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**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF MEERWALA CASE
A THEMATIC STUDY OF TWO NATIONAL DAILIES**



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FINAL APPROVAL

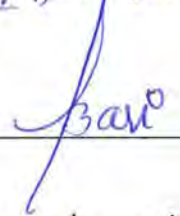
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This is to certified that we have read the dissertation submitted by Qamer-Un-Nisa and it is our judgment that this dissertation is of sufficient standard to warrant its acceptance by the Quid-I-Azam University, Islamabad, for the award of degree of Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.

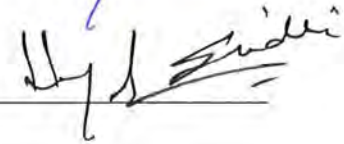
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**DEDICATED
TO
MY BELOVED
PARENTS**

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ABSTRACT

Violence against women emerged as a focus of national and international attention. There are many ways to assess the status of women in a society one of it is through print media portrayal. I analysis a case study related violence and how print media analysis my case.

Pakistan's print media is important in public communication and the study relates to the reporting of a gang rape case, which shock the Pakistani nation. The case was reported nationally and internationally. Two newspapers English daily The News and the English daily The Dawn were chosen to represent two important newspaper groups in the country. In Pakistan traditional values are higher then Islamic values so these traditional values not allow to represent such type of incidents openly or publically. Among other weaknesses has been the geographical misidentification e.g. Meerwala identified to be a villagen in Multan. Some of the important terms were not idefined; e.g. feudalism was extensively used in news reports and editorials but nowhere was it defined careful study of reporting of the case shows that the media did not devote suitable amount of time to make first hand field investigation of the case. United Nations charters and progress of women's rights in this respect also discussed, challenges Pakistan faces in the protection and promotion of women's rights in also highlighted. A gender sensitive code of ethics for the print in Pakistan will also discussed, evaluation of reporting of 'Meerwala Case' in daily "The Dawn, and in daily The News' discussed int^{The} end conclusion and appendices is also given.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of individual research, and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

Dated:

Qamar-un-Nisa

RECOMMENDATION CERTIFICATE

I hereby recommended that the dissertation prepared under my supervision by Qamar-un-Nisa entitled "Print Media Coverage of Meerwala Case". A thematic study of two National dailies be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Pakistan Studies.



Dr. Sarfraz Ansari

Supervisor

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 OBJECTIVE OF STUDY

The objective of this study is to give an over view of how the English print media in Pakistan gives or depicts the cases regarding ‘violence against women’. The major focus will be on the themes mentioned in News clippings, letters to Editor and Editorial etc. we will try to conclude that is the English Print media presents the such incidents in compliance with the Pakistani society/social setup.

This study attempts to compare the role played by the press in the case of two national level news papers, namely an English daily “The Dawn” and an English daily “The News”.

1.1.1 Justification for Selecting the Two Dailies

The Dawn is a leading newspaper of Pakistan. The Dawn was founded by Quaid-e-Azam in the late 1942 as weekly from Delhi. Now it has developed into a very influential newspaper group.

After 1940 (Pakistan Resolution) it was decided to establish two paper “Dawn” and “Manshur” Quaid-e-Azam himself was trustee. In 1942 its policies were settled.

The Dawn was converted into a daily on October 12, 1942 and Mr. Pathan Joseph was his first editor. Then, in 1945 Muhammad Hussain became its editor, then Jamil

Ansari. The English daily The Dawn is quite popular and is now published from Karachi, Lahore, Quetta, Multan and Rawalpindi.

The Dawn claims to be a daily with the largest circulation in the country we have selected The Dawn on the understanding that it is popular and represents the viewpoint of every current issue.

NEWS was established by Jung group of newspaper in 1988.

The News published under the approval of National Press Trust. It also built itself up into an-influential group of Newspapers. The News is quite popular and is now published from Karachi, Lahore, Quetta, Peshawar and Rawalpindi.

There is a study that indicated that style of an English newspaper reporting “The Dawn” differs from that of an English newspaper “The News”. This is particularly true with reference to sensational style in reporting. We chose the two English dailies, on this very account, that English papers are more analytical and comprehensive than the Urdu ones. In our study, a comparison of the two with regard to such characteristics was kept in mind.

1.2 RESEARCH METHOD

The unit of analysis is a piece of news published in the English daily, The Dawn and the English daily The News, beginning with the first day of reporting i.e. 3rd July 2002 and ending with 2nd September 2002. All relevant news items were collected and recorded chronologically. Themes of each news items have been classified and recorded

under appropriate classes. Classification of themes was open ended. Every time a new theme cropped up in a news item the list of classes was expanded. The end product of study of news items in two newspapers during two months is the number of times a particular theme occurs this shows which themes have occurred how frequently in reporting.

Classification of themes in the news has been further elaborated by analysis of themes in the editorials, in the articles and also in the letters to the editor.

The universe of the study includes all news items/news stories carried by the two dailies during 62 days over which the study spreads. Such news items/news stories have been reproduced in appendices A and B in the forms of headlines/subhead lines in the case of the Dawn and headlines and themes paragraphs/part paragraphs in the case of The News. A frequency table comparing some major themes in the two newspapers has been prepared. These major themes are then taken up as reflected in the editorials, letters to the editor and essays/articles related to the Meerwala case published in the two dailies.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

The study examines the reporting of the Meerwala case beginning with the publication of the first news on July 3, 2002 and ending with reporting of the court verdict till September 2. The newspapers carried the verdict reports. The study therefore spreads over 62 days of news report and editorial comments etc.

A study of reporting a gang rape case which shook the whole nation and which caught international publicity is important in many ways. It can tell us about the amount of the coverage given to the case. By more important to know is what themes have been emphasized and to assess the strength and weaknesses of the reporting. Since print media is still the major one in the country, the study may furnish some guidelines regarding reporting.

1.3.1 Review Of Literature

This study will be consisted on following things Newspapers, Dawn, the News. The themes mentioned in News clippings, Articles, letters to the Editor and editorial etc. Documents related to police investigation and legal procedures. Charter on women's rights by United Nation, General description of the district and Evaluation of reporting is included in this study.

1.3.2 Hypothesis

My Hypothesis is "is the English print media presented the such incidents i.e. violence against women (sexual assault) in compliance with the Pakistani society/social setup.

1.3.3 Organization of Study

Organization of study is consisted on following chapters 1st introduction is consisted on objective of study, Research method significance of study, and Hypothesis. 2nd chapter is consisted on United Nations charter, we will also discuss the progress of women's rights in this respect. Status of women's rights in developed countries and. Progress of women's rights in Pakistan is also discussed in this chapter and challenges

Pakistan faces in the protection and promotion of women's rights is also high ligh^ted. In chapter three we will discussed the print media reporting on violence against women, chapter four is consisted on Reporting in daily 'The Dawn' and in the daily 'The News' in the end the appendices is also given.

CHAPTER TWO

INTERNATIONALLY APPROVED/RECOGNIZED/ PROPOSED RIGHTS OF WOMEN

This chapter deals with the study of women's status at international and national level and international initiatives for elimination of violence against women will be discussed in this chapter, after that women's rights in Pakistan under law and constitution will also highlighted and what efforts are made in Pakistan to improve the condition of women. National plan for the advancement and empowerment of women will be discussed and the factual position and practical availability of these rights will also given. In the end the main challenges faces Pakistan in the promotion and protection of women's rights will discussed.

2.1 INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS

2.1.1 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women

The role and status of women are not isolated social phenomena, and women's struggle don't take place in a vacuum. Both are determined, enhanced or impeded, by the social, political, and economic development of a people's history. Historically, women and girls have not enjoyed equal access to basic human rights, protections, resources, and services. As a response to this discrimination, there have been major international efforts directed to eradicating these inequalities.

Recognizing the urgent need for the universal application to women rights and principles with regard to equality, security, liberty, integrity and dignity of all human beings.

Nothing that those rights and principles are enshrined in international instruments, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and the convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Recognizing that effective implementation of the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women would contribute to the elimination of violence against women and that the declaration on the elimination of violence against women, set forth in the present resolution, will strengthen and complement that process.

Concerned that violence against women is an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace, as recognized in the Nairobi Forward-looking strategies for the advancement of women, in which a set of measures to combat violence against women was recommended, and to the full implementation of the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

Affirming that violence against women constitutes a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women and impairs or nullifies their enjoyment of those rights and freedoms, and concerned about the long-standing failure to protect and promote those rights and freedoms in the case of violence against women.

Recognizing that violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men.

Concerned that some groups of women, such as women belonging to minority groups, indigenous women, refugee women, migrant women, women living in rural or remote communities, destitute women, women in institutions or in detention, female children, women with disabilities, elderly women and women in situations of armed conflict, are especially vulnerable to violence.

Recalling the according to Economic and Social Council resolution that the violence against women in the family and society was pervasive and cut across lines of incomes, class and culture had to be matched by urgent and effective steps to eliminate its incidence¹.

Recalling also economic and social council resolution, in another resolution, which the council recommended the development of a framework for an international instrument that would address explicitly the issue of violence against women².

Welcoming the role that women's movements are playing in drawing increasing attention to the nature, severity and magnitude of the problem of violence against women.

Alarmed that opportunities for women to achieve legal, social, political and economic equality in society are limited, inter alia, by continuing and endemic violence.

Convinced that in the light of the above there is a need for a clear and comprehensive definition of violence against women, a clear statement of the rights to be applied to ensure the elimination of violence against women in all its forms, a commitment by states in respect of their responsibilities, and a commitment by the international community at large to the elimination of violence against women.

Article 1

“For the purposes of this declaration, the term ‘violence against women’ means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life”.³

Article 2

“Violence against women shall be understood to encompass, but not be limited to, the following:

- a. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation.
- b. Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation

at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.

- c. Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the state, wherever it occurs”.⁴

Article 3

“Women are entitled to the equal enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. These rights include, inter alia:

- a. The right to life
- b. The right to equality
- c. The right to liberty and security of person
- d. The right to equal protection under the law
- e. The right to be free from all forms of discrimination
- f. The right to the highest standard attainable of physical and mental health
- g. The right to just and favorable conditions of work
- h. The right not to be subjected to torture, or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”.⁵

2.2 INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES FOR ELIMINATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

As violence against women emerged as a focus of international attention and concern in the 1990s, other international bodies also took major initiatives to remedy this deplorable situation, which include the following:

1. Vienna declaration and program of action adopted at the end of world conference on human rights in 1993 also affirmed that “women rights are a fundamental part of all human rights” and that “women’s rights must be protected not only in courts, prison, and all other areas of public life but also in home.⁹”
2. International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in 1994, underlined the need that “countries should act to empower women and should take steps to eliminate inequalities between men and women as soon as possible by eliminating violence against women.” The conference also recommended governments for taking preventive measures for this purpose.
3. In March 1994, the commission on human rights appointed the first special rapporteur on violence against women and empowered her to investigate abuses of women rights.
4. In 1994, the Organization of American States (OAS) negotiated the Inter-American Convention to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women. A large number of American states had ratified the convention.
5. In 1994 the United States promulgated the Violence Against Women Act, which provides a record breaking sum of US\$ 1.8 billion to address issues of violence against women.
6. In May 1996, the 49th World Health Assembly adopted a resolution (WHA 49.25) declaring violence a public health priority¹⁰.
7. In September 1998, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) brought together 400 experts from 37 countries to study the causes and cost of domestic violence, and to devise policies and programs to address it for women.

8. In 1998, United Nations Development Fund (UNIFEM) launched regional campaigns in Africa, Asia/Pacific, and Latin America designed to draw attention to the issue of violence against women globally.
9. In 1999, the United Nations Population Fund declared violence against women “a public health priority”.

2.2.1 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing

The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 advocated to accord high priority to end gender violence. In this regard, 186 countries including Pakistan, agreed on a platform for action with commitments to reduce violence against women. The platform proposed specific measures that governments and communities can take to eliminate violence against women. These include:

1. Recognize violence against women as a violation of women’s human rights;
2. Cooperate with the special UN rapporteur on violence against women;
3. Study and widely publicize root causes and mechanisms of different forms of violence against women;
4. Analyze and review existing laws relevant in violence against women and develop new legislative efforts, in accordance with the declaration on violence against women;
5. Address both the causes and the consequences of violence against women, using both legal and social measures. Emphasize preventing violence as well as protecting women subject to violence;
6. Launch legal literacy programmes and information campaigns on existing laws and women’s human rights;

7. Include in the curricula material on gender inequality and violence;
8. Train the judiciary and the police to ensure fair treatment of women targets of violence, increase recruitment of women into the police forces and ensure higher representation of women in the judiciary;
9. Set up high-level national bodies to oversee the working of safeguards for women;
10. Take specific action to protect women and girls who are subjects of sex trafficking and forced prostitution;
11. Take special measures to protect women with disabilities and female migrant workers¹¹.

2.3 WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN PAKISTAN UNDER LAW AND CONSTITUTION

Pakistani women live in a culture that is many centuries old. The current institutions, beliefs, attitudes and customs have been shaped by a long history during which the Indian subcontinent was conquered by Muslim rulers who brought the religion of Islam; this conquest resulted in the conversion of a sizeable minority of local inhabitants to the Islamic faith. The second major landmark is the colonial rule by the British in the Indian sub-continent won Independence and Pakistan was created.

The religion of Islam provides many more rights to women than are actually available to an average woman in Pakistan. If the country were to adopt a truly Islamic way of life, women would regain many more rights.

In Pakistan movement Muhammad Ali Jinnah did not only appeal to Muslim males. He focused equally on women, recognizing that they represented an untapped force and source of strength. He supported women's rights and deplored the oppression of women in his speeches and at public rallies. His most quoted and remembered speech in the one delivered in Aligarh in 1944 in which he said:

“It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up with in the four walls of the houses as prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable conditions in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life.¹²

As a symbolic gesture, he took his sister, Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah with him wherever he went. But in Pakistan, the constitution, for the first time in Pakistan's history, gave equal rights to men and women and provided for equal opportunities for all. It prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex, class or creed, and had most of the provisions of a secular and egalitarian document. One of its first tasks was the formation of a Constitution Committee, including two women Nasim Jehan and Ashraf Abbasi to draft the new constitution.

The 1973 constitution gave women more rights than any other constitution of Pakistan. Article 25, of the fundamental rights which gives all citizens equality before the law and equal protection of the law, provides an additional safeguard for women by stipulating that there will be no discrimination on the basis of sex¹³.

The constitution of Pakistan has a significant human rights content. While human rights concepts can be found from the preamble onwards, there is also a separate chapter on fundamental rights of citizens. A brief overview of relevant constitutional provisions is given below:

- i. Several provisions in the preamble, the chapter on Fundamental Rights and the Chapter on Principles of Policy underline the principles of equal rights and equal treatment of all citizens/persons, without any distinction including on the basis of sex.
- ii. Article 3 calls upon the State to eliminate all forms of exploitation.¹⁴
- iii. Article 4 provides for the right of individuals to enjoy the protection of law and to be treated in accordance with the law.¹⁵
- iv. Article 8 states that any existing law or practice, inconsistent with or in derogation of the fundamental rights, shall be void. It further prohibits the state from enacting any law or policy, in conflict with Fundamental Rights.¹⁶
- v. Article 26 provide for equal access to public places and equality of employment in the public and private sectors.¹⁷
- vi. Articles 11 and 37(g) prohibit trafficking in human beings as well as prostitution.
- vii. Article 37(e) directs the State to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work and ensuring that children and women are not employed in vocations unsuited to their age or sex, and for ensuring maternity benefits for women in employment. (The wording of the provision is archaic compared to present thinking on women's rights but the maternity benefits mentioned in the provision are available to and exercised by women as a matter of right.

The subject of women not being employed in “vocations unsuited to their age or sex” was inserted as a guarantee against exploitation and was appropriate for the time and context in which the constitution was drafted. However it has not been used to hinder the entry of women in non-traditional areas/fields of work as is evidenced by the increasing numbers of women entering the uniformed services – the police, army, air force etc.)¹⁸

- viii. Articles 51 and 106 provide for the reservation of seats for women in the legislatures.¹⁹
- ix. Article 27 there would be no discrimination on the basis of race, religion, caste or sex for appointment in the services of Pakistan²⁰.
- x. Article 32 the Basic principles of state policy guarantees reservation of seats for women in the local bodies²¹.
- xi. Article 34 steps shall be taken to ensure the participation of women in all spheres of national life.²²
- xii. Article 35 stipulates that the state shall protect marriage, the family, the mother and the child.²³
- xiii. Article 228 the constitution accept the principle of at least on women member on the proposed council of Islamic Ideology under the 1973 constitution women continued to be indirectly elected by the members of the assemblies²⁴.

