



UNVEILING THE UNWILLING

SEARCH FOR A SCOPE OF WOMEN JOURNALISTS IN PAKISTANI MEDIA

WORKSHOPS REPORT

Unveiling the Unwilling

Search for the Scope of Women Journalists in Pakistani Media

Political Parties:
Structures and Women
Representation

Political Reporting:
Challenges from the Field

ORGANIZED BY:

wmc

Women Media Centre
Pakistan



National Endowment for Democracy
Washington DC, United States of America

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Acknowledgements

The Women Media Center Pakistan wish to thank all those who attended these workshops, panelists for their presentation ensured to proceedings to be informative and interesting. The WMC would also like to extend special gratitude National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, DC for its financial support. The opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of NED.

Women Media Center would like to acknowledge the support, advice, cooperation and encouragement for this publication to Mr. Nazir Leghari, editor of Daily Awam. We are also grateful to Ms. B.Q. for editing the report and Ms. Nazeeha Nadir, Ms. Eraj Atiq and Mr. Wasif Syed for their valuable input.

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Women participation in the political parties in Pakistan has always been ornamental to a large extent. At the time of independence, Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, the sister of the father of the nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah had emerged as a central leader but she had no role in decision-making process. She participated in corner meetings and other party meetings as the sister of Quaid-e-Azam. Even then it was a significant occurrence in a feudal and conservative society. Sarojani Naido, Vijay Lakshmi Pandit and Indira Gandhi were taking part in the independence movement from Congress party whereas Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan were active in the Muslim League on a limited scale. There was a similarity in women participation in both the sides that Vijay Lakshmi Pandit was the sister of Jawahir Lal Nehru and Mohtarma Jinnah was the sister of Mohammad Ali Jinnah respectively. Indira Gandhi was the daughter of Nehru and Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan was the wife of the general secretary All India Muslim League, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

Women who came to the fore in politics in Pakistan after the independence also were the relatives of the known politicians. The former chairperson of Pakistan Peoples party, Begum Nusrat Bhutto was the wife of the former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto who is the current chairperson of the PPP is the daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Abida Hussain is the daughter of Col. Abid Hussain a noted politician of the past. Begum Saifullah entered politics with the help and

political background of her father Ali Gul Khan and her three brothers General (r) Habibullah Khan Khatak, Aslam Khatak and Yousuf Khatak. The women who enter politics on their own potential are pushed back when the situation changes.

Political parties have established women wing to influence the vote bank but they do not have any role in the policy or decision-making processes. These women do not have representation in their parliamentary boards. They are not given proper and effective representations in the Central Committees and provincial committees of their parties.

Women Media Center held a workshop on the administrative structures of the political parties with regard to women participation. Several proposals were put forward to increase women representation in political parties' structure.

The second workshop was regarding political reporting which is an important issue. Environment is being created for women in journalism and in this workshop challenges faced by women journalists were identified.

Women journalists and students of journalism not only became aware of the topics but also they realized that their role would be very critical in changing environment.

Fauzia Shaheen
Executive Director
Women Media Center Pakistan

Preface



A two-day workshop was held at the hotel Regent Plaza in Karachi on “Political parties: structures and women representation”. The details of the workshop are hereunder

Day One

The workshop had four sessions, first beginning in the morning with Fauzia Shaheen Executive Director, Women Media Centre welcoming the participants



and introducing the topics. She explained that democracy is inter-dependant on political parties

Javed Jabbar, former Federal Information Minister, speaking at workshop, Fauzia Shaheen, MPA Sassi Paleejo, Sardar Abdul Rahim Information Secretary, PML (N), Heer Soho MNA and Dr. Farah Aslam, Jamaat-e-Islami are also seen in the picture.

and free press. She further added that the press cannot be free if female journalists are not included in it. Media plays an important role in the accountability of democratic institutions and their transparency. Democracy is the power of people and it is in the hands of the people to form a good government. There is controlled democracy in Pakistan and therefore the results are controlled. A Political party is a forum of independence, equality and rational. All over the world, two party systems have been the

most successful in which a party is empowered whereas the other is in opposition. In the Pakistani system, there is long list of political parties registered to take part in the election with the Election Commission but despite such a big number, politics and democracy could not take root in Pakistan. The role of women in the Pakistani politics is in initial stage and they are facing a lot of difficulties and hurdles. The quota system has given room in politics and they still have yet to join the mainstream politics.

The trainer of the workshop, Zafarullah Khan said that in the last 60 years of Pakistan's history, it was mostly dominated by military rulers. From 14 August 1947 to 12 October 2006, Pakistan completed 21609 days in which General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan, General Ziaul Haq and General Pervez Musharraf ruled for 11419 days whereas 22 civil rulers ruled for 10190

TWO-DAY WORKSHOP

19 & 20 February 2007

Political Parties: Structures and Women Representation

Hotel Regent Plaza

Future!

Party system is dependent on the type of election system:
First Past The Post/General Seat/Parliamentary/Local non-party based

Barriers: Economic empowerment, education, enabling environment, mobility, culture

Parties weak and personality driven

Not cream of the crop is joining politics.

Women Wings

days. He explained that the average period of the civilian rulers in Pakistan has been very small. Defining the political parties Zafarullah Khan said that normally a political party is an organization of the people with similar thoughts about politics, social issues, economic policies and international affairs. There cannot be democracy without political parties. Political parties are born from the realities of the society, economy and culture and work as a bridge between the citizens and the state other than trying to resolve the problems of the people. Every political party tries to influence the opinion of the people so that after winning the elections, it can rule the country. This is the only way to implement their vision.

