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## The Portrayal of NGOs in National Press

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This article attempts to analyze the attitude of the press towards non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Pakistan, which have grown in number, in particular after the end of the Cold War following the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan in 1980s. The US and Europe have directed a lot of funds to these NGOs to carry out development work, capacity building, service provision and human rights advocacy. The traditional actors in Pakistan's powerful establishment have usually not taken a favorable view of NGO work in these fields. The press, especially Urdu, has often subjected NGOs to criticism, because of an ideological biases. This article quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes the press coverage of NGOs in 2000, when General Pervez Musharraf was supposedly backing the NGO sector.

Volunteerism is deeply rooted in South Asia. During the colonial period, many educational and health charities were established. Charity organizations, established in Pakistan after Partition, drew on this historical tradition. Pakistan's civil society, mostly comprising volunteer and charity organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), also has its origins in this tradition. As time goes by, Pakistan's civil society is evolving and

growing, and assuming a political dimension in the process. NGOs, in particular, have become key players because of their stakes in social development, human rights and democracy. Unfortunately, civil society in Pakistan has borne the brunt of multiple military interventions in the country. "Decades of pervasive authoritarian rule too have clearly undermined the emergence of a politically vibrant civil society." Although the situation has improved steadily, a truly facilitative and enabling environment for civil society remains a distant dream. The military coup staged by Musharraf in October 1999 was the last nail in the coffin of democracy and exposed the fragility of civil society in Pakistan.

"It's about time that we courageously begin conceding that President General Pervez Musharraf's taking over of power exposed the limits of the so-called civil society... The hailing of Musharraf conceded that the civil society of Pakistan couldn't set an agenda for itself." Despite this, NGOs have developed and functioned in Pakistan through the darkest years of political and social repression. These organizations have performed the role of defending and promoting human rights and social justice. They have consistently opposed state legislation that discriminated against women and minorities. They have repeatedly exposed serious human rights violations. These organizations are generally secular in nature. The media is divided in its viewpoint about them. They have enjoyed the support of the English press in articulating their agenda, and getting their points of view across to the government and the public.

A study found a sharp dichotomy between the English Press and Urdu Press, with the latter being generally negative toward civil society. The most common allegations raised against its members were their adherence to foreign agendas. The article first reviews the literature related to the importance of impartiality and objectivity in the media and then moves ahead to analyze *The National* newspapers' coverage of NGOs in 2000.

Mass communication theorists, academics and researchers have emphasized that the media should adopt and maintain a policy of responsible journalism. It should in particular play an unbiased and impartial role while reporting and covering issues related to human rights and democracy. A lot of literature is available that stresses this point of responsible journalism. In his book, 'Iblaghiaat (Mass Communication)', Prof Dr Mugheesuddin Sheikh, has dealt with various aspects of Urdu journalism, while focusing on the imperative of 'objectivity'. Dr Sheikh raises the point that a journalist should make the utmost efforts to be realistic, balanced and unbiased. He regrets that with the advancement of journalism, 'objectivity' is losing its status. <sup>1</sup> In the same context, in this book, '*Pakistan Main Iblaghiaat: Taraki Aur Masail* (Mass Communication in Pakistan: Progress and Problems)', Dr. Maskeen Ali Hijazi has discussed the importance of research in journalism, and brings home how mass communication is used to form public opinion. The writer opines, "Journalism has now purely become a business and has lost its original role in society. The role of newspapers should be to give an accurate view of social issues and give positive views regarding them."<sup>2</sup> Dr Sheikh's and Dr Hajazi's arguments fit into this article's aim to examine *The National* press's coverage of NGOs and to investigate whether it has done so from a balanced and objective point of view.

