

A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TWO  
PAKISTANI DAILIES' COVERAGE OF  
1978 AND 1989

By

TAHIR JAVED MALIK

Bachelor of Arts  
University of Punjab  
Lahore, Pakistan  
1981

Master of Arts  
University of Punjab  
Lahore, Pakistan  
1984

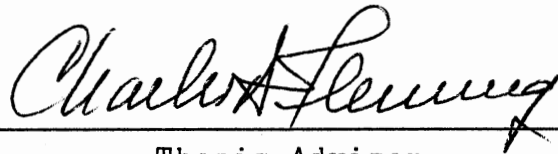
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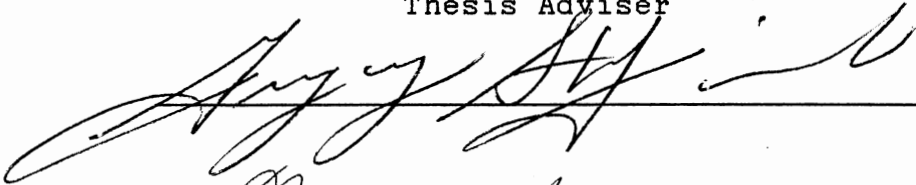
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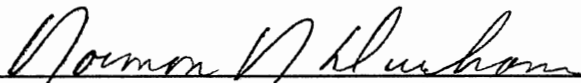
Thesis Approved:



Thesis Adviser







Dean of the Graduate College

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Chapter |  | Page |
|---------|--|------|
| I.      | INTRODUCTION .....                           | 1    |
| II.     | LITERATURE REVIEW .....                      | 12   |
| III.    | METHODOLOGY .....                            | 46   |
| IV.     | ANALYSIS OF DATA .....                       | 60   |
| V.      | SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS .. | 72   |
|         | BIBLIOGRAPHY .....                           | 84   |

## LIST OF TABLES

| Table |  | Page |
|-------|--|------|
| I.    | Randomly Selected Issues by Period.....  | 51   |
| II.   | Intercoder Reliability.....  | 61   |
| III.  | Direction of Coverage by a Government Source Presented by <u>Musraq</u> in 1978 and 1989 .....                                       | 62   |
| IV.   | Direction of Coverage by a Non-government Source Presented by <u>Musraq</u> in 1978 and 1989 .....                                   | 63   |
| V.    | Direction of Coverage by a Government Source Presented by <u>Nawa-i-Waqt</u> in 1978 and 1989 .....                                  | 64   |
| VI.   | Direction of Coverage by Non-government Sources Presented by <u>Nawa-i-Waqt</u> in 1978 and 1989 .....                               | 65   |
| VII.  | Direction of Coverage Presented by <u>Musraq</u> and <u>Nawa-i-Waqt</u> in 1978 Combined Government and Non-government Sources ..... | 66   |
| VIII. | Direction of Coverage Presented by <u>Musraq</u> and <u>Nawa-i-Waqt</u> in 1989 Combined Government and Non-government Sources.....  | 67   |
| XI.   | Comparative Content Distribution for <u>Musraq</u> and <u>Nawa-i-Waqt</u> in 1978 and 1989 .....                                     | 68   |

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### General

After eleven years of military dictatorship in Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto was elected Prime Minister of the country in the 1988 democratic elections. As the country moved from authoritarian military rule toward democracy, the Pakistani press experienced many changes. Since what the press reports on is society, the press reflects the political and economic values of society. Previous studies of the Pakistani press may no longer be valid because society is in a continuously changing environment. Thus, a current analysis of the Pakistani press is needed in order to understand the changes in the press role, as a function of changes in government.

#### Background

The mass media not only serve as sources of mass communication but are vital parts of the dominant economic and political structures of the late 20th century.<sup>1</sup> This is why the role of the media parallels the political and economic values of a society. Zia's rule in Pakistan was authoritarian. According to Hachten's authoritarian concept

of the press, the press (under authoritarian rule) is always subject to the direct or implied control of the state or sovereign.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the press system under military authoritarian rule cannot be the same as the system under a democracy.<sup>3</sup> Democracy has different political values, compared to a military dictatorship. Therefore, a shift in political values can change the role of press in a country.

The press functioned under the military dictatorship for more than eleven years. As a Pakistani media scholar, Zamir Niazi, has written, "The post-1977 era will be remembered as among the worst periods in the history of journalism in Pakistan. It is noted for the strangulation and the humiliation of the press. The press played to the tune of the establishment, without any freedom of expression."<sup>4</sup>

In terms of civil and political rights, under Zia's rule Pakistan was classified in 1982 by the magazine Freedom At Issue as an "un-free" country with a negative rating of 7 in political rights and 5 in civil rights (on a descending scale where 1 denotes the highest and 7 the lowest in civil and political rights).<sup>5</sup>

General Zia's military rule was the longest in the 42-year history of Pakistan. He ruled the country from 1977 to 1988 as chief martial law administrator and President of Pakistan. The power base of Zia's regime was the Pakistani military.<sup>6</sup> On October 17, 1979, Zia's government banned all political parties, sealed and froze their bank accounts and imposed blanket censorship on newspapers.<sup>7</sup> That day,



in his address to the nation, Zia said: "Those newspapers and periodicals indulging in anti-state activities, in the garb of journalism, and poisoning the minds of the people have been banned, and censorship (is) imposed for (the) remaining newspapers and media."<sup>8</sup>

Pakistan is constitutionally a democratic country. Nazia, a media critic, has stated in a newspaper (Dawn) article:

The father of the nation (Muhammad Ali Jinnah) had a clear vision of the future polity of the newborn state of Pakistan. Being himself a product of the democratic process, he remained throughout his life a firm believer in the supremacy of law. He had a clear notion of the norms of parliamentary government, which rests on four pillars - the executive, the legislative, the judiciary and the fourth estate (press). He was well aware of the specific duties and functions of these powerful institutions.<sup>9</sup>

The majority of Pakistani journalists believed that the role of the Pakistani press after the country achieved independence was to create a moral, social and political regeneration of the people of Pakistan in the true spirit of democracy so that an ideally equitable social system could be brought into vogue.<sup>10</sup> They also held the view that only a democratic press could provide for all the people an unbiased flow of public information and public opinion and, thus, help the people discover the truth.<sup>11</sup>

However, out of its 40 years of existence, Pakistan has been ruled for 23 years by "the men in uniform [the military] with guns and whips in their hands."<sup>12</sup> According to M. A. Majid, a well-known journalist, "With the exception of the first few years following the emergence of

Pakistan as a modern country, the press has had to function in an atmosphere made unbearably stifling by the very large number of controls, and inhibitions imposed by a succession of despots who were known for their strong aversion to any form of dissent or assertion of basic right."<sup>13</sup>

In the democratic election of 1988, which resulted because of Zia's death in an airplane crash, one of Benazir Bhutto's election campaign promises was that freedom would be given to the media.<sup>14</sup> When she assumed office as Pakistan's Prime Minister, she addressed the nation and said, " The freedom of press is the base of a successful democracy. Therefore, the new democratic regime will cancel all the laws against the freedom of press to create a free democratic press in Pakistan."<sup>15</sup>

#### Statement of the Problem

This research study examines the press in 1978 and in 1989 because during these two periods the press functioned under two different types of government with different press policies. This study applies Hachten's five concepts of the world press, in order to examine whether Pakistani press performance under different political systems and its expected role as expressed in the five concepts.<sup>1</sup>

#### Purpose of the Study

The press is known as the fourth pillar of a state.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hachten has described the world press theories in his book The World News Prism (1987).

It has become part of every society because of its useful role. In Pakistan, however, the authoritarian regime under Zia did not allow the media to work within its needed role of nation building.<sup>17</sup> The purpose of this study is to compare the role of the Pakistani press under democracy to its role under military rule, and to examine the differences in press performance between the two different political systems.

### Objectives and Methodology

#### Research Objectives

The primary question the study attempts to answer is "In what ways has the content of Pakistani newspapers changed in terms of coverage of the government between 1978 and 1989?" Subordinate questions follow from the main research question:

- 1) How has each newspaper responded to the libertarian press system of the Bhutto regime, compared with the Zia authoritarian?
- 2) How do the two newspapers differ from each other in terms of content direction, since one is classified as a "quality" newspaper and the other as a "popular" newspaper, in 1978 and in 1989?
- 3) Were some topics covered more extensively during one type of government than during the other?
- 4) Are Western theories of the press validated to explain the system of Pakistani press under

different types of political systems?

### Methodology

The research method used was content analysis. Content analysis can be systematically used to detect policy shifts and differences in the mass media.<sup>18</sup> Content analysis is a powerful tool in determining a variety of variables that are associated with contents.<sup>19</sup>

The study examined the content of two Pakistani daily newspapers, MUSRAQ (popular-type newspaper) and NAWA-I-Waqt (quality-type newspaper). The intent of the study was to identify the content of a randomly selected sample of newspapers dating from 1978 (dictatorship) and of another sample dating from 1989 (democracy).

The Pakistani newspapers are divided into two types: "popular" and "quality" newspapers by Pakistani journalism scholars.<sup>20</sup> According to professors Mehdi and Khurshid, the popular newspapers indulge in "cheap tactics" by concentrating on news of crimes (especially sex-crimes), movie gossip, scandals and other such news areas, because this is what the people want. The chief function of the quality newspaper, however, is to report current events and interpret them for its readers. According to Mehdi and Khurshid, it is also an important and proper function for quality newspapers to comment on matters of public interest in order to offer guidance to the public, enlighten them, and provide a forum for the expression and exchange of opinion.<sup>21</sup>

## Significance of the Study

The results of this study will be beneficial for the following groups:

1) Pakistani newspaper readers. In general, the purpose of the press is to inform, educate, and to entertain. Therefore, newspaper readers want to understand to what extent they are informed on governmental/intellectual/ and political news by their press. This study can provide some information on the Pakistani newspapers, examine whether the readers are well informed, and explain the role of the press in Pakistani society. This study can help the Pakistani people better understand the role and performance of the press.