Talking about the assemblies, he explained that the assemblies are run on the taxpayers' money. They are two kinds of accountability of this money. One through Public Account Committee and the other is through voting on the polling booth. After every five years where voters vote on the basis of performance of the candidates. But it is unfortunate that the people of Pakistan did not get the opportunity to vote out any government in the last 60 years. Thus, the strength and power of Pakistani vote is very much incomplete.

In Pakistan, the Local Bodies elections held are non-party based but in practice, it is on the basis of parties. The elected representatives in 110 districts of Pakistan belong to one or the other political party. Association can also be with groups and citizens for example; trade unions get together and make a party of workers. Journalists can also make a political

party. The purpose is to acquire a public office. A political analyst says that the political parties are the children of democracy and not of dictatorship.

He said that the parties of the right wing are radical. Some political parties have leaning towards both of them. There are three or four popular political parties who could be divided on the basis of ideology. For some parties, peoples are very important and for several other parties religion is of prime importance. Similarly, in some parties workers are very popular.

After the LFO, the amendment came in the shape of seventeenth amendment. Political parties have to present their accounts for investigation on yearly basis about their funding and expenditures. Usually, the political parties give wrong statements about their resources. The other amendment was made with regard to the sovereignty and stability of Pakistan. In the famous Hyderabad Tribunal case, the Awami National Party was accused of getting funding from Iraq against Bhutto government thus the clause about the stability of Pakistan was included in the Constitution. Several amendments were made with the inclusion of LFO in the Constitution.

It is said that the political parties grew like mushrooms. There are 58 political parties, which have submitted their accounts with the election commission to take part in the election. Out of these political parties seven had zero account. It is a big question that how these parties have been established and are functioning without funds. The other condition is the election within the parties. There is a law of

Twice amendments have been made in this law. The first amendment is that initially it was said that this act is also applicable on FATA, which was corrected. The second amendment was made at the time when Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain became the prime minister. The act read that the party leader cannot be executive of the government meaning cannot be a Prime Minister but as Chaudhry Shujaat to be made Prime Minister, the act was amended and that article was removed.

Second Session

The topic of the second session was regarding women representation in political parties. Giving the presentation, Zafarullah Khan said that every political party has its own culture and constitution under which that party functions. He briefed the female journalists about the basic structure of a few political parties of Pakistan. Talking about women wing in the political parties, he said that women politicians are exploited through these wings. He said that approximately every political parties have women wing in which the office bearers after

holding elections. The women politicians commonly say that the women are excluded from the mainstream politics by establishing separate women wings and their only functions is to gather women for public meetings and rallies. In parliamentary democracy, the collective decisions are made for the interests of the party. If any person votes against the party then there is a disqualification clause through which

his/her membership can be terminated.

There are political parties which are biased against women because in the preparation of party manifesto, party policy, and party platform and in the distribution of party tickets all the important decisions are taken by men and their views are counted whereas women members work voluntarily during the elections. They go door to door asking vote for the party and when the party loses power the men politicians cross floor whereas the women members remain loyal to the party. All the credit for mustering support for the party and win in the elections go to women. Talking about the difficulties faced by women in the mainstream politics, Zafarullah Khan said that the current situation needs to be changed and for this purpose, the leader of the “Standing Committee of Women Affairs” Mehnaz Rafi put forward the recommendation to amend the political party’s act and to make it mandatory for political parties to reserve a percentage for women to take part in the general elections.

It is not only difficult but nearly impossible for a woman to take part in general elections in Pakistani society and only a few women from elite class took part in general elections. In the last elections, only two women reached national assembly after taking part in general elections and the posters in their constituencies had not their name and only their father’s picture was printed on them. This is the best reflection of feudal and under developed society.

Third Session



Participants of the workshop

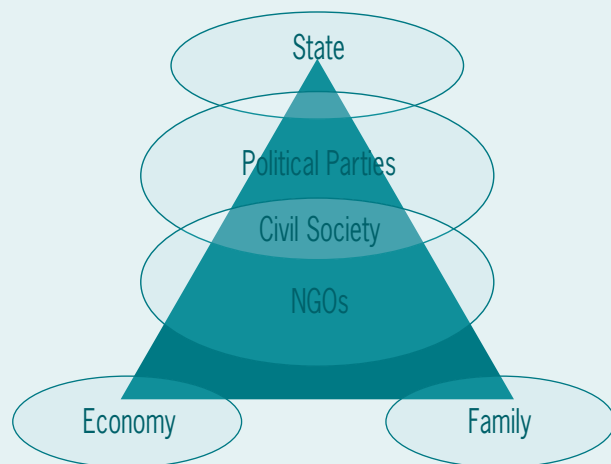
Female journalists and students conducted a few exercises in the third session.

Fourth Session

In this session women participation, with regard to past and future, was presented. Beginning the discussion the trainer, Zafarullah Khan said that women had achieved the right to vote from the very beginning of Pakistan. Even then the women could not exercise this right. In 1954, "United Nation's convention on political rights of women" was implemented in Pakistan. This convention is not well known but this defined the women character all over the world. In 1955, it was further improved in the Beijing conference. There were two women; Shaista Ikramullah and Begum Shah Nawaz were member of

the constituent assembly. Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan became the first governor in Pakistan. So far no woman has become chief minister of any province in Pakistan. There were six reserved seats in parliament for women in the assemblies of 1962 and 1970. Fatima Jinnah who is the mother of the nation contested presidential election in 1964. She was representing the united opposition. At that time fund was collected for her campaign and 1.00 rupee receipts were published.

