

# Media Behavior, Elections and Political Protests

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# Introduction

Media coverage refers to the process in which a certain piece of information is chosen to be newsworthy by journalists and media personnel, and is then conveyed to the audience that subscribes to its channels of dissemination. These can include electronic media, print media and social media etc. Conventionally agreed upon rules of journalistic etiquette determine what should be considered newsworthy, and what should not. These rules have been established keeping in view media's powerful role in sharing information, generating discussions and acting as a catalyst for public opinion. They are framed in such a manner so as to facilitate media responsibility, objectiveness and impartiality. Media is burdened with the responsibility of providing accurate information to those who seek it, remaining neutral and avoiding inclination towards any particular ideology or party. However in practice, it happens ever so often that it does not always resort to these conventional etiquettes. It is for this reason that analyzing media behaviour in given social, political and geographic situations becomes pertinent.

The timelines for Pakistan's media revolution and the rise of violent conflict within the country after the initiation of war on terror have overlapped each other. Within a decade's timeframe, the airwaves have become dominated by 83 operational satellite and terrestrial channels and 126 operational FM radio channels<sup>1</sup>. This has led to a wider public outreach, especially for electronic media. The approximate figure of TV consumers in Pakistan is calculated to be at 86 million, with about 38 million cable and satellite TV consumers and 48 million terrestrial consumers. According to estimates there

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<sup>1</sup> Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA). List of Commercial FM Radio Licenses Issued by PEMRA. Retrieved on: May 21, 2013. Retrieved from: [http://www.pemra.gov.pk/pemra/images/docs/fm/List\\_Of\\_Commercial\\_FM\\_Radio.pdf](http://www.pemra.gov.pk/pemra/images/docs/fm/List_Of_Commercial_FM_Radio.pdf).

are around 18,000 journalists in Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> The past decade also bore witness to a rise in terrorism throughout the country, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan, claiming more than 47,000 lives<sup>3</sup>. This has resultantly created many predicaments for the newly independent and vibrant media, where journalists regularly face threats to not only their lives, but also to the wellbeing of their families.

The general elections that were held in Pakistan on 11<sup>th</sup> May, 2013 marked the first time a democratically elected civilian government completed its five year tenure. It also marked the second highest voter turnout (55%) in the history of the country, with approximately 47% of the individuals registered in the voter's list being between the age bracket of 18-35. The proceedings of the elections were vigorously covered by the independent media, which, as mentioned earlier, has steadily proliferated and gained importance since the media boom in the last decade. Despite all this, the socio-political backdrop remained highly tense and volatile. The conflict raging throughout the country further exacerbated the situation; the election campaign was marred by violence, where political leaders, workers and supporters were targeted, especially in conflict struck areas.

In June 2014, a joint military offensive by the Pakistan Armed Forces titled 'Zarb-e-Azb' was launched against various militant groups in North Waziristan that resulted in displacement of over 1 million

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<sup>2</sup> Jalil, Xari. Reporting under threat: the story of journalism in Pakistan: Dawn. April 25, 2014. Accessed online from: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1102050>. date of access: January 14, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP). (2013). Fatalities in Terrorist Violence in Pakistan 2003-2013. Retrieved on: May 27, 2013. Retrieved from: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/database/casualties.htm>.

people (74% women and children).<sup>4</sup> Later, in August 2014, Pakistan's political climate changed drastically as Mr. Imran Khan and Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri spearheaded anti-government protests that were covered widely by the media. Both the elections and the protests were events that received significant media attention at the cost of conflict-related or other events that were taking place simultaneously. The purpose of this report is to analyze trends in media coverage and behaviour with respect to a) 2013 General elections specifically with reference to conflict b) political protests, and (c) also documenting significant events that were not given their due coverage. In other words, we seek to reflect on what was reported, how it was reported, but most significantly what was not reported. The time period covered in this report is from February 2013 till December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014, when the protests were called off as a result of the brutal attack on an Army Public School in Peshawar.

In order to address the first part of the report, i.e. analyzing trends in media coverage and behaviour with respect to elections, IL-Pakistan facilitated a field survey that covered a span of four (04) months from February 2013 – May 2013. Later, once the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz government had been elected and an anti-government political movement had begun, IL-Pakistan conducted desk research from August 15<sup>th</sup> 2014 to December 16<sup>th</sup> 2014 with the aim to address the second part of the report, i.e. analyzing trends in media coverage and behaviour with respect to political protests and *dharnas*.

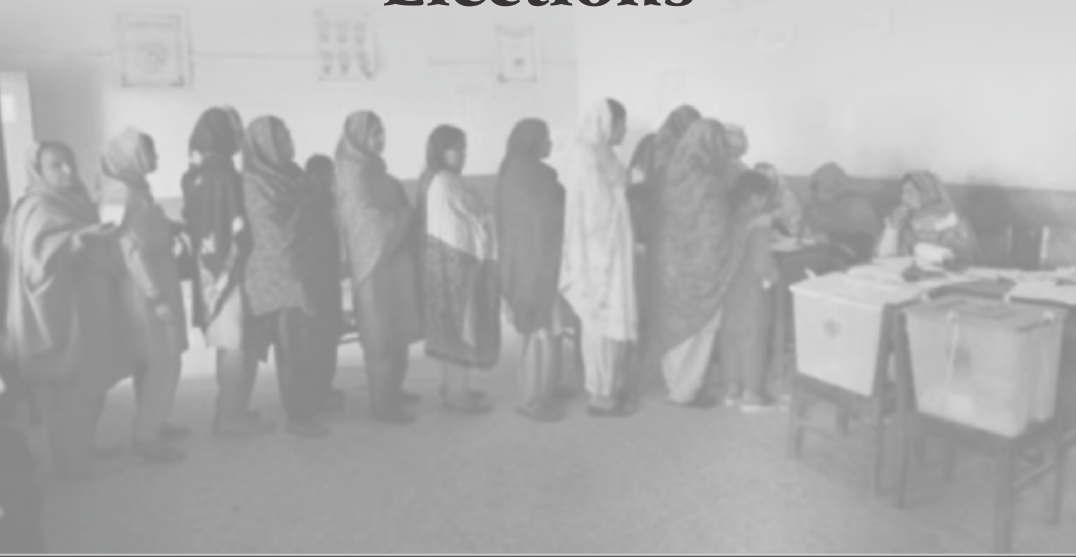
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<sup>4</sup> ACAPS briefing note: Pakistan North Waziristan Agency : IDPs crisis, 22 August, 2014. Relief Web. August 22, 2014. Accessed online from: <http://reliefweb.int/report/pakistan/acaps-briefing-note-pakistan-north-waziristan-agency-idp-crisis-22-august-2014>. date of access: January 14, 2015.





# **Elections**



## Part A: Elections

In order to monitor changes in media behavior especially in anticipation of an important event like the elections, Individualland (IL) Pakistan facilitated a four (04) months study i.e. from February 2013 – May 2013 with the objective ‘to identify and understand the election as a facilitator or impediment for print, electronic and social media, in the backdrop of their personal safety and security framework; for performance of their duties within the conflict struck areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province’. The study encompassed a sample size of 121 media personnel from five (05) districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, namely Peshawar, Nowshera, Dera Ismail Khan, Mansehra and Swabi.

The study specifically focused on the question of whether general elections were a possible facilitator or an impediment for journalists and media personnel. While looking at this research question, however, the study also revealed useful information about the changes in media behavior. This was especially true if we compare it with media’s behaviour towards other important events that unfolded post-elections, particularly during 2014. The military operation Zarb-e Azb, floods and the Azadi March or the *dharnas* staged by PTI and PAT remained the highlights of 2014. However, all these events did not receive equal attention and coverage by the media, especially the electronic media.

This particular research points towards some of the underlying reasons that might result in changes in the media behavior. It is important to mention here that due to constraints of time and finances, a limited number of districts were covered encompassing a small target group. The survey was carried out based on a close-ended questionnaire for media personnel. The study was designed using a mixed cross-sectional method, while the sample constituted of 121 media personnel. The sample population from within the media personnel was selected through non-random purposive sampling. Data analysis software was also utilized.

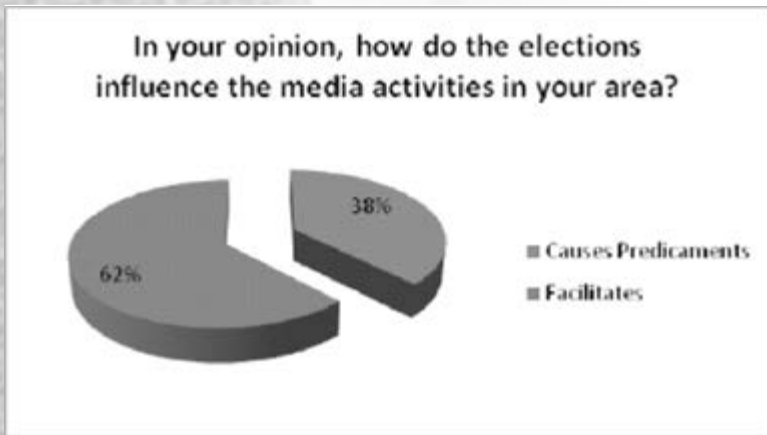
# Results

43 journalists (38%) were of the view that elections cause predicaments in the working of the media, in their respective areas. A total of 71 journalists (62%) perceived the elections to be a facilitator for the media.

Table 1

In your opinion, how do the elections influence the media activities in your area?	
Causes Predicaments	Facilitates
43	71

Pie Chart 1



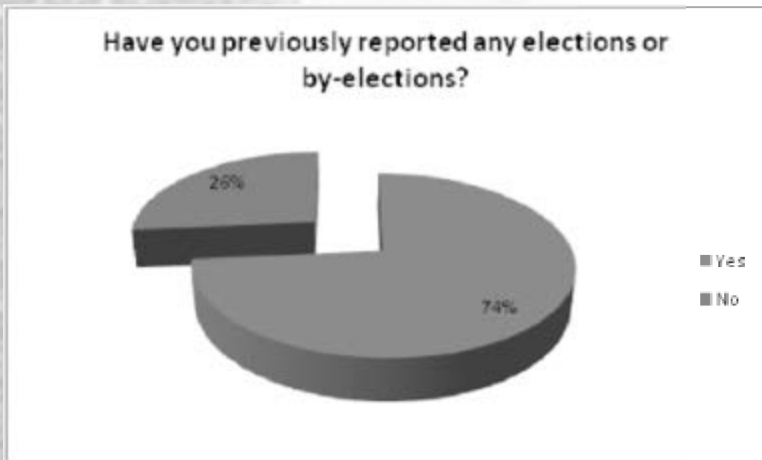
It is easily discernible from the aforementioned result that the majority of the journalists who participated in the survey viewed elections as positively affecting, and facilitating the media’s activities. In other words, according to the participants, the electoral process generates significant media activity around itself.

89 individuals (74%) claimed that they had previously reported elections or by-elections, while 32 media personnel (26%) claimed to have no such experience.

Table 2

Have you previously reported any elections or by-elections?	
Yes	No
89	32

Pie Chart 2



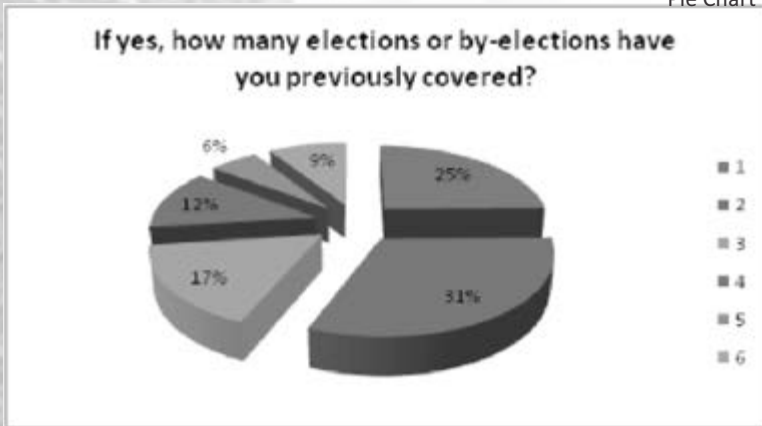
By looking at this result, it is clear that the majority of the survey participants had previously reported on elections or by-elections, which also substantiates the fact that the majority of the participants who viewed elections as positively affecting media's activities actually based their opinion on their past experience.

Similarly, out of those who claimed to have experience in election reporting, a total of 22 respondents (25%) had previously reported on only one election, 28 individuals (31%) had covered two elections, 15 respondents (17%) reported on three elections, while only 08 media personnel (9%) had participated in reporting on six elections or by-elections.

Table 3

If yes, how many elections or by-elections have you previously covered?					
1	2	3	4	5	6
22	28	15	11	5	8

Pie Chart 3

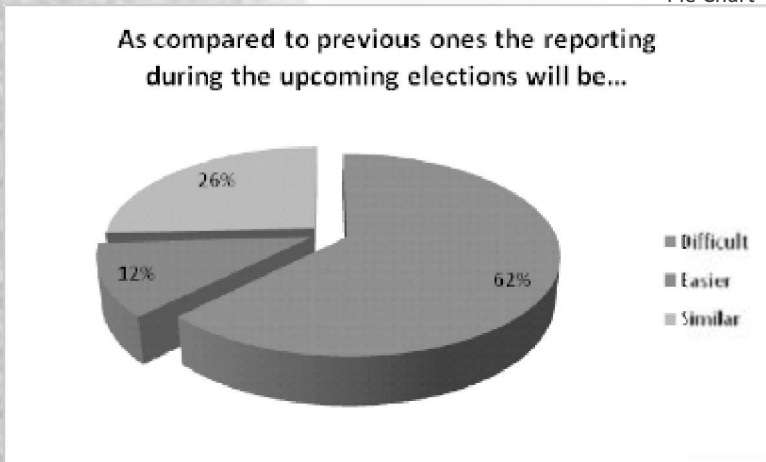


A total of 75 media personnel (62%) perceived that reporting on the then upcoming elections would be difficult as compared to previous ones, while 14 respondents (12%) claimed that it would be easier. On the other hand, 31 media personnel (26%) thought that media would face a situation similar to that experienced during previous elections.

Table 4

As compared to previous ones the reporting during the upcoming elections will be...		
Difficult	Easier	Similar
75	14	31

Pie Chart 4



This result indicates that most of the journalists expected that their activities during the election period would intensify, indicating a change in media behavior.

26 media personnel (22%) stated that their respective organizations had provided them with any training regarding election coverage. On the other hand, 92 media personnel (78%) had not been provided with any training in relation to coverage during elections.

Table 5

Does your respective organization provide you with any training for reporting on pre, during and post-election period?	
Yes	No
26	92

Pie Chart 5

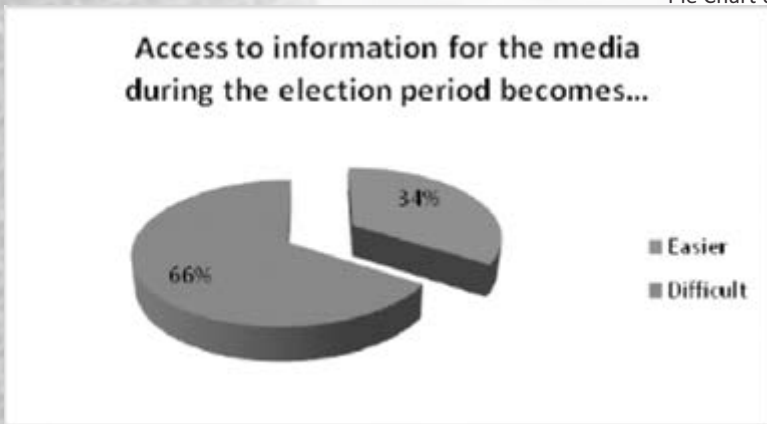


This result also indicates that due to the unavailability of any training facilities for reporting on the pre, during or post-elections period, most of the respondents termed the reporting of 2013 elections as difficult. On the other hand, those respondents who were provided training by their respective media organizations for the coverage of the elections termed the reporting as either easier or similar to that done for previous elections.

