

## **Towards a more Responsible Press**

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**Abstract:** The article analyses Pakistan's newspapers' performance with regard to civil society in 2003 by using content analysis approach. There is no gainsaying that a strong civil society guarantees a strong democracy. In Pakistan, spells of military rule have stunted the growth of democracy, adversely affecting civil society. Media too has suffered as a result. Normative theories of media call for laying down norms and conventions for media. In democracy, all sections of society should be represented in media. In Pakistan's case, due to military regimes and quasi democratic governments, combined with the demands of market economy, the media have largely not been able to fulfill this responsibility towards society. Social Responsibility demands that the media must fulfill its responsibility towards society, while giving a free space to all voices of society. In Pakistan, whether newspapers played that role in 2003 when civil society had accelerated its campaign to end honor killings and crimes against women is investigated. The findings show that newspapers did support civil society, showing a gradual movement towards a more responsible press.

**Keywords:** Pakistan; Press; Democracy; Civil Society; Social responsibility; Bias; Agenda

### **1. Introduction**

The mass media is often referred to as the fourth branch of government because of the power they wield and the oversight function they exercise. The media's key role in democratic governance has been recognized since the late 17th century, and remains a fundamental principle of modern-day democratic theory and practice.<sup>2</sup> English and American thinkers later in that century would agree with Montesquieu, recognizing the importance of the press in making officials aware of the public's discontents and allowing governments to rectify their errors. (Holmes, *Liberal constraints on private power?*, 1991, pp. 21-65) The media in modern term is often regarded as being reflective of civic culture in a democracy. Tolerance, democratic principles and procedures are of vital importance for a sustainable

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<sup>2</sup> The role of the media in deepening democracy by Sheila s. Corone p. 3.

democratic system. Media can play an important role in strengthening democracy by persistently highlighting these virtues. Media can provide people with reliable information and make them aware of different issues in the public arena.

Democracy must be exemplified in tangible Practices, routines, traditions carried out by individuals, group, and the society which can be pertinent for varied circumstances. Such practices give meanings to the ideals of democracy and they must be a routine matter of a civic culture. The interface among citizens is a foundation of the public sphere and the kinds of established rules and etiquette that shape such interaction either promote the practices of public discussion or contribute to their desertion. Across time, practices become traditions, and experience becomes collective memory; today's democracy needs to be able to refer to a past, without being locked in it. The media obviously contribute here by their representations of ongoing political life, including its rituals and symbols, yet increasingly also take on relevance as more people make use of newer interactive possibilities and incorporate these as part of their civic culture practices.<sup>1</sup> The notions of participation, accountability, solidarity, tolerance, courage, etc. define democratic citizenship which can be reinforced by the media. The media has the ability to fortify public perceptions of what it means to be a citizen in a democracy.

Media and civil society doesn't have the same roles but sometimes fulfill the same functions. In both media and civil society there are the 'good' and the 'bad'. Biasness and partiality even if the media is independent can damage the credibility of the media. Distinction should be made between independence on the one hand and unbiased or impartial reporting and accuracy on the other.<sup>2</sup> Media should be judged on merit and its support for democratic principles.

Media contributes to Social, Economic and Political functions of the society in this process it terms what Habermas regard as "public sphere". It is implicitly assumed that these 'basic' functions are not only valid in Western democracy but also valid for various political and cultural backgrounds (critical in this regard: Sparks 2000).<sup>3</sup> Active participation of citizens is essential for Democracy. The media

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<sup>1</sup>See Peter Dahlgren, Colin Sparks, "Communication and citizenship: journalism and the public sphere"; Manual Fackson Banda "UNESCO Series on Journalism Education Civic Education for Media Professionals": Chapter A Training Opportunities for citizen participation in civic life, politics and government, pp. 37-39.

<sup>2</sup> Chris Frost, Journalism, ethics and regulation (2007), chapter 5, and Ivor Gaber, "Three cheers for subjectivity: Or the crumbling of the seven pillars of journalistic wisdom", 14 Communications Law (2009) 150.

