



# Media Safety in Pakistan

A study of threats to journalists in Pakistan



PAK INSTITUTE FOR PEACE STUDIES (PIPS)

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**Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS)**



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## Summary

- Pakistan has a diverse media threat matrix with a range of factors contributing to it. One of the most important aspects is related to the level of professionalism, including the manner of reporting, how media persons operate in their surrounding and their overall threat perception.
- The threat perception: This study concludes that the threat perception of killed journalists was weak. The journalists associated with small and local media outlets were more prone to threats. The state and non-state actors both contributed to the threat matrix at the local level. Criminals and militants in small towns and tribal areas mainly threatened journalists associated with local publications and media outlets with comparatively less outreach.
- The media group matters: Association with major media outlets, especially in small towns and cities, offer some measure of security and those upset by journalists' coverage do not react to such an extent for fear that that might create resentment against the perpetrators at the national level. However, association with major media outlets alone does not automatically guarantee immunity from violence and intimidation.

## SUMMARY

The journalists in major media stations who are critical towards policy issues of the state and non-state actors are more prone to threats than their colleagues.

- Opinion makers have no discount: Journalists who are considered to be opinion makers or are seen as playing a role in shaping the discourse on an important issue are also likely to face greater threats.
- Part-timers are also at risk: It is clear that being a part-time journalist does not shield one from threats; they too are equally prone to threats simply on account of their work as journalists.
- A sense of social obligation is an important factor in many Pakistani journalists' work as they, including many of the targeted journalists focused on for this study, engaged in social activities at some level. The educational profile of the targeted journalists also suggested that they choose journalism under social obligation, to bring change in society and this could be another reason for their inclination towards exclusive reporting and highlighting issues and social malaise where powerful actors have stakes. These elements are known to react through violence to protect their vested interests. Thinking about media safety in Pakistan: The recent debate on freedom of press and media safety in Pakistan, including deliberations following adoption by the United Nations General Assembly of the Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists, has provided an opportunity for all stakeholders to expedite the consultative process with a view to enrich the media safety discourse, policy initiatives and to take practical measures.

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- Need for more research: The national and international media development organizations, public and private think tanks, and media departments of universities have to come up with practical measures to plug the gaps regarding the issues of impunity, media security, and journalists' safety, etc. It would be all the more relevant if these measures build on lessons learned from the experience in other countries, especially regional countries with a somewhat similar security landscape for media persons.
- Exploit the power of media in its own support: The media in Pakistan is not as sensitive as it should be to covering and highlighting the security and safety issues that it faces. Usually, only a media organization that is directly threatened (or has a journalist associated with it face threats) highlights the threats as challenges to freedom of expression. The media houses and journalists' associations have to raise consensus on safety-related issues that transcends any discrimination based on media groups and divergent editorial policies.
- What the government must do: The government should appoint special public prosecutors at the provincial and federal levels to address the pervasive impunity for perpetrators of violence against journalists. The initiative must cover all parts of the country, including the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The federal and provincial information ministries and departments should allocate resources for media safety trainings and other capacity building,

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as well as for supporting the targeted journalists and their families. This must be done in a consultative and inclusive manner.

- The responsibilities of media houses: They must take more responsibility for the safety of journalists, which must not be compromised for the sake of media ratings or chasing breaking news without regard for journalists' safety. All media houses should develop/adopt/endorse safety manuals and protocols for journalists, with the help of media professional bodies, government and civil society. These manuals should be put into practice and the protocols for journalists implemented.
- Professional media bodies have an important role to play: Professional media bodies can raise the issues confronting journalists at the appropriate forums, in collaboration with provincial and national level bodies representing journalists, in order to ensure a safe working environment for them.
- What a journalist can do: The study advises journalists to be extra vigilant in covering stories that involve powerful actors who are known to take offence quickly. Local correspondents should seek solutions in consultation with their media houses to ensure that the issue is covered without exposing them to risk. That can be managed sometimes by filing sensitive reports with a different dateline or requesting the media house to send journalists from outside a difficult district to cover the issue.

## Introduction

Pakistan is considered to be one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists. It is generally assumed that threats to journalists' lives are confined only to conflict-hit areas, such as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), but statistics show that journalists face threats across Pakistan and the nature of these threats varies from area to area. As far as statistics are concerned, Pakistan tops the list among South Asian nations where journalists have died\* in the line of duty, according to the South Asia Media Commission (SAMC) report for 2013. During this period, 10 journalists died in Pakistan.<sup>1</sup>The report noted the intimidation and risks journalists faced in Balochistan and FATA. Those killed in 2013 included journalists from private media organizations and the vernacular press.<sup>2</sup>

Irrespective of what these organizations may or may not do for journalists' protection, the government has failed to take meaningful action against the perpetrators of violence against media practitioners. One problem that both the government and non-governmental organizations faces lack of scientific research, which can help them with policy and legislative issues and with developing new initiatives to strengthen journalists' safety in Pakistan.

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\* There is varying data on the number of journalists killed over the last two decades and the authors choose to include the figures quoted by various sources to provide an overview of the dire situation.



## INTRODUCTION

The present context calls for more qualitative and quantitative research, which could help the state, media organizations, civil society and rights groups to evolve better policies and interventions to protect the journalists. This study by Pak Institute for Peace (PIPS) is an attempt to fill this vacuum, with the overarching goal of supporting safety, security and professional approach of Pakistani media and journalists in reporting and analyzing conflicts. The research study has the following objectives:

1. Analyzing the nature, intensity, variety and level of threats for journalists in reporting on conflict, based on ten case studies and reliable media safety data
2. To examine the factors and environment that make journalists vulnerable and less responsive to the threats
3. To assess the options available to journalists, media groups, media support organizations, human rights defenders and the government on how such threats can be avoided or minimized
4. To assess how the journalists' professional attitude and capacity can be strengthened in carrying out objective, progressive and effective conflict-sensitive reporting and analysis

This study carries an approach where in both primary and secondary data have been collected and analyzed at multiple stages. PIPS has developed comprehensive case histories of 10 journalists, eight of whom were killed and other given threats, by interviewing the surviving victims, their relatives, friends, fellow journalists, employers, and the relevant government officials, etc. Two case histories each have been documented from Balochistan, FATA, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh and one each from Punjab and Islamabad.

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The victims' professional and field behaviors have also been explored in terms of the safety and security measures that they took, as well as their mode of access to and nature of relations with their sources, and their approach to reporting and analysis, etc.