Table 6

Access to information for the media during the election period becomes...	
Easier	Difficult
40	77

Pie Chart 6



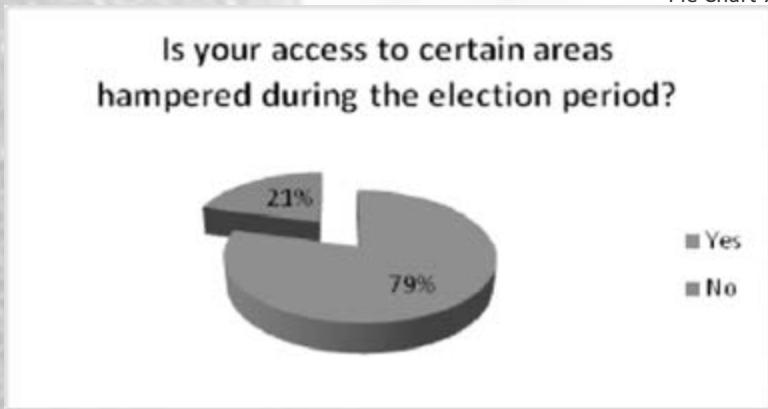


Regarding the query of access to information for the media during elections, 40 respondents (34%) considered it to be easier, while 77 respondents (66%) perceived it to be difficult.

Table 7

Is your access to certain areas hampered during the election period?	
Yes	No
95	25

Pie Chart 7

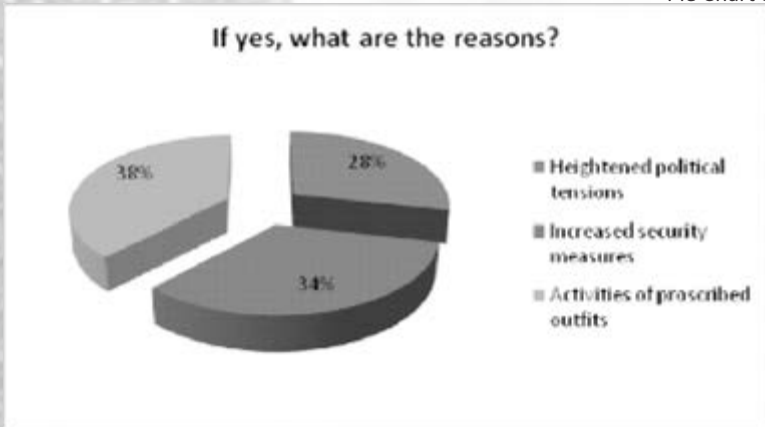


A total of 95 respondents (79%) stated that their access to certain areas is hindered during the election period, while 25 respondents (21%) stated that they faced no such predicament.

Table 8

If yes, what are the reasons?		
Heightened political tensions	Increased security measures	Activities of proscribed outfits
27	32	36

Pie Chart 8

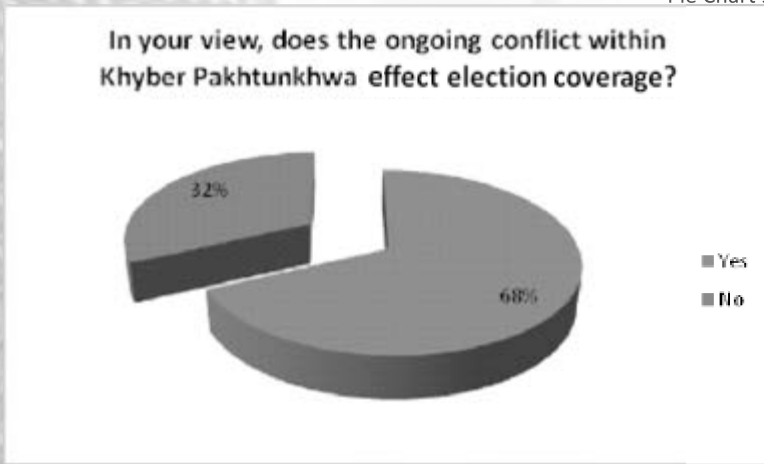


When asked about the reason for such hinderances in accessibility to certain areas, a total of 27 respondents (28%) stated heightened political tensions as the reason. 32 respondents (34%) considered increased security measures as the leading cause, while 36 media personnel (38%) considered activities by proscribed outfits as the main reason for inaccessability to certain areas.

Table 9

In your view, does the ongoing conflict within Khyber Pakhtunkhwa effect election coverage?	
Yes	No
81	38

Pie Chart 9

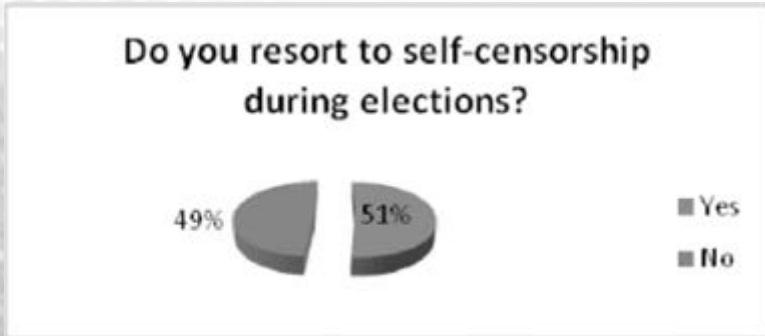


When the media personnel were asked about the impact of ongoing conflict within the province on election coverage, 81 respondents (68%) perceived the conflict towards affecting the election coverage, while 38 respondents (32%) did not view the conflict as a factor affecting election coverage.

Table 10

Do you resort to self-censorship during elections?	
Yes	No
61	58

Pie Chart 10

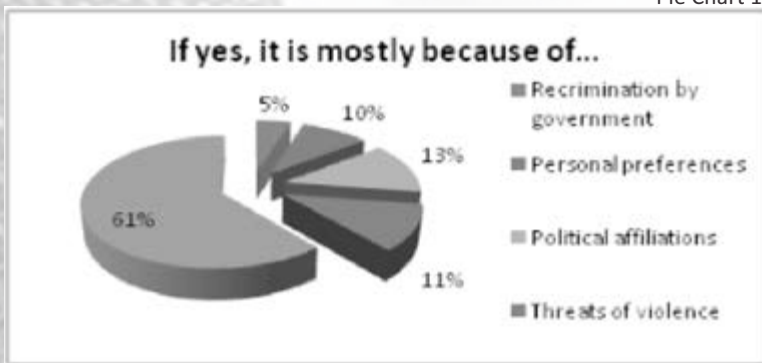


According to the feedback from the sample population, 61 respondents (51%) stated that they did resort to self-censorship during elections, while 58 media personnel (49%) claimed that they did not apply self-censorship.

Table 11

If yes, it is mostly because of...				
Reaction / Recrimination by government	Personal preferences	Political affiliations	Threats of violence	Ethical responsibility
3	6	8	7	38

Pie Chart 11

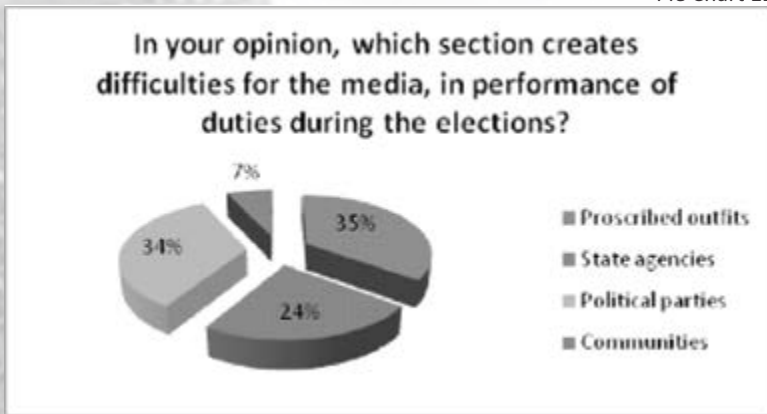


Out of those who claimed to apply self-censorship during election coverage, 38 respondents (61%) attributed it to ethical responsibility, 07 respondents (11%) identified threats of violence as the main reason, 08 media personnel (13%) claimed political affiliations to be their main reason. 06 media personnel (10%) pointed towards personal preferences and 03 respondents (05%) towards reaction or recrimination by government, for their adoption of self-censorship techniques.

Table 12

In your opinion, which section creates difficulties for the media, in performance of duties during the elections?			
Proscribed outfits	State agencies	Political parties	Communities
40	27	39	8

Pie Chart 12



Regarding the difficulties posed by various sections towards the media during election coverage, 40 respondents identified proscribed outfits (35%), 27 perceived state agencies (24%), 30 pointed out political parties (34%) and 08 viewed communities (7%) as creating hurdles for the media.

In conclusion, according to the journalists and media personnel interviewed, the electoral process generates significant media activity around itself. The majority of the respondents interviewed had covered at least two (02) elections before, and on the basis of their experiences, they anticipated the 2013 general elections to be difficult to cover.



# Political Protests



## Part B: Political protests

In the latter half of 2014, Pakistan was embroiled in a tumultuous political show-down between the PML-N's government and the 'revolutionary' calls of cricketer-turned politician Imran Khan and the cleric Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri. Khan's PTI had justified its claims on the basis of alleged widespread rigging during the 2013 general elections, whereas Qadri's PAT's primary leverage-point was the instance of alleged state sanctioned police-brutality against its workers in Model Town, Lahore and the lack of public accountability.

The two movements gradually gained traction, and manifested themselves in the form of massive protest rallies that initially consolidated in Islamabad, but later spread throughout the country. Many analysts and commentators referred to the situation as a 'deadlock' or a 'stale-mate', given the apparent lack of any potential common grounds that might have been reached for a timely resolution. Despite skeptics denouncing Khan and Qadri's tirades and condemning the ethos of public taking the law 'into their own hands', people continued to show up at these protests till the last moment.

The media's role in the whole affair was primary and instrumental, and in many ways, it can even be argued that the political reality of such a demonstration might have been completely different had the media chosen to act differently. Popular media is immensely powerful; it has the ability and capacity to not only inform people about a certain event, but also dictate, mould and set the direction of public discourse about specific matters. It is for this reason that it is also referred as the 'Fourth pillar' disagreed. However, such power needs to be exercised with extreme caution, foregoing private gain and keeping into consideration the collective benefit and well-being of the masses. As the adage goes, with (media) freedom and independence comes immense responsibility.

In order to analyze trends in media coverage and behaviour with respect to these protests, IL-Pakistan conducted desk research from



August 15<sup>th</sup> 2014 to December 16<sup>th</sup> 2014. The forms of media covered include electronic, print and social media. With respect to social media, we have conducted an online trend-analysis for online traffic using 'Google trends.'

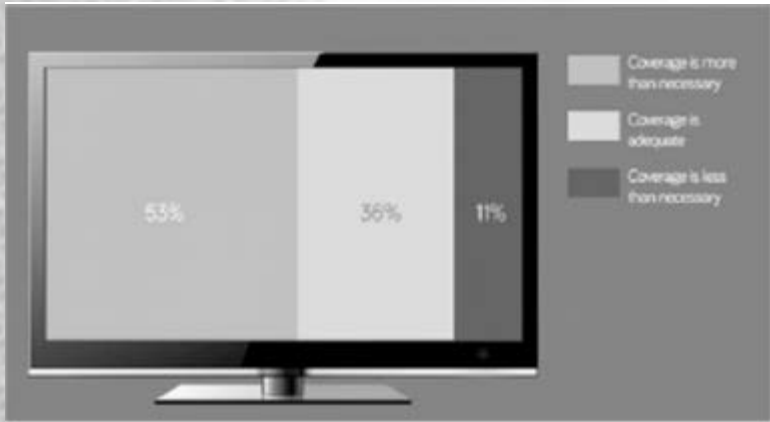


# **Electronic Media**

# Electronic Media

The calls for ‘revolution’ began on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 2014, and immediately attracted media attention. A number of private channels devised teams of ‘analysts’ who dissected every small detail of the day’s proceeding. According to a poll conducted by ‘Gilani Research Foundation’ (GRF POLL) which was published on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 2014 and was carried out by Gallup Pakistan<sup>5</sup>, 53% Pakistanis believed that the coverage given to Pakistan Awami Tehreek and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf after the protests started was “more than necessary,” 36% believed that the coverage was “adequate,” while 11% said that the coverage was “less than necessary.” The survey was based on the responses of a nationally representative sample of adult men and women from across the four provinces.

Figure 1



<sup>5</sup> More than half Pakistanis believe that the coverage given to PTI and PAT by news channels is more than necessary: Gilani Research Foundation (GRF), Islamabad. Gilani Cyberletter, November, 2014. November 28, 2014. Accessed online from: <http://www.gallup.com.pk/News/199.pdf>. Date of access: January 14, 2015.

This result was a direct consequence of the fact that about fifty channels in five languages<sup>6</sup> brought us the proceedings live on a daily basis, in the form of marathon-telecasts. This was emblematic of a general trend that is increasingly being followed by private current affairs channels that have proliferated in Pakistan within the last decade. At least seven private mainstream channels almost completely relinquished advertisements, and replaced them with 24/7 studio coverage and field-reporting from the *dharnas* venue. Amongst the seven, three did not change their panel of experts. The other four broadly exhibited a viewpoint that supported the cause of the protest leaders. Despite featuring different panelists, the balance still remained disproportionate. One channel which was recently charged with 'treason' exhibited a vantage point that completely opposed PAT and PTI's rhetoric. The state-owned PTV mainly propagated a pro-government position, as expected.<sup>7</sup>

This was also the first time that private media channels were seen employing specialized tools that assisted in the coverage of these large *dharnas*. Live drone camera coverage using Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UEVs), which is contentious and traditionally frowned upon by mainstream media was widely used. The contention within the global media-ethics discourse primarily emerges from the fact that it raises many privacy and security concerns. Regardless of that fact, this was considered to be a non-issue and the usage of the UAVs was deemed a media-company prerogative. The results were birds-eye-view shots of the citizens assembled at protests centers that were then shown on the channels.

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<sup>6</sup> Adnan Rehmat, 'Of wet shalwars and televised 'revolutions'', Dawn, August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2014, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1126586/of-wet-shalwars-and-televised-revolutions>. Date of access: January 14, 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Adnan Rehmat, 'Analysis: Conflict narratives and media complicity', Dawn, September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1129371>. Date of access: January 15, 2015.