For the first time Begum Nasim Wali reached the assembly through direct election and she was at that time provincial leader of a political party. The first leader who got a chance to lead a political party is Ms. Benazir Bhutto. Twenty seats were reserved for women in 1987 and 1988. Begum Abida Hussain contested election on general seat in 1985. In 1988 Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Ms. Ashraf Abbasi contested and won elections. Noor Jehan Panzai has the distinction to become first lady deputy speaker of the senate. Ms. Benazir Bhutto became the first woman prime minister not only in Pakistan but in all the Muslim world. Two women became Nazim in two district after the local bodies system was introduced in 2001 in Pakistan.



Second Day

First Session

The topic of this session was "Women place from reserved seats to real politics—problems and opportunities.

Women in Pakistani Politics:

History and Future

Pakistan signed in 1954 "United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women"

In 1995 in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing paved way for greater gender equality

Historical Facts

Begum Shahista Ikramullah & Begum Shahnawaz, members of first Legislative Assembly

Begum Raana Liaquat Ali, First woman Governor

1962 & 1970: Six reserved seats

1964: Fatima Jinnah-Presidential candidate

1973: First female Senator: Asifa Farooqi

1977: Ten reserved seats

1977: Begum Naseem Wali Khan-first one to win a direct seat in a General Election (also first one to head a provincial party)

Begum Nusrat Bhutto, first party head (Late 1970s)

1985 & 1988: Twenty reserved seats

Noor Jahan Panezai-deputy Chairperson, Senate

(Direct seat: Abida Hussain-1985, Benazir Bhutto, Nusrat Bhutto, Abida Hussain, Begum Ashraf Abbasi

Begum Ashraf Abbasi-First deputy speaker, NA

1988: Benazir Bhutto-first women Prime Minister

2001: District Nazim: Nafeesa Shah (Khairpur) & Faryal Talpur (Nawabshah) 33% in Union Councils

2002: 60 seats in NA, first time reservation in the Senate

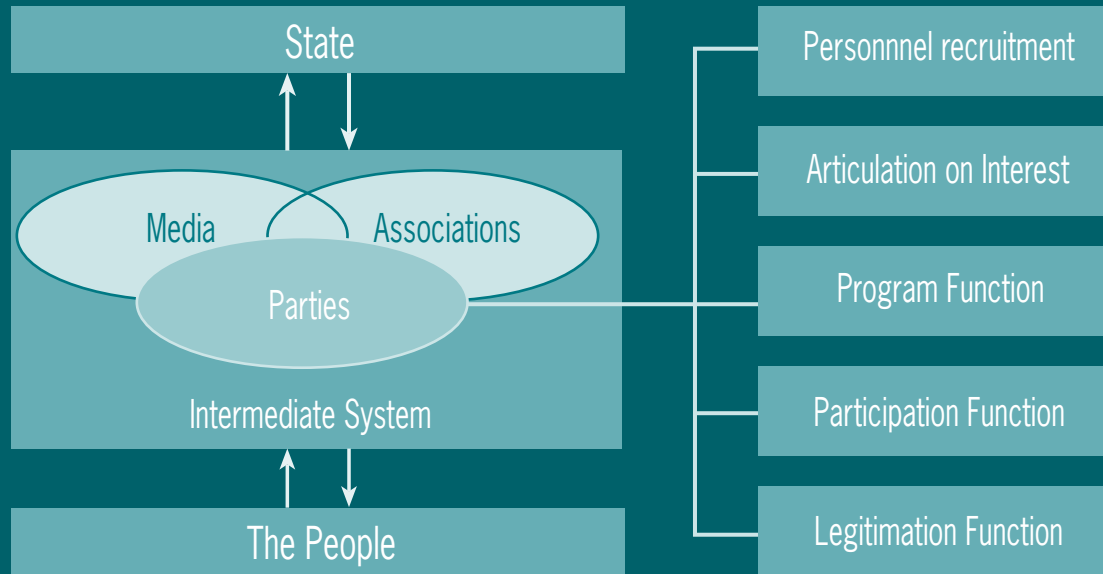
Talking about the topic, the trainer Zafarullah Khan said that there are three folds or levels of government system. The first level is the local government. There are 110 districts, 551 tehsils, 30 towns and over 26000 union councils in Pakistan. Local government is established in these areas where as this system does not exists in Islamabad, FATA and 41 cantonment boards. The local government was under the provincial governments before but the current government in the center brought it to the center through a change in the constitution through article 140A and protected it by the schedule 6 of the constitution and now this could not be ended without president's approval. The constitution says that the provincial government should take measures which can establish the local government. The basic aim of local government is to provide basic needs of the people. The most seats for women have been allocated in the local government system. Then come the provincial governments.

The total number of the members of provincial assemblies are 728 and 128 are women out of them. Governor is a representative of federation in the province. The members of provincial assembly elect the chief minister. The members of national assembly elect the prime minister. The members of district assembly do not elect the district nazim. The government claims that it has transferred power to the lower levels but all the district nazims belong to the ruling elite of the country. If the district nazim was elected from the common people then there was a chance to transfer power to the lower level.

The election commission has said in code of conduct that the candidate contesting provincial assembly seat can spend 1 million rupees, district nazim, 1/2 a million rupees and national assembly 1.5 million rupees in their election campaign thus middle and lower classes could not even think to take part in the elections.