As many as 20 semi-structured qualitative interviews have also been conducted with media experts, security analysts, social scientists and political scholars to add an in-depth analysis to the case studies and to find answers to the aspects of safety and security for journalists as listed under the objectives of this study. Reports by media and human rights organizations on these specific cases and on others have also been consulted to collect secondary data.

The circumstances of the following journalists had been chosen as case studies in a consultative meeting of the PIPS editorial team. The cases cover all parts of the country and the level and nature of the threats for journalists.

1. Dr Abdus Samad alias Dr Chishti Mujahid
2. Allah Bakhsh Nadeem Gurganari
3. Musa Khankhel
4. Mukarram Khan Atif
5. Muhammad Ayub Khan
6. Shamim Shahid
7. Abdul Razzaq Sarbazi
8. Munir Ahmed Sangi
9. Muhammad Javed Khan
10. Abdul Razzaq Jaura

This study is split into a number of parts, opening with a discussion on the dynamics of the media safety and security landscape across the various regions of Pakistan in order to explain the context for the findings of the case studies. It also includes the perceptions and views of media practitioners and relevant stakeholders. The study

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shines the spotlight not only on threats to journalists but also on the perpetrators. It cites the safety and security measures in terms of what is available and what is lacking and the role and response of media organizations, journalists' professional bodies, law enforcement agencies and the judiciary in countering threats to journalists. The study recounts the manner in which journalists operate, focusing also on impunity issues, responses from the state, media houses and professional bodies and notes a lack of coherence in their responses as one of the major reasons for deteriorating media security in Pakistan.

Ten case studies of journalists targeted on account of their work are annexed. An entire section deals with findings of the case studies. The study concludes with a set of recommendations for the government, media houses, journalists' professional bodies and the journalists themselves.

Most of the available studies ignore the issue of professionalism while mapping the media safety landscape in Pakistan. During the research for this study it was observed that freelance journalists also take little notice of the various safety and security threats that media persons face from state and non-state actors. Freelance journalism flourished in Pakistan, especially in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA, after 9/11. Around that time these parts of Pakistan were in the international media spotlight, but an information vacuum was the main hurdle being able to report on what was happening on the ground. Full-time journalists were engaged by major national and international media outlets, but the demand encouraged freelance journalism and many people from other professions joined the media. They started working for international and national media organizations without any training or formal affiliation with any media outlet.

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Whatever they knew about reporting largely came from learning on the job. The tendency to take risks has been high among freelance journalists,<sup>3</sup> primarily because they have to depend on their reports for their livelihood, whereas journalists associated with media outlets have regular incomes and job security.

Professional journalists affiliated with media outlets face somewhat different challenges. Those who are under-paid work part-time for other organizations as well and take risks for the reports compiled for their part-time work.

In other cases, in their drive to disseminate facts, journalists, sometimes take risks, which entail dire consequences for them and their families.<sup>4</sup>

In Pakistan's context, journalists sometimes prefer to engage in reporting from conflict zones in order to present the true picture and at other times to make a name for themselves.<sup>5</sup> In pursuit of timely and accurate information, they expose themselves to great danger amid threats not only from non-state actors, such as militants, but also from security agencies.

The findings of the case studies support many of the perceptions about the media landscape and also helps understand the elements that make the media safety dynamics more complex.

As mentioned, this report is based on extensive field research and ten comprehensive case histories of journalists, who have been threatened or killed, through interviews with the surviving victims, their relatives, friends, fellow journalists, employers, and the relevant government officials, among others. Collecting the data for research and conducting the case studies was a tricky task for the field researchers. According to the research design, they had to conduct the interviews with the family, friends

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and colleagues of the victims. Many family members of the victims were still in trauma and reluctant to share their views. Those who agreed to talk had less information about the victims' news sources and the nature of their relations with the sources. This was a crucial part of the study. In order to get the true picture and to verify facts the field researchers conducted interviews with as many members of a targeted journalist's family as they could. Talking to women, especially with the wives of the victims was another challenge, particularly in the tribal and rural areas, as women talking with males outside of their families remains a taboo in many places. Collecting responses from law enforcement agencies was another challenge, as police officials often appeared to apprehend that such research could expose their inefficiency, but to their credit all the field researchers managed to obtain the official version in cases of violence against journalists. With this report, PIPS hopes not only to promote a better understanding of the issue, but also that the report can be of use in devising policies that acknowledge and take into account the situation on the ground.



# 1

## Media Security Landscape in Pakistan

According to research by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Pakistan has been the world's fifth deadliest country for journalists since 1992. CPJ has confirmed that 54 journalists have been killed since 1992 in Pakistan on account of their work. About 60 percent of the fatalities were targeted murders, with the rest coming during dangerous assignments. Another 18 Pakistani journalists have been killed over this period in cases where the motive could not be confirmed or excluded. Since 2003, as many as six media workers (translators, drivers, guards, fixers and administrative workers) have also died in Pakistan.<sup>6</sup>

According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 69 journalists were killed across the country in a five-year period from the beginning of 2009 until the end of 2013. As many as 11 of these journalists were killed in 2013, 14 in 2012, 16 in 2011, 20 in 2010 and eight in 2009.<sup>7</sup>

Unidentified gunmen fired on senior reporter and television anchorperson Hamid Mir in Karachi on April 19, 2014, severely injuring him. Mir, who worked for Geo News, a leading Urdu languages TV channel, was going to his office from the airport when he was shot three times, in his stomach and legs.

On March 28, 2014, another senior journalist and Express News anchorperson Raza Rumi came under attack in

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Lahore when unidentified men opened fire on his car. Rumi's driver was killed and his guard injured in the attack.

It is not difficult to imagine the message that such attacks convey to all journalists. If high-profile journalists like Mir and Rumi can be so brazenly targeted in Karachi and Lahore, lesser known journalists in remote areas of the country are much more vulnerable, and infinitely much less protected and trained. Threats like these compel journalists to be careful to the point of self-censorship. Pakistani and international human rights organizations have frequently criticized such steps to scare the media practitioners into silence.<sup>8</sup>

This context demonstrates that the media security landscape in Pakistan is diverse and the threats have multiple layers. A regional overview of the media security landscape would help understand the gravity of the situation in various parts of Pakistan.

### **1.1 Balochistan**

Balochistan is the worst-affected province of Pakistan in terms of safety of journalists. Four journalists lost their lives there in 2013.<sup>9</sup> Most of these journalists belonged to the interior part of Balochistan.