2) Critics of the media. The media have been criticized by both media professionals and non-media professionals because of the vital role the media play in society. The results of this study can provide some information on the Pakistani press to media critics so they can understand the role of the media, and examine how media behave. Criticism based on research results can be more valid, valuable, and objective.

3) Media Practitioners and Scholars. This research study will contribute to the understanding of the changes that occurred to the Pakistani press because of its operation under two different government systems. Both media practitioners and media scholars can then decide whether the level of government control accounts for media

performance, as many of the Pakistani press professionals have been claiming. Furthermore, the results of this research project will help media practitioners to understand and recognize media flaws, faults, and both the good and bad impact the media have on society. Furthermore, this research study will test how the Pakistani press operates in accordance with the different theories of the press.

4) Students. Data and results provided by this research project may serve as reference materials for further studies of the Pakistani press by journalism and other social sciences students.

#### Limitations of the Research

Generally speaking, content analysis follows the basic experimental procedure, with some variations. Therefore, the study is limited by the characteristics of the research method. This examination is limited to a few dimensions-- limited by the sample size of the newspaper population, the choice of dates to examine, and the use of only two newspapers. Finally, this study is limited to examination of only one country: Pakistan.

#### Organization of the Study

Chapter II overviews review of literature and the press under military rule (1977-1988). In addition to this, the chapter discusses the five theories of the press. Furthermore, this chapter presents the meanings of "quality" versus "popular" newspapers in Pakistan. Chapter II also

reports on similar studies of media changes prompted by changes in political systems.

Chapter III explains the research methodology of the study.

Chapter IV reports the research findings and the results of the statistical analysis.

Chapter V contains a summary of the study, presents the conclusions, and makes recommendations on the Pakistani press as well as recommendations for further studies.

## Endnotes

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19. Ibid.
20. Hasan, p. 128.



21. Ibid., p. 129.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses how "popular" and "quality" newspapers differ in the Pakistani context. The second section describes the world press theories, and their applications to the study. The next section reports the performance of the Pakistani press under the Zia military government. Finally, the chapter reports research studies related to similar studies of media change promoted by alterations in the political system.

#### Quality Newspapers vs. Popular Newspapers

Mehdi Hasan, a journalism professor in the University of the Punjab, divided Pakistani newspapers into two main types: "quality" newspapers for the highbrow reader and the "popular" newspapers for the common man.<sup>1</sup> He claims that there used to be only one type of newspaper, "quality," in Pakistan. However, in the 1960s a major and fundamental change came in the wake of urbanization in Pakistan when newspaper readership expanded at a terrific pace and, side-by-side with the elite of the society, the common man felt a thirst for news. It was the beginning of the "popular"

newspaper in the country.<sup>2</sup>

Hasan described the "popular" press in this way: "The popular newspaper indulges in cheap tactics by giving news of crime and sex, movie gossip, scandal and several other things; it is because the people desire these things."<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, Javed Iqbal, a media critic, explained the evolution of the popular newspaper in this way:

...emphasis on the profit motive led to the popular press in Pakistan. Increasing circulation which in turn leads to lowering of standards by introducing sensationalism, play-up of crime and sex news, scandals of film stars and public figures, frivolous ways of dealing with public matters, comic strips, movie gossip, advice to the lovelorn, and columns like 'what the stars foretell', pseudo-psychological notes, and a predominance of pictures.<sup>4</sup>

Compared to the popular newspapers, quality newspapers are the main source of information, discussion, and advocacy for the public; they are non-sensational and their target reader is well-educated, intellectual, and an information seeker.<sup>5</sup> Quality newspapers report current events and interpret them to its readers. They comment on matters of public interest for the guidance of the public, to inform, educate, entertain, and enlighten its readers, and they provide a forum for the expression and exchange of opinion. Quality newspapers struggle to portray the true picture of any event and try to represent themselves as an important medium of mass-communication.<sup>6</sup>

#### Theories of the Press

After eleven years of Zia's military rule in Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto was elected Prime Minister of the country.

The country experienced political change. Based on this background, it is interesting to examine how the press is performing under Bhutto's democratic rule, compared to military authoritarian rule. They both are drastically different political, economic, and social systems.

In 1956, Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm suggested their "Four Theories" of the press which categorized the world's press system into four models of authoritarian, libertarian, Soviet Communism and social responsibility.<sup>7</sup> This division of world press was based on the theory that the mass media of the world are still surrounded by the political, geographical and social boundaries of the First, Second, and Third Worlds.

William Hachten attempted to update the applications of Siebert's four theories and he came up with five concepts of the press: authoritarian, Western, communist, revolutionary, and developmental.<sup>8</sup>

Zia's rule was a military dictatorship; therefore, the political value of his rule was authority. On the other hand, Benazir Bhutto's rule was the result of the 1988 franchise elections. The value of her regime was democracy (freely chosen government). Moreover, Bhutto, being the Prime Minister, summed up the role of the Pakistani press: a free press without government control.

The political trend of events led to debates and discussions as to what press theory the military and democratic regimes fit in. A discussion of the theories of the press is appropriate here to facilitate an easy

understanding of where the Pakistani press belongs in these two different types of political systems.

### Authoritarianism

The authoritarian concept originated from the philosophy of absolute power of the monarch, his government, or both. The chief purpose of the press under the authoritarian state is to support and advance the policies of the government in power and to service the state. Not everyone has the right to use the media. The monarch grants royal patent or similar permission to whomever he pleases, and ownership could be private or public. Under the authoritarian regime, criticism of political machinery and officials in power is forbidden as the press is controlled through government patents, guilds, licensing, and sometimes censorship.<sup>9</sup> Hachten described the authoritarian theory this way: "No media facility can be used to challenge, criticize, or undermine the rulers. The press must function for the good of the state, support the status quo, and not advocate change or criticize the nation's leadership."<sup>10</sup>

Denis McQuail summarized the main principles of the authoritarian press in the following way:

- Media should always (or ultimately) be subordinate to established authority.
- Media should do nothing which could undermine established authority or disturb order.
- Media should avoid offense to majority, or dominant, moral and political values.

- Censorship can be justified to enforce these principles.
- Unacceptable attacks on authority, deviations from official policy or offenses against moral codes should be criminal offenses.
- Journalists or other media professionals have no independence within their media organization.<sup>11</sup>

It is easy to identify authoritarian theory in pre-democratic societies and in societies that are openly dictatorial or repressive, for instance, under conditions of military rule, occupation or martial law.<sup>12</sup>

#### Libertarianism or Free Press theory

This press concept was traced back to England and the America colonies of the seventeenth century. It originated from the writings of Locke, Mill, Milton, and the philosophy of rationalism and natural rights.<sup>13</sup>

Free press theory is now widely regarded as the main legitimating principle for print media in liberal democracies. The chief purpose of the libertarian press is to inform, entertain, and sell-- chiefly to help discover the truth, however splintered it may be, in a plurality of voices, and to check on government. It is impossible to do this if the press is controlled by someone outside itself. Thus, the media are controlled by a "self-righting process of truth" in a "free market place of ideas," and their actions defined by courts.<sup>14</sup>

Hachten defined freedom of the press as the right of the press to report, comment on, and criticize its own government without retaliation or threat of retaliation from that government. This has been called the "right to talk politics."<sup>15</sup> He further stated, "the free concept holds most strongly that a government -- any government, here or abroad--should not interfere in the process of collection and dissemination of news. This press, in theory, must be independent of authority and, of course, exist outside of government and be well protected by law and custom from arbitrary government interference."<sup>18</sup>

Denis McQuail summed up the theory this way:

- Publication should be free from any prior censorship by any third party.
- The act of publication and distribution should be open to a person or group without permit or license.
- Attack on any government, official or political party (as distinct from attacks on private individuals or treason and breaches of security) should not be punishable, even after the event.
- There should be no compulsion to publish anything.
- Publication of 'error' is protected equally with that of truth, in matters of opinion and belief.
- No restriction should be placed on the collection, by legal means, of information for publication.

- There should be no restriction on export or import or sending or receiving 'messages' across national frontiers.
- Journalists should be able to claim a considerable degree of professional autonomy within their organization.<sup>17</sup>

### Social Responsibility

The Social Responsibility theory of the press was developed in the United States in the 20th century, from the writing of W. E. Hocking, Commission for the Freedom of the Press and Practitioners. It is also an outgrowth of the media codes. The purpose of this theory is to inform, entertain, and sell, just like the libertarian press, but it goes further by "raising conflict to the plane of discussion and assuming the obligation of social responsibility," both in its performance per se and its treatment of societal values.<sup>18</sup> The main impetus of the theory was a growing awareness that in some important respects the free market had failed to fulfill the promise of press freedom and to deliver expected benefits to society.<sup>19</sup>

The main principles of social responsibility theory, according to McQuail, can be stated as follows:

- Media should accept and fulfil certain obligations to society.
- These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity



and balance.

- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.
- The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder or give offence to minority groups.
- The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.
- Society and the public, following the first named principle, have a right to expect high standards of performance and intervention, and can be justified to secure the welfare of the public.
- Journalists and media professionals should be accountable to society as well as to employers and the market.<sup>20</sup>

#### Developmental theory

The starting point for "development theory" of mass media was the need in the process of nation building of newly independent countries of the third world. In this concept, the press plays a role in achieving national integration and economic development; in doing so the media may have unintentionally provided a rationale for autocratic press controls.<sup>21</sup> The media are used for positive uses in national development, for autonomy and cultural identity of the particular national society.<sup>22</sup>

Denis McQuail summed up the theory in this way:

- Media should accept and carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally established policies.
- Freedom of the media should be open to restriction according to (1) economic priorities and (2) development needs of society.
- Media should give priority in their content to the national culture and language.
- Media should give priority to news and information that links with other developing countries which are close geographically, culturally or politically.
- Journalists and other media workers have responsibilities as well as freedoms in the information-gathering and dissemination tasks.
- In the interest of development ends, the state has a right to intervene in, or restrict, media operations, and devices of censorship, subsidy and direct control can be justified.<sup>23</sup>

#### Change of Rule in Pakistan

The death of Zia brought a new era of politics in Pakistan. He died in an airplane crash on August 1988 while President.<sup>24</sup> As a result of his death, there was political upheaval. The caretaker (temporary) government decided to hold national elections on November 16, 1988. Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party came to power in

those elections. Bhutto's government initiated new policies in foreign affairs, economics, and promised internal changes in the areas of human, political and democratic rights. One of her promises was a democratic free press for the country.<sup>25</sup>

### The Press in Pakistan

The Pakistani press is a direct descendant of the so-called Muslim or League Press of a pre-independent India.<sup>26</sup> It played a vital role in advancing the demands for a separate, independent Muslim state in the Indian subcontinent against foreign British rule.<sup>27</sup> The history of the Pakistani press during British colonialism and imperialism in India is a story of the struggle for freedom, democracy, and human rights.<sup>28</sup>

Constitutionally, Pakistan is a democratic country. However, the country has had democratic governments for only sixteen years since its creation in 1947.<sup>29</sup> Poverty, lack of education and political awareness, because of the British colonial legacy, led the country to endless political chaos.<sup>30</sup> This political chaos set the scene for the military to take power from the democratic regimes.<sup>31</sup>

The country was ruled three times by the military of Pakistan. The most recent period of military rule was by General Zia and the longest in the forty-two-year history of Pakistan.<sup>32</sup>

## Governments of Pakistan (1947-1990)

Pakistan was created on August of 1947 as a result of a struggle for more than a century against the British rule in India. After the British left India, the country was divided into two countries, India for the Hindus, and Pakistan for the Muslims of India. After the creation of Pakistan, the country has had two types of governments, democracy and military dictatorship.

In the 42-year history of Pakistan, the country has had 19 years of civilian rule. The first was from 1947-58 by the Muslim League, the party which founded Pakistan. The second was from 1971-77 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party. After 13 years of General Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan's military rule, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party came into power in 1971. This civil rule of Bhutto was the result of the 1970 democratic elections ordered by General Yahya Khan.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's five-year rule was overthrown in army coup in July 5, 1977 led by General Zia-ul-Haq. All constitutional provisions were suspended by the military junta that seized power in 1977 and martial law was imposed.<sup>33</sup>

Zia ruled the country for eleven years. His rule ended when he died in an airplane crash on August 1988, as the President of Pakistan. As a result of his death, the caretaker government decided to hold national election, and Benazir Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party came to power in

those elections. Benazir Bhutto's rule is the third civilian rule in the history of Pakistan.

#### The Role of the Press under the Military

A Pakistani media critic, M. A. Majid, described the nature of Pakistan press under the military rule this way:

The present Pakistan Press can truly lay claim to a good deal of the political and spiritual patrimony of the pre-independence Muslim Press of India, and it carries the history of a proud struggle in advancing the demand for an independent Muslim state in India. On the other hand, after the creation of Pakistan, out of Pakistan's 40 years of existence, the country has been ruled for 23 years by the men in uniform (the military) with guns and whips in their hands. The long spell of authoritarianism has bred corruption, and given birth to a new press system in Pakistan.<sup>34</sup>

#### 1977 Martial law: Zia Takes Power

General Zia ul- Haq ruled the country from 1977 to 1988 as chief martial law administrator and President of Pakistan. On July 5, 1977, the army, led by Zia, removed Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's civilian regime from power, declared martial law, and all constitutional provisions were suspended, including all fundamental rights.<sup>35</sup>

According to Zamir Niazi, a well known Pakistani journalist, "the post-1977 era will be remembered as among the worst periods in the history of journalism in Pakistan. It is noted for the strangulation and the humiliation of the press."<sup>36</sup> Zia's military government imposed censorship and press laws to take away the freedom of the press. He forcefully controlled the press to avoid any kind of

criticism of him or his government.<sup>37</sup> Zia's military government was insensitive to public opinion; therefore, his regime controlled free expression and thinking. The main concern of his government was to stay in power by any means possible.<sup>38</sup>

A report on Pakistan in the Encyclopedia of the Third World, published in 1982, commented on the state of freedom and human rights in Pakistan:

...The human rights situation has progressively deteriorated in Pakistan under President Zia. Combining Islamic puritanism with authoritarianism, Zia has eliminated all vestiges of freedom in the country. According to Martial Law Order No. 72, inserted as an amendment to the constitution, military courts are authorized to try virtually all criminal and civil cases in Pakistan. As a results, the press had no civil courts to protect its constitutional rights."<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, the report said: "The 1973 constitution (made by the elected National Assembly of Pakistan) ended censorship and provided guarantees for the freedom of the press. But relations between the press and Zia are strained. Government reprisals against what it considered irresponsible journalism include the closure of four opposition newspapers. Pakistan ranks 59th among the nations of the world in press freedom in which it is scaled at -1 (on an index with +4 as the maximum and -4 as the minimum).<sup>40</sup>

Further, in 1983 the World Press Encyclopedia summarized the press under the Zia regime:

Years of authoritarian rule have robbed Pakistani media of much of their political influence. An opposition press has ceased to exist or, at least, does not pose any significant threat to the present government. The situation is not dissimilar to that in other developing countries under military dictatorships. However, given the right political climate, the Pakistani press might have -- and might yet -- become a flourishing and vigorous institution.<sup>41</sup>

#### Press Laws under Zia

Although the freedom of the press is guaranteed by the

1973 Constitution of Pakistan, Zia's military government imposed restrictions, censorship, and press laws to take away the freedom of press. The Constitution of 1973, amended in 1979 by the military regime, stated:

Every citizen shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression. There shall be freedom of the press, subject to any reasonable restrictions imposed by the law in the security, or defense of Pakistan or any part thereof, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or in relations to contempt of court, defamation or incitement of an offense.<sup>42</sup>

In the Constitution, there is a right of free speech and expression, but with "reasonable" restrictions. Zia's government imposed restrictions in the name of "constitutional restriction." Under martial law, the press has to accept any imposed restriction by the government because the civil courts cannot challenge any law made under the martial law rule. Therefore, democratic press freedoms under military rule were for all practical purposes, dead.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the restriction implicit in the language of the Constitution, the military government introduced its own decrees, regulations and laws, threatening the press from every side. Zia's administration also used an old press ordinance which was introduced by General Ayub's military government in 1963; it was known as the "West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance." According to this Ordinance, without permission of the government, no one would start any publication. In addition to that, by using this ordinance, Zia's administration broadened the definition of "objectionable material" so that a publisher

could be penalized for practically any printed word or sketch disliked by the government. The publisher is usually required to deposit a very large security bond, which he cannot afford to lose. If he does not own his own press, printers may be persuaded to drop him the moment the government threatens action against his paper.<sup>44</sup>

One of the other restrictive laws was Martial Law Regulation 49, (MLA 49), which prohibits the publication of views contrary to Islam and the ideology and integrity of Pakistan. Government actions under this regulation cannot be challenged in a civil court.<sup>45</sup>

Niazi described the press laws under Zia's government this way:

Never in the history of this country have so many black laws been on the Statute Book at one and the same time. With the Press and Publications Ordinance, MLR 49, amendments in Sections 499 and 500 of the Pakistan Penal Code and the Second Schedule of the Criminal Procedure Code, the obnoxious press advice system, and controls on distribution of newsprint and advertisements, possibilities of objective, independent reporting and writing were eliminated. An all-out effort was made to silence those papers which had a tradition of mirroring the other side of the coin.<sup>46</sup>

### Censorship

Censorship was used as another tool to control the press. Formal censorship was imposed on the Pakistani press in October 1979 by Zia's military regime and was not replaced completely until 1985.<sup>47</sup> Every letter to the editor was censored and paragraphs were cut by the information ministry before publishing. Blank spaces were a



common occurrence in newspaper columns. Neither truth nor public interest could be used to justify publication of news items that censors considered offensive."<sup>48</sup>

Viewpoint, a weekly magazine in English, was placed under total censorship on February 1979. The order from the government Department of Information served on the printer-publisher said:

It has lately been observed that the order of pre-censorship as aforementioned has been frequently violated and is not being properly observed by you. In order to secure its proper enforcement, it has been decided by the Government that henceforth final copy of the newspaper will be shown to the Scrutiny Committee before it is sent to the press for printing. You are hereby required to comply with this order of the Government in letter and spirit immediately.<sup>49</sup>

Formal censorship was replaced by self-censorship after two years, two months and 26 days on January 1, 1982, the longest period of five-year censorship in the history of Pakistan. <sup>50</sup> However, during this period of censorship, the people became more dependent on foreign sources to get news. The country's mass media lost their credibility. According to a 1984 survey done by the British Broadcasting System (BBC), there was a regular audience of 10 million adult listeners of the BBC Urdu (Pakistan's national language) service in Pakistan alone. The survey published in the 1984 BBC Handbook further claimed that the All-India Radio had a "somewhat larger audience in Pakistan-58.5 percent against BBC's 46.8 percent."<sup>51</sup>