The constitution of 1973 continued the tradition of providing for the reservation of National Assembly seats for women, also provisional assembly seats for a period of two general elections. But it went further in opening all government services to women (Article) barring the police force. In 1976, the draft of the Women’s Rights Committee

Report was submitted to then prime minister. The report recommended legal and structural reforms to improve women's status. As a result Dowry and Bridal and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Act was passed to limit marriage expenditures and dowry expectations.

In 1979, a martial law government promulgated the Hudood Ordinances to override the existing Pakistan Penal Code in matters of rape, adultery, sex outside of marriage and certain other crimes. However, a new Qanoon-e-Shahadat (Law of Evidence) promulgated in 1982, sought to reduce the value of women's evidence in financial matters: the testimony of two women witnesses was to be equivalent to that of one male witness. In February, 1982, Women's Action Forum, a collection of urban women's rights groups and women activities, demonstrated in Lahore against the Law of Evidence. Police beat up women demonstrators showing sensitivity to women's problem, the Planning Commission included a chapter on women's development in the sixth five year plan (1983-1988). Again, in the same year was established the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women to identify women's needs in a wide range of sectors.

A civilian government in 1989 under Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto upgrades the Women's Division to a full-fledged Ministry of Women Development. It also published and disseminated the 1989 Commission Report on the Status of Women. The year also saw the creation of the First Women's Bank to provide improved credit facilities to women and increased employment opportunities for women in the banking sector.

The second Benazir Government (1993-96) established National Inquiry Commission on the Status of Women. It was headed by a Supreme Court judge and included political representatives and experts. Women's police stations were set up on an experimental basis at nine locations nation-wide to facilitate women's access to police without fear of violence at the hands of male officers. At the same time women were appointed to the superior judiciary for the first time, and legal aid centers were established within Dar ul Amans (the government run homes for destitute women).

National Consultative Committee was set up to recommend legal reform and measures to increase women's political representation but it failed to complete its work.

In 1995, Pakistan signed CEDAW in preparation for the country's participation in the UN World Conference for Women at Beijing later that year. Punjab government passed an ordinance reserving one third of local council seats for women. In 1996, a process of Beijing follow-up was launched by donors and government, which included the formation of National and Provincial Core groups to monitor the government's implementations of the platform for action.

In 1997, Parliament passed a law making the death penalty mandatory for the offense of gang rape. This was in addition to the existing Hudood Laws. In the same year National Inquiry Commission on the Status of Women submitted its report. Recommendations of the report give good idea as to what was deemed amiss regarding constitutional and legal position of women in Pakistan. The report noted that recommendations or revision of law in several previous reports had not been carried out. It gave a consolidated list for such revisions:

- Citizenship act, 1951
- Family Laws (for non Muslims), 1960
- West Pakistan Family courts Act, 1964
- Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961
- Muslim Laws Ordinance, 1961 (/)
- Pakistan Penal Code, 1960.
- Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (section 174 (3))
- Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.
- (United National Development Program; 1998, 48)²⁵

In connection with incidence of domestic and sexual violence a number of tasks were identified and assigned to various agencies. First of all, Legal definition of domestic violence as a criminal offence was to be provided, making domestic violence a cognizable offense, non-boilable depending on gravity of the crime. Existing laws on rape and sexual assault were to be reviewed and revised in keeping with universal standards of human rights²⁶.

The method suggested for review and revision was that existing laws were to be applied and enforced till the formulation and enactment of new laws. Proposed legislation was to be enacted and new laws were to be publicized through media. During 1998-2000. During 2000-2003, the newly enacted laws and/or laws reviewed from the existing ones were to be put under a further review and, if required, amendments could be made. Tasks involved were proposed to be carried out by Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary affairs, Ministry of Women Development, judicial/executive/legislative bodies, and legal rights groups²⁷

Related to the above was the task of relief and assistance to women and minors who might be victims of domestic and sexual violence. In this, shelter homes to provide protection were to be set up in collaboration with NGO's, along with provisions of legal aid and psychological counseling for women in crisis. Existing and new legislative provisions and procedures for redress were to be widely publicized. This was to be carried out by the Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Women Development and Social Welfare, and public and private sector bodies. These tasks were to be completed between 1998-2000²⁸

A further important task in connection with rape and sexual violence was to devise mechanism to monitor the violence against women perpetrated by law enforcement agencies.

In this connection, there was need to conduct gender sensitizing training programs with a focus on violence against women for members of the law enforcement agencies. It was proposed, among other things, to sensitize mass media and undertake dialogues with police and affected women. The program was to be completed during 1998-2000²⁹

2.3.1 Efforts Made in Pakistan

Following initiatives have been taken in Pakistan to combat violence against women:

- Women Police Stations have been set up in Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Peshawar and Abbotabad.
- Crises centers for women have been established in Islamabad and Vehari.

- National Plan of Action by the Ministry of Women development lays emphasis on ending violence against women.
- The Government of Pakistan, with the help of Department for International Department (DFID), UK, has initiated a family protection project for building shelters for women victims of violence.
- The Government of Pakistan has also established a special fund for women in distress and detention.
- National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), an independent statutory body, was set up in July 2000 to recommend measures to improve the status of women in Pakistan.
- The Government of Pakistan has amended the citizenship act of 1951 to enable Pakistani women to confer nationality on their children regardless of the nationality of the father³⁰.

2.3.2 No Religion Sanctions Violence against Women

There exist certain misconceptions in some quarters that violent males might justify their acts on the basis of religious injunctions. As a matter of fact, no religion in the world sanctions the use of violence against any human being, especially the women. For example, Islam accords great respect to the rights of women in this regard. However, women are denied even the rights granted by Islam and are dishonored on the basis of man – made customs and traditions³¹.

2.3.3 Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education

The Ministry of Women Development, Social Welfare and Special Education is the national focal machinery for the advancement of women and implementation of CEDAW. The provincial Women Development Departments (WDDs) assist it at the provincial level. The Ministry's women related main functions are as follows:

- a. To formulate public policies to meet specific needs of women;
- b. To ensure women's interests and needs are adequately safeguarded and met by various organs of the government;
- c. To ensure equality of opportunity in education and employment and fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life; and
- d. To undertake and promote research on the conditions and problems of women and to undertake and promote programmes and projects for providing special facilities for women.
- e. Pakistan's representation in international organizations dealing with problems of women in bilateral contacts with other countries.
- f. Matters relating to equality of opportunity in education and employment and fuller participation of women in all spheres of national life.
- g. Implementation of Pakistan's international commitments relating to women such as CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action etc.³²

2.4 NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The National Commission on the Status of Women was established through a Presidential Ordinance on July 17, 2000. The Commission is mandated to:

- a. Examine the policy, programmes and other governmental measures for women development and gender equality, to assess implementation and make suitable recommendations for effective impact;
- b. Review laws, rules and regulations affecting the status and rights of women and suggest repeal, amendment or new legislation essential to eliminate discrimination, safeguard and promote the interests of women and achieve gender equality in accordance with the Constitution and obligations under international covenants and commitments;
- c. Monitor the mechanism and institutional procedures for redress of violation of women's rights, individual grievances, and facilities for social care, and undertake initiatives for better management and efficient provision of justice and social services through the concerned forums and authorities;
- d. Encourage and sponsor research to generate information, analysis and studies relating to women and gender issues to provide knowledge and awareness for rational policy and strategic action;
- e. Develop and maintain interaction and dialogue with non-governmental organizations, experts and individuals in society and an active association with similar commissions and institutions in other countries for collaboration and action to achieve gender equality and development at the national, regional and international level.³³

2.5 NATIONAL PLAN OF ACTION (NPA)

2.5.1 National plan for the Advancement and Empowerment of Women

The plan was prepared as a follow-up to Fourth World Conference on Women through a national participatory process involving the Federal and Provincial Governments, NGOs, women's organizations and individual experts and lists more than 180 actions with many sub-actions.

- a. The National Plan of Action states that "equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental pre-requisite for equality, development and peace for the promotion of people centered sustainable development".
- b. The plan identifies strategic objectives and specific actions in the twelve priority areas identified by the Beijing Platform for Action plus a thirteenth area "women and girls with disabilities".

The NPA for Women set out in twelve (12) areas of concern, establishes a set of priority action formulated to help achieve the agenda for the empowerment of women in Pakistan. Prepared on the basis of national participatory process, involving Federal and Provincial Governments, NGOs, Women Organizations and individual experts the NPA aims to facilitate women's participation an all spheres of life besides ensuring protection of women's rights within the family and the society. NPA twelve (12) areas of concern are as under:

- Women and poverty
- Education and training of women
- Women and health

- Violence against women
- Women and armed conflict
- Women and economy
- Women in power and decision making
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- Human rights of women
- Women and media
- Women and environment
- The girl child.³⁴

2.5.2 Recent Reports Regarding Sexual Crimes

A recent report by the Human Right Commission of Pakistan gives a disparate picture of violence against women. According to it, in the Punjab one woman was raped every sixth hour and a women gang raped every 11th day ³⁵. This in the view of the report represents increase as compared to the past. In some part of the country, one woman was raped every two hours, indicating a rise in the number of cases over the decade.

This is while the Commission believes that because of several social stigmas, in the overwhelming number of cases involving rape, the family covered up the crime. The figures, therefore, could be far higher than those stated.

The 2001 report of the Commission registers a total of 364 cases of rape 157 of them involving the minor girls, in the Punjab, according to data based on press reports; other cases may have gone unreported. 200 of the victims had been gang raped, 28

victims had been killed after rape. FIRs had been registered in 321 of the cases but only 33 persons had been held by the end of the year.³⁶

The special Task Force of the Commission at Hyderabad documented a total of 104 cases of rape and 106 cases of gang rape in Sindh during the first ten months of 2001. In another 86 cases, minors had been made victims of rape.³⁷

Some of the cases reported highlighted the risk women and girls face in the society. In a case brought to the notice of HRCPC, the burnt body of Bushra, 11, was found in Atif park in the Shalimar police station area Lahore³⁸. The child had been raped and strangled. Police arrested five members of a gang suspected of involvement in the gang rape. However Bushra's family continued to maintain that investigators were involved in a cover-up and the real culprits were being protected. The threats faced by those who reported rape were also alarming.

2.5.3 The Existing Legal Provisions For Crimes Against Women

Crimes against women such as harassment and attacks on modesty are covered by the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). They can be reported to a Thana and a case can be filed against the person responsible³⁹.

Crimes against women covers a vast range of issues and include harassment on the streets, domestic violence, outraging a women's modesty, kidnap, rape and customary so-called 'honor killings'. Apart from rape by the husband, all the above forms of violence against women are recognized by the law as a crime and carry penalties ranging from imprisonment of up to one year to the death penalty.

2.6 PROGRESS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

From the charter of the United Nations to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent international treaties/declarations, the rights of women and their equal status are central to the vision of a civilized society. Violence against women is contrary to such a vision as it “constitutes a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women and impairs or nullifies their enjoyment of those rights and freedoms”. Combating violence against women is, therefore, a major issue on today’s international agenda for women rights. Since the adoption of Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by the United Nations General Assembly in 1979, which calls for ensuring equal status of women in all spheres of life, a number of major international initiatives have been undertaken. Such initiatives not only highlight the gravity and widespread nature of violence against women but also underscore the fact that it is not limited to a single country, region, or society but has global dimensions. The United Nations’ declaration on the Elimination of violence Against Women in 1993 was a clear recognition of the global magnitude of the problem and the need to address it effectively by the member states.

Although Pakistan is bound under such international commitments to take necessary legal, administrative and policy measures to end violence against women, the state of women’s rights remains unsatisfactory here. A host of cultural and socio-economic factors such as the prevalence of a feudal value system, which do not accord priority and importance to the rights of the vulnerable groups, have made matters worse. Violence against women, in particular, has emerged as a matter of great concern not only for the civil society but also for the government, which has to face a adverse internal and

external criticism on account of an increasing incidence of violent crime against women. There is a growing realization at the policy-making level that a comprehensive socio-legal response is required to improve the status of women. Such as to:

- a. Foster international and regional cooperation with a view to defining regional strategies for combating violence, exchanging experiences and financing programmes relating to the elimination of violence against women;
- b. Promote meetings and seminars with the aim of creating and raising awareness among all persons of the issue of the elimination of violence against women;
- c. Encourage coordination between organizations and bodies of the United Nations system to incorporate the issue of violence against women into ongoing programmes, especially with reference to groups of women particularly vulnerable to violence;
- d. Cooperate with non-governmental organizations in addressing the issue of violence against women.⁴⁰
- e. Promote research, collect data and compile statistics, especially concerning domestic violence, relating to the prevalence of different forms of violence against women and encourage research on the causes, nature, seriousness and consequences of violence against women and on the effectiveness of measures implemented to prevent and redress violence against women; those statistics and findings of the research will be made public;
- f. Adopt measures directed towards the elimination of violence against women who are especially vulnerable to violence;

- g. Recognize the important role of the women's movement and non-governmental organizations world wide in raising awareness and alleviating the problem of violence against women;
- h. Facilitate and enhance the work of the women's movement and non-governmental organizations and cooperate with them at local, national and regional levels;
- i. Encourage intergovernmental regional organizations, of which they are members, to include the elimination of violence against women in their programmes, as appropriate.⁴¹
- j. Develop, in a comprehensive way, preventive approaches and all those measures of a legal, political, administrative and cultural nature that promote the protection of women against any form of violence, and ensure that the re-victimization of women does not occur because of laws insensitive to gender considerations, enforcement practices or other interventions;
- k. Work to ensure, to the maximum extent feasible in the light of their available resources and, where needed, within the framework of international cooperation, that women subjected to violence and, where appropriate, their children have specialized assistance, such as rehabilitation, assistance in child care and maintenance, treatment, counseling, and health and social services, facilities and programmes, as well as support structures, and should take all other appropriate measures to promote their safety and physical and psychological relations;
- l. Include in government budgets adequate resources for their activities related to the elimination of violence against women;

- m. Take measures to ensure that law enforcement officers and public officials responsible for implementing polices to prevent, investigate and punish violence against women receive training to sensitize them to the needs of women;
- n. Adopt all appropriate measures, especially in the field of education, to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women and to eliminate prejudices, customary practices and all other practices based on the idea of the inferiority of superiority of either of the sexes and on stereotyped roles for men and women;
- o. Exercise due to prevent, investigate and, in accordance with national legislation, punish acts of violence against women, whether those acts are perpetrated by the state or by private persons;
- p. Develop penal, civil, labour and administrative sanctions in domestic legislation to punish and redress the wrongs caused to women who are subjected to violence, women who are subjected to violence should be provided with access to the mechanisms of justice and, as provided for by national legislation, to just and effective remedies for the harm that they have suffered, states should also inform women of their rights in seeking redress through such mechanisms;
- q. Consider the possibility of developing national plans of action to promote the protection of women against any form of violence, or to include provisions for that purpose in plans already existing taking into account, as appropriate, such cooperation as can be provided by non-governmental organizations, particularly those concerned with the issue of violence against women.⁴²

2.6.1 The Factual Position and Practical Availability of these Rights

Any citizen can move any court, which has the relevant jurisdiction in case his/her fundamental rights are infringed. In practice these avenues of recourse are not accessible to all citizens equally for a number of reasons. One is the low level of literacy, particularly legal literacy. Another, related to illiteracy, is lack of awareness of one's rights. Approaching the judiciary through a lawyer is expensive in terms of time, effort and finances. The gender sensitivity of all organs of the state, including the judiciary, needs to be enhanced.⁴³

The situation is remedied to an extent by steps taken both by the government and the civil society. Civil society organizations run numerous programmes to help the less empowered segments of the population, particularly poor women, to approach the courts and obtain justice. There exists a healthy tradition among human rights activists, many of whom are lawyers themselves, to provide pro-bono services to victims of human rights violations.⁴⁴

On the government side there also exist numerous mechanisms, which the citizens can avail to claim their rights. These are:

- a. The office of the federal ombudsman.
- b. The charter of the ombudsman's institution states that it will "diagnose, investigate, redress and rectify any injustice done to a person through mal-administration."⁴⁵

2.7 CHALLENGES

The main challenge Pakistan face in the promotion and protection of women's rights is to ensure that international obligations, constitutional provisions, the laws enacted, the implementation machinery and monitoring mechanisms created and various programmes launched, actually bring a positive change in lives of Pakistani women. This challenge has not yet been overcome through a multiplicity of factors. The state suffers from a serious impoverishment of resources. This affects the range and quality of initiatives that can be taken for the promotion and protection of women's rights. Agents of the state, particularly the officials of the Ministry of Women Development, social Welfare and Special Education do not get sufficient resources and training to adequately deal with the range and complexity of issues they confront in carrying out their mandate. A similar paucity of resources and sometimes of awareness and adequate training afflicts the judiciary and the law enforcement departments/agencies.

