

WHO MAKES THE NEWS?



GMMP

Global Media
Monitoring
Project

2020

Pakistan

NATIONAL REPORT



GMMP

Global Media
Monitoring
Project

2020



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GMMP 2020 is co-ordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), an international NGO which promotes communication for social change,.



Data for GMMP 2020 were collected through the collective voluntary effort of hundreds of organizations including gender and media activists, grassroots communication groups, university researchers, students, mediaprofessionals, journalists associations, alternative media networks and faith groups.

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PREFACE

After the last WACC Global Gender in the Media snapshot exercise in 2015, our colleagues had described the media in Pakistan as “vibrant and largely free.” Just five years later, amidst a pandemic that is still wreaking havoc in the country and around the world, independent journalism finds itself with a lot at stake today as the incumbent government reveals its intent to enact laws to silence criticism from the media. Indeed, these are challenging times, when those whose jobs are to tell others stories become the story themselves.

But, ultimately, questions of gender and cultural imagination are at the heart of our endeavor.

Uks Research Centre has long been part of the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the world’s longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media coordinated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC). Together we began measuring gender in the mainstream media in Pakistan more than two decades ago. In the midst of the pandemic, Team Uks gathered in its Islamabad office on September 29, 2020, along with a group of young researchers and monitors, to link up with hundreds of others engaged in GMMP monitoring worldwide.

What we can safely say is that even today, after more than two decades, changes to how women are reporting and being reported remain marginal. Successes for those working to push gender-aware content in the media exists; there are increasing instances of women’s pictures being carried in affirmative ways in the print media. But the situation hasn’t improved enough to truthfully report the cost of the pandemic on women and the extra burdens they’ve had to bear – both in terms of lack of reportage on reported crime and in the stories left untold.

Global context

The Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) is the world’s longest-running and most extensive research on gender in the news media. The research was designed to capture a snapshot of gender on one ‘ordinary’ news day in the world news media. An ordinary news day is defined as one in which the news agenda contains the run-of-the-mill mix of stories, everyday articles on politics, economy, social issues, crime and other issues.

It began in 1995 when volunteers in 71 countries around the world monitored women’s presence in their national radio, television and print news. The media monitoring has been repeated every five years since then, taking stock of change in the gender dimensions of news media content and collecting statistical data on new indicators.

The 1995 research revealed that only 17% of news subjects – the people who are interviewed or whom the news are about – were women. It found that gender parity was ‘a distant prospect in any region of the world. News [were] more often being presented by women but [they were] still rarely about women.’¹

The first noteworthy change in women’s overall presence in the news was registered in 2005 in the third iteration of the research.² Women comprised 21% of news subjects, a three-percentage point increase over the period 2000 to 2005. Their near invisibility continued however, with only 10% of stories focusing centrally on women, underrepresentation in the major news topics and as voices in

¹ *Global Media Monitoring Project, Women’s participation in the news*. National Watch on Images of Women in the Media (MediaWatch) Inc. 1995

² Gallagher, Margaret. *Who makes the news? Global Media Monitoring Project*, 2005. World Association for Christian Communication.

the news.

By the fifth GMMP in 2015, it was clear that “ordinary” news days could not be predicted or planned in advance: unexpected events take place that dominate the news, from the Kobe earthquake in 1995, to the Germanwings plane crash in the Alps in 2015.

The 2015 research in 114 countries revealed continued severe gender disparities in news media content. Findings on key indicators suggested that progress towards gender equality had lost traction; women remained only 24% of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news, exactly the same level found in the fourth wave of the research in 2010. Three editions of the research – in 2005, 2010 and 2015 – found no change on the indicator measuring women’s participation in the news as reporters; only 37% of stories in legacy media were reported by women.

Women’s relative invisibility in traditional news media had also crossed over into the digital news delivery platforms included in the GMMP monitoring for the first time. Only 26% of the people in stories on mainstream news websites and media news Tweets combined were women. The challenges of news media sexism, gender stereotyping and gender bias were apparently intractable across time, space and content delivery platforms.

UN Under-Secretary-General and UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka underlined that the ways in which women are depicted in the media “have a profound effect on societal attitudes and reinforce traditional gender roles. Women and girls are half of humanity. Giving equal time and weight to their stories, featuring them as positive models not victims, plays an under-appreciated part in creating a better, freer world for all of us.”³

Events during the 2020 GMMP year were even more extraordinary; beginning in late 2019 and intensifying during the year, the world was ravaged by the novel coronavirus Covid-19. This sixth wave of the research offered an opportunity to scrutinize gender in media coverage during a global catastrophe, a time marked by a worldwide health crisis, and the intensified inequalities accompanying the crisis.

GMMP teams in 116 countries monitored 30172 stories published in newspapers, broadcast on radio and television, and disseminated on news websites and via news media tweets in 2251 outlets. The stories contained 58,499 news subjects and sources, and were reported and presented by 28,595 journalists. The number of participating nations increased by 63% since 1995 as baseline data were collected for eight countries joining the study for the first time. The number of news items monitored has doubled over the past 25 years and risen by over 8,000 since the 2015 edition.

Findings from the sixth GMMP reveal a mixed picture of progress, stagnation and regression. While some glass ceilings are clearly being edged upwards, others are setting in on certain important news media gender equality indicators. The past five years have seen small incremental changes towards parity, at the same time, the overall pace of change remains glacial.

³ In *Who makes the news? The Global Media Monitoring Project report, 2015*

National Context

On the day that we are writing this report, June 3, 2021, almost all Pakistani newspapers printed an advertisement that stated “NO to the Pakistan Media Development Authority” – a government body being proposed by the Ministry of Information in an attempt to “regularize” the media sector in Pakistan. It is a poignant place to begin – because the day we were to monitor the media for the GMMP global snapshot was dominated by headlines of the main opposition leader being arrested on charges of corruption.

Absolute control of the media is perhaps among the last-remaining frontiers for a regime described as “hybrid” – a shared control of governance handed by the military to a leader of their choice who is usually a man. Until now, much of that overarching state control over the media takes place through either willing and/or pliant media, or as coercive control of journalists. The proposed Media Development Authority is a step beyond that – the focus of coercion seems to be moving away from individuals and towards media organization themselves.

This reining in of media organizations, particularly those that house critical voices, comes at a time when the media industry is suffering through a crisis of financial investment and outdated business models. But to do this in the midst of a pandemic, when public messaging is key to containing the virus and news organizations have already slashed jobs to accommodate for lost funds, is a huge blow to the media industry in Pakistan.

The timing of this attack is also suspect for another reason: foreign policy. In fact, the mediascape that we witness today is the outcome of the Pakistani establishment after the war of Kargil arriving at the conclusion that its position could not be questioned internationally because a Pakistani electronic media sphere that can challenge the Indian media sphere simply did not exist. The fact that today most Pakistani channels have been running news from Israel and Palestine with a pro-Palestine angle and without worry or fear of repercussion seems to underline this foreign policy argument. Ditto for media coverage of Kashmir or the larger silence around Uyghur Muslims in China.

While foreign policy is being sorted, whatever singular truth that the state is trying to tell its domestic audience has not reached its intended target.

The ad today – cosigned by the All Pakistan Newspapers Society, Pakistan Broadcasters Association, Council of Pakistan Newspaper Editors, Association of Electronic Media Editors and News Directors, and the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists – describes how this ordinance enacted by the President of Pakistan will allow law enforcement to “invade” media premises on arbitrary pretexts. In other words, the regime has bypassed the Parliament to enforce new bounds for media operations. The tone of the advertisement suggests that media head honchos are foreseeing the same kind of coercive control of media organizations that exists across the border in India.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- This is the third time Pakistan has been a part of the GMMP and coordinated by Uks Research Centre .
- This country snapshot is based on the monitoring of nine newspapers (print media), 11 news channels (television news media), the state-owned radio channel (PBC), four news-based websites and four Twitter handles.
- Monitoring was conducted by 17 volunteers which included Uks' own staff, journalists and students from various universities.
- The activity was supervised by Uks' team who have been monitoring media in Pakistan through the gender lens for more than two decades.
- GMMP Methodology provides tools and guidelines on which media to monitor and how. Uks team was familiar with the methodology, which they taught to university students through a mock session prior to the actual monitoring activity.
- The tools remained almost the same as of the GMMP 2015, despite a few changes e.g. a separate question on Covid-19 in the coding sheets.

News Content

- The main theme that received maximum coverage on monitoring day across the news media was "Politics and Government" followed by "Crime and Violence" and "Science and Legal." respectively.
- Women contributed 18 per cent of all news stories as compared to 36 per cent in GMMP 2015 findings.
- Men dominated the news stories on all the major topics except "Gender and related" where women news subjects contributed 68 per cent.
- Women news subjects' presence in "Economy" related topics scored the lowest and remained at only 7 per cent.
- 89 per cent of the women news subjects were covered as "spokespersons" while men were 63 per cent.
- 64 per cent men were monitored as expert or commentators on news regarding "Government and Politics" whereas women only constituted 33 per cent.
- 40 per cent of women news subjects were identified by their family role/status as compared to only 8 per cent of men.
- News that portrayed women news subjects as "victims" were 48 per cent whereas 52 per cent were men.
- 52 per cent of news subjects that were photographed were women, compared to 48 per cent of men news subjects.
- 43 per cent of women and 57 per cent of men news subjects were directly quoted in the news.
- The overall presence of women reporters across the media added up to 18 per cent of all the reporters (whose by-lines were mentioned).
- More than 42 per cent of the news was presented, announced or reported by women journalists. Of these, only 18 per cent of women journalists were monitored as rReporters," whereas rest of 82 per cent were recorded in the role of news presenters/announcers.
- Men reporters covered 72 per cent of the stories with women as news subjects, while just 28 per cent of these were reported by women reporters.
- 33 per cent of stories in which issues of gender equality/inequality were raised were reported by women reporters.
- About 12 per cent of the total news items had women subjects as central focus.
- Only 4 per cent of the monitored news content challenged stereotypes.
- Covid-19 related news stories made almost 8 per cent of the entire monitored content.