For the purpose of this study, IL-Pakistan conducted desk research as a consumer of media and scrutinized transmissions of three (03) television channels (ARY News, Geo News and Capital TV). Geo and ARY News are among the most viewed news channels in Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, Capital TV is a relatively newer channel, established only in 2012. One (01) prime-time talk show was chosen from each news channel, and its content was monitored for a period of one week each month, starting from 15<sup>th</sup> of August 2014 and ending in December 2014. ARY News and Geo News were not only chosen because of their high viewership but also due to the fact that the former had taken a pro-protest stance, while the later vice versa. Also mentioned by Adnan Rehmat<sup>9</sup>, ARY was one the channels that ran a marathon transmission without worrying about advertisements. Capital TV was selected because of its apparent neutral stance, noted as a consumer of media. Airing details of all those programs that were publicly available were listed down in the form of a table, as can be seen below:

Table 13

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
<b>ARY News</b>	11 <sup>th</sup> Hour	Imran Khan's March Towards Parliament	16 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March	17 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March	18 August 2014

<sup>8</sup> Geo Tops the viewership charts among cable and satellite viewers in the month of May 2013. Gallup TV ratings service. Accessed online from: <http://www.gallup.com.pk/Polls/Geo%20News%20tops%20the%20Viewership.pdf>. Date of access: January 14, 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March	20 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March	21 <sup>st</sup> August 2014
		Azadi and Long March	15 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Azadi and Long March	16 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Azadi and Long March	17 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Political issues	18 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March, Popular anti-PML-N sentiments, Joint Parliamentary Session	19 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March, Confrontation between MQM and PTI on the possibility of the creation of new provinces, Bilawal	20 <sup>th</sup> September 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Bhutto's comments on Kashmir and India's reaction	
		Special Transmission on Azadi and Inqilaab March, Nawaz Sharif and Election Audit	21 <sup>st</sup> September 2014
		PTI Chairman Imran Khan's Speech	15 <sup>th</sup> October 2014
		Film Star Shan Exclusive (Eid Show)	17 <sup>th</sup> October 2014
		Dr. Tahir-UI-Qadri's Speech addressed to the PAT <i>jalsa</i> in Lahore	19 <sup>th</sup> October 2014
		Pakistan Peoples Party's stance	21 <sup>st</sup> October 2014
		Imran Khan's Speech addressed to participants of the Azaadi March, Islamabad	15 <sup>th</sup> November 2014
		Imran Khan's Speech addressed to participants of the Azaadi	16 <sup>th</sup> November 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		March, Islamabad	
		Imran Khan's Speech addressed to the participants of the Azaadi March, Islamabad	18 <sup>th</sup> November 2014
		Imran Khan's Speech addressed to the participants of the Azaadi March, Islamabad	19 <sup>th</sup> November 2014
		Imran Khan's Speech marking 100 days since the inception of the Azaadi March	21 <sup>st</sup> November 2014
		Transmission on Peshawar School Attack	16 <sup>th</sup> December 2014

ARY News's political talk show titled '*11<sup>th</sup> Hour*' was chosen for the trend-analysis. This particular show on the news channel managed the special transmission on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, 2014, which was not covered in the monitoring period, also mentioned in the program schedule<sup>10</sup> of ARY news. The same program i.e. 11<sup>th</sup> Hour also managed the 'special' transmission again during the month of

<sup>10</sup> Archives: 11<sup>th</sup> Hour-Wasim Badami: ARY News. Accessed online from: <http://videos.arynews.tv/category/11th-hour/>. Date of access: January 15, 2015.



September, 2014, also available in the archives<sup>11</sup> of ARY News’ website. October and November 2014 were spent analyzing the implications and impact of the protests, and air-time was still given to the live speeches made by the party leaders. The transmission promptly shifted to covering the terrorist attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar on December 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

Table 14

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
Geo News	Capital Talk	Special Transmission: Shifting of 2014’s biggest political ‘battle ground’ from Lahore to Islamabad, Supreme Court’s interim order to political workers to abide by the Constitution, Scuffle between PTI & PML-N in Gujranwala	15th August 21014
		Special Transmission: Imran Khan and Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri’s demands, Similarities and differences between their demands, Are the demands in agreement with democratic principles?	16th August 2014

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Acknowledgement that PTI and PAT's dharnas are not the only important issues in the country, The political situation in Islamabad, Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri and Imran Khan's ultimatums, The problems associated with street politics	17th August 2014
		Special Transmission: PTI's decision to resign from assemblies, Rejection of calls of civil disobedience by the business community, Government's course of action if PTI does not agree with negotiations	18th August 2014
		Special Transmission: Deployment of the army in the Red Zone, Failed negotiations between the government & the protesting parties & the resultant deadlock, Imran	19th August 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Khan's plan to march into the Red Zone	
		Resuming of negotiations between protestors in front of the Parliament House and the government, Parliamentary members' views on the calls for Nawaz Sharif's resignation	20th August 2014
		National Assembly's resolution stating that the PM should not resign and that the calls for the dissolution of assemblies is unconstitutional, Protest by lawyers calling the dharnas unconstitutional	21st August 2014
		Global Day of Democracy and the political protests, Pakistani democracy's strengths and weaknesses, Will calls for civil disobedience strengthen or weaken democracy	15th September 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		in Pakistan?	
		Imran Khan's warning that the country is headed into a 'civil war', Delays in the negotiations	16th September 2014
		Flooding in Punjab and Kashmir, Reasons why they occur and how they can be tackled	17th September 2014
		Target killing of a teacher in Karachi, PPP Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardar's visit to flood affected areas, Suleman Shahbaz Sharif's interview in light of Imran Khan's accusations against him	18th September 2014
		Special Episode: Parliament's Joint Session and PM Nawaz Sharif's speech, Have any solutions been achieved?	19th September 2014
		Malala Yousafzai's Nobel Peace Prize and its implications, Malala's place in Pakistan's politics	15th October 2014
		Bilawal Bhutto's	20th October

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		speech and rally in Karachi, Inter-party conflicts	2014
		Public opinion on democracy in Pakistan	21st October 2014
		Problems for IDPs as the winter approaches, Thar, Larkana's DCO's disapproval of PTI's plan to hold a rally in his jurisdiction	17th November 2014
		Rising Global Terrorism, General Raheel Shareef's visit to the USA	18th November 2014
		Death of 8 newborn babies in a government hospital in Sargodha, Imran Khan's announcement of a protest rally in the Red Zone on the 30th November	19th November 2014
		PM Nawaz Sharif's speech in Muzaffarabad on the government's stance on the Kashmir issue, General Raheel	20th November 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Sharif's visit to the USA	
		PTI's protest rally in Lahore, Imran Khan's address, Geo staff's harassment at the hands of the crowd	15th December 2014

Similarly, Geo TV's talk show '*Capital Talk*' was also observed. The show is aired from Mondays to Thursdays every week, as shown in the program profile<sup>12</sup> on Geo's website. The particular show was part of the special transmission on the news channel on 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> August, 2014 and then again on 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> August, 2014. The episodes of Capital Talk which were monitored during the month of August, 2014 were solely focused on the political protests staged by PTI and PAT. Even during the month of September, the focus remained on the protests. However, the September 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> episodes were focused on Floods and a number of other topics. During the months of October and November, 2014 *Capital Talk's* episodes kept focusing on other important issues. However, again on 15<sup>th</sup> December, 2014, this show's episode was focused on PTI's rally in Lahore and the harassment of Geo News' female anchor. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of December, 2014, the attack on Army Public School in Peshawar, resulted in a sudden calling off the protests by PTI.

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<sup>12</sup> Capital talk: Geo News. Accessed online from: <http://www.geo.tv/geonews/program.asp?pid=127>. Date of access: January 15, 2015.

Table 15

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
Capital TV	Bay Laag	14 <sup>th</sup> August	14 <sup>th</sup> August
		'Special' Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat'	2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat' and PAT and PTI's march towards Islamabad	15 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', PTI's stance on Army intervention and the PM's resignation, PAT's 'agenda'	16 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', PAT and PTI's changing positions, calls for 'civil disobedience'	17 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', <i>Dharnas</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', Political Protests, demands for PM's resignation,	20 <sup>th</sup> August 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', Political Protests, Parliamentary Resolution denouncing the demands for the resignation of the PM	21 <sup>st</sup> August 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', Imran Khan's negative comments about journalists who are critical of him, Javed Hashmi's comments, Capital TV's 'pro-democracy' stance	15 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', Imran Khan's 'warnings', Protestor's march into the Parliament	16 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', Acknowledgement that the 'special' transmission has gone on for too	17 <sup>th</sup> September 2014



Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		long at the cost of other important affairs like the floods, operation Zarb-e-Azb and the IDP crisis, questions about airing political speeches daily, Political Protests	
		Scottish Referendum	18 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', Political Protests, <i>Dharnas</i> , Joint Parliamentary Session's vote in favour of democracy, Political Deadlock	19 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', MQM and PPP's views on the division of Sindh and the creation of administrative units	20 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
		Special Transmission: 'Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat', PTI's massive rally in	21 <sup>st</sup> September 2014

Channel	Talk show	Topic	Date
		Karachi	
		Shahidullah Shahid's pledging of allegiance to ISIS's Abu-bakar al-Baghdadi, possible repercussions of this act on Pakistan	15 <sup>th</sup> October 2014
		By-Elections in Multan	16 <sup>th</sup> October 2014
		Polio Eradication in Pakistan	17 <sup>th</sup> November 2014
		Public's Knowledge of Traffic Rules and Regulations	18 <sup>th</sup> November 2014
		Pakistan's trade and commerce with India and Afghanistan, Pakistan's domestic commercial activity	19 <sup>th</sup> November 2014
		PTI's rally in Larkana and the planning for a grand rally in Islamabad on the 30 <sup>th</sup> November	20 <sup>th</sup> November 2014

From Capital TV, the popular current affairs talk show '*Bay Laag*' was chosen. As seen with other television channels, Capital TV also carried out a special transmission titled '*Qaum, Mulk, Saltanat*' that ran throughout August and most of September 2014. Its prime focus was observing, analyzing and discussing the political protests and their subsequent impact on Pakistani politics. One episode of the

show that was aired on 17<sup>th</sup> September, 2014 is especially noteworthy since the anchorperson himself acknowledges that the 'special' transmission has gone on for too long at the cost of other important affairs like the floods, operation Zarb-e-Azb and the Internally Displaced People (IDPs) crisis. This acknowledgement made by the anchorperson of the show provides an indication about the change in media behavior due to the political protests, which also corresponds with the aim of this particular report. The anchorperson acknowledged on-air that the coverage has gone far too long and a number of other important events have been ignored.

In October and November 2014, the show resumed its regular format, focusing on other issues such as Shahidullah Shahid's pledging of allegiance to ISIS's Abu-bakar al-Baghdadi, polio eradication and Pakistan's trade and commerce with neighbouring countries.

Overall, it can be observed that all three channels spent time during the first two months after 14<sup>th</sup> August 2014 covering the proceedings of the protests, effectively blacking out all other significant activities that might have been taking place within the country. However, it should be noted that a similar trend was followed by almost all the mainstream news channels.

According to the Karachi based monitoring company Media Innovations, ARY News initially slashed 90% of its advertisement space to make way for the coverage of the *dharnas*<sup>13</sup>. Coverage eventually started focusing on other events in September 2014, only to exhibit a renewed interest in *dharnas* again in November and the first two weeks during December 2014.

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<sup>13</sup> This information was provided by one of the company representatives in a telephonic interview with IL - Pakistan research team.



# **Print Media**

## Print Media

Newspapers are an important medium via which information about events is shared with local individuals, information retailers and their customers. However, this dissemination is not limited to any single newspaper or publishing house; there are numerous newspapers operating in Pakistan with differing viewpoints and ideologies. These newspapers are published in different languages, and cater to various regional demographic groups. It is important to understand that the competition within newspapers differs from that of television channels. Whereas in electronic media, the channel that reports an event for the first time takes the lead, print media doesn't have to race against time. There is more room for prioritizing before the final copy is printed. It is thus imperative for the editors and sub-editors to ensure that news stories are printed keeping in mind elements of news-worthiness, and that truth is not compromised.

Since one of the aims of this report is to highlight the broad trends within print media vis-à-vis coverage of protests and conflict, we chose one leading English daily newspaper (DAWN), and one leading daily Urdu newspaper (Nawai-e-Waqt with 500,000 circulation<sup>14</sup>). The nationwide daily circulation for DAWN is reported to be around 109,000<sup>15</sup>. The headlines for both newspapers were monitored and categorized thematically during the first week after the initiation of long marches (August 15th, 2014 to August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2014). In order to compare whether the trend had shifted after each subsequent month of protests, we monitored and thematically categorized headlines in these two daily newspapers during the third weeks of September, October, November and December as well (e.g.

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<sup>14</sup> Shah, Hijab. *The Inside Pages: An Analysis of the Pakistani Press: The tongue tied press of Pakistan: Comparing Urdu and English Newspapers*. South Asia Monitor: South Asia Program. Center for Strategic and International Studies. Number: 148, December 09, 2010. Accessed online from: [http://csis.org/files/publication/sam\\_148.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/sam_148.pdf). Date of access: January 16, 2015.

<sup>15</sup> "Pakistan". Available from [www.pressreference.com](http://www.pressreference.com)

September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014 to September 21<sup>st</sup>, 2014). The results have been compiled in the form of tables, and are as follows:

**Print Media Content in August, 2014**

**DAWN- Daily English Newspaper**

News headlines in the first week after the initiation of the protests (August 15 - August 21, 2014)

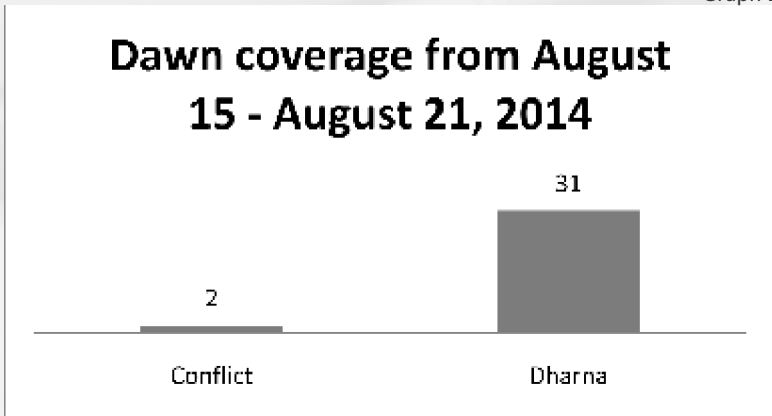
Table 16

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	DAWN	August 15, 2014	Ditched Qadri overtakes PTI march	Dharna
2	DAWN	August 15, 2014	Two assailants killed near airbase	Conflict
3	DAWN	August 15, 2014	PTI and PAT allowed to march on Islamabad	Dharna
4	DAWN	August 15, 2014	A decade of peace must for progress, says PM	
5	DAWN	August 15, 2014	PTI kicks off Azadi march	Dharna
6	DAWN	August 16, 2014	SC restrains state functionaries from unconstitutional steps	Dharna
7	DAWN	August 16, 2014	PAT sit-in marred by confusion	Dharna
8	DAWN	August 16, 2014	12 'Uzbeks' killed in attacks on airbases	Conflict
9	DAWN	August 16, 2014	Marches keep capital on tenterhooks	Dharna
10	DAWN	August 16, 2014	Azadi march attacked in Gujranwala	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
11	DAWN	August 17, 2014	Marching on capital- a history	Dharna
12	DAWN	August 17, 2014	Decision on talks: Sharif to wait and see till tomorrow	Dharna
13	DAWN	August 17, 2014	Lahore judge orders FIR against Sharifs	Dharna
14	DAWN	August 17, 2014	Imran, Qadri begin sit-ins for PM's ouster	Dharna
15	DAWN	August 18, 2014	PTI ministers, MPAs not to pay taxes, utility bills	Dharna
16	DAWN	August 18, 2014	Multi-party panels being set up for negotiations	Dharna
17	DAWN	August 18, 2014	Imran's tough stance confuses govt	Dharna
18	DAWN	August 18, 2014	ANP asks PM to take vote of confidence	Dharna
19	DAWN	August 18, 2014	Imran's surprising call for civil disobedience	Dharna
20	DAWN	August 19, 2014	India calls off secretary-level talks	
21	DAWN	August 19, 2014	'People's parliament' to be held today: Qadri	Dharna
22	DAWN	August 19, 2014	SC distances itself from political impasse	Dharna
23	DAWN	August 19, 2014	Govt's respond not fast enough	Dharna
24	DAWN	August 19, 2014	Imran move to break out of dead-end street	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
25	DAWN	August 20, 2014	Army asks both sides to exercise restraint	Dharna
26	DAWN	August 20, 2014	Opposition's efforts get nowhere	Dharna
27	DAWN	August 20, 2014	48 dead in air strikes on Taliban hideouts	Conflict
28	DAWN	August 20, 2014	Marches breach red zone, hold sit-in outside parliament	Dharna
29	DAWN	August 21, 2014	Armies advises policies to hold talks, refuses to mediate	Dharna
30	DAWN	August 21, 2014	Little headway with PTI	Dharna
31	DAWN	August 21, 2014	Inauspicious start with PAT	Dharna
32	DAWN	August 21, 2014	Imran, Qadri summoned by Supreme Court	Dharna
33	DAWN	August 21, 2014	Signs of thaw as all sides agree to talk	Dharna

Graph 1





While going through the news content presented by DAWN from August 15, 2014 to August 21, 2014, it was noted that news related to other important incidents occurring in the country was overshadowed by the protests staged by PTI and PAT leaders against the government. The table above suggests that over a period of one week after the initiation of the *dharnas*, conflict-related news occurred thrice on the front page of the newspaper, whereas news related to the anti-government political campaigns was prominent on the front page of the newspaper consecutively (30 out of a total of 33 headlines).

