THREATS TO JOURNALISTS IN SINDH: EVENTS AND PERCEPTIONS (2000-2017)

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Abstract

This study explores threats to journalists in Sindh, searching the journalist's community, allocating its existence through a premeditated survey with directional questionnaire. Consulting 150 journalists to find out the essence, magnitude and targeting aspects of the threats they are facing in wake of their line of duty. Journalists and threats are both enter-linked since the birth of journalism, a journalist is a Watch-Dog or Gate-Keeper, who guards the boundaries of transparency, freedom of expression, sphere of laws and protects and promotes the social values and norms and facilitates political communication to educate and update the citizens. Doing all this in a part of the state where the situation of law and order is deteriorated, the population is heterogeneous in its nature, is a big challenge. Attacks on journalists have been searched from the history of media landscape for last 17 years in Sindh to weigh up the threats to Watch-Dogs. The study generalizes, whether working journalists are serving under pressure in an environment governed by threats or they feel safe and free to perform their journalistic duties. It also calculates the responses of the affected journalists in the outward appearance of complaints they file in connection with the threats faced for their professional work.

Keywords: Journalist, threat, press, professionalism, freedom, Sindh

Introduction

The vernacular press entered into a new phase with new dimensions in the new state of Pakistan in 1947 but the colonial legacy remained unchanged. Dr. Zafar Iqbal sums up in his research paper "Pakistan's Press and politics in the First Decade (1947-1958)" and says that press had brought the spirit of Freedom Movement with it but its fate met a failure when censor was imposed on it. The first blow was seen when the address of the founder of the state Muhammad Ali Jinnah was tried by the establishment to be cut down. The daily "Dawn" and daily "Jang" came first to Sindh pioneering the press in the newly created country but the press-government relations could not developed to institute a free press to play its role for healing the democracy in the Pakistan. Political instability and despotic governments in the state from time to time also shared atrocities to confine the

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¹ Iqbal, Zafar. "Pakistan's Press and Politics in First Decade (1947-1958): An analysis Structural-Functionalist Perspective." *Journal of Political Studies*. Accessed on December 17, 2017 from http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/Currentissue-pdf/Press%20in%20the%20First%20Decade.pdf

press. K.B Saeed marks out the faction's wars in the ruling parties, palace intrigues and intolerance for truth to hear and affirms them to be the main factors, imprison the press².

Journalists have always remained under pressure for favouritism in the country including the province of Sindh. Yusuf and Shoemaker in their research for BBC Policy Briefing³ declare that media in Pakistan remains vulnerable amid on-going threats to media professionals and the limitations imposed by the industry's financial model, which must rely heavily on adverting revenue. The state actors, government, military intelligence agencies, judiciary, and non-state actors, militant groups and political activists exploit this vulnerability. According to an online report issued by Centre for Civic Education (CCE), more than three thousands of journalists are performing their professional duties in Sindh and 46 dailies, 7 weeklies, 6 fortnightlies and 53 monthly newspapers are being published in the province on regular basis and headquarters of mostly watched TV channels, *Geo*, *ARY* and *Express*, bureau offices of all the Cable and terrestrial channel are working under pressure in Sindh⁴, but still the media had a proud history of struggle for the freedom of expression and democracy⁵.

Government-press relation and press freedom

The government-press relation has profound effect on the freedom of press. The province of Sindh has a history of deteriorated government-press relations where the press remained under constant pressure. All the governments with no exception used advertisements, newsprints quota and licenses to silence the press or gain favor through them. During the period under study the province of Sindh remained under Governor Rule from October 30, 1998 to December 17, 2002. After the coup of General Parvez Musharraf (Oct 12, 1999) emergency was declared in the state and Sindh like other parts of the state suffered the despotic rule. Undeclared censorship on the Press in the province prevailed during the Musharraf's backed rule and journalists remained under direct threats given by political parties No measurements were taken to improve the government-press relation even after the end of Musharraf's backed Mutaheda Qaumi Movement (MQM) and Qaid-e-Azam Muslim League (QML) coalition government. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Mutaheda Qaumi Movement (MQM) coalition politics tried to keep the press under pressure and to use it for vested interests. During democratic era, lists of journalists were publicly issued and they were openly threatened.

² Sayeed, K. B. Collapse of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. *The Middle East Journal*, 389-406. 1959

³ Yusuf, Huma, Emrys Schoemaker. "The media of Pakistan: Fostering inclusion in a fragile democracy." (*Policy Briefing* 9, 2013) 9-10.