The media in Balochistan faces a lot of pressure, attacks, abductions and even murders at the hands of the security forces, Islamist militants, Baloch separatist insurgents and tribal chieftains. In 2008, a columnist for Urdu-language weekly magazine *Akhbar-e-Jahan*, Dr Abdus Samad Chishti, was murdered in Quetta, the provincial capital. Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), a separatist militant group, claimed responsibility. Baloch nationalists often accuse newspapers of pro-government bias.<sup>10</sup> Reporters

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Sans Frontières (RSF)—an international non-governmental organization that promotes and defends freedom of information and freedom of the press—has listed Baloch separatist groups among ‘press freedom predators’ in Balochistan.<sup>11</sup>

Independent and free reporting in Balochistan is next to impossible in the restive districts even for journalists operating from the provincial capital Quetta. Khuzdar district of Balochistan has become one of the most perilous districts for the media in Pakistan.<sup>12</sup> The journalists from Khuzdar who have been killed in the last few years include the president of the Khuzdar Press Club, Muhammad Khan Sasoli, who was murdered in December 2010.<sup>13</sup>

What casualty figures from international media watchdogs do not show are the threats and intimidation that journalists face and how their families are targeted and forced to relocate.<sup>14</sup> Riaz Mengal, a journalist from Khuzdar, had taken shelter in the neighboring Sindh province over two years ago on account of the threats he had been facing in Balochistan. His brother was killed in Balochistan in February 2014. Due to threats to Riaz Mengal in Khuzdar, his friends advised him against attending his brother’s funeral in Khuzdar. His family decided to take the body to Larkana district in Sindh for burial so Mengal could be there too. Mengal linked the murder of his brother to his refusal to quit journalism after he was kidnapped in 2007. Two years later he had been warned that if he did not quit journalism his family might “pay the price”.<sup>15</sup>

Between the year 2000 and 2012 as many as 13 journalists have been killed in Khuzdar district. Two presidents and a general secretary of Khuzdar Press Club have been killed on account of their work.<sup>16</sup> Most of the journalists in

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Khuzdar district have either gone underground or migrated to neighboring districts or other safer areas. The journalists are so scared that they dare not report about incidents in which separatist groups or organizations backed by state agencies are involved. They avoid talking on the phone about the situation or any incident that can invite serious repercussions for them, such as a mass grave discovered in Tutak area of Khuzdar early in 2014. Similarly, local reporters do not send news stories to their media organizations from Dera Bugti and Kohlu, two districts where the prevailing insurgency in Balochistan had started, except news stories based on information about the activities of the security forces against separatist organizations. Similar is the case of journalists in districts such as Kalat, Kech, Gwadar and Panjgur.<sup>17</sup>

### **1.2 FATA and KP**

The CPJ has listed 24 journalists killed on account of their work in FATA and the adjoining Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) region since 2003. According to journalists' representatives there, the exact number is even higher. Khyber Union of Journalists (KhUJ) is the main representative trade union of working journalists in KP. Arshad Aziz Malik, former KhUJ president, puts the combined death toll of journalists in KP and the adjacent FATA region at 31.<sup>18</sup>

Violence against journalists in FATA began on February 5, 2005 when two tribal journalists—Allah Noor and Amir Nawab—were murdered in the first militant attack on journalists in Wana, summer headquarters of South Waziristan Agency. Since then, killing, kidnapping and intimidation of journalists have almost become the norm in KP and FATA.<sup>19</sup>

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“The terrorists want to rationalize their actions and they need the media to publicize their viewpoint to the world. When the media fails to do their bidding they issue threats,” says Akhtar Ali Shah, the secretary of Home and Tribal Affairs for KP. “They don’t tolerate their dead to be called ‘*Halaak*’ (killed with no grace) and don’t like to be criticized in newspaper articles.” The Taliban have increased monitoring of the media. Almost all Taliban emails containing “press releases” are now accompanied by a threat.<sup>20</sup>

Several journalists and a media house in Peshawar are under serious threat these days, according to the KP official. He said that journalists were being threatened with murder and kidnapping by the Taliban. He confirmed that the Taliban were after some journalists, in addition to being an overall threat to media persons. “One media house is receiving threatening calls that have been traced to North Waziristan. They have threatened to blow up their office,” the KP secretary for Home and Tribal Affairs said.<sup>21</sup>

The journalists working in FATA are often free-lancers, having no direct link with the media houses. More than 250 journalists are members of the Tribal Union of Journalists (TUJ), the representative body of the journalists from all tribal agencies in FATA.<sup>22</sup> Many have decided to leave their jobs because of the threats. The correspondents working for the foreign media face more danger which is why many journalists representing the foreign media have left the region. The militants are well informed and have a well-known international network and can find out very quickly if someone works for an international news organization. Families of journalists have also been threatened which is why so many have been forced to relocate elsewhere. The extremist militants’ control in the area has affected the reporting of journalists in many ways;

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they cannot carry out investigative reporting or in-depth coverage of the events taking place in the region. The militants are not ready to answer hard questions and the government has not made any arrangements to facilitate the local journalists who complain that lack of access to information is impeding their work.<sup>23</sup>

Growing threats and restrictions on their movement have curtailed journalists' freedom. Many places have become virtual no-go areas for them in KP and FATA on account of the threats journalists face there. In fact, the whole of FATA is inaccessible to journalists from other parts of the country. Many tribal journalists have left their native areas because of concern for their lives and safety. Apart from logistical reasons, security is an important factor, which persuaded the Tribal Union of Journalists to relocate its office to Peshawar.<sup>24</sup>

In recent years, difficulties of journalists have increased further because of the militants' belief that the former are working for the authorities and the army. It is impossible for journalists to work in FATA in such conditions. As things stand, the residents of FATA get little information about the outside world and very little information can flow out of the region.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, Pakistan Army and the militants have been at war in KP, particularly in the western and southern parts of the province. No investigative reporting is carried out by the journalists in these regions either. In recent years, the situation in KP has worsened as the conflict has intensified. Almost the entire province is now affected and journalists have to increasingly deal with protection and security issues. In Swat district, which was in control of extremist militants in 2009 and where they had imposed their version of *sharia*, journalists became more cautious with their security and started seeking bullet-proof jackets,

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something that they had never done before because such gear had not been needed before. Some started to carry weapons with them because the media houses that they worked for did not provide them any security; anyone anywhere could be attacked. The situation in southern Swat was particularly precarious and the journalists were not at all prepared for a conflict of that intensity. The working conditions have grown more dangerous for journalists because whatever the reporters cover they have to think about the army, the intelligence agencies, extremist militants and tribal groups and make sure that they do not step on anyone's toes.<sup>26</sup>

The extremist militants in the region are very sensitive and particular about controlling the flow of information from the region as they believe that the news media has spoiled their image and given them a bad name. People avoid talking to the media because of the fear of reprisals from terrorists. In this context, journalists sometimes feel compelled to go beyond their own security parameters to find real news. That can and quite often does have serious fallout. That was the case with Musa Khankhel, the Geo TV reporter, who was shot and killed in Swat in 2009.