A DAY IN THE NEWS IN PAKISTAN

GMMP monitoring day, September 29, 2020, was an atypical news day in Pakistan: Shahbaz Sharif, chief of one the two main opposition parties, was arrested by the national accountability bureau on charges of accumulation of wealth beyond legitimate means, as well as money laundering.

Before his arrest, it had been a story of will they, won't they, played out as innuendos as well as direct threats on electronic media. The reportage that day was about political heroism versus political victimization. The previous day's news cycle had been dominated by live coverage of the arrest and by monitoring day, it revolved around the editorial lines that various publications would adapt in response to this arrest. These were to be gauged by the tonality of coverage – some adopted neutrality while others showed unabashed partisanship.

This partisanship is, in fact, very problematic: it precludes any discussion on the merits of democracy, on the balance and role of various state institutions, political appointments and interference. What we have as a result, therefore, is a hyper-politicized media sphere where bickering sells more than actual debate.

But a larger issue revolves around the perception of what various news channels understand democracy to mean and, by extension, whether they are committed to a fearless journalism that holds power to account. From that lens, a careful and nuanced perusal of editorials as well as headlines is necessary in media monitoring work in order to assess battle lines and who stands where.

The main stories of the day included:

- How the arrest came about;
- Who was involved from the government side;
- The opposition's response;
- Allegations challenging the accountability bureau's credibility;
- Government claims that it does not control the accountability bureau.

In the world of perception, the government portrayed itself to be meting out justice and catching those who had allegedly embezzled the country's finances. Meanwhile, the opposition tried creating the perception of a grand resistance that was going to be sparked by this arrest.

A couple of days prior to this event, the news cycle had been dominated by the story of a woman whose car broke down on the highway but who ended up being gang-raped in front of her children. The story had inspired national outrage and had developed a momentum of its own. Part of it was also fueled by the inherent sexism of the police chief investigating the case. This story seemed to have lost momentum on the day since the men were now talking politics.

THE CONTEXT

Pakistan's Media Landscape

Pakistan has over the years developed a rather vibrant news media – although the quality of content is an ongoing concern. Since the 2015 GMMP was conducted, the growth of digital media in Pakistan and the social media space have been crucial developments that have had ramifications on governance.

Digital media was initially understood by many organizations as a digital extension of what they were producing in print. However, amidst the financial crises that plague the media industry, many news organizations decided digital was also a way of cutting costs. That said, many print publications did not associate directly with their digital operations: what was printed was a matter of record, but what was printed online could be changed even by the lowest-ranking editorial staff.

Slowly, though, successive governments have been trying to govern the social media space and what gets out, both in terms of politics as well as culture. One investigative report described “an army of trolls” and “troll farms” associated with the governing political party that have hounded and harassed political and media opposition.

The pandemic has had grave consequences on all forms of activity in the country but one of the root causes of gender-blindness in reportage has been the removal of women from their jobs and the newsroom. Low media indicators on all things gender are dictated by this loss of women journalists.

Media Monitored

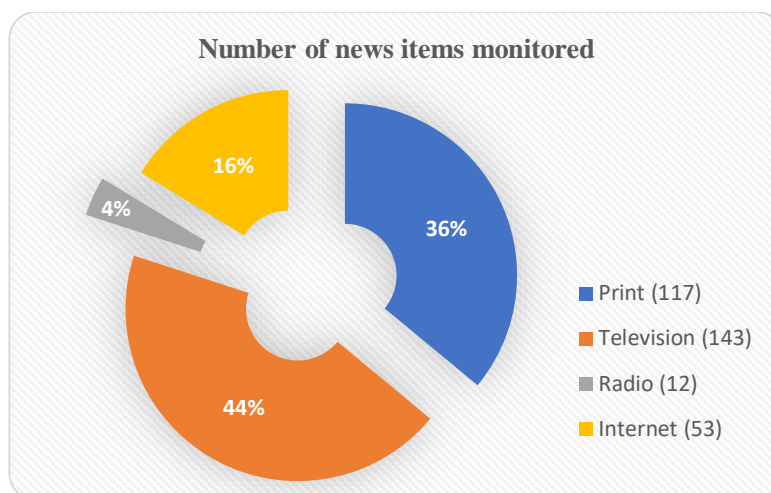
Based on the density bands recommended by the GMMP, Pakistan was placed under *Band 6* for *Print* and *Television*, *Band 2* for *Twitter* and *Internet*, and *Band 1* for monitoring *Radio*.

Pakistan monitored a total of 29 media on monitoring day including 9 dailies (6 English and 3 Urdu based dailies), 11 television news channels, a stated-owned radio broadcast, 4 news websites and Twitter handles of 4 news media. The details of which are provided below:

Medium	Band Size	No. of Media Monitored	Media Monitored
Print	6	9 Newspapers	Daily Dawn (English) Daily The News (English) Daily The Nation (English) Daily Times (English) Daily Express Tribune (English) Daily Frontier Post (English) Daily Ausaf (Urdu) Daily Mashriq (Urdu) Daily Ibrat (Urdu)
Radio	1	1 Radio Channel	Radio Pakistan (Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, Infotainment, nationwide coverage)
Television	6	11 News Channels	Aaj News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) ARY News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Bol News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Dawn News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Dunya News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Geo News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) GNN News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Hum News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Khyber News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel) Neo News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel)

			Samaa News (Private, Urdu Language, 24/7 News Channel)
Internet	2	4 News Websites	BBC Urdu Mashriq News Independent Urdu Urdu Point
Twitter	2	4 Twitter Handles	92News Dawn Samaa News Haqeeqat TV

A **total of 382 news items** were analyzed based on monitoring tools provided by the GMMP. To be precise, 117 news items were monitored from 9 dailies, 143 news items from 11 news channels, 12 reports from a national radio channel, 53 stories from 4 news websites and 57 tweets from 4 news-based Twitter handles.



Monitoring Team

A team of 17 monitors was established to carry out all the monitoring tasks. These included university students, Uks's team members and journalists.

All the necessary facilities were in place at Uks's office including internet, news publications, radio, TV and PCs, stationary, masks and hand sanitizers.

Uks team, supervised the entire monitoring activity, was familiar with the methodology and monitoring tools. All the monitors were trained on how to monitor media at training session held prior to the activity.

TOPICS IN THE NEWS

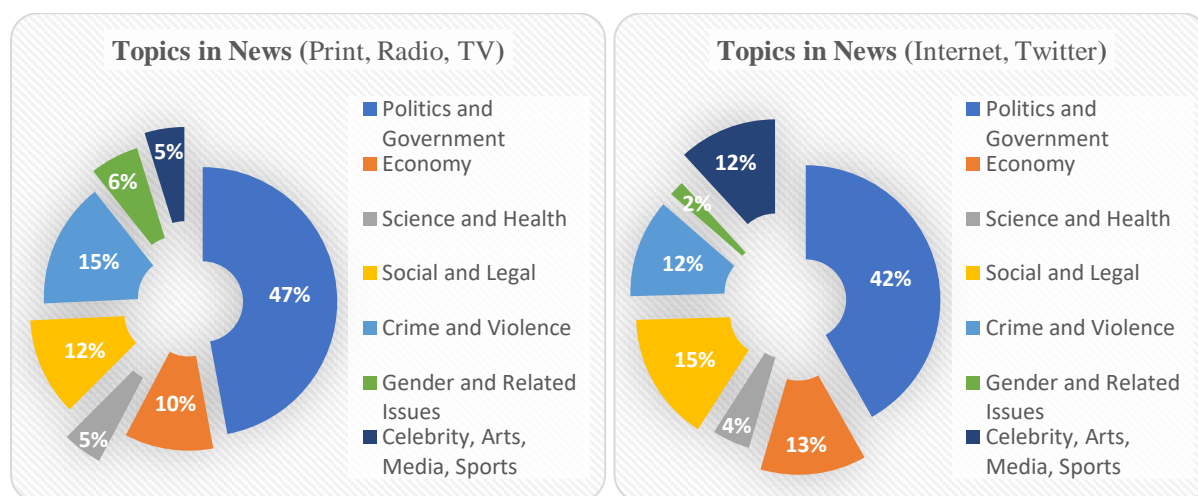
The news topic that gained the most coverage across the media on the monitoring day was **Politics and Government**. More than **47 per cent** of total stories were related to Politics. Fifty-one per cent of television stories were related to this topic, and on radio, 58%. Print, in comparison, provided 40 per cent coverage to this topic.