### **NAWAIWAQT- Daily Urdu Newspaper**

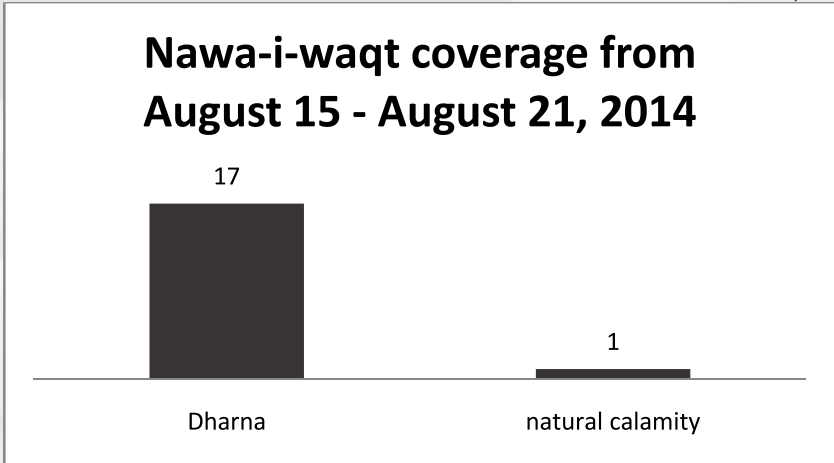
News headlines in the first week after the initiation of the protests (August 15 - August 21, 2014) in *Nawa-i-waqt*: Table 17

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	نوائے وقت	August 15, 2014	آزادی اور انقلاب مارچ اسلام آباد روانہ، حکومت رکاوٹیں ہٹادیں	Dharna
2	نوائے وقت	August 15, 2014	سول فوجی قیادت اکھٹے، یوم آزادی منا رہی ہے، یہی حقیقی آزادی مارچ ہے نواز شریف	Dharna
3	نوائے وقت	August 15, 2014	وزیر عزم استعفیٰ پارلیمنٹ الیکشن کمیشن کی تحلیل ٹیکنوکریٹس حکومت، عمران طاہر القادری کے مطالبات غیر آئینی ہیں ہائیکورٹ کا تفصیلی فیصلہ	Dharna
4	نوائے وقت	August 16, 2014	آزادی اور انقلاب مارچ اسلام آباد پہنچ گئے	Dharna
5	نوائے وقت	August 16, 2014	ریاستی ادارے اور اہلکار غیر آئینی اقدام سے باز	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			رہیں یہ غداری ہوگی :سپریم کورٹ	
6	نوائے وقت	August 16, 2014	پشاور گردونواح میں طوفانی بارش، ژالہ باری، چھتیں اور دیواریں گرنے سے ۱۵ افراد جاں بحق ۶۰ سے زائد زخمی	Deaths due to rainstorm
7	نوائے وقت	August 17, 2014	اسمبلیاں توڑ کر قومی حکومت بنانی جانے :طاہر القادری	Dharna
8	نوائے وقت	August 17, 2014	سونامی وزیر اعظم اور پارلیمنٹ ہاؤس بھی پہنچ سکتی ہے : عمران	Dharna
9	نوائے وقت	August 18, 2014	عمران خان کا سول نافرمانی کی تحریک چلائیکا اعلان	Dharna
10	نوائے وقت	August 19, 2014	عمران خان کا اسمبلیوں سے استعفوں، آج ریڈ زون جانے کا اعلان	Dharna
11	نوائے وقت	August 19, 2014	عوام کیلئے گھروں میں رہنا حرام ہو چکا، آج شام ۵ بجے عوامی پارلیمنٹ فیصلے کریگی: طاہر القادری	Dharna
12	نوائے وقت	August 19, 2014	کسی رکن قومی اسمبلی نے حلف ورزی کی ہے تو پارلیمنٹ نوٹس لے: سپریم کورٹ	Dharna
13	نوائے وقت	August 19, 2014	تاجروں، صنعتکاروں، سیاسی جماعتوں نے سول نافرمانی کی تحریک مسترد کر دی	Dharna
14	نوائے وقت	August 20, 2014	آزادی، انقلاب مارچ ریڈ زون میں داخل، پارلیمنٹ کے سامنے دھرنا	Dharna
15	نوائے وقت	August 20, 2014	وزیر اعظم سے آرمی چیف کی ملاقات، ملکی	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			صورت حال پر تبادلہ خیال: 'کھیل' کے پیچھے فوج نہیں: نثار	
16	نوائے وقت	August 21, 2014	عوامی تحریک، حکومت مذاکرات کا پہلا دور بے نتیجہ رہا	Dharna
17	نوائے وقت	August 21, 2014	عمران خان نے مذاکرات کیلئے نواز شریف کے استعفیٰ سمیت 6 نکاتی ایجنڈا پیش کر دیا	Dharna
18	نوائے وقت	August 21, 2014	وزیر اعظم مستعفی نہیں ہونگے: تمام پارلیمانی جماعتوں میں اتفاق	Dharna

Graph 2



While going through the news content published by *Nawa-i-Waqt* from August 15, 2014 to August 21, 2014, a total of eighteen (18) headlines were recorded. It was noted that out of these, a total of seventeen (17) focused on the political protests and *dharnas*. The remaining one (01) headline was about a natural calamity.

## Print Media Content in September, 2014

### DAWN- Daily English Newspaper

News headlines in the third week of September, a month after the initiation of long marches and protests (September 15 - September 21, 2014):

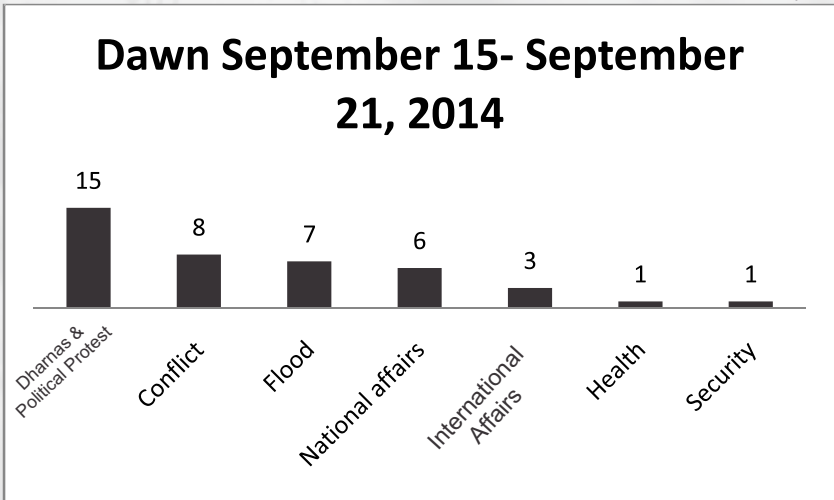
Table 18

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	DAWN	September 15, 2014	North Waziristan operation- daunting challenge ahead	Conflict
2	DAWN	September 15, 2014	Jl may have to choose sides	National affairs
3	DAWN	September 15, 2014	Three FC troops killed in militant attack	Conflict
4	DAWN	September 15, 2014	Chenab now torments south Punjab	Floods
5	DAWN	September 15, 2014	Bridegroom, 16 others drown near Multan	Floods
6	DAWN	September 16, 2014	500 feared dead as human traffickers' vessel rams boat	International affairs
7	DAWN	September 16, 2014	Court disposes of PAT's plea	Dharna
8	DAWN	September 16, 2014	Imported LNG to help save billions: minister	National affairs
9	DAWN	September 16, 2014	Anti-terror operations to continue, says army	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
10	DAWN	September 16, 2014	Three militants, policeman die in attack	Conflict
11	DAWN	September 16, 2014	Chenab advancing furiously on villages	Floods
12	DAWN	September 17, 2014	Passengers force 'VIPs' to leave plane for causing flight delay	Dharna
13	DAWN	September 17, 2014	PTI 'still open to talks'	Dharna
14	DAWN	September 17, 2014	PM likely to attend UN assembly session	National affairs
15	DAWN	September 17, 2014	FO allays Afghan fears, calls for end to terrorists' havens	Security
16	DAWN	September 17, 2014	FIR against Nawaz Sharif	Dharna
17	DAWN	September 17, 2014	Govt mulling legal action against protesters	Dharna
18	DAWN	September 17, 2014	Chenab peak ebbs; threat to Sindh eases	Floods
19	DAWN	September 18, 2014	PM threatens to clear camps	Dharna
20	DAWN	September 18, 2014	Imran Khan to address Karachi rally on Sunday	Dharna
21	DAWN	September	Afghan diplomat	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
		18, 2014	summoned for protest	
22	DAWN	September 18, 2014	PTI allowed to examine record of key Lahore seat	Dharna
23	DAWN	September 18, 2014	Jirga proposes five-day 'ceasefire' in Islamabad	Dharna
24	DAWN	September 18, 2014	Flood peak enters Sindh	Floods
25	DAWN	September 19, 2014	Dar rules out easy access to billions in Swiss banks	National affairs
26	DAWN	September 19, 2014	Indus in low flood at Guddu	Floods
27	DAWN	September 19, 2014	Sharif gets some last pledges, and digs, in parliament	Dharna
28	DAWN	September 19, 2014	23 militants killed in North Waziristan	Conflict
29	DAWN	September 19, 2014	UK fate on knife's edge as Scots vote	International affairs
30	DAWN	September 19, 2014	Dean of KU's Islamic Studies shot dead	Crime
31	DAWN	September 19, 2014	Jirga floats proposals to end impasse	Dharna
32	DAWN	September	Polls rigged from	Floods

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
		20, 2014	Karachi to Khyber, says Bilawal	
33	DAWN	September 20, 2014	New ISI chief-time for the PM to pick and choose	National affairs
34	DAWN	September 20, 2014	Scots reject independence in historic referendum	International affairs
35	DAWN	September 20, 2014	Resolution was moved after Zardari approval	Dharna
36	DAWN	September 20, 2014	Sit-ins can't force resignation, says PM	Dharna
37	DAWN	September 21, 2014	Imran met Qadri in UK, admits Qureshi	Dharna
38	DAWN	September 21, 2014	Pakistan to get 160 mine-proof US vehicles	Conflict
39	DAWN	September 21, 2014	Policy rate unchanged at 10pc	National affairs
40	DAWN	September 21, 2014	Two more polio cases confirmed	Health
41	DAWN	September 21, 2014	Shah asks Imran to prove allegations or face court	Dharna
41	DAWN	September 21, 2014	TTP concedes senior leader's death in clash	Conflict



A total of forty one (41) news headlines were recorded in DAWN that were published from September 15 to September 21, 2014, one month after the initiation of the protests. Out of these, fifteen (15) were about the political protests and *dharnas*, eight (08) pertained to the theme of conflict and seven (07) reported on the flood. Out of the remaining eleven (11), six (06) were about national affairs, three (03) were about international affairs, one (01) was about health and one (01) about security.



## NAWAIWAQT- Daily Urdu Newspaper

News headlines published in the third week of September, one month after the initiation of the protests and the long marches (September 15- September 21,2014):

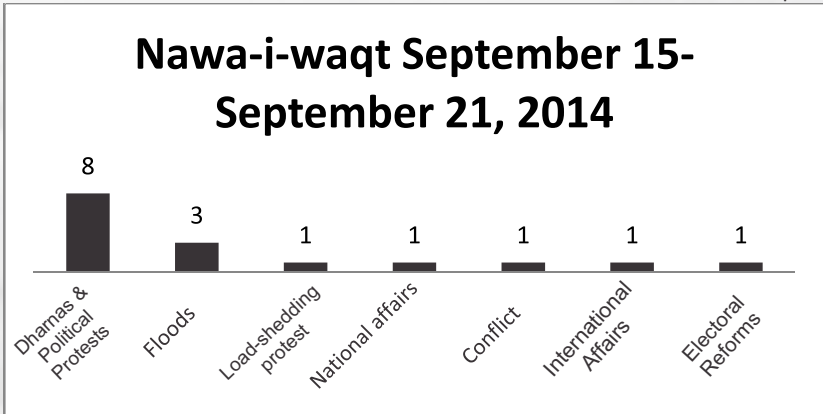
Table 19

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	نوائے وقت	September 15, 2014	مظفرگڑھ شہر بچانے کیلئے دوآبہ بند توڑ دیا گیا	Floods
2	نوائے وقت	September 15, 2014	طاہر القادری کا کرنسی نوٹوں پر 'گو نواز گو' لکھنے کی مہم شروع کرنے کا اعلان	Dharna
3	نوائے وقت	September 16, 2014	نواز، شہباز، ۳ وفاقی وزراء، ۶ افسروں کیخلاف قتل کا مقدمہ درج کرنے کا حکم	Dharna
4	نوائے وقت	September 16, 2014	بحران سیاسی طریقے سے حل کیا جائے، فوج کسی ایک فریق کا ساتھ دینے کی متحمل نہیں ہوسکتی: ترجمان	Dharna
5	نوائے وقت	September 16, 2014	رحیم یار خان، راجن پور، اوج شریف میں بھی تباہی، سیلاب نے سندھ کا رخ کر لیا	Floods
6	نوائے وقت	September 17, 2014	افغانستان سے آنیوالے دہشتگردوں کا پاکستانی چوکی پر حملہ	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
7	نوائے وقت	September 17, 2014	پنجند پر اونچے درجے کا سیلاب، ہزاروں لوگ پھنس گئے، بڑا ریلا سندھ میں داخل، نقل مکانی جاری	Floods
8	نوائے وقت	September 17, 2014	کراچی: پرواز میں تاخیر پر مسافر مشتعل، مسلم لیگی ایم این اے کو طیارے سے اتار دیا، رحمان ملک کو سوار نہیں ہونے دیا	Dharna
9	نوائے وقت	September 18, 2014	راستے صاف کرانا، مشکل نہیں، تحمل سے کام کے رہے ہیں	Dharna
10	نوائے وقت	September 18, 2014	الیکشن کمیشن نے عمران کو این اے ۱۲۲ کے ریکارڈ تک رسائی دینے کی منظوری دیدی	Dharna
11	نوائے وقت	September 19, 2014	بھارت، چین میں ۲۰ ارب ڈالر کی سرمایہ کاری کریگا	International affairs
12	نوائے وقت	September 19, 2014	عوامی تحریک، پی ٹی آئی دھرنا ختم، وزیر اعظم کا استعفیٰ تحقیقات سے مشروط کر دیں: سیاسی جرگہ	Dharna
13	نوائے وقت	September 20, 2014	دھرنوں کی مذمت، جمہوریت، آئینی بالادستی کے حق میں قرارداد متفقہ منظور	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
14	نوائے وقت	September 20, 2014	راولپنڈی، بجلی، گیس کی لوٹشیڈنگ، اضافی بلز کیخلاف ہزاروں افراد کا مظاہرہ، شہر بھر میں ٹریفک جام	Other protest
15	نوائے وقت	September 21, 2014	موجودہ سیاسی صورتحال نے سرمایہ کاری کم کردی: سٹیٹ بینک	National affairs
16	نوائے وقت	September 21, 2014	حکومت فوری انتخابی اصلاحات کرے، نگران سیٹ کی اپ مدت ۱۲۰ دن کی جائے: الیکشن کمیشن	Electoral reforms

Graph 4



A total of sixteen (16) news headlines published in *Nawa-i-Waqt* were recorded in the third week of September, 2014, as recorded in the table above. In terms of thematic breakdown, eight (08) out of these were about political protests and *dharnas*, three (03) were about the floods, and one (01) was about a protest in response to the electricity and gas load-shedding in Rawalpindi. Headlines with the

themes 'National affairs', 'International affairs', 'Electoral reforms' and 'Conflict' occurred once each.