The low level of illiteracy has an aggravating effect. Women and men are unaware of each other's rights. Even when men are aware of the rights of women, many are not willing to recognize or grant them. In many instances women are not convinced that they need more rights than what they have at present.

There is still an improper understanding of the role women play in the national development process. A number of stereotypes still continue to prevail. This sometimes results in constitutional and legal guarantees against discrimination not being fully implemented. At times the tenets of Islam are not properly understood and/or interpreted

and are used to justify actions which have no legal or religious basis and which are in fact a manifestation of the educational backwardness of the society.

As in most other countries domestic affairs are considered a private matter and incidents within the family/domestic problems including violence are usually not reported and many times not dealt with appropriate seriousness by the concerned authorities, if reported.

Female literacy is low in Pakistan and, therefore, affects awareness among women about their rights. In rural areas of the country there is a shortage of trained and qualified female teachers.

In the health care system, the referral chain in the secondary and tertiary facilities is inadequate and needs to be institutionalized. The secondary and tertiary health facilities, too, have problems in terms of personnel and staff, making access to health care by women more difficult.

CHAPTER THREE

PRINT MEDIA REPORTING ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

This chapter deals with the print media reporting on violence against women that in such cases like women mostly newspapers focus on women rather than the crime. Some suggestion are given as “General sensitive code of ethics for print media in Pakistan; that what steps should be taken to improve the quality of reporting. And decrease the biases through the written words. A guidelines for practitioners/management on how to break gender stereotype is also given in this chapter.

3.1 ROLE OF PRINT MEDIA IN SOCIETY

Print media depicting women as temptresses in adultery cases, referring to their physical beauty in murder or assault cases and glamouring matrimony as the ultimate goal of a girl's life.⁴⁶ In crime stories the popular trend was to focus on the women involved in the story rather than the crime itself. Pictures of rape victim and judgmental overtures of language are used in the crime reports.⁴⁷ The English was papers carefully avoided much of provocative statements rampant in the Urdu press, still in their own subtle way these papers cemented different kind of stereotypes. A freelance journalist, highlighted the high rate of discrimination and violence against women. Traditional values are higher than Islamic values even if those values were in contradiction with Islamic teaching advisor for prime minister on women development, social welfare and special education Nilofar Bakhtiar said “media is the mirror image of a society and its role cannot be sidelined in highlighting the suffering ^{of} women folk in the country.⁴⁸ She

said women in the country are facing problems, whatever their position may be, nurses, professors or lady councilors. But the media can play an important role in their advancement by properly highlighting their problems. She said the government was fully committed to uplift the status of woman at all level and also be lived in the freedom of press.⁴⁹ Women in the country are facing discrimination, exploitation and ^{hurdles} in their careers. The government is concerned about these problems and is committed to resolving them, however the media should also feel its responsibility in creating awareness among the masses over such issues. the journalists also needed to be sensitized over the problems of women and the women ministry had planned to hold media awareness workshop which could not be materialized due to same reason.⁵⁰

Information in society does not simply enable people to know what they should do or think. Information is power – it enables people to make sense of their lives and shape their aspirations. Ultimately it can enable them to take control of their lives. Despite the explosion of information, many people in our society people who are historically marginalized – have precious little access to information outside their community that enables them to make such “sense”. Media practice must remedy this by changing its focus and priorities.

There are many ways to assess the status of women in a society; one of its is through media portrayal. The images that the media reflects also determine the level of respect, equality and equity women enjoy in that society. So, what image of women do the Pakistani media, specially the news publications reflect? There seems to be very clear divide on this between the English and Urdu press.

Most of the English press is no doubt more gender-sensitive and liberal compared to the Urdu press. However, to the discerning eye it is apparent that while carefully avoiding much of the provocative statements rampant in the Urdu press, English newspapers in their own subtle way cement different kind of stereotypes. This is evidenced by gratuitous pictures of scantily clad Hollywood stars and/or beauty queens in the international pages and frequent use of oversized pictures of women athletes in skimpy sports attire. The undue coverage awarded to glamorous socialites and celebrities in the magazines of some English dailies further cements the ever-increasing gap between the privileged and the not so privileged and equates liberalism with wealth and glamour.

In the more popular Urdu press the popular trend is still to portray women as perpetual victims, battered and killed for honour. The use of derogatory language, the inclusion of photographs of unaware, unsuspecting and unnamed women at public gatherings for public consumption, advertising that reinforces stereotypical role models of women as 'housewives' and as passive recipients of male attention, depiction of women as temptresses in adultery cases, referring to a women's physical beauty in murder or rape cases and glamourising matrimony as the only goal of a girl's life are some of the many ways in which the press reinforces damaging stereotypes about women.

A fundamental question is often asked, do we really need a gender-sensitive code of ethics? And there is only one answer, yes. However, in the true spirit of democracy there is a need to agree on a formal, written and mutually agreed code that can act as a motivator for self regulation and self restrain. It is our belief that the press needs to be

taken into confidence and engaged in a dialogue where the solution for these issues comes from within in the form of alternative concepts, approaches and ideas.

Major concern is that while we ask for an end to commodification of women, we do not want literal and metaphorical invisibility of women in the media in the garb of respect and honour. What we want implemented through the code is acceptance of women as equal partners, as well as a socio-economic force to be reckoned with. The media should reflect the changing roles of women in Pakistan, which may seem like a distant reality but UKs is confident that things will change for the better, for which our code of ethics is the first step.

3.2 WHAT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TO INCREASED AWARENESS OF GENDER ISSUES

A regional workshop arranged by UKs on May 26-27, with deliberations from south Asian nations, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka as well as Afghanistan. The workshop aimed at generating debate and extracting recommendations regarding the formulation and implementation of a gender sensitive code of ethics for the print media.⁵¹ This was the first time that a conference bringing together these efforts and lessons learnt from them has been arranged. Through country profiles presented by their respective delegates and general debate, astonishing similarities between the situations prevailing in these countries and Pakistan was brought to light. While there was condemnation of the negative projection of women in the media around South Asia, the various positive developments taking place as a result of increased awareness of gender issues were also noted.⁵²

During the course of the workshop some participants strongly suggested that all South Asian countries work together for a shared code, which could bring together concerns and complexities of each respective culture.⁵⁴

3.3 A GENERAL SENSITIVE CODE OF ETHIC FOR THE PRINT MEDIA IN PAKISTAN

3.3.1 Right to privacy

- Caution against identification should be employed in cases involving rape, abduction, acid through ^{ing} incidents, sexual assault on children or news regarding HIV/AIDS. Names and photographs of the victims, or other particulars indicating their identity, should not be published.
- Due restraint should be observed while reporting official visits to victims of rape/sexual assault.
- In events relating to a VIP giving away charity, the event should not be presented in a promotional manner. Pictures of the recipients of charity or 'zakat' should not be published.
- Maintain the secrecy of the sources of confidential information.⁵⁴

3.3.2 Pictorial Depiction of Women

- Wherever possible pictures of glamorous women are to be replaced with pictures of women who have achieved successes in various fields.
- There is a pressing need to remove disproportionate pictures of foreign women in skimpy sports wear and beauty contests etc. and replace it with positive portrayal of local women in sports.

- Uncaptioned pictures of women appearing in most newspapers (at events and gatherings) need to be published with the permission of the subjects.

3.3.3 Rectifying under Representation of Women

- Short term as well as long-term goals need to be outlined for achieving gender equilibrium in the newspaper workplaces, as a short-term goal, newspaper owners/editors should be urged to include one third women in their offices.
- Work environment of newspaper offices needs to be made conducive for women journalists. In this regards, there is a need to strictly implement a sexual harassment code in all newspaper offices.
- Women journalists should be made to cover a variety of issues and not merely be relegated to covering women-oriented issues.
- In views items (stories, opinions, columns, features) calling for opinions/quotations from consumers/public/expert authorities, the views of women need to be reflected along with their male counterparts. The voices of women need to be reflected in news pertaining to a variety of issues and not just women-specific issues.⁵⁶

3.3.4 Projection of Gender Roles in Advertisements

- Advertisements from sexologists (offering potency dugs etc.) and quacks should not be published by newspaper. Not only do these ads indirectly signal violence and sexual aggression but also portray a false image of masculinity, equating it with physical prowess.

- Maximum restraint should be exercised regarding the publication of vulgar and provocative ads of movies.
- There is a growing need for advertising agencies to project healthy gender roles. I.e. show men engaged in domestic activities and involved with children as well as discourage the commodification of women's images in advertisements of shaving creams, cigarettes, tyres etc.⁵⁷

3.3.5 Quality Coverage of Women Issues

- There is a strong need to highlight serious issues facing women i.e. drug abuse, disability, trafficking.
- Rather than talk about physical attributes (dress, hairstyle, beauty) of a person (man or women), emphasis should be on the event they have been featured in.
- Women working in all professions should be treated with honour e.g. acting, nursing, air hosting, activism.⁵⁸

3.3.6 Maintaining Professional Standards

- Judgmental words and phrases should not be used in news reports. Only the facts should be given.
- Newspapers have every right to report on controversial issues but maximum caution should be exercised to ensure that:
 - The event is not distorted to tilt public opinion;
 - The use of judgmental words and opinions is avoided;

- If a certain aspect of the story needs highlighting, reporters should reflect the opinions of the public rather than projecting their own. The opposing point of view should also be reflected.
- There should be a comprehensive criteria determining ‘news worthiness’ which needs to be debated within the organizational structure of a newspaper. Are elopement cases, which do not fall under any major news category (i.e. politics, business, crime) worth reporting at all?
- The marital status of a women and the number of her children need not be mentioned in rape or elopement cases.
- A whole list of gender insensitive vocabulary like “kanwaari maan”, “khoobroo dosheeza” etc. should be replaced with an alternative gender sensitive vocabulary.
- Follow up to a crime story also needs to be highlighted i.e. if the perpetrators of a certain crime were convicted or not.⁵⁹

3.4 IMAGES AND PICTORIAL PROJECTION OF WOMEN

- Protect the dignity of victims of violence, acid throwing, rape. Visits made by VIPs to the victims should not focus too much on the image of the victim and maximum caution should be exercised to protect her privacy.
- Protect the identity and respect the dignity of recipients of charity. In the event of a VIP giving away charity to the poor. The event should not be presented in a promotional manner.
- Give names and photographs of perpetrators of violence against women especially those named by victims.

- Women working in all professions should be treated with honor e.g. acting, nursing, air hosting.
- Pictures of glamorous women be replaced with pictures of women who have achieved success in various fields.
- Need to remove disproportionate pictures of foreign women in skimpy sports wear, beauty contests, etc. replace with positive portrayal of local women in sports.
- Need to highlight serious issues facing women i.e. drug abuse, disability.
- Newspapers should not take advertisements from sexologists offering potency drugs. Not only do these ads.
- Indirectly signal violence and sexual aggression but also portray a false image of masculinity equating it with physical prowess.
- We should not place too much emphasis on gender just because we are talking about a woman. Rather than talking about her dress, hairstyle, physical beauty etc. emphasis should be on the event the man or woman has been featured in.⁶⁰

3.4.1 Respecting the identity of charity receivers

In the ensuing discussion on the group's presentation, the second clause pertaining to charity and zakat was clarified. It was explained that pictures of high officials giving out charity to the needy feature prominently in the media. Such coverage is most insensitive to the recipients of the charity while in most cases the official giving away zakat is not the sponsor with the money coming from other sources. The participants agreed that the code needs to address this issue. Vulgar and provocative movie

advertisements media owners should be made responsible in this regard and a ban be imposed on such ads.

3.4.2 The Hijab debate

Moderation in projection of glamorous and skimpily clad women, there is a growing imposition of veiled and 'Pious' women in the media. Women are portrayed as veiled, submissive and obedient to the men in their lives. This kind of 'talibanised' projection is reflective of a discriminatory mindset and more insensitive to the feelings of the ordinary women than projection of scantily clad movie stars.

This opinion was countered with the opinion that women readers find projection, which commodified and glorified the female figure to sell newspapers, most offensive. On the other hand while the majority of the participants did not agree with the philosophy behind hijab, it is a fact that hijabed women do not sell papers.⁶¹

3.5 BIASES THROUGH THE WRITTEN WORD GENDER GUIDELINES FOR MEDIA

- Judgmental words and phrases should not be used in news reports. Only the facts should be given.
- If a report needs to highlight a certain aspect to the story, reporters should reflect the opinion of the public rather than their own views. The opposing point of view should also be given.
- As with the electronic media there should be a censor board for the print media to ensure that journalistic ethics are adhered to. The board should be

run by individuals who are impartial and uncontroversial for its verdicts to enjoy credibility.

- Debate should be encouraged on what really determines the ‘news worthiness’ of a story? Are elopement cases which do not fall under any major news category i.e. politics, business, crime, worth reporting at all?
- Names of rape victims should not be given under any circumstances. This includes instances where the victim assents to being identified.
- Laws of defamation need to be strictly enforced by the government.
- Projection of activists and women rights groups as ‘maghrib zadda’ (westernized), ‘foreign agents’ is highly condemnable.
- The marital status of a woman and the number of her children need not be mentioned in news stories.
- Follow up to a crime story also needs to be highlighted i.e. if the perpetrators of a certain crime were convicted or not.
- Issues like the need for an alternative vocabulary need to be discussed directly with the press. Instead of conducting separate sessions with each newspaper, a good idea is to approach journalist unions (like the union of sports journalists or cultural reporters) in meet the press sessions and put our concerns forward to them.⁶²

3.5.1 Judgmental words and expressions

The elimination of judgmental words and phrases led to a protracted debate in which the insensitive language and tone employed by the press and examples of such news stories were discussed. An incident was narrated when a leading Urdu newspaper

covered a fashion shoot arranged on the Shab-A-Baraat. The report was most malicious in its focus on particular details like the models' western attire and the presence of some cricketers who went on to lose their next match. It was emphasized that instead of personalizing things, as in the news report, reporters need to be taken into account the general perspective of people. It was also revealed that the Urdu press was not invited to the show with the view that it was not meant to cater to their taste. Mr. Naeem ul Islam Khan from Bangladesh reasoned that it is only natural that if certain sections of the press were uninvited, they would feel and vengeful, resulting in the news report. Mr. Khan felt that one should keep friends close while enemies closer. It was also agreed to mention sensitization of photographers in the code and we should reach out to any union that they might have.

3.5.2 Monitoring committee for the print media

The possibility for setting up a censor board or monitoring committee along the lines of similar boards set up for the electronic media was also considered. It was agreed that the board should be gender balanced. Concerns were voiced over setting for uncontroversial and credible members of the committee. The implementation of laws of defamation by government was also discussed.

- Productive contribution of women especially in economics needs to be highlighted.
- Ensuring women's representation in newspaper offices, also they must be represented at various levels/grades of work.
- Pertaining to specific issues (significant not just in terms of gender) relevant women's opinions/views be regularly projected, other than the women's pages.

- Journalists need to be exposed to a variety of issues to work on, irrespective of the journalist's gender.
- In-house sensitization interactive needs to be encouraged. New entrants must be made aware of gender sensitivity in general and the code of ethics in particular.
- We need to set long term and short term goals for achieving gender equilibrium in newspaper workplaces. As a short-term goal, newspaper owners/editors should be urged to include 1/3rd women in their offices.⁶³

The national commission of women has initiated a process of creating gender sensitive modules to be introduced into media curricula so that young people entering media professions are sensitized at the outset. The objectives of the exercise are as follows:

- Journalists make an effort to “see” issues that concern the majority, particularly women, and report them,
- The language of communication is sensitive to gender and social inequities,
- The gap between information haves and have nots does not grow,
- That inequitable access to media does not further aggravate the distance between the powerful and the powerless.⁶⁴

Is the increasing number of women working in the communications sector reflected in their access to power and decision-making in media organizations?