In his book '*Sahafat, Sahafi Aur Ablagh* (Journalism, Journalist and Mass Communication)', Dr. Shafiq Jalandhari has dealt with the duties and qualities of journalists, and discussed a journalist's code of honor. The writer says that it is in the journalist's own interest that he abides by journalistic ethics in order to earn the confidence of the reader. <sup>3</sup> In another book, '*Sahafat Aur Sahafi* (Journalism and Journalist)', Dr. Jalandhari has taken a view of the complex issue of the press's rights, responsibilities and freedom of expression. He writes that social life is dependent on the rights and duty of each individual within the general public,

and the field of journalism falls under this description of a society. In this field, the responsibility of the journalist is to portray the facts surrounding any situation without any alteration.<sup>4</sup>

Furthering the cause of objectivity and fairness in journalism, in his book 'Journalism', Abid Masood Tehami, states that readers subscribe to newspapers according to their taste. He says that popular journalism is the type of journalism that is highly admired by less educated people. Many newspapers in Pakistan fall under this category.<sup>5</sup> Reflecting on the flip side, in the book, '*Lisani Fasadat*', Manzoor Ali Jokhio reflects on the bias and prejudice prevalent in newspapers. He writes, "The germs of prejudice and bias can also be seen in newspaper offices. The writer says, "Sometimes news is biased and editorials and opinion articles are full of partiality." The argument of 'bias' raised by the author in his book is relevant in the context to 'bias' against women in Pakistan.<sup>6</sup>

In his book, '*Sahafati Zimadariaan* (Journalistic Responsibilities)', Dr Ahsan Akhtar Naz has pinpointed many wrong aspects of reporting and news editing. He says that many news items that are published are not from reliable sources, and such news items are published that are designed to create sensation and excite the reader. These news items are a form of propaganda aimed at changing public opinion for the worse.<sup>7</sup> Moving further, Choudhary Abdul Majeed, in his book '*Iblagh-e-Aam*, (Mass Communication)', says that the information being published should be based on truth and there should be no exaggeration in it<sup>8</sup>. As also mentioned by Dr Shiekh, Dr Hijazi and Dr Jalandhari and furthered by Dr Naz, this augments the opinion that surrendering of the truth by newspapers has compromised fairness in journalism in Pakistan.

Choudhary Majeed has given a fine outline of the duties the press should fulfill. In his book, '*Fan-e-Khabar Naveesi* (The Art of Reporting)', Dr A R Khalid has written that news based on half

truth could have adverse effects on the victim in particular and society in general.<sup>9</sup> The responsibility of newspapers has also been spelled out in Dr Muhammad Aslam Dogar's, '*Jadeed Sahafat* (Modern Journalism)'. Dr Dogar laments that sensationalism, publicity and propaganda are becoming more prominent in newspapers.<sup>10</sup> This is in line with Dr A.R. Khalid and other authors' stress on objective, fair and mission-oriented journalism, which, according to them, today stands compromised. Dr. Mehdi Hasan, in his book '*Survey of Journalism*', has discussed the issue of yellow journalism, especially in Urdu language eveningers.<sup>11</sup> In another book, '*Mass media in Pakistan*', Dr. Hasan, has discussed the issue of ethics in journalism. He says that distorted and one-sided news often over-emphasizes issues that have no real importance while suppressing important issues.<sup>12</sup> Dr Hasan's view is quite relevant in the context of the press's prejudice against women.

Reflecting on responsible journalism, Dr. Abdus Salam Khurshid in his book '*Fun-e-Sahafat*', says that journalism's aim is to provide the latest news and information and to explain current events by giving their background in order to form public opinion. Just as journalism guides public opinion, it also reflects public opinion. It necessarily implies public service and therefore it is an indispensable organ of all civilized societies.<sup>13</sup>

in a book co-authored by Dr. Hasan and Dr. Salam, '*Journalism for All*', the authors write that responsibility rests upon the press, which is the main source of information, discussion and advocacy for the public. It is further stressed in this book that a newspaper has the responsibility to report facts as accurately and as fully as circumstances of publication allow, and should be honest in its expression of opinion. Every journalist should faithfully discharge his social responsibilities by speaking and writing the truth, and exposing and opposing the untruth.<sup>14</sup>

In an M.Phil thesis, Misbah Hussain (1998-2000) carried out a comparative study to investigate the coverage of development issues by the English press and Urdu press. The researcher used content analysis research techniques after selecting five development issues, and found that the role of newspapers could not be termed satisfactory as far as the coverage of development issues is concerned. These issues were given secondary importance in comparison to crimes, sports, politics, etc. The researcher concluded that in the light of media development theory, the media is not giving importance to developmental issues to make both the public and the government realize about their rights and privileges.<sup>15</sup> In another M.Phil thesis, Shabana Gulnaz (2000-2002) conducted research on the coverage of child rights in two major English dailies, *The Nation* and *Dawn*. The researcher found that the overall role of newspapers could not be termed satisfactory and coverage of developmental issues has always been given secondary importance. Newspapers set their preference keeping in view the principle of demand and supply.<sup>16</sup>