### **1.3 Karachi**

Journalists are also affected by the prevailing chaotic situation in Karachi, which is not only the capital of the Sindh province and the country's financial capital but the most populous city in Pakistan. According to the last population census, conducted in 1998, there were 9.2 million inhabitants in Karachi. However, the UN estimates that in the next 15 years the population has nearly doubled. The threats that the journalists face in this teeming city are quite dissimilar and delivered in different ways. Journalists face threats from the state security forces,

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from some political parties, Taliban militants, sectarian groups and criminal gangs.

The ethnic make-up of Karachi—with the Urdu-speaking Mohajir community as well as the Pashtuns and Baloch, among others—has played a big part in how various challenges have evolved in this city, including political patronage of criminal gangs, lack of population integration and law and order issues. Members of the various ethnic groups prefer to live in localities dominated by their ethnicity. The journalists in Karachi state that the city has been divided along ethnic lines to such an extent that they fear all ethnic groups and political parties equally and find it extremely difficult to move from an area dominated by one ethnic group to the next where another ethnic group is concentrated. A journalist who manages to pass through a Pashtun- or Baloch-dominated area is looked on with suspicion by the Mohajir community and vice versa, journalists in Karachi say.<sup>27</sup> In a city where various identity markers have gained much importance and can often mean the difference between life and death in turf wars, ethnic identity can add one more layer to the many safety risks for the journalists.

They say that it is a common tactic for some political parties and groups to pressurize them and that they have been doing so for several years. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) office in Karachi remained closed for nine days in August 2013 amid threats received from a political party in protest against a documentary aired by the international media organization.<sup>28</sup> Jasmine Manzoor, a vocal anchor working with Samaa TV, fled Karachi in July 2013 after receiving death threats from a political party.<sup>29</sup>

As in FATA and KP, journalists in Karachi have also been receiving threats from the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). A technician, driver and security guard working for



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Express News TV channel were killed on January 17, 2014, when gunmen attacked a digital satellite news gathering (DSNG) van of the media organization in Nazimabad area of Karachi. A TTP spokesman claimed responsibility for the attack, vowing that the Taliban would attack all media houses which carryout propaganda against them.<sup>30</sup> The Express media group offices in Karachi were attacked twice in 2013; the TTP claimed responsibility for one of the attacks.

Ashraf Khan, a correspondent for the Associated Press (AP) in Karachi, was asked to quit his job in 2012 after he brought to his employer's attention threats made against him by the TTP. A letter that he received in March that year demanded that he stop reporting "in favor of the West" and that he had got his first and last warning. Khan informed his employer about the letter who suggested that he should quit his job to avoid further threats.<sup>31</sup>

Some journalists in Karachi also feel insecure because of their sectarian identity. Sectarian groups are known to target journalists having sympathies with the rival sect. A January 2014 report issued by Karachi Police's Criminal Investigation Department (CID) revealed that some members of a cell of a sectarian outfit had covered the activities of a rival sectarian group in the guise of journalists and they were planning to kill them.

### **1.4 Interior Sindh**

The law and order situation in interior Sindh has plummeted in recent years. Background interviews with journalists working in interior Sindh suggest that the nature of conflict in interior Sindh is totally different from other parts of the country, including Karachi. They say that journalists largely feel threatened while covering violent clashes between tribes, political parties, honor killings and

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issues related to women and religious minorities. Goons hired by private individuals, including politicians, businessmen and feudal lords, harass and assault journalists. Reporters from the interior part of Sindh are known to have requested their news desks in Karachi and Hyderabad to give a Hyderabad dateline to their stories because they fear that once any critical news about a powerful person appears from their district, the person in question would hold a grudge against the local correspondent.<sup>32</sup>

In upper Sindh, including the districts of Shikarpur, Larkana, Jacobabad and Kashmor, clashes between local tribes are common and hundreds of innocent people, including women and children have been killed in the fighting so far. Journalists face severe security problems during the coverage and reporting of the tribal clashes. Munir Sangi, a cameraman for KTN TV, was killed in May 2006 while covering armed clashes between Unar and Abro tribes in Larkana.<sup>33</sup>

"If we annoy either side, we may be killed," said a journalist from Shikarpur district, who requested anonymity because he believed that voicing his views on threats to journalists could expose him to risk. Murder, kidnapping and other heinous crimes are often resolved through *jirgas* instead of courts.<sup>34</sup> It is very difficult for local journalists to write against the powerful feudal lords involved in serious human rights violations in the areas where they hold sway.

Journalists face many threats and problems while reporting on religious minorities in Sindh's rural areas. Sometimes the influential Muslims there threaten violence against local journalists, especially journalists from minority religious faiths.<sup>35</sup>

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Reporting on women's rights and honor killings is also a difficult task. "In upper Sindh, the society is very conservative and the so-called honor killing or *karokari* is pervasive. Publishing photos of women killed in *karokari* or of girls who marry in courts against their families' wishes has led to death threats to journalists and their photographers and cameraman in interior Sindh, the journalist says.

In February 2010, unidentified armed men shot and killed Mehran TV reporter Aashiq Mangi in Gambat area of district Khairpur. In May 2010, police found the body of Ghulam Rasool Birhamani, president of Dadu Press Club and a reporter of daily 'Sindh', at a deserted place two kilometers from Dadu district. According to media reports, he died because of head injuries. Altaf Chandio, president of Mirpurkhas Press Club and bureau chief of Awaz TV, was shot and killed outside his house by unidentified attackers in December 2010. In October 2011, Mahesh Kumar, a senior journalist, was fired upon as he left the Hyderabad Press Club at night. Later, he was threatened on the phone. In January 2012, unidentified assailants on motorbikes fired eight bullets on Kumar's car parked outside his office. In May 2012, two reporters in district Jamshoro were beaten up, reportedly by men hired by the district mayor at the time. The journalists believed that they were attacked because they had reported that the mayor had been using public school teachers as his personal servants. Mushtaq Khand, a reporter for Dharti TV, was killed in September 2012 when unidentified attackers opened fire at a Pakistan People's Party (PPP) meeting in Khairpur district. Two journalists, Arbab Bheel and Mushtaq Qambar, were given threats when they reported on the rape of a minor Hindu girl in December 2012.