Internet and Twitter also had high margins of coverage of this topic at 38 and 47 per cent respectively. It is worth mentioning that **only 14 news stories** (out of total 382) were related to **women politicians** (subtopic under Topic#1) which makes hardly **3.66 per cent** of the total.

Breakdown of major Topics of news items by Medium

	Print, Radio and TV	Internet and Twitter	Total
Politics and Government	128	46	174 (45.5%)
Economy	29	14	43 (11.3%)
Science and Health	13	5	18 (4.71%)
Social and Legal	32	17	49 (12.8%)
Crime and Violence	41	13	54 (14.1%)
Gender and Related Issues	16	2	18 (4.71%)
Celebrity, Arts, Media, Sports	13	13	26 (6.81%)

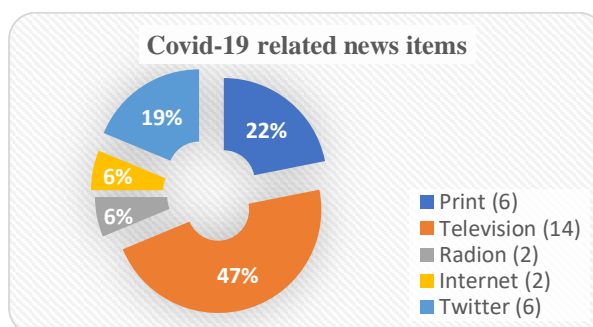
The second highest coverage was on **Crime and Violence** with more than **14 per cent** of monitored news items. Television provided 40 per cent coverage on this topic. **Science and Legal** got the third highest coverage, with almost **13 per cent**, followed by **Economy** with media coverage of more than **11 per cent** of the entire monitored content.



With the second wave of **Covid-19** in progress, a total of 32 news stories were monitored on the novel coronavirus, or approximately **8 per cent** of monitored content. Almost half of these stories were monitored from television (i-e 15 news items).

Breakdown of Covid-19 related stories

	No. of News Items
Print	7
Television	15
Radio	2
Internet	2
Twitter	6

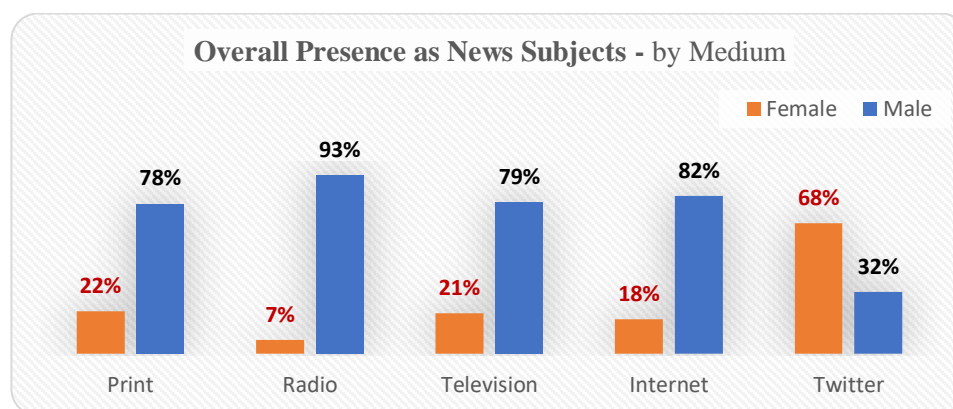


NEWS SUBJECTS AND SOURCES

Overall presence of men and women as news subjects in news in Pakistan

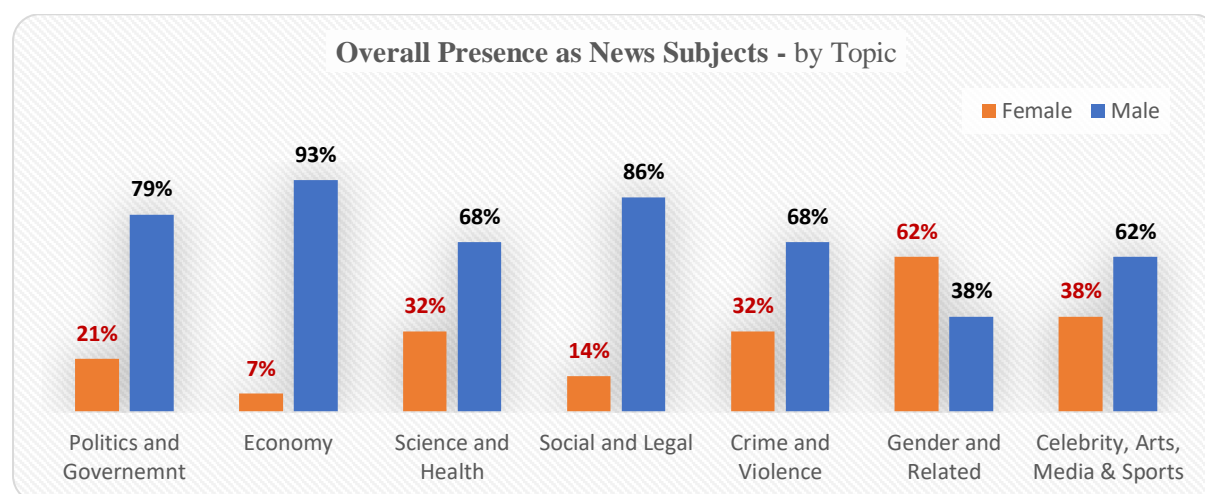
The overall presence of **women as news subjects** was **18.3 per cent** on monitoring day. The **figure decreased by half** in comparison to GMMP 2015, which stood at 36 per cent. This year, the ratio was 17.5 per cent in print, radio and television, while on internet and Twitter, this proportion was slightly higher at 21.7 per cent.

Radio remained the lowest in terms of women news subjects' presence with 7 per cent, which was portrayed in only a single news item. Twitter, on the other hand, represented women as news subjects with maximum coverage of 68 per cent, thanks to @SamaaEnglish, with 92 per cent of the stories having women as news subjects. Print remained second at 22 per cent, followed by television, at 21 per cent.



Overall presence of men and women as news subjects – by Topic

Men dominated the news stories on all the major topics except **Gender and related**, where women news subjects contributed **68 per cent**. Women news subjects' presence in **Economy**-related topics scored the lowest, at only **7 per cent**. The low ratio is attributed to the fact that Economy-related news in Pakistan are considered to be a male-dominant area of expertise.



Women news subjects' representation - by Occupation

With **14 per cent** of all the news stories on politics and government, women news subjects were portrayed as "Government employee, public servant, and spokesperson." This previously stood at 27 per cent in GMMP 2015.

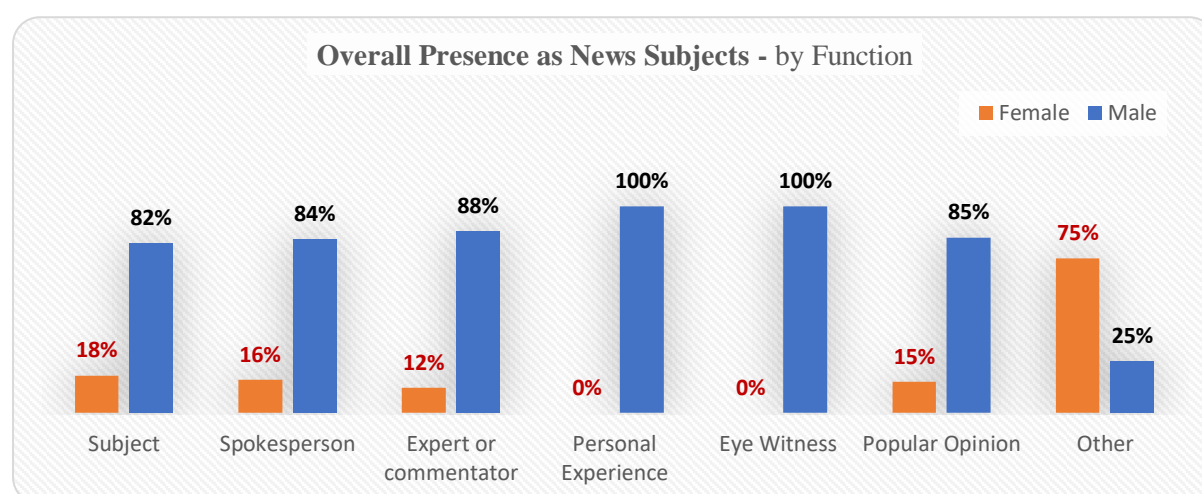
In **47 per cent** of all news stories on celebrities and artists, women news subjects were monitored as

“Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, singer and TV personalities,” while **38 per cent** of women subjects were portrayed as “media professional, journalist and film maker” in news related to media.