Gender guidelines for media practitioners and management for portrayal of women in media the guidelines have been classified under three headings:

- Stereotype
- Content (language/context)
- Guidelines especially for management of media institutions.⁶⁵

3.5.3 Guidelines for practitioners/Management on how to break Gender Stereotype

To break the stereotypical imagery and coverage of women in electronic and print media:

- Resist stereotyping along gender, race, caste, ethnicity, class, religion, and age or language barriers.
- Ensure that portrayal, representation and reporting recognizes women as equal (and non exploitative)
- Avoid stereotyped gender portrayals that associate particular roles, ways of behavior personal or social attributes, or use of products of services with people on the basis of gender
- Recognize the changing and diverse roles of women and men in today's society as equal partners.
- Highlight development issues pertaining to women and their achievements through a balanced, gender-based approach that recognizes the substantive, creative, productive and dynamic aspects of women's lives.
- Resist the portrayal/representation of women as cultural repositories of particular ethnic or social group.⁶⁶

3.5.4 Guidelines for practitioners/ management on content approach

- Achieve better balance in the use of women and men as experts and authorities, and give equal prominence to the achievements of both men and women.
- Avoid the use of gender insensitive and derogatory vocabulary and images.
- Do not include images of ‘messages’ which condone, incite or misuse representation of violence against women and/or which tend to exploit the sexuality of women.
- Incorporate gender perspectives in the regular treatment of content rather than isolate or include only occasionally.
- Acquire and ensure the approval of the concerned survivors before publishing/broadcasting incidents of rape/abuse, violence, HIV/AIDS. Maximum care should go into protecting the privacy of victims/families in the case of minors. Identity of the concerned survivors should be kept confidential under any circumstance.
- Report and interpret events and processes objectively, striving for accuracy, fairness and disclosure of all essential facts related to the essence of the matter instead of playing on the patriarchal, sexist or moralist sentiments.⁶⁷

3.5.5 Guidelines specifically for management

The role of the Management of media institutions is key in bringing about the changes in breaking the stereotypical image of women and publishing/broadcasting content in the right environment.

We look for the following support from the management to sensitize the professionals:

- Develop well-defined gender policy within the organization with mechanism to implement and monitor its use and effectiveness.
- Gender sensitization workshops to participate in or held regularly to increase awareness of the importance of gender portrayal/representation in the media.
- Ensure that regulatory boards and preview committees are gender sensitive and equally represented by men and women.
- Increase the participation of women in training opportunities/programmes.
- Increase the number of news and features (including drama) to ensure gender and cultural representation.
- Develop guidelines for policy regarding advertising for advertising agencies and commercial production houses to encourage positive and realistic portrayals of women in advertising.⁶⁸

3.5.6 Media asked to avoid undesirable remarks against women

It was also suggested that a joint move from the NGO journalists should be taken to condemn any inadmissible remarks against women. It was also further notified that advertisements regarding quakes and spiritual healers must not be published rather the practice should be condemned. These ads indirectly signal violence any sexual aggression but also portray a false image of masculinity, equating it with physical prowess.⁶⁹

The domineering role of the police in crime reporting where by they field cases and FIRs on their whims incorporating anti-women bias and undesirable language. These

reports are then reproduced verbatim by the newspaper reporters. Most crime reporters, who are marginally literate and poorly paid, entirely rely on reports given out by the police, which at times are highly sensational in content and language.⁷⁰

In depth study conducted by UKs showed that whole list of gender insensitive vocabulary like ‘kunwari maan’ ‘khoobsoorat dosheza’ etc should be replaced with an alternative gender sensitive vocabulary.

Izat Khak Mai Milana

Aabroo Razi (Rape) Sexual Assault

Bai Aabroo (Degraded) Sexual Torture

Asmat Dari (Rape)

Rang Raliyan (Seduce) Illicit Relationship

Najaijaz Taluqat (Illicit Relations)

Dawat-I-Gunah (Seduction) Illegal Activities

Fahashi Ka Adda (Pleasure Seekers)

Gunah Ka Bogh (Bohemians)

Kanwari Maan (Un-Married Mother) Pregnant Women

Naa Jaiz Aulad (Illicit Child) Law-Waris Aulad

Manchaly (Naughty) Naughty

Fahash Mazaq (Dirty Jokes)

Chhir Khani (Fondling)

Dast Darazi (To Fondle) Man Handling

In this connection a list of derogatory language should be provided to the news paper so that these objectionable words should not be repeated. It was maintained that consultative meetings with the desk people should also be held and training to be provided to them. Short term as well as long term need to be outlined for achieving gender equilibrium in the news paper work place. As a short term goal newspaper owners/editors should be urged to include 1/3rd women in their offices. Women journalists should be made to cover a variety of issues and not merely be relegated for covering the women issues. Work environment of newspaper offices need to be made conducive for women journalists. In this regard there is a need to strictly, implement a sexual harassment code in all newspapers.

CHAPTER FOUR

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF MAJOR THEMES

This chapter deals with news reporting of the events made by the newspaper during this period. The news generally defined as “news comprises mostly the demand to abolish ‘panchayat’, ‘feudalism’, etc and various organizations affected or sought to be affected by government policies, and their reaction to such policies the newspaper were the major source of information during this period. The reporting of the newspapers not much differed from each other. The study about this case (Meerwala gang rape case) as reported by the two papers is divided into following subjects feudalism is main cause at such violence, panchayat system should be abolished, importance of police response to such cases, it criticized the parallel judicial system.

In this chapter I will give the analytical and thematic study of presenting the such incidents as of Meerwala. The incident was of a brutal act of physical and sexual assault which in consequence cause score mental and psychological torture as well, due to the social study and horriba experience the victim went through

4.1 EVALUATION OF REPORTING THE MEERWALA CASE

TABLE 1: PLACEMENT OF NEWS WITH DATE WISE NUMBER OF NEWS

ITEMS

The News

The Dawn

Date	Column's used for the head lines	Front	Back	Total News Items	Date	Column's used for the head lines	Front	Back	Total News Items
3 July	2	1	-	3					
4 July	3	1	-	2	4 July	2	1	-	2
	2								
5 July	3	1	-	2	5 July	4	-	1	1
	2								
6 July	2	1	-	1	10 July	1	1	1	2
7 July	2	1	-	1	11 July	2	-	1	1
	3								
19 July	2	1	1	1	12 July	3	-	1	1
24 July	1	-	1	1	14 July	1	1	-	1
31 July	3	-	1	1	16 July	1	1	1	2
						2			
1 st August	4	1	-	1	17 July	3	1	-	1
2 August	3	1	-	1	25 July	1	1		1
3 August	1	1	-	1	31 July	4	-	1	1
	4								
4 August	3	1	-	1	3 August	3	-	1	1
6 August	3	1	-	1	9 August	3	-	1	1
7 August	3	1	-	1	10 August	1	-	1	1
9 August	3	1	-	1	18 August	5	-	1	1
10 August	2	1	-	1	21 August	4	-	1	1
13 August	1	1	-	1					
17 August	1	1	-	1	22 August	3	-	1	1
18 August	3	1	-	1	25 August	3	-	1	1
23 August	1	1	-	1	3 October	1	-	1	1
25 August	1	1	-	1	1 Sept.	2	1	-	1
4 Sept.	4	1	-	1	3 Sept.	2	1	-	1
6 Sept.	3	1	-	1					

Compile by self from newspaper

4.2 FEUDALISM: THE BASE OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

In a News item 15 civil Non-Governmental organizations (NGO's) included the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan criticized crime and violence against human they also demanded the Govt. to abolish all regressive and in human mechanisms that kept woman subjugated.⁷¹ The term feudal and tribal lord occurs in an Article it is stated. "This incident shows the depth of apathy our society has plunged into, as well as the helplessness of the common man which are virtually ruled by inhuman tribal lord" in the same Article he said the importance of law enforcement agencies. The failure of our Judicial system to deliver Justice and the importance given to the "landed classes"⁷² The statement of the NGO's criticized the institutional acceptance of woman as symbols of 'honour' who could be raped or killed to 'dishonour' it noted that the girl in this case had been raped by members at a "higher cast" who were trying to restore their honour.⁷³

An important socio-economic theme in news reports is that feudalism is at the base of sexual violence in rural areas. The word influential persons itself is used by the then speaker Jam Saqi in the demonstration by the HRCP's special task force for Sindh. He said law and justice had become misnomers here and influential persons, who enjoyed the support of police, had been given a free hand to commit inhuman atrocities against the people⁷⁴

The feudalism theme occurs more frequently in the news items and articles published in the English dailies, The term feudalism itself occurs several times in such writings and also repeatedly appears in the form of equivalent words/meanings, such

words include 'higher tribe', 'higher class' 'higher caste', 'influential persons', powerful persons: Notable persons' etc.

In the rural society possession of land does carries respect and honor in the society. In certain areas land holders are referred to as 'Malik'. Malik literally means the chief and therefore deserve respect from other members of the society.

Society at all level, from the elite and educated to the poor and uneducated continues to tolerate crimes against women. It is no wonder then that women, wherever they are in this society are violated and the perpetrators of these crimes are protected by influential persons.⁷⁵

Women are condemned to remain at the mercy of tribal and societal barbarism in the twenty-first century. Then the government needs to speak out against barbaric and anti-Islamic customs that reflect a decaying feudalism.⁷⁶ The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) said it is clear that such a heinous crime cannot take place without the connivance of authorities.⁷⁷ In news items it is also criticized that such incidents has surfaced as a mark of shame on the face of this nation. Such disgusting incidents also expose the inefficiency and inability of the political forces in positively influencing their strong hold.⁷⁸

The Meerwala incident shows the apathy four society as well as the helplessness of a common man which are virtually ruled by in human tribal lords who exploit the obsolete system of tribal jirgas to assert their powerfulness.⁷⁹ The news report also

criticized the feudal lords that the girl was raped as “punishment” meted out by a tribal jury for her brother’s alleged “illicit” affair with a woman from a tribal of higher social standing.⁸⁰

4.3 PANCHAYAT AS AN ARCHAIC INSTITUTION

Another important theme which runs through both of the newspapers debates to the Panchayat as an archaic institution. Panchayat in the Indo-Pak subcontinent is an ancient institution at the local level. Through out of history, Panchayat was the organized expression of the village. Enjoying the respect of the village, it decided cases which would not be amicably decided by individuals and/or groups between them. Such cases would be brought before the Panchayat. Traditionally, it was composed of 5 peoples, having a head called Sirpanch i.e. the Chief. The panchayat performed all functions relating to the welfare of the village. Overtime, this local institution lost importance and was given new shape under the British scheme at local government. With independence to India and Pakistan in 1947, Panchayat system was revitalized and made integral part of the local government system in India. In Pakistan, on the other hand, the panchayat institution was let to fall in misuse and such other institutions as basic democracy/union council, Mohalla ward and committees were established. Such new local institutions did not function properly. They were intermittently suspended often leaving the local people to their own devices in settling their local disputes.

Because of the occasional suspension and constant malfunctioning, formal institutions of local government have not gained respect of the local people. The Devolution plan of 2000 has gone into operation with great hopes that system of local government vitally affecting the village level would function to good effect.

Meanwhile, local people still continue to have recourse to local influential for settlements of disputes. It is this informal mechanism at the village level which is described as panchayat. It is a customary arrangement without any effective formal recognition in the local government law. The influential, working as arbitrators are usually people of good reputation in the area and once chosen by the parties in conflict. There is respect for decisions made by them. This is particularly true of civil cases i.e. cases not involving any criminal aspect. If criminal aspects are involved even then reputed influential are expected to decide a case on merits but criminal cases are more likely to create partisan behavior among the reputed influential. In criminal cases one or the other party may find it more acceptable to go to the police or, police may get information and may pursue the case because of its institutional as well as self enrichment interests. Neutrality in handling criminal cases by the local influential may thus come to be compromised. It is in this context that criticism of panchayat in news reports may be viewed.

The reported that panchayat membership consisted of persons from "high family". It reported about the sentiments of various organizations which demanded that panchayat system be done away with. Council of Islamic ideology characterizes the "Meerwala panchayat" decision as a crime. In its view the decision was against Islamic teachings and, indeed, represented contempt against Islam⁸¹. In this particular decision by the influential, the neutrality of the influential was compromised from the start. In that the influential belonged to one caste group namely the "Mastois" Faiz Buksh seems to be an important influential of the area. According, to the, The News report he expressed that this incident brings to light the disgraceful socio-cultural structure of our country that is

incorrectly claimed to be based on Islamic laws. This incident has surfaced as an indelible mark of shame on the face of this nation

The international Human Rights observer has also taken a serious notice of the gang rape and has demanded that the criminals involved in the offence must be dealt with iron hands, so that in future nobody might dare to commit such an ugly crime. It also emphasized the need for review of all the tribal laws, Jirgas and panchayat system and declare defunct all the laws and system which are repugnant to shariah and the constitution of Pakistan.⁸² In a joint statement the (HRCP) chairperson Afrasiab Khattak and secretary Hina Jilani said “that gang-rape of a girl near Muzzafargarh, as a form of punishment apparently ordered by a tribal jirga, is particularly shocking and presents an alarming picture of the condition in which so many women live and the atrocities they face. HRCP especially criticized the tribal jirga’s order to gang rape of a girl apparently as punishment for the actions of her brother and then have the terrible verdict implemented in the presence of at least 1000 people.”⁸³

The HR bodies condemn the Meerwala incident and criticized the parallel judiciary system and proposed that all verdicts of jirgas must be scrutinized by the main stream legal system before being enforced.⁸⁴ They further demanded that panchayat and jirga system should be abolished and the Hudood ordinance should be repealed.⁸⁵

Despite advances in the protection of women’s human rights by women’s groups and human rights groups, violence against women continues in part because the perpetrators are rarely brought to justice. When brave women like Mukhtaran Mai pursue

legal action, they are often faced with a hostile and abusive criminal justice system where discriminatory attitudes often discourage women from pressing charges. The parallel legal systems that monitor and control community practices often reinforce power over as property and ultimately permits such acts of violence.

In societies like our the court system is very expensive and it takes long time and failure of our of our judicial system to deliver justice and the importance given to the landed class by successive government compel the hopeless people to turn to the jirgas. The government, like its predecessors, has been claiming to provide justice to the people at “door steps of their homes”.

4.3.1 Roles of NGOs

The newspapers also highlight he role of NGOs in this case women’s group and civil society organizations have strongly condemned the gang rape of Mukhtaran Mai and forcing her to walk naked on the order of a panchayat.⁸⁶ The women’s’ action forum, Sungi, Pattan, Aurat Foundation, Hawwa etc have taken strong exception to the absence of physical security for citizens, especially female, the provision of which is a basic responsibility of the state. The groups have called upon the government to urgently provide justice to the victim and give exemplary punishment to culprits under the law, which deals with such crimes of violence against women. They also demanded that the government should take strong step to ensure the enforcement of the law without fear or favor.⁸⁷

NGOs workers was presented 'chaadar' (a chaddar of support) to the survivor of the Meerwala gang rape. The 'chaddar' consisted of small pieces of cloth stitched together and collected through an intensive support drive initiated by NGO working on issues of violence against women and children.⁸⁸

Through a series of orientations with different groups of women, the NGO met over 500 women who offered a piece of cloth as a symbol of support and concern for the survivor. These women, belonging to various socio-economic classes and backgrounds, expressed their out rage at the atrocity and also shared a strong desire to, in some way, express their support for the survivor.⁸⁹ An official of Rozen said "much of the help provided to the survivor has been tangible support in the form of legal, medical and financial help. Women also stressed that women of this society must join hands and support one another. This is a problem close to their hearts. Voice of women must be neared in support of her and in support of themselves."⁹⁰

Over fifteen civil Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), have condemned the in human gang rape of a women on the orders of a panchayat in Meerwala. In a joint statement, the civic bodies maintained that the decree, issued by a tribal jury and enforced with impunity, was not only a monumental crime and violation of human rights but also an outrage against the society and an affront to the state of Pakistan.⁹¹ The statement further urged the government to abolish all regressive and inhuman mechanisms that kept women subjugated.⁹² It also criticized the parallel judiciary system and proposed that all verdicts of jirgas must be scrutinized by the main stream legal system before being enforced. It urged other organizations activists, media and civil society members to show

support for pro women policies and condemn barbaric acts like the one in Meerwala.⁹³ Mean while, the Islamabad Women's Welfare Agency (IWWA) director Shabnam Shoab in a statement demanded a law to regulate parallel judicial system.⁹⁴

Three other different demonstrations were held by NGOs to condemn the Meerwala tragedy in which a large number of human rights activists, representatives of NGOs and political parties, including women, staged a demonstration out side the press club against the Meerwala gang rape.⁹⁵ The citizens action committee for women rights staged another demonstration out side the press club against the gang rape of a woman in Meerwala. A large number of women, including women councilors, and representatives of social welfare organizations participated in the demonstration talking to newsmen, leaders of Aurat foundation, Safina Javed and Mahar Taj and others demanded the immediate arrest of the accused and officials of the administration who were directly or indirectly involved in the commission of such a crime.⁹⁶ In the third demonstration the protesting women criticized the criminal silence of the women commission and demanded to legislate a law to award punishment to the perpetrators of such heinous crime.⁹⁷

Women's groups like the Women's' Action Forum, Sungi, Pattan etc have strongly worded statement have said that they abhor this action on the part of the unlawful panchayat in ordering and carryout this outrage, and also the reported apathy of the, 1000 on lookers who neither reported the matter to the police nor came forwarded to help the victim.⁹⁸ The human rights bodies have questioned whether the rule of law is in operation in Pakistan or it was the rule of jirgas, panchayat and customs that reigns

supreme in the country.⁹⁹ Women's group also expressed great concern over the increasing incidents of terrible atrocities and gang rape of a girl after jirga verdict.¹⁰⁰ The human rights and social work organizations are clamoring for justice for the victim and seeking sever punishment for the perpetrators.