### Advertising as a Tool to Control

Zia's government devised a number of checks to keep the media under pressure and to penalize newspapers. Since one of the major sources of income of the Pakistani press was government advertising, Zia's administration used these government advertisements as a tool to control the press.<sup>52</sup> The list of newspapers that failed in 1980 alone because they were not in favor with the government and did not receive government advertisement included: Dawn, Jang, Nawa-i-Waqt, Hurriyet, Jasaret, Shabbaz, Mehran, Outlook, Frontier Post, and Pakistan Economist.<sup>53</sup>

Periodicals and book publishing suffered the same authoritarian control as did newspapers. Textbook publishing was formerly the mainstay of the private publishing industry. However, under the Zia government, it was taken over by the government. The government made many changes in textbooks to promote its policies and concept of Pakistani culture.<sup>54</sup> There were very few good and well-stocked bookstores because there were few available textbooks, and textbooks had been the backbone of most bookstore sales. Some bookstores were in business only at the beginning of the school year and sold stationery the remainder of the time; they did not have any writings against the government to sell.<sup>55</sup>

Because of the government's control, very few books on political and social issues could be published under Zia's regime. Nevertheless, historical fiction celebrating the

glorious past of Islam and religious literature were widely available because there was no government control on them.<sup>56</sup>

#### Use Of Direct Force to Close Newspaper

General Zia's regime also used direct force in 1978 to close the Pakistan People's Party newspaper, Musawat, which was published by a trust. The editor of the paper was arrested without any reasons given. Moreover, the editor and the printer of The Sun were sentenced to ten lashes and a year of hard labor for printing an abusive line about General Zia.<sup>57</sup> In May 1978, eleven newspapers were banned and required to deposit securities; thirteen others were fined and two nationalized.<sup>58</sup>

Under Zia's regime, the press was the extension of the government voice. Dissent, disagreement, and criticism -- even in mild forms -- were prohibited.<sup>59</sup> Zia addressed the nation on March 1980 and said: "I could close down all the newspapers, say, for a period of five years, and nobody would be in a position to raise any voice against it. If they [journalists] try to organize a meeting or procession, I will send them to jail."<sup>60</sup>

#### Arrests of Journalists

Many Pakistani journalists were arrested under the military rule of Zia. S.G.M. Badruddin, editor of the daily, Musawat, was arrested on July 20, 1977, under a charge of writing against the martial law in Pakistan.<sup>61</sup>

Another journalist, Mahmud Sham, managing director and editor of the weekly Mayar, was arrested in 1978 for publishing a confidential directive issued by the Ministry of Interior. This directive listed the names of certain persons who were prohibited from leaving the country.<sup>62</sup> The editor of a Lahore monthly magazine, Urdu Digest, Alta Hussain Qureshi, and the resident editor of Musawat, Nazir Naji, were arrested in 1979 under the authority of MLR 13 for criticizing the military regime.<sup>63</sup>

Bashir Ahmad Rana, editor of daily Sadaqat, was sentenced under MLR 13. He was picked up from his office without any arrest warrant. Rana had been arrested for criticizing the central budget under the headline in January 1981: "General's Budget: a Disaster."<sup>64</sup>

On New Year's Day 1981, the chief editor of Karachi weekly Al-Fatah, Irshal Rao, editor Wahab, assistant editor Wahid Bashir, and calligraphist Zamin Ali Shah were arrested on charges of "clandestine" printing and dissemination of "subversive literature."<sup>65</sup>

Journalists were also whipped under the Zia rule. According to Niazi, May 13, 1978 was the blackest day in the history of journalism in the subcontinent when four newsmen were ordered to be flogged by military courts.<sup>66</sup> According to a Pakistani newspaper (Azad) report, "four out of 11 newsmen, who were awarded sentences of lashes in addition to rigorous imprisonment and fine, were flogged tonight (May 13, 1978) i.e., the sentences of lashes were executed within 70 minutes after the judgment awarded by the

military courts."<sup>67</sup> The government action shocked the entire journalist community and a number of senior newsmen from all over the country expressed their anger and protected against the government. In less than two months, over 150 journalists were arrested in different cities because of their protest.<sup>68</sup>

### Electronic Media

Television and radio were owned solely by the government of Pakistan under Zia's military regime. Television and radio news, under Zia's rule, reflected only the government's point of view.<sup>69</sup> The basic purpose of TV was to promote the government's policies. Zia's government used radio and television as a vehicle not only for publicizing government programs, but for the promotion of government personalities. His government wished to be seen as champions of developmental issues.<sup>70</sup>

### Press Agencies

Through the government-owned Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), by far the largest domestic news agency in Pakistan in terms of subscribers, the government was able to influence the content of the nation's news media. The other two major news services were the Pakistan Press International (IPP) and the United Press of Pakistan (UPP). Both of these services were under semi-government control; they had freedom to operate but without publishing the opposition's point of view.<sup>71</sup>

Because foreign news services cannot operate independently in Pakistan, many had associated themselves with one or the other of the Pakistani agencies. APP had links with Reuters of Great Britain, Deutsche Press Agency of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS), and New China News Agency (NCNA) of the Republic of China. PPI was associated with the Associated Press of the United States, and Agency France-Press.<sup>72</sup>

In this way, none of the international mass media which operated in Pakistan was directly connected with foreign news services; the foreign press was dependent on the Pakistan news services to get Pakistan news and these local news agencies were under the government's control.

### Foreign Press

Along with the domestic media, Zia's regime imposed controls on foreign correspondents and the few Pakistanis working for foreign publications. One of the foreign correspondents, Salamal Ali (a Pakistani), of the Dow Jones-owned Far East Economic Review, was accused and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for promoting national disunity because he was covering banned political activities against the military government -- a crime for which the maximum punishment is death. However, his imprisonment caused an international uproar and the government was forced to release him.<sup>73</sup>

After three-years of Zia's rule in 1982, all the

political parties in Pakistan decided to launch the Movement for the Restoration of the Democracy (MRD), against Zia's dictatorship. A ban on foreign newspapers and magazines was imposed in 1982, so the government could control the press not only in Pakistan but also overseas during the MRD movement. Although the MRD agitated for the restoration of democracy, the ban on the foreign press controlled the opposition's voice against the military dictatorship in other countries.<sup>74</sup>

Among foreign newspapers and periodicals, Reader's Digest, Time, and Newsweek have a wide circulation in Pakistan. Newsweek was banned in December 1979 because it published an imaginary picture of Muhammad (the prophet of Islam) and carried a critical report on the burning of the U.S. Embassy in Pakistan.<sup>75</sup>

#### Consequences of the Military Rule

According to a journalism professor from the University of the Punjab, Mujahid Mansoori, the following were the consequences of Zia's oppression of the press.

- People were more dependent on foreign sources to get information, for example, B.B.C, V.O.A., and All India Radio were generally known as sources of news.
- Society developed "word-of-mouth" (oral, person to person flow of information) rather than the modern technology of mass communication used in the mass media.
- The media could not represent effectively the native

cultural, traditional, or social values and attitudes. As a result, imported (foreign) media content became more prominent in the mass media of Pakistan.

- The lack of trust in the official media created a basic flaw in the traditionally close link between the people and the government.
- The government could not get real feedback from the masses because of its control over the expression of opposing points of view. This affected political and economic decision making.
- The media neither developed itself nor contributed, at a major level, to the development of the society. According to official sources, the mass media in Pakistan are still very underdeveloped. Official figures in Pakistan show that only 1.8 copies of newspapers, 2.9 radio sets, 0.7 television sets, and 0.6 cinema seats are available for every 100 persons. The minimum universal standard set by UNESCO is 10 newspapers, 4 radios, 2 televisions, and 2 cinema seats for every 100 persons.
- The result of this direct or indirect government control was that the mass media institutions could be seen as extensions of the government bureaucracy.<sup>76</sup>

#### Summary of Press Conditions Under Zia

The freedom of the press was nullified under the martial law codes. Both radio and television were directly state-owned; the only use of these electronic media was to serve



the state and the government who had control. Film making was restricted by the Censorship Board. Zia's government controlled the media and took not only the freedom of expression away, but it also gave no room to the media to serve in the development of the nation and the state.<sup>77</sup>

The purpose of the media was to support and advance the policies of the government in power and to serve the state, the motivation behind this control was the continued survival of Zia's dictatorship. Zia's governmental control over finances, licenses, newsprint, and censorship by undemocratic laws and restrictions, made it next to impossible for the media to reflect a point of view other than that which was either explicitly sanctioned by the government or perceived to be "safe" or favorable to the government's view.<sup>78</sup>

#### Where the Pakistani Press Belongs

Based on the above information, the Pakistani press in Zia's rule fits perfectly with the authoritarian press theory. The press under Zia's dictatorship was an instrument for effecting government policy, though not necessarily government-owned.

There is a clear distinction among the press concepts of libertarianism, social responsibility, and developmental. The libertarian press is an instrument for checking on government and meeting other needs of society. The socially-responsible press functions similarly, but the media assume obligations of social responsibility. However,

the press in Pakistan under Zia's rule did not have any freedom to check on government.

There is a clear distinction between the authoritarian and developmental theories of the press. In the developmental concept the press can be controlled just like under the authoritarian system, but the press serves the cause of nation building, not that of the authority. Under the Zia government, the press was not controlled for any nation building task; it was controlled to serve the State authority.

The death of Zia brought an end to his authoritarian rule. Benazir Bhutto came to power after winning the August 1988 national election in Pakistan. Bhutto and Zia's rules are drastically different political, economic, and social systems. The libertarian press system requires democracy to function. Bhutto's government initiated new policies in foreign affairs, economics, and promised internal changes in the areas of human, political and democratic rights. One of her promises was a democratic free press for the country.<sup>78</sup>

#### Previous Studies on the Press

Little research has been done on the comparison of the Pakistani press between the military and democratic rules. The research findings cited in this paper are related to this study because they have included the status of freedom of the Pakistani press under different political systems.