	Women News Subjects	Total No. of news items
Occupation not stated	40%	95
Politician/ member of parliament, ...	14%	415
Government employee, public servant, spokesperson, etc.	3%	40
Academic expert, lecturer, teacher	33%	3
Doctor, dentist, health specialist	33%	3
Media professional, journalist, film-maker, etc.	38%	8
Lawyer, judge, magistrate, legal advocate, etc.	2%	45
Business person, exec, manager, stock broker...	15%	13
Activist or worker in civil society org., NGO, trade union	100%	3
Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, singer, TV personality	47%	19
Sportsperson, athlete, player, coach, referee	13%	8
Student, pupil, schoolchild	18%	11
Homemaker, parent (Men or Women)	100%	1

Breakdown of Women news subjects – by Function

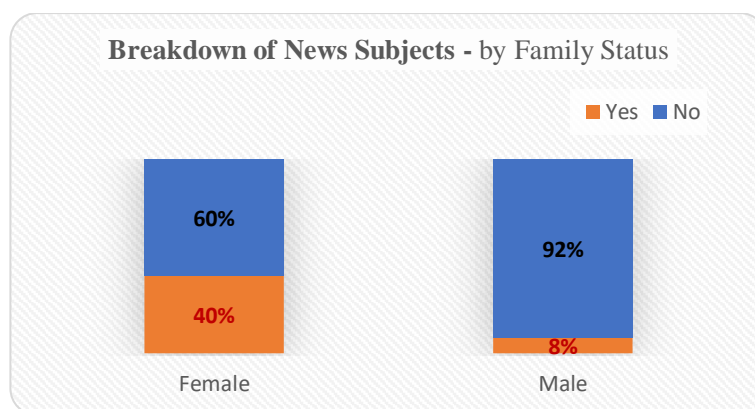
89 per cent women in news stories were spokespersons for “Government, politician, minister etc.” while men were 63 per cent. In contrast, 64 per cent of men were monitored as expert or commentators on news regarding “Government and Politics,” with women at only 33 per cent. No women subjects were monitored as “Eyewitnesses” or provided any “Personal Experience.”



Overall presence of Women news subjects identified by their Family Status

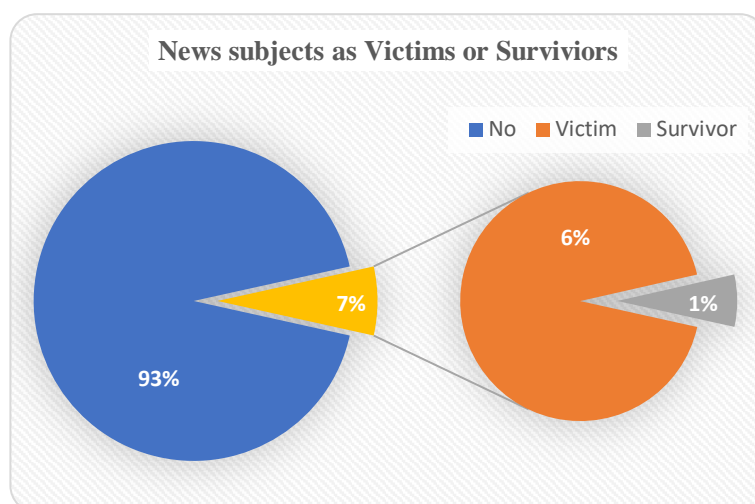
40 per cent of **women** news subjects were identified by their family role/status as compared to **only 8 per cent men** in stories monitored across all the media.

In GMMP 2015, most news stories in which women news subjects were identified by their family status were being reported by a male reporter. This year, the ratio for identifying women news subjects by their family status was slightly higher when the news item was reported by a woman reporter (**62 per cent**) compared to men reporters (**52 per cent**).



News subjects portrayed as “Victim or Survivors”

News items that identified news subjects as either **victim or survivor** were almost **7 per cent** of the total monitored content. News that portrayed women subjects as victims were 48 per cent, and men as victims, 52 per cent.



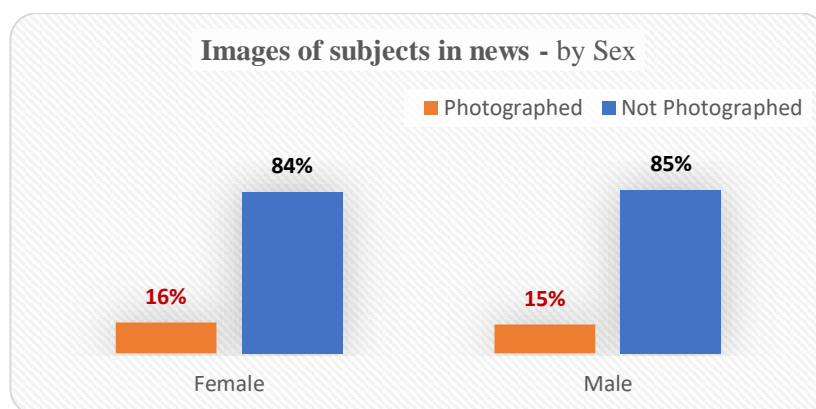
Of all the news stories with women news subjects portrayed as “victims,” 38 per cent portrayed women as victims of “non-domestic sexual violence, rape, murder etc.” At least 31 per cent of women were portrayed as victims of “domestic violence.” followed by 25 per cent as victims of “war, terrorism, state violence etc.”

Most men, or 64 per cent were portrayed as victims in news stories on war, terrorism, state violence etc., and 14 per cent in stories on violence due to gender, race-based discrimination.

Images in the news

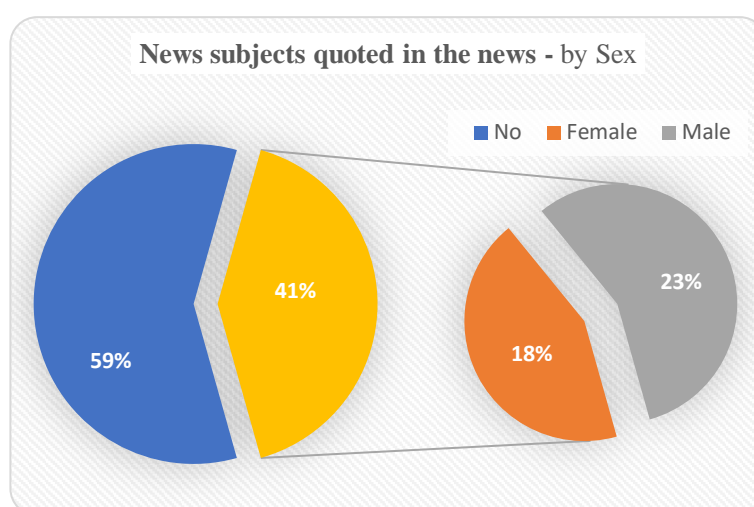
In more than **22 per cent** of monitored content, **photographs** of the subjects were **added** to the news. Across the media, **52 per cent** of news subjects that were photographed were **women** compared to **48 per cent of men** news subjects.

In news items with women news subjects, 16 per cent of them were photographed; similarly, photographs of 15 per cent men news subjects were part of the stories.



Breakdown of the news subjects directly quoted in the news – by Sex

Overall, news subjects (Men and Women) were **quoted in 41 per cent** of monitored news. Of these quoted news subjects, **43 per cent were women**, and **57 per cent were men**.



Of all news stories from print, with women as subjects, 44 per cent quoted women. Similarly, in stories with men as subjects, 45 per cent quoted men. In news stories from the internet, with women as subjects, 47 per cent quoted women.

News subjects quoted in the news – by Sex

	Print		Internet	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Yes	44%	45%	47%	35%
No	56%	55%	53%	65%

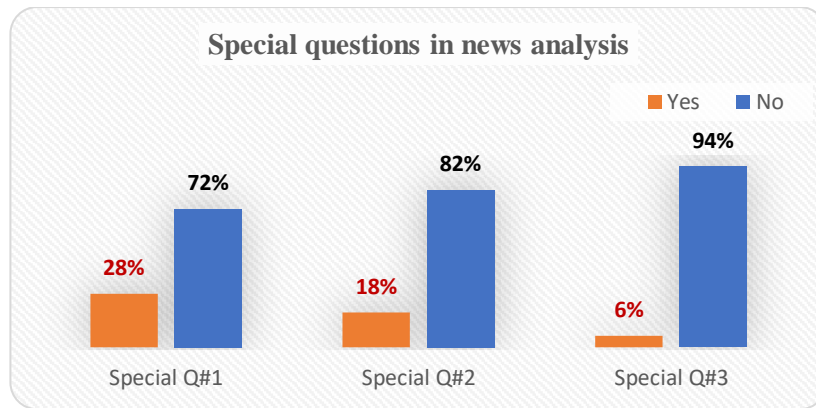
Special questions in news analysis

Three special questions were added to the news' coding sheets in GMMP 2020 separate for every region/country. Provided below are the questions added by Uks Research to the coding sheets:

Special question 1: *Is the news story a statement?*

Special question 2: *Is the language politically loaded?*

Special question 3: *Is the language of reporting creating bias?*



More than **28 per cent** of the news stories were monitored to be a “**statement.**” In news items, considered to be a statement, 84 per cent of news subjects were men, and only 16 per cent were women. For women news subjects, almost half of the statements were on the topic of “Politics and government,” compared to 60 per cent for men news subjects.