**Print Media Content in October, 2014**

**DAWN - Daily English Newspaper**

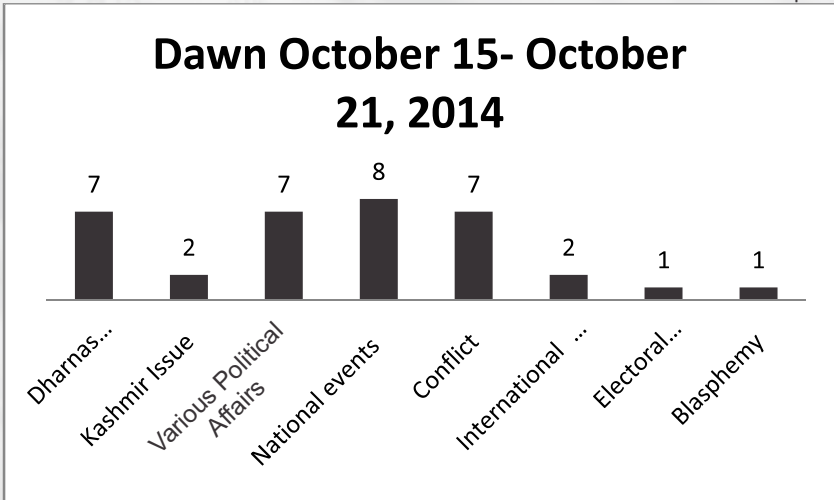
Print media content presented in the third month of the protests (October 15 - October 21, 2014):

Table 20

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	DAWN	October 15, 2014	Governor Sarwar wants to play active role in federal govt	Political affairs
2	DAWN	October 15, 2014	Fresh gas, condensate deposit found	National
3	DAWN	October 15, 2014	SC asks govt to appoint CEC by 28 <sup>th</sup>	Electoral Reforms
4	DAWN	October 15, 2014	Four children injured by Indian shelling	Conflict
5	DAWN	October 15, 2014	Military officials use hotline as tension persists	Conflict
6	DAWN	October 16, 2014	Cabinet reshuffle on the cards?	Political affairs
7	DAWN	October 16, 2014	Govt, opposition to seek time for CEC's appointment	National
8	DAWN	October 16, 2014	Bara suicide blast leaves seven dead	Conflict
9	DAWN	October 16, 2014	It's virtually PML-N vs PTI in Multan today	Dharna
10	DAWN	October 16, 2014	Validity of ISPR tweet as proof questioned	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
11	DAWN	October 17, 2014	Qadri declared proclaimed offender	Dharna
12	DAWN	October 17, 2014	'59 in custody over KotRadhaKishan lynching'	Blasphemy
13	DAWN	October 17, 2014	PM says his 'plan D' is for development	Dharna
14	DAWN	October 17, 2014	Lahore virtually paralyzed by PTI	Dharna
15	DAWN	October 17, 2014	LHC to hear speaker's plea against order to open bags	National
16	DAWN	October 18, 2014	Corruption curtailed in KP, claims Imran	Dharna
17	DAWN	October 18, 2014	PM stresses importance of peace in region	National
18	DAWN	October 18, 2014	Reshuffle sees Seth's exit from key ministry	Political affairs
19	DAWN	October 18, 2014	12 'militants', soldier killed in Bara	Conflict
20	DAWN	October 18, 2014	Afghan president to be invited	Political affairs
21	DAWN	October 18, 2014	FC man killed, 4 injured by Iranian forces	Conflict
22	DAWN	October 19, 2014	Bilawal spells out bold agenda for PPP	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
23	DAWN	October 19, 2014	Raheel says Kashmir settlement key to peace	Kashmir Issue
24	DAWN	October 19, 2014	Iranian envoy given demarche over border clashes	International
25	DAWN	October 19, 2014	LI chief's son killed in Bara	Conflict
26	DAWN	October 20, 2014	Power tariff raised to salvage IMF talks	National
27	DAWN	October 20, 2014	Eight labourers kidnapped, killed in Balochistan	Conflict
28	DAWN	October 20, 2014	Aziz convey's Sharif's invitation to Afghan leader	Political affairs
29	DAWN	October 20, 2014	Edhi head office robbed	National
30	DAWN	October 20, 2014	MQM decides to quit Sindh govt	Political affairs
31	DAWN	October 21, 2014	SC allows transfer of OGDCL shares to successful bidder	National
32	DAWN	October 21, 2014	Border incident not to affect ties with Iran, says Aziz	International
33	DAWN	October 21, 2014	Seven children among 11 killed in Uthal accident	National
34	DAWN	October 21, 2014	MQM stages token walkout from NA	Political affairs
35	DAWN	October 21, 2014	Talk of N-hazards in Kashmir clashes	Kashmir Issue



A total of thirty-five (35) news headlines were published in DAWN in the third week of October 2014. Seven (07) out of these were about political protests and the *dharnas*, seven (07) were about conflict and another seven (07) dealt with various political affairs. Out of the remaining fourteen (14), eight (08) reported on national events and two (02) on international events. The Kashmir issue was reported twice, while news about blasphemy and electoral reforms was published once each.



## NAWAIWAQT- Daily Urdu Newspaper

News headlines in the third week of October, three months after the initiation of the protests (October 15 - October 21, 2014)

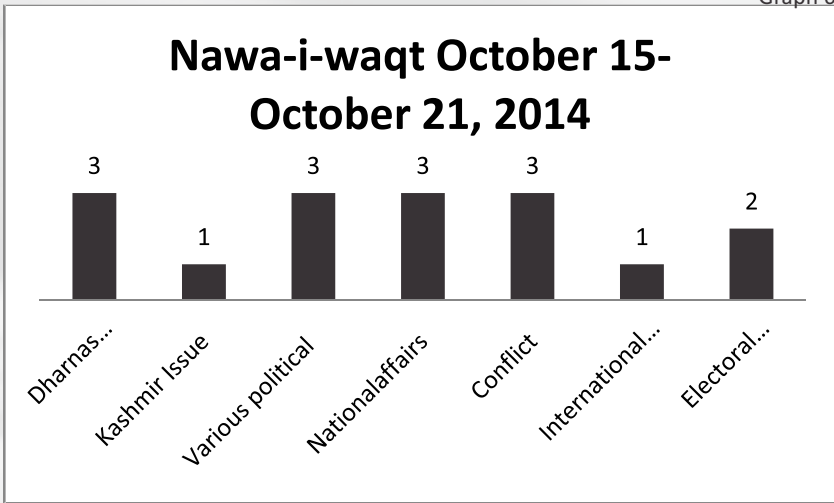
Table 21

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	نوائے وقت	October 15, 2014	ڈانریکٹرز ملٹری آپریشنز رابطہ میں، بھارت سیز فائر معاہدے کا احترام کرے: پاکستان	Conflict
2	نوائے وقت	October 15, 2014	بلدیاتی انتخابات: کل تک بل پیش نہ ہوئے تو پنجاب اور سندھ کے وزرا اعلیٰ کو طلب کرینگے	Electoral Reforms
3	نوائے وقت	October 16, 2014	نیا پاکستان بنانے والے پہلے نیا خیبر پی کے تو بنا لیں، انرکنڈیشنڈ کنٹینرز اور محلات میں بیٹھ کر غریب کی بات نہیں جچتی: نواز شریف	Dharna
4	نوائے وقت	October 16, 2014	فوجی ترجمان کے نوٹس کی قانونی حیثیت طے ہونا ضروری ہے، وزیر اعظم اور آرمی چیف میں گفتگو کی گواہی دونوں افراد ہی دے سکتے ہیں: سپریم کورٹ	Political
5	نوائے وقت	October 17, 2014	بھارات سرجیکل سٹرائیک یا محدود جنگ کا متحمل نہیں ہوسکتا: سرتاج عزیز	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
6	نوائے وقت	October 18, 2014	خطے میں امن چاہتے ہیں، ملکی خود مختاری اور آزادی پر کوئی سمجھوتہ نہیں کرینگے: نواز شریف	National
7	نوائے وقت	October 18, 2014	ایران کی گولہ باری، ایف سی کا صوبیدار شہید، ۳ اہلکار زخمی	Conflict
8	نوائے وقت	October 18, 2014	دہشتگردی میں ملوث نہیں، ایران الزام تراشی کی بجائے معاملہ بارڈر کمیٹی میں لائے، پاکستان	International
9	نوائے وقت	October 19, 2014	پی ٹی آئی لاپور کی ایم کیو ایم بننا چاہتی ہے، کٹھ پتلیوں کے پی کے جا کر عوام کی خدمت کرو: بلاول	Dharna
10	نوائے وقت	October 19, 2014	خطے کا امن مسئلہ کے منصفانہ حل سے جڑا ہے، کوئی شبہ میں نہ رہے، جارہیت کا منہ توڑ جواب دینگے: آرمی چیف	National
11	نوائے وقت	October 20, 2014	اقوام متحدہ مسئلہ کشمیر حل کرانے: سرتاج عزیز	Kashmir Issue
12	نوائے وقت	October 20, 2014	ایم کیو ایم کا سندھ حکومت سے علیحدگی کا اعلان	Political
13	نوائے وقت	October 20, 2014	حکومت سے ڈیل نہیں ہوگی، خون کا بدلہ خون ہی ہوگا: طاہر القادری	Dharna
14	نوائے وقت	October 21, 2014	پیپلز پارٹی اور ایم کیو ایم کی الزام	Political

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
15	نوائے وقت	October 21, 2014	تراشیاں، متحدہ بانکاک، قومی اسمبلی سے بھی واک آؤٹ الیکشن کمیشن ایک ماہ میں بلدیاتی انتخابات کی حتمی تاریخ بتائے: سپریم کورٹ	Electoral Reforms

Graph 6



A total of fifteen (15) news headlines published in *Nawa-i-Waqt* were recorded in the third week of October, 2014. Three (03) were about the *dharnas*, three (03) were about conflict, and the theme for another three (03) was political. Two (02) were about national affairs, one (01) was about international affairs and two (02) discussed electoral reforms. The remaining one (01) was about the Kashmir issue.

## Print Media Content in November, 2014

### DAWN - Daily English Newspaper

News headlines published in the fourth month of the protests  
(November 15 - November 21,,2014)

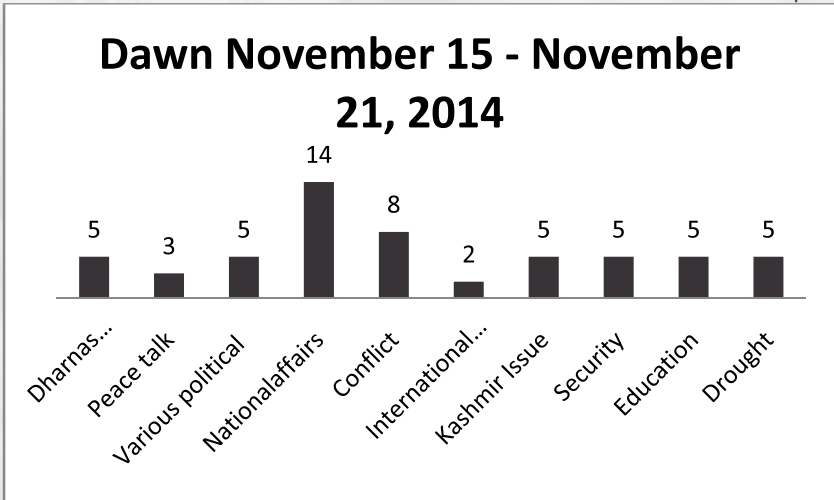
Table 22

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	DAWN	November 15, 2014	PM orders review of decision on gas supply to textile units	National affairs
2	DAWN	November 15, 2014	Militants publicly behead man in Tirah	Conflict
3	DAWN	November 15, 2014	KASB bank under moratorium	National affairs
4	DAWN	November 15, 2014	Qadri rejects new investigation team	Dharna
5	DAWN	November 15, 2014	SC revisits appointments case judgment	National affairs
6	DAWN	November 15, 2014	Focus on security cooperation in talks with Ashraf Ghani	Peace Talks
7	DAWN	November 16, 2014	KP empowers ECP to act against election staff	National affairs
8	DAWN	November 16, 2014	90pc of NWA cleared of militants	Conflict
9	DAWN	November 16, 2014	SBP cuts policy rate by 50bps	National affairs

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
10	DAWN	November 16, 2014	Muslims pray in Washington cathedral	International affairs
11	DAWN	November 16, 2014	Let's bury the past and move on, says Afghan president	Peace Talks
12	DAWN	November 17, 2014	Move to ensure punishment for 'honour' killing	National affairs
13	DAWN	November 17, 2014	Man killed in Khuzdar grenade attack	Conflict
14	DAWN	November 17, 2014	Military talks with US begin on positive role	Peace Talks
15	DAWN	November 17, 2014	IB given Rs2.7bn to foil PTI's Nov 30 rally, alleges Imran	Dharna
16	DAWN	November 17, 2014	Three army men, 34 militants die in NWA	Conflict
17	DAWN	November 18, 2014	PM asks Shah to formulate charter for social sectors	National affairs
18	DAWN	November 18, 2014	Ban on new gas schemes lifted	National affairs
19	DAWN	November 18, 2014	Ten leaders of LI militant group surrender in Bara	Conflict
20	DAWN	November 18, 2014	Terrorist ideology must be defeated: Zardari	Political

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
21	DAWN	November 18, 2014	Bill to curb terror funding on the cards	National affairs
22	DAWN	November 19, 2014	Govt looking to frustrate PTI's Nov 30 show	Dharna
23	DAWN	November 19, 2014	Smugglers abusing Afghan Transit Trade facility: FBR	National affairs
24	DAWN	November 19, 2014	Long-term plan for Thar on the anvil: minister	Drought
25	DAWN	November 19, 2014	7 militants among 11 killed in Khyber	Conflict
26	DAWN	November 19, 2014	Malala to carry on fight for education	Education
27	DAWN	November 20, 2014	Oil prices will be further reduced, says PM	National affairs
28	DAWN	November 20, 2014	Army chief raises issue of border violations by India	Security
29	DAWN	November 20, 2014	4 get death penalty in 'honour' killing case	National affairs
30	DAWN	November 20, 2014	Russian defence minister due today	National affairs
31	DAWN	November 20, 2014	Nisar lashes out at PTI over Nov	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			30 protest	
<b>32</b>	DAWN	November 21, 2014	ECC approves 30pc hike in gas tariff	National affairs
<b>33</b>	DAWN	November 21, 2014	Bhutto's 'unfinished' agenda to be completed, says Imran	Dharna
<b>34</b>	DAWN	November 21, 2014	Those who butchered soldiers will not be spared: Raheel	Conflict
<b>35</b>	DAWN	November 21, 2014	Drone kills 5 militants	Conflict
<b>36</b>	DAWN	November 21, 2014	PM seeks world help for talks with India on Kashmir	Kashmir Issue
<b>37</b>	DAWN	November 21, 2014	Pakistan, Russia sign landmark defence cooperation agreement	International affairs



A total of thirty-seven (37) published news headlines were recorded in the third week of November 2014. Five (05) headlines were about the *dharnas*, eight (08) were about conflict, fourteen (14) were about national affairs while two (02) were about international affairs. Three (03) headlines were about peace talks, while there was one headline each about the themes 'security', 'Kashmir issue', 'education', 'political' and 'drought' (05 headlines in all).