These incidents offer insight into the nature of challenges and threats the journalists face for doing their work in interior Sindh.

## 1.5 Punjab and Islamabad

The security threats for journalists are not restricted to FATA and KP alone. Punjab is the center for many militant groups, such as the banned Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (Lej), which carry out various terrorist activities. Hence the security issues and landscape here greatly affect the journalists working throughout the country.

However, journalists in Punjab and Islamabad (the federal capital territory) face comparatively less danger than elsewhere in the country. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists; seven journalists were killed in Punjab and Islamabad from 1992 to 2014. Pakistan Press Foundation (PPF), a Karachi-based NGO working on media rights reports that 48 journalists have been killed all over the country, from 2001 to 2012, on account of their work.<sup>36</sup>The report further states that three deceased journalists belonged to Punjab and two to Islamabad.<sup>37</sup>

Senior journalist and Lahore-based columnist Aamir Hashim Khakwani underlined that being a journalist in the province was not that easy. "It is a fact that the threat to journalists in Punjab is negligible compared to the other provinces but they are facing different kinds of pressures."<sup>38</sup> Khakwani identified corporate pressure as a major threat to the independence of media in Pakistan and advertisement revenues being used as carrot and stick. Moreover, political governments and owners of media houses also pressurize journalists for different reasons.<sup>39</sup>

In Punjab and Islamabad, the threat of Taliban militancy is slightly lower. Khakwani also said that "the Punjab

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government is known to have threatened media houses to publish or broadcast favorable news. They also gave a list of journalists' names to the Jang Group in the late 1990s and demanded that they should be sacked. Although, intelligence agencies threatened journalists in the tenure of former president Pervez Musharraf, their influence diminished after the democratic transition in the country."<sup>40</sup>

Conflict and terrorism reporting has been posing serious threats to the journalists in Punjab and the federal capital territory over the last decade. Many journalists have been killed or injured while covering suicide bombings or other attacks. On June 17, 2011 two journalists, Asfandyar Khan of *Akhbar-e-Khyber* and Shafiullah Khan of daily *The News* were killed and seven other media workers were injured in a blast in Wah Cantonment. They had gone to cover an explosion when a second bomb blew up. Earlier, in May 2010, Ijaz-ul-Haq, a technician for the satellite TV channel C42, was killed in an armed attack on an Ahmadi worship place. He was covering the attack when armed militants opened fire on the worshipers and hit Haq too. Javed Khan, a reporter for TV channel DM Digital was shot and killed while covering the Red Mosque operation in Islamabad in July 2007.



## 2

## Threats to Media, the Perpetrators and the Role of Stakeholders

The threats and pressures for journalists in Pakistan come from state and non-state actors alike. Based on research and interviews conducted for this study and analysis by media persons, the sources of threats for media practitioners in Pakistan can be categorized in six major groups:

- 1) Militant religious outfits/ Taliban
- 2) Baloch separatist groups
- 3) State/ intelligence agencies
- 4) Ethnic political parties
- 5) Criminal gangs
- 6) Mainstream political parties
- 7) Tribal elders and feudal lords

The journalists who cover conflicts, terrorism and security issues from Baluchistan, FATA and KP top the list of those receiving death threats from both state and non-state actors. The media security landscape highlights a number of restrictions.

In many areas media access is prohibited; there is a particularly complete media blackout in North and South Waziristan areas of FATA. The media depends on secondary sources, mainly state institutions, for reports on the conflict including drone strikes, military operations, terrorist activity and other related issues. When journalists

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try to find ways around these restrictions to access information, they mainly face the following threats and challenges:

- The journalists and their families are threatened, forcing them to relocate elsewhere.
- The journalists almost always report the threats they receive to their media organizations and look towards them for help. The second refuge for most journalists is the press clubs and journalist unions.<sup>41</sup> Research by Adnan Rehmat, a media development expert, found that journalists preferred not to report the threats to state authorities because most journalists felt that state authorities were a source of the threats they faced. The death threats that the journalists face usually come as text messages on their cellphones.<sup>42</sup>
- In FATA, journalists generally had to relocate to different areas of the adjacent Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province due to the multiplying security threats they faced from militants and security agencies. This hemorrhaging has resulted in relatively few reporters remaining in FATA.
- The journalists also face intense pressure from different groups over the words used to describe fatalities; if a person affiliated with a group is reported as killed and not martyred that could lead to a journalist being threatened.<sup>43</sup>
- Although there has been a decline in the number of journalists killed in 2013 compared to previous years, the number of threats they receive has increased considerably.



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- The Committee to Protect Journalists' interaction with Pakistani journalists who have been receiving threats shows that the threats come from many quarters: from the military, paramilitary, and intelligence agencies; from both sides in the brutal and escalating ethnic strife in Balochistan; militant groups in FATA, some of which operate on both sides of the border with Afghanistan; political factions and criminal groups engaged in turf wars in urban centers, most prominently in Karachi; powerful feudal leaders still established in rural areas; the figures involved in bitter local disputes over land, water rights, political patronage, corruption, and even marital disputes covered by journalists.<sup>44</sup>



# 3

## Threats and Perpetrators

### 3.1 Safety and Security Measures

“Many journalists don’t report the threats they face and when they do report there is hardly any solution from their unions or the police,” says Arshad Aziz, the former KhUJ president and senior Peshawar-based journalist, highlighting the dilemma journalists have been facing. “Most of the journalists try to resolve their issues with Taliban or the agencies on their own, without involving police or the union. Some who face threats keep a low profile or go to other cities for some time.”<sup>45</sup>

There are some safety measures that journalists adopt on their own. Some who face threats limit their movement. They also change their routine and routes to avoid being targeted. Others simply carry on without any security measures. Some journalists who have managed to stay safe despite threats and attacks give credit to the media training that they have received.<sup>46</sup>

As with journalists, the media houses also remain vulnerable to attacks. Most of the media houses have engaged private security guards. Although they offer some protection, they are not capable of stopping a terrorist attack. Two major media groups are under specific threat in Peshawar. “If we can fight a war with [the] US and its allies in Afghanistan, attacking you is no big deal,” an

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email from the militants threatened an Urdu-language newspaper in Peshawar.

The Peshawar Press Club building was targeted in a suicide bombing in 2009. After that blast, modifications have been made to fortify the building against bomb attacks.

Journalists have been offered trainings, but a lot more is needed to ensure their safety. Arshad Aziz says only 20 percent of the journalists in need may have received training. "Eighty percent of journalists do not know about safety protocols. Most of them do not follow the principles of ethical journalism."<sup>47</sup>

Some journalists have learned from what happened to their colleagues covering bomb explosions. But many journalists have not learned from bombing incidents or secondary explosions soon after the initial blasts that have killed several reporters.