4.4 IMPORTANCE OF POLICE RESPONSE TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Nearly all proposals to reform societal responses to violence center heavily on police action. This is mainly because police not only serves as a round – the – clock service provider, with the authority to register complaints, but also have powers to arrest offenders and present them before courts. However, such proposals for a proactive role for police differ in content as well as in scope and methodology.

For those advocating a more aggressive police role, police powers to make arrests, especially without warrants in cognizable cases of violence against women, are significant in many aspects. They argue firstly that arrest of offenders in these cases will show that there is no impunity, under law, for any kind of criminal offence whether committed in public or at home. Secondly, arrests of offenders also instill a feeling of confidence and security among the victims. Thirdly, formal arrests of offenders also leads to maintenance of proper police records of offenders and to tracking cases of continued abuse. Fourthly, the arrest of offenders should serve as deterrence against unchecked acts of violence against female victims¹⁰¹.

Others in the police, however, argue that arrest and prosecution of offenders, particularly in domestic violence, can be rather counter-productive. They contend that domestic violence very often involves an intimate person and the victim might undergo a change of mind once the offender is arrested by the police. There are also other socio-cultural factors which hinder a pure legal response from the police. These include Watta Satta (exchange) marriages that take place among close relatives; social stigma attached to taking private matters to public authorities and also involvement of non-formal institution such as Jirga/Panchayat (council of local elders) who are preferred over formal institution for dispute resolution. A senior police officer, offers following comments on the inadequacy of police response:

“In cases of offenses related to sexual assault/abuse, the victim is most hesitant to report the crime and even if she agrees to report, she is obviously unwilling to give out the full facts, the benefit of such attitude of which will always be given to the accused. In view of the delicate nature of the victim’s position, in such cases the investigation by police is riddled with difficulties. There is no direct evidence in favour of the victim because eye witnesses are always themselves the accused. The witnesses who come forward to support the victim’s version are friends and relatives, hence basically interested witnesses. The judicial courts apply the same very exacting standards of evidence to these cases as they would apply to the offences of murder and theft. The net result always is that the cases end in acquittal and there is no deterrent left for the potential criminals to refrain from the commission of violence against women¹⁰².”

4.4.1 Inadequacies of police responses: an overview of public complaints

In view of the great importance attached to police response to violence against women, a wide section of public opinion, mainly NGOs and media, is very critical of police performance, and complain that police:

- Tend to either discourage the registration of such cases, on one pretext or another, even if the complainant informs the police immediately after incidence of the offence.
- Show reluctance in providing a copy of the FIR, or even an acknowledgement, when a complaint is registered.
- Adopt a victim blaming attitude, especially in cases of a sexual assault and domestic violence.
- Side with the influential persons who perpetrate acts of violence against women.
- Fail to address the needs of female victims in cases of rape, incest, domestic violence etc., as it does not have adequately trained officers for the purpose.
- Do not exhibit the required sympathy towards the female victims of violence, and fail to understand their miseries and dilemmas.
- Exhibit an attitude towards the victim which reflects the gender bias of a male dominant organization.
- Do not show the required care for collection and preservation of crucial pieces of circumstantial or documentary evidence.
- Delay the registration of FIR in cases of unnatural death, hurt, sexual assault etc., which provides the accused enough time to threaten and intimidate the girls' side, go into hiding, tamper and destroy evidence and even secure anticipatory bail.

- Register in many instances, unnatural deaths as suicides, kitchen accidents and stove bursts to camouflage murder. Incidentally, it is mostly the ‘dopattas’ or clothes of the young daughters-in-law that catch fire, that too while ‘boiling milk’-a standard phrase. In this way the actual perpetrator is saved from the legal process. This is especially true when the perpetrators belong to the influential families and can use their wealth to influence police and medical reports¹⁰³.

Human Right Watch in its report titled “Crime or Custom? Violence Against Women in Pakistan 2000” thoroughly discussed the main flaws in police response and noted that:

- Women who try to report rape, sexual assault or domestic violence encounter a police that is at best, incompetent and sometime outright abusive.
- Persons (victims) seeking the help of police face harassment, intimidation, physical abuse and bribery.
- The police are prone to disbelieve and belittle women victims, particularly when they allege rape or domestic violence. The police is often reluctant to treat them as “full-fledged crimes.”
- Complaints of victims are rejected without investigation.
- For many victims, the experience of confronting skeptical and dismissive police officers serves to identify the trauma of the assault itself.
- Police acts negligently and inaccurately while recording FIR, which causes serious problems to the disadvantage of victims as the legal process gets underway subsequently.

- In sexual assault FIR, the police create further problems by failing to specify the applicable subsection of Zina Ordinance, which creates ambiguity as to whether the charger relates to rape or consensual extra martial sex.
- Police almost fail to recognize domestic violence as any kind of crime.
- Police performance in investigating cases of sexual violence is extremely poor. In addition to failing to conduct timely and comprehensive investigations, including witness interviews, site visits, and forensic work, the police frequently use unprofessional and inappropriate investigative methods, such as interviewing family elders in lieu of eye witnesses or the accused, detaining family members in order to pressurize witnesses or the accused to come forward, closing cases based on an oath by the accused or on behalf of the accused by family elders, and pressuring complainants to drop charges on the basis of such oaths. Furthermore, the police frequently embellish, modify, or incorrectly transcribe witness statements and sometimes even instruct witnesses to change their stories and include details that ostensibly support their cases.
- The police also routinely fails to fulfill its duty to process and handle any forensic evidence expeditiously¹⁰⁴.

4.4.2 Registration of complaints of violence against women

The practice of refusal or delay in the registration of FIR on complaints lodged by female victims is not in accordance with the provisions of the law. The procedure for registration of all such complaints constituting an offence punishable under law is laid down in Section 154 of the Criminal Procedure Code which says that:

“Every information relating to the commission of a cognizable offence if given orally to an officer in charge in police station, shall be reduced to writing by him or under his direction and be read over to the informant, and every such information, whether given in writing or reduced to writing as aforesaid, shall be signed by the person giving it, & the substance there of shall be entered in a book to be kept by such officer in such form as the provincial government may prescribe in this behalf.¹⁰⁵”

It is therefore imperative for police officers that upon receiving the report of a violent crime against a woman, they register a case immediately, detailing the nature of crime, etc. A delay in registration of cases can affect the prosecution during judicial proceedings. If it is found that the complaint was false, then the complainant can be charged under Section 182 PPC.

4.4.3 Making the offenders accountable to law

After registering a case police is also responsible for investigating the incident, collecting the evidence, arranging a medico-legal examination of the victim and efficiently prosecuting the accused¹⁰⁶.

“When a report of a cognizable case is recorded and it is decided not to dispense with investigation under Section 157(b), Criminal Procedure Code, a police officer shall proceed to the scene immediately. The officer who first proceeds to the spot shall, if he is not competent to complete the investigation, take all possible steps to preserve the scene of the crime from disturbance, to

record particulars of and secure the presence of potential witnesses, obtain information relating to the case and arrest the culprit.”¹⁰⁷

It is also pertinent to mention that Pakistan has ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Under Article 5 of this convention, it has undertaken the responsibility to take all appropriate measures to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customs and all other practices (such as Honor Killing) which are based on the idea of inferiority or the superiority of either sex. It is therefore important that all relevant agencies of state, including police, take effective measures against Honor Killings.

4.4.4 Measuring The Prevalence Of The Crime

Rape refers to forced sexual intercourse against a person’s will. It is an act that a person commits to dominate, overpower and humiliate the other person and may or may not involve actual overt violence. A woman can be raped if she is coerced into performing a sexual act. Coercion may involve physical force, threats of bodily harm, financial deprivation or dire consequences¹⁰⁸.

In Pakistan the real number of rape victims is not known as in many cases the crime is not reported to police for a variety of reasons. Moreover, official statistics compiled by police under the head of rape include cases pertaining to Zina (consensual sex) as well as Zina-bi-jabr (rape, as defined above). It is therefore, difficult to ascertain the actual number of rape cases. For example, in many cases when a girl leaves the home

to marry a person of her own choice parents or other relatives lodge a report to police against such person, and some times against the girl also alleging them to have done so with the intention of committing Zina. Such cases are also shown under the head of rape. The following statistics compiled by National Police Bureau, under the category of rape crime also include both, the cases registered under Zina and Zian-bi-jabar.

In view of this anomaly, it is hard to measure the real extent of this crime in Pakistani society. Some studies carried out by certain NGOs have attempted to do so. For example, on the basis of cases reported in prominent national and regional daily newspapers a research report on rape cases in the country, compiled by Madadgar, a joint venture of Lawyers for Human Rights and legal Aid (LHRLA) and UNICEF found that 587 cases of rape, including gang rape, were reported through out the country during the year 2001. The report noted that 400 cases were reported in Punjab, 163 in Sindh, 12 in Baluchistan and 12 in NWFP. During the same period 60 cases were reported in Karachi and 23 in Lahore. Nearly 90 percent of women and girls who are raped belonged to low-income group while the rapist often enjoyed higher social status. In many cases the perpetrator was an acquaintance, a relative, a work associate, a family friend. In other cases, the rapist was a neighbor, wadera or jagirdar (land lord) etc.

4.4.5 Dispelling the preconceived notions about the true nature of the crime

Before outlining the guidelines for professionally investigating rape cases, it is very important to ensure that the police officers truly understand nature and effects of the rape crime. The following discussion will help the officers to understand the complexities of the rape crime and would enable them to carry out investigations in a more professional and effective manner.

Unfortunately there prevails a lot of ignorance, not only in the society as a whole but also amongst police officers regarding rape cases. Human Rights Watch, in its report “Crime or Custom? Violence against Women in Pakistan”, documented the views of police and medico-legal officers on rape which give a fair idea as to how they perceive rape and role of victim in its commission. Here are a few excerpts from the report:

“Skepticism and scorn about women’s complaints of violence are rife among police officials, who function as gatekeepers with respect to women’s access to the criminal justice system.”

The Station House Officer (SHO) of a busy police station in Lahore, told Human Rights Watch that non-consensual sexual intercourse virtually does not exist in Pakistan and that in the overwhelming majority of cases women fabricate allegations of rape. According to the SHO rape only occurs in two situations: if the man is of unsound mind or if he acts to avenge his honor against the women’s family. He added that the absence of visible marks of violence would prove that intercourse was consensual. In a similar vein, the SHO of the police station in Lahore told Human Rights Watch that complainants disingenuously press charges of attempted rape over minor disputes or fabricate charges of sexual violence to settle personal scores. The SHO of the Women Police Station in asserted, “Rape is indicated by marks of violence on the women. In consensual cases there are no marks, though the woman calls it rape anyway. An NGO activist working with rape victims in Karachi told Human Rights Watch that an officer at the Women Police Station had once said to her that rape only occurs with very young girls. Echoing the sentiments and proclivities of her colleagues, a senior police officer at the Women Police Station told Human Rights Watch, “One can tell from looking at the

woman if it is a genuine rape case. If there are no marks of violence and no circumstantial evidence, the woman can have lied about rape”.

“Even the medico-legal doctors who are responsible for collecting forensic medical evidence to verify a woman’s allegation of assault are unlikely to believe the complainants.”

The head of medico-legal officer for, who oversees all medical legal services in the area, almost categorically denied the existence of rape, saying, “A woman who is well developed cannot be raped unless there are four or five men (involved). One man cannot rape a woman. Only children under five are raped... (otherwise) rape is only gang rape. One-on-one cannot be rape unless a gun or other arms are used.” He asserted that women lie when they allege that they were raped by an unassisted man and that he had exposed women brought to the police surgeon’s office to be liars by closely questioning them: “women bluff, women make up stories, women lie. They say, ‘I was drugged, I was given a whiff of fainting medicine’—but there’s no such medicine. Even if a chicken is abducted it makes a noise. It’s the boy who suffers in these cases because he gets to spend fourteen years in jail on the basis of a false allegation of rape. He further asserted that there was no question of rape in the absence of visible marks of violence on the purported victim’s body.”¹⁰⁹

4.5 EFFECTS OF RAPE ON THE VICTIMS

Because of the prevalent ignorance about the psychological effects of rape on the victim, police officers while investigating these offences mostly focus their attention on physical effects, such as marks of violence, including bruises, soreness of private parts

etc, on the body of victim. It is therefore, important for the investigating officers to understand that:

- Rape is not an ordinary crime.
- Rape is an experience, which both physically and mentally traumatizes the lives of the victims, and therefore constitutes one of the most heinous crimes against women.
- For many victims effects of rape are long term; damaging the victims' capacity for personal relationships, changing their behaviors and values and generating endless fear.
- In addition to the trauma of the rape itself, victims have to suffer agony during legal proceedings and social relationships leading to social alienation.

Moreover the victims of rape have to undergo a number of traumatic effects which are generally referred to as "rape trauma". A better understanding of "rape trauma" enables the investigators to comprehend the behavior of victims who may go into a state of shock either during or after the incident of rape. This may result into:

- Memory block
- Susceptibility of the victim

4.5.1 Memory block

Because of the trauma, the victim may try not to think about the incident of rape and her brain may automatically block out some or all of what has happened to her. For an investigator trying to find out exactly what has happened, this memory block may result in the victim's inability to give details of the incident. Due to this kind of memory lapse any account given by the victim may contain gaps and inconsistencies. If

investigating officers are unaware of this “memory block” they may interpret such gaps and inconsistencies in a manner which could make them skeptical about the authenticity and accuracy of victim’s account of the incident.

4.5.2 Susceptibility of the victim

Susceptibility refers to a phenomenon which results in the victim becoming compliant and submitting to any demands by the attacker, during the sexual assault. It is vital that the police officers understand this aspect so that they do not interpret submission as consent. This same susceptibility may well be present when the victim first reports her experience and is interviewed by the police. For example, if the investigation officer tries to test the validity of an allegation by suggesting to the complainant that the incident did not in fact happen or that it was with the consent, the susceptibility brought about by the trauma may compel the victim to agree with such suggestions, contrary to actual facts.

Other psychological effects: Apart from memory block and susceptibility, a rape victim may undergo a host of other psychological effects, including:

Embarrassment: A major concern for victims is their image in front of others. If others know, there is often embarrassment and shame. So the victims may try to hide the incident from others.

Denial: Because some of the victims may not like to succumb to the traumatic experience, they refuse to let it affect them and not telling anyone about it, burying it deep inside.

Disorientation: On the other hand, some rape victims may have trouble in behaving normally. They simply don't know how to cope with the trauma.

Anxiety: Anxiety is often seen in physical symptoms, like difficulty in breathing or muscle tension, sleep disturbances, change in eating habits, nausea, stomach problems, nightmares and bedwetting.

Fear: The most common feeling experienced by the victims is one of intense fear. During the attack this may be a fear of imminent injury, mutilation or death. Such totally paralyzing terror can easily prevent one from screaming or resisting during rape also. However, this fear may well continue even when the attack is over and the victim is within a safe environment. The police officers, while interviewing the victim, must keep this aspect in mind. There is often a constant fear of being assaulted again, of being beaten, of mutilation and fear for life. Fear can paralyze the victim after being raped e.g. make it impossible to go into a place or situation in any way resembling the one in which one was raped.