## NAWAIWAQT- Daily Urdu Newspaper

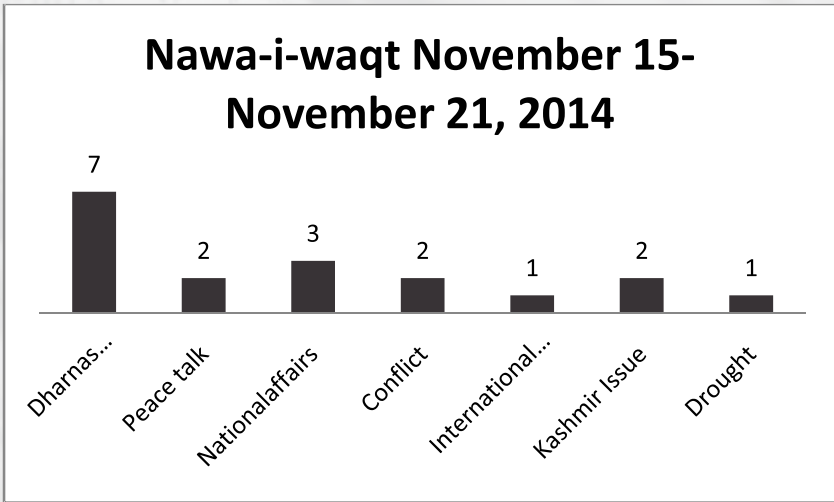
News headlines in the fourth month of the protests (November 15 - November 21, 2014)

Table 23

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	نوائے وقت	November 15, 2014	پاکستان سے دفاعی تعلقات بڑھانا چاہتے ہیں، افغان صدر	Peace Talks
2	نوائے وقت	November 15, 2014	ایس ایس پی آپریشنز تشدد کیس: عمران خان اور طاہر القادری اشتہاری قرار، ناقابل ضمانت وارنٹ جاری	Dharna
3	نوائے وقت	November 15, 2014	کمیشن کی شرط ختم، حکومت دسمبر کے آخر تک تمام اداروں کے سربراہوں کی تقرری یقینی بنائے، سپریم کورٹ	National affairs
4	نوائے وقت	November 16, 2014	پاکستان کے ساتھ جامع سیکورٹی ڈائلگ کا آغاز کر دیا: اشرف غنی	Peace Talks
5	نوائے وقت	November 17, 2014	نواز شریف صاحب آپکا پیغام آیا، اشتہاری ہوں مل نہیں سکتا، میری ٹیم مذاکرات کرے گی: عمران	Dharna
6	نوائے وقت	November 17, 2014	شمالی وزیرستان، بمباری جھڑپ، میجر سمیت ۳ فوجی شہید، ۴۳ دہشت گرد ہلاک	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
7	نوائے وقت	November 17, 2014	۰۳ نومبر کو اسلام آباد میں فیصلہ کن جنگ اور مقابلہ ہوگا: عمران	Dharna
8	نوائے وقت	November 17, 2014	۰۳ نومبر کی ڈیڈ لائن دینے والے خوابوں سے نکل آئیں، عوام ان کے جھانسنے میں نہیں آئیں گے: نواز شریف	Dharna
9	نوائے وقت	November 18, 2014	حکومت نچلی سطح تک ترقی کے مواقع فراہم کر رہی ہے: وفاقی وزیر خزانہ	National affairs
10	نوائے وقت	November 18, 2014	امریکہ کے دشمن خواہاں ہمارے دشمن ہو گئے! جو ہمارے لئے خطرہ نہیں انہیں کیوں نشانہ بنائیں: سرتاج عزیز	National affairs
11	نوائے وقت	November 18, 2014	تھر میں قحط کی صورتحال سنگین، مزید ۱۱ بچے دم توڑ گئے	Drought
12	نوائے وقت	November 19, 2014	قانون شکنوں کیسا تہ آہنی ہاتھ سے نمٹا جائیگا، ۰۳ نومبر کو پوری ریاستی مشینری بروئے کار لانے کا فیصلہ	Dharna
13	نوائے وقت	November 19, 2014	آئی ڈی پیز کا معاملہ: وفاق خیبر پی کے سے تعاون نہیں کر رہا،	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			صوبائی حقوق کیلیں سپریم کورٹ جانینگے: عمران	
14	نوائے وقت	November 20, 2014	۰۳ نومبر کیلئے جگہ کا تعین انتظامیہ کریگی، تحریک انصاف کو جلسے کے لئے اجازت لینا ہوگی: نثار	Dharna
15	نوائے وقت	November 20, 2014	کنٹرول لائن ورکنگ ہاؤنڈری پر، بھارتی کارروائیوں سے شدد پسندوں کیخلاف ہماری مہم متاثر ہو رہی ہے: آرمی چیف	Kashmir Issue
16	نوائے وقت	November 21, 2014	پاکستان اور روس میں دفاعی تعاون بڑھانے کا معاہدہ، دہشت گردی کیخلاف پاک فوج اور عوام کی قربانیاں قابل تحسین، دنیا مل کر کام کرنا چاہتی ہے: روسی وزیر دفاع	International affairs
17	نوائے وقت	November 21, 2014	بھارتی پرائیگنڈا اپنے کتابوں پر پردہ ڈالنے کی کوشش ہے، کشمیری قیادت سے مشاورت کے بعد مذاکرات کرینگے: نواز شریف	Kashmir Issue
18	نوائے وقت	November 21, 2014	دتہ خیل میں ڈرون حملہ، ۵ ہلاک، ۳ زخمی	Conflict



A total of eighteen (18) published news headlines were recorded in the third week of November, 2014. Out of these, seven (07) were about the *dharna*, three (03) were about national affairs and one (01) was about international affairs. Out of the remaining seven, two (02) headlines were about the Kashmir issue, two (02) were about conflict and another two (02) reported peace talks. One (01) headline was about the drought.

## Print Media Content prior to PTI's November 30<sup>th</sup> Protest

In light of Imran Khan's announcement that PTI would be holding a massive rally on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, 2014, we monitored published news content in DAWN and *Nawa-i-Waqt* for five days before the rally was scheduled to be held.

### DAWN - Daily English Newspaper

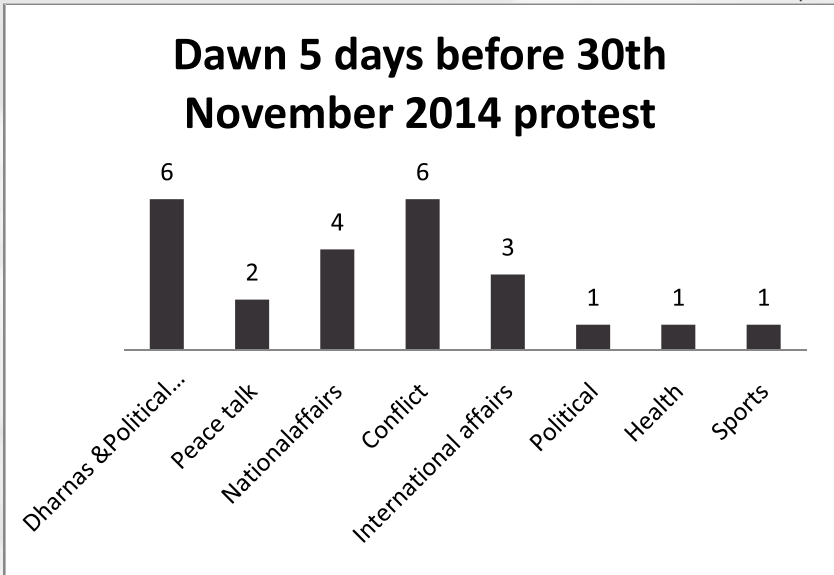
Table 24

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	DAWN	November 26, 2014	Washington not reliable friend: Asif	Political
2	DAWN	November 26, 2014	India should take initiative to resume talks: PM	Peace Talks
3	DAWN	November 26, 2014	Govt to give PTI a run for its money	Dharna
4	DAWN	November 26, 2014	20 die in N.Waziristan air strike	Conflict
5	DAWN	November 26, 2014	Chiniot man didn't die of Ebola	Health
6	DAWN	November 27, 2014	Sukuk yields \$1bn in international bond market	International affairs
7	DAWN	November 27, 2014	Four polio workers shot dead in Quetta	Conflict
8	DAWN	November 27, 2014	Leaders fail to agree on transport, energy accords	National affairs
9	DAWN	November	Drone kills nine	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
		27, 2014	in N.Waziristan	
<b>10</b>	DAWN	November 28, 2014	Ogra recommends cut in petrol, diesel prices	National affairs
<b>11</b>	DAWN	November 28, 2014	Another 10 girls recovered as case lodged against three people	National affairs
<b>12</b>	DAWN	November 28, 2014	US scientists develop Ebola vaccine	International affairs
<b>13</b>	DAWN	November 28, 2014	Batsman hit by bouncer dies	Sports
<b>14</b>	DAWN	November 28, 2014	Sharif-Modi handshake rescues Saarc summit	Peace Talks
<b>15</b>	DAWN	November 29, 2014	11 killed in Tirah air attack	Conflict
<b>16</b>	DAWN	November 29, 2014	26 Bajaur girls to be flown to Peshawar	Conflict
<b>17</b>	DAWN	November 29, 2014	120 die in suicide attack on mosque in Nigeria	International affairs
<b>18</b>	DAWN	November 29, 2014	Nisar optimistic about talks with PTI after 30 <sup>th</sup>	Dharna
<b>19</b>	DAWN	November 29, 2014	Imran and minister in fierce war of words	Dharna
<b>20</b>	DAWN	November	Imran to unveil	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
		30, 2014	'plan C' today	
21	DAWN	November 30, 2014	Raheel to meet Kerry today	National affairs
22	DAWN	November 30, 2014	Over 1.5m votes rejected in 2013 polls	Dharna
23	DAWN	November 30, 2014	JUI-F leader Soomro gunned down in Sukkur	Conflict
24	DAWN	November 30, 2014	People have rejected politics of sit-in: PM	Dharna

Graph 9



A total of twenty-four (24) published news headlines were recorded in DAWN from 26<sup>th</sup> November, 2014 to 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2014. Out of these, six (06) headlines were about the *dharnas*, four (04) were about national affairs, three (03) about international affairs and six (06) were about conflict. From the remaining six, there was one

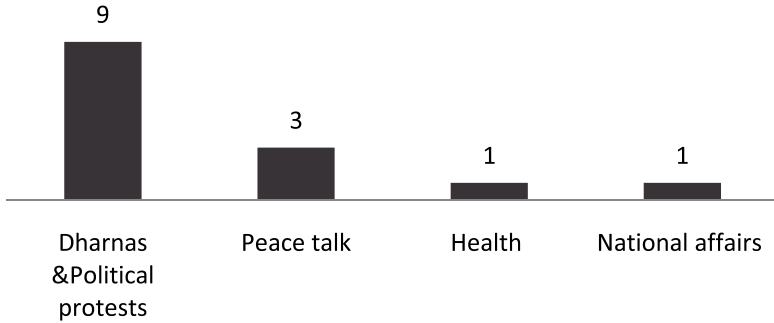
headline about each of the following theme: 'political', 'health', and 'sports'. There were (02) headlines about peace talks.



Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	نوائے وقت	November 26, 2014	خطہ غلط امریکی پالیسیوں کے نتائج بھکت رہا ہے، روس چین کردار ادا کریں، وزیر دفاع	National affairs
2	نوائے وقت	November 26, 2014	بھارت مذاکرات ختم کنے، اسے ہی پہل کرنا ہوگی، ہم تیار ہیں: نواز شریف	Peace Talks
3	نوائے وقت	November 27, 2014	نواز شریف اور مودی نے ایک دوسرے کو نظر انداز کر دیا، سارک کانفرنس	Peace Talks
4	نوائے وقت	November 27, 2014	کوئٹہ: پولیو ٹیم پر فائرنگ، ۳ خواتین سمیت ۴ رضاکار جاں بحق، ۳ زخمی، مہم روکدی گئی	Health
5	نوائے وقت	November 28, 2014	نواز شریف مودی کی مختصر ملاقات، پر جوش مصافحہ	Peace Talks
6	نوائے وقت	November 28, 2014	عمران کا عدالت میں پیش ہونا مثبت تبدیلی ہے، توقع ہے کہ اب یوٹرن نہیں لینگے، پرویز رشید	Dharna
7	نوائے وقت	November 28, 2014	کسی کو پارلیمنٹ یا سرکاری اداروں پر یلغار کی اجازت نہیں دینگے: نثار	Dharna
8	نوائے وقت	November 28, 2014	پرسوں بڑا معرکہ ہے، مسلم لیگ ن اور پولیس کا خوف نہیں آج سے دھرنے میں	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			سوونگا: عمران	
9	نوائے وقت	November 28, 2014	احتجاج ہر شہری کا آئی حق ہے، پولیس کو پی ٹی آئی کارکنانوں کی غیرقانونی گرفتاریوں سے روکدیا: لاہور ہائیکورٹ	Dharna
10	نوائے وقت	November 29, 2014	تحریک انصاف کو اسلام آباد میں جلسے کی اجازت، شرکا ریڈ زون میں داخل ہونگے نہ شہراہ دستور بند کی جائے گی، انتظامیہ پی ٹی آئی میں معاہدہ	Dharna
11	نوائے وقت	November 29, 2014	وزیر اعظم ہمارا پلان سی بضم نہیں کر سکیں گے، آج شام تک ایک وکٹ گر جائے گی: عمران	Dharna
12	نوائے وقت	November 29, 2014	حکومت کے حوصلے کی داد دیں، دھرنے پر بیٹھے پندرہ بیس لوگ بھی نہیں اٹھائے: نواز شریف	Dharna
13	نوائے وقت	November 30, 2014	پٹرول ۹.۶۶، ڈیزل ۷.۲۱، مٹی کا تیل ۴.۴۳ روپے لٹر سسٹا، وزیر اعظم کا اعلان، دھرنے والے دیکھ لو، ہم نے نئے خبیر پی کے کی بنیاد رکھ دی: نواز شریف	Dharna
14	نوائے وقت	November 30, 2014	آج تاریخی جلسہ ہوگا، مشن کا وقت مقرر نہیں،: عمران	Dharna

## Nawa-i-waqt 5 days before 30th November 2014 protest



During the same time period, a total of fourteen (14) published news headlines were recorded in *Nawa-i-Waqt*. Out of these fourteen, a total of nine (09) were about the *dharnas*, three (03) were about peace talks, one (01) was about national affairs and one (01) about health.

