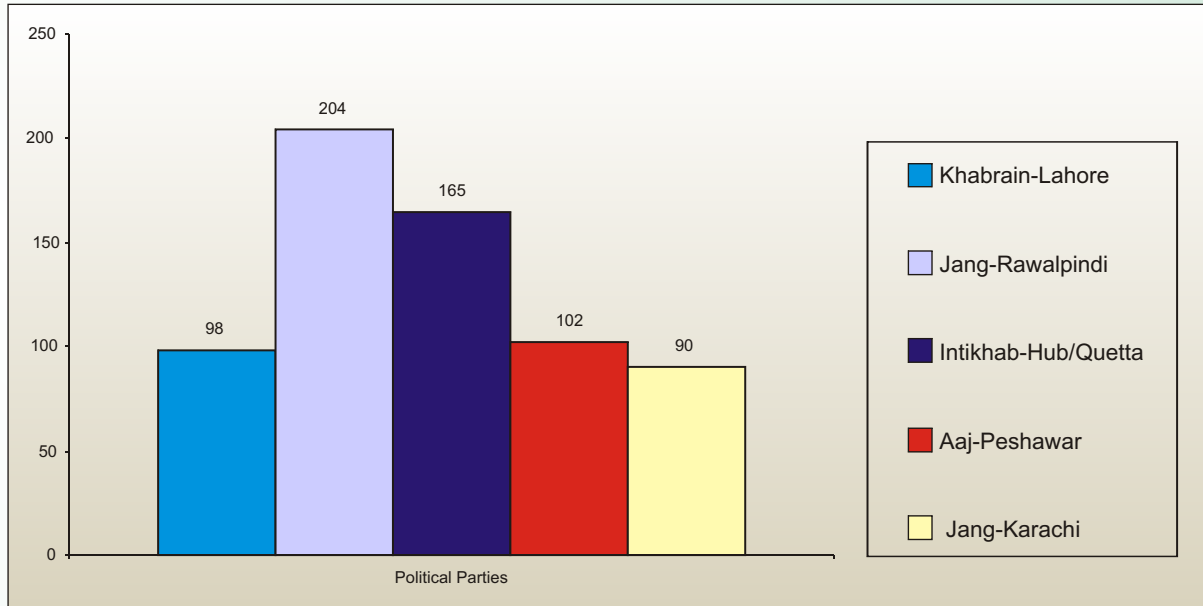
Frequency of appearance of political parties on the front pages of English dailies



Among all the sampled front pages in general and Urdu front pages in particular Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi, front paged political parties 204 times, the highest, followed by 165 times by Urdu daily Intikhab, Quetta. The maximum frequency of front page coverage by Jang Rawalpindi for a political party was 106 times given to MMA during August 2005, followed by 61 times also given to MMA by daily Intikhab, Quetta. The lowest front page coverage of political parties of 22 times came from Daily Times Lahore again followed by second lowest of 28 times by The News Karachi.

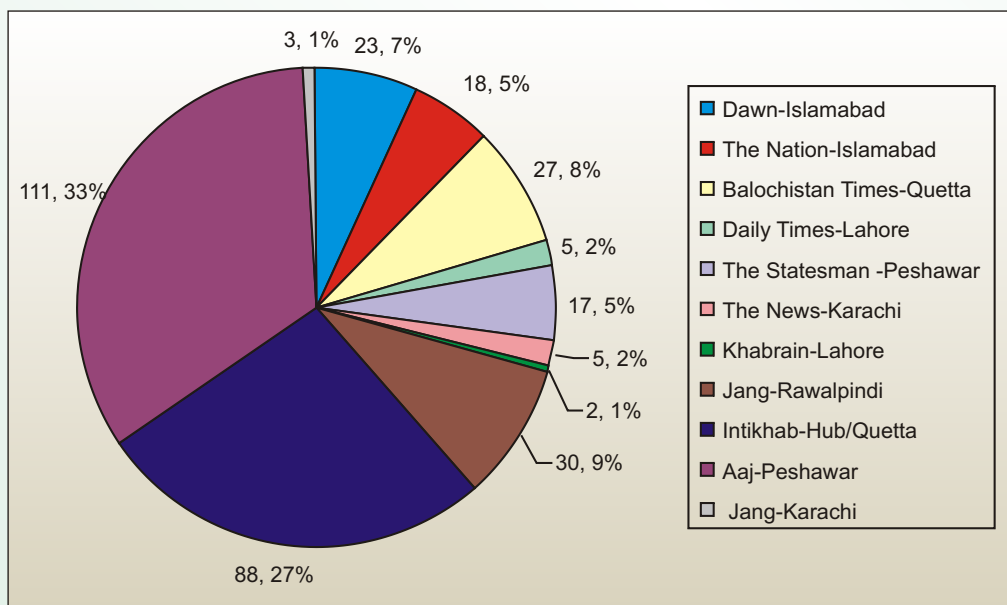
The **social issues cluster** was third in front page priorities. This means a collective frequency of coverage relating to issues like Health (HEA), Education (EDU), Environment (ENV), Gender (GI) and Human Rights (HR). The front pages of 11 news papers referred to these social issues for 579 times in monitoring period of 320 days i.e. one month for 11 newspapers. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged social issues 385 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged social issues 194 times. Among the social issues, human rights issue got front paged for the maximum of 329 times in all 11 newspapers, followed by education for 108 times.

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



Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar front paged social issues for 151 times, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 138 times in Intikhab, Quetta and Jang Rawalpindi's 80 times. However, Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi that front paged social issues for 80 times is the highest among the national newspapers. Among six English newspapers Balochistan Times, Quetta front paged social issues 56 times, followed by The Nation, 45, and Dawn, Islamabad, 40 times.

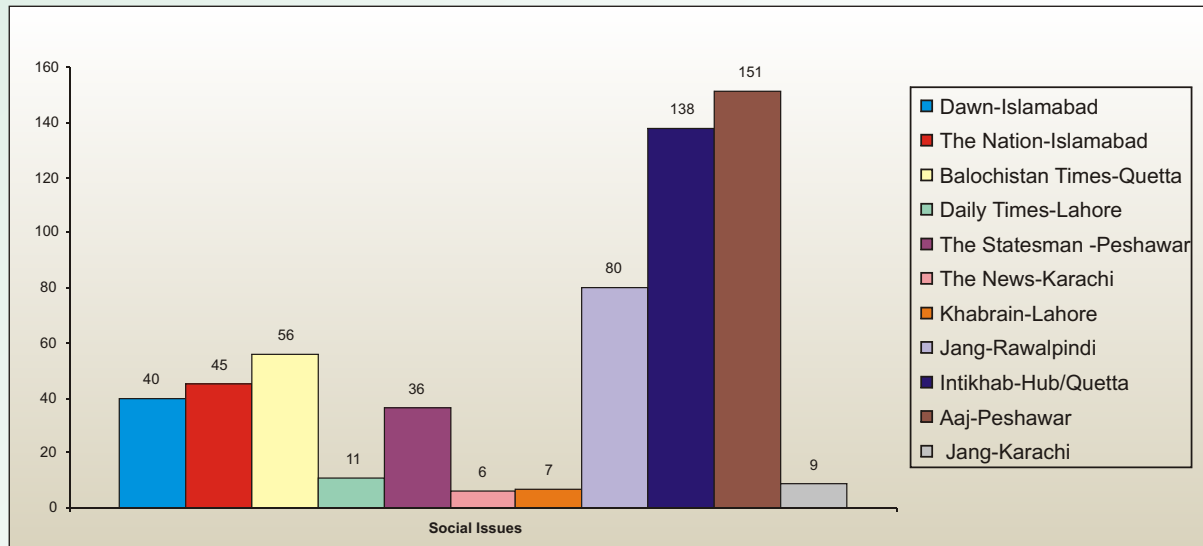
Frequency and percentage of Human Right issues on the front pages





The maximum frequency of front page coverage by any newspaper for a social issue is for Urdu daily Aaj Peshawar front paging human rights issues (HR) for 111 times. This is followed by daily Intikhab, Quetta, which front paged HR issue for 88 times and educational issues 32 times. Among national Urdu dailies Jang, Rawalpindi took the lead by front paging HR issues for 30 times. Similarly among national English dailies Dawn, Islamabad led the way by front paging HR issues for 23 times.

Overall picture of social issues front-paged by various newspapers



The lowest front page coverage of social issues of 6 times only came from The News Karachi, followed by second lowest of Urdu daily, Khabrain, Lahore and then the third lowest front paging of social issue comes from Jang Karachi.