⁴Window-on-Pakistani-Media. 3-6. Accessed on January 2, 2018, from http://www.civiceducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Window-on-Pakistani-Media.pdf.

Munir, Imran. "The consequences of fundamentalism on Pakistani media." PhD diss., Theses (School of Communication)/Simon Fraser University, 2002. Accessed December 25, 2017. From http://summit.sfu.ca/system/files/iritems1/7508/b28167971.pdf

⁶ Muddasir, Mirza, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 13 February 2018. Karachi Daily Jang Office, tape recording.

⁷ Shahzeb, Khanzada, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 15 February 2018. Karachi Geo TV office, tape recording.

⁸ Khursheed, Abbasi, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 14 February 2018. Karachi Daily Awam Office, tape recording.

Press in big cities like Karachi and Hyderabad is freer than that in small towns of Sindh⁹ but journalists in small towns are exposed to threats and suffer more than in large cities ¹⁰ because law and order situation in big cities is better than that in the small towns. Journalists face double pressure for their journalistic work in small towns, on one hand the institutions ask for filing reports while on the other hand, the interests groups threaten them and demand them not to cover specific events and news stories ¹¹.

But journalists are also involved in deteriorating the government-press relation in Sindh¹². Some of the journalists use to threaten political leaders, citizens, police and other government officers for personal gains and some time they call and challenge them after filing reports¹³.

Non professionalism and low educational level of journalists are also responsible for weakening the press freedom situation in the province ¹⁴. Electronic media is divided into political blocks. Some of the channels support Pakistan People's Party (PPP), some of them are busy to support the agenda of Pakistan Tehreek Insaf (PTI), other advocate and try to safeguard the interests of Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML)¹⁵. Michael Lavarch in his research article notes that the owners of media enterprises and journalists have a range of motivations including economical self-interest and political ideology. These types of motives invariably influence the exercise of media power ¹⁶ and decline the freedom of press. Such approaches of journalists and media houses corrupt the press and increase threats to journalists.

Throughout the history of media in the province, no serious effort was made to develop a healthy and realistic relation between the press and government and between the press and society and even among the component parts of the profession like among different media enterprises and between the press and journalists. At the same time no serious and continuous attempt was tried to build up professionalism in the field of journalism rather the press has been treated as an enemy or hostile entity by the power holders and tricks gamers, the state or non-state actors. As a result no strong ties could be grown for the better use of the press to enhance the standards of society, or the government and its institutions nor the standards of the profession could be boosted to objectivity and impartiality in accordance to its spirit or international values.

⁹ Amir, Latif, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 20 February 2018. Karachi Press Club Karachi, tape recording.
¹⁰ Khaliq, Chandeo, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 24 February 2018. Hyderabad Press Club Hyderabad, tape

recording.

11 Hamid, Shaeikh, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 24 February 2018. Hyderabad Press Club Hyderabad, tape recording.

recording.

12 Tariq, Durani, interview by Fazal, Hussain 27 February 2018. Larkana Press Club Larkana, tape recording.

13 Khursheed, Abbasi, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 14 February 2018. Karachi Daily Awam Office, tape

 ¹⁴ Imtiz, Khan Faran, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 15 February 2018. Karachi TV One Office, tape recording.
 ¹⁵ A.H, Khanzada, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 18 February 2018. Karachi Neo TV Office, tape recording.

¹⁶ Lavarch, M, "Free Speech, Responsible Media, Law and Liberal Democracy", More or Less Democracy & New Media, (2012)24-49. Retrieved on February 5, 2018, from

http://www.futureleaders.com.au/book_chapters/pdf/More-or-Less/Michael_Lavarch.pdf

The political barons: an impatience and illogical zeal for political communication

The political stakeholders need to mobilize the public opinion for which they use national media to effectively convey their messages to masses. This is a general practice in the world which is termed as the Political Communication but in Pakistan, the fashion of political communication is detrimental and the parties insert pressure on media for relatively more space and coverage¹⁷. The history of journalism in Sindh reveals that this trend has given way to the harassment of media persons, flaming of media houses, blazing the houses of journalists, the properties of journalists, bribing the owners and journalists and many other unfair means to influence and threaten the media for their vested interests. Amnesty International in its report affirms that powerful political actors seek to block the transmission of broadcast channels with whom they are displeased. The report further says that the parties also pressurizing individual cable operators or physically cutting the cable for vested interests to gain¹⁸.