- 1) Freedom of the Press in Pakistan: A Report for 1972.

The research was done by Naila Aziz in the department of Journalism, University of the Punjab in 1973. The purpose of the research was to determine the status of press freedom in Pakistan. Aziz concluded that the idea of press freedom in Pakistan cannot be understood in comparison to the idea of press freedom in Western countries. Freedom of the press in the Western countries is a result of a long struggle for democracy and free expression over the centuries; whereas, in new democracies like Pakistan these traditions are yet to be established. Such governments are not very rooted in democratic traditions. They are intolerant of criticism, and in addition to oppressive legislative actions, they use other pressure tactics like newsprint control, offering of bribes, and manipulation of government advertising in dealing with the press. Furthermore, in some cases, the administration uses emergency laws rather than normal legislation to abridge press freedom.<sup>20</sup>

2) Evolution of the press laws in Pakistan by Noor-ul-Ann Humara. This was an historical research project on the Pakistani press laws. The research was done by a student of the Department of Mass Communication in the University of the Punjab in 1989.

The research concludes that the Pakistani press laws are the legacy of foreign rule (British Colonialism in India, 1857-1947). Neither democratic nor military dictatorships in Pakistan had replaced the colonial press laws which restrict freedom of the press. Almost all the Pakistani governments had used these colonial laws against the freedom

of press.

Humara summed up the tools which have been used commonly by different governments to curb the freedom of the press:

- Mandatory government permission to publish a newspaper.
- Unfair distribution of the government advertisement among the country's newspapers.
- Bans on printing.
- Government control over printing supplies.
- Pressure to publish the official view from the government.<sup>81</sup>

3) The Mass media and Development in Pakistan by Shuja Nawaz. This was a research paper on the role of the Pakistani press. The paper was published in Asian Survey, in August 1983. The researcher concluded that the mass media should have a role in the development of Pakistan since the media should be a means to the attainment of national objectives. Shuja described the new aim of the mass media for the 1980s: " The primary aim of the media for this decade appears to be the oft promised but oft postponed one of helping Pakistan establish a cultural, political, economic, and social identity, independent of alien forms and organizations and reflecting "mirroring" native values and aspirations."<sup>82</sup>

4) A study of the history of press freedom in Pakistan by Dr. Mehdi Hasan. This is qualitative research on the history of the Pakistani press by a faculty member (Dr. Mehdi Hasan) of the Department of Mass Communication,

University of the Punjab, in 1989.

Hasan concluded that the history of the press cannot be separated from the history of the nation in which the press exists. If one wants to study the trends of the press in the past, one must study the history of the nation as well.

According to his findings, the press laws in Pakistan were based on the British colonial laws. For the British, freedom of the press could be helpful for freedom fighters in India who were against British rule. Therefore, the British government needed a control over the press to stop any expression against the British rule.<sup>83</sup> Mehdi said that the tradition of controlling the press did not change after the independence of the country. All the rulers of Pakistan think like the Neo-colonial British: a free press would hurt their rule. His findings suggested that Pakistan needs democratic press laws, so the press can perform its democratic role and serve the nation without any government control.

#### Newspapers, Background

##### Nawa-i-Waqt

Nawa-i-Waqt is one of the oldest Urdu (Pakistani national language) newspapers of Pakistan. A milestone in Urdu journalism was the appearance of Nawa-i-Waqt, which was founded by Messrs Hamid Nizami and Shabbur Hasan in 1940 as a weekly, and was converted into a daily in 1944.<sup>84</sup> The main purpose behind the creation of this newspaper was to

advocate the Muslim cause of freedom from the British colonialism. After the independence of the country, it was this paper which for the first time introduced simplicity in style, straightforwardness, sobriety and objectivity in Urdu journalism.<sup>85</sup>

In its early days, this paper supported the demands of the Pakistani readers and established a good reputation among the Muslim population of the area. After independence Nawa-i-Waqt started voicing the sentiments of the opposition parties, and especially during times of martial law, on every such instance, this paper supported the government opposition very bravely and advocated for the restoration of democracy.<sup>86</sup>

This newspaper contains typically 8 to 16 pages, and has a daily circulation of 275,000.<sup>87</sup> Nawa-i-Waqt is being published in four cities (Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan and Karachi) simultaneously.

#### Musraq

The daily newspaper Musraq was started in 1963 by the late Mr. Inayat Ullah. In 1964 Musraq was taken over by the National Press Trust.<sup>88</sup> The National Press Trust is the biggest group of Pakistani newspapers, sponsored and controlled by the government. Musraq is published at Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, and Quetta simultaneously. The daily circulation of the newspaper is approximately 200,000 or slightly higher.<sup>89</sup>

Musraq started a new trend of "popular" journalism in

Pakistan.<sup>80</sup> That is because the newspaper was owned by the government-controlled National Press Trust and could not afford to speak out against government policies.<sup>81</sup>

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## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

Content analysis is an efficient way to detect policy emphasis, shifts, and differences over a period of time in the print, broadcast, or written content of the mass media. This procedure enabled the researcher to establish if there were significant differences in government news coverage between the two newspapers under two different types of governments.

Berelson has defined content analysis as "a research technique for objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of content analysis is further explained by Laswell as follows:

Content analysis aims at a classification of content in more precise, numerical terms than is provided by the impressionistic. It provides a precise means of describing the contents of any sort of communications -- newspapers, radio programs, films, everyday conversations, verbalized free associations, etc. The operations of content analysis consist of classifying the signs occurring in a communication into a set of appropriate categories. The results state the frequency of occurrence of signs for each category in the classification scheme.<sup>2</sup>

The study examined the content of two Pakistani daily newspapers. Every government related news item was read from the sample of the newspapers, themes were identified,

coded and subjected to statistical procedures to answer the problem statement. Musraq was chosen as the representative of popular newspapers and Nawa-i-Waqt as the representative of quality newspapers.

### Newspaper Profile

#### Nawa-i-Waqt Profile

Nawa-i-Waqt is one of the oldest Urdu (Pakistani national language) newspapers of Pakistan. This newspaper typically contains 8 to 16 pages, and has a daily circulation of 275,000.<sup>3</sup> Nawa-i-Waqt is being published in four cities (Lahore, Rawalpindi, Multan and Karachi) simultaneously.

#### Musraq Profile

The daily newspaper Masraq was started in 1963 by the late Mr. Inayat Ullah.<sup>4</sup> Masraq is published in Urdu, which is the Pakistani national language, at Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, and Quetta, simultaneously. The daily circulation is approximately 200,000 or slightly higher.<sup>5</sup>

#### Research Questions and Null Hypotheses

The primary problem the study attempted to answer was: In what ways has the content of Pakistani newspapers changed in terms of coverage of the government between 1978 and 1989? This problem was broken down into four research questions and null hypotheses.

Research question 1. How has each newspaper responded to the libertarian press system of the Bhutto regime, compared with the Zia authoritarian?

Null Hypothesis 1. There has been no change in the direction content of either newspaper under the Bhutto regime, compared with that under the Zia military government.

Research question 2. How do the two newspapers differ from each other in terms of content direction, since one is classified as a "quality" newspaper and the other as a "popular" newspaper, in 1978 in 1989?

Null Hypothesis 2. The two newspapers do not differ from one another in terms of content direction in 1978 and in 1989.

Research question 3. were some topics covered more extensively during one type of government than during the other?

Null Hypothesis 3. There is no difference in terms of coverage of topics during any one type of government.

Research question 4. Are western theories of the press validated to explain the system of Pakistani press under different types of political systems?

#### Definition of Terms

1) A quality newspaper is defined as a newspaper providing information, discussion, and advocacy on the public's behalf. Quality newspapers are non-sensational and their target reader is well-educated, intellectual, and an

information seeker. Nawa-i-Waqt is considered to be this type of newspaper. (Sources are cited in previous chapter)

2) A popular newspaper is defined as a daily newspaper which emphasizes soft, sensational news, and the type of news that attracts the common man; for example, news about crime and sex, scandals of film stars and public figures, and movie gossip are reported by popular newspapers. Musraq is considered to be this type of newspaper. (Sources are cited in previous chapter).

3) Political change is defined as a change in the type of government or the political system of one country. For example, the change of government in Pakistan from military rule in 1977 to the elected government in 1988 is such a change.

4) Western concepts of the press is defined as theories, concepts, or models used by Western (American or European) scholars in explaining the world press systems. One such example would be Hachten's five concepts of the press. Four theories of the world press are included in this study, which are Authoritarianism, Libertarianism, Social Responsibility, and Developmental theory of the press.

#### Population Of Interest

All news stories reported by Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1978 and 1989, regarding the government were considered as the population for the study.

Any item in these newspapers whose direct or indirect subject is government policies, orders, laws, plans at local

or national levels, whether attributed to a government or a non-government source, was considered coverage of the government. Any statement regarding the government attributed to a private person, public person, or government official was also part of the population.

### Sampling

A total of 24 issues, six issues by Nawa-i-Waqt and six issues by Musraq per year, was collected from the two time periods (years): January 1 to December 31, 1978, and January 1 to December 31, 1989. The selection of the sample size was based on Guido Stemple's study in 1952.<sup>6</sup>

The results of the Stemple study indicate that for content analysis of newspapers, a sample size of five would be adequate and that increasing the sample size beyond 12 does not produce marked differences in the results.<sup>7</sup>

A table of random digits was used to select the dates for the sample newspapers. A copy of each newspaper was selected for each date. From the table of random numbers, the following issues of the newspapers were selected.