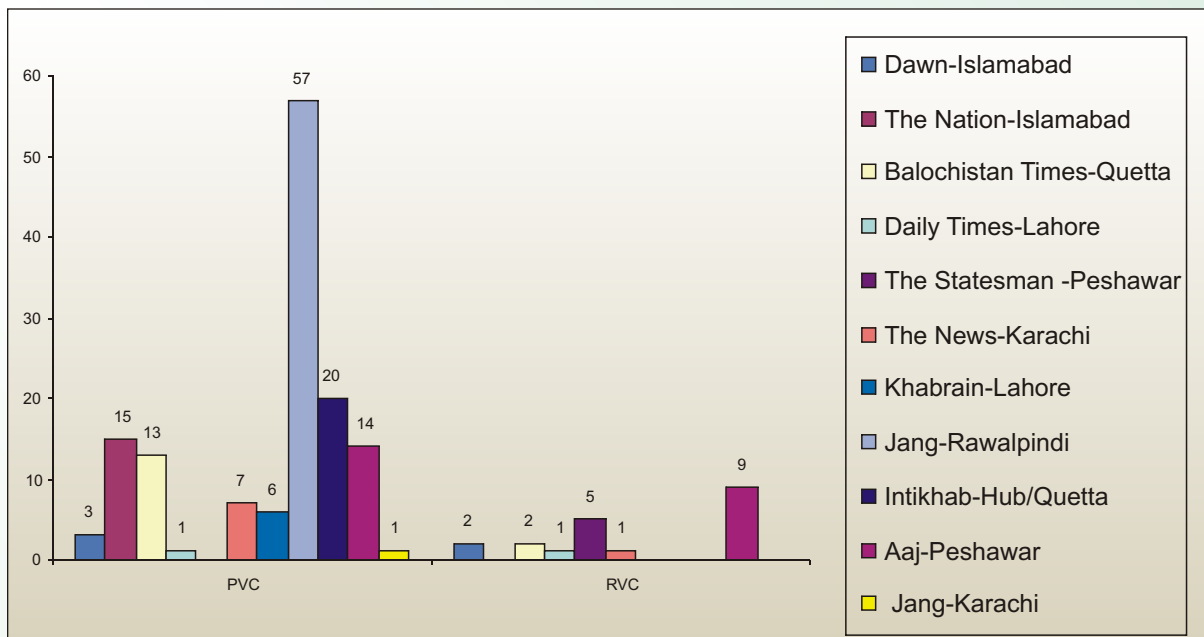
Local Election Campaign (LEC) related issues and events were fourth in number of the times they got attention of the front page editors i.e. 529 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged LEC 342 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged LEC 187 times.

Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar front paged LEC for 108 times, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 81 times of Jang Karachi i.e. highest among national newspapers, and then 60 times front paging of LEC by Jang Rawalpindi. Among six English newspapers The Statesman, Peshawar front paged LEC 43 times, followed by The Nation, Islamabad 41 times, and Dawn, Islamabad, 34 times. The lowest front page coverage of LEC for 17 times only came from Daily Times, Lahore followed by second lowest of 23 times by The News Karachi and then 28 times by Balochistan Times, Quetta.

Front pages collectively indulged in **Promotion of Violation of Election Code (PVC)** 137 times whereas they pointed to or investigated and **Reported Violation of Election Code (RVC)** for only 20 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively indulged in Promoting Violation of election Code (PVC) 98 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged PVC 39 times. Interestingly, the same English and Urdu language samples front paged RVC 9 and 11 times only.

Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi indulged in front page PVC for 57 times, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 20 times in Intikhab, Quetta and The Nation, Islamabad for 15 times i.e. highest among English newspapers. Among other national newspapers, Dawn, Islamabad indulged in PVC 3 times, Daily Times, Lahore 1 time; Khabrain, Lahore, 6 times; and Jang, Karachi, 1 time.

Newspaper wise picture of PVC and RVC



Ironically, RVC was not once front paged by many of the newspapers like Jang, Rawalpindi; Jang, Karachi; The Nation, Islamabad and Khabrain, Lahore. But regional newspapers from Peshawar did front page reports about violation of election code. Daily Aaj front paged RVC 9 times, the highest, and The Statesman, Peshawar 5 times, followed by Dawn, Islamabad and Balochistan Times, Quetta for 2 times each, and Daily Times Lahore and The News Karachi one time each.

The **Election Commission (EC)** got front page coverage for 349 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively front-paged the EC 217 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged the EC 132 times. Urdu daily Jang Karachi front paged the EC for 52 times, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 48 times of another Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar, 42 times by daily Khabrain, Lahore and 40 times by daily Jang, Rawalpindi. Among the English language dailies Balochistan Times front paged the EC for 39 times, The Statesman, Peshawar for 31 times and Dawn, Islamabad 24 times. The lowest front page coverage of the EC i.e. 8 times came from English language daily The News, Karachi.

The **Courts (CT)** got reported for their case hearing, judgments or judges statement for 145 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively front paged Courts 65 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged Courts 80 times. This is the only code where



English newspapers collectively have more frequency of front paging then 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 22 times followed by 20 times each by English daily Balochistan Times and Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar.

News sources:

A news agency provides information on commercial basis to 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 monitoring for a limited period i.e. between 15-31 August, 2005 the selected newspapers published on their front pages 1,251 stories from News agencies and 1,483 stories from their Staff Reporters. The English language front page sample published 507 stories of news agencies and 541 stories of their correspondents/reporters. Similarly, the Urdu sample of front pages published 744 stories from news wire services and 942 stories from their correspondents/reporters.

Among English language front page 15-days sample, Daily Dawn, Islamabad, had the highest number of 126 reports by its correspondents/reporters with only 24 stories from news agencies. Next in the line reflecting serious news process is The Nation, Islamabad, with 87 of its stories from its own sources/correspondents/reporters and just 15 stories from news agencies. Daily Times, Lahore also reflects a degree of serious news process with 70 stories on its front page from its correspondents and 44 stories from news agencies. The News Karachi also reflects a degree of serious news process with 77 of its front page stories published were from news agencies and 69 from its own correspondents. The Statesman, Peshawar had 160 stories from news agencies and 102 from its own correspondent. The biggest dependent on news agencies, rather than own correspondent/reporters, is Balochistan Times, Quetta, which had 187 stories from news agencies and only 87 stories from its own sources or correspondents.

Among Urdu language newspapers, Daily Aaj, had the highest number of 248 reports by its correspondents/reporters and 204 stories from news agencies. Next in the line reflecting serious news process is Jang Rawalpindi, with 197 of its stories from its own sources/correspondents/reporters and 122 stories from news agencies. Jang Karachi, also reflects a degree of serious news process with 195 stories on its front page from its correspondents and 144 stories from news agencies. Intikhab, Quetta, had 193 of its front page stories published were from news agencies and 189 from its own correspondents. Khabrain, Lahore had 109 stories on front page from news agencies and 85 from its own correspondents.



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.

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, including the 'Others' category were raised for 1,028 times in 775 editorials of 11 newspapers during the monitoring period. The selected codified IGs were discussed for 655 times. The Other issues were discussed in the editorials for a total of 373 times. Six English language newspapers raised codified issues in their editorials 336 times and Urdu newspapers' frequency was 319 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. Issues relating to our codified social issues were raised for a total of 202 times during the monitoring period. Out of these five Urdu language newspapers collectively debated social issues 103 times in their editorials. Six English language newspapers collectively debated social issues for 99 times during the period. The editorials in all sample newspapers raised the issue of Human Rights 96 times during the monitoring period, followed by education 42 times. 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.

Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi, raised social issues in its editorials for 42 times, the highest among

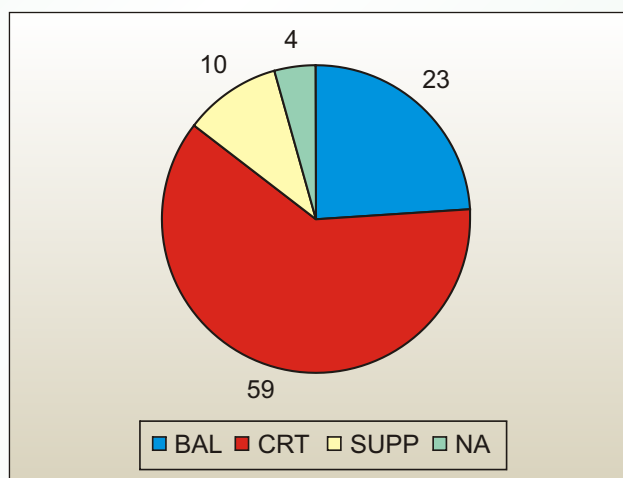


all 11 newspapers, followed by 30 times of English daily Dawn, Islamabad and 24 times of The Nation, Islamabad. Dawn lead the English newspapers debate on social issues while Jang lead the Urdu newspapers on the issues. Among other newspapers Jang Karachi raised questions on social issues through editorials for 25 times; The Statesman, Peshawar 22 times; Intikhab, Quetta 15 times; Aaj, Peshawar and The News, Karachi 11 times each; Khabrain, Lahore 10 times; Daily Times, Lahore 7 times and Balochistan Times, Quetta 5 times only.

The maximum frequency of editorials on a social issue was seen in Jang, Rawalpindi which discussed human rights issue for 21 times followed by 16 times of Jang Karachi on the same issue and then The Nation, Islamabad followed the same debate 14 times. Dawn raised human rights issue in its editorial 8 times, second highest among English newspapers. As was stated earlier English daily Dawn, Islamabad had earlier lead the way by front paging human rights issue for 23 times.