<sup>3</sup>See Spurk, Christoph, "Civil Society and the Media", pp. 4-7.

should inform, educate and mobilize the public on the issue of governance. Media can promote peace and social consensus which can strengthen democracy. The media can be a tool for meditation but sometime unfortunately, the media can exacerbate the crises by distorting facts. "Peace journalism," which is being promoted by various NGOs, endeavors to promote reconciliation through careful reportage that gives voice to all sides of a conflict and resists explanation for violence in terms of innate enmities. Training and the establishment of mechanisms whereby journalists from opposite sides of conflict can interact with the other side, including other journalists representing divergent views, have helped propagate peace journalism.<sup>1</sup> The role of the press in disseminating information as a way of mediating between the state and civil society remains critical. Media can be used as an advocacy tool to promote various causes for General public's welfare for reasons such as 1)Mass media can communicate information to large groups of people 2)By regularly conveying information to important audiences, from the general public to government and international decision makers, the media plays a large role in shaping public debate3)Creates an environment of political pressure4)Convey general information, serving as a public education tool5)Counter popular misconceptions and 6)Comment on an issue, providing an alternative viewpoint.<sup>2</sup> For instance, "A free press and the practice of democracy contribute greatly to bringing out information that can have an enormous impact on policies for famine prevention a free press and an active political opposition constitute the best early-warning system a country threatened by famine could have." (Sen, 1999)

To support and strengthen democracy the media should move away from the government control and private interests. As John Corner rightly observes, media freedom is routinely invoked to indicate "a desirable absence of constraint on the media industries themselves, rather than ... the desirable conditions for members of a democratic public to access a range of information and to encounter and express a range of views."<sup>3</sup> In order to do that the media has to become financially viable and exercise editorial independence to promote diverse voices and opinion which will serve the public interest. The public interest is defined as representing a plurality of voices both through a greater number of outlets and through the diversity of views

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<sup>1</sup>See Sheila S. Coronel, "The Role Of The Media In Deepening Democracy", pp. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> See "NGO Media Outreach: Using the Media as an Advocacy Tool" Produced by the Coalition for the International Criminal Court, September 2003.

<sup>3</sup> See the book by C. Edwin Baker, *Media, markets and democracy* (2002), particularly chapters 3 and 4.

and voices reflected within one outlet. <sup>1</sup>The media can play a positive role in democracy only if there is an enabling environment that allows them to do so. They need the essential expertise and a mechanism for accountability. In Des Freedman's formulation, media policy refers to the "formal as well as informal strategies, underpinned by specific interests, values and goals that shape the emergence of mechanisms designed to structure the direction of and behavior in particularly media environments". <sup>2</sup> Since the 1990s, the prevalent way of thinking about regulating the media in terms of a social service paradigm and its anticipating democratizing role, has shifted to a set of ideas and practices that treat it as a market-driven enterprise predominantly shaped by economic and technological imperatives from the 1980s onwards. (Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2003, pp. 197-198) The media should also be accessible to as wide a segment of society as possible. Efforts to help the media should be directed toward: the protection of press rights, enhancing media accountability, building media capacity and democratizing media access. State has an important role in creating a viable environment for the media to carry out its functions without friction. In countries such as Germany, where press freedom receives constitutional recognition, courts have held that press freedom can both necessitate, as well as preclude, state intervention.<sup>3</sup> The term "press freedom" may thus be used to indicate the special recognition that courts and governments afford the media in democratic societies, necessitating particularly compelling reasons for any form of restraint, particularly prior restraints on publication.<sup>4</sup> This makes it very easy for stakeholders other than the government to strengthen the role of the media in the society. Hence, both state and non-state actors contribute different understandings and knowledge, through their interaction, in the framing of the media policy agenda and the shaping of the principles and rules that govern the policy-making process.<sup>5</sup>

Political actors and interest groups with distinct and competing preferences respond to and act within particular structural contexts defined by technological, economic,

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<sup>1</sup>See Center for Democracy and Governance Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research U.S. Agency for International Development Washington, D.C. 20523-3100, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Freedman (2008), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup>Article 5 of the German Basic Law (1949). See the Third and Fourth Television cases at 57 BVerfGE 295, 320 (1981) and 73 BVerfGE 118, 152 (1986) respectively.

<sup>4</sup> On the relationship between freedom of expression and press freedom see Eric Barendt, *Freedom of speech* (2005), second ed., Chapter XII.

<sup>5</sup> See (Feintuck & Varney, 2006, Chapter 6).

institutional, political and societal parameters.<sup>1</sup> The government taking all the stakeholders on board should devise a mechanism to design and implement code of conduct and ethics for the media for a healthy democratic society. The need arises for Monitoring of the media performed by specifically mandated authorities, all designed to bring about normative and behavioral change.<sup>2</sup> The stakeholders other than the government needs to actively participate in the development and promotion of free and responsible media otherwise the government can create its monopoly which can result in restriction of media and eventually threatening democracy. Finally, the press can act as the metaphorical “ombudsman”, investigating the actions not only of public bodies but also powerful corporations and individuals.<sup>3</sup> This leads to the process of accountability which is a foundation for a healthy civil society and democracy.