## Print Media Content in December, 2014

### DAWN - Daily English Newspaper

News headlines published in DAWN in the third week of December, which was the fifth month of the protests (December 15 - December 21, 2014):

Table 26

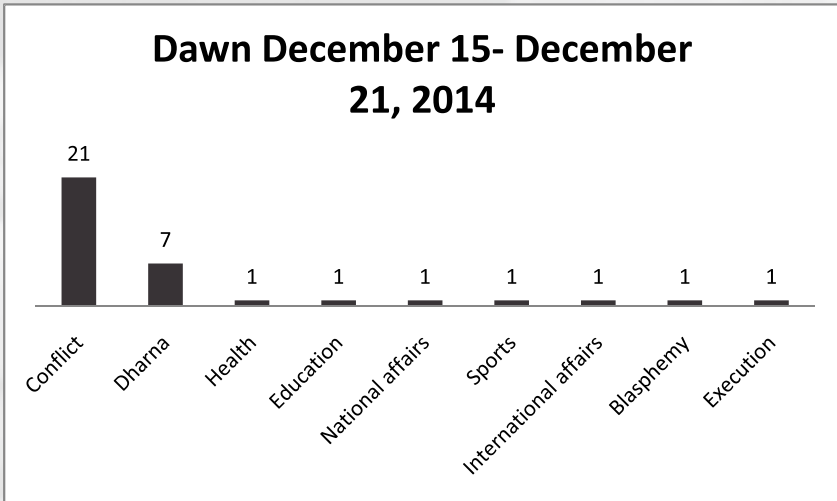
Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	DAWN	December 15, 2014	3 Guddu officials suspended over Friday blackout	National affairs
2	DAWN	December 15, 2014	PTI, govt exchange papers for formal talks	Dharna
3	DAWN	December 15, 2014	Lahore braces itself for 'shutdown'	Dharna
4	DAWN	December 15, 2014	190 nations agree on building blocks for climate deal	International affairs
5	DAWN	December 15, 2014	Germany beat Pakistan in Trophy final	Sports
6	DAWN	December 16, 2014	Qadri declared proclaimed offender	Dharna
7	DAWN	December 16, 2014	'59 in custody over KotRadhaKishan lynching'	Blasphemy
8	DAWN	December 16, 2014	PM says his 'plan D' is for development	Dharna
9	DAWN	December 16, 2014	Lahore virtually paralysed by PTI	Dharna

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
10	DAWN	December 16, 2014	LHC to hear speaker's pleas against order to open bags	Dharna
11	DAWN	December 17, 2014	Imran calls off protests, condemns barbaric attack	Dharna
12	DAWN	December 17, 2014	16-year-old 'played dead' to survive	Conflict
13	DAWN	December 17, 2014	Taliban massacre 131 schoolchildren: Principal among 141 dead in attack on Army Public School, Peshawar	Conflict
14	DAWN	December 18, 2014	'We have killed all the children... What do we do now?'	Conflict
15	DAWN	December 18, 2014	Peshawar attack: Afghanistan, Isaf promise action against Taliban group	Conflict
16	DAWN	December 18, 2014	Peshawar in state of permanent war	Conflict
17	DAWN	December 18, 2014	Distinction between good, bad Taliban no more: PM	Conflict
18	DAWN	December 18, 2014	PM ends moratorium on	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			executions	
19	DAWN	December 18, 2014	United in grief, spurred by anger	Conflict
20	DAWN	December 19, 2014	Army chief signs death warrants of six convicts	Conflict
21	DAWN	December 19, 2014	President briefed on decision to end moratorium	Conflict
22	DAWN	December 19, 2014	Children, families gather outside school, pray for the dead	Conflict
23	DAWN	December 19, 2014	Court grants bail to Mumbai attack mastermind	Conflict
24	DAWN	December 19, 2014	Three soldiers die in Bajaur blasts	Conflict
25	DAWN	December 20, 2014	Convicts in GHQ, Musharraf attack cases executed	Execution
26	DAWN	December 20, 2014	KP wants action against terrorists 'hiding in Afghanistan'	Conflict
27	DAWN	December 20, 2014	PM in rare security talks at GHQ	Conflict
28	DAWN	December 20, 2014	Lakhvi detained again for 30 days	Conflict
29	DAWN	December 21, 2014	Terrorism to be rooted out, says PM	Conflict
30	DAWN	December 21, 2014	Provinces asked to upgrade	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			security at sensitive buildings	
31	DAWN	December 21, 2014	FWO convoys attacked in Panjgur, Turbat	Conflict
32	DAWN	December 21, 2014	31 killed in air strikes, raids	Conflict
33	DAWN	December 21, 2014	Drone attack leaves six dead	Conflict
34	DAWN	December 21, 2014	Two more polio cases reported in Balochistan	Health

Graph 11



Out of thirty-four (34) news headlines, twenty-one (21) were about conflict and seven (07) were about the *dharna*. The remainder consisted of one headline for each of the following thematic areas: ‘Health’, ‘Execution’, ‘Blasphemy’, ‘Sports’, ‘National Affairs’ and ‘International Affairs’.

## NAWAIWAQT- Daily Urdu Newspaper

News in the last month of the protests (December 15-December 21, 2014)

Table 27

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
1	نوائے وقت	December 15, 2014	جو مرضی کرلیں لاہور آج بند ہوگا، الٹی گنتی شروع ہوگئی: عمران خان	Dharna
2	نوائے وقت	December 15, 2014	تحریک انصاف کو آج فری بینڈ دیا جائے: نواز شریف	Dharna
3	نوائے وقت	December 15, 2014	جرمنی نے پاکستان کو ۲ گول سے برا کر چیمپینز ٹرافی باکی ٹورنامنٹ جیت لیا	Sports
4	نوائے وقت	December 15, 2014	حکومتی ٹیم نے اپنا موقف تحریری طور پر تحریک انصاف کے حوالے کر دیا	Dharna
5	نوائے وقت	December 15, 2014	تحریک انصاف کا لاہور میں ہڑتال بھی کراچی، فیصل آباد کی طرح ناکام ہوگی: پرویز رشید	Dharna
6	نوائے وقت	December 16, 2014	لاہور میں تحریک انصاف کے دھرنے: ٹریفک معطل، جھڑپیں، کاروبار ٹھپ	Dharna
7	نوائے وقت	December 16, 2014	ہمارا پلان ڈی ترقی، انکا تباہی ہے، اللہ ملک کو بچائے: نواز شریف	Dharna
8	نوائے وقت	December 16, 2014	دھرنے: ایمبولینسوں کو راستہ نہ ملنے پر ۴ مریض راستے میں ہی دم توڑ گئے، ورثا کا احتجاج	Dharna
9	نوائے وقت	December 16, 2014	۴ جانیں عمران کی نذر ہوگئیں، پرویز رشید دہشتگردی ایکٹ کے تحت مقدمے درج کرانینگے	Dharna

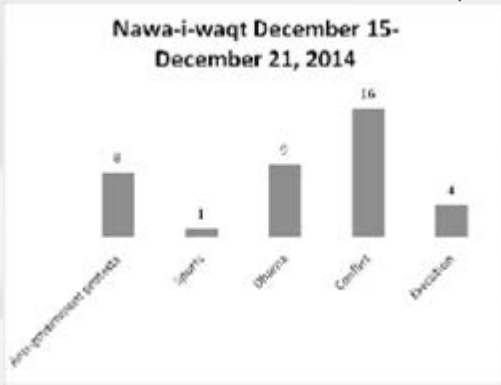


Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
10	نوائے وقت	December 17, 2014	آرمی پبلک سکول پشاور میں دہشتگردی، ۲۳۱ بچوں سمیت ۱۴۱ شہید، ۵۱ سے زائد زخمی	Conflict
11	نوائے وقت	December 17, 2014	دہشتگردوں نے قوم کے قلب پر حملہ کیا، وبشیوں اور ان کے مددگار کا خاتمہ کرینگے، جنرل راحیل	Conflict
12	نوائے وقت	December 17, 2014	سانحہ پشاور، وزیر اعظم نے پی سی آج طلب کر لی، عمران خان بھی شریک ہونگے	Conflict
13	نوائے وقت	December 17, 2014	سانحہ پشاور ددنیا کی تاریخ کا بدترین واقعہ ہے، سفاک درندوں کو عبرتناک سزا ملنی چاہئے، شہباز شریف	Conflict
14	نوائے وقت	December 17, 2014	عوامی تحریک نے آج، تحریک انصاف نے کل ہونیوالا ملک گیر احتجاج منوخر کر دیا	Dharna
15	نوائے وقت	December 17, 2014	سقوط ڈھاکہ کے دن معصوموں کے خون سے بولی کھیلی گئی، دہشتگردی کیخلاف عزم کمزور نہیں ہوگا: سیاسی رہنما	Conflict
16	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	دہشتگردی کیخلاف اظہار یکجہتی، دھرنا ختم کرتے ہیں: عمران انتخابات پر تحفصات کا ازالہ کرینگے: نواز شریف	Conflict
17	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	ننھے شہید قبروں میں جا سونے، ہر آنکھ اشکبار، ملک میں غائبانہ نماز جنازہ، تاجروں کی ہڑتال، وکلا کا عدالتی بانکاٹ	Conflict
18	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	عمران کی تجویز: اے پی سی میں دہشتگردی کیخلاف	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
			لائحہ عمل کیلئے کمیٹی بنانے پر اتفاق، اچھے برے طالبان کی تمیز کنے بغیر کارروائی ہوگی: نواز شریف	
19	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	سزائے موت عملدرآمد پر عائد پابندی ختم، صدر نے آٹھ دہشتگردوں کی اپیلیں مسترد کر دیں	Execution
20	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	سانحہ پشاور کے بعد فظائی کارروائی، ۷۵ دہشتگرد ہلاک	Conflict
21	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	دہشتگردوں کے افغان سرزمین سے رابطے، جنرل راحیل نے ثبوت اشرف غنی، امریکی کمانڈر کو دیدینے	Conflict
22	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	دہشتگردی کیخلاف جنگ میں پاکستان کی ہر ممکن مدد کو تیار ہیں: اوباما	Conflict
23	نوائے وقت	December 18, 2014	سانحہ پشاور پوری انسانیت پر حملہ ہے، دہشتگردوں کو سخت سزا دی جائے، حریت قیادت	Conflict
24	نوائے وقت	December 19, 2014	آرمی چیف نے ۶ دہشتگردوں کے ذیثہ وارنٹ پر دستخط کر دئیے	Execution
25	نوائے وقت	December 19, 2014	سزائے موت پر پابندی کا خاتمہ، حکومتی فیصلہ کے جائزہ کیلئے خصوصی عدالتوں کے ججز کا اجلاس بلائیں گے: چیف جسٹس	Execution
26	نوائے وقت	December 20, 2014	فیصل آباد میں ڈاکٹر عثمان اور ارشد کو پھانسی دیدی گئی	Execution
27	نوائے وقت	December 20, 2014	دہشتگردوں کیخلاف فیصلہ کن کارروائی کی جائیگی، سیاسی و عسکری قیادت میں اتفاق	Conflict

Serial no.	Newspaper	Date	Headline on Front Page	Issue Discussed
28	نوائے وقت	December 20, 2014	کراچی سے خیبر تک فورسز کی کارروائیاں، ۶۹ دہشتگرد ہلاک	Conflict
29	نوائے وقت	December 21, 2014	ماسٹر مائنڈ کے بھائی سمیت ۵۳ دہشتگرد ہلاک، ۳ اہلکار شہید	Conflict
30	نوائے وقت	December 21, 2014	تمام ادارے پوری طرح متحد ہیں، دہشتگردوں کو شکست دے کر ہی دم لینگے: نواز شریف	Conflict

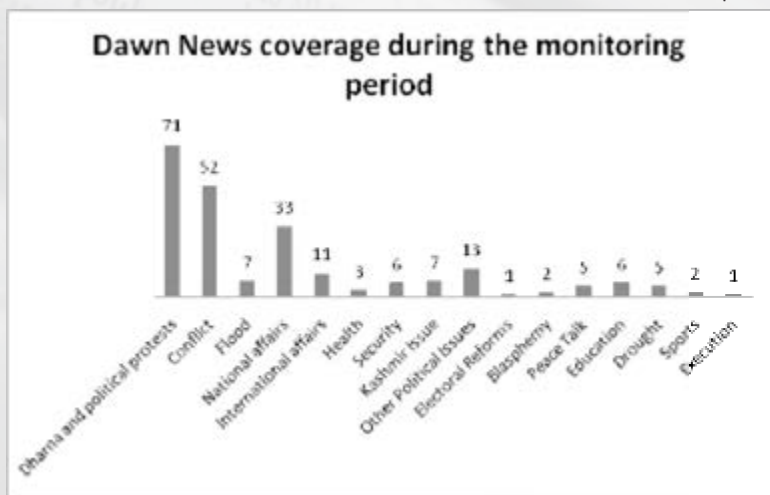
Graph 12



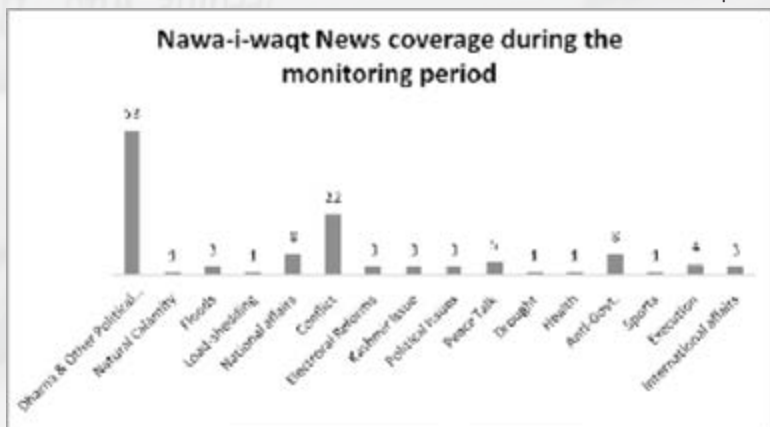
For the third week of December 2014 (from 15<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup>), thirty (30) news headlines were recorded. In the first two days, there are eight (08) news reports concerning the anti-government protests and one (01) headline about a sports match.

After the Peshawar incident, the majority of the news headlines are about the incident itself and its different facets. There is only one headline that states PTI's call to post-pone the protests in light of the attacks. This brings the total number of news headlines about the *dharnas* to nine (09) and about conflict to sixteen (16). The remaining four (04) are about executions. We observe a drastic change in the national narrative from anti-government protests to countering violent extremism and terrorism.