The age limit to contest national assembly seat is 25 whereas for the senate is 35 years. The candidates name should be enrolled in the electoral lists. Now the condition of graduation is also there for being a candidate. The local government is called the nursery of politics whereas the provincial assembly is to learn the art of politics and the law. How the laws can be amended and what does the constitution say about these matters. The national assembly is called parliament, which has three parts, the Upper House, Lower House and the President. The president is a part of the parliament and has to address the parliament at least once a year. According the article 41 of the constitution, the members senate, national and provincial assemblies elect the president. The age of the president should be at least 45 years. The total number of the members of the national assembly is 342 out of which 272 contest general election. Sixty seats are reserved for women and ten for the minorities. Thirteen women reached national assembly after contesting in the general elections and one on the minority seats. Laws and policies are made in the House. Nomination form is filled for before contesting national and provincial elections in which source of income and details of

What political parties do?



personal belongings including property is asked. In case of any mistake or wrong statement, the nomination form can be cancelled. The proposer of the candidate has to be from the constituency from where the candidate is contesting election. The candidate can contest from any constituency in Pakistan. Similarly, any candidate can contest from any constituency in the province for a provincial assembly seat.

Second session

The second session was conducted by Dr. Huma Baqai. She said that there is a need to raise the awareness about the women rights. She said that it is up to the women to convince our society especially the educated class that politics is not a bad profession. She said that our forefathers have been in politics for centuries and we also need to take part in politics for a better future. Another hurdle for women is the male dominant political culture. A question is raised repeatedly that what women



Dr. Huma Baqai, giving a lecture on "Breaking the marble ceiling"

politicians have done for women? When this question was asked to women politicians in a survey in the countries of developed world their answer was that they have started thinking and dealing like men to join the mainstream politics.

There is a very big hurdle for women to come into politics. She said that we badly need to make Pakistani women independent economically and socially and only then they can come into politics and can be politically empowered. Women cannot

decide as long as they are not economically independent. Economic independence plays an important role in defining women status. This is the reason that we need to work in every field. The solution of the

problem lies in the fact that they have to come forward in great numbers in the mainstream politics, more women take part in decision making and more women should be seen in power. If women do not do this then the place, which they have got, now will be lost as well. And the place that they have acquired in politics would not be sustained.



(R to L) Rafia Haider Associates Press of Pakistan, Sadia Qamar, The Nation and Farhat Anis, The News International.

Last Session (Panel Discussion)

The last session was consisted of panel discussion attended by the former minister for information Javed Jabbar, PPP member provincial assembly Sassi Palejo, the information secretary Pakistan Muslim League (N) Sardar Abdul Rahim Rahim, the deputy president of women commission, Jamaat-e-Islami Dr. Farah Aslam, MQM member provincial assembly Heer Soho and anchor current affairs, Business Plus Jasmeeen Manzoor. Beginning the panel discussion, Fauzia Shaheen introduced the guests and explained the aims and objectives of the workshop.

On this occasion, Zafarullah said that as a student of media his personal view is that any text or frame shown on television or newspapers is not without any context. This is the choice of the editor that in how many words he wants to explain any story. This is not an issue of women participation only but also of collective political culture. A question can be raised that our politics is a positive frame of our stories on media or not. The other question is raised that what was the performance of women in the parliament? He explained that in his view, this is not a correct question because the women who are in the assemblies have reached there on the platform of the political parties and their performance should be looked in the perception of the parties with which they belong. Were women issues highlighted in that party? In this frame, we can monitor because individually a member assembly has the right to join in the discussion on the issues but if vote is given

against party line then our constitution does not permitted.

Dr. Farah Aslam said that there are many reasons of women politicians in the media. They get a place in the media according to their party position, way of presenting themselves and their glamour. There are several women politicians who are able but they are not brought on the media. She said that these hurdles have been erected by the media and the media has the responsibilities to remove them.

The MQM member Provincial Assembly, Heer Soho said that women politicians are not only models or showpiece but they should be valued through their work and character. The women have got recognized on the basis of their strength in different fields. Similarly, women politicians have to get recognized on the basis of their performance.

With regard to women role in the media, Yasmin Manzoor said that the wars were fought before on the basis of technology but now they are fought on media. Media was very limited in the beginning but now it has spread all over the world. Its commonly said that media is not independent but I think that media itself should determined its limits. The Western media always presents one view as we saw in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The second picture was presented by Al-Jazeera television. The CNN came into being in the World War I but it represents only one view. She said that 42 Pakistani channels have given a lot of place to women journalists despite the fact that their numbers are low and they get their training on the job.

Sassi Palejo said that she totally agrees that wars are fought through media today. The first missile from the West towards the Third World is fired in the shape of media. The Western media had portrayed differently the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Pakistan is facing difficulties on several issues. The first time in Pakistani history, women have reached assemblies in such a big number but they are not encouraged. There is very little opportunity on the media on the sensitive topics for women. People depend on media with regard to many issues but the role of media is not very effective with regard to women rights.

Sardar Abdul Rahim said that women are everywhere in the media now a days. Women are more in numbers as hosts and newscaster in all the electronic media channels which is welcomed. Since the creation of the country, women have fought for democracy against dictatorship. Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto and Begum Kalsoom are the women who have rendered notable services for the restoration of democracy in this country. He said that when we talk about women role, we should think that whether we are representing the people of the country or not? For the last, 33 years out of a total of 60 years military rulers have



Women journalists paying attention to presentation given by trainer



*Javed Jabbar,
giving a
certificate to a
journalist*

ruled the country and in the remaining period, they remained in the background. The Establishment forms the governments and the people were not represented.