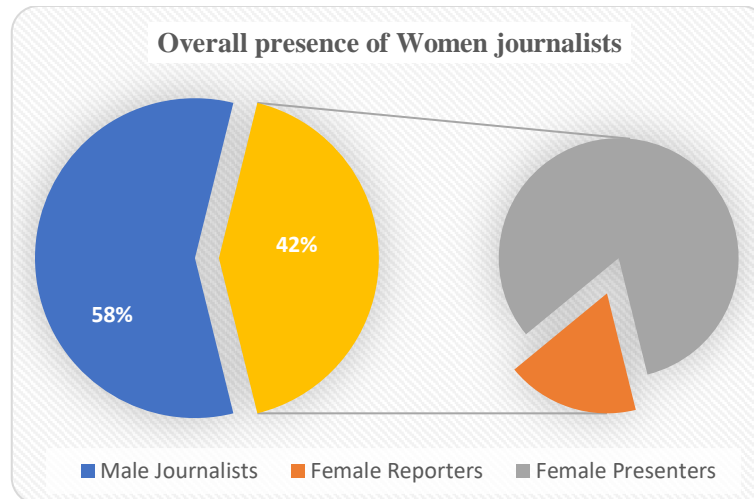
The language in **18 per cent** of the news stories was monitored as “**politically loaded.**” In news considered to be politically loaded, 28 per cent of the subjects were women, and 72 per cent men. Almost half of these news stories were monitored from print (48 per cent). But individually, the ratio was much higher, at 28 per cent, on Twitter and 13 per cent in internet news. The conventional news media (print, radio and television) had fairly low coverage in this regard.

The reporting language in **6 per cent** of the news stories was monitored to be “**biased.**” Almost **two thirds** of such news stories were **reported by men** journalists, while women journalists reported 32 per cent stories. In these news items, 26 per cent of the news subjects were women, and 74% were men.. 21 per cent of news stories from Twitter (highest among all media) were monitored to have biased language.

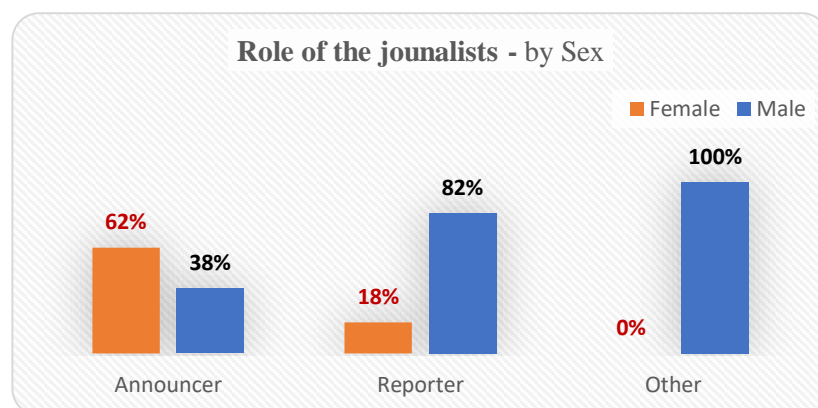
JOURNALISTS AND REPORTERS

Overall presence of Women reporters, presenters and announcers in media

More than **42 per cent** of the news was presented, announced or reported by **women journalists** across the media on monitoring day. **Only 18 per cent** of the women journalists were monitored as **'Reporters'** while 82 per cent were recorded as news presenters/announcers.



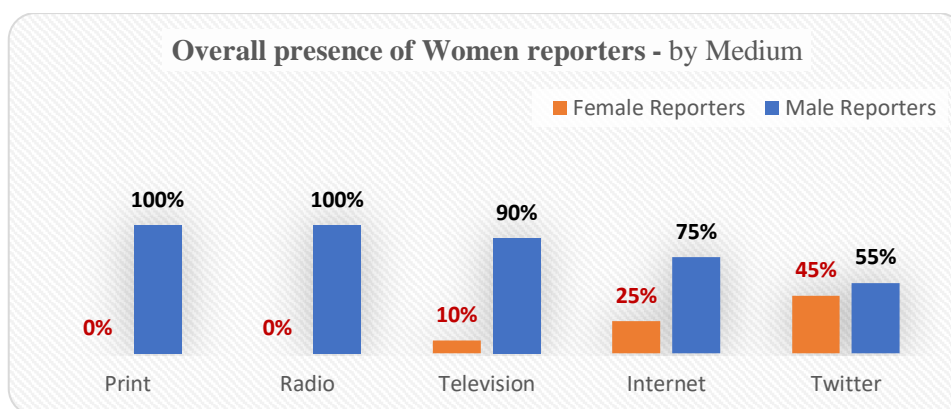
In comparison, **60 per cent** of the **men** journalists were **reporters** and 37 per cent were presenters.



Overall presence of Women reporters – by Medium

Overall presence of **women reporters** across the media was **18 per cent** of all the reporters (whose bylines were mentioned).

Only **10 per cent** of news stories on **television** were reported by women reporters whereas **not a single news** item was monitored to be reported by women reporters in **print** and **radio**. Surprisingly, Twitter had the highest number of reports by Women reporters at 45 per cent, followed by 25 per cent of stories from the Internet.

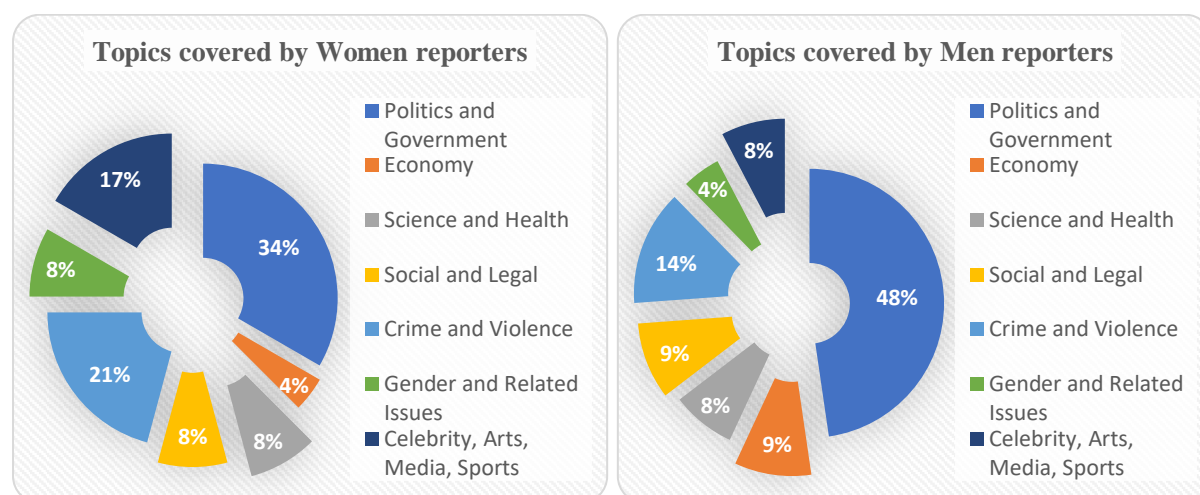


Overall presence of Women reporters – by Major News Topics

34 per cent of news stories on “Politics and Government” were reported by women reporters compared to 28 per cent by men reporters.

21 per cent stories on “Crime and Violence” were found to be reported by women reporters, while 14 per cent men reporters covered this topic.

17 per cent of women reporters covered stories related to “Celebrity, Arts and Media” compared to 8 per cent by men reporters.



Selection of news subjects by Women and Men reporters

Men reporters covered 72 per cent of the stories with women as news subjects, while just 28 per cent of these were reported by women reporters. Similarly, 78 per cent of stories with men as news subjects were covered by men reporters, and women reporters, only 22 per cent.

JOURNALISTIC PRACTICE: ON WOMEN'S CENTRALITY, GENDER STEREOTYPES AND RIGHTS-BASED REPORTING

News stories making reference to issues of gender equality/inequality, legislation, policy

About **4 per cent** of total news items made reference to issues of gender equality, human rights, legislations and policy etc. **33 per cent** of stories in which issues of gender equality/inequality were raised were **reported by women reporters** as the monitoring findings indicate. The topics of these stories were politics and government, violent crimes and child abuse.

News stories with women as central focus

About **12 per cent** of the total news items had **women** subjects as the **central focus**. Most of these (87 per cent) were on the topic “Gender and Related.” 17 per cent of stories about “Crime and Violence” and 14 per cent about “Social and Legal” issues were women-centric.

There were no news items about the “Economy” and “Science and Health” that had women as the central focus. Even in “Celebrity, Arts, Media and Sports,” women-centric news was only 7 per cent. Usually, women news subjects dominate “Arts and Celebrity” news in Pakistan and are almost non-existent in Sports news.

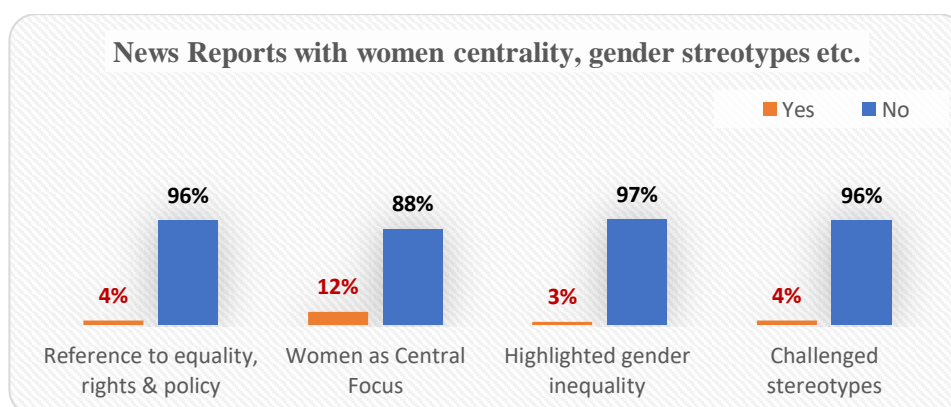
Topics of the news stories with women as central focus

	Yes	No
Politics and Government	5%	95%
Economy	0%	100%
Science and Health	0%	100%
Social and Legal	14%	86%
Crime and Violence	17%	83%
Gender & Related	87%	13%
Celebrity, Arts and Media, Sports	7%	93%

News stories challenging gender stereotypes

Although most of the news stories monitored, did not reinforce any gender stereotypes, most of them did not challenge them as well. **Only 4 per cent** of the monitored news content **challenged stereotypes**.