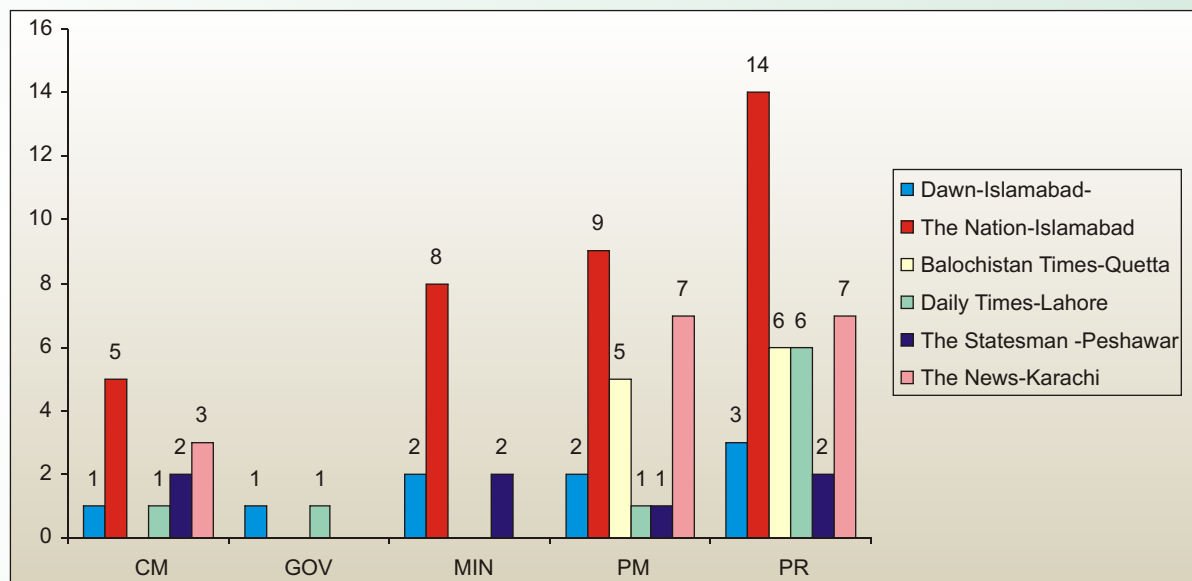
Now it would be interesting to see that out of a total of 202 times when social issues were raised by the editorials, how many times these were either critical or supportive of the government. The data shows that out of 202 instances of editorial focus on social issues the government was criticized for 139 times, and supported for 30 times only where as for 55 times the editorials balanced the debate. The biggest editorial criticism faced by the government during the monitoring period was 59 times on the human rights issue, followed by 21 times on the topic of education. Only on 10 instances the editorials supported the government on the human rights issues.

Tone and tenor of editorials on human rights



Protocol personalities, especially the President and the Prime Minister were the next focus of debate in editorials of the monitored newspapers. In fact as the multiple choice worked there were editorials which were marked as both protocol personalities and social issues and this explains why the frequency (1,018) of all issues raised is far more that the actual sample i.e. 775 editorials.

Protocol personalities in the editorials of English newspapers



The protocol personalities cluster, which included the president, the prime minister, governors, chief ministers and ministers, was discussed in editorials for a total of 186 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively referred to protocol personalities 98 times. Six English language newspapers collectively editorialized protocol personalities 88 times.

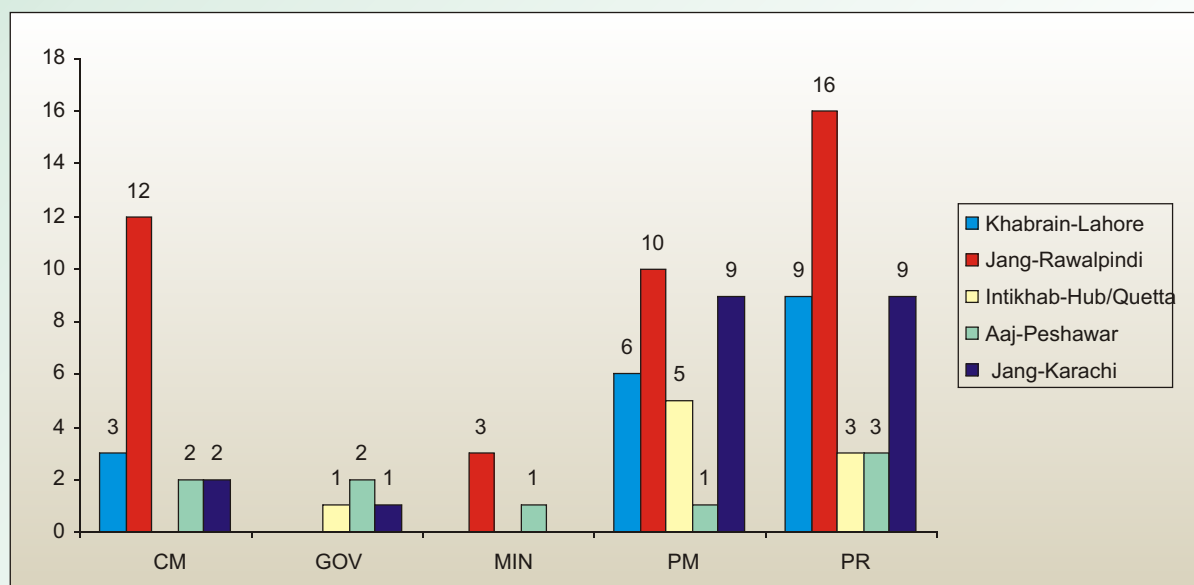
Among the “protocol personalities” the president got discussed in editorials for a total of 78 times followed by the prime minister 56 times, the chief ministers got discussed in editorials 31 times, ministers 16 and Governors 6 times only. Among all sample editorial pages in general and Urdu newspapers in particular daily Jang, Rawalpindi, discussed in its editorials the president 16 times, followed by 14 times by The Nation, Islamabad. The prime minister got mentioned in editorial of Jang Rawalpindi 10 times, followed by 9 times each of Jang, Karachi and The Nation, Islamabad. The lowest editorial references to protocol personalities of 7 times came from English language daily The Statesman, Peshawar.

Interesting statistics came while we looked for an answer to the question—what position did the editorials take vis-à-vis the government while discussing protocol personalities? Statistics show that out of a total of 186 times protocol personalities discussed in editorials, the government was criticized for 41 times and supported for 93 times, whereas for 51 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 44 times, and criticized for 16 times only.

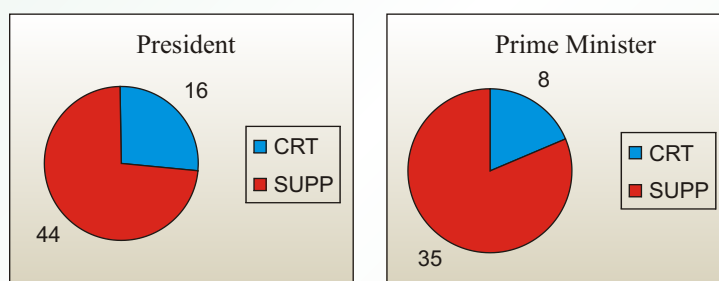
Similarly, the prime minister was supported in sample editorials for 35 times and criticized for 8 times only. The biggest editorial support of 14 times for the president came from Jang, Rawalpindi, whereas the biggest criticism of 8 times came from The Nation, Islamabad. Similarly, the biggest editorial support of 7 times for the prime minister came from Jang, Rawalpindi, whereas the biggest criticism of 3 times only came from The Nation, Islamabad.



Protocol personalities in the editorials of Urdu newspapers



Tone and tenor of the editorials in on the president and the prime minister:



The Nation also, however had 3 editorials in support of the prime minister during the period. Urdu daily Khabrain, Lahore had 7 of its 9 editorials in support of the president and none critical of him, whereas the newspaper had all 6 editorials in support of the prime minister.

The third in editorial priority was the **Local Election Campaign (LEC)**, which was discussed and debated in editorials for 76 times. This was the period, as we may recall, of local body election campaign. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively took up editorially LEC issue 46 times. Six English language newspapers collectively raised LEC in editorials 30 times. Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi and English language daily The Nation, Islamabad discussed LEC in their editorials 13 times each, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 9 times each of Jang Karachi, and Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar.

The lowest frequency of editorials on LEC was Zero in Balochistan Times, Quetta and 2 times each by Dawn, Islamabad and Daily Times, Lahore. Khabrain Lahore discussed LEC in its editorials for 7 times, The News, Karachi six times and Intikhab, Quetta, 8 times.

The nature of editorials on LEC was an interesting finding. Out of a total of 76 editorials on the issue of local election campaign 40 of these criticized the conduct of local body elections and



only 13 times the government got editorial support. For 23 times it appeared that the editorials avoided adopting a clear position. The biggest criticism of LEC came for 11 times from The Nation, Islamabad (none in support), followed by 5 times each of Jang, Rawalpindi (4 in support) and The Statesman, Peshawar (none in support). Jang, Karachi published 4 editorials on LEC in support of government and just one that criticized the government. Khabrain, Lahore, published 3 editorials each against and in support of the government on the subject.

During the local election campaigns just like their front pages the indifference towards election laws and code traveled from front pages to the editorials, apart from a few newspapers which never had an editorial that caused **Promotion of Violation of Election Code (PVC)**. All sample editorials collectively indulged in PVC 19 times but they also raised the issue of election code violation in their editorials (RVC) for the same number of times. Five Urdu language newspapers editorials collectively indulged in Promoting Violation of election Code (PVC) 12 times. Six English language newspapers editorials collectively indulged in PVC 7 times. English and Urdu language newspaper editorials highlighted the issue through RVC 11 and 8 times only.

Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi through its editorial indulged in PVC 7 times, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 4 times of The Nation, Islamabad, 3 times by Aaj Peshawar, 2 times each by Urdu daily Intikhab, Quetta and Balochistan Times, Quetta. The newspapers which not for once indulged in PVC included: Daily Dawn, Islamabad; The Statesman, Peshawar; The News Karachi; Jang, Karachi and Khabrain, Lahore. In fact there seems to be a better understanding of the editors about election laws in Daily Dawn, The Statesman and The News Karachi who not only avoided editorials indulging in PVC but also highlighted the issue of election code violation (RVC) by 3 times each.