TABLE I  
RANDOMLY SELECTED SAMPLE

| <u>1978</u>                 | <u>1989</u>                   |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| January 19, 1978 (Thursday) | March 4, 1989 (Saturday)      |
| March 3, 1978 (Friday)      | April 11, 1989 (Tuesday)      |
| May 24, 1978 (Wednesday)    | April 14, 1989 (Friday)       |
| August 13, 1978 (Sunday)    | May 12, 1989 (Friday)         |
| August 27, 1978 (Sunday)    | July 3, 1989 (Monday)         |
| December 25, 1978 (Monday)  | October 7, 1989<br>(Saturday) |

### Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis was a story about the government, defined as positive, negative, or neutral. A story is an article with a headline, a single piece of news, or a feature article. Headlines, subheadlines and photographs or illustrations were considered parts of the stories.

Both news and editorials were parts of the study. Opinion articles and editorials from the opinion page were considered items (stories). Furthermore, cartoons and photographs that are independent of a story were also counted as items. The items regarding the government in the weekly arts and culture supplements for both newspapers were also included in the content of the study.

### Categories of Analysis

Newspapers were read in order to identify content. The subject examined in the study was the coverage of government. Two coders (from Pakistan), after testing intercoder reliability, were asked to practice identification of content on samples of Nawa-i-Waqt and Musraq by working as a team, so they would have a chance to discuss problems concerning instruction. After the practice session, two categorical independent variables were named in the study 1) source of the coverage and 2) type of the coverage.

For coding purposes, one of the independent variables, source of coverage, was categorized as follow:

1) Coverage of the Government by a Government Source.

The sources of the stories codified in the following categories were considered to be government sources: Statements by a government spokesman, news releases by a government official or ministry, coverage of an oral statement from a government official including the head of the government, government press releases, handouts or advisories to the press, news which was cited from the government-owned radio or television stations, and direct coverage of a press conference by any government official or group.

2) Coverage of the Government by a Non-governmental source. The sources in this category were non-government sources, for example, a statement by a private figure,

politician, or political statements of a political party which was not a part of the government. All coverage of the government from any non-governmental source or person was considered to be a part of this category.

The second independent variable, type of coverage, was categorized as follow:

1) Political News. This category included stories or pictures which referred to the activities, decisions, proposals, ceremonies, or statements of the head of the government and cabinet members, officials in the government, parliament, political parties, political figures outside the parliament, internal conflicts or crises, elections, campaigns, government changes, diplomacy, and assassination of government officials or political figures were also included. Stories on military affairs, paramilitary organizations, armed conflict or threats, arms sales or purchases, weapons, military exercises or performance were also considered as parts of this study. Finally, reports of government officials performing their duties, and the government's policies, performance, relationship, or diplomatic activities with foreign countries were included in this study.

2) Developmental News. Developmental news is defined as information about the economy such as articles on trade, tariffs, capital investments, stock issues, economic performance, monetary data on the international debt, data on national budget or deficit, industrial projects, factories, agricultural matters or projects were included in

this category.

3) News on Human Rights. This category included stories or pictures concerning citizens' constitutional rights in Pakistan. For example, coverage on political, civil, and social rights, as well as coverage on right of expression, right to gather, and the right of a fair trial, were part of this category.

4) Editorial/Opinion/Comment. Any items reflecting personal opinions, views or comments with respect to the government were counted under this category. Every type of story defined in the three categories above was included in this category.

#### Coding

Items were double-coded according to: 1) Their primary subject and, 2) The direction of the item - positive, negative, or neutral. According to Stevenson, primary subjects are main actors of the story; they can be individuals, groups, subjects of the story, or other entities affecting or affected by events; they must be essential to the story in the sense that if the primary subject was omitted, the substance of the story would change.<sup>6</sup> Coders were instructed to look for specific evaluative references to the coverage of the government according to the defined categories, which was the primary subject of the newspaper items.

For the coding of the direction of the items, three codes were assigned: positive, negative, and neutral. In

Nawa-i-Waqt and one of Musraq out of 20 possible, in order to decide the category into which the items should be placed. Following this, the coders performed the direction categorization for each item, that is they positive (pro-government), negative (anti-government), or neutral.

### Statistical Analysis

Statistical comparisons were done to find results for the research carried out. For example, a comparison between coverage of 1978 and 1989 within the two newspapers, and between the two newspapers. The results of this study were categories or nominal data. Chi-square, a statistical tool designed to ascertain relationships between categories of frequencies was used. This technique compares observed frequencies with those theoretically expected to determine whether there are any marked or significant differences.<sup>10</sup>

Under the null hypothesis, the assumption made is that there are no statistically significant differences (or relationships) among the observed and expected frequencies. Should there be differences, and if these differences did not occur by chance, the researcher rejected the null hypothesis and drew the appropriate conclusions. For this study, the researcher rejected the null hypothesis if the observed frequencies could have occurred by chance 5 times out of 100, at the 0.05 level of significance.<sup>11</sup>

### Assumed Limitations

The generalizability of this examination is limited by

simple terms, the designation of the nature of the item was determined by applying a "good news - bad news" concept.

Stories which gave a favorable image of the government through appreciation or admiration of the government's policies, actions, plans, orders, rules, laws or information on the outstanding performance of the government were coded as positive. Examples of this would be: higher spending by the government on roads, education, and health, crime control, better protection of human rights, profitable trade with other countries, facilities for older people, better work conditions and improvement of the state of the educational system.

Stories which presented an unfavorable image of the government, a disliking or criticism of the government's policies, actions, plans, orders, rules and laws were coded as negative. For example: corruption among the government officials, police brutality, abuses of human rights or government instability.

Stories were coded as neutral when they could be viewed as presenting neither a favorable nor an unfavorable image, or only reporting information on the government policies or performance. For example, straight reporting on the budget speech by the finance minister, or straight reporting on the speech or message from the head of the state or a government official on Pakistan's Independence day, announcement of opening and closing dates of schools and universities for spring and summer breaks by the education ministry, or on an important religious day were coded as neutral.

Photographs and cartoons were coded as a part of the story they accompanied if they were not typographically and editorially independent of that story.

Each item was assigned only one code even if there was more than one topic in a story. For lengthy general stories which have positive, negative and neutral content, the coders were instructed to review the content together in order to make a collective decision to code the story under one major topic or direction. Classification was determined by content of the headline and lead paragraphs, even when the item later diverged into other topics or directions.

#### Intercoder Reliability

Two coders, both Pakistani graduate students at Oklahoma State University, categorized the items. The two coders had a good command of Urdu, and were instructed to evaluate each item independently. Coders A and B each coded half of the items. The randomly selected sample of the newspapers were randomly assigned equally to Coder A and B.

Regardless of the specific method of content analysis, the investigator has to question reliability. In simple terms, reliability means repeatability with consistency of results. According to Stempel, reliability in content analysis is a problem that the individual researcher must solve to his own satisfaction within the limits of his study design and resources.<sup>9</sup>

Inter-coder reliability of coding topics of news stories was tested by coding a randomly selected issue of

the characteristics of the research method. It is limited by the sample size of the newspaper population, the choice of dates to examine, and the use of only two newspapers. In addition to that, this study is limited to only one country.



## Endnotes

1. Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities (Massachusetts, 1969), p. 3.
2. Harold D. Laswell, "Studies in Quantitative Semantics," Language of Politics (New York, 1949), p. 55.
3. Ibid. p.126.
4. Ibid. p. 116.
5. Ibid. p. 125.
6. Guido H. Stempel, "Sample Size for Classifying Subject Matter in Dailies." Journalism Quarterly. (29), 1952. p. 333-334.
7. Ibid.
8. Robert L. Stevenson, and Donald Lewis Shaw, Foreign News and the World Information (Ames, 1984).
9. Guido H. Stempel, "The Reliability of a Content Analysis Technique," Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 32, No. 4 (Fall 1955), p. 10.
10. Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York, 1960).
11. Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS OF DATA

#### Intercoder Reliability

Intercoder reliability of coding topics of news stories was tested by coding a randomly selected issue of Nawa-i-Waqt and one of Musraq out of 20 possible, in order to decide the category into which the items should be placed. Following this, the coders performed the direction categorization for each item, deciding whether each item was positive, negative, or neutral (pro-government = positive, anti-government = negative, or neutral).

Results of the reliability category should meet the minimum reliability level of 85 percent specified by Kassajian.<sup>1</sup> As shown in Table II, the average intercoder reliability coefficients were .94 and 1.00 in the case of categories, and .90 and .95 in the case of direction. All these values were within acceptable levels according to Kassajian.

TABLE II  
INTERCODER RELIABILITY

| Coder 1 vs. 2     |      |
|-------------------|------|
| <u>Categories</u> |      |
| Nawa-i-Waqt       | 0.94 |
| Musraq            | 1.00 |
| <u>Direction</u>  |      |
| Nawa-i-Waqt       | 0.90 |
| Musraq            | 0.95 |

#### Findings

A total of 310 items was recorded. For the first period, 1978, Musraq had 90 items while Nawa-i-Waqt had 109; for the second period, 1989, Musraq had 42 items while Nawa-i-Waqt had 69 items.

For this research study, the level of confidence was set at 95% with a two-tail test. Tables III to IX show the frequency and percentages of the content distribution and direction by Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1978 and 1989.

Research question 1. How has each newspaper responded to the libertarian press system of the Bhutto regime, compared with the Zia authoritarian?

TABLE III  
 DIRECTION OF COVERAGE BY A GOVERNMENT SOURCE PRESENTED  
 BY MUSRAQ IN 1978 AND 1989

| Direction | 1978        | 1989        |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Positive  | 49 (89.09%) | 16 (88.88%) |
| Neutral   | 5 ( 9.09%)  | 2 (11.11%)  |
| Negative  | 1 ( 1.81%)  | none        |
| Total     | 55 (99.99%) | 18 (99.99%) |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.  
 Complex Chi Square Statistic = 0.3867  
 Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ ) = 6.000

The Chi Square analysis of direction of government related news by government sources in 1978 and 1989 by Musraq shows that the relationship of direction with year is not significant at the .05 level. This simply means that the observed differences might have been due to chance more than five times in a hundred. A lack of statistical significance may mean that there is no change in proportions of positive, neutral and negative items in Musraq from 1978 to 1989, at least with respect to news items from government sources.