Shame. Most women feel physically dirty and spend a lot of time washing over and over again in order to try to feel calm. It is important to know that such behavior and feelings are a manifestation of the fact that a woman has been sexually assaulted, without her consent.

Guilt. Almost every woman who has been raped feels guilty to some extent for what has happened. The list of "if only" is endless e.g. "if only I had locked the door", "if only I had screamed louder", "if only I had not gone alone there". This feeling of guilt is exacerbated by society and also by police and the legal system. Friends and family can

also imply the same with questions like, “why didn’t you do this or why did you do that?” it is therefore not surprising that the victim believes herself to be as guilty as the person who raped her.

Powerlessness. Other than feeling guilty about the rape, many women also feel completely powerless to make decisions afterwards. The act of rape also makes the victim feel completely helpless at that time, and she may carry this feeling with her for a long, long time. Even in situations where the decision is not a complicated one, victims may still feel completely helpless.

Physical Repulsion. Having had one’s body violated sexually, victims may not be able to let anyone else touch her.

Depression. This is a common reaction after being raped. The victim often feels that life is not worth living. There are feelings of hopelessness and depression. This can sometimes be, among other things, anger turned inwards.

Preoccupation. Victims of rape have difficulty resuming a normal routine, because the assault has destroyed faith in oneself, faith in one’s ability to control one’s life and faith in other people. Preoccupation with details of the rape or with the humiliation suffered, may continue for days and weeks. The situation will usually improve with time; meanwhile moral support is necessary.

Irritability. A victim of rape is subject to mood swings, showing irritability over small incidents previously of no concern, e.g., the victim may burst into tears for no apparent reason.

Anger. This can be the culmination of many different feelings – frustration at one’s inability to get back at the person who raped, the enforced realization of one’s powerlessness, outrage at the effects of the assault impatience with the responses one has received from other people and so forth.

The above narration of psychological effects of rape shows that dealing with rape victims require a deep understanding of mental condition of the victims, otherwise there are chances that complaints of rape victims either being misinterpreted or dismissed. Having developed the ability to understand the traumatic effects of the rape, police officers are expected to discharge their responsibilities under law, as outlined in next page, more effectively.¹¹⁰

When a woman is subjected to rape by more than one person the offence is referred to as ‘gang rape’. Such an offence is a brutal and inhuman act with terrible physical and psychological traumatic impacts, on the victims. Subsection (4) of Section 10 of Hudood (Offence of Zina) Ordinance 1979, prescribes following punishment for the offence of gang rape:

“When Zina-bil-jabr liable to tazir is committed by two or more persons in furtherance of common intention of all, each of such person shall be punished with death”¹¹¹.

Incidents of gang rape have increased in recent years. It is used, some times, as a means to revenge and disgrace opponents not only in public places, but also in homes in front of male family members of the victims. Hundreds of cases of gang rape are reported in the print media each year.

4.6 COVERAGE AND MAJOR THEMES IN THE EDITORIALS IN THE TWO DAILIES

Table 2: Date wise editorials with space allotted in the two dailies

Date	The Dawn	The News
	Space; lines	Space; lines
03 September	122	----

The major theme of the editorial is the rape is only just one manifestation of violence against women, Honour killing, forced marriages are many other examples of violence.¹¹² It is also stated the Meerwala. The Meerwala gang-rape case verdict was handed down by the trying anti-terrorism court just past midnight on Sunday. The unusual hour was perhaps dictated by security considerations, although nevertheless remains a little mystifying: if courts and authorities remain in such fear of criminals, it can only embolden the bullies in our ranks. The verdict is not unexpected. The four persons actually charged with committing rape have been sentenced to death as well as two of the members of the panchayat that had sanctioned the brutal and inhuman act. The other members of the panchayat who were part of the rape and were named as accused have been given the benefit of the doubt and acquitted, because there was no allegation against them except “mere participation” in the panchayat. The prosecution, believing that acquiescence on the part of the eight should be considered as abetment, has said it will seek consideration of this point when the case goes into appeal. Also, the way the police investigation was demand social justices¹¹³

Table 3: Frequency of major themes in the Editorials of the two dailies

Major Themes	No. of time occurring in		Total
	The News	The Dawn	
Meerwala verdict	-	1	1

Source: compile by self from Newspapers

The editorial contains the thoughtful recommendations: “The state has to take cognizance of the issue in its entirety, including the objections raised against the Hadd, Tazir and blasphemy laws even by Islamic scholars, and the next elected government should consider this as one of its priorities. The role of non-governmental organizations in seeking to streamline the existing system should be acknowledged and encouraged¹¹⁴

4.7 COVERAGE AND MAJOR THEMES IN THE ARTICLE IN THE TWO DAILIES

Table 4: Date wise table of articles in the two dailies with space allotted

The Dawn			The News		
Date	No. of Articles	Lines	Date	No. of Articles	Lines
6 July	1	72	4 July	1	77
9 July	1	74	16 July	1	236
11 July	1	71	-	-	-
19 July	1	48	-	-	-
23 July	1	83	-	-	-
27 July	1	83	-	-	-
4 August	1	178	-	-	-
6 August	1	96	-	-	-
7 August	1	144	-	-	-
8 August	1	153	-	-	-
1 September	1	149	-	-	-
Total	11		2		

Sources: Compile by Self from newspapers

This table compares the articles published in The Two Dailies . The Dawn published the 1st article on 6th July and last article on 1st September. Total articles published were 11. Some of the articles were written by reputed writers. The Dawn published articles on 11 days and they ranged between 48 lines to 178 lines. The News were published on two days The Dawn published the 1st article on the July and last article on 16th July. Total number of articles were two and they ranged between 77 to 236 lines¹¹⁵.

Table 5: Major Themes Of Articles In The Two Dailies

Major Themes	No. of time occurring in		Total
	The News	The Dawn	
Shame of Meerwala: ban tribal Jirgas	6	4	10
Shame in the name of justice	4	4	8
Women groups condemn girls gang-rape	1	2	3
Victim's brother was assaulted first	3	2	5
Meerawal accused charge sheeted	2	-	2

Sources: Compile by Self from newspapers

As in the major news items, the articles contained a number of themes. An article, criticized the police performance and poor investigation, the FIR story did not fix any responsibility on the Panchayat members rather it would help them escape punishment during trial in the court of law¹¹⁶. An important step in the reconstruction of the political system was the reform of the police. The Police reforms were in the process of being implemented. In the opinion of writers they have not come to fruition on the contrary they were actively inhibiting the role of the local councils in the settlement of disputes police has been described as the “negligence of duty¹¹⁷”. One of the writer said police is

also among the accused for abetment and negligence from duty. It may be mentioned here that some recent amendments in the ATA-97 have dropped the offence of the ATCS. But due to the terror and harassment the Meerwala gang-rape has reportedly spread in the society. The police and the special prosecutor of the ATCs in the Punjab incorporated the section 6 (2)[b] of the ATA-97 which related to commotion and harassment to a segment of the society¹¹⁸. The police did not try to widen the scope of their investigation beyond the first information report of the incident. All the people who were in the Mastois' gathering had a role in the heinous crime for having a 'Common intention' to give the Tattlas a lesson for bringing "disgrace" to the Mastoi clan¹¹⁹. Police was initially charged with negligence and abetment in the Meerwala gang-rape¹²⁰. Another theme in the articles relates to characterization of Pakistani society. One writer ask "In which country are young girls criminally assaulted? In which country are women killed to avenge the perceived honour" of their male relatives, tribes clans, village elders? In which country are women defaced and deformed by frustrated, "acid-throwing" maniacs?⁵⁵ Some have called into question the Islamic character of the society. In their view, in the Meerwala case what was obviously missing, rape and gang-rape cases in Pakistan are rampant. According to the latest report issued by the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, a woman is raped every two hours in Pakistan, whereas in Punjab, a woman is raped every six hours and a woman gang-raped every fourth day. Still, only 321 rape cases were reported to the police last year. Most sexual offences go unreported thanks to the social stigma attached to such charges and the difficulty in proving them. This brings to light the disgraceful socio-cultural structure of our country that is incorrectly claimed to be based on Islamic laws. This incident has surfaced as an indelible mark of shame on the face of this nation¹²¹

Another theme in the articles relates to characterization is “Panchayat” one writer said “Meerwala incident” show the depth of apathy our society has plunged into, as well as the helplessness of the Common man in the rural areas, which are virtually ruled by inhuman tribal lords who exploit the obsolete system of tribal Jirgas. Panchayat to assert their powerfulness.¹²² In the presence of the police and the court system it is simply illegal to decide disputes privately through Jirgas/Panghayats whose decisions may and do lead to crimes against humanity (Ibid). The shocking incident of gang-rape carried out on the order of a panchayat. People from all walks of life and the civil society from every part of the world have flayed this shame incident on panchayat decision¹²³ In a strongly-worded condemnation of the rape and police response to it the rape and police response to it he called on authorizes to prevent tribal assemblies taking the law in to their own hand¹²⁴ Tribal councils have no legal standing and the Pakistani authorities have failed to take adequate measures to prevent such bodies from taking the law in to their own hands¹²⁵ One writer emphasized the need for review of all the tribal laws, ‘Jirga and ‘Panchayat’ and declare defunct all the laws and system which are repugnant to Shariah and the constitution of Pakistan¹²⁶ In another article demanded that ‘Panchayat’ and ‘Jirga’ systems should be abolished and the Hudood ordinance should be repealed.

An article published, criticized the Government that it is the duty of the Government to abolish all regressive and inhumane mechanism that kept women subjugated¹²⁷ The speakers, including Jam Saqi, Ghaffar Malik, Momin Khan, Khair Muhammad Magsi and Amar Sndhu, condemned the incidents and criticized the Government for its insensitivity. In another article published, the importance of law enforcement agencies, the failure of our judicial system to deliver justice and the

importance given to the landed class by successive Governments compel the hopeless people to turn to the Jirgas. The Government, like its predecessors, has been claiming to provide justice to the people at “door steps” of their homes” the Meerwala incident can be taken as a barometer to measure the truthfulness of this off-repeated claim which has become a cliché¹²⁸. A period of ten days between June 22nd on which the incident occurred and on July 3rd when it reached the international reading public, there was a gap of ten days. During such long period the elected representatives of the local Union Council must have know the things quite well.¹²⁹

The theme of feudalism occurs in a number of articles. The holy prophet (Peace be upon him) condemned feudalism. Iqbal considered it, “as the mother of all evils”. And Quaid-e-Azam is believed to have firm intention to eliminate feudalism from the country. The founder father did not have the time and the later rulers have not “cared to implement that agenda”, that’s why the theme of feudalism occurs in a number of articles. In an article the writer criticized the institutional acceptance of women as symbols of ‘honour’ who could be raped or killed to ‘dishonour’ or restore ‘honour’ of families. It noted that girl in this case had been raped by members of a “higher cost” who were trying to restore their honour which had been compromised by her brother’s alleged involvement with a woman of their tribe¹³⁰ Such disgusting incidents also expose the inefficiency and inability of the political forces in positively influence their strongholds¹³¹. In this article the writer said, now it is time that the Government took effective measures for the provision of social justice to the people on equality basis. Such incidents point out that our society has become a breeding place of crime owing to the prevalent system of injustice. Therefore, the major part of the responsibility falls on the state and the law-

enforcing agencies to provide protection to the lives, properties and honour of the people against the criminals and to ensure the provision of justice to the people without discrimination.¹³²

Another theme to human rights' which is implicit in many articles and is explicitly stated. He discussed the human rights bodies have questioned whether the rule of law is in operation in Pakistan or it was the rule of 'Jirgas' 'Panchayat' and customs that reigns supreme in the country. The groups have taken strong exception to the absence of physical security for citizens, especially females, the provision of which is a basic responsibility of the state. The groups have called upon the Government to urgently provide justice to the victim and give exemplary punishment to culprits under the law, which deals with such crime of violence against women. He also demanded that the government should take strong steps to ensure the enforcement of the law without fear or favour.¹³³

The write expressed the opinion that the incidents like the Meerwala had not succeeded in impressing upon the society the need for a systematic reform. When such incidents come in the lime light Government machinery from the top to the bottom becomes very active but such activity is usually very short lived. Within weeks every body forgets about the incidents. New incidents keep on happening till some years after, one of them some how comes to the light and sets the whole government machinery and other institutions and people in movement the writers stresses the need for taking firm and permanent measures for the elimination for undesirable practices.

4.8 COVERAGE AND THEMES IN THE LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

4.8.1 Major themes in the letters to the editor of The Dawn

There are four letters to the editors published in The Dawn, two from Pakistan and two from abroad (U.S.A., Chicago, Illinois, USA). Apparently two letters are from females, two from males one letter speaks of Feudalism as the main cause of “Shameful tragedy¹³⁴”. The 2nd theme is concerned with “self-appointed Jirga” the writer asks: “any one listening in the citadels of Islamabad¹³⁵”. Another theme is “rulers of our land”. Recounting the characteristics of the just ruler to be ‘solicitous¹³⁶’.

Table 6: Major Themes In The Letters To The Editor Of The English Daily

The Dawn

Major Themes	Frequency
The Shame of Meerwala	8
Panchayat as part of tribal/irrelevant culture	10
We are still living in the stone age	3
A tribal body advocating gang-rape	7

Sources: Compile by Self from newspapers

These letters connected with honour and dishonour. The writer thinks that in the rape-cases ‘no flood or tears will ever wash off the indignity of Pakistan and the Muslims for having a panchayat that ordered the gang-rape of an innocent young woman.

Letters from male persons are longer, sometime spread over 49 lines. On of the dominant theme is “the Shame of Meerwala¹³⁷”. The writer had imagined that it were the tribal area where there was a lot of private violence and there for law of Jungle in these

areas. The Meerwala case worked to change the writer's opinion that the same situation existed in the settled areas of Pakistan as well.

Another major theme relates to 'Panchayat System' which, of course, also has been prominent in the articles as well as editorials. In one of the letters to the editor a doctor said 'No flood or tears will ever wash off the indignity of Pakistan and the Muslims for having a panchayat that ordered the gang-rape of an innocent young woman just because of her Gujjar brother was allegedly having an affair with a woman of a higher tribe in a village 600 km south east of Islamabad'. She said "only in Pakistan can a sister of the nation be made to walk home naked before 1,000 on-lookers after being ordered to be gang-raped by four men by a local court So much for the chaddar and chardiwari impressed on the Muslim women folk where in the holy Quran and the Hadith is this denomination permissible? Who will be responsible for the official' pregnancy? What will we tell the child who the father is? We are a nation with no morals, no principle and no shame. A nation without a conscience is a nation with out a soul. A nation without a soul is a nation which cannot live" Chur Chill¹³⁸

Panchayat is seem by many writers to be the part of the tribal culture. Indeed one writer "cursed the tribal jury who ordered this in human and immoral punishment" According to him" The gang-rape story has brought to shame not only the people of Pakistan but the entire human race, the laws of the land are only good if they are applied without any regard to upper or lower class¹³⁹,".

One writer speaks of the society under the term higher class. This refers to the July 3 news items, 'Members of a Jirga among 8 held for gang-rape'. I find this

unbelievable. It's as if we are still living in the stone age We complain about the super-powers but our own people are worse than animals. Before we look outside, we should clean up our own society. A tribal body advocating gang-rape as punishment is completely barbaric".¹⁴⁰

4.9 FACTUAL INACCURACY IN REPORTING

Media should play full role in reporting about the incident like the Meerwala. Many have said that the incident has been given lot of coverage, even at the international level. However, the quality of the coverage, seems to be very uneven. There is lot of reporting of news stories. So although good bit of space is covered, not much difference is made in the amount of information, and a large number of questions – vital questions have not been touched upon in the news items/news stories of the two dailies.