The topics included “Gender and Related” and “Celebrity, Arts, Media and Sports,” and 27 per cent of the stories on gender related topic challenged stereotypes.

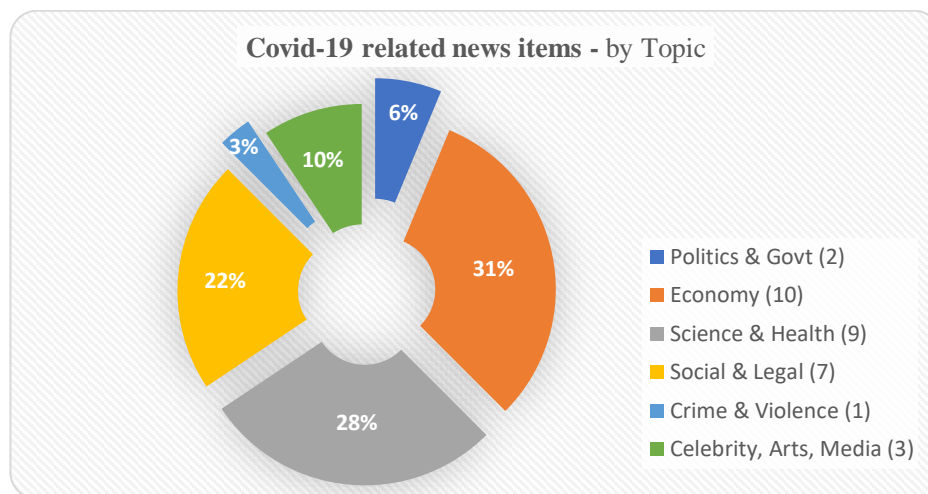


FOCUS ON COVID-19 NEWS

As noted earlier, **Covid-19-related news** stories made up almost **8 per cent** of entire monitored content. 48 per cent of the stories were monitored from television, and print and Twitter each had 20 per cent of stories monitored.

The topic of nearly one-third (31 per cent) of the Covid-19 related news stories was the “Economy.” Out of 10 news items on this topic, there was only one news where a woman news subject was monitored as an “Expert or commentator,” compared to men for the rest of 9 news stories.

The second highest topic was “Science and Health,” with 28 per cent, followed by “Social and Legal,” with 22 per cent of Covid-centric news items. Only two news items (6 per cent) about the virus were covered under “Politics and Government.”



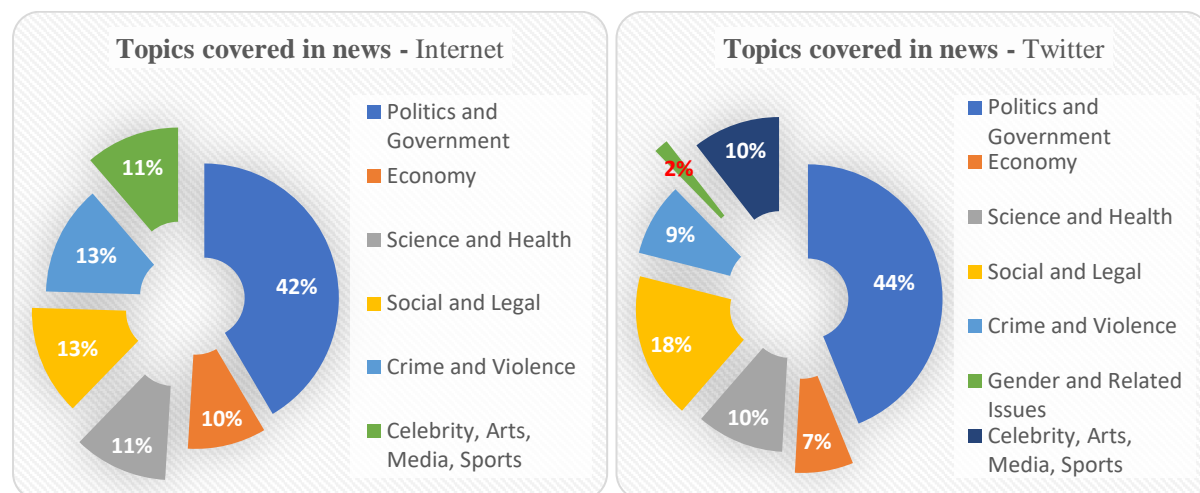
There were **no Covid-related news** items on “**Gender and Related**” topic. It is because the reports were very generic (in terms of mentioning news subjects’ gender) and most of the time, only the number of casualties, number of recovered and new corona cases and Standard Operating Procedures or lockdown notifications were discussed in the reports. The lockdown situation was mostly linked and discussed in terms of its effects on Pakistan’s economy.”

Similarly, no gender stereotypes were reenforced and neither were there any gender equality/inequality portrayed through news stories on Covid-19. Women are a huge and important part of Pakistan’s population and are more exposed to the economic and social effects of this deadly virus. But unfortunately, there were no women centric Covid related news stories on monitoring day. It was a missed opportunity indeed.

DIGITAL NEWS ON WEBSITES AND TWITTER

A total of 53 news stories from four news-based websites and 57 news items from four Twitter handles were monitored on monitoring day. The stories were 29 per cent of total monitored content.

Like rest of the media, the major topic of most Internet and Twitter news was “Politics and Government,” at 42 and 44 per cent respectively. The topic with second highest coverage for both the mediums was “Social and Legal,” at 13 and 19 per cent, respectively.



None of the monitored stories from news websites were shared on their Facebook accounts, and only three news items were shared on their Twitter accounts. Two of these stories were on “Politics and Government” while one news item was on “Crime and Violence.”

About 89 per cent of content (51 news items) was from “Original Tweets” of the monitored Twitter accounts and 6 news stories were “Retweets.”

Only 15 per cent of monitored content from **the Internet** had women news subjects compared to 39 per cent on Twitter. The occupation of 45 per cent of women news subjects on the Internet was “Politician” compared to 36 per cent of their men counterparts. The function of 59 per cent of women in these news items was monitored as “Subject,” 16 per cent as “Spokesperson” and 10 per cent as “Expert or Commenter” and 10 per cent, “Personal Experience.”

On **Twitter**, the occupation of 31 per cent of women news subjects was mentioned as “Politician,” compared to 64 per men. Also, 25 per cent of women subjects were identified as “Celebrity, artist, actor, writer, and singer.” The function of 76 per cent women in these news items was covered as “Subject,” with 12 per cent as “Spokesperson” and 6 per cent each as “Expert or Commenter” and “Eyewitness.”

Function of Women news subjects in the news

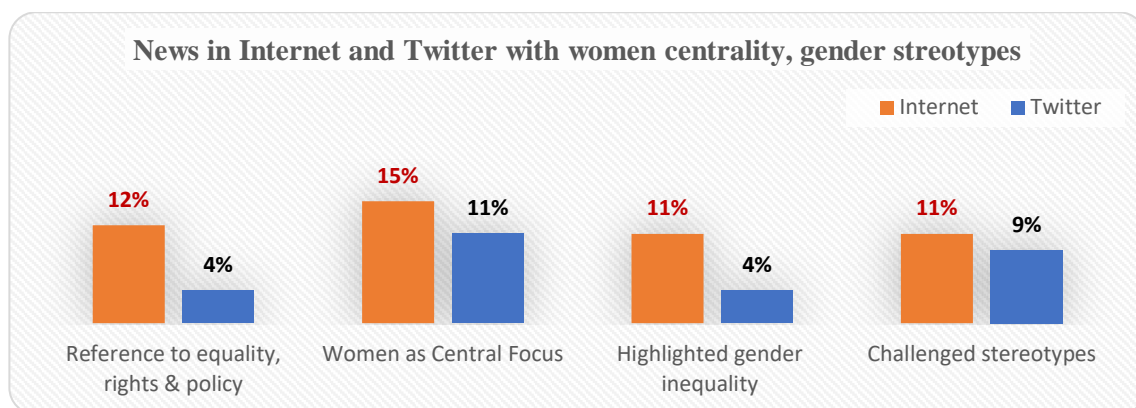
	Internet		Twitter	
	%	Number	%	Number
Do not know	0%	0	0%	0
Subject	58%	11	76%	13
Spokesperson	16%	3	12%	2
Expert or commentator	10%	2	6%	1
Personal Experience	16%	3	0%	0
Eye Witness	0%	0	6%	1
Popular Opinion	0%	0	0%	0

26 per cent of women news subjects in news on internet were identified by their family status compared to just 3 per cent of Men news subjects. Two third of Women news subjects were photographed compared to just 28 per cent of Men news subjects.