While Daily Jang, Rawalpindi indulged in PVC through the editorial for the highest 7 times it only once in its editorial highlighted the issue of election code violation (RVC). Urdu Daily Aaj, Peshawar took the lead by discussing for 6 times the issue of election code violation in its editorials. Five Urdu newspapers editorials collectively indulged in PVC for 12 times and resorted to RVC for 8 times. Six English newspapers showed a relative degree of responsibility by indulging only for 7 times in PVC and they also aggressively reported election code violations through editorials, 11 times.

Political parties' cluster received a collective reference frequency of 86 times in sample editorials. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively discussed political parties in their editorials 18 times. Six English language newspapers collectively editorialized political parties 68 times.

Of all the sample newspapers The Nation, Islamabad gave maximum editorial attention to issues relating to political parties by discussing these 44 times, followed by just 7 times each by Jang Rawalpindi and Dawn Islamabad, 6 times each by The Statesman, Peshawar and Khabrain, Lahore, 4 times by Intikhab, Quetta and 2 times each by Aaj, Peshawar; Jang Karachi and Balochistan Times.

Among the political parties opposition MMA attracted most of the editorial attention of the newspapers, 36 times followed by PML, 28 times, ARD 9 times, PPP 7 times, PMLN and PPPS



3 times each, MQM 2 times and BNM one time. The maximum times any newspaper discussed a political party in editorials is 13 times reference to MMA in editorials of The Nation, Islamabad, followed by 12 times discussion of PML in the same newspaper. The Statesman, Peshawar and Daily Times, Lahore also discussed MMA's role 6 times each. PPP and ARD separately got editorial attention of 4 times each by The Nation, Islamabad. PML got 5 time editorial attention by Jang Rawalpindi and 3 times by Khabrain Lahore. Dawn Islamabad also discussed PML in its editorials 3 times during the monitoring period.

The **Election Commission (EC)** got editorial attention of 11 newspapers for 29 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively discussed in editorials EC 14 times, and six English language newspapers 15 times. The Nation and Khabrain Lahore discussed the EC in their editorials 5 times each followed by Dawn 4 times, and 2 times each by Daily Times, The Statesman, Aaj and Jang Karachi. Balochistan Times, The News Karachi, and Intikhab Quetta indulged in editorial debate about EC one time each, the lowest.

The **Courts (CT)** got discussed in editorials of sample newspapers for a total of 19 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively editorialized Courts 9 times. Six English language newspapers editorially discussed Courts 10 times. The Nation, Islamabad led the tally by discussing Courts in editorials 5 times followed by 3 times each by Khabrain, Lahore; Intikhab, Quetta; and Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar. The lowest editorial attention to Courts was of Jang Rawalpindi, Jang Karachi, The Statesman and Balochistan Times who not even once discussed in their editorials the court matters.

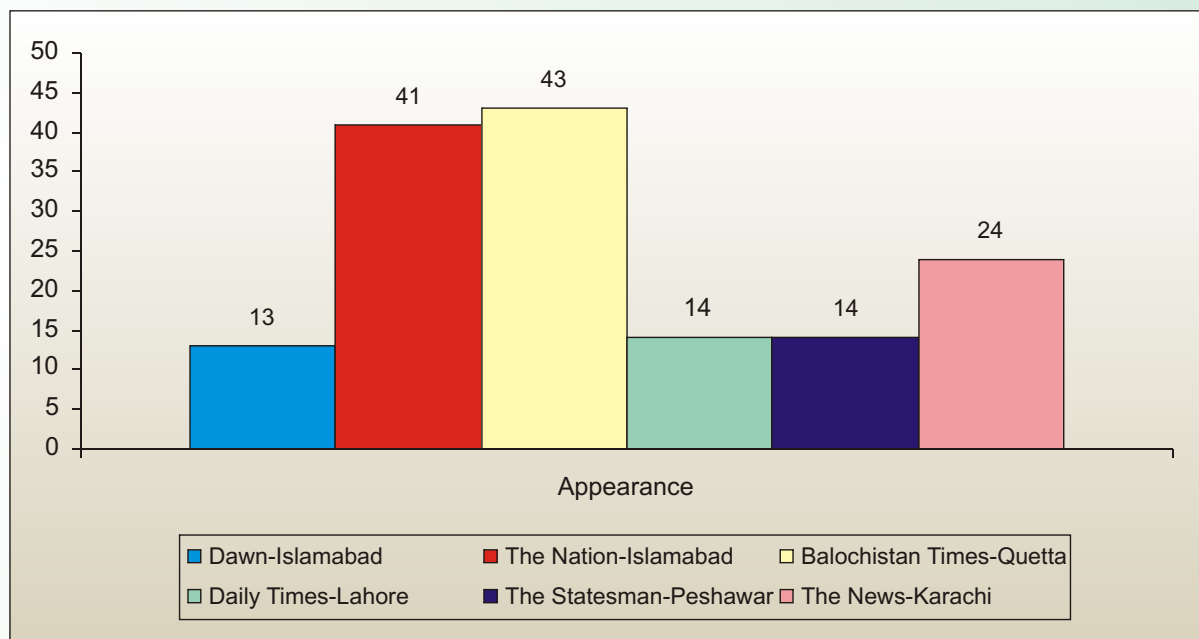
Privileged opinions:

All codified issues, including the others category, were raised for 2,463 times in opinion articles of 11 newspapers during the monitoring period. Out of these issues those other than the codified ones [Other =O] were reported for a total of 1,017 times. Out of this frequency of the codified issues (minus Others) opinion articles in English newspapers discussed codified issues 473 times and Urdu newspapers' frequency of codified issues was 544 times.

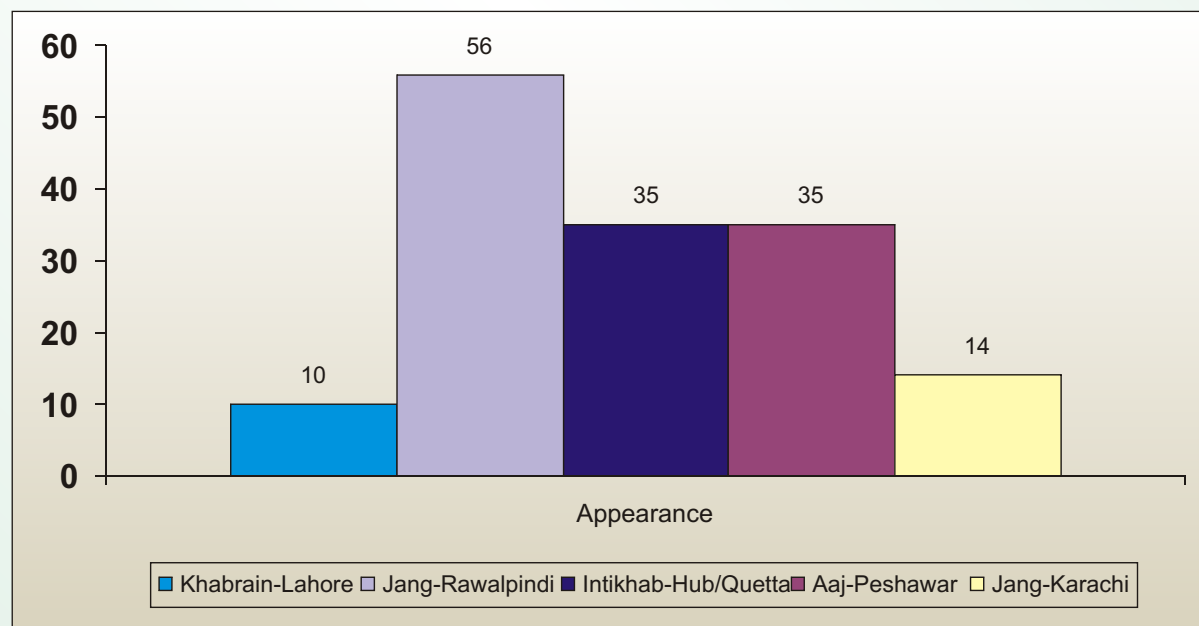
Social issues dominated the opinion pages of all sample newspapers with a frequency of 299 times. This clearly shows that the intelligentsia of the country wants proper debate on issue that affect people. The **social issues cluster** was first in opinion page priorities. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively raised social issues on their opinion pages 149 times. Six English language newspapers collectively raised these issues on opinion pages 150 times. Jang, Rawalpindi, on its opinion pages 56 times allowed social issues to be discussed, followed by 43 times of Balochistan Times and 41 times of The Nation, Islamabad.

Among the social issues, human rights issue got the maximum focus as this issue alone was taken up on opinion pages 105 times in all 11 newspapers, followed by education 96 times. Jang, Rawalpindi took the lead by letting the human rights issues appear on its opinion pages for 17 times, followed by 15 times on opinion pages of Balochistan Times. The News, Karachi did it for 14 times; The Nation, Islamabad 12 times; Intikhab and Jang Karachi 9 times each; and Dawn Islamabad and Khabrain, Lahore 8 times each.