The researcher hypothesized that national newspapers have portrayed a negative image of NGOs. The methodology employed was both quantitative and qualitative, in which the press's coverage of NGOs was analyzed after codifying the units of analysis, which was all news, articles, editorials and features in national Urdu and English newspapers in 2000, into the categories of 'supportive and 'non-supportive' based on the themes of NGOs being anti-Pakistan, foreign agent and anti-Islam for 'non supportive' and development agent, agent for democracy and intolerance for 'supportive'. After processing the quantitative data, press coverage was qualitatively analyzed.

In the year 2000, 328 stories were found in nine months. Out of them 252 were found to be non-supportive while 41 were supportive. Forty-four articles were found, of which 41 were non-supportive while three were supportive. One non-supportive editorial note was published; 6 non-supportive features were

published. One non-supportive editorial note was published in a Sunday magazine feature. It was non-supportive. Two special features and one Sunday magazine report was non-supportive while one special feature was non-supportive.

The Following tables illustrate the coverage pattern of newspapers in relation to NGOs in 2000. In the months prior to April – January, February, March – no news or articles were found by the researcher.

Total in 2000: 328

Total editorials published in 2000: 7

Total articles published in 2000: 42

Total Features published in 2000: 6

Total News stories/Reports published in 2000: 266

Table 1  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in April 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Editorial	1		1
Articles	9		9
Features	3		3
News/Reports/Stories	8	1	7

Table 2  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in May 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Editorials	1	1	
Articles	11	1	10
News/Stories/Reports	21	1	20

Table 3  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in June 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Editorials	2	1	1
Articles	7	2	5
News/Reports/Stories	38	7	31

Table 4  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in July 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Articles	6		6
News/Reports/Stories	59	20	39



Table 5  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in August 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Editorials	2		2
Articles	3	2	1
News/Reports/Stories	43	16	27

Table 6  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in September 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Articles	2		2
Features	1		1
News/Reports/Stories	25	8	17

Table 7  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in October 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Articles	3		3
Features	2		2
News/Reports/Stories	38	2	36

Table 8  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in November 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Editorials	1	1	
News/Reports/Stories	21	4	24

Table 9  
Supportive and non-supportive news, articles and editorials  
features in December 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
Articles	1		1
News/Reports/Stories	13	6	7

Table 10  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in April 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	21	1	20
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	1		1
Pakistan	5		5
<i>Khabrain</i>	3	1	2
<i>Insaf</i>	8		8
Din	2		2
<i>Jang</i>	1		1
The news	1		1

Table 11  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in May 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	33	3	30
<i>Pakistan</i>	3		3
<i>Insaf</i>	15		15
<i>Khabrain</i>	4	1	3
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	2		2
<i>Din</i>	1		1
<i>Jang</i>	3	1	2
<i>The News</i>	1		1
<i>Dawn</i>	2		2
<i>The Nation</i>	1	1	
Others	1		1

Table 12  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in June 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	47	10	37
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	5	1	4
<i>Insaf</i>	5		5
<i>Din</i>	4		4
<i>Jang</i>	9		9
<i>Pakistan</i>	11	3	9
<i>Khabrain</i>	3	1	2
<i>The News</i>	2	2	
<i>Dawn</i>	1		1
<i>The Sun</i>	2	2	
<i>The Nation</i>	2	1	1
Others	3		3

Table 13  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in July 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	65	20	45
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	8	2	6
<i>Jang</i>	5		5
<i>Insaf</i>	11	2	9
<i>Din</i>	5	1	4
<i>Khabrain</i>	4		4
<i>Pakistan</i>	5		5
<i>The Nation</i>	7	5	2
<i>The News</i>	10	8	2
<i>Dawn</i>	2	1	1
Others	8	1	7

Table 14  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in August 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	48	18	30
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	6	1	5
<i>Pakistan</i>	5	3	2
<i>Din</i>	6	2	4
<i>Insaf</i>	7		7
<i>Khabrain</i>	4	1	3
<i>Jang</i>	7	3	4
<i>The News</i>	3	2	1
<i>The Nation</i>	5	4	1
<i>Dawn</i>	3	2	1
Others	2		2