For all intents and purposes, almost all journalists in Pakistan work in a conflict zone since security is uncertain everywhere, but only few journalists have been provided with a safety gear. They also lack life insurance cover.

### **3.2 Role of Professional Bodies**

Most of the professional bodies lack resources to provide security and training to media persons. Khyber Union of Journalist (KhUJ) President Nisar Mahmood states the union is striving to provide training to its members to ensure that journalists take safety measures and engage in ethical journalism,<sup>48</sup> but the union is not in a position to provide security to journalists. These bodies can take up the issue of security with the local administration or the government.

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According to Nisar, when a threat is reported to them they highlight it in the media and also share it with other bodies.<sup>49</sup>

Karachi is a major media center in Pakistan but the role of professional bodies in Karachi has been disappointing. Leaders of journalists' bodies agree that professional bodies have failed to play their role to protect the rights and lives of the journalist community and say that weakening of the trade union movement in the country has also affected journalists' bodies.<sup>50</sup> The Karachi Union of Journalists (KUJ) is divided into three factions, one of which has a clear affiliation with the MQM and another with the Jamaat-e-Islami. Background interviews with journalists from different ethnic groups in Karachi suggest that they are not satisfied with the role of professional bodies. A reporter said that professional bodies had either become virtual sister organizations of specific political parties or indulged in the politics of getting plots and other monetary benefits from the government. The professional bodies only carried out token protests when a journalist was killed or received threats.<sup>51</sup>

The ineffectiveness of journalists' trade unions and to some extent press clubs makes the journalists more vulnerable to all kinds of threats. Aamir Hashim Khakwani, the Lahore-based journalist, agrees that trade unions of journalists cannot play any role to prevent threats to journalists, and their leaders are more interested in the unions' internal politics.<sup>52</sup>

Simultaneously, due to lack of training, reporters and cameramen covering a crime scene or an act of terrorism do not realize the threat they face when they cross a red line. That not only creates hurdles for the security forces in their operational activities, but also extenuates journalists' vulnerability. Moreover, media houses' blind pursuit of

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ratings has been creating threats for journalists and media crew in the field.

“There is no mechanism for training journalists to cover conflict reporting. For instance, there have been many occasions when journalists covering an incident of terrorism have been targeted in a second bomb blast. The majority of media organizations do not arrange life or accidental insurance for journalists,” says Khakwani. The family of deceased journalist Abdul Razzaq Jaurawas not provided life insurance by his TV channel, by the Mianwali Press Club or by any trade union of journalists.<sup>53</sup>

Journalists in rural and urban areas of northern and southern Punjab commonly face other threats, including abduction, harassment and torture. Journalists in these areas dare not write against the local feudal lords or politicians.

The professional bodies are comparatively active on the media safety front despite the many challenges. Balochistan Union of Journalists (BUJ) and Quetta Press Club in tandem raise their voice over the killing of journalists and excesses against them, besides arranging safety trainings for media persons. These bodies stage protests over journalists’ killings and have been demanding provision of security for them and compensation for the bereaved families. Not a single family of the slain journalists of Balochistan was provided compensation by the federal or provincial government. BUJ office-bearers pursued the matter with the Balochistan High Court chief justice and contended that the newspapers should not be barred from carrying statements of banned organizations, but they failed to persuade the court.

### 3.3 Role of Media Organizations

Most journalists complain about their media organizations' indifference towards employees' safety and security. The organizations insure offices and equipment, even cameras, but not their reporters, cameramen, drivers and other support staff, which indicates how serious an issue employees' security is to them. Some journalists associated with television channels complain that if violent incidents occur during coverage of events their employers inquire about DSNG vans and other logistics first and show little concern about the safety and security of the staff.

"The steps that media organizations take for the safety and security of journalists amount to zero," Khyber Agency-based journalist Nisar Mahmood said.<sup>54</sup> The organizations do not provide their field staff with safety gears, such as bullet-proof jackets and helmets. "Media outlets send journalists to warzones and pressure them to take risks in pursuit of breaking news but they don't care about their safety and security," former KhUJ president Arshad Aziz said.<sup>55</sup>

Another issue is related to job security. Most, if not all, of the district correspondents of media organizations are unpaid. The journalists who work in the main offices in KP are paid very low salaries. They are also not given special incentives or allowance for working in conflict zones.<sup>56</sup>

TV channels and newspapers do not train their reporters on working in conflict areas or in hostile environments, and therefore the reporters are unable to take precautions while performing their duties. In case of any violent incident or bomb blast, the reporters and cameramen working with TV channels are pushed by their supervisors to bring the most exclusive footage. Journalist groups demand that reporters in Karachi need to be trained for

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working in conflict zones and situations and media organizations should organize such training for them.

Despite the growing number of print and media organizations in interior Sindh, working conditions for journalists continue to deteriorate. Few media organizations provide training to reporters to understand and avoid risks in the field, while covering conflict-related issues, such as tribal clashes in upper Sindh.

In Balochistan, the media organizations' attitude of ignoring or overlooking the situation poses serious risks for their staff in the field. These organizations provide coverage to the killing of their own reporters and crew only and the coverage by other TV channels and newspapers is little more than a formality, as if the deceased did not belong to the media fraternity. They do not highlight nationalist parties and armed/separatist groups threatening reporters and crew with death and sometimes mishandling them. A general complaint from reporters and cameramen is that their bureau chiefs and superiors in the main offices discourage them from professional trainings by denying them leave on one pretext or another.<sup>57</sup>

### **3.4 Role of Law Enforcement Agencies**

On one hand, law enforcement agencies have failed to provide security to journalists and media organizations' offices and, on the other, investigators' inability to properly probe journalists' murders has encouraged impunity.

Muhammad Ayub Khan, a journalist in KP, was murdered in Karak district on October 11, 2013, allegedly by drug dealers. His family nominated the accused but they continue to be at large. Police are making no effort to go



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after the killers and the government has shown little interest in the case.

“We have issued instructions to law enforcement agencies to improve investigation,” said Akhtar Ali Shah, the KP secretary home and tribal affairs. “It is the government’s policy to create an enabling environment for the media so that journalists can work freely and independently.”<sup>58</sup> “Although we have made no arrests in cases of intimidation and violence against journalists, we have provided security to the press clubs and to media outlets that have been threatened. Federal Investigation Agency, Intelligence Bureau and police have been assigned to work on journalists’ cases,” the home secretary said. He said most of the journalists had not been reporting threats and intimidation to law-enforcement agencies and the Home Department.<sup>59</sup>

There are several incidents of police and law enforcement personnel subjecting journalists to physical attacks, intimidation and random detention.