Opinion Articles: Frequency of Social Issues in English Newspapers



Opinion Articles: Frequency of Social Issues in Urdu Newspapers

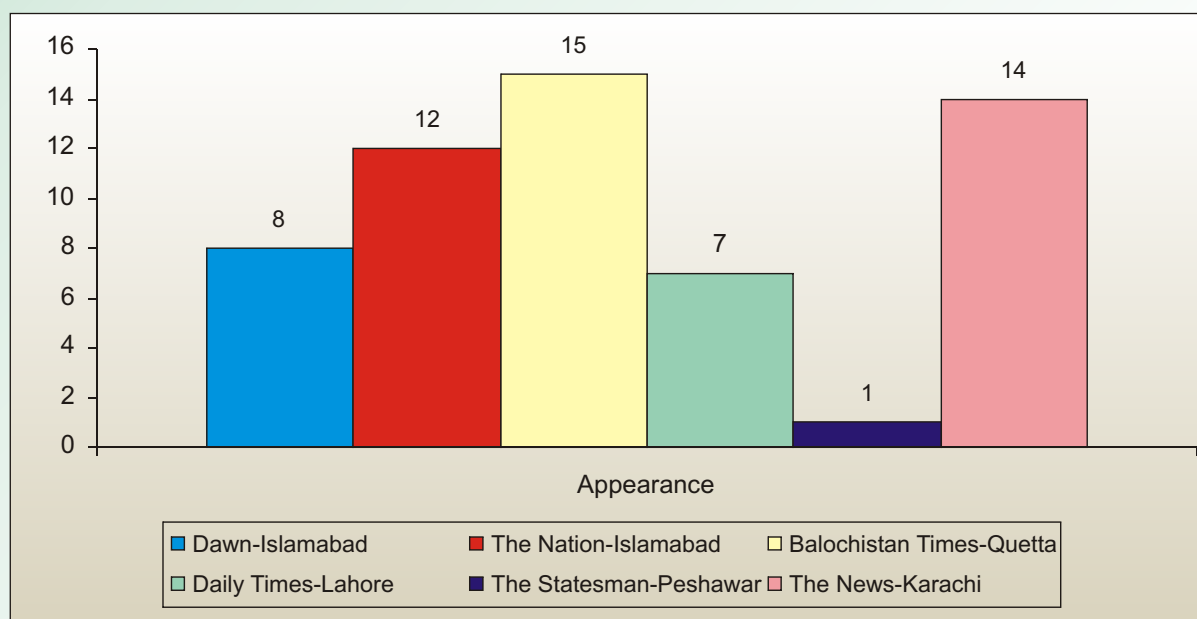


The lowest opinion page debate on social issues cluster of 10 times came from Khabrain Lahore, followed by second lowest 14 times each of Jang, Karachi, Daily Times, Lahore and The Statesman, Peshawar.

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. The president got



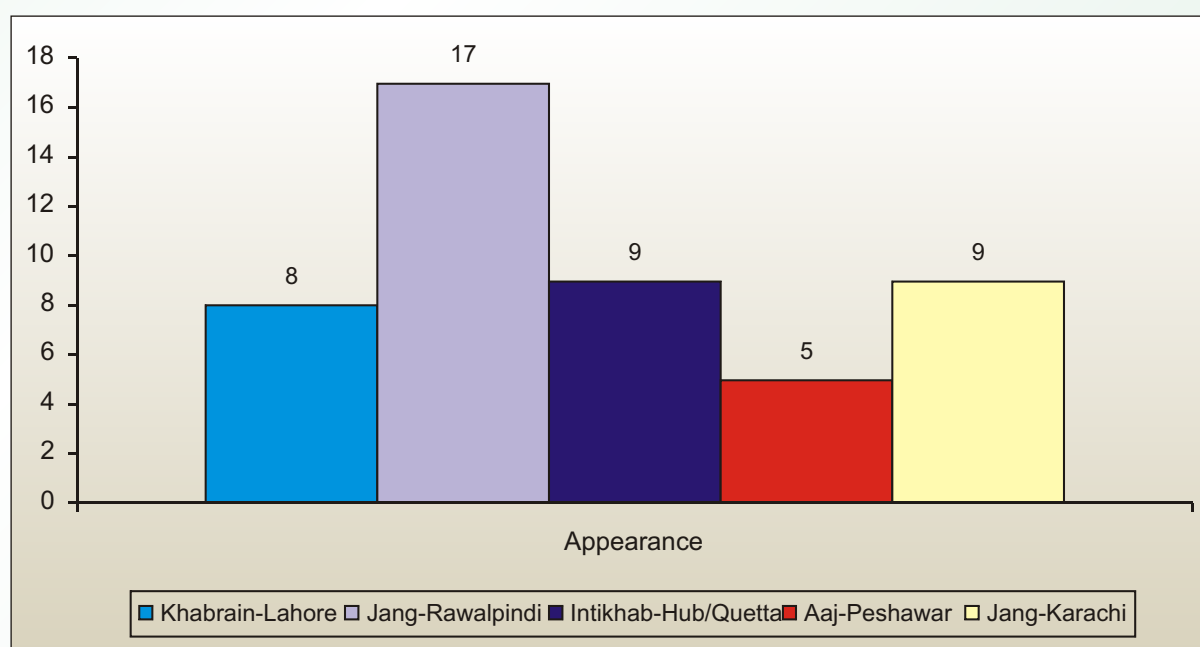
Opinion Articles: Frequency of articles on human rights in English Newspapers



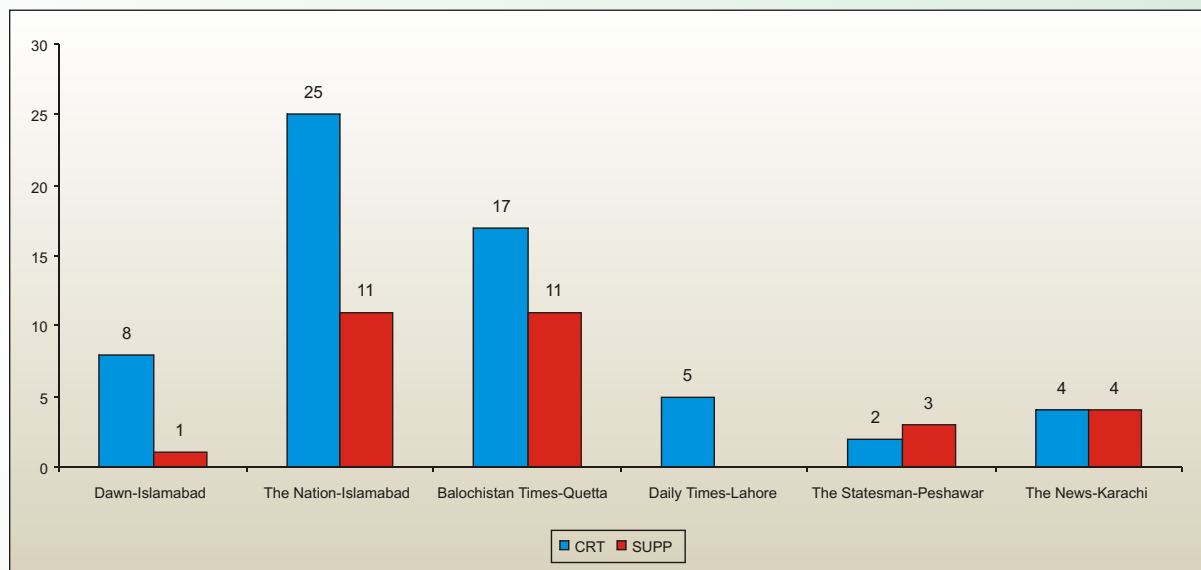
discussed in opinion articles for 182 times, the highest among protocol personalities. The only other person following him in the opinion pages is the prime minister who was discussed for 52 times only.

The protocol personalities cluster, which included the president, the prime minister, governors, chief ministers and ministers, got the highest frequency of reference, 283 times, in all sample opinion articles monitored during the period. Five Urdu language newspapers had collectively discussed protocol personalities in their opinion articles 142 times. Six English language newspapers collectively let protocol personalities to figure on opinion pages for 141 times.