Religious powers and their influences on the press

Religious groups influence and check the national and even international press in Pakistan for religious content. The state ideology, social and ethical layout of the state permits them to impede into everything in the country including media. Syed Abdul Siraj concludes in his research paper that the religious groups and middle classes are criticizing some of the TV channels for western orientations in their contents¹⁹. He finds that journalists do their duties according to the perceived ethics. Social and religious activists put pressure for following their designs in the news content and coverage of events²⁰. Successive governments in the state have sought to influence privately-owned media through censorship and regulations²¹. The direct and indirect censorship confine the free flow of information and affect the editorial policies of newspapers and news channels²². Laws and regulation are necessary to insure check and balance but they are used always for personal interests. National media is not only subject to legal restrictions and the state agents but political backed land grabbers, traffickers and other interest groups are also constantly confining the freedom of press and threatening journalists for vested interests.

Journalists are seeking self-censorship

Amnesty International evaluates the censoring trend and its effects on the freedom of press. The report says: harassment and other abuses faced by journalists seeking to discharge their professional duties impartially have resulted in self-censorship, in order to

¹⁷ Anwar, M., & Jan, M, "Role of Media in Political Socialization: The Case of Pakistan. Dialogue" (Pakistan

¹⁸ Amnesty International, Report, 2014. Retrieved August 23, 2017, from, https://www.am nesty.org.u k / files/pakistan_journalists_300414.pdf

¹⁹ Siraj, "Critical analysis of press freedom in Pakistan", Journal of Media and Communication Studies, (2009, 1(3), 43.

²⁰ Muhammad, Usman, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 24 February 2018. Hyderabad Press Club Hyderabad, tape recording.

²¹ Yusuf Huma and Shoemaker Emrys, "The Media of Pakistan" (2013). Retrieved July,23,2017 from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/pdf/bbc_media_action_pakistan_policy_briefing.pdf

²² Hasan, Abbas, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 23 February 2018. Karachi Express TV Karachi, tape recording.

protect themselves and that trend leads to a diminished approach to open public discourses²³.In the year 2014, Pakistan Taliban sent mails to prominent media groups, *Jang, Express, Herald* and others, threatening them of dire consequences and blamed them for one-sided news about Taliban. Administrations of media outlets issued directives to suspend reports critical of the militant organization and its allies. The researcher himself received the directive for being a copy-in charge in the Jang Group of Newspapers. This type of situation demands Self-Censorship, because the authorities do fail to provide protection for journalists and media houses. Self-censorship is the only way of self-defense for journalists to continue their jobs because objectivity bear threats whereas journalists are exposed to pressure and threats²⁴

Attacks on journalists in Sindh: an overview (2000-2017)

The police and law-enforcement agencies continued to curtail the freedom of press and threatened and harassed journalists throughout the country. The first blow, after the October 12, 1999 coup, Sindh Police tortured journalists in front of Anti-terrorist Court in Karachi²⁵. Four journalists were abducted by Sindh Police in Dadu on August 30, 2000²⁶. Nine Journalists were arrested for covering a protest demonstration of women against Pervez Musharraf during his visit to Hyderabad²⁷. Editor of daily Zarb-e-Islam Nisar Ali, Associate editor Mazhar Abbas and M.Irfan were arrested on July 20, 2005. The editor of weekly Friday Special Abudul latif and Abu Shamil were arrested the same day. Editor of weekly Wajood M. Tahir was also arrested in the move against radical publications on July 20, 2005²⁸. The Sindh police detained Rashid Channa, the senior reporter for daily Star Karachi on July 24, 2005²⁹. Police took the editor Sami Khan, of Magazine Al-Fazl into custody in November 2005³⁰. Correspondent of Geo TV Mukesh Ropeta and his cameraman Sanjay Kumar were detained by intelligence agencies on March 6, 2006³¹.Reporter for daily *Kawish* Meruddin Mari was arrested on July 2, 2006. More than 180 journalists were tortured by police while they were protesting in Karachi. Twelve journalists were injured³².