TABLE IV  
DIRECTION OF COVERAGE BY A NON-GOVERNMENT SOURCE PRESENTED  
BY MUSRAQ IN 1978 AND 1989

| Direction | 1978        | 1989         |
|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| Positive  | 11 (31.42%) | 3 (12.50%)*  |
| Neutral   | 15 (42.85%) | 4 (16.66%)   |
| Negative  | 9 (25.71%)  | 17 (70.83%)* |
| Totals    | 35 (99.98%) | 24 (99.99%)  |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Complex Chi Square Statistic = 22.610

Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ ) = 6.000

\* indicates statistically significant differences.

The complex Chi Square analysis of article directions by non-government sources in Musraq in 1978 and 1989 shows a statistically significant difference in the distribution at the .05 level. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the difference is (as indicated by asterisks in the table above).

The results show that Musraq in 1989 contained fewer articles with neutral directions and more articles with negative directions than in 1978 with respect to news items from non-government sources.

TABLE V  
DIRECTION OF COVERAGE BY A GOVERNMENT SOURCE PRESENTED  
BY NAWA-I-WAQT IN 1978 AND 1989

| Direction             | 1978        | 1989        |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Positive<br>(75.00%)* | 45 (85.96%) | 21          |
| Neutral               | 8 (14.03%)  | 4 (14.28%)  |
| Negative<br>(10.71%)* | none        | 3           |
| Totals                | 53 (99.99%) | 28 (99.99%) |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Complex Chi Square Statistic = 6.3829

Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ ) = 6.000

\* indicates statistically significant differences.

The complex Chi Square analysis of article directions of a government source by Nawa-i-Waqt shows a statistically significant difference in article direction at the 0.05 level. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the difference is (as indicated by asterisks in the table above). The results show that Nawa-i-Waqt in 1989 contained fewer articles with positive direction and more articles with negative direction from government sources than in 1978.

TABLE VI

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE BY NON-GOVERNMENT SOURCES PRESENTED BY  
NAWA-I-WAQT IN 1978 AND 1989

| Direction | 1978        | 1989        |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Positive  | 10 (19.23%) | 4 ( 9.76%)  |
| Neutral   | 23 (44.23%) | 6 (14.63%)* |
| Negative  | 19 (36.54%) | 31 (75.61%) |
| Totals    | 52 (100%)   | 41 (100%)   |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.

Complex Chi Square Statistic = 14.3143

Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ ) = 6.000

\* indicates statistically significant differences.

The complex Chi Square analysis of direction of coverage when non-government sources are used by Nawa-i-Waqt between 1978 and 1989 shows a statistically significant difference in the distribution at the .05 level. A simple Chi Square test was conducted to find where the difference is (as indicated by asterisks in the table above). The results show that Nawa-i-Waqt in 1989 contained fewer articles with neutral directions than in 1978.

Research question 2: How do the two newspapers differ from each other in terms of content direction, since one is classified as a "quality" newspaper and other as a "popular" newspaper, in 1978 and in 1989.

TABLE VII

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE PRESENTED BY MUSRAQ AND NAWA-I-WAQT  
IN 1978 COMBINED GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT SOURCES

| Direction | Musraq      | Nawa-i-Waqt |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Positive  | 60 (66.67%) | 59 (54.13%) |
| Neutral   | 20 (22.22%) | 31 (28.44%) |
| Negative  | 10 (11.11%) | 19 (17.43%) |
| Totals    | 90 (100%)   | 109 (100%)  |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.  
Complex Chi Square Statistic = 3.331  
Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ ) = 6.000

The complex Chi Square analysis of direction of government related news presented by Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1978 shows that the relationship of direction with newspaper is not significant at the 0.05 level. This simply means that the observed differences might have been due to chance more than five times in a hundred. A lack of statistical significance may mean that there is no difference in proportions of positive, neutral and negative items in Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1978.

The findings suggest that "popular" and "quality" newspapers do not differ in terms of distribution of article direction of positive, neutral, and negative with respect to combined (government and non-government) sources in 1978.



TABLE VIII

DIRECTION OF COVERAGE PRESENTED BY MUSRAQ AND NAWA-I-WAQT IN  
1989 COMBINED GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENT SOURCES

| Direction | Musraq      | Nawa-i-Waqt |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| Positive  | 19 (45.24%) | 25 (36.23%) |
| Neutral   | 6 (14.28%)  | 10 (14.49%) |
| Negative  | 17 (40.48%) | 34 (49.28%) |
| Totals    | 42 (100%)   | 69 (100%)   |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.  
Complex Chi Square Statistic = 0.975  
Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 2$ ) = 6.000

The complex Chi Square analysis of direction of government related news presented by Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1989 shows that the relationship of direction with newspaper is not significant at the 0.05 level. This simple means that the observed differences might have been due to chance more than five times in a hundred. A lack of statistical significance may mean that there is no difference in proportions of positive, neutral and negative items in Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1989 with respect to combined (government and non-government) sources.

The findings suggest that "popular" (Musraq) and "quality" (Nawa-i-Waqt) newspapers do not differ from each other in terms distribution of content directions in 1989 with respect to both, government and non-government, sources.

Research question 3. Were some topics covered more extensively during one type of government than during the other?

TABLE IX  
COMPARATIVE CONTENT DISTRIBUTION FOR MUSRAQ AND NAWA-I-WAQT  
IN 1978 AND 1989

| Content Categories        | 1978           | 1989           |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Political                 | 83<br>(41.71%) | 43<br>(38.74%) |
| Developmental             | 58<br>(29.14%) | 31<br>(27.93%) |
| Human Rights              | 12<br>( 6.03%) | 14<br>(12.61%) |
| Editorial\Opinion\Comment | 46<br>(23.12%) | 23<br>(20.72%) |
| Totals                    | 199(100%)      | 111(100%)      |

Percentage may not equal 100 percent due to rounding.  
Complex Chi Square Statistic = 4.262  
Table Chi Square ( $p < 0.05$ ,  $df = 3$ ) = 7.800

The Chi Square analysis of content distribution by Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt in 1978 and 1989 shows that the relationship of distributions of articles with year is not significant at the .05 level. This simple means that the observed differences might have been due to chance more than five times in a hundred. A lack of statistical significance may mean that there is no difference in proportions of distributions of political, developmental, human rights, and

editorial\opinion\comment articles from 1978 to 1989.

### Summary of the Findings

In summary, each newspaper responded differently in some ways under the democratic rule, compared to the authoritarian. With respect to non-government sources of the government related news items, Musraq contained fewer articles with neutral directions and more articles with negative directions under the democratic rule.

On the other hand, Nawa-i-Waqt, with respect to government sources of the government related news items, contained fewer articles with positive direction and more articles with negative direction under the democratic rule. With respect to non-government sources of the government related news items, Nawa-i-Waqt contained fewer articles with neutral directions under the democratic rule.

The results suggest that under the democratic rule, the newspaper were freer, at least compared to the Zia rule, to publish news items against the government.

With respect to comparison between "popular" and "quality" newspaper, the newspapers did not differ from each other in terms of article direction in 1978 and in 1989. The results suggest that under the democratic and authoritarian regimes, there is no real change in proportions of positive, neutral and negative items in Musraq (classified as "popular") and Nawa-i-Waqt (classified as "quality") in 1978 and in 1989.

In case of coverage of topics during one type of

government than during the other, there is no relationship in proportions of distributions of government related articles under the democratic and authoritarian system of press. That is, the proportion of distributions of news contents was not different in 1978 and in 1989.

## Endnotes

1. Harold H. Kassarjian, "Content Analysis in Consumer Research, 4, (June, 1977), pp. 8-18.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary

The purpose of this study was to compare the role of the Pakistani press under democracy to its role under military rule, and to examine the differences in press performance between the two different political systems. A secondary purpose was to determine how two Pakistani newspapers differ in terms of content direction since one is classified as a "quality" newspaper and the other as a "popular" newspaper.

Finally, the study proposed to test Western theories of the press to determine whether these theories are capable to explain the role of the Pakistani press under different political systems.

The amount, type and sources of government-related news published in the two Pakistani newspapers, Musraq, and Nawa-i-Waqt, for the years 1978 and 1989 were examined via content analysis. In order to achieve this, data were obtained from a sample of 24 newspapers.

The findings that emerged from the analysis of the data enable the researcher to answer the four research questions, as well as their corresponding null hypotheses, presented at

the beginning of this study. A brief summary of the questions and findings follows:

Question 1: How has each newspaper responded to the libertarian press system of the Bhutto democratic regime, compared with the Zia authoritarian?

Null Hypothesis: There has been no change in the content of either newspaper under the Bhutto regime, compared with that under the Zia military government.

To answer this question, the data were analyzed according to the direction of government related news: positive (pro-government), negative (anti-government) and neutral. The findings suggest that both Musraq and Nawa-i-Waqt have a significant difference in their coverage of government-related news under the Bhutto regime, compared to the coverage under Zia's military rule. In this case, the null hypothesis is not supported.

Both newspapers have fewer positive and neutral article directions toward the government related coverage in 1989. This simply means that under the Bhutto regime, the newspapers had less favorable (positive) image of the government. In addition to this, both newspapers had a more negative article direction of government-related coverage. This means that there was more criticism or unfavorable images of the government in the newspapers' coverage of government-related items under the democratic regime. Thus, the research findings suggest that the Pakistan press was freer to criticize the government under democracy, compared to the military rule.