To begun with, it is still a mystery as to which paper first published news about the Meerwala incident. Another incomplete aspect of the whole story is the information about composition and process of decision making of the panchayat. The panchayat has been described as 'customary' 'Tribal' 'feudalistic', etc. no news item in the two dailies as provided a reasonable account of the composition of the so-called panchayat. In a news item, a large number of human rights activities, representatives of NGO's and political parties including women, stage a demonstration out side the press club against the Meerwala. They also give some indications about the constitution of the panchayat, which gave the verdict to brutalize the young woman for an un-confirmed sin. They further demanded that panchayat and Jirga systems should be abolished and the Hudood ordinance should be repealed. The women also demanded toe legislate a law to award punishment to the perpetrators of such heinous crime.¹⁴¹

In an article, it is said, in today's world when civilized societies have provided guarantees for protecting the rights of even animals, inhuman tragedies like the Meerwala incident would make us an outcast in the world community, what the Government does, it just cannot compensate the victim and her family for the trauma they have gone through and are going through but it can not take concrete steps to safeguard the rights of women. "And the first step towards this direction is to ban tribal Jirgas; In the presence of the police and the court system it is simply illegal to decide disputes privately through Jirgas / panchayat whose decisions may and do lead to crimes against humanity."¹⁴²

In an article, it is stated, "The shocking incident of gang-rape carried out on the order of the panchayat at Meerwala, 120 kms from Multan on June 22, has sparked feelings of outrage among the people at home and abroad." This brings to light the disgraceful socio-cultural structure of our country that is incorrectly claimed to be based on Islamic laws. This incident has surfaced as an indelible mark of shame on the face of this nation.¹⁴³ Police records, which were presented to the inquiry, showed that gang-rapes in Muzaffargarh were rampant. The records documented the rapes of 22 women by 53 men in Muzaffargarh district in June only. In a strongly-worded Amnesty international Friday called on authorities to prevent.¹⁴⁴

Tribal assemblies taking the law into their own hands."¹⁴⁵ In an interview to BBC Television, Law Minister said criminals involved in the gang-rape of a young woman would be tried in a terrorist court. To a question, he said Pakistani law does not recognize tribal jury (panchayat) like the one which ordered the gang-rape of the girl on June 22.¹⁴⁶

The news items usually report the commission and omission on the part of the factions involved in the case. They usually would not care to go into the case to find out further reasons of such omissions and commissions. For example the newspaper reported that a large number of human rights activities, representative NGO's protesting the criminal silence of the women commission and demanded to a law to award punishment to the perpetrators of such heinous crime.¹⁴⁷ During the further two months period the newspaper did not report any things about such a mission, whether it was actually formed and it undertook its proposed work, or not indeed, one cannot know whether the news reporting had been done after actually having achieving their 'moto' or not our point is that news reporting can, and in a numbered aspects about the Meerwala case it did, because an exercise in modifying a press note to generate the news, without going into the field and finding out what had actually happened. The press notes are usually an exercise in public relations on the part of those who issue them.

In the case of both dailies the effect of such omissions had been that readers could not know the detailed aspects of the case. Knowledge of facts could have given the readers insight into the character of persons implicated in the case.

In a news report, it reported that two accused Faiz Bakhsh and Allah Ditta were hiding at a place of Tehsil Nazim Sardar Nasrullah Khan Jatai. Police contacted the nazim asking him to hand over the accused. Initially the sardar promised to hand over the accused to police but later, reportedly, denied they were in his custody.¹⁴⁸

After that the news paper did not report any news about Tehsil Nazim Sardar Nasrullah Khan Jatai who give protection to the accused.

In a news report the age of victim's brother Abdul – Shakoor was mentioned as, “The gang-rape of the sister of 12 year old shakoor Tatlla was ordered, because the boy was alleged by the powerful Mastai tribe to have illicit relations with an 18-years old Mastai woman.¹⁴⁹

In the same newspaper the age of boy is mentioned as “the three member inquiry team wrapped up after hearing accounts from the young lady, her family with whom her 11 years old brother was accused of having an affair.¹⁵⁰

In an article the age of the women at Mastai tribe is 18-years who mere-lessly gang raped by four men.¹⁵¹ The other paper mentioned the age of the girl is 30 years.¹⁵²

In an news item, SSP Farman Ali said ASI Iqbal allegedly extorted Rs. 11,000 from Ghulam Farid Gujjar before the released of his son Abdul Shakoor.¹⁵³

The other paper reported that Ramzan Pachar is the most villainous character of the Meerwala tragedy. He is man who allegedly extorted Rs. 10,000 from the father of Shakoor for his release from police custody.¹⁵⁴

Mother case of such incidents like Meerwala is poor investigation of police, in an article it is stated that the Jatai police have registered a case on the report of 12 years old Shakoor against Jamil, pannu and Manzoor for sodomising him, However none of these was arrested. Advocate Rashid Rehman said “the FIR story did not fix any responsibility on ‘panchayat’ member rather it would help them escape punishment during trial in the

court of law". "He also pointed out that police had not so far taken into possession any of the article belonging to the case. He feared that all these loopholes intentionally or unintentionally being created by the investigation would create hurdles in punishing the culprits.¹⁵⁵

The court also criticized the police for taking more than a week to register the June 22 case.¹⁵⁶ The news items also highlighted the visit of Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, Federal Minister for social welfare, who flew to Multan by a special plane from Lahore along with Shaheen Attique-Rehman, Punjab Minister for social welfare. They drove to the Muzaffargarh to visit the oppressed family of Mukhtarian Mai, as a representative of President General Pervez Musharraf. They sympathized with Mukhtar Mai, the victim of gang-rape. She declared "our Government has zero tolerance for violence against women as violence is against Islamic tenets and all human norms and social values" Attiya also handed over a cheque of Rs. 500,000 to Mukhtar Mai from the President and Begum Sehba Musharraf. She said this meager amount is no compensation for the atrocity perpetrated on her; it is just a token of love, affection, respect and sympathy of the President.¹⁵⁷ Summing up, in reporting on the Meerwala gang-rape case, both the News papers gave a large coverage by way of news, Editorial and Articles, while the coverage was large in volume. Proceedings in the court were not covered at all, although such proceedings were public, such coverage could have brought out details of the case, giving insight into the sociological aspect.

In particular there is no coherent account of the formation and decision making process of the particular panchayat which has been universally condemned as the main culprit in the case.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In legal terms, justice has been done to Mukhtarian Mai, a woman at extraordinary courage who dared challenge her village over lards and endure the grilling common in rape cases. Women in the country are facing problems and discrimination, exploitation and hurdles in their careers. However media is the mirror image of a society and media should also feel its responsibility in creating awareness among the ^{masses} over such issues but in our society. The popular trend was to focus on the women involved in the story rather than the crime itself pictures of rape victim and judgmental overtures of language are used in the crime reports. Newspapers have every right to report on controversial issues but maximum caution should be exercised to ensure that; the event is not distorted to tilt public opinion and the use of judgmental words and opinion is avoided. Follow up to a crime story e.g. (in Meerawal case) also need to be highlighted i.e. if the perpetrators of a certain crime were convicted or not. Names of rape victims should not be given under any circumstances. Media should play full role in reporting about the incident like the Meerwala. The most positive thing in this case was pressure of media, proceeding are still going on media has played a traditional role which some how turned out as a positive aspect, that the authorities were compelled to take notice on in-human act which was totally against any norms what so ever social, cultural, religious, political, institutional and structural and now this case is with the courts where decision is not finalized. This case (Meerwala) is not so important if this traditional sacred institution (panchayat) is not involved. There may have been other such instances that have gone unpublicized, and it goes to the credit of the media that it exposed the Meerwala case and kept public interest in it alive, to expose such cases like Meerwala we need the freedom

of the press is to be guarded as an inalienable right of people in a free society. It carries with it the freedom and responsibility to discuss, question, and challenge actions and utterances of any government and at our public and private institutes. There is no need of interference of any governmental institution, the founding father also wanted to prevent any governmental interference with or censorship prior to publication of news in the public interest, on the other hand, freedom of the press also was intended as a positive instrument to bolster the chances of success for an experimental government, by and for the people. It really was the "right to be informed" that was being protected but there is also need protection for journalists who are doing their duty and who are serving both the public and the government by criticizing the any institution freely, independently, honestly, which is an education for any government or any institution. Another important aim was to provide training and education in journalism, so journalists recognize their responsibility for offering informed analysis, comment, and editorial opinion on public events and issues. News reports should be free of opinion and represent all sides of an issue. If the agencies of print media are carries of public discussion and information, acting on their constitutional mandate and freedom to learn and report the facts than print media bring revolution in the society and also over come such types of violence (like Meerwala) in the society.

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APPENDIX 'A'

Date wise list of news headlines and paragraphs in the "The News"

3rd July, 2002:

Head Line:-

HRCP deplores gang rape of girl on "Jirga verdict"

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- HRCP show great concern in gang rape of a girl after "Jirga verdict".
- HRCP Chairperson Afrasiab Khattak and Secretary General Hina Jilani said that gang rape is particularly shocking in which so many women live.
- HRCP is shocked on a gang rape of a teenaged girl as a punishment for the action of her brother.
- HRCP said that such a heinous crime cannot take place without the connivance of authorities.
- HRCP said that case was not registered for several days is further evidence of official complicity.
- HRCP demands punishment for all those involved in the crime even the on lookers.
- HRCP demands of disbanding of all extra judicial tribunals to prevent the assembly of Jirga.

4th July 2002

Head Line:

CJ takes Suo moto notice of gang-rape

Paragraphs devoted to subject

- CJP taking Suo moto notice of the incident of gang rape of a girl on “panchayat decision” and Summond advocate general Punjab, IG police Punjab, DIG, DPO, SHO concerned for July 5.
- The court directed them to take action after investigation against the rapist and responsible persons.
- CJP said it was the worst incident of the century against human rights.
- A young girl gang raped in the presence of hundreds of people as punishment of her brother’s alleged illicit relations with a girl of Mastoi tribe.
- Four persons raping 18-year old girl in a mud hut as hundred of people stood out-side laughing and cheering.
- ‘AP’ As she spoke I touch their feet I wept, I cried don’t punish me for a crime which was not committed by me but they tore my head and raped me one by one.
- Senior police and provincial government officials visited Meerwala.
- Asif Hayat POIG of police said the local police station officers had been suspended.
- DIG Punjab “HRCF demanded to abolish the tradition of tribal justice in Pakistan.
- Rana Ijaz, The Punjab Government’s law minister also visited the village and promised the full investigation and assistance to the victim’s family.

- Rana Ijaz told reporters, villagers told him the rape was the second in the region recently.
- The girls, father told the Mastoi girl was safe with his son because he was too young to have sex.
- Father also told the tribal Jury that my son is ready to marry (The girl).
- The girl's father said there was no one to protect my daughter.

4th July 2002

Head Line:

NGOs, women groups condemn girl's gang rape

Paragraph devoted to subject

- 19 NGOs, said this action is the part of unlawful panchayat
- Girl was made to walk naked over a distance of 100 meters.
- Traditional court is another way of punishing women for action of the male relative.
- Rule of law is in operation in Pakistan or it was a rule of Jirga.
- The groups demanded from Government to provide justice to the victim.
- Exemplary punishment to culprits under law.

5th July, 2002

Head Line:

Meerwala gang rape flayed

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- PML (QA) woman leader, crisis center for women in distress and international human rights observer demand stern action against culprits.

- Mrs Yaqut Jamil-ur-Rehman, president of PML (QA) Federal Capital Women Wing termed it as a “shameful and disgraceful act”.
- Chairperson and management committee of crises center for women held an emergent meeting.
- CCW appreciated the immediate action taken by Chief Justice and Punjab Law Minister.
- Crises center for women demanded immediate protection for victim girl and her family members.
- It said the FIR of the incident is in-complete.
- It said the Govt. must order judicial enquiry at the spot to encourage villagers to come forward with complaints.
- Nahida Mahboob Elahi advocate has been deputed to cover the legal side of the case.
- Nargis Zaidi media advisor has been deputed to visit the place and prepare a report.
- Khalida Saleemi of Sach Shelter Home has been asked to provide Shelter and other facilities to the victim.
- IHRO taken a serious notice of the gang rape and emphasized the need for review of all the tribal laws.

5th July, 2002

Head Line:

Gang-rape-Victim Contemplates Suicide.

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- Gang rape victim contemplate suicide by un welcome questioning by police and the media.
- She felt like an 'alene'.
- I will be forced to commit suicide if justice is not in the next few days.
- Pakistan's supreme court is taking the incident seriously with Chief Justice Riaz Ahmed.
- Punjab Governor Khalid Maqbool Ahmad has asked two provincial ministers to visit the village.
- Two officers were suspended while the entire staff of the local police station were transferred.
- Victim said Mastoi tribe will bring pressure on the authorities to Sweep the case under the carpet.
- Federal Minister with Punjab Minister for Social Welfare visit the oppressed family.
- She said Govt. has zero tolerance for violence against women.
- She handed over a cheque of Rs. 500,000 to victim.

6th July 2002

Head Line:

CJ raps police in gang-rape case

Paragraphs devoted to subject.

- CJ expressed concern over poor performance of police.
- IGP ordered to hold inquiry, submit weekly report.
- A three member full bench of Supreme Court started suo-moto proceeding at Lahore.
- AGP assured the court on behalf of the Punjab Govt. the rapist would be arrested soon.
- IG started disciplinary action against guilty and gross negligence officers.
- CJ emphasized the need of changing police attitude.
- A team of senior officers constituted to apprehend the four rapist.
- Police offices were involved in criminal negligence.
- Police arrested one of the alleged rapists.
- The rapists opened fire on police when they tried to nab them.
- The Mastoi women rejected a doctor's finding and insisted that Shkooor is not minor.
- Law minister said Govt. will take it as an act of terrorism that entails death punishment.
- Law minister said Pakistani law does not recognize tribal jury (Panchayat).

7th July, 2002.

Head Line:

Another suspect, ASI held in gang-rape case.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Complainant says Imam Masjid also endorsed Panchayat's decision.
- ASI allegedly extorted Rs. 11,000 from Shakoor's father who was kidnapped and sodomised by Mastoi tribe.
- A police raiding party arrested one of the accused.
- Tehsil Nazim denied to hand over the accused.
- Influential people of district are backing the accused Mastois.
- Pakistan Bar Council pursue the case on behalf of the complainants.
- Court criticized the police for Taking more than a week to register the case.
- President and Punjab governor gave the police dead lines this week to arrest the offenders.
- Rapes of 22 women by 53 men in Muzafargarh district.
- To prevent tribal assemblies taking the law in to their own hands.
- Pakistani authorities have failed to take adequate measures to prevent such bodies.

19th July, 2002

Head line:

SC gives 3-week for gang-rape verdict.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- SC asked police to give protection to the victim and her family.

- SC directed the police to speed up probe in to the gang-rape case.
- Police have completed the investigation.
- Mukhtaran Bibi was raped on the decision and order of a Panchayat.
- All the accused arrested.
- Police had to launch a massive man hunt soon after the incident.
- The gang-rape of the sister of 12-years old Shakoor.

24th July, 2002

Head Line:

Gang-rape victim gets safe, furnished house.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Safe house provided to an 18-years old gang-rape victim.
- A furnished house is provided to protect the lit of victim.
- Victim's family given agricultural land by the state.
- 8,300 dollars paid as compensation order by president.
- Village has also promised electricity, roads, two schools and police station.
- SC ordered to arrest the tribal council that order the rape.
- In this case the maximum punishment is death.

31st July, 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala victim to testify Today

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Fate of the case wholly and solely depends on the testimony of the victim.

- Seven witnesses appeared before the court.
- Statement of the victim and her witnesses recorded under section 164.
- All the 14 accused appeared before the court today.
- The Govt. took serious notice of the occurrence.
- Victim provided with Rs. 05 million assistance from president.
- She and her family assured all help security and assistance.
- Mukhtaran is satisfied that Govt. has done the maximum for her.
- She is appearing voluntarily tomorrow.

1st August, 2002

Head Line:

Gang-rape victim's brother, Imam Masjid testify in court.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects

- Shakoor caught by three persons who provided him into the fields of sugarcane and subjected him to un-natural offence one by one.
- Shakoor develop illicit relations with Salama.
- Abdul Shakoor had been whisked away by Punnon and other for committing sodomy.
- Maulvi Abdul Razzaq disclosed this ugly incident in his Friday sermon.
- Supreme Court ordered the ATC to complete hearing within three week.
- The Govt. took serious notice of the occurrence and the challan.
- Victim has been provided with Rs. 0.5 million assistance from president.

2nd August, 2002.

Head Line:

Cross-examination of Imam in gang-rape case.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- The defense side connected the story that Imam Masjid had solemnized the Nikah between Mukhtaran Mai and Abdul Khaliq as a part of the terms of Panchayat's verdict.
- The prosecution witness, rejected the version proffered by the defence side.
- The victim's family asked to produce the girl before the panchayat and seek apology for her brother.
- Mai's family was deceived.