Table 15  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in September 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	28	8	20
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	2		2
<i>Pakistan</i>	5	2	3
<i>Din</i>	2		2
<i>Insaf</i>	2		2
<i>Khabrain</i>	2		2
<i>Jang</i>	5	2	3
<i>The News</i>	3		3
<i>The Nation</i>	3	1	2
<i>Dawn</i>	3	3	
Others	1		1

Table 16  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in October 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	43	2	41
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	4		4
<i>Pakistan</i>	1		1
<i>Din</i>	5		5
<i>Insaf</i>	4		4
<i>Khabrain</i>	8		8
<i>Jang</i>	5		5
<i>The News</i>	5		5
<i>The Nation</i>	2	1	1
<i>Dawn</i>	4		4
Others	5	1	4

Table 17  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in November 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	29	4	25
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	8	2	6
Pakistan	4		4
<i>Insaf</i>	7		7
<i>Khabrain</i>	6		6
<i>Jang</i>	2		2
The News	1	1	
Others	1	1	

Table 18  
Month-wise coverage by Newspapers in December 2000

	Total	Supportive	Non Supportive
	14	6	8
<i>Nawa e Waqt</i>	1	1	
<i>Insaf</i>	2		2
<i>Khabrain</i>	2	1	1
<i>Jang</i>	1		1
<i>The News</i>	3	2	1
<i>The Nation</i>	1	1	
<i>Dawn</i>	4	2	2

After processing the numerical data through content analysis, the qualitative analysis of data provided a deeper look into the coverage pattern by newspapers. A few examples are as follows:

Urdu daily, *Pakistan* published an editorial note, 'NGOs influence' on April 19. <sup>17</sup> It was a non-supportive. It supported the JI amir's public address in which he stated that NGOs were

'working against *The National* interests'. NGOs were receiving money from abroad and using that money against Pakistan. *Pakistan* published a full page feature in its Sunday magazine on April 2.<sup>18</sup> It was a non-supportive feature. It said NGOs were 'destroying Islamic philosophy and ideology', and the US and Europe were providing funds for this purpose.

Daily *Insaf* published an article written by Atta Ullah Siddiqui, 'Brutal monster and human rights', on April 8.<sup>19</sup> The writer said that serial killer Javed killed hundreds of children and courts gave him death sentence but that NGOs started a campaign in the name of human rights and demanded less or soft punishment for the killer. He condemned NGOs on that count.

Daily *Insaf* published a three-column statement of Qazi Hussain Ahmed against NGOs on the front page on April 15.<sup>20</sup> Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that NGOs were violating women's honor and respect. He said women commanded great respect in Muslim society. But the NGOs that were working for women rights were 'devaluing Pakistani women' by promoting 'Western values'. Daily *Pakistan* published a half-page feature on the same day (April 15) 'What is honour killing?'<sup>21</sup> It claimed that most Pakistanis did not know about 'karo kari' but that on 'behalf of Western powers', NGOs were highlighting a 'wrong image of Pakistan' in the world.

In the month of May, 13 articles were published. Twelve of them were non-supportive while one was supportive. 25 news stories were published. 23 were non-supportive while 2 of them were supportive. 56 columns were non-supportive and five were supportive

In an article in Urdu daily *Pakistan* on May 5, 2000,<sup>22</sup> the writer Ismail Qureshi went to the extent of saying he received many reporters from the Geneva Convention for the human rights that the 'Qadiani' lobby' was working against the blasphemy law.

The writer stressed that Jewish and Qadianis' lobbies were using NGOs to start a campaign against the blasphemy law. This harks back to the 1950s when anti- Qadiani riots were fuelled by a section of the Urdu press that was given advertisements and funds by the then Punjab government (see chapter 3)

Urdu daily, *Insaf* published a three-column story on May 4<sup>23</sup> on its front page. It was a non-supportive story. It reported Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Jamaat-i- Islami (JI) amir, as saying that NGOs were 'working against Islamic principles' and involved in 'unethical activities'. Without any proof, Qazi Hussain Ahmad said that NGOs were approached by the West for the removal of the Hudood Ordinance and Federal Shariat Courts. He further said NGOs were owned by ex- bankers, who had served for the IMF and World Banks. How can these NGOs become people friendly? he asked.