The government backed political activists, opposition parties, traffickers, land-grabbers, religious parties, individuals, and unknown culprits pressurized the national press throughout Parvez Musharraf's tenure. Representative of daily *Ummat* Sufi Muhammad

²³ Amnesty International, Report, 2014. Retrieved August 23, 2017, from, https://www.am nesty. org.u k / files/pakistan_journalists_300414.pdf

²⁴ Amir, Latif, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 20 February 2018. Karachi Press Club Karachi, tape recording.
²⁵ Window-on-Pakistani-Media.1&2. Accessed on January 2, 2018, from http://www.civiceducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Window-on-Pakistani-Media.pdf

²⁶ Bureau Report "National" November 19, 1999, Daily Dawn Karachi.

²⁷ Committee to Protect Journalists. Accessed on January, 4, 2018, from https://cpj.org/2001/03/attacks-on-the-press-2000-pakistan.php

²⁸ Staff Reporter. "Metropolitan" July 20, 2005

²⁹ U.S State Department Country report "Freedom of Speech and Press" Accessed on January 4, 2018, from https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61710.htm (2005)

³¹ Daily The News. Accessed on January 5, 2018, from https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/12026

³² Aslam, Rukhsana. "PAKISTAN: Media, politics and the threats to journalists in Pakistan." Pacific Journalism Review: Te Koakoa 21, no. 1 (2015): 177-194.

was killed in Mirpurkhas³³. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, he was shot by drug trafficker Ayaz Khatak. Sufi had a reputation for hard line reporting. Sufi Muhammad Khan had filed a story on Khatak's suspected connections with a local prostitute that was published on May 02, 2000 in daily Ummat, the same day the reporter was killed. The killer surrendered to police after 30 minutes of murder. Prior to his death, Sufi had written an article alleging Khatatk on drug trafficking in Badin. He was being threatened to be killed. Sufi was exposed to all threats and that resulted in his death. Police also suspected the Arbab family, which allegedly ran a prostitution ring. After a failed struggle to silent Sufi, the family had filed a defamation case against him and his paper. The American Journalist Daniel Pearl was killed in Karachi³⁴. Daniel Pearl, bureau chief of South Asia for The Wall Street Journal, was kidnapped from near the Metropole Hotel in Karachi on January 23, 2002 and then killed. The correspondent of Sindhi newspaper daily Kawish Shahid Somroo was assassinated on October 22, 2002 in front of his house in Mirzapur Mohalla in Kandhkot³⁵. The reason behind his murder was his reporting on the abuses committed during the general elections. Representative of daily The Nation Karachi Aziz Sangho was harassed and lamented by the officers of the Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC)³⁶, now KE. Journalist Amir Mateen and Kamran Khan were harassed and interrogated in connection with their journalistic work by intelligence agency³⁷. Representative of daily *Mashriq* Nasrullah was kidnapped by a religious group to punish him for his reporting in Hyderabad³⁸. Representative of daily Kawish was shot dead in Hyderabad³⁹. Cameraman of Sindhi Language TV Kawish Television Network (KTN), Munir Ahmad Sangi was killed in Lardkana. He was covering a gun fight between the Unar and Abro tribes⁴⁰. According to his colleagues Sangi was targeted deliberately for the station's reporting on Jirga. The uncle of deceased journalist was already attacked in this connection. Zubair Ahmad Mujahid, bureau chief of daily Jang in Mirpurkhas was shot dead in the limits of Satellite town police, on November 23, 2007. Ghulam Rasool Birhamani, reporter for Daily Sindhu Hyderabad, was killed on May 9, 2010 in Wahi pandhi near Hyderabad. He was kidnapped a day earlier from his hometown. According to CPJ and Dawn reports, Birhamani was killed for his story of an illegal marriage of a 12 years old girl Najama Lashari with a 22 years old guy Mumtaz Lashari arranged ethnically. Chief reporter of daily Ibrat Sarfaraz Wistro was attacked in Hyderabad by unknown assaulters on July 22, 2010. President of Mirpur Khas Press Club was shot dead for the sack of journalism; he was the Bureau

³³ Committee to Protect Journalists. Accessed on January 5, 2018, from https://cpj.org/data/people/sufi-mohammad-khan/

³⁴ British Broadcasting Corporation. Accessed on January 7, 2018, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1785819.stm

³⁵ Staff Reporter "Daily Dawn Karachi". Accessed on January 7, 2018, from https://www.dawn.com/news/62974 (October 22, 2002)