Opinion Articles: Frequency of human rights issues in Urdu Newspapers

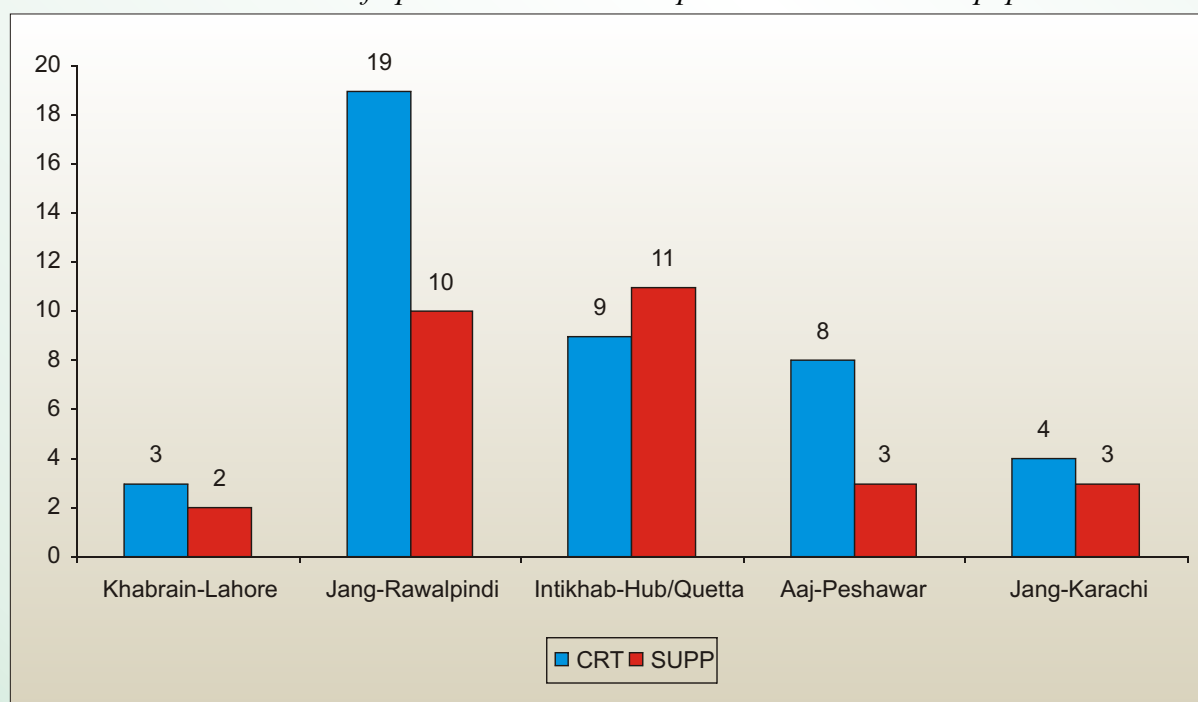


Tone and tenor of opinion articles on the president in English newspapers



Among all sample opinion pages The Nation, Islamabad, articles discussing protocol personalities for 64 times was the highest, followed by 59 times of Jang, Rawalpindi. The maximum frequency of opinion articles' focus on particular protocol person was 41 times for the president by The Nation, Islamabad followed by 33 times by Jang, Rawalpindi again for the president. The lowest number of opinion articles on protocol personalities came from The Statesman, Peshawar i.e. 6 times, followed by second lowest of 7 times by Daily Times, Lahore. Both newspapers were also noted for lowest opinion page focus on the president, each of 5 times only.

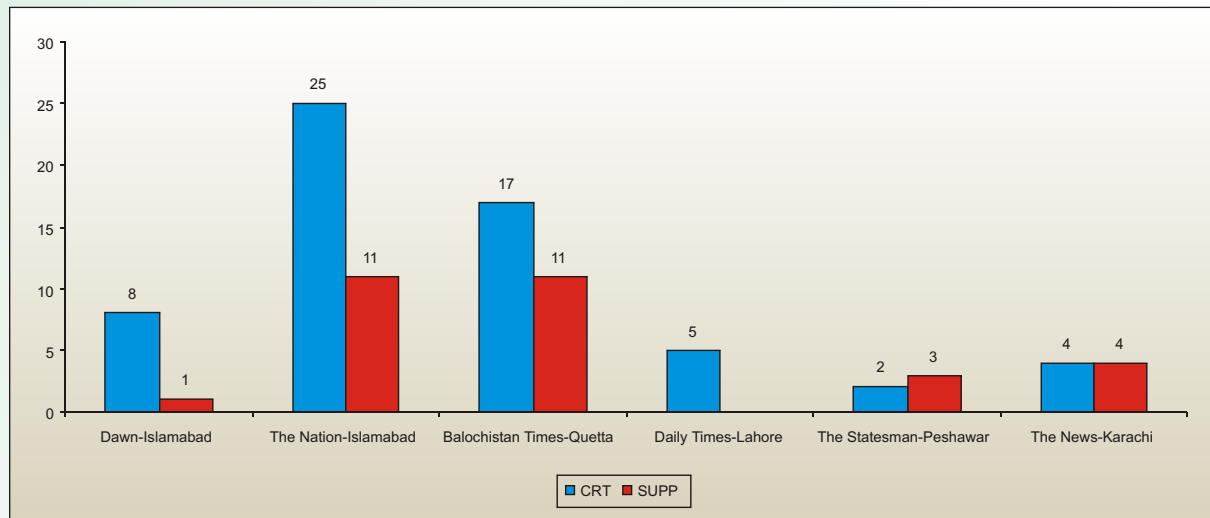
Tone and tenor of opinion articles on the president in Urdu newspapers





Examining the tone of opinion page writers towards the president revealed some interesting facts. Of the 11 newspapers opinion pages and 182 articles which discussed the president, 104 opinion pieces criticized the president and 59 supported him on numerous issues and for 19 times writers did not want to take position. Similarly out of the 52 times opinion articles mentioned the prime minister, he was criticized for 20 times whereas on 29 occasions he was supported. Only three times the writer did not take a position vis-à-vis the prime minister.

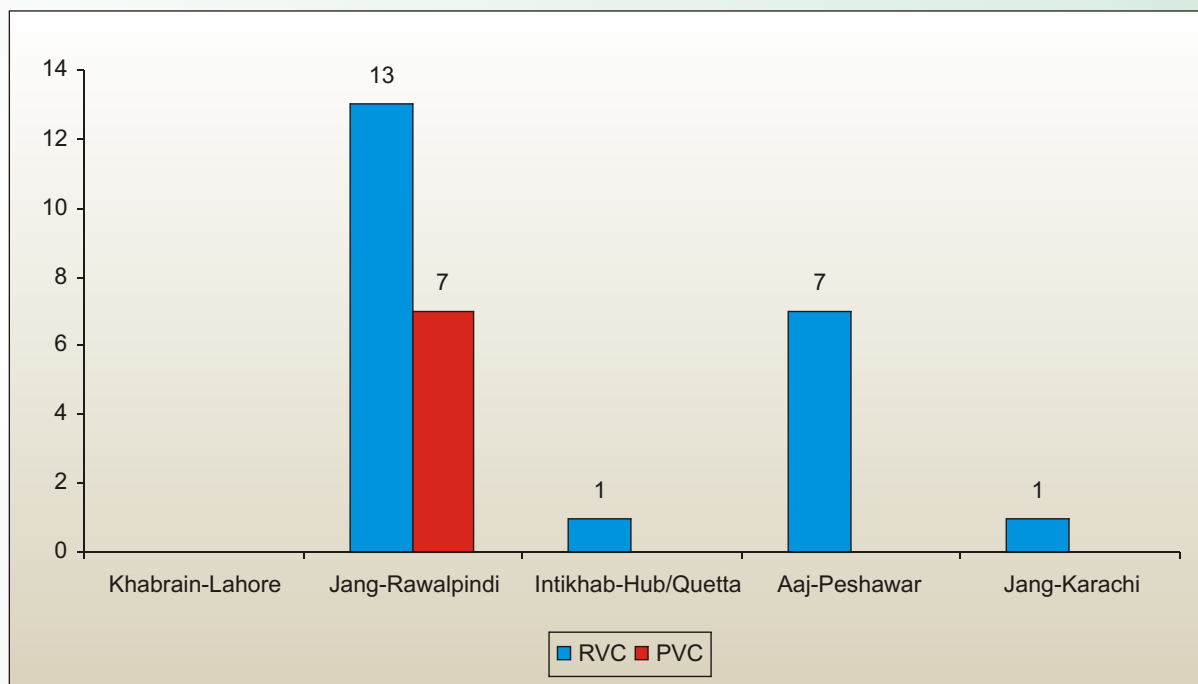
Tone and tenor of opinion articles on the prime minister in English newspapers



This is followed by **political parties' cluster** which received a collective reference frequency of 164 times in all sample opinion pieces. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively raised 89 times political parties related issues. Six English language newspapers collectively published opinion articles about political parties 75 times. The ruling PML was discussed on opinion pages of all 11 newspapers for 49 times followed by 46 times of MMA, 18 of PMLN and 17 of PPP. Among other political parties JWP was discussed on opinion pages 7 times, MQM 6 times; ANP 6 times, ARD 2 times; NP 2 times, PTI 3 times, BNM 3 times, PKMAP 2 times, BNP 2 times, PPPS 1 time. The opinion pages of Jang, Rawalpindi, facilitated debate on political parties for a maximum of 35 times, followed by 33 times of The Nation, Islamabad; and 30 times of Urdu daily Intikhab, Quetta. The maximum frequency of opinion page discussion by any newspaper about a political party was 13 times for ruling PML each by The Nation, Islamabad and Jang, Rawalpindi. This was followed by 12 times opinion page debate about MMA by Balochistan Times.

Local Election Campaign (LEC) related issues and events were fourth in number of times they got attention of the opinion article writers 146 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively debated LEC 59 times. Six English language newspapers collectively front-paged LEC 44 times. Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi, published articles which discussed LEC for 39 times, the highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 30 times of Jang Karachi, and then 20 times opinion page discussion of LEC by Urdu daily Aaj, Peshawar.