Daily *Khabrain* carried a double-column story on its back page on May 7.<sup>24</sup> It was again a statement by Qazi Hussain Ahmed against NGOs, and was a non-supportive story. Daily *Insaf* published an opinion write-up on May 12<sup>25</sup> written by the Muhammad Atta Ullah Sadiqqi. It was non-supportive. The writer said in his article that NGOs were favoring the Hudood Ordinance because they wished to see Pakistan as a 'secular state'. Many Qadianis' lobbies were working against the blasphemy law. The writer stressed in his article that the 'Jewish and Qadianis' lobbies' were using NGOs to start a campaign against the blasphemy law, and that NGOs forced Musharraf to remove the blasphemy law.

Daily *Jang* carried a double-column story on May 30<sup>26</sup> on its back page. It reported that the JI called a convention of traders and launched protest against NGOs. The JI leaders said they would never 'allow NGOs to become East India Company' – the company is the symbol of British imperialism. It was a non-supportive story. Daily *Insaf*, for its part, published a double-



column story on May 30<sup>27</sup> on its back page. It was a statement of Liaquat Baloch against NGOs. Liaquat Baloch said that NGOs were paid by foreign agencies and they were promoting 'religious differences'. Surely, it was a non-supportive story, as it was based on the usual allegations that have been leveled against NGOs to present them as 'anti-Islam' and 'anti-Pakistan'.

The 'statement journalism' that Pakistan's press – especially Urdu - has by and large adopted amounts following the agenda of the sections – including the government - that are opposed to NGOs. The above statement in daily *Jang* that was wrongly given double columns on back page is proof of that tendency.

In June 2000, 27 news stories were found: out of these, 21 were non-supportive and 6 supportive. Eight articles were published; seven were non-supportive.

Daily *Insaf* on June 3<sup>28</sup> published three-column story, 'NGOs occupy library in Model Town; starts controversial and shamed activates' on front page. It was non-supportive story. It told the readers that the NGOs were using the director general and secretary education for fulfilling their interests. Library members staged a protest against the NGOs.

Daily *Insaf* dated on June 4<sup>29</sup> published an article written by Atta Ullah Sidiqqi. It was non-supportive. The article was against Qadianis. The writer mentioned many times in his article that NGOs were supporting the Qadiani movement. He told the readers that a few Qadianis were operating NGOs. Human rights organizations were working for human rights but actually they were working for the Qadianis networks and spreading their agendas.

Daily *Pakistan* on June 5<sup>30</sup> published a three-column statement of Hafiz Hussain Ahmad against NGOs on front page. It was a non-supportive story. Hafiz Hussain Ahmad said NGOs had

become 'agents of Jewish'. NGOs were just like a showpiece. Both the above two stories point to the Jews and Western agenda theme in regard to NGOs.

English daily *Dawn* on June 6<sup>31</sup> published a single-column story on back page. It was a non-supportive story. The story told readers that Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorni, of the moderate Braveli Sunni religio-political party, Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP), sought probe into NGOs activities. Demanding a probe into the affairs of NGOs, the maulana, who was also the head of amalgam of religious parties, Milli Yekjehti Council, said funds given to NGOs were being used to pay Rs 20, 000 to one lakh per month to keep well furnished offices. His statement was in line with the 'fund misuse' charge often levelled against NGOs.

Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* on June 23<sup>32</sup> published an article, 'NGOs activities and real objectives' written by Sayed Assi. The writer explained that in the present government many NGOs took a leading role. NGOs members were enjoying ministries. The IMF and World Bank had imposed new strict conditions on Pakistan. 'NGOs in Pakistan are working for international organizations (IMF and World Bank). It seemed that the present government had come into power to protect NGOs. Many NGOs were working for social welfare but were doing nothing. Yet they were receiving funds from abroad. If the government checked the bank balance of these NGOs and monitored their cash follow, many NGOs would not survive. It was a non-supportive story.

Daily *Pakistan* published a double-column story on the back page on 23-6-2000.<sup>33</sup> NGOs should come to join anti narcotics program. It was a supportive story.