In the end the former Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Javed Jabbar said that several of our prime ministers have repeatedly said that women are half of our population but this statement is not based on fact. Gender biases starts from the birth of a female baby. Similar is the situation in the Indian state of Punjab. In several places, when it is known through ultrasound that a female baby is in the womb then it is miscarried. A law has been passed there that the parents would not be told about the sex of the baby. The situation is not very good in Pakistan as well and women are being exploited on every level. In the South Asia including Pakistan, the number of men has increased as compared to women. All over the world, there are 106 women to 100 men but in Pakistan, there are only 94 women to 100 men. This disparity with women in Southern Asia is because of misbalance in the numbers of men and women. The prejudiced treatment against women should be dealt on the gross root level because it is needed to change the peoples' minds. He said that women representatives could play an important role in this regard. Javed Jabbar said that the negative attitude of politicians should be highlighted in print and electronic media. He suggested that the women and men members of national and provincial assemblies remain absent from the sessions should be publicized on the media.

One day workshop on Political reporting: challenges from the field, was held at the Hotel Regent Plaza on May 2nd, 2007. At the registration the Executive Director Women Media Center, Fauzia Shaheen welcomed the guests. She said in her introductory remarks that in the beginning, the sectarian violence began initially only

victims. The photographers and reporters present at Nishtar Park were also injured. There was a suicide bombing in a political gathering in Charsaddah a few days back, in which the person responsible for the prevalence of peace and prosperity in the country, interior minister, Aftab Ahmed Khan Sherpao and his son were targeted.



at the religious places, religious institutions and religious personalities were targeted and it has not come to a decline as yet. There have been incidents of suicide bombing in political processions. In 2006, there was a blast in a religious gathering at Nishtar Park in which about 30 renowned religious scholars and political personalities were killed. Some former chief minister and ministers were also among the

Trainer of the workshop Mr. Zafarullah Khan giving his presentation.

campaign is a job which is full of dangers, however, reporters should go for coverage after deep study, analysis of the constituency and after getting complete

An important aspect of political reporting in Pakistan is that no violent or extremist group is ready to listen to reason. These political and religious groups are a threat to the civil society as well as journalists. If anything is published against any group or its leader then they start threatening the Journalists. Apart from routine, during the days of elections, the job of journalists becomes more challenging because political and religious activists and violent groups are active and they pressurize the journalists for their desired coverage.

Similarly, the reporting and photography of political gathering and election

ONE-DAY WORKSHOP

2nd May 2007

Political Reporting: Challenges from the Field

Hotel Regent Plaza

Party Position 1970 Elections Seats and Percentage of Total Vote Polled

| Party | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Baluchistan | West Pakistan | East Pakistan | Total |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| Awami League | 0 (0.07%) | 0 (0.07%) | 0 (0.02%) | 0 (1.0%) | 0 | 160 (74.9%) | 160 (38.3%) |
| Pakistan People Party | 62 (41.6%) | 18 (44.9%) | 1 (14.2%) | 0 (2.3%) | 81 | 0 | 81 (19.5%) |
| PML (Q) | 1 (5.4%) | 1 (10.7%) | 7 (22.6%) | 0 (10.9%) | 9 | 0 (1.0%) | 9 (4.5%) |
| PML (Convention) | 7 (5.1%) | 0 (1.7%) | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 (2.8%) | 7 (3.3%) |
| Jamiat-e-Ulema-Islam | 0 (5.2%) | 0 (4.3%) | 6 (25.4%) | 1 (20.0%) | 7 | 0 (0.9%) | 7 (4.0%) |
| Markazi Jamiat | 4 (9.8%) | 3 (7.4%) | 0 (0%) | 0 | 7 | 0 | 7 (4.0%) |
| Ulema Pakistan | | | | | | | |
| National Awami Party | 0 | 0 (0.3%) | 3 (18.4%) | 3 (45.1%) | 6 | 0 (1.8%) | 6 (2.3%) |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | 1 (4.7%) | 2 (10.3%) | 1 (7.2%) | 0 (1.1%) | 4 | 0 (6.0%) | 4 (6.0%) |
| PML (Council) | 2 (12.6%) | 0 (6.8%) | 0 (4.0%) | 0 (10.9%) | 2 | 0 (1.6%) | 2 (6.0%) |
| FDP | 0 (2.2%) | 0 (0.04%) | 0 (0.3%) | 0 (0.3%) | 0 | 1 (2.2%) | 1 (2.9%) |
| Independents | 5 (11.8%) | 3 (10.7%) | 7 (6.0%) | 0 (6.8%) | 15 | 1 (3.4%) | 16 (7.1%) |
| Total Seats | 82 | 27 | 25 | 4 | 138 | 162 | 300 |

knowledge of the political situation. Reporters should necessarily have all the facts and figures of the election process.

She said that in our view, journalism has a lot of challenges and there is also the element of thrill, excitement and adventure. We think that reporters should always be prepared to face any kind of situation and the basic thing is that if you are covering election process then you should have all the required fundamental knowledge about elections.

After welcoming the participants, the trainer of the workshop, Zafarullah Khan talked about the

Pakistani political history saying that it is commonly stated that Pakistan came into being as a result of an election. The 1946 elections were very critical with regard to the establishment of Pakistan. The Congress and the Muslim League were both in the political field and the Congress claimed that it represented all the sections of the society whereas the Muslim League's slogan was that it was the only party representing the people.