Opinion Articles - RVC-PVC- Urdu Newspapers



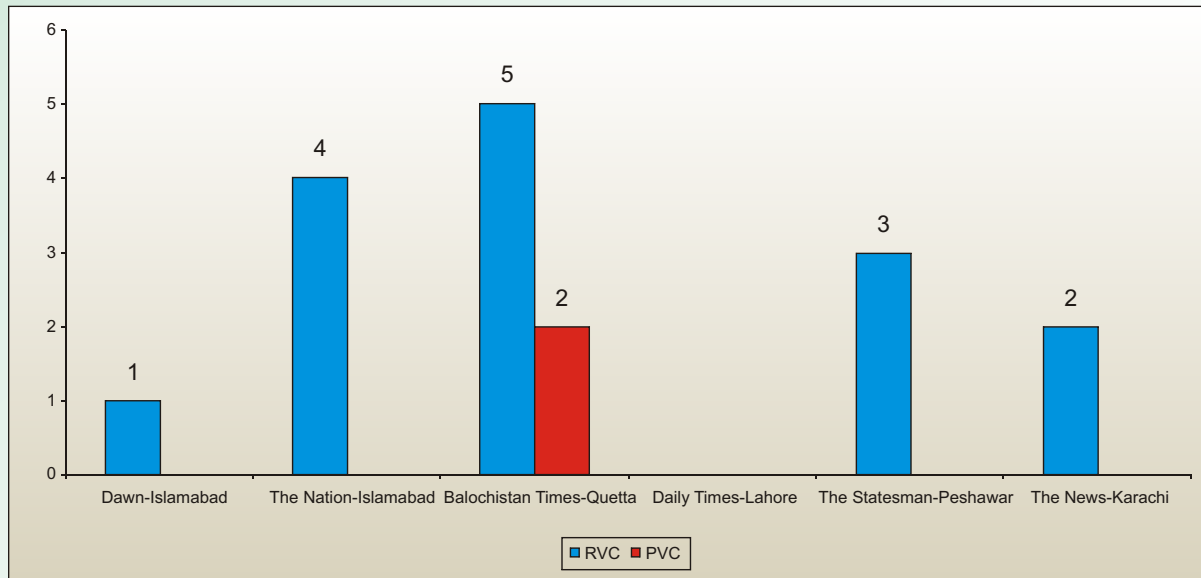
Only two newspapers on their opinion pages indulged in **Promotion of Violation of Election Code (PVC)** for a total of 9 times. Of this seven times opinion page PVC was done by Jang, Rawalpindi. As expected from the intelligentsia opinion articles **Reported Violation of Election Code (RVC)** for 37 times. The understanding about PVC and RVC seemed to be far greater on opinion pages than on the front pages of the newspapers. Urdu daily Jang, Rawalpindi discussed violation of election code on its opinion pages for 13 times, followed by 7 times of Aaj, Peshawar.

The **Election Commission (EC)** was part of the debate on opinion pages for a total of 39 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively debated the EC on their opinion pages for 15 times and six English language newspapers did it for 24 times. English daily The Nation, Islamabad, discussed the EC 9 times, highest among all 11 newspapers, followed by 8 times of Balochistan Times, and 5 times each of Aaj Peshawar and Intikhab. Out of the 39 times of discussion on the EC in opinion articles of all newspapers 31 were critical of the government and the conduct of elections and only 4 supported the EC. The biggest criticism came from the Nation, Islamabad with 8 critical opinion articles.

The **Courts (CT)** got discussed on opinion pages for 23 times. Five Urdu language newspapers collectively discussed Courts 8 times. Six English language newspapers collectively discussed Courts 15 times. Balochistan Times, Quetta led the tally by publishing articles on court matters for 7 times, followed by 4 times each by Dawn, Islamabad and Jang, Rawalpindi. Of the 23 total references to Courts on opinion pages, 18 of the references were critical of judiciary and only in 5 references in articles supported the judiciary.



Opinion Articles - RVC-PVC- Urdu Newspapers



Letters to Editor: space for citizens

Newspaper's Letters to Editor Section is the voice of the common people. Here the people write and react on issue 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. We will note here that Urdu newspapers have not been enthusiastic about publishing letters from citizens unlike English newspapers who firmly established a common man's limited influence in setting the news agenda of the media. In two Urdu newspapers letters to editor section was not available. These newspapers include Daily Aaj, Peshawar daily Intikhab, Quetta.

Here are some interesting facts about monitoring of the letters to editor section:

All codified issues were raised in the letters to editor sections of 11 sample newspapers for 802 times. The codified issues were taken up by the people and allowed to be published by the English newspapers for 683 times and Urdu newspapers' for 110 times only. The highest numbers of letters to editors on any subject were published by daily Dawn, Islamabad— 352 times, followed by 317 of The Nation, 259 of The News Karachi, and 248 of Daily Times, Lahore. The five Urdu newspapers collectively published a total of 110 letters to editors.

Social issues dominated the letters to 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 editor section's overall reflection poses a big challenge to the editors.

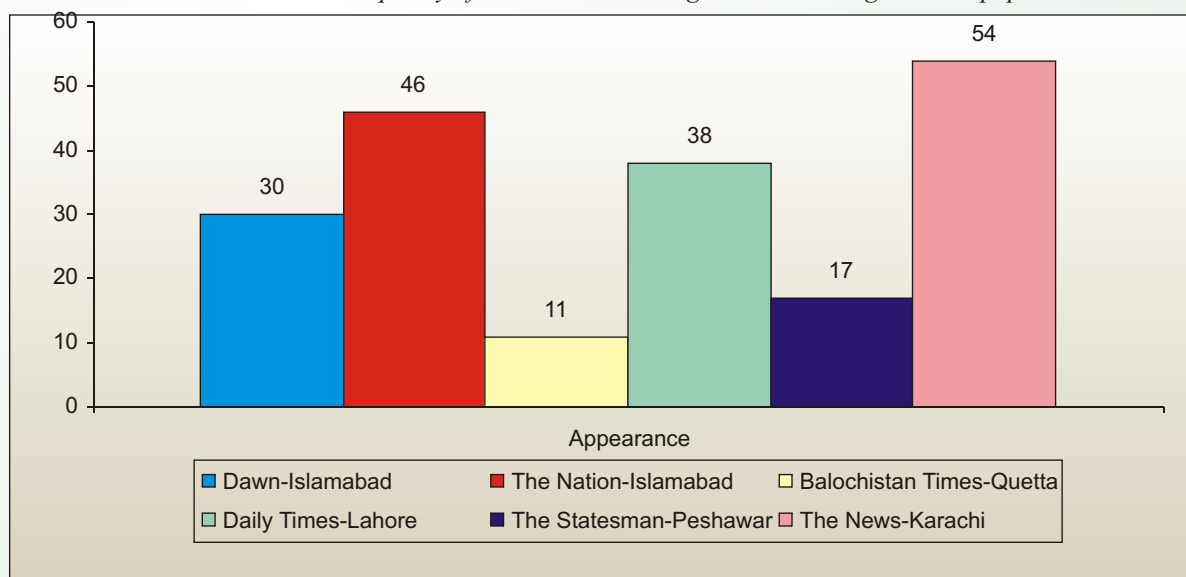
The 11 newspapers sample showed that social issues were raised by the people for discussions and rejoinders 542 times. This also reflects the harmony between opinion page writers who are sane enough to share people's feelings on social issues clearly reflected in majority of their writings as seen before. Therefore, the social issues cluster is a dominant factor in letters to editors section. Six English language newspapers collectively allowed social issues to figure in

letters to editor section 196 times whereas five Urdu language newspapers let social issues on their opinion pages 51 times only.

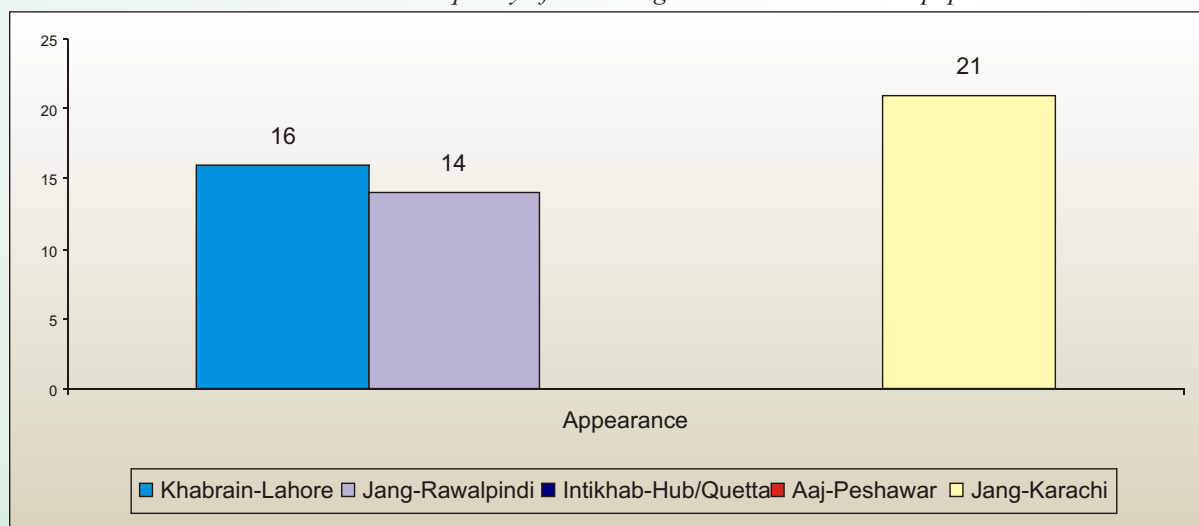
Just like the focus of editorials and opinion pieces letters to editor also focused on human rights issues. It was raised by all sample newspapers for 247 times, the highest being 54 times by The News, Karachi, followed by 46 times of The Nation, Islamabad and the issue in the letters to editor section of Daily Times, Lahore appeared for 38 times.

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 on human rights issue The News Karachi, published 10 letters in support of its editorial policy and only 8 were allowed which criticized the stand taken by the newspaper. Daily Times, Lahore allowed 4 letters of editorial disagreement and 1 in support.