³⁷ Pakistan Press Foundation. Accessed on January 7, 2018, from

https://www.dawn.com/news/359783

³⁹ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰ Umer Cheema "Not a single killer of 46 journalists found" Geo News. Accessed on January 8, 2018, from https://www.geo.tv/latest/17001-latest-news

Chief of *Awaz TV*⁴¹. Wali Khan Baber, reporter for *Geo TV* was shot dead in Liaqatabad Karachi⁴². Mushtaq Khand, a repoter for *Dharti Television Network* and newspaper *Mehran*, was killed in Khairpur on October 7, 2012, when fire was opened by two rival groups during a rally of Pakistan People's Party. Mushtaq Khand was the President of Khairpur Press Club at the time. Shan Dahar, bureu chief for *Abb Takk* Television in larkhan, was killed in Larkana while filming the illegal sale of drugs on January 2014. Journalist Aurang Zeb was killed in Lalu Ran Wak village; he was the Bureau Chief for Sindhi language TV *Kawish*. He was punished for his reporting an illegal marriage ⁴³. Three members of *Express TV*'s crew, Waqas Aziz, Khalid Khan and Ashraf Yusuf were killed in Karachi⁴⁴. Journalist Hamid Mir of *Geo TV* was fired in Karachi. He was severely injured ⁴⁵. Journalist working for *Geo TV* Aftab Alam was killed outside his house in Karachi⁴⁶. Cameraman for *SaamaTV*, Taimoor Khan was killed in KDA square Karachi⁴⁷. He was covering the aftermath of a grenade attack on a police vehicle in North Nazimabad area of Karachi.

The overview affirms that the press and journalists remained under attacks and under pressure in Sindh during the period under study (2000-2017). And actors, including political parties, traffickers, police, religious groups and militants tried their best to confine the freedom press. The ex-presidents of Karachi Press Club Imtiaz Khan Faran and Khursheed Abbasi confirm the pressure on journalists from the above mentioned actors⁴⁸. This situation increase threats to journalists and as a result degrading the freedom of press in the province.

Main stream media vs. local media

The history of attacks on journalists and media houses reveals that mostly the main stream media has been targeted by interests groups in Sindh. Daily Jang Karachi, daily Dawn Karachi, daily Kawish Hyaderabad, daily Express Karachi, daily Ummat Karachi, Geo TV, AbTakk TV Karachi, Express TV, Dharti TV, Awaz TV and daily Ebrat are among the main affected media houses. The overview also depicts that attacks were made only in the big cities of the province like Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana and Mirpur Khas. The local newspapers like daily Hamwatan Karachi, daily daily Qyadat Karachi, daily Sindh Hyderabad and so on and their affiliated journalists remained safe. The founder of the Jang Group of Newspapers Mir Khalil URehman in an interview confessed that

⁴¹ Daily The News. Accessed on January 8, 2018, from https://www.thenews.com.pk/archive/print/273401-mirpurkhas-press-club-president-shot-dead

⁴² Junaid Ikram "2011 Saw 12 Journalists killed in Pakistan" daily Dawn. Accessed on January 9, 2018, from https://www.dawn.com/news/684514

⁴³ Committee to Protect Journalists. Accessed on January 11, 2018, from https://cpj.org/data/people/aurangzeb-tunio/

⁴⁴ Daily Express Tribune. Accessed on January 15, 2018, from https://tribune.com.pk/story/660249/3-staffers-killed-in-attack-on-express/

⁴⁵ Daily Dawn Karachi. Accessed on January 18, 2018, from https://tribune.com.pk/story/660249/3-staffers-killed-in-attack-on-express/

⁴⁶ Geo TV. Accessed on January 19, 2018, from https://www.geo.tv/latest/5866-senior-journalist-aftab-alam-gunned-down-in-karachi

Ali, Imtiaz. "Daily Dawn Karachi." Accessed on January 23, 2018, from tps://www.dawn.com/news/1314347
 Imtia Faranand and Khursheed, Abbasi, interview by Fazal Hussain, 14 February 2018, Karachi Press Club Karachi, tape recording.

political actors were pressuring the press for more space and coverage and *Jang* was the most affected media house due to its largest circulation⁴⁹. The most influential media houses and the investigative journalists stay on the target and that is the usual practice in the province of Sindh⁵⁰.