Pakistan got independence on 14 August, 1947 and the session of its first constitutional assembly was held three days earlier on 11 August. Parliamentary institutions form the make up of any country. The judiciary, administration and military were formed on 14 August but the political institution was formed three days earlier

Nusrat Zaidi, Ary One world TV and her team during group presentation.



because it had to set up other institutions and had to give a direction to the country that how it will be run. The session was held in Karachi and Quaid-e-Azam presided over it. However, the situation now is such that the Parliament is the weakest and other three institutions decide that how the country will be run.

Zafarullah said that he always gets confused when he narrates the Pakistani history and wonders it is confusing whether to start from 1947 or 1971. The East Pakistan (Majority part) had separated from Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam had clearly defined the functions of the assembly and the assembly had to give a constitution to the country as well but that assembly was dismissed on 24 October 1954. Sindh High Court gave the verdict in Moulvi Tameezuddin case that the dismissal was wrong. The Federal Court of that time gave the verdict that the dismissal

Provincial Party Position 1970 Elections

| Party | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Baluchistan | West Pakistan | East Pakistan | Total |
|-----------------------|--------|------|------|-------------|---------------|---------------|-------|
| Awami League | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 288 | 288 |
| Pakistan People Party | 113 | 28 | 3 | 0 | 144 | 0 | 8 |
| PML (Q) | 6 | 5 | 10 | 3 | 24 | 0 | 28 |
| PML (Convention) | 15 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| Jamiat-e-Ulema-Islam | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Markazi Jamiat | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 11 |
| Ulema Pakistan | | | | | | | |
| National Awami Party | 0 | 0 | 13 | 8 | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| PML (Council) | 6 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Others | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| FDP | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Independents | 28 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 53 | 7 | 60 |
| Total Seats | 180 | 60 | 40 | 20 | 300 | 300 | 600 |

Seats won in the 1977 Elections

| Party | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balochistan | Islamabad | Tribal Areas | Total |
|----------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
| Pakistan Peoples Party | 107 (93%) | 32 (74%) | 8 (31%) | 7 (100%) | 1 (100%) | 0 | 115 (77.5%) |
| Pakistan National Alliance | 8 (7%) | 11 (26%) | 17 (65%) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36 (18%) |
| Independent | 0 | 0 | 1 (4%) | 0 | 0 | 8 (100%) | 9 (4.5%) |
| Total Seats | 115 | 43 | 26 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 200 |

National Assembly General Elections (1988-1997)

| Party | 1988 | 1990 | 1993 | 1997 |
|--------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Pakistan Peoples Party | 93 | 44 | 89 | 18 |
| Islami Jamhoori-Ittihad (IJI) | 54 | 106 | 0 | 0 |
| Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) | - | - | 73 | 137 |
| Awami National Party | 2 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)* | 13 | 15 | - | 12 |
| Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman) | 7 | 6 | - | 2 |
| Other Parties/Independents ** | 38 | 30 | 42 | 28 |
| Total Turnout | 43.07% | 45.46% | 40.28% | 35.42% |
| Total Seats | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 |

League ticket. Tickets were awarded to the family members of the ruling elite and several of them belonged to the Unionist party who later on joined the Muslim League. The people who could not get the party ticket formed Jinnah Muslim League. This party held only one election in which trade union leader Mirza Ibrahim won against Saeed Kirmani from Lahore. The Establishment was worried that how a common man won against such a great leader.

The elections held in 1970 were on the adult franchise basis. These elections are thought to be clean and fair. These elections were said to be very fair but a few weeks back, Brig. A.R Siddiqui, who worked in ISPR at that time told that we made briefcases of money for all the political parties, which were picked up by every party contesting elections except Maulana Bhashani and Shaikh Mujeeb ur Rehman. It was said that Mujeeb's slogan of six

of the assembly is correct decision and thus the assembly was dismissed. Election were again held in 1954 and prior to the elections for the provincial assemblies were held in 1951. There were 197 seats in Punjab assembly and over 800 candidates applied for Muslim

points would break up the country but the six points on which Mujeeb contested and won the elections did not contain a single clause which meant that they wanted a separate state. His six points were about provincial autonomy. Bhutto contested with the slogan of bread, cloth and shelter. Initially these elections were to be held in October 1970 but they were delayed due to floods in Bangladesh till December. Thirty-five million people of Pakistan got the

Senate after February 2003 Elections

| Party | Seats |
|-------------------|-------|
| PML (Q) | 34 |
| PML (N) | 4 |
| PPPP | 11 |
| National Alliance | 3 |
| MMA | 19 |
| MQM | 6 |
| PML (F) | 1 |
| ANP | 2 |
| PPP (S) | 2 |
| PKMAP | 2 |
| BNP (Awami) | 1 |
| BNP (Mengal) | 1 |
| BNM | 1 |
| JHWP | 1 |
| Independent | 12 |
| Total Seats | 100 |