Question 2. How do the two newspapers differ from each other in terms of content direction, since one is classified as a "quality" newspaper and the other as a "popular" newspaper, in 1978 and in 1989.

Null Hypothesis. The two newspapers do not differ from one another in terms of content direction in 1978 and in 1989.

To answer this question, the data were analyzed according to the direction of the government-related items (positive, neutral, and negative).

The results showed that the "popular" (Musraq) and "quality" (Nawa-i-Waqt) newspapers did not differ in terms of content direction neither in 1978 nor in 1989. That is, the proportion of positive, neutral, and negative content direction in "quality" and "popular" newspapers did not differ from each other in 1978 and in 1989. The null hypothesis is supported in this case.

Question 3: Were some topics covered more extensively during one type of government than during the other?

Null hypothesis: There is no difference in terms of newspaper coverage of topics during any one type of government.

To answer this question, the data were analyzed according to the numbers of content distribution of the news items related to government.

The coverage of government-related items was categorized in four content types: political, developmental, human rights, and editorial\opinion\comment. The results showed



that the distribution of the news topics did not differ significantly under democracy as compared to that under military rule. The null hypothesis is supported in this case.

Question 4. Are Western theories of the press validated to explain the system of the Pakistani press under different types of political systems?

Null Hypothesis. Western theories of the press are not validated to explain the Pakistani press system under different types of political systems.

Based on the discussion in Chapter II, the Pakistani press under Zia'a rule fits perfectly with the authoritarian press theory, and Bhutto's rule with the libertarian press theory. The results of this research confirm that the Western (authoritarian and libertarian) theories of the press are applicable to the performance of the Pakistani press. Hachten defines freedom of the press under a libertarian press as the right of the press to report, comment on, and criticize its own government without retaliation or threat of retaliation from that government. Furthermore, in a libertarian press, there should be no compulsion to publish anything.

According to the results of the study, there was a 59.79% positive (pro-government) direction of the government-related items under the military dictatorship, compared to 39.63% under the democratic rule. Moreover, there was a difference in the negative (anti-government) content direction of the government-related items between

the two periods. There was a 14.57% negative direction of the items in 1978 compared to 45.94% in 1989.

The highest percentage of content direction of the government-related coverage under the military authoritarian rule was given to positive direction (59.79%), that meaning favorable to government. Whereas, under the democratic rule, the highest percentage of content direction of the government-related items was given to negative direction (45.94%), that is, unfavorable to government or anti-government coverage. These results support both theories. The press in Pakistan was more free to criticize the government under democracy, compared to under the military authoritarian rule.

Another finding which also rejects the null hypothesis is the percentage given to the government-related items during both years. In the year 1978, from the total coverage in both years, 64.19% was devoted to government-related coverage. On the other hand, 35.80% from the total coverage (both years) on the government-related items, was given in the year 1989. Which means that the newspapers had given more coverage to the government related news in 1978, as compared to 1989. This difference suggests that the press under authoritarian rule gave more coverage of the government, as compared to the coverage under democratic rule. Therefore, one may say that the authoritarian regime may have forced the press to present more coverage of the government.

## Discussion

The writer would like to discuss some points of view about the current situation of press freedom in Pakistan. The press, according to the findings, was freer under the Bhutto democratic rule, as compared to the military rule. However, it does not mean that the press has been allowed absolute freedom to play the ideal role in a democracy. There are still some threats to freedom of the press in Pakistan.

Of course, authoritarian rule was one of the major barriers for freedom of the press in Pakistan. However, the press still has to develop in a few respects in order to be more free to function as a democratic press.

First, the one-year period of democracy is too short to bring a major change in the role of the press. Second, for the greater part of Pakistan's existence the country had been under martial law or despotic rule. Therefore, one should not expect from the Pakistani press a performance full of a high sense of professional integrity and social commitment. Most of the times in the history of Pakistan, the press had to function in a atmosphere made unbearably stifling by controls and inhibitions imposed by military dictators. As a result of this control, the Pakistani press has little experience in performing under a democratic free press system. This new and experimental limitation of the media practitioners can be a barrier to understanding the real democratic role of the press in Pakistan. One year of

democracy can not absolutely wash out the marks of the past authoritarian rule experiences. The press may need a longer period of time than one year of working in a democratic system, in order to understand its own role in a democracy.

Compared to the British or American democratic media, the Pakistani press has little chance of serving freely the newspaper industry and the nation. The British or American media may have many faults; however, they do not fail in discharging their most important functions: to analyze, inform and educate. When a serious problem arises or a serious crisis develops, they do not ignore or dismiss it. They probe the problem, explore its dimensions, and present different points of views. Compared to the American or British media, the Pakistani press has generally failed to perform its role in the democracy, because it spent many years under military rule.

The American or British media have been functioning in democratic systems for more than a century, therefore they should have a better understanding of the democratic press system compared to the Pakistani press. Therefore, this writer would like to caution his readers, not to judge the Pakistani freedom of the press using American or British standards. Freedom of the press may be a concept which should be understood in the content of a country's subjective circumstances.

Financial insecurities of the Pakistani newspaper industry may be another factor which may resist freedom of the press in Pakistan. A free, fearless and vibrant press

is inconceivable without being financially independent. Low literacy, coupled with the low purchasing ability of the average citizen, affects newspaper readership in Pakistan. Low circulation levels remain a major constraint affecting the growth and development of newspapers and periodicals. This limits the capacity of the press to achieve a larger readership and act as a financially independent industry. According to one estimate, the average daily circulation of Pakistani newspapers approximates 10 copies per 1,000 citizens.<sup>1</sup> With such low readership levels, the newspaper industry cannot make enough profit to stand firmly on its feet. In this case, a poor or financially weak press industry can easily be manipulated by external pressures such as the government, political parties, and social or religious pressure groups.

In assessing the present performance of the Pakistani press, it is important to note the absence of any institutional facilities for the training of journalists (professional and technological).<sup>2</sup> Some universities have journalism-oriented faculty, but the courses taught by them are essentially of a theoretical nature.<sup>3</sup> The absence of proper higher journalistic education has meant a tremendous handicap for newspapers and the newspaper industry in general. Without an assured flow of trained talent in various areas of the profession, newspapers and news agencies have had to act as training grounds themselves.

Similarly, the press has had to face and still faces considerable problems in carrying out the difficult

transition from outdated modes of printing and production to the latest printing technology and a more modern style of graphics and layout.<sup>4</sup> By using the advanced technologies, the press can attract more readers and eventually more business for the industry.

The arrival of democracy in Pakistan is certainly supporting the freedom of expression in the country. However, as this writer has mentioned earlier, there are some possible as well as existing threats to the freedom of the press in Pakistan. Thus the press still needs to struggle for more independence to function more freely in Pakistan.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

The main shortcoming of this study was the short one-year period of Bhutto's democratic rule. Although the findings of this study suggest that the press is freer during democracy compared to military rule, there is a further need of updated information on the subject. A period of one year may not be enough to bring a real change in the press role. Furthermore, this study used only two newspapers. A study could be done on the same topic with more than two newspapers, since a larger numbers of Pakistani newspapers may provide more credible results.

Additionally, it would be interesting to perform comparable analyses of the other mass media in Pakistan, such as television and radio, to determine freedom of expression under the democratic rule.

Moreover, Pakistan's English-language newspapers like Dawn and The Pakistan Times are much different from Urdu newspapers in terms of their news, format, content, and types of readers. It would be worthwhile to compare the contents of both Urdu and English newspapers in order to find out differences between them in terms of their coverage and government-related items.

In addition to this, a comparative analysis of newspapers in other developing countries which have experienced similarities to the Pakistani political conditions (democracy after dictatorship) is another interesting topic for research which could examine the similarities and differences between different countries.

Finally, this writer strongly recommends that Pakistani mass media practitioners work harder to create a higher level of political awareness among the public especially in regard to the citizen's constitutional political rights. This can contribute so that in the future, Pakistan will not be abused by dictatorships.

#### Conclusion

Pakistan has recently entered into a new era of democracy. Controls and restrictions on the press no longer exist after the end of military authoritarian rule in the country. Democracy has given the press more freedom to function without the government control.

In democratic societies the world over, it is the inherent right of the press to criticize the government even

if the criticism is unfair. However, freedom of the press does not mean freedom from all responsibilities. The Pakistani press has achieved freedom, and now it is time for the media practitioners to understand the medium's democratic role in a true sense.

The role of the press under democracy is clear: The press has to keep informing the people about whatever is happening as well as mobilizing public opinion on important issues of the day. The press has a duty to the community not only to mobilize, educate, cultivate and reflect public opinion, but at the same time to bring to the notice of all concerned what is wrong and what is likely to hurt the freedom of the people, their rights and welfare. Therefore, freedom of the press is absolutely necessary for a sane and healthy society, and the biggest responsibility of the press of Pakistan under democracy is to protect its freedom from all other pressures so that it can function as a guardian of the liberties of the people of Pakistan.



## Endnotes

1. "40 years of the Mass Media: A Special Report by Dawn, January 24, 1988.
2. Zamir Niazi, "What the Press Has Endured." Dawn, January 24, 1988.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

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VITA

Tahir Javed Malik

Candidate for the Degree of  
Master of Science

Thesis: A COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TWO PAKISTANI  
DAILIES' COVERAGE OF 1978 AND 1989

Major Field: Mass Communications

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Lahore, Pakistan, November 10,  
1961, the son of Malik Inayat Ullah and Famida  
Malik.

Education: Attended Rang Mahal High School in Lahore,  
Pakistan from 1966 to 1976; received Bachelor of  
Arts degree in Political Science and History from  
University of the Punjab in 1981; received Master  
of Arts degree in Journalism from University of  
the Punjab in January, 1984; completed  
requirements for Master of Science degree at  
Oklahoma State University in May, 1991.

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