In Balochistan, in most instances even cases have not been registered with the police for killing of journalists; investigation or arrest of the killers remain highly unlikely in the circumstances. In most cases in Balochistan, the families of journalists hold intelligence agencies responsible for the killing of their loved ones, and the police are unable to proceed against them. Intelligence agencies and security forces, particularly the Frontier Corps, instead of providing security to journalists pressurize them to block news of separatist and armed groups.<sup>60</sup>

### **3.5 Judicial Response**

Of all the reported cases of journalists’ killing in Pakistan, the cases of Daniel Pearl and Saleem Shahzad, who was

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abducted on May 29, 2011 and his dead body found two days later, got the most prominence and attention from professional bodies, including media houses and journalists' associations. Pearl went missing on January 23, 2002. He was about to interview an alleged terrorist linked to the "shoe bomber", Richard Reid, the British Muslim man who had attempted to blow up an American Airlines jetliner over the Atlantic.<sup>61</sup> British-Pakistani Ahmad Omer Saeed Sheikh, along with three other men, was convicted for killing Pearl by a Pakistani court. However, according to the Pearl Project Report led by Asra Nomani, a colleague and friend of Pearl's, Sheikh and the other three men convicted for the murder were not even present when Pearl was murdered. It states that Al Qaeda leader Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the man identified in the report as Pearl's killer, was unlikely ever to be brought to justice for the journalist's brutal slaying.<sup>62</sup>

Saleem Shahzad, bureau chief of Asia Times Online, Hong Kong, was kidnapped on May 29, 2011 from Islamabad and his body bearing torture marks was found floating down a canal near the Head Rasul area, in Mandi Baha-uddin district, about 130 kilometers from Islamabad, on May 30, 2011.<sup>63</sup> Shahzad was about to initiate a televised panel discussion in Islamabad about his latest article reporting that Al-Qaeda was behind a recent attack on a naval base in Karachi. A judicial commission set up to probe Shahzad's murder subsequently asserted that unidentified people were responsible for the murder. The finding was widely criticized by professional bodies in Pakistan and abroad and was dubbed as 'non-credible'.

In any case, with the possible exception of Pearl's case, no significant case of a journalist's killing has been resolved till now. There is a general perception among the professional bodies that the reason for the unresolved cases is the involvement of security and intelligence

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agencies and the state itself. But this has yet to be supported by credible evidence. Government officials continue to state that the people behind abduction, torture, and killings will be dealt with 'iron-hands' and no compromises would be tolerated. The situation on the ground, however, paints a gloomy picture of impunity. Journalists in the country are targeted not only by militants, criminals, and warlords, but also by political parties, the military, and intelligence operatives.<sup>64</sup> A recent report by Open Society Foundation noted that the accumulative effect of this impunity was that journalists were forced to work in tough conditions.<sup>65</sup> Journalists have consistently expressed concern that killings of their colleagues go unpunished. Impunity for perpetrators of journalists' killings continues and little headway has been made so far in investigating the cases or apprehending and prosecuting the killers of any of over 80 journalists killed in the country since the year 2000. The case of American journalist Daniel Pearl has been the only exception during this period. Media organizations, human rights groups and other organizations working for the safety and protection of journalists continuously monitor and report on the assaults and challenges facing journalists working in or reporting on conflict zones. There is no dearth of literature on the threats to and the role of journalists in conflict reporting under state curbs and censorship. But most of the work on the threats to journalists is descriptive, journalistic and carries event-driven narration of one case or another. And, most importantly, these reports are not academically proven with empirical evidence. A comprehensive, all-inclusive and in-depth analysis of the nature and level of the threats to journalists in conflict zones has remained elusive.

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In short, there is a degree of ambiguity on the precise identity of the culprits. Murders and attacks are seldom investigated, which is reflected in the impunity.

### **3.6 State and Media Organizations' Responses to Counter Threats**

Many initiatives have been taken to address the issue of media safety in Pakistan both by local and international organizations. Some of these are listed below:

1. The growing impunity in crimes against journalists the world over compelled the United Nations to initiate a plan of action which focuses on supervising and assisting member states in formulating legislation and a work plan to ensure freedom of expression and protection of journalists. UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, is tasked with striving for steps to address the growing issue of violence against the media and journalists.<sup>66</sup> Pakistan is one of the five countries of focus under the plan of action.
2. Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) promotes press freedom globally and guards the rights of journalists and works for their protection. The CPJ takes action wherever journalists are being attacked, kidnapped, threatened or killed.
3. The International Federation of Journalists represents around 600,000 members in 134 countries across the world. The IFJ is internationally recognized for the assistance it provides to journalists facing threats and violence. It promotes international action to defend press

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freedom and social justice through strong, free and independent trade unions of journalists.

4. Many Pakistani organizations which have been working for the protection of journalists' rights believe that in order to ensure safety of journalists the government must take much greater and concerted action than it has so far. Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) represents the journalists of the country and brings together journalists from various media entities like Peshawar Press Club, Karachi Union of Journalist, Balochistan Union of Journalists, etc., to organize protests and hold rallies against the killings of journalists and to make demands on behalf of the media practitioners.
  
6. Another independent organization known as National Coalition on Media Safety (NCOMS) approved on 8 October 2013 the UN Plan of Action on the Safety of Journalists and Issue of Impunity and issued 'Islamabad Declaration', highlighting a set of actions and proposals for key stakeholders on fighting impunity against journalists in Pakistan.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, International Media Support (IMS) with the help of local partners is working to enhance journalists' capacity and strengthen freedom of expression.<sup>68</sup>



# 4

## Findings of the Case Studies

This report is based on extensive field research and 10 comprehensive case histories of journalists, who have been threatened or killed. The study examined the perceptions of the media safety landscape and not only found many of them to be based on facts but found new dimensions of the media safety issues as well.

The profiles of the selected 10 journalists, who faced threats and violence on account of their work, have been annexed with the study. The findings of the research study follow here.

### 4.1 Socio-economic Profile

All the targeted journalists belonged to the middle or lower-middle income bracket with a monthly income ranging from PKR 10,000 to 50,000. Among them, four were earning less than PKR 15,000 a month and three earned between PKR 21,000 and 30,000. Nine of the journalists lived with their parents or in houses they owned and two lived in rented houses. Seven were in the lower-middle income bracket and three in the middle-income bracket. Only one of the targeted journalists was single while all others were married and had children. Although journalism is believed to be an urban profession,

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more people from rural areas have been joining this profession. Seven of the targeted journalists were based in urban areas and three in rural areas.