In July 2000, total stories published were 59: non-supportive were 41, supportive 18: articles written were 5- all non-supportive: one Sunday magazine feature that was non-supportive.

Daily *News* on July 1<sup>34</sup> published a three-column story; supportive (back page). 'Harassment of NGOs to be checked', said Omar Asghar Khan, Federal Minister for Local government, Omar Asghar Khan said the government had issued special instructions to the administration to check harassment of NGOs engaged in welfare

Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* on July 1<sup>35</sup> published a single column story: non-supportive; back page: former Prime Minister Azad Kashmir Sardar Abdul Qauaam said that Pakistan and Azad Kashmir were influenced by NGOs. He said NGOs activities created an 'alarming' situation for the Azad Kashmir government. Daily *Insaf* on the same day published a single column story on back page, which was non-supportive. A Jamaat e Islami member said NGOs must be banned all over the Pakistan, because they were 'agents of the Jewish lobby'.

Daily *Insaf* on July 2<sup>36</sup> published an article written by Atta Ullah Sadiqqi,

Daily *Pakistan* on the same day published an article written by Atta Ullah Sadiqqi. It called for strict action against NGOs: non-supportive: According to an estimate, NGOs were receiving three billion rupees annually from abroad and this amount was misappropriated by NGOs. The writer asked as to why the West was providing huge amount to NGOs? He then answered himself that this was happening because Western countries are promoting their culture in the Pakistan and they had full support of the NGOs mafia.

Daily *Sahafat* too published a story on the same day. It was non-supportive. Maulana Amjad Khan of JUI said NGOs were 'demeaning religion'. A strict action should be taken against NGOs.

Daily *The News* on July 6<sup>37</sup> published a single column story on front page. It was supportive. Noorani has said, NGOs are US cat's paw.

Daily *Dawn* on July 6<sup>38</sup> published a double column story on back page. It was non supportive. Government urged to probe NGOs fund sources. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani said NGOs be investigated to find their source and motives.

Daily *The News* on July 7<sup>39</sup> published a single column story on back page. It was non supportive. Maulan Fazalul Rehman warned the government that Muslim scholars would expel NGOs from the country, if did not stop their anti-Islam activity.

Daily *Awaz* on July 24<sup>40</sup> published a double column story on back page. It was supportive. In the Lahore Press Club, 50 NGOs members in a common statement condemned the religious parties, and demanded that they stop biased behavior against NGOs. The also demanded that the government take action against the religious parties which were carrying out a hate campaign against NGOs.

Daily *The Nation* on July 24<sup>41</sup> published a three column story on back page. It was supportive. NGOs across the country pledged to counter fanatic religious elements and urged the government to evolve a code of conduct for a tolerant society.

In August 2000, 70 stories were found, out of which 43 were non-supportive, while 27 were supportive. Four articles were found; three non supportive and one supportive.

Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt* on August 1<sup>42</sup> published a double-column story on back page. The story was a security agencies' operation against the religious leaders opposing NGOs. It informed that security agencies continued their operation against anti NGOs religious leaders. Many religious leaders had been arrested.

Meanwhile, religious leaders condemned the operation and declared that they would never allow NGOs to promote and operate the 'vulgarity centers'.

Daily *Insaf* on the same day <sup>43</sup> published an article written by Hafiz Idrees. Article's headline was, 'Pakistan and NGOs role'. It was non-supportive. The writer wrote that Pakistan army was using each and every thing to strengthen the government. NGOs were playing a leading role in this situation. NGOs were receiving rewards and key positions in the government. They were mostly funded by 'foreign powers' and these powers were 'against Pakistan'. NGOs had their own 'agenda' and they worked for achieving their 'agenda'.

Daily *The Nation* on August 12 <sup>44</sup> published a three column story on back page. It was supportive, under 'Government to provide enabling environment to NGOs'. It informed readers that the government was committed to providing an enabling environment to NGOs and CBOs working for public interest in fields of charity welfare, development research and public interest census.

*Insaf* on August 29 <sup>45</sup> published a double column editorial note on back page. It was non supportive. The editorial note opposed the federal minister's statement that he was in favor of NGOs. " NGOs are receiving billions dollars aid from abroad and many NGOs are working for foreign powers. NGOs are working against sovereignty of Pakistan. The note defended religious organizations, saying they were working for a good cause.