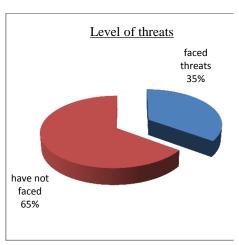
Survey regarding threats to journalists in Sindh

Survey method was used to get ground realities regarding threats to journalists in the province of Sindh consulting the journalist's community. A sample of 150 working journalists was selected on the basis of Snowball technique. One hundred and forty four questionnaires were found completed from all aspects and the data was analyzed, using statistical tools i-e tables and pie-chats under Likert's Summative Scale.

Interviews of veteran journalists and post bearers of the journalist's organizations like Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ), Karachi Union of Journalists (KUJ), Karachi Press Club (KPC), Hyderabad Press Club (HPC) and Larkana Press Club (LPC) were conducted to generalize the results and reach the ground realities behind the threats to journalists in the province of Sindh. In this respect eleven prominent and active journalists were consulted and interview were recorded after their permission.

 $\label{eq:Table: 1} \label{eq:Table: 1} \label{eq:Table: 1}$ Journalists facing threats in the line of their professional duties (percentage) (n=144)

Percentage	Journalist
35	50
65	94
100	144
	65



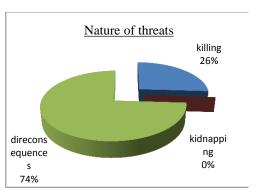
⁴⁹ Tahir, Mahsood, eds., "Shafat avr Tashadud" (Karachi: Laraib Printing Press Urdu Bazar, 1990), 96-99).

⁵⁰ Khaliq, Chandeo, interview by Fazal, Hussain, 24 February 2018. Hyderabad Press Club Hyderabad, tape recording.

The table and figure 1 show that majority of journalists (65%) are not facing threats in connection with their journalistic work while 35% of journalists are confronting threats. The data shows that threat is present in the profession.

 $\label{eq:Table: 2} Table: 2$ Nature of threats, journalists are facing in connection with the profession (percentage)(n=50)

	Percentage	Qty
killing	26	13
kidnapping	0	0
Dire Consequences	74	37
Total	100	50



The table & figure 2 reveal that most (74%) of the threats are given in the form of "Dire Consequences". The killing follows with 26% while "Kidnapping" acquires 0% in the table. The data shows that journalist are receiving threats in the for kidnapping.

Table: 3
The target of the threatening actors (percentage) (n=50)

	percentage	quantity
Journalist	63	31
Family	0	0
Both	37	19
Total	100	50

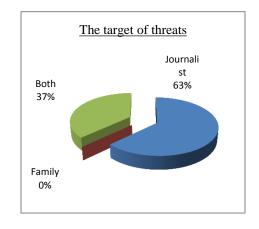


Table and figure 3 indicate that threats are mostly (63%) directed towards the journalists while 37% goes to both the journalists and their families where as no threat is pointed to the family alone. This trend of threatening denotes that journalists and their families are on the target of actors pressurizing journalists for their professional duties.

Table: 4
Actors behind the threats (percentage) (n=50)

Actors	percentage	Qty
The governing Party	4	2
The Opposition parties	7	3
Establishment	4	2
Law enforcement agencies	11	5
Traffickers	0	0
Land grabbers	15	8
Militants	11	5
Religious Groups	4	2
Social Activists	4	2
Economical Interest Groups	4	2
Individuals	15	8
Unknown	21	11
Total	100	50

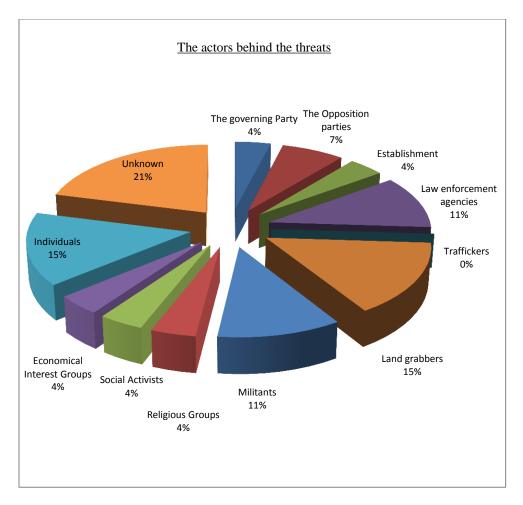


Table and figure 4 show that most (21%) of the actors behind the threats are unknown seconded by the land grabbers and individuals with 15%. Law enforcement agencies and militants are on the third stage with 11% of threatening actors whereas opposition political parties are on forth number attaining a percentage of 7. The governing parties, establishment, economical interest group, religious groups and social activist groups are on the fifth stage with 4% while no threat from traffickers have been received by journalists under study in Sindh.