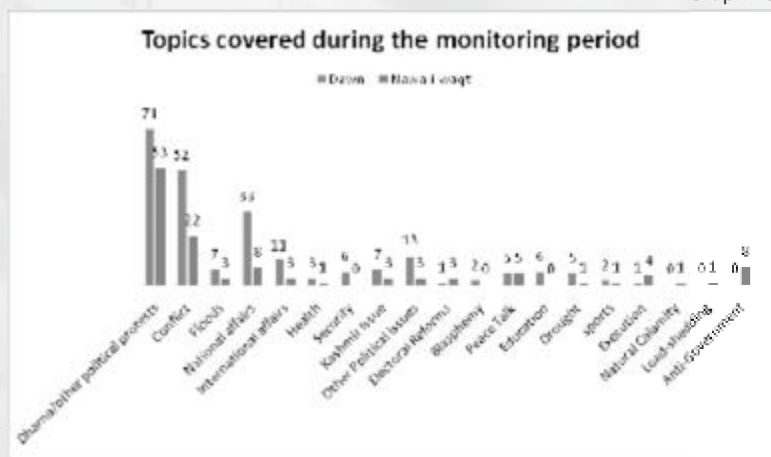
Graph 13



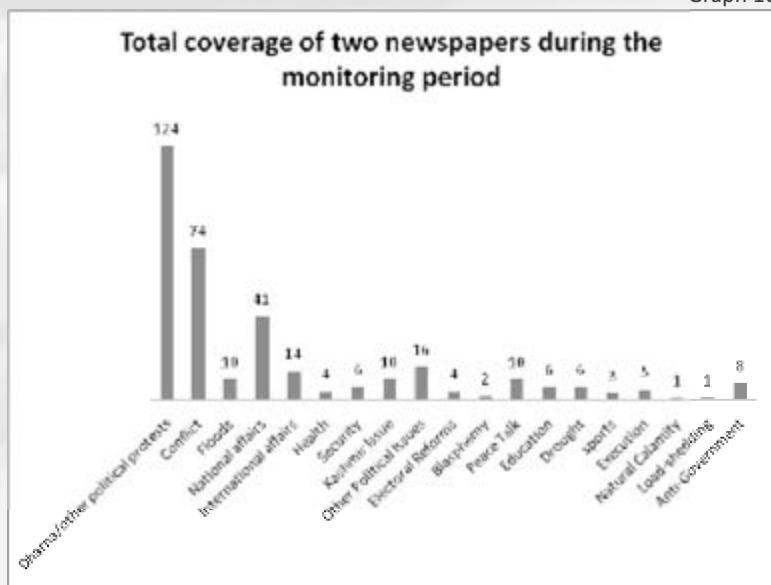
Graph 14



Graph 15



Graph 16





# **Social Media**

# Social Media

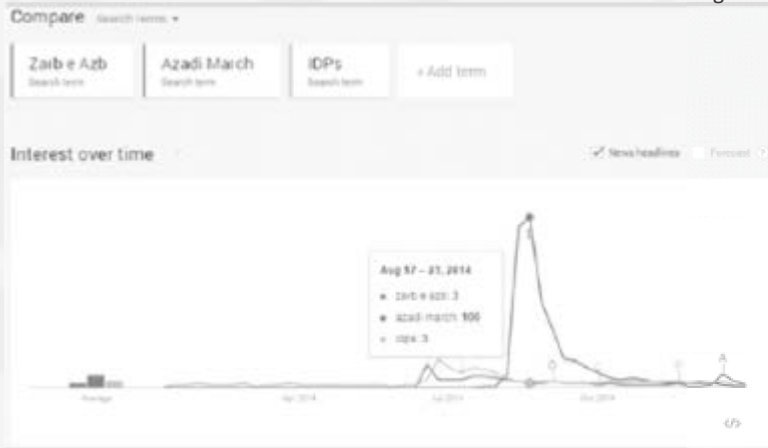
According to the Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA), 'the number of broadband internet subscribers in Pakistan alone rose from 26,611 in 2005 to 1,656,800 in September 2011'; an increase of 1.5 million subscribers. Resultantly, information-sharing, media and journalism is entering a new age of technology that is characterized by modern communication habits. Social media has emerged as a very important tool to spread information, disseminate ideas, and publish news stories. With greater accessibility to the internet, the usage of social media tools is quickly becoming a norm in Pakistan as well. Anyone with a personal computer, laptop or a mobile device can participate in these online social platforms, write blogs and contribute to websites.

As compared to the dictates of mainstream electronic and print media, social media presents certain benefits. For journalists, it acts as an alternate medium to disseminate information effectively. It can be utilized to publish information that is not, or for some reason cannot be published on mainstream electronic and print media. More importantly, journalists who might fear for their safety, security and lives because of threats from various quarters can use social media to carry out their duties anonymously and freely without fear of any reprisal. The degree of social media activity can directly be gauged by online media traffic.

As part of our desk research, we also examined search trends in Google search for the terms '*Azadi March*', '*Zarb e Azb*' and '*IDPs*' covering a period of one week each month from August to December, 2014. The aim was to analyze the most searched term among the three mentioned above.

The website 'Google Trends' produced the following results:

Figure 2



The above image shows that from August 17<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2014, the most searched term was 'Azadi March', as depicted by the red coloured line in the graph. The blue line represents searches for 'Zarb e Azb', while the yellow line signifies searches for the term 'IDPs'. The graph is indicative of the fact that most of the people were interested in details of Azadi March as compared the other two significant events.

Figure 3





During the month of September, 2014 (Sep 14<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>) the search trend for the term ‘Azadi March’ was reduced as compared to August, while the search trend for ‘Zarb e Azb’ and ‘IDPs’ remained roughly the same.

Figure 4



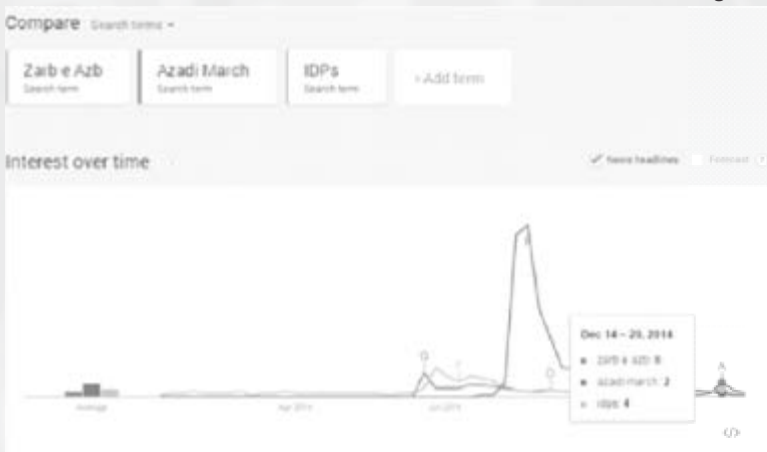
During the month of October, the relative frequency for the number of times the term ‘Azadi March’ was searched further reduced as compared to the past two months. On the other hand, the search trend for the term ‘IDPs’ increased while the search trend for the term ‘Zarb e Azb’ reduced.

Figure 5



During the month of November, the search trend for the term 'Azadi March' was further reduced, while the trend for the other two terms remained unchanged.

Figure 6



During the month of December, 2014, the search trend for the term 'Azadi March' was further reduced, while on the other hand the search trend for the term 'Zarb e azb' saw a significant increase. The search trend for the term IDPs remained constant.



**What was not covered**

## Part C: What was not covered

During the time period between August 15<sup>th</sup> 2014 and December 16<sup>th</sup> 2014, a number of significant events were taking place in the country, which were not given due attention by the media. The military operation 'Zarb-e-Azb' (strike of the Prophet Muhammad's sword) was initiated on June 15, 2014 against the various militant groups in North Waziristan. As a direct consequence of the operation, adjoining regions were soon flooded by streams of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), bringing with them numerous logistical, managerial and humanitarian problems.

The available figure of the registered number of displaced people from North Waziristan by July 14, 2014 was approximately 981,104 individuals. The large majority of this displaced population comprised of vulnerable women and children, making a total of about 726,963 individuals. Of these, approximately were 281,829 women and 445,134 were children. About 80 percent of the displaced people of North Waziristan settled in district Bannu.<sup>16</sup> Other than Bannu, these displaced people also migrated to four other districts, namely Dera Ismail Khan, Lakki Marwat, Tank and Karak.

A large number of the displaced people of North Waziristan were accommodated in about 1,400 government schools in three districts of Bannu (1131), Lakki Marwat (139) and Karak (134).<sup>17</sup> Around 25,000 families of IDPs had settled in the government schools during the period of summer vacation. The district administration asked the displaced families to vacate the government schools in order to

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<sup>16</sup> Editorial, 'IDP Crisis Unended', The Express Tribune, [http://74.205.74.128:88/DisplayDetails.aspx?ENI\\_ID=11201407200003&ENI\\_ID=11201407200001&EMID=11201407200001](http://74.205.74.128:88/DisplayDetails.aspx?ENI_ID=11201407200003&ENI_ID=11201407200001&EMID=11201407200001)

<sup>17</sup> 'North Waziristan Displacement-Education Cluster Update as of 20-7-2014', September 11, 2014, <http://www.dearsir.pk/content/north-waziristan-displacement-education-cluster-update-20-7-2014>

continue the academic activities of students as their summer vacations had come to an end. As a response, the displaced people staged a protest demonstration in Bannu, refusing to vacate government schools and demanded the government to provide them with alternate accommodations.<sup>18</sup> The women and children present in the IDP camps remained at high risk due to lack of health facilities available. The tribal elders of North Waziristan also staged a number of protests in Bannu and Peshawar in 2014, appealing to the provincial government to pay due attention to their plight.

In September, floods also wrecked havoc in Punjab. According to the available statistics nearly 1.7 million people were affected by the floods in the province. Nearly 318 died and more than 500 were injured. According to the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), around 17,000 houses were completely destroyed.<sup>19</sup> These events had a large scale impact on the lives of ordinary citizens of the state, yet electronic media failed to give them their due attention and remained busy covering the *dharnas* or political protests around the country.

This claim can be verified by an opinion poll conducted by Gallup Pakistan. This particular opinion poll was conducted during the month of August, 2014, in which eight (08) talk shows on different news channels were reviewed for their content. According to the opinion poll<sup>20</sup>, only three percent (03%) of the airtime was dedicated to discussion about IDPs and the floods.

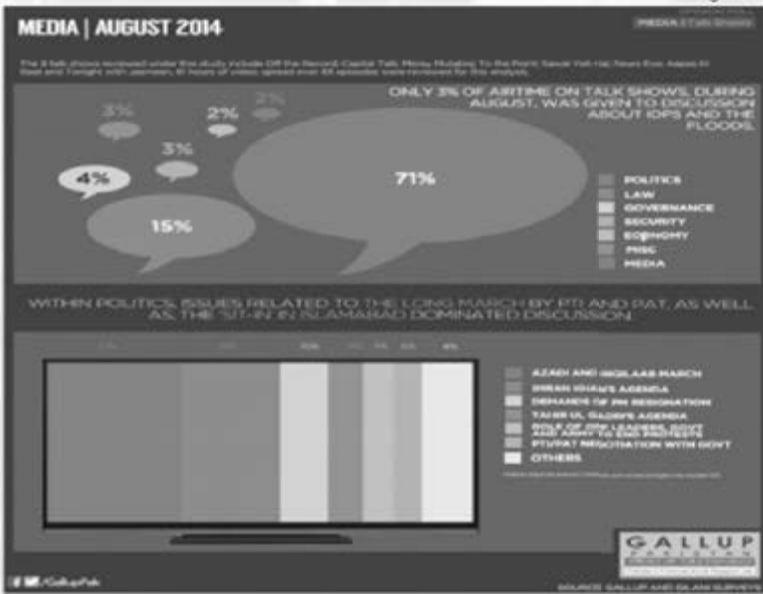
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<sup>18</sup> 'NWA IDPs stage protest, refuse to vacate schools in Bannu', Khyber News, <http://khybernews.tv/newsDetails.php?cat=29&key=NjM3OTg=>

<sup>19</sup> Flooding nearly destroys 2,000 schools in Punjab. Dawn. September 17, 2014. Accessed online from: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1132524>. Date of access: January 09, 2015.

<sup>20</sup> On 3% of airtime on talk shows, during August, was given to discussion about IDPs and the Floods. Cyberletter: Week 193. October 13, 2014 – October 17, 2014. P. 14. Accessed online from: <http://www.gallup.com.pk/News/193.pdf>. Date of access: January 8, 2015.

Figure 7



**Courtesy: Gallup Pakistan**

According to the opinion poll, about 71% of the airtime was dedicated to politics. Within politics, the *Azadi* and *Inqilab* marches were given the highest amount of coverage. This result can also be verified with the help of IL’s media content trend analysis that featured three (03) leading Pakistani news channels. One show was chosen from each channel, and each show was reviewed for its content from August to December 2014. The detailed analysis can be found in an earlier section of this report.

<sup>20</sup> On 3% of airtime on talk shows, during August, was given to discussion about IDPs and the Floods. Cyberletter: Week 193. October 13, 2014 – October 17, 2014. P. 14. Accessed online from: <http://www.gallup.com.pk/News/193.pdf>. Date of access: January 8, 2015.

# **Conclusion**

## Conclusion

This report has tried to study media behavior with respect to the coverage of the 2013 general elections, political protests and *dharnas* and the non-coverage of other important events. The first part of the study that was conducted from February to May, 2013 with media personnel and journalists from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa revealed that the media activity increases due to elections. Most of the participants of the study claimed this on the basis of their past experiences. Similarly, the participants also stated that the coverage of the then upcoming General elections 2013 would be difficult. The journalists termed the coverage difficult because of a lack of training facilities offered by their parent organizations. All these responses indicate that media personnel and journalists consider elections to be a highly intensive activity, which is difficult to cover due to a number of underlying reasons such as the lack of training facilities.

The media operating in the conflict struck province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa faces a daunting challenge. In addition, elections in the Pakistani context also have violence embedded in them. The coverage of elections is overshadowed by the raging conflict, which has also put the reporters and journalists in the crossfire of the warring sections. The journalists being ill-equipped and ill-trained regarding their safety and security, jump into election reporting without any risk assessment. The media houses, state institutions and political sections do not seem to be lending a helping hand to reporters and journalists in the performance of their duties. There are no practical procedures in place to assist media personnel in countering such a situation.

The print and electronic media analyses carried out during the desk research phase of the study clearly pointed out that during the first month of the political protests in general and during the first week in particular, the media was totally focused on the protests. The electronic media channels that reviewed or analyzed the situation ran their special transmissions during the initial days of the protests. One of the channels that were reviewed even ignored



advertisements on a temporary basis during this special coverage. This media interest was sustained throughout most of September 2014, but started dwindling by the end of the month, only to reach a low in October 2014. The coverage of the political protests started received air-time again in the second half of November 2014, in anticipation of PTI's November 30<sup>th</sup> protest. The trend analysis on Google also revealed similar results i.e. people were more interested in knowing about the protest or the Azadi March during the first week. However, searches regarding Azadi March started dwindling after the mid of September, 2014 i.e. after one month.

There can be a number of underlying reasons for such behavior as private media in Pakistan mostly works on corporate lines. This is especially true for electronic media, where profits can be made and the channel's consumers can be marketed to advertisers. In order to ensure that more people tune in, a degree of sensationalism might also be added. The battle for ratings was observed during the coverage of these political protests as well, where various channels vied for consumer attention and took sides in the ensuing debates. Public interest in the protests could also have been the driving force that kept media engaged in the protests, as electronic media lost its interest in the protests only when the number of people in the protests started diminishing.

Whereas private media channels reserve the right to decide the time allocated to news coverage, they need to do so responsibly. Principles of media objectivity, impartiality, sensitivity and responsibility should never be compromised for the sake of profit. Media consumers need to be sensitized about media ethics, rules and regulations so that they can actively monitor the content that is disseminated instead of being passive recipients. For this purpose, media 'consumer groups' can be formed; these groups can help promote media literacy and help keep content in check. Media literacy can help citizens to understand how media works i.e. how and why certain messages are created and disseminated. It can further help citizens to understand the various influences that drive

the production and dissemination of media content. However, media literacy hasn't been the priority of the various stakeholders including policy makers, regulators and citizens' etc. The civil society should lead the way and promote media literacy through various initiatives including training programs and dialogue sessions, in order to promote the understanding of media among citizens.



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