Similarly, two third of news stories with women news subjects were reported/presented by women journalists. Almost half of women news subjects (47 per cent) were directly quoted in the news compared to 35 per cent of men news subjects.


12 per cent of the stories from news websites made reference to gender equality, human rights policies etc., and Twitter, almost 4 per cent. 15 per cent of stories from the internet had women as the central focus compared to 11 per cent on Twitter.

11 per cent of the stories from the internet challenged stereotypes, while Twitter had 9 per cent of these stories.



CASE STUDIES

Title: Rape victim travelled without husband's permission: CCPO
Published in print and online on Dawn and dawn.com⁴

MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY SCORECARD 		
A: Excellent B: Good C: Fair D: Weak E: Poor		
Professionalism Story is fair, accurate and balanced from a gender equality perspective <input type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1	Rights-based approach Story clearly highlights the human and/or women's rights dimensions of the issue <input type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1	Respect for Freedom of Expression Story contains the views, perspectives and concerns of women as well as men, told in their own voices <input type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1
Total points: ____5____ A : 10 – 12 points B : 9 – 10 points C : 7 – 8 points D : 5 – 6 points E : 3 – 4 points		GRADE: ____D____

Summary

What's in a headline? Everything that matters.

Pakistan went into collective outrage on September 9, 2020, when a woman was raped in front of her children by two men. She had run out of fuel and was stranded on the motorway, awaiting help, when the incident took place. The case reached the media and through their persistent reportage, pressure built up on government functionaries and officials to pursue the criminals and bring them to justice. Neither ministers nor the police wanted to be seen as doing nothing. And so, something wonderful did happen in Pakistan: the media themselves pursued the fate of the case, the police was obliged to hand out investigation updates on a daily basis, and the sexism inherent in the system began to be challenged in the media.

⁴ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1582198/rape-victim-travelled-without-husbands-permission-ccpo>

This story is an event-based coverage of the police chief's summons before a Senate panel that was seeking updates. Published in nearly all mainstream publications, how the event was reported and how the story was framed are important differentiators – while all stories were monitored, the Dawn story stood out for its headline, but for all the wrong reasons.

Analysis

The main point of contention here is the headline: '*Rape victim travelled without husband's permission: CCPO.*'

An environment had been created by Pakistani media and social media where the sexism of the police chief began to be questioned and his assertions loaded with misogyny were being challenged. We acknowledge the role of the media in doing so, which is why this story must also be identified as one that took their eye off the ball.

Headlines ought to be carefully crafted to ensure that no bias or prejudice is conveyed, but by quoting the police chief directly, the newspaper helped make an assertion that went unchallenged. It is only when the story is read in its entirety that it becomes clear that the police chief was lambasted for this very assertion and any absence of relevance to the case.

While it was heartening to note the aggressive coverage of the case by both young women and men, officialdom, however, continued to offer the same antiquated responses that are usually handed out in a majority of cases taking place in Pakistan as a way of abdicating responsibility for either the crime or the failure to pursue the criminals. Travelling “without permission from the husband” is an age-old trope in official circles, which at the best of times signifies domestic strife and at the worst, the husband's involvement in the crime. But in both cases, the onus of the crime taking is placed squarely upon the woman despite her being the victim.

Irrespective of what the later text reads, the headline reinforces a certain perspective of what sexual crimes are and why they happen. A counter argument can be that news headlines are supposed to represent a development that took place in the story. The following headlines were published by *Dawn's* two main competitors, *The News* and *The Express Tribune*:

The News: Police response to motorway rape: Senate panel slams Lahore CCPO for conflicting remarks

The Express Tribune: Don't mislead on rape case, police told

Both *The News* and *The Express Tribune* reported from a people's perspective, bringing the fact that the police chief was taken to account. In other words, the notion that no new developments took place would be incorrect.

Among the three, *The News* presented a detailed version of how the police chief was lambasted by two women senators for his sexist assertions. In fact, *The News* presents a picture of how the police chief was left grovelling for mercy on account of his age and poor memory.

Summary

Set in the town of Wana, once in the eye of the storm during the war with the Taliban, the story revolves around an old woman from a nearby village who is protesting to have her kidnapped son recovered from his abductors but who has been given short shrift by government authorities. The narrative starts at a protest camp outside the Wana Press Club where the woman is pictured. It emerges that four days earlier the son was travelling the main Wana bazaar in a private vehicle but never reached his destination. The old woman pleads with law enforcement to start a search for her missing son but instead, a few days later, she is handed his dead body.

Analysis

For a story to come out of Waziristan with near-perfect gender balance in how it was crafted and reported is nothing short of remarkable: Waziristan is among those places in Pakistan where the media has little access and, as such, reporting out of Waziristan is seldom and complex.

It is one of those places that was torn apart by war against the Taliban and it still bears signs of old wounds. It is also one of those places where tribal societies still exist, and the tyranny of patriarchal rules is fairly severe. This story ought to be understood in that context.

In terms of headlines, sources and perspectives, the story checks all the right boxes.

The headline centres the mother and nothing else. While operating under strict gaze of the state, it does not take any positions on the morality of the situation. Or the absence of law.


But when we dive into the story, it makes mention of how patriarchal Waziristan's society is, how women there are often feel alienated by rights organizations since they don't seem to pick up on women's plight in Waziristan. And quite poignantly, it centres the woman between culture, patriarchy, and a rights framework.

While the narrative revolves around the old woman with a grandson in tow, the story has multiple respondents whose direct quotes appear in the story. It is through these voices that it begins to emerge that kidnapping is a rising trend in Waziristan, but while traditional jirgas used to negotiate the recovery of the victim and punishment for the accused, they now seem either disinterested or impotent.

As with many other phenomena in Pakistan, distressed women are a window into a larger social phenomenon that is taking place. The story has the perfect protagonist whose struggle tugs at the audience's hearts, irrespective of them being women or men. Every development in her life is a window to how society is structured in Waziristan: rising kidnappings but without any writ of the law for the ordinary citizen, for example. Another is the rising number of older generation women becoming heads of households in what were war-torn areas; the story has plenty of alluding to a larger social phenomenon, which needs greater academic investigation.

⁵ <https://www.independenturdu.com/node/48601>

For how finely stories coming out of Waziristan are combed editorially, this story shows what all is possible to report if done with due care and diligence. Both the reporter and the editors deserve applause for such fine journalism.

MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY SCORECARD 		
A: Excellent B: Good C: Fair D: Weak E: Poor		
Professionalism Story is fair, accurate and balanced from a gender equality perspective <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1	Rights-based approach Story clearly highlights the human and/or women's rights dimensions of the issue <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1	Respect for Freedom of Expression Story contains the views, perspectives and concerns of women as well as men, told in their own voices <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1
Total points: ____ 12 ____ A : 10 – 12 points B : 9 – 10 points C : 7 – 8 points D : 5 – 6 points E : 3 – 4 points		GRADE: ____ A ____

Title: Only 756 basic health centres across the country for mothers and children
Published by BBC Urdu on Twitter⁶

Summary

The video story begins by talking about health as an overall governance concern. It deploys just the right amount of data points to educate the audience and provide them with an overall landscape of things in the healthcare sector. It presents history and takes stock of the current number of basic maternal and child healthcare centers – the number of operational facilities has dramatically declined in Pakistan's most populated areas, where the population is ever-increasing.

⁶ <https://twitter.com/BBCUrdu/status/1310920717853224960>

The story then presents two cases of pregnant women going through grief because of this infrastructure situation. It then presents an expert opinion (male) from the director of the national nutrition program about what is needed at the grassroots level. His solution is more lady health workers.


Analysis

Every few months a story typically emerges that highlights the frailty of the healthcare system. The more memorable stories, however, often connect systemic inefficiencies with the impact on the very people the system is supposed to benefit.

This story is only applause-worthy – borne out by the audience numbers that it managed to pull: over 4,700 people. It is the perfect length – 2 minutes 18 seconds – and it has the right focus for the topic that is to be broached: maternal and child health in the rungs of a government priority.

As is the secret to any good piece of content, the story brings in disparate audience groups to care about an issue, in this case pregnant women. Ultimately all good journalism is about balance – healthcare infrastructure has often been discussed in mainstream media, but often from a man's lens. Sometimes that comes across as a battle of personal egos over the system rather than how systemic issues are having a real-life impact on millions who depend on these facilities.

Since the narrative in this story is controlled and delivered by a woman, the story hits all the right points despite a male voice coming through at the end. Even in the interviews of the women the attention to finer maternity concerns is apparent: these are details that are often missed by men reporters.

MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY SCORECARD 		
A: Excellent B: Good C: Fair D: Weak E: Poor		
<u>Professionalism</u> Story is fair, accurate and balanced from a gender equality perspective <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1	<u>Rights-based approach</u> Story clearly highlights the human and/or women's rights dimensions of the issue <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1	<u>Respect for Freedom of Expression</u> Story contains the views, perspectives and concerns of women as well as men, told in their own voices <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good, 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Fair, 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Weak, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Poor, 1
Total points: ____12____ A : 10 – 12 points B : 9 – 10 points		GRADE: ____A____

C : 7 – 8 points D : 5 – 6 points E : 3 – 4 points	
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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The GMMP 2020 monitoring activity was held on September 29, 2020, in 116 countries around the world. Pakistan participated in this activity for the third consecutive time. Seventeen media monitors carried out the activity organized by Uks Research in its office in Islamabad. The day's news were like any other ordinary day. News from print, radio, television, internet (news websites) and Ttwitter were monitored with the help of monitoring and coding tools provided by the GMMP. The findings of the monitoring activity have been summarized below:

Changes observed in the last five years:

- In the last five years - The overall presence of women in the news dropped from 36 per cent in 2015 to 18 per cent in 2020.
- The overall presence of women journalists as 'Reporters' has slightly increased from 16% in 2015 to 18% this year.
- No Women reporters were monitored in print and radio, while only 4 news items were reported by women reporters on television.
- There was a positive increase of 32% of women as news subjects under the topic "Economy," which was 0% in the previous GMMP 2015.
- Men reporters covered 72 per cent of the stories with women as news subjects, while just 28 per cent of these were reported by women reporters.

	GMMP 2020	GMMP 2015	GMMP 2010
Presence of Women in Media			
News Subjects	18%	36%	26%
Presenters	82%	86%	92%
Reporter	18%	16%	11%
Women News Subjects by medium (TV, Radio and Print)			
Television	21%	24%	50%
Radio	7%	11%	10%

Newspapers	22%	53%	27%
Women News Subjects - by Major Topics			
Politics and Government	21%	35%	4%
Economy	7%	13%	0%
Science and Health	32%	0%	0%
Social and Legal	14%	52%	25%
Crime and Violence	32%	39%	40%
Celebrity, Arts, Sports and Media	38%	22%	50%
Women News Subjects as 'Victims'			
As Victim	48%	61%	43%
Images of Women news Subjects appearing in News			
Photographs	52%	19%	25%
Women Reporters			
Print	0%	8%	11%
Television	10%	21%	10%

More findings:

- Men dominate the news stories in all topics from Politics, Crime, Social issues to Health and even Celebrity and Arts.
- Women news subjects in 32 per cent of the stories on 'Science and Health' was a positive note especially when one considers that there were no women news subjects in this category in GMMP 2010 and GMMP 2015.
- Also, 33 per cent of women were identified as experts or commentators in the news.
- Although none of the news items reinforced gender stereotypes, only 4 per cent of the entire monitored content challenged gender stereotypes and all reported/presented by women journalists. This indicate that women are still (for most of the media) relegated to softer beats while most of the men journalists are assigned hard beats, such as politics and government.
- Similarly, a few news stories (4 per cent of the total) made reference to gender equality, human rights and policies etc. The ratio was the same in GMMP 2015. But surprisingly, this year, 67 per cent of these news items were reported by men reporters in comparison to 33 per cent of women reporters.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND ACTION PLAN 2021-2025

- Encourage developing subject-specialists
- Encourage women to develop more than one specialisation
- Encourage intersectionality
- Society and culture after the pandemic, particularly its collapse, is a gendered crisis, but very few journalists are able to study it. Encourage and create master classes that help them gain sociological and anthropological understanding of the issue.
- Develop and place gender-aware and consumable content in news organizations

Annex 1. Methodology⁷

A key characteristic of longitudinal research is the assessment of change over time on the observed indicators. In the case of the 2020 Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), the methodology, indicators, approach to data collection and analysis are consistent with past editions of the research in order to allow for the usual historical comparisons.

Process

The global monitoring day scheduled initially for the first quarter of 2020 was postponed to later in the year due to the upheavals caused by the first coronavirus (Covid-19) wave worldwide. As the April monitoring day approached, it became quickly clear that proceeding as planned would result in a news sample that would be almost entirely focused on coronavirus stories. A new need emerged to address the practicalities of monitoring during the lockdowns and curfews imposed to contain the spread of the virus, as the regular sit-down communal coding sessions were now out of the question for most teams. The risks to health and livelihoods, the need to find ways of coping with everyday life, would shift the GMMP down on the ladder of priorities for the volunteers, potentially increasing the drop-out rate. These new challenges called for a pause on the plans to search for solutions and put in place the tools and resources necessary before monitoring could proceed.

The GMMP technical advisory group and the database development team Code for Africa worked to systematically address the issues. A new monitoring date was set for September, the coding tools were tweaked to capture Covid-19 stories without compromising on the ability to compare results across time based on story topics, exhaustive audio-visual training resources on how to code in a pandemic were put in place, electronic coding instruments were developed and the teams were re-trained in numerous webinars.

As with previous waves of the GMMP, the initial data capture was conducted offline by volunteer teams across the 116 participating countries. For the 2020 GMMP, a spreadsheet version of the coding sheets was provided, to allow for electronic recording of the observations.

In the period leading up to the monitoring day, a series of regional and national training sessions were organised to build a uniform understanding of the teams on the methodology and approach to coding. The teams received training on media selection, newscast and article selection, and the number of media to code.

For the 2020 GMMP, teams could choose from two possible options for the monitoring:

- **Full monitoring**, whose results provide a comprehensive picture of the status of gender equality dimensions in news media.
- **Short monitoring**, a shorter version which focuses on the key GMMP indicators, for teams who wished to participate but for various reasons could not implement the full monitoring.

To ensure accuracy in the coding process, radio and television bulletin were recorded, and copies of digital and print media items were collected. Across the different media types- both for the full and short monitoring-monitors captured information about the story, its main themes and the people in the story, as journalists, as story subjects and sources. Additionally, three optional special questions, unique to each country, allowed individual countries to analyse issues of national interest. For standardisation purposes, as well as the multilingual nature of this study, all responses were numerically coded from fixed lists.

⁷ See the global report for the extended discussion on the GMMP 2020 methodology

To enable comparability of data gathered from a pandemic-heavy news agenda with the historical results, an additional question was included which asked whether the story was related to Covid-19. For such stories, monitors were requested to select the most relevant secondary topic. While global news stories had diversified to pre-pandemic levels by the global monitoring day in September 2020, the regional analysis demonstrated the significance of this question, particularly for North America and the Middle East, which recorded 37% and 36% of Covid-19-related stories respectively.

Media bands

The media bands system was introduced in 2005 to ensure a more even spread of data and also serve as each country's reference point on the minimum number of media to monitor. This system was retained for the 2020 GMMP and was updated with the input of the country coordinators.

Weighting

While the GMMP seeks to understand how gender is represented in media across the world, differences in media access and impact across the participating countries mean that a simple aggregation of the data would lead to biased results. For example, if a country like France submitted data from 100 media, the entries from a smaller country like Fiji would have little, if any, impact on the results. Additionally, while two countries may have similar numbers of newspapers, their impact, in terms of the number of people who read them, may be significantly different. To address these challenges, GMMP 2020 updated, re-tested and applied the weighting system first developed for the 2005 edition.

Accuracy

The GMMP involved several thousand people across 116 countries from diverse gender and media stakeholder groups, with different research abilities and working in a wide range of languages. For a study of this scale, it was crucial that accuracy was considered at each stage, to maintain the high levels achieved in previous years. Data entry and processing errors can have severe biasing effects on the data analysis, resulting in misrepresentation of the observed variables. To minimise this risk, we leveraged on a variety of automated processes, as well as the extensive media monitoring experience of the country coordinators.

Limitations

As with any study, great effort was made to ensure accuracy of the data. As observed in previous GMMPs, an exact error of measurement cannot be determined due to the study's magnitude. Conventional error measurement would involve different researchers coding the same story and then calculating a level of error from the differences between the results. Although this was not possible for GMMP, we followed best practice to make sure that there were minimal errors in the data capture and analysis generation process.

About Code for Africa

[*Code for Africa*](#) (CfA) is the continent's largest network of indigenous African civic technology and investigative data journalism laboratories, with over 70 staff in 19 countries, who build digital democracy solutions that are intended to give citizens unfettered access to actionable information that empowers them to make informed decisions and that strengthen civic engagement for improved public governance and accountability.

Annex 2. List of Monitors

Media monitors for GMMP 2020 Pakistan team:

1. Shaista Yasmeen (Projects Coordinator – Uks Research Centre)
2. Shujaat Ali (Program Officer, Uks Research Centre)
3. Zafran Awan (Assistant Research Associate, Uks Research Centre)
4. Basil Andrews (Media Monitor, Uks Research Centre)
5. Shumaila Irfan (Media Monitor, Uks Research Centre)

Journalists who volunteered from Islamabad:

1. Imrana Komal
2. Tariq Siyal
3. Qudsia Mehmood

University student volunteers:

1. Muhammad Adil (IIUI Islamabad)
2. Syed Shahzaib Hussain Shah (IIUI Islamabad)
3. Ali Nisar (IIUI Islamabad)
4. Saeed Abbas (IIUI Islamabad)
5. Muhammad Suleman Khan (IIUI Islamabad)
6. Tayyaba Shakeel (Iqra University, Islamabad)
7. Rana Yasir (NUML Islamabad)
8. Fawad Khan (NUML Islamabad)
9. Syeda Farah Ahmed (FUUAST University)



The GMMP in Pakistan was coordinated by Tasneem Ahmar, Director, Uks Research Centre.

This report was written by Shujaat Ali, Program Officer, and _____ under the supervision and with inputs from Tasneem Ahmar, Director and with the assistance of the entire team at Uks Research Centre.

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