Furthermore, analysis of the policy effectiveness of all media and communication policy is suffused, even if implicitly, by normative expectations of the media’s role in society, which are ultimately founded upon different strands of democratic theory.<sup>4</sup>

Besides recognition of the fact that policies concerning the media are formulated at different levels of government.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Methodology

The researcher hypothesized that national newspapers have portrayed a negative image of NGOs. Methodology was both quantitative and qualitative in which coverage of NGOs was analyzed after codifying the unit of analysis, which was all

<sup>1</sup> For a strong critique of media policy as a purportedly disinterested and technologically-driven process, see Des Freedman, *The politics of media policy* (2008), pp. 1-6.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Considine, *Making public policy* (2006), p. 15

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Rodney Benson, “Futures of the news: International considerations and further reflections”, in Natalie Fenton (ed.), *New media, old news - Journalism and democracy in the digital age* (2010), p. 187, Steven Barnett, “Journalism, democracy and the public interest: Rethinking media pluralism for the digital age”, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism working paper, September 2009, and James Curran, “Rethinking the media as a public sphere”, in Peter Dahlgren and Colin Sparks (eds), *Communication and citizenship: Journalism and the public sphere* (1991), p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Christina S. Drale, “Communication media in a democratic society”, 9 *Communication Law and Policy* (2004) 213. See also James Curran, “Mediations of Democracy”, in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society* (2005), p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> See the journal by DiaAnagnostou (ELIAMEP), Rachael Craufurd Smith (UEDIN) and EvangeliaPsychogiopoulou (ELIAMEP), *The formation and implementation of national media policies in Europe and their relationship to democratic society and media freedom and independence: A theoretical and analytical frame for the MEDIADEM project* (2010) p. 12

news, articles, editorials and features in national Urdu and English newspapers in 2000, into the categories of 'supportive and 'non supportive' based on the themes of NGOs being anti-Pakistan, foreign agent and anti-Islam for 'non supportive' and development agent, agent for democracy and intolerance for 'supportive'. After quantitative data they were qualitatively analyzed.

### 3. Findings

#### January 2003

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	8	6	2
Pakistan	1	1	
Dawn	4	2	2
Others	3	3	
News/Reports/Stories	8	6	2

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

#### February 2003

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	5	2	3
KHABRAIN	1		1
Dawn	4	2	2
News/Reports/Stories	5	2	3

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

#### March 2003

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	7	6	1
KHABRAIN	1	1	
Dawn	5	4	1
Others	1	1	
News/Reports/Stories	7	6	1

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**April 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	7	3	4
KHABRAIN	1		1
Dawn	2	1	1
The Nation	2	1	1
Others	2	1	1
News/Reports/Stories	7	3	4

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**May 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non supportive</b>
	4	2	2
Dawn	1	1	
Others	3	1	2
News/Reports/Stories	4	2	2

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**June 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	6	4	2
JANG	1		1
Dawn	4	4	
The News	1		1
News/Reports/Stories	6	4	2

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**July 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	10	7	3
KHABRAIN	3	2	1
Pakistan	1		1
Dawn	5	4	1
Others	1	1	
News/Reports/Stories	10	7	3

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**August 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	5	3	2
Pakistan	1		1
Dawn	3	2	1
Others	1	1	
News/Reports/Stories	5	3	2

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**September 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	5	2	3
JANG	1	1	
Dawn	3	1	2
Others	1		1
News/Reports/Stories	5	2	3

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

**October 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	8	1	7
JANG	2		2
NAWA E WAQT	2		2
Dawn	1		1
The Nation	2		2
The News	1	1	
News/Reports/Stories	7	1	6
Article	1		1

Note: No Editorial or Feature was published in this month.

**November 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	7	3	4
Pakistan	1	1	
KHABRAIN	1		1
The Nation	1	1	
The News	1		1
Dawn	3	1	2
News/Reports/Stories	7	3	4

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.



**December 2003**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Supportive</b>	<b>Non Supportive</b>
	2		2
Pakistan	1		1
Dawn	1		1
News/Reports/Stories	2		2

Note: no article, editorial or feature was published in this month.

Total in 2003: 74

Total News/Stories/Reports published in 2003: 73

Total Articles published in 2003: 1

In 2003, 73 stories were found; 35 non supportive and 38 supportive; one article as found; which was supportive.