In September 2000, 23 stories were published, out of which 23 were non-supportive and 15 supportive.

Daily *Khabrain* on September 3 <sup>46</sup> published a double column story. It was non supportive. NGOs persuaded women to 'disobey their husbands'. This was stated by Maulana Azam Tariq.

He has said that NGOs were doing their best to fail the current government.

Daily *Dawn* on September 9<sup>47</sup> published a three column story on back page. It was supportive. Human rights charter proposed. Speakers at a seminar on Sunday underlined the need for adopting human rights of common man, women and children in a polarized society.

*The Nation* on September 18<sup>48</sup> published a three column story on back page. It was non supportive. Maulana Fazal ur Rehman said NGOs were guarding the American interests through the districts governments. He said America was 'using NGOs' against Pakistan.

Daily *Express* on 18th published a five-column lead; which was non-supportive. In this president of Pakistan, General Pervaz Musharraf said he would 'expose' the NGOs that were 'defaming Pakistan'. He said he would forcefully stop those elements that were highlighting Pakistani women rights in the international community. The president's grouse against NGOs stemmed from the NGOs' support to Dr Shazia Khalid and Mukhtaran Mai. The press splashed the presidential warning and threat.

*The News* on September 22<sup>49</sup> published a double column story on back page. It was non supportive. The government was urged to review 'NGOs' source of income', conduct audit. This was demanded by Pakistan Movement worker and former official of UNESCO Naseem Anwar Beg, who demanded that the government constitute a high level commission to review NGOs' source of income as well as get their accounts audited by the Auditor General of Pakistan.

Daily *Pakistan* on September 27<sup>50</sup> published a three column story on back page. It was supportive. Newsweek published a report that showed that religious ulema and Taliban had joined

hands against NGOs. Religious leaders had waged war against NGOs and issued fatwas against them. They were also giving life threats to NGOs.

*Nawa-i-Waqt* on September 27<sup>51</sup> published a double column story on back page. It was non-supportive. The women that worked NGOs were not of good character and religious leaders had given orders to their followers that where they found an NGO female worker they forcibly married with her.

The researcher could not found any comment or editorial in this newspaper condemning this act of lawlessness.

In October 2000, total stories published: 39; non-supportive: 37; supportive: 2; articles: 3 non-supportive; one special feature non-supportive.

*The News* on October 2<sup>52</sup> published a double column story on front page. It was non supportive. Noorani hit out at foreign-funded NGOs. He demanded of the government to take action against the NGOs receiving foreign funding, threatening that if it was not done religious parties would be forced to do that task.

*Din* on October 17<sup>53</sup> published an article written by the Hafiz Shafiq ur Rehman. It was non supportive, "NGOs and terrorist are same." The writer told in his article that from the *Din* on October 21 published a three column story on front page. It was non supportive. Noorani said that the Supreme Court must take action against the NGOs that were involved in 'anti-Pakistan' activities. He said these NGOs were funded by foreign powers and working for their 'agendas'.

*Insaf* on October 21<sup>54</sup> published a double column story on back page. It was non supportive. .Noorani said the government should establish an independent commission to 'investigate NGOs' activities'. He said NGOs were promoting 'Christianity'

and working for the 'Jewish lobby'. He said NGOs' agenda was 'alarming' for the government.

*The News* on October 21<sup>55</sup> published a single column story on back page. It was non supportive. Under "NGOs disappointing role", it said 'some news reports' about the involvement of certain NGOs in promoting the cause of their 'foreign donors' had not only damaged their 'credibility' but also raised questions about their 'loyalty with the motherland'.

*The News* on October 27<sup>56</sup> published a special feature. It was non supportive.

In November 2000, 27 stories were published: out of which 23 were non supportive, while 4 supportive. One non-supportive editorial was published

Daily *Khabrain* published a double-column story on November 2.<sup>57</sup> It was Azam Tariq's statement against NGOs on back page. It was non-supportive story. Maulana Azam Traiq said that NGOs owned by Omer Asghar Khan were distributing 'anti-Islam' literature. Maulana Azam Tariq, head of sectarian outfit, found it convenient to threaten NGOs; and he got away with it. The press did not hesitate in publishing his 'threats'.