Table: 5
Trend to file complain against threats received (percentage) (n=50)

	Percentage	Qty
Registered Complaint	37	18
Didn't Complain	63	32
Total	100	50

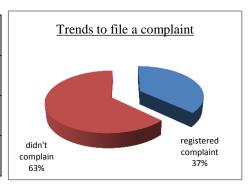


Table and figure 5 illustrate that only 37% of journalists have gone with a complaint after they received threats for their journalistic works where most of the respondents (63%) have not registered any complaint even after they confronted threats.

Table: 6
Where the complaints are filed (percentage) (n=18)

	Percentage	qty
Police	43	8
Court	0	0
Employer	0	0
Editor	57	10
Total	100	18

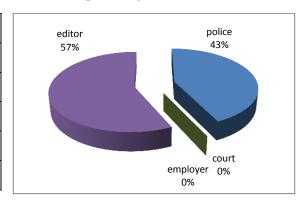


Table and figure 6 show that most of the respondents (57%) go to register complaints with the editor against the threats while 43% of the journalists registered complaints with police. The data indicates that there is no trend to register complaints with the court or the employer.

Table: 7
Strength of responses to complaints (Percentage) n=18

	Percentage	Qty
Responded	57	10
Didn't respond	43	8
Total	100	18

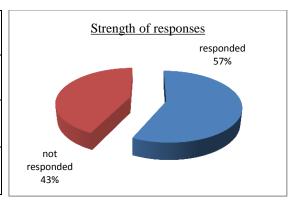


Table and figure 7 divulge that the responding fashion is better as 57% of the complaints are responded while 43% could not meet a hope of response.

 $Table: 8 \\ Level of satisfaction against the complaints (percentage) \quad n{=}18$

	Percentage	Qty
Satisfied	57	10
Not satisfied	43	8
Total	100	18

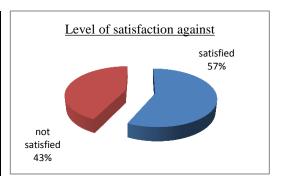


Table and figure 8 reveal that level of satisfaction is hopingly more 57% than no satisfaction which denotes 43% calculating the respondent's perception. The result indicates that complaints are considered and resolved. This trend is encouraging faced and needs to be advocated for 100% results.

Table: 9 Effects of threats on the objectivity of journalistic work (percentage) $\,$ n=18

	Percentage	Qty
Affected	47	8
Didn't affect	53	10
Total	100	18

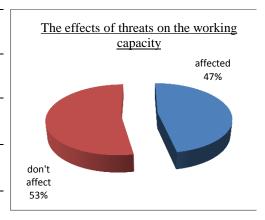


Table and figure 9 illustrate most (53%) of the respondents point out no effect of threats on the objectivity of their journalistic work while lesser (47%) respondents admitted bad effects on the objectivity of professional performances. But the data affirms the very existence of the effects on the objectivity of journalistic work.

Table: 10
The level of Self-Censorship (percentage) n=144

	Percentage	Qty
Exercised	26	37
Partially	39	56
Not at all	35	51
Total	100	144

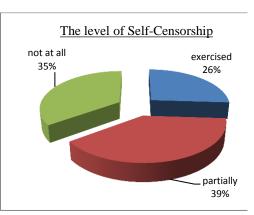


Table and figure 10 reveal that most of the respondents exercise self-censorship for their journalistic work. Majority (39%) of the journalists partially follow the self-censoring rule while 26% respondents admitted full subjugation where as 35% of the journalists don't use the cuts in their stories.

Table: 11

Motive behind the self-censorship (percentage) n=93

	Percent age	Qty
To avoid judicial constraints	43	40
To avoid the anger of employer	22	20
To avoid the threats	35	33
Total	100	93

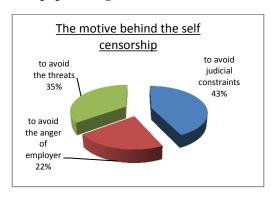


Table and figure 11 show that motive for self-censorship is mostly (43%) to avoid judicial constraints followed by 35% to avoid the threats where as 22% is to avoid the anger of the employer.