Letter to Editor: Frequency of letters on human rights issues in English Newspapers



Letter to Editor: Frequency of human rights issues in Urdu Newspapers

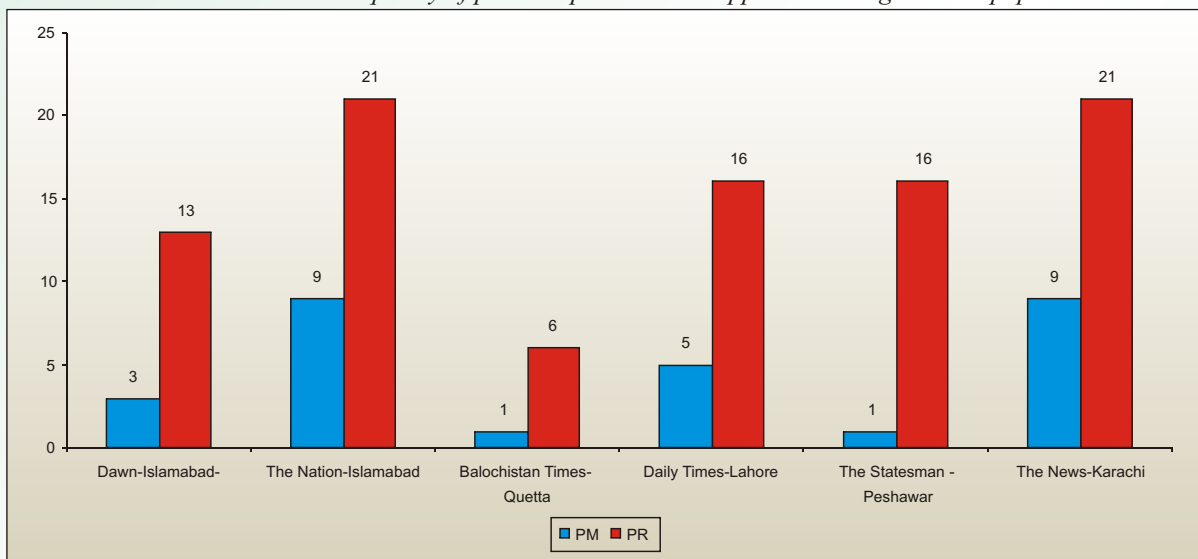




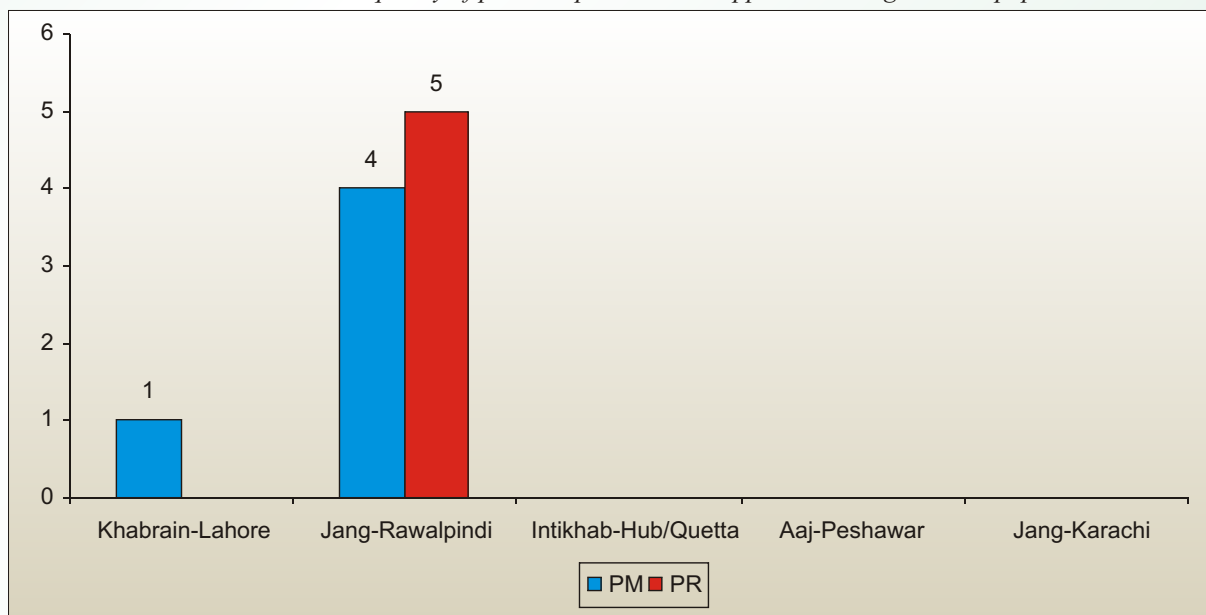
The Urdu newspapers are not allowing proper space to common citizens through their letters to editor section. Some observations point to encroachment, by official spokesmen, of the letters to editor space, which is exclusively meant for the common citizens.

Protocol personalities were the second focus of debate in letters to editor section. Here too the president has dominated the debate as he is mentioned for 84 times in different context. Unfortunately, Urdu newspapers are not allowing much of letters to editors from common citizens relating to the special personalities in the government like the president. Out of a total of 55 letters to editor, Khabrain, Lahore has not once reflected voices of people in its letters to editor section when it comes to comments about the president. Jang, Rawalpindi is also not publishing sufficient number of letters to give breathing space to the citizens. English newspapers are doing relatively well in this regard as they published a total of 79 letters to editors relating to the president.

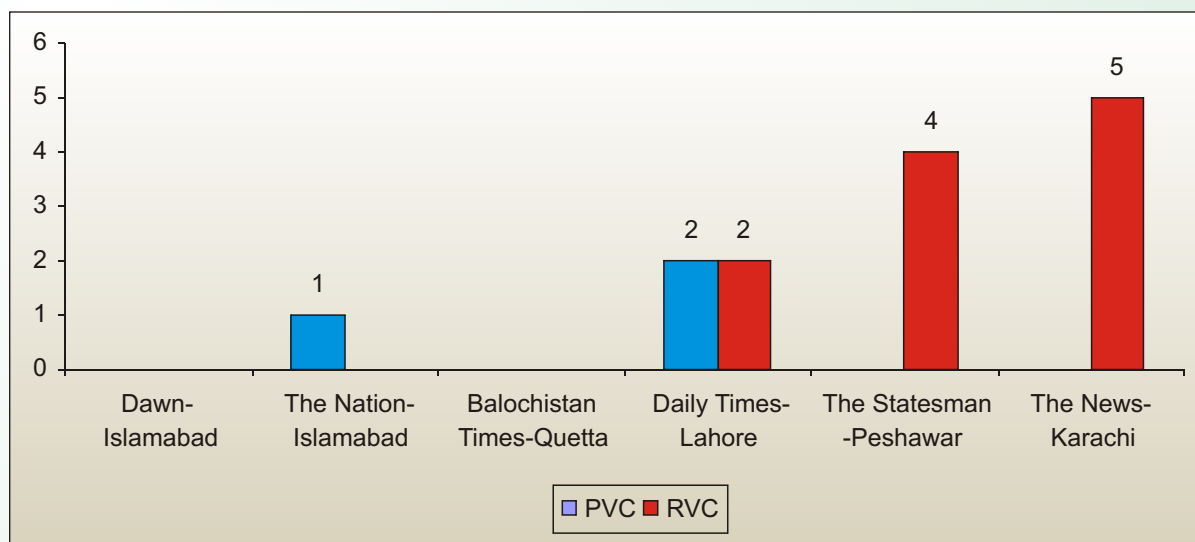
Letter to Editor: Frequency of protocol personalities appeared in English newspapers



Letter to Editor: Frequency of protocol personalities appeared in English newspapers



This is followed by **political parties' cluster** which received a collective reference frequency of 116 times in all sample letters to editors sections. The opposition MMA was discussed in letters to editors section of all 11 newspapers for 61 times followed by ruling PML with 14 times, 7 of PMLN and 14 of PPPP. Among other political parties, MQM 7 times; ANP 8 times, ARD 3 times; PTI 1 times, and PPPS got mentioned in the letters to editor section just for 1 time. The MMA was discussed in the letters section for a maximum 18 times in The Statesman, Peshawar. Khabrain, Lahore and Jang Rawalpindi did not publish a single letter discussing MMA. Dawn, Islamabad published 7 letters discussing MMA, 3 of these disagreeing with Dawn's policy.



Local Election Campaign (LEC) related issues and events were debated in the letters to editor section 100 times, with the highest frequency of 25 times each of The Statesman, Peshawar, and The News, Karachi. Only three times letters to editor in sample newspapers indulged in violation of election code (PVC) Again as expected from the intelligentsia letters to editor **Reported Violation of Election Code (RVC)** for 11 times.

The **Election Commission (EC)** was part of the debate on letter to editor section for a total of 15 times. The **Courts (CT)** got discussed in letters to editors section 14 times, of which 8 times was discussed in letters to editor section of The Nation, Islamabad.



Annex-I

Electronic Media Monitoring Forms

NEWS BULLETIN

Monitor's Name:

Date:

TV Channel Monitored:

Monitor's Signature

Television News Monitoring – Order of Headlines

Programme Start Time _____ Time End _____ Total
Duration _____

News Item: *Order of headlines:*

S.No	Headlines	Code	Visual Duration (VD)
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			



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:

**Annex-II****Print Media Monitoring Forms****Monitor Name:****Newspaper Monitored:****Total Size of Front Page:****Date:****City of publication:****sq-cm / Column Width = cm****Monitor's Signature** _____**Print Media Monitoring Form – Front Page Coverage**

Headlines	News Source	Size in Sq-cms	Code
<u>Headline:</u>			
<u>Banner:</u>			
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):			

*Please write very Clearly***Stories on the Front Page:****Anecdote: Page #**



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



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



Annex-III

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 at the proposed venue where he/she wants to hold meeting and if any such order is in place then the 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.
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.

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.