In January 2003, 8 stories were found; out of which two were non supportive stories: 2, supportive stories: 6

<sup>1</sup>English Dawn on 17-1-2003 published single column supportive story on back page, source was staff reporter, headline” Human chain for peace: Hundreds of pigeons to be released”. A joint forum of civil society organizations including trade unions, professionals and students announced that that it would form a human chain for peace

<sup>2</sup>Urdu Express on 22-1-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a lady reporter. It told women protection law had never been implemented since it was formed. Aurat Foundation hosted a seminar on women rights and speakers expressed that women rights were never discussed in parliament.

<sup>3</sup>English Dawn on 27-1-2003 published a three column non supportive story on back page, source was a staff reporter, headline” NGOs row with Edhi”. Abdul Sattar Edhi warned that he would stage a sit-in in front of Governor House, if action was not taken against the NGOs that trespassed on a centre of his charity foundation in Quetta and took away 22 women and children. NGOs on the other hand held that the Edhi centre was shifting 30 women to Karachi against their will.

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Dawn January 17-2003.

<sup>2</sup> Urdu Express January 22 2003.

<sup>3</sup> English Dawn January 27 2003.

<sup>1</sup>English Dawn on 27-1-2003 published a single-column non supportive story on back page, source was a staff reporter, headline,” Government seeks law to severely punish ‘honor killing’ convict. The government was reported as viewing to make law to ensure strict punishment to the person convicted in an honor killing case.

<sup>2</sup>English Daily Times on 27-1-2003 published a double column supportive story on back page, source was a staff reporter and headline,” NGOs seek code for gender justice”. Some NGOs were negotiating with the government for the evolution of a code for gender justice at the workshop in Karachi.

<sup>3</sup>English Dawn on 28-01-2003 published a three column supportive story on back page, source was staff reporter, headline” NGOs call for more women in decision making bodies”. Security should be provided to rights activist, journalist.

<sup>4</sup>Daily Urdu Pakistan on 29-01-2003 published a single column supportive story on back page, source was a staff reporter, headline” different NGOs stated that Ehdi statements would not affect NGOs cause.

<sup>5</sup>English Dawn on 30-01-2003 published a double column supportive story on back page, source was a staff reporter. It told readers that police had registered a case against Professor Naila Qadri and some others for allegedly shifting women and children to Darul Aman from an Edhi Home.

February 2003, total stories found: 5; non supportive 3, supportive 2.

<sup>6</sup>Urdu Khabrain on 6-2-2003 published a three column non supportive story, which headlined “NGOs start human smuggling through beautiful young girls”. It reported that three sisters, Adiba and Najma, and their brother, Tehseen, had established two NGOs and appointed young girls to ‘attract customers’.

<sup>7</sup>English Dawn on 1-2-2003 published a single column non supportive story, source source a staff reporter and headline, “ILO official receives threatening e-mails”. The cyber Crime Unit and the newly established Diplomatic Protection Department

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<sup>1</sup> English Dawn January 27 2003

<sup>2</sup> English Daily Times January 27 2003

<sup>3</sup> English Dawn January 28 2003

<sup>4</sup> Daily Urdu Pakistan January 29 2003

<sup>5</sup> English Dawn January 30 2003

<sup>6</sup> Urdu Khabrain February 6 2003

<sup>7</sup> English Dawn February 1 2003

Islamabad police were trying to locate Sajjid Haider who had allegedly sent more than one threatening e-mail message to the director of ILO.

<sup>1</sup>English Dawn on 3-2-2003 published a three column story, source a staff reporter and headline, “NCJP calls for end to state patronage of religion” The National Commission for Justice and Peace demanded an end to state patronage of religion.

<sup>2</sup>English Dawn on 28-2-2003 published a single column supportive story, source staff reporter, headline, “Demo against discriminatory laws staged”. The Joint Action Committee of Women Rights held a protest demonstration outside Parliament House to condemn discriminatory laws against women”.

<sup>3</sup>English Dawn on 28-2-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, “Government asked to address honor killings issue”. The United Nations high commissioner for Human Rights urged Islamabad to address the issue of honor killings and amend all discriminatory laws to grant full freedom to women.

In March 2003, total stories: 7, non supportive stories: 1, supportive stories: 6

<sup>4</sup>Daily Urdu express on 1-3-2003 published a double column supportive story, source was a general reporter, headline,” Child abuse is intense human rights violation.” Insan foundation condemned the child torched in Haripur.