 $\label{eq:Table: 12}$ Level of satisfaction against the self-censorship (percentage) n=93

	percentage	Qty
fully satisfied	22	21
partially	68	63
not at all	10	9
Total	100	93

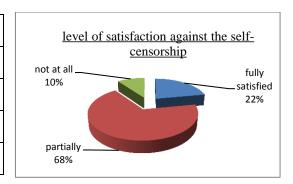


Table and figure 12 explain that after applying the Self-Censorship, most (68%) of the respondents are satisfied while 22% feel partial satisfaction whereas only 10% of the respondents are not satisfied even after censoring their journalistic work.

Table: 13
Safety level for working journalists (percentage) n=144

	Percentage	Qty
Completely safe	2	3
Partially safe	19	27
Unsafe	77	111
Have no idea	2	3
Total	100	144

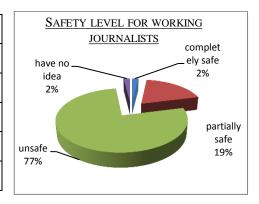


Table and figure 13 illustrate a very vast majority (77%) of the respondents feels that journalists are completely unsafe for their journalistic work while 19% are of the opinion that journalists are partially unsafe in their profession. A very little (2%) of the respondents affirm that the environment is safe for working journalists where as 2% of the respondents mark that they have no idea regarding the safety conditions for journalists.

Table: 14
Level of the pressure: working journalists are facing (percentage) n=144

	Percen tage	Qty
Working under full pressure	39	56
Partly under pressure	51	74
Not under pressure	7	10
Have no Idea	3	4
Total	100	144

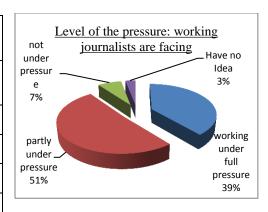


Table and figure 14 reveal that journalists are

working under pressure in the province. Most (51%) of the respondents affirm that journalists are under partial pressure while 39% assert that working journalists are in a state of full pressure in respect to their professional duties. Only 7% of the respondents are sure that journalists are not under any pressure in regards to their journalistic performances while 2% of the respondents have no idea about the pressure on journalists in connection with the profession.

Conclusion

The press and journalists remains under pressure and are exposed to threats in Sindh and the working environment is not favorable for an institutionalized journalism. The presence of threats (35%) indicates that journalists are confronting fear in the region for their journalistic performance. Same is the condition with the families of journalists as 37% have affirmed receiving threats. The more drastic situation rests here that the 21% of the actors behind the threats are unknown, 15% each from land grabbers and individuals. The governing and opposition political parties, the law enforcement agencies, social, religious, militant and economical interests groups are all involved in threatening and pressurizing journalists for their professional activities. The other aspect is that 39% of the journalists facing full while 51% are confronting partial pressure. This picture of media in Sindh reveals that media professionals are living in a state of war where 77% journalists feel unsafe.

Media professionals are balancing and handling the situation applying self-censorship on their journalistic jobs, as 26% exercise full self-censorship and 39% partially. The ill aspect of the scenario is that 43% of the journalists use the hammer of self-censorship to avoid judicial and legal constraints. This aspect of the situation is the most disappointing for the freedom of press and expression.

The trend not to register complaints (63%), discloses the fear and despair of journalists although the response rate is 57% and satisfaction scores the same. Most (57%) of the journalists go to editors for complaints against threats.

The review of the events and literature exploration also corroborate the unfavorable situation for media persons in Sindh. The killings, injuring, threatening, pressurizing and arresting of journalists adds hindrances for the journalist's community. It is very clear to say that the governmental, political, social and media owner's behavior is not hoping for a free press in the province of Sindh.

Recommendations

The whole media theater in Sindh needs a lot of attention in all aspects with special emphases on the security measures. The study recommends the following certain directives to for free and the media persons from the fear inculcated in them and to assure the convening of true, impartial and objective information to the citizens not paralyzed by Self-Censorship or enshrined in the folds of fear of adverse responses.

Rule of law should be insured to develop a sense of safety in journalists and Job security should be secured by law to lesser the fear for unemployment, prevailing in media persons. Measures are needed to avoid the threatening actors from being a sword on the necks of the watchdogs. For the purpose, media campaigns and regulations will be effective. Training should be arranged to encourage and educate journalists for their rights and responsibilities. Research is needed to explore all the aspects deteriorating the media landscape in the province of Sindh.