Daily *Insaf* published an editorial note on November 5.<sup>58</sup> It was non-supportive, and based on Sipah-i-Sahaba's charge that NGOs were busy in 'anti-Islam' and 'anti-Pakistan' activities. Daily *Nawa-i- Waqt* on the same day – November 5 - published a double-column story, which was supportive. Minister Khalid Ranjha said that the government planned to build 10,000 literacy centers and NGOs were helping the government to increase the literacy rate in the country.

Daily *Insaf* on November 5<sup>59</sup> published a double-column statement of Sipah-i-Sahaba against NGOs. It was non-supportive



and published on back page. Daily *Insaf* published a three-column story on November 8<sup>60</sup> on front page. It informed that NGOs had started searching educated women candidates for the upcoming local government election. It quoted a source, which told that the government was facing the deficiency of women candidates for the local government elections.

On November 9, daily *Khabrain* published<sup>61</sup> a three-column statement of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani on front page. Maulana Noorani alleged that Asma Jahangir's husband is a Qadiani and she is 'urging girls to take a stand against their parents'. He demanded that an independent commission be set up to conduct a comprehensive investigation against NGOs. He said Asma took 60 women with her to India where they danced with Indian men.

Unsurprisingly, the Jamaat-ie-Islami condemned NGOs. It alleged that NGOs were causing 'vulgarity' and 'obscenity'. JI demanded a ban on NGOs. This was carried by daily *Khabrain* on November 17.<sup>62</sup> It was in three-columns, non-supportive, and on front page.

Again stepped in Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, who said he would take action against the elements that were preparing the voters list in their offices. He said, "NGOs are 'terrorist organizations'." This story was published by daily Pakistan on November 18. It was in double columns and non-supportive, and on back page.

In December, total stories published were 14: non-supportive were 7, whereas supportive were 7. One article was published and it was non-supportive.

Daily *Jang*, 1-12-2000,<sup>63</sup> published a double column story: non-supportive, on back page, which told that the government

had banned the NGO bank accounts and 1,200 NGO worker had been fired.

Daily *Khabrain*, 3-12-2000, <sup>64</sup> published a three column story: non-supportive on back page. "NGOs are doing fake propaganda against religious parties and jihad. The government is supporting these NGOs. NGOs are continuously trying to destabilize the federal government, 'Islamic values' and religious organizations.

Daily *The News* published a three column story on December 18, <sup>65</sup> which was supportive: "NGOs oppose new curbs on Afghanistan". Daily *The Nation*, the next day published a single-column story, supportive: "Violence against women condemned". Speakers at the workshop said that women had not been provided opportunities to play their due role in society in spite of the fact that they had potential to deliver well in the socio economic fields.

Daily *Insaf* on December 20 <sup>66</sup> published an article written by Abdul Rasheed, 'NGO mafia': this was clearly non-supportive. The writer wrote in his article that, "NGOs are funded by foreign powers and are working for their 'agenda' and promoting their 'culture'. NGOs are 'defaming 'Islamic values and ethics'. Many honorable personalities are working with NGOs. Many of the NGOs are owned by the women who belong to the rich and Nawab families. NGOs arrange seminars in five star hotels and only fashionable people are allowed to join these seminars. The poor are not allowed. NGO people have luxury cars and bungalows. NGOs' only responsibility is to implement their 'foreign masters' plan'." Daily *Dawn* the same day published a single column story, non-supportive on back page: "NGOs flayed for statement on minorities".

Daily *Jang* on December 21-<sup>67</sup> published a double-column story, non-supportive on back page: "NGOs start using poor against government". It referred to Asma Jahangir's and Hina

Jalani's press conference. It claimed all expenses were paid by a fake NGO. After the press conference NGOs female workers 'started smoking' and told newsmen that they were 'not fasting'.

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These findings show that *The National* press negatively framed NGOs in the period under research. It largely portrayed them as the agents of the West, endorsing allegations leveled against them by the sections opposed to them. During the period covered in this research, investigative reporting was not done. Nor did the press make an effort to follow the principles of objective and unbiased reporting, as is stressed upon by mass media professors, theorists and practitioners. This tendency violated the concept of public sphere given by Habermas, as the viewpoint of NGOs was not given a place in that sphere. Today, when the NGO sector has been given a stake in development, this tendency of *The National* press needs to be reassessed and reviewed.

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