<sup>5</sup>Daily Dawn on 1-3-2003 published a single column supportive story, source was general reporter, headline,” Rawa wants separation of religion from state”. The Revolutionary Association of the women has said that unless religion is separated from the state

Afghanistan cannot make progress in the socio-economic field.

<sup>6</sup>Daily Dawn on 20-3-2003 published a double column supportive story, source was a general reporter, headline,” Steps taken to protect NGOs mission”. The police and other law-enforcement agencies chalked out a plan to provide security to foreign missions and NGOs in the city Peshawar during the impending US attack on Iraq.

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<sup>1</sup> English Dawn February 3 2003

<sup>2</sup> English Dawn February 28 2003

<sup>3</sup> English Dawn February 28 2003

<sup>4</sup> Daily Urdu express March 1 2003

<sup>5</sup> Daily Dawn March 1 2003

<sup>6</sup> Daily Dawn March 20 2003

<sup>1</sup>Dawn on 20-3-2003 published a single column supportive story, source was general reporter, headline, “Workshop on violence against women”. 19 participants in a workshop organized by an NGO emphasized efforts to check violence against women in various countries of South Asia.

<sup>2</sup>Daily Urdu Khabrain on 21-3-2003 published a three column supportive story, source was a general reporter, headline, “Women should be given right to divorce”. Different civil society and religious members said in a statement that women did not get enough rights in Family Ordinance and she should be empowered.

<sup>3</sup>Daily Dawn on 25-3-2003 published a three column supportive story, source was a reporter, headline, “Mechanism for scrutiny of NGOs soon”. The government would soon introduce a new mechanism for the scrutiny of civil society organizations, said the advisor to prime minister on women development social and special education, Ms Nilofer Bakhtar.

<sup>4</sup>Daily Dawn on 26-3-2003 published a single column supportive story, source was a reporter, headline, “NGOs skeptical about discussions on hudood law.” The civil society organization working for women emancipation expressed their skepticism about the ongoing discussion on Hudood Ordinance, fearing that the government would not be able to repeal or receive the law in near future.

In April 2003, total stories: 7, non supportive stories: 4, supportive stories: 3

<sup>5</sup>Daily Dawn on 1-4-2003 published a three column supportive story, source was a reporter, headline, “30,000 kids in carpet industry to be rehabilitated”. The Pakistan Carpet Manufactures and Exporters Association in collaboration with the international Labor Organization was reported to have planned to rehabilitate over 30,000 carpet weaving children by providing education and vocational training to them.

<sup>6</sup>Daily English Dawn on 18-4-2003 published a four column story, source was reporter, headline, “Law on NGOs regularization in final stages”. The Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education and Pakistan Centre

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<sup>1</sup>Daily Dawn March 20 2003

<sup>2</sup>Daily Urdu Khabrain March 21 2003

<sup>3</sup>Daily Dawn March 25 2003

<sup>4</sup>Daily Dawn March 26 2003

<sup>5</sup>Daily Dawn April 1 2003

<sup>6</sup>Daily English Dawn April 18 2003

for Philanthropy were in the final stages to introduce a law on non-profit organizations.

<sup>1</sup>Daily The Nation on 28-4-2003 published a three column supportive story; source was PPI, headline, "Chief Commissioner urged to facilitate NGOs registration". The Chief Commissioner of the Islamabad had been asked to facilitate the registration of NGOs which had set up humanitarian services and working for uplift of the downtrodden segment of the society.

<sup>2</sup>Daily Times on April 29 published a single column non supportive story, source was a reporter, headline was, "NGOs office comes under rocket attack in Dir". Unidentified attacks fired several rockets on the office of an NGO in Dir, attackers targeted five buildings and a hostel where the staff of the NGO was staying. The Nation published the same story.

In May 2003, total Stories: 4; Non supportive stories: 2, supportive stories 2

<sup>3</sup>Daily Times on 13-5-2003 published a three column supportive story:source a staff reporter, headline, "PNF demands government remove investment constraints on NGOs." The Pakistan NGO forum demanded the government create an enabling environment for NGOs whose eventual goal was to attain a measure of sustainability through resource mobilization and self reliance in order to be able to carry on with their nation-building work in human development.

<sup>4</sup>Dawn on 24-5-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, "NGOs decry bribes and threats at UN". A coalition of over 150 peace groups and global NGOs lashed out at the UN Security Council for adopting a resolution that legitimized the US-led invasion of Iraq and endorsed the foreign occupation of a UN member state.