Summary of National Assembly Elections 2002

| Parties | % of Popular Vote | Seats |
|---|-------------------|-------|
| Pakistan Muslim League (QA) | 23.9 | 118 |
| Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal | 11 | 59 |
| Pakistan Peoples Party | 25.5 | 63 |
| Parliamentarians | | |
| Pakistan Muslim League (N) | 11.4 | 18 |
| Muttahida Qaumi Movement | 3.2 | 17 |
| Mohajir Qaumi Movement Pak. | 0.2 | 1 |
| Pakistan Peoples Party | | 17 |
| Parliamentarians (Patriot) | | |
| National Alliance | 4.4 | 16 |
| Pakistan Muslim League (F) | 1.1 | 5 |
| Pakistan Muslim League (J) | 0.8 | 3 |
| Pakistan Muslim League (Sherpao) | 0.4 | 2 |
| Baluchistan National Party | 0.2 | 1 |
| Jamhoori Watn Party | 0 | 1 |
| Pakistan Awami Tehreek | 0.7 | 1 |
| Pakistan Muslim League (Z) | 0.3 | 1 |
| Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf | 0.6 | 1 |
| Pakistan Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party | 0.1 | 1 |
| Candidates who have not jointed Political Parties | 9.8 | 17 |
| Other Political Parties | 6.5 | 0 |
| Total (turnout 41.8%) | | 342 |

opportunity to vote for the first time. Many parties contested these elections. Jamat-e-Islami contested in the name of Islam, Bhutto contested on the slogan of bread, cloth and shelter and Mujeeb fought on the basis of his 6 points. The Council League, Qayum League, Convention League, Pakistan Jamhuria Party, religious parties, JUI, both the group of Wali Khan and Bacha Khan contested these elections. Sindhi, Punjabi, Pakhtoon Front also contested the elections. Elections were held, results were not accepted and as a result country was split and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto formed the government, in new Pakistan, which existed till 1977. Elections were again held in 1977 and a movement was launched. Nine parties formed an alliance against one party. All the impartial sources and election observers were of the view that Bhutto could have easily won these elections and there was no need to rig them.

Bhutto also gave the 1973 constitution. Two third majority is necessary for amendment in the constitution. Before the provincial elections, PNA boycotted the elections .PPP won 155 seats and PNA won 16 seats out of all the seats of national assembly. Bhutto



(L to R) Journalists from Dhoom TV Ainee Ansari, and Asmat Zubair & Yasmin Taha from Daily Jang

Number of Seats in National Assembly

| Province / Area | General Seats | Seats reserved for | | Total |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-------|------------|
| | | Non-Muslims | Women | |
| Federal Capital | 2 | 10 | | 2 |
| Punjab | 148 | | 35 | 183 |
| Sindh | 61 | | 14 | 75 |
| NWFP | 35 | | 8 | 43 |
| FATAs | 12 | | - | 12 |
| Balochistan | 14 | | 3 | 17 |
| Total: | 272 | 10 | 60 | 332+10=342 |

Number of Seats in Provincial Assemblies

| Province / Area | General Seats | Seats reserved for | | Total |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | | Non-Muslims | Women | |
| Punjab | 297 | 8 | 66 | 371 |
| Sindh | 130 | 9 | 29 | 168 |
| NWFP | 99 | 3 | 22 | 124 |
| Balochistan | 51 | 3 | 11 | 65 |
| Total: | 577 | 23 | 128 | 728 |

Number of Seats in Senate

| Province / Area | General Seats | Seats reserved for | | Total |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|
| | | Women | Technocrats & Ulema | |
| Federal Capital | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Punjab | 14 | 4 | 4 | 22 |
| Sindh | 14 | 4 | 4 | 22 |
| NWFP | 14 | 4 | 4 | 22 |
| FATAs | 8 | - | - | 8 |
| Balochistan | 14 | 4 | 4 | 22 |
| Total: | 66 | 17 | 17 | 100 |

was very popular and could have won easily but the Establishment lured him to get elected unopposed. So he did but other leaders also wanted to save money and get elected unopposed and saved money that would have been spent on election campaign in their constituency. In the end, it resulted in the imposition of Martial law all over the country.

The elections held in 2002 were unique because the popular leadership was in exile. General Musharraf before these elections followed the footsteps of General Zia and held presidential referendum. They were massively rigged. He became the president. All the parties took part in elections in 2002 despite the fact that they knew that Musharraf will remain president and the system will also remain intact. The election results were called engineered and Patriots of PPP was also

formed. The elections are once again about to be held and no one knows what will be issues in this election.

Second Session The role of media

In the second session of the workshop discussions were held on the role of media in the election reporting. Beginning the discussion, Zafarullah said



that media has covered every election held in Pakistan. Radio Pakistan existed from the beginning but the television came in 1964. However, only the

Group work by Asma & Faryal Najeem from daily newspapers The News International and others

Category Wise Number of Seats in a Union Council

| Category | Number of Seats |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Nazim/Naib Nazim | 2 |
| Muslim (General) | 4 |
| Muslim (Women) | 2 |
| Peasants/Workers | 3 |
| Peasants/Workers (Women) | 1 |
| Minority Communities | 1 |
| Total : | 13 |

Category Wise Number of Seats in all Union Council

| Category | Number of Seats |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Nazim | 6,125 |
| Naib Nazim | 6,125 |
| Muslim (General) | 24,500 |
| Muslim (Women) | 12,250 |
| Peasants/Workers | 12,250 |
| Peasants/Workers (Women) | 12,250 |
| Minority Communities | 6,125 |
| Total : | 79,625 |