- Another prosecution witness Sabir Hussain maternal uncle of victim who brought his niece to the Panchayat.
- Panchayat people dodged him.

3rd August, 2002

Head Line:

Victim's uncle tells court agonizing gang-rape tale.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects

- Victim's uncle narrate the tale of horrifying gang-rape before the ATC.
- Mai was prodded by Abdul Khaliq with a pistol.
- Victim's uncle said he saw his niece half-naked beret of Shalwar, coming out of the room.

- The Jurors promised him that they would cover his niece's head with a Dopatta.
- The hearing of the case will resume Saturday with his remaining cross-examination by the defence counsel team.

4th August, 2002

Head Line:

Meerwala gang-rape victim records tale of woes.

Mukhtaran Mai recorded her statement before the ATC

- The court completed the cross questioning of Sabir Hussain.
- Mukhtaran Mai stated, three persons took Shakoor to the standing crop of sugar cane where they sodomy him one by one.
- Mastois told, that Shakoor caught with Salma and he was busy in sexually assaulting her.
- Mastois said that their daughter was assaulted and we would take revenge.
- Mukhtaran said Abdul Khaliq caught her and dragged to the room.
- She stated that Abdul Khaliq and jurors were armed with pistols.
- When she came out of the room her Kameez (shirt) was torn and Shalwar and Doupatta was in the hand of Fayyaz.

6th August 2002

Head Line:

Cross-examination of rape victim to continue today.

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- Mukhtaran informed the court that Fayyaz Mastoi also gang-raped her on June 22.
- She very well knew the rapists as they belong to the same village.
- She told that she was veiled when she appeared before the panchayat on June 22.

The August 2002

Head Line:

Rape victim breaks down after grilling by defense.

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- Tribal court denied in court Wednesday that she had married one of the accused.
- Defense lawyers claim the lady underwent a formal marriage ceremony one of the accused on June 22.
- Abdul Khaliq used her legally as his wife.
- Mai categorically denied any marriage took place.
- Local Imam Masjid also flatly denied in court that any such ceremony took place.
- Mai told that she was dragged by four men from the high-caste.

- Four men are accused of raping Mai, and 10 council members are accused of abetting the rape.

9th August 2002

Head Line:

Defense cross-examines last witness.

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- The defense lawyers Thursday completed cross-examination.
- Last witness said Moulvi Abdul Razzaq had stopped him from registering FIR of the sodomy incident.
- There were no lighting arrangements in the room, where gang-rape incident took place.
- Mai would provide clothes next day.
- All the 16 prosecution witnesses have recorded their statements.

10th August 2002

Head Line:

Meerwala gang-rape accused plead not guilty.

Paragraph devoted to subjects.

- All the 14 accused of gang-rape case pleaded not guilty while recording their statements.
- Dr. Fazal Hussain told the court that Abdul Shakoor was subjected to sodomy.
- Ramzan Pachar said, he was wrongfully implicated in the case due to enmity with Moulvi Abdul Razzaq

18th August 2002

Head Line:

Gang-rape case: defense witness says victim was married.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- A defense witness testified, he saw a woman marry one of the four men whom she accused of raping her.
- The special prosecutor claimed that the witness was lying to protect his son.
- The prosecution insist that the Mastoi fabricated the story to cover-up the sodomizing.
- Fourteen men are on trial on charges of ordering, abetting and executing the rape.

23rd August 2002

Head Line:

Meerwala case hearing continues today.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- ATC heard the arguments of defense council on the 21st day of Meerwala gang-rape case.
- The defense questioned why FIR was registered eight days after the incident.
- 250 persons were present on the occasion but none of them informed the police.

APPENDIX 'B'

Date wise list of news headlines and Paragraphs in the "Dawn"

3rd July, 2002.

Head Line:

HR bodies condemn Meerwala incident.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects

- The incident is an outrage against the society and an affront to the state of Pakistan.
- HR statement criticized the institutional acceptance of women as symbol of honour.
- Severe punishment for those who expose a woman publicly.
- To abolish all inhumane mechanisms that kept women subjugated.
- All verdicts of Jirgas must be scrutinized by the mainstream legal system before being enforced.
- Barbaric act in Meerwala.
- A law to regulate parallel judicial system.

4th July, 2002.

Head Line:

Rallies held to condemn Meerwala Tragedy.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- A young girl was gang-raped accord to the decision of a Jirga.
- NGOs and political parties staged a demonstration out side the press club.
- The demonstration was sponsored by the HRCP.

- The speakers criticized the Govt. for its insensitivity.
- In deference of political leaders regarding the incident.
- Influential persons had been given a free hand to commit in human atrocities against the people.
- Citizen action committee for women rights staged a demonstration against the gang-rape.
- Leaders of 'Aurat Foundation demanded to arrest all the accused.
- Panchayat and Jirga system should be abolished.
- To legislate a law to award punishment to the perpetrators of such a heinous crime.

9th July, 2002.

Head Line:

ATC will try Meerwala case

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- The provincial monitoring committee review and monitor the performance of the 14 anti terrorism.
- To initiate the proceedings of the case of Mukhtiaran Mai.

10th July 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala case: Third member of Jirga held.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Police arrest the third juror of Meerwala case.

- Ramzan Pachar is the most villainous character of the Meerwala tragedy.
- With the arrest of the Pachar the police have taken into custody all the members of Panchayat.
- No serious efforts has been observed by police to apprehend the three alleged culprits.
- DIG said the sodomy case accused would also be brought to the court of law very soon.
- A list of defaulter of lease-money has prepared.
- To vacate the Korra Khan lands from the defaulting Mastoi clan people.

11th July 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala: Sodomy accused arrested.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Jameel was arrested from nearby village.
- He along with Pannu and Manzoor are accused of sodomizing 12-years old Shakoor.
- The Mastois had alleged that Shakoor had illicit relations with 18 years old Mustois girl.
- Later Mastois called a gathering which later was labeled as a panchayat.
- The Tuttle family claim that the Mastois staged the drama of panchayat.

12th July 2002.

Head Line:

13 accused in Meerwala case arrested, 2 at large.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- The supreme court asked police to continue submitting weekly report.
- DIG stated that he would like to continue supervising the investigation.
- SSP was pressuring the victim's family for a compromise.
- DIG assured if allegations were correct the SSP would not be spared.
- Victim and her family provided police guards.
- Victim had been medically examined. The CJ appreciating the police officers efforts.

13th July 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala accused sent to Jail.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- All accused before the area magistrate at the end of their physical remand.
- Challan against the accused was being prepared under section 10-7/97 of Islamic laws.
- Suo moto proceedings on July 18.
- Punjab governor visited Meerwala.
- The culprits would be awarded exemplary punishment.
- The victim's family handed the governor a list of 13 people.
- Governor assured the family of full security.

15th July 2002.

Head Line:

More security for Meerwala case victims sought.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Powerful families subdued the plaintiffs by hook or crook.
- Satisfaction over the replacement of investigation officer who pressurized the victims family to record statements favoring the Mastois.

16th July 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala gang-rape Third accused in sodomy case held.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Accused of assaulting 12-year old Shakoor Tattla.
- Mastois had staged the drama of holding the panchayat to cover-up sodomy.
- The assertion was later confirmed.
- ASI also included in gang-rape episode.
- Eight other were arrested to enforce the panchayat verdict.
- Police arrested the wrong person Fayyaz Hussain having same name and father name as well.
- DIG said, arrested Fayyaz has confessed to committing the crime.
- Police have completed the draft of the challan.
- Dera range DIG has suspended.
- Three sub-inspectors and two ASIs has suspended.

- An organization backed by Jamaat-I-Islamia took out a protest procession against the Meerwala gang-rape.

17th July 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala gang-rape, police hold seven people guilty.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Police arrested 15 people in the rape and three in Shakoor sodomy case.
- Six were have direct involvement while eight enforced the panchayat verdict.
- Eight had placed in the column, two of the challan.
- Police entered the name of one accused in column two when there is not enough evidence against him.
- 70-100 Mastois made the victim family powerless and enforced the panchayat decision.
- 30 Mastois among the gathering on June 22 were carrying arms.
- Police did not widen the scope of their investigation beyond the FIR of the incident.

24th July 2002.

Head Line:

ATC to try Meerwala case.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Meerwala case fit for trial under ATC act, 1997.
- Judge directed to mark attendance of the 15 accused in the case.
- Charges will be framed against the accused on 26th July.
- ASI of Jatoi police station is also among the 15 accused.

- Defense lawyers said, Meerwala incident was an outcome of personal enmity and personal enmity did not fall under the definition of terrorism.

30th July 2002.

Head Line:

More witnesses depose in Meerwala case.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Court has recorded the statement of nine prosecution witnesses and five court witnesses.
- CWs told the court that this incident spread terror and insecurity in the area.
- The CW3 admitted that he was in full knowledge of the incident from the day of its occurrence.

3rd August, 2002.

Head Line:

Mukhtaran's uncle cross-examined.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Victime's uncle brought his niece before the Mastois Panchayat on the assurance that his Gujjar family would be pardoned on her seeking apology for the act of her brother, Shookoor.
- He said, no payment deal was struck at the police station for the release of Shakoor.
- Mastois and the Gujjars were agree on exchange marriages to resolve the matter.
- When girl reached the Panchayat juror ordered that the girl be subjected to 'Ziadi' (rape).
- Police did not in mire from Shakoor to know the reason for his confinement.

- Mukhtaran Mai was divorced by her husband due to “bad character”.
- Mulvi Abdul Razzaq had always remained in the office of Public prosecutor during court proceedings.

9th August, 2002.

Head Line:

Jatoi RHC MB Summoned.

Cross-examination of PWs Complete.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- The judge reserved his verdict on the subject for the next day of hearing.
- The defense filed the application.
- Muzaffargarh police chief has exonerated some eight accused in the police investigation after taking bribe of Rs. 1.5 M.
- The sub-ordinate staff of the judge left the court soon after the official duty hours.
- ATC staff said, their strike was for an indefinite period.

12th August, 2002.

Head Line:

Defense wants rape victim re-examined.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- SP Mirza Abbas to appear as defense witness.
- Re-examination of Mukhtaran Mai and Razzaq was kept pending.
- The Masoi were ‘Baloch’ of ‘low status’ as they did not kill their women caught red-handed with their paramours.

- Ghulam Husain as a witness of the alleged 'nikah' of Mukhtaran Mai.
- DW5 said Khaliq had insisted on solemnizing his 'nikh' with Mai.
- He said Maulvi Razzaq performed the nikah of Khaliq with Mukhtaran.
- On the next morning June 23 nikah of Shakoor would be performed with Salma.
- Khaliq was arguing he would not marry his sister with Shakoor because the Gujjars had accused his brother Pannu at sodomy.
- The DW5 claimed that at this Maulvi Razzaq threatened legal action against the Mastois beside denouncing the nikah of Khaliq and Mukhtaran.
- On June 27 the nikah of Salma was solemnized with Khaleel.
- Jatoi SHO informed court about police failure to serve warrants on Fayyaz Hussain who was the other witness of Khaliq-Mukhtaran nikah.

21st August, 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala: ATC accepts plea for re-examination of PWs.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- The gang-rape victim had burst into tears during the cross-examination.
- The court also summoned inspector Riaz, who had recorded statements of complaints for Dera SP crimes.
- The court granted permission to the defense to examine the police file.
- The defense urged the court to exhibit the statements of the complainants with the court record.
- SP Mirza Abbas was brought in to the witness box as a defense witness.

- After a discussion, the court allowed defense to cross-examine the SP.
- SP paint and police inefficiency, corruption and irresponsibility in the delay of the registration of a case.
- The court adjourned proceedings of the case for Wednesday.

22nd August, 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala: defense starts arguments.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Both defense and prosecution had submitted a number of documents to the court.
- Supreme court had taken Suo Motu notice and had given three weeks to the trial court to decide the case.
- Defense council started re-examination of the statements of Mukhtaran Mai Sabir Hussain and Maulvi Abdul Razzaq.
- Mukhtaran Mai ruled out possibility of any patch up with the accused.
- She hoped the court would give exemplary punishment to the culprits.
- She said the police gat signed blank paper from them assuring the inquiry.

25th August, 2002.

Head Line:

Meerwala case verdict on 27th.

Paragraphs devoted to subjects.

- Mr Jaiya admitted that two real brothers could not committed "Zina".
- Mukhtaran Mai had identified them.

- Khaliq only took the girl away from the Panchayat.
- Jatoi police nothing to do with the case under trial at the court.
- The defense completed its arguments before the court.
- Defense council reiterated man made law were no match for Allah's divine law.

APPENDIX 'C'

Articles in the Dawn and The News (Alphabetical order)

Saeed, Nadeem "Main accused arrested.

Saeed, Nadeem, "Main accused arrested from Lasbela", The Dawn, 5th July, 2002.

Jalbani, Abbas, "Shame of Meerwala: ban tribal Jirgas", The Dawn, 9th July, 2002.

Tahir, Zulqernain, "Victim's brother was assaulted first", The Dawn, 10th July, 2002.

Birmani, Tariq, "Court admits Charge-Sheet in Meerwala case", The Dawn, 18th July, 2002.

Saeed, Nadeem, "Judge seeks Govt. view on ATC Jurisdiction", The Dawn, 22nd July, 2002.

Saeed, Nadeem, "Meerwala accused charge sheeted", The Dawn, 26th July, 2002.

Saeed, Nadeem, "Six get death in Meerwala case", the Dawn, 1st Sept. 2002.

Sheikh, Saleem Muhamad, "Shame in the name of justice", The News 16th July, 2002.

Khalid, Rasheed, "NGOs, Women groups condemn girl's gang-rape", 4th July, 2002.

APPENDIX 'D'
Muzaffargarh District Profile

Physical feature

Method of irrigation	Canal system
Major canals	Muzaffargarh canal, Rajanpur canal
Wester portion irrigated	Muzaffargarh canal
Eastern portion irrigated	Rajanpur canal
Crops	Rabi crops, kharif crops
Sub-division of district	Four
Names of sub-division	Muzaffargarh, Jatoi, Kot Adu, Alipur

Land Review

Fertile area	Eastern side of the district
Dwellings	Simple constructed house, mud build house.
Occupation	Laborers, farmers
Food	Bread, curry and rice.
Habits	Submissiveness, obedience, law abiding
Betrothal	Pre-marriage relation called magni
Marriage	Watta satta custom and arranged marriages
Births	Ghutti, aqika, hair, trimming (Jhand Lohawan)
Deaths	Janaza prayer, qul khawani and dastar bandi of the eldest son
Superstitious and beliefs	People believes in superstitious
Spiritual leaders	Firs

Places of Interest

Sect pur	Mosque and tomb of sect pur.
Sheher Sultan Jalai	Shrine of Hazrat Alam Shah Bukhari at Sheher Sultan Jatoi
Muzaffargarh	Shrine of Hazrat Pir Jahanian, Muzaffargarh.
Muzaffargarh	Shrine of Hazrat Baba Kahmiri, Muzaffargarh
Shahgarh	Shah Garh Fort, Yaadgar Club
Jalwala	Shrine at Hazrat Noor Muhammad, Jalwala.

Administrative Setup

Executive	Deputy Commissioner
District Magistrate	Maintaining Law and Order
Judiciary	
Head of district	Sessions judges
Members of Judiciary	14
1947 Administrative Civil Judge	01
1954	One sub-judge was posted.
Police	
1861	District police was established
Administrative setup of police comprises	Superintendent of police, executive head of police
Assistants	Deputy superintendent of police, civil investigation agency, one superintendent police, legal

Police officers of sub-division	Sadder, Alipur, Jatoi, Kot Adu
Supervisory officer	At each police station

Education attainment

All areas

Both sexes	28.4
Male	40.9
Female	14.8

Rural areas

Both sexes	24.1
Male	37.0
Female	10.5

Urban areas

Both sexes	55.5
Male	64.8
Female	44.9

APPENDIX 'E'
Meerwala, A Village Profile

Population characteristics

Area in Acres 1,535

Population

Both sexes 3,397

Male 1,752

Female 1,645

Literacy Ratio (10+%) 12.9

**Educational Attainment
Primary but below matric**

Male 152

Female 25

Matric & Above

Male 30

Female 03

Religion

Muslims 3,376

Others 21

Age group

18 Years and above 1,618

21 Years and above 1,300

Women (15-49 years)

Total 692

Currently married 539

Housing Structures

Total 509

Pacca 142

Semi Pacca 43

Kacha 324