<sup>5</sup>Urdu express on 9-5-2003 published a three column non supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, "131 government schools allotted to NGOs owned by high profile personalities".

<sup>6</sup>Urdu Doupahar on 11-5-2003 published a four column non supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, "Two million dollars funds fraud by three NGOs".

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<sup>1</sup> Daily The Nation April 28 2003

<sup>2</sup> Daily Times April 29 2003

<sup>3</sup> Daily Times May 13 2003

<sup>4</sup> Dawn May 24 2003

<sup>5</sup> Urdu express May 9 2003

<sup>6</sup> Urdu Doupahar June 11 2003

Spark, Narali Katab and Shirkatgah were involved in the two-million dollars case. Fraud was disclosed when the audit department checked the NGOs accounts and expenditures. The NGOs took funds but didn't start work and spend money only on paperwork

In June, 6 stories were found; 2 non supportive and 4 supportive.

<sup>1</sup>Daily Dawn published on 3-6-2003 a three column supportive story on the back page, headline, "NGOs visualize a just world without G8".

<sup>2</sup>The Nation on 21-06-2003 published a single column non supportive story on back page, source was correspondent, headline "Tribesmen restrict NGOs activities". The tribesmen of Jani Khel area from Frontier Regions Bannu took strict measures for restricting the activities of NGOs.

<sup>3</sup>Dawn published on 12-06-2003 a single column supportive story on back page, headlined "NGO accuses MMA govt of coercion, ends collaboration". NGO ended its collaboration with the provincial government in running a crisis centre for destitute women, accusing the government of adopting adverse policies towards the centre.

<sup>4</sup>Dawn published on 19-6-2003 a two column supportive story on back page, story source was a reporter and headline was, "Seven NGOs alliance to boycott USAID". An alliance of seven civil society NGOs of Pakistan decided to boycott the USAID as a protest against the US invasion and occupation of Iraq, disregarding the UN decision and the unanimous anti-war world opinion.

<sup>5</sup>Jang on 19-6-2003 a single column non supportive story on back page, headlined, "NWFP government closes NGOs office in Peshawar". The German ambassador stated that a German NGOs that was working for women rights and welfare had been forced by the NWFP government to shut down all activities.

<sup>6</sup>Dawn on 25-6-2003 published a four column supportive story on back page, headlined, "NGOs accuse Bush govt of politicizing aid". The Bush administration was wielding its financial clout to make charitable relief organizations that received US money serve the interest of US foreign policy. .

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Dawn June 3 2003

<sup>2</sup> The Nation June 21 2003

<sup>3</sup> Dawn published June 12 2003

<sup>4</sup> Daily Dawn June 19 2003

<sup>5</sup> Daily Jang June 19 2003

<sup>6</sup> Daily Dawn June 25 2003

In July 2003, total stories: 10, non supportive stories: 3;supportive stories:7

<sup>1</sup>English Dawn on 8-7-2003 published three column supportive story: source staff a reporter, headlined, “NGO chief challenged case withdrawal”. A female social worker challenged in Peshawar High Court the withdrawal of a case by the provincial government against ‘23 activities of Muttahida Majlis-i- Amal’ who were accused of setting her ‘NGO office on fire’.

<sup>2</sup>English Dawn on 11-7-2003 published a three column supportive story, source a staff reporter, headlined, “NGOs demanded postponement of Multan nazim elections”. All Pakistan Women Councilors Network General Secretary Zahida Ashraf Pattan Development Organization Sarwar Bari Naeem Mirza called for protection of Zainab Khatoon and her family in Multan.

<sup>3</sup>Dawn on 12-7-2003 published a double column non-supportive story, source a staff reporter, headlined, “Councilors seeks court help against NGO”. Zainab Khatoon, a union council member and a former candidate for the vacant Multan district nazim slot, accused an NGO of causing her mental torture for its town vested interest.

<sup>4</sup>Khabrain on 12 -7-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a staff reporter. It told readers that 14 male and female members of NWFP Assembly had reached Islamabad for alliance with NGOs. The delegation met with different international and local NGOs and asked them to start their operations again in NWFP in human rights, education, women empowerment welfare fields.

<sup>5</sup>Khabrain on 14-7-2003 published a three column non supportive story, source a staff reporter. It informed that tribesmen had banned NGOs under the allegation that these organizations were spreading ‘vulgarity’ in the area. Tribesmen asked NGOs to vacate the area within weak and shut down all schools in Orkzai Agency.