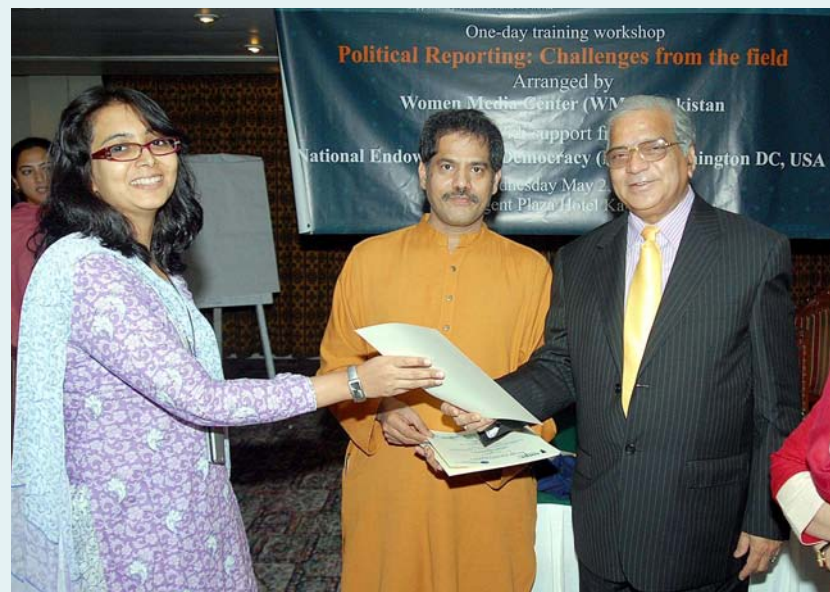
government version used to come out. The State media was there from the beginning but general Yahya gave independence to the state media. Most of our population lives in the villages, which do not have electricity so they do not have access to media and they cannot read newspapers. In the 1988

elections Benazir won despite the stories of Al-Zulfikar. This shows that media had little impact. The elections to be held in 2007 or 2008 will be unique. In the last elections GEO had test transmission, Indus TV was there and ARY had also invested a little on the election coverage. Now it will be a challenge to impartially cover the elections when there are PEMRA notices on the walls of these independent electronic media. Election coverage is a demanding job. Journalists have to cover the minute details of every constituency and their issues.

Third Session What is the election system in Pakistan?

The code of conduct of elections was discussed in the third session. Beginning the session Zafarullah Khan said that 3 May is celebrated as the world press freedom day all over the world.

Committee for Protection of Journalists has issued a report and it says that the press freedom is in tatters in Ethiopia, Gambia, Congo, Egypt, Azerbaijan, Cuba, Morocco, Thailand and Pakistan. In Pakistan if you talk straight and speak the truth then your name will also be included in the list of missing people. This is the biggest challenge with regard to press freedom in Pakistan. If you report vaguely and do not hold responsible anyone for any issue then you will be



Mr. Salahuddin, former advisor to Sindh Chief Minister giving certificate to Meera Jamal of Dawn Newspaper.

Code of Conduct for the Electronic Media

Pakistan Television and Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation
For General Election 2002

The coverage on the electronic media should be fair, balanced and unbiased in favour of any political party, a candidate or a leader in respect of the following:

- Campaigning and excerpts from campaign speeches;
 - Symbols, banners, flags and other campaign material of parties;
 - Results of opinion polls by non-political, professional organizations with a proven track record;
 - Party manifestos (critical analysis of which is also perfectly legitimate);
 - Candidates and their views in different constituencies across the country;
 - The positions taken by the main parties on different issues important to the electorate;
 - Debates between major parties and candidates;
 - Analysis of previous voting pattern, victory margins swings etc.
- There should be no coverage of any election speeches or other material that incites violence;
- In any constituency, one candidate alone should not be projected. While it is not necessary to cover every single candidate (as some constituencies may have several candidates) at least the more important should be covered in any report from a constituency;
- No one political party should be given substantially more coverage than others. This 'balance' need not be achieved in any single day or in a single story, but over a reasonable period of time, say one week.
- Balance does not mean each party must get exactly the same airtime to the last second, but parties should be given broadly the same amount of time.
- Balance implies that no reasonable person should appear that one political party is being projected to the exclusion of others.

Issued by the Election Commission of Pakistan on August 8, 2002



safe.

The government has the entire state resources under its control. The opposition parties can have their voice on the independent private channels. Thus the next elections will be a great challenge for the opposition parties as well as private TV channels. There are three or four large political parties, which will take part in the elections, and there are 54 television channels, who would be reporting on it so it would be very interesting to watch.

In the fourth session, Zafarullah Khan said that the political reform process is continuing in Saudi Arabia and UAE whereas in Pakistan, we would want to go backwards. All the experiences in Pakistan have been self-created, un-democratic, illegal and immoral and there has never been any real democratic experience.

Group photo of participants of the workshop.

Fourth Session

Introduction



Women Media Center-Pakistan

Women Media Center (WMC) is a nonprofit organization working to provide research and training facilities to the women in media.

It is an exceptional organization with respect to its ideology and working. It realizes the feeble nature of Pakistani democratic structure and limited women representation in the media. WMC is working to promote creativeness in ideas amongst women so that their recommendations can become a part of policies of the country.

WMC is currently working on several projects which if implemented can enable women journalist to work in a professional environment so that not only democracy could be strengthened but also focus could be directed towards other critical social issues.

WMC has begun working in the largest Pakistani city Karachi. We wish to reach not only other parts of Pakistan but also to extend our efforts to South Asia.



National Endowment for Democracy, USA

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private, nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. The Endowment is governed by an independent, nonpartisan board of directors. With its annual congressional appropriation, it makes hundreds of grants each year to support pro-democracy groups in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union.

The Endowment is guided by the belief that freedom is a universal human aspiration that can be realized through the development of democratic institutions, procedures, and values. Democracy cannot be achieved through a single election and need not be based upon the model of the United States or any other particular country. Rather, it evolves according to the needs and traditions of diverse political cultures.



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