<sup>6</sup>Pakistan on 18-7-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a staff reporter. “8,000 schools will be handed over to NGOs in this year. The Education department had completed the file work and started negotiations with NGOs.”

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Dawn July 8 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Daily Dawn July 11 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Daily Dawn July 12 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Daily Khabrain July 12 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Daily Khabrain July 14 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Daily Pakistan July 18 2003.

<sup>1</sup>English Daily Times on 18-7-2003 published a three column story, “NGO drops NWFP projects after dispute with government”. It told that a meaningless dispute had deprived the province of a useful project for the welfare of homeless women.

<sup>2</sup>English Dawn on 5-07-2003 published a three-column supportive story; source as a staff reporter and headline, “Discriminatory laws are adding to women woes”. It told that the presence of discriminatory laws in the country had contributed to deterioration of the state of women.

In August 2003, total stories: 5; non supportive stories: 2; supportive stories: 3

<sup>3</sup>Daily Pakistan on 22-8-2003 published a two-column non supportive story on back page: story source was Online and headline “Investigation against 60 NGOs”. “These NGOs are anti state and working against the national security interest. Agencies have started collecting data of the NGOs and started investigation against these organizations. These NGOs are funded by ‘foreign donors’. These NGOs are working in health, education and gender fields.”

<sup>4</sup>Dawn on 21-8-2003 published a single column back page supportive story. It was filed by Dawn’s correspondent, under “Two NGO men kidnapped recovered.” Two members of a NGO had been kidnapped near Gulistan.

<sup>5</sup>Daily News on 29-8-2003 published a four column supportive story on back page. Filed by the reporter, its headline was, “True democracy must to ensure women’s right”. A workshop was told that “Women will never be able to get their rights unless there is true democracy in the country where people themselves make decisions for their welfare.

In September 2003, total stories: 3; non supportive stories: 1; supportive stories: 2

<sup>6</sup>Daily Urdu Express on 23-9-2003 published a double column non supportive story on back page, source was a staff reporter, “During NGOs certification a strict and effective monitoring should be implemented.” This was stated by regional coordinator for NGOs Punjab Shahnaz Wazir Ali. She stated that her organization would check NGOs’ internal affairs and funds monitoring.

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Times July 18 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Daily Dawn July 5 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Daily Pakistan August 22 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Daily Dawn August 21 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Daily News August 29 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Daily Urdu September 23 2003.



<sup>1</sup>English Dawn on 12-9-2003 published a single column supportive story on back page; source was staff reporter, headlined, "Demo held for repeal of Hudood Ordinance". A demonstration was organized by the Joint Action Committee for Peoples Rights for the repeal of Hudood Ordinance and certain other laws regarded as discriminatory against women, minorities and marginalized sections of the society.

<sup>2</sup>Daily Dawn on 12-9-2003 published a double column non supportive story on back page, source was staff reporter, headlined, "Ministry to streamline NGOs activities". It told that the Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education had decided to have a strict check on the activities of NGOs.

In October 2003, total stories: 8; non supportive stories: 6, supportive stories: 1. Article written: 1: non supportive

<sup>3</sup>Jang on 1-10-2003 published a single column supportive story on back page, source a reporter, and headline "Insan Foundation returns funds to American organization". The NGO boycotted the US organization working for peace because of Bush's war policies.

<sup>4</sup>The Nation on 25-10-2003 published a five column non supportive story on back page, source was AFP, headline "Taliban threaten to execute women working with NGOs". Taliban pamphlets threatening execution of women working with foreign NGOs had been circulated.

<sup>5</sup>Dawn on 28-10-2003 published double column supportive story, source a staff reporter, headlined, "30,023 NGOs registered in Punjab, PA told". The Punjab Assembly was informed that as many as 30,023 NGOs were registered under the Societies Registration Act 1860

<sup>6</sup>The Nation on 29-10-2003 published a single column supportive story, source was a staff reporter, headline "Rich NGOs urged to help prisoners". District Nazim Lahore Mian Amir said CDG was seeking co-operation of the philanthropist and NGOs for managing release of thousands of prisons by paying diyat money on their behalf.

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<sup>1</sup> Daily Dawn September 12 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Daily Dawn September 12 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Daily Jang October 1, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Daily The Nation October 25, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Daily Dawn October 28, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Daily The Nation October 29, 2003

<sup>1</sup>Daily The Nation dated 21-10-03 and Nawa i Waqt dated: 10-10-03 published non- supportive stories.

In November 2003, total stories: 7; non-supportive stories: 4, supportive stories: 3

<sup>2</sup>English Dawn on 7-11-2003 published double four non supportive story, source a staff reporter, headlined, “NGOs need to be continuously monitored”.

<sup>3</sup>Dawn on 22-11-2003 published double column non supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, “NGOs to be categorized for funding”. The Ministry of Social Welfare decided in principle to categorize NGOs on the basis of their performance for funding.

<sup>4</sup>The Nation on 7-11-2003 published a four column supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, “Plight of burn patients”. It told readers that plight of burn patients in the country had assumed alarming proportion due to negligence. Some NGOs and ex chairman of Human Rights Commission of Pakistan Asma Jahangir visited SSW to see the miserable conditions of the burn patients there; but so far no financial aid had come from any quarter.

<sup>5</sup>English Dawn on 19-11-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a staff reporter and headline, “Majority voted out military on Oct 10”. Pakistan Human Rights Commission director I.A Rehman said an overwhelming majority of the people in the recent election had voted against the military rule in Pakistan.

<sup>6</sup>Daily The News on 20-11-2003 published double column non supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, “NGO operating in Pakistan declared terrorist”. An International NGO office in Islamabad had been officially declared terrorist outfit by the US authorities.

<sup>7</sup>English Dawn on 27-11-2003 published a five column non supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline “Contract done to handover the government schools to NGOs”. NGOs had the authority to get extra fee, give their own syllabus and had check on teachers.

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<sup>1</sup> Daily The Nation October 21, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Daily Dawn November 7, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Daily Dawn November 22, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Daily The Nation November 7, 2003.

<sup>5</sup> Daily Dawn November 19, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Daily The News November 20, 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Daily Dawn November 27, 2003.

<sup>1</sup>Urdu Pakistan on 30-11-2003 published a double column supportive story, source a staff reporter, headline, “NGOs and influential people bailout the 35 prisoners. NGOs paid fine for prisoners in Faisalabad jail.

In December 2003, total stories: 2; non supportive stories:

2, supportive stories: nil.

<sup>2</sup>Dawn on 11-12-2003 published a single column supportive story on back page, source was reporter, headlined, “Demo against human rights situation”. Hundreds of women and children held a demonstration in front of the Lahore Press club against the worsening human rights situation. Speaking to the demonstration WWO chairperson Rubina Jamail said over 50 million people were living below the poverty line because of four percent feudal lords.

Dawn on 11-12-2003 published a three column special story on back page, headlined, “NGOs funding agencies and the local culture”. It told that Kishwar Naheed, in her recent column, evaluated the performance of NGOs and funding agencies while she herself was running one. She admitted that many NGO friends would be annoyed at self analytical remarks. But as she said, “she would not mind it because she has decided to tell the truth and the truth is that though the NGOs (not all) did a wonderful job during the oppressive regime of Gen Ziaul Haq, now it looks as if their agendas and that of the funding agencies is no different from that of the multinational corporations and companies.”

## **Findings**

In 2003, 73 stories were found; 35 non supportive and 38 supportive.

25 supportive and 19 non supportive stories were found in English newspaper respectively.

6 supportive and 12 non supportive stories were found in Urdu newspaper respectively.

7 supportive and 4 non supportive stories were found in other newspaper respectively.

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<sup>1</sup>Daily Urdu Pakistan November 30, 2003.

<sup>2</sup>Daily Dawn December 11, 2003.

H1: National newspapers have given more supportive coverage to NGOs than non supportive.

Ho: National newspapers have not given more supportive coverage to NGOs than non supportive

### Chi-Square Test

#### Image

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Supportive	38	36.5	1.5
Non Supportive	35	36.5	-1.5
Total	73		

#### Test Statistics

	Image
Chi-Square	.123 <sup>a</sup>
df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.725

Conclusion: Since Chi-Square Value lies in the acceptance region. So, we unable to reject Ho, that, 'National newspaper have not given more supportive coverage to NGOs than non supportive'.

## 4. Conclusion

It is clear from these findings that the newspapers in the period selected for the study did give supportive coverage to civil society, which is not in line with previous studies on this topic. These findings show that the media in Pakistan is gradually developing a pro democracy attitude and demonstrating social responsibility while covering sections of society not liked by the ruling clique and business interests. Social Responsibility Model requires that media should be more independent and pluralistic. So the study creates a valid hope for Pakistan, which is struggling to acquire true democracy and a free and responsible media.

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