The educational profile of the targeted journalists was not very diverse. Only one of the targeted media persons, Shamim Shahid, had an academic degree in media studies while the rest either had basic education or specialization in other fields. All of the targeted journalists had received formal education from the public sector, with one not even having completed matriculation, two holding matriculation degrees, two intermediates, one graduate, and the rest holding post-graduate degrees. A postgraduate, Shamim Shahid, who took precautionary measures and survived despite risks and threats, gave credit to his educational background and several media training workshops that he had attended during his career. Fifty percent of the targeted journalists had received formal media training and the rest had no training to carry out their journalistic work.

Three of the targeted journalists (Abdul Razzaq Jaura, who ran a computer shop, Allah Bakhsh, a government employee, and Dr. Abdus Samad, a practicing eye-specialist) were part-time journalists while all the rest worked full-time.

### **4.2 Political and Religious Affiliations**

Even though the majority of the journalists lacked formal political or religious affiliations, a number of them were fond of political discussions. Ayub Khan was formally affiliated with a mainstream political party and also the Tableeghi Jamaat. Shamim Shahid is affiliated with a nationalist political party. Two journalists had an inclination towards religious organizations, one was part of a nationalist party and seven had strong political



positions but their political and religious affiliations or inclinations had not impacted their professional duties, as their areas of focus were not related to their affiliations.

### **4.3 Professional Affiliations**

All of the targeted journalists were part of their respective local media bodies, mainly the press clubs, and were very actively involved in the journalist bodies' politics. Two had affiliation with other civil society bodies, mainly human rights organizations. It is not known how their affiliation with human rights bodies had contributed to their public perception or image. They belonged to diverse media organizations, from local to national level media outlets with extensive outreach. Sometimes a media group's outreach can also have important security implications for a journalist's security.

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### 1. Attitudes and Influences of Targeted Journalists

Name	Interests	Affiliation/ Inclinations		Attitude		
		Political	Religious	Professional	Adventurous	Took Risks
Muhammad Ayub Khan	Not Known	Yes	Yes	Objective	No	No
Muhammad Javed Khan	Social work & photography	Yes	Yes	Objective	Yes	Not Known
Allah Bakhsh Nadeem Gurganari	Reading books, writing poetry and fiction	Yes	No	Tried to be Objective	Yes	Yes
Abdul Razzaq Sarbazi	Political debates and book reading	Yes	No	Objective and balanced	No	Not Known
Abdul Razzaq Jaura	Social work and reading	No	No	Objective and unbiased	No	Yes
Munir Ahmed Sangi	Photography and reading	Yes	No	Objective, unbiased & exclusive reporting	Yes	Yes
Musa Khankhel	Playing cricket	No	No	Objective and unbiased	Yes	Yes
Shamim Shahid	Social gatherings and playing cards	Yes	No	Politically biased and subjective	No	No
Mukarram Khan Atif	Reading	Yes	No	Objective, balanced and unbiased	No	Not Known
Dr Abdus Samad alias Chishti Mujahid	Reading and Photography	Yes (Mainstream)	No	Objective and unbiased	No	Yes

#### **4.4 Professional Profile and Relations with Sources**

All the respondents said that the targeted journalists were objective and unbiased in their reporting, but when asked about the exact nature of their reporting diverse responses came. The respondents were confident that five of the targeted journalists were balanced in their reporting. Two were said to follow the exclusive side of the story. One journalist focused on making his report more informative, one pursued adventurous, and another produced sensational stories. Three targeted journalists had more interest in politics, crime and social issues and two in covering conflict. Their interests and inclination towards different issues seemed to depend to a large degree on their geographic location. There was no armed struggle going on in Sindh so media persons were more inclined towards covering crime and politics, in the hope that they could make a name for themselves through this coverage.

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### 2. Education & Training

Name	Education	Academic Degree in Media Studies	Training		Journalism as Profession	
			By Media Group	By NGO / professional Bodies	Full-time	Part-time
Muhammad Ayub Khan	Matriculation	No	No	No	Yes	-
Muhammad Javed Khan	Under Matriculation	No	No	No	Yes	-
Allah Bakhsh Nadeem Gurganari	Post-graduate	No	No	No	-	Yes
Abdul Razzaq Sarbazi	Graduate	Yes	No	No	Yes	-
Abdul Razzaq Jaura	Intermediate	No	Yes	No	-	Yes
Munir Ahmed Sangi	Matriculation	No	No	No	Yes	-
Musa Khankhel	Intermediate	No	Yes	No	Yes	-
Shamim Shahid	Post-graduate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	-
Mukarram Khan Atif	Post-graduate (Urdu, Islamic studies and Law)	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Dr Abdus Samad Chishti Mujahid	Post-graduate	No	No	Yes	-	Yes

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For a media person, cultivating sources is important and the journalists selected for the study had several sources. Six of the targeted journalists had open sources among religious and political parties and government departments. Such sources are not unique and every journalist can cultivate them. The respondents were not certain about the exact nature of sources of two journalists who had been killed, but about two others they were confident that they had some special sources among government departments and non-state actors, which are not that easily available to every journalist.

Three of the targeted journalists maintained very personal and intimate relations with their sources, four kept these relationships within professional limits while respondents were not confident about the nature of the relations between the targeted journalists and their sources in the other instances. The respondents asked about the journalists who had been killed were not sure if the threat had come from their sources but two survivors were certain that the threats had not come from their sources and they found no evidence of the sources' involvement in threatening them.

As far as the authenticity of the information provided by the sources is concerned, the majority of the targeted journalists (seven out of ten) did not blindly follow the information provided by their sources and had a habit of counterchecking the information with various sources. The respondents were not certain about two targeted journalists but a third one had believed the authenticity of the information provided by their sources without feeling the need to verify it. The respondents did not have any reason to believe that the sources could have been behind targeting of the journalists. Regarding five of the targeted journalists, the respondents simply did not know enough about their relations with sources to know if they could

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have caused them any harm and about the remaining five they said that the chances of such a possibility were low.

### **4.5 Approaches to Conflict Reporting and Analysis**

In case of the journalists killed, the respondents did not know if their media groups had been demanding exclusive reporting from them. In absence of evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that reporters took risks on their own initiative. That could happen for a number of reasons; first, they were in search of professional excellence. This could also be linked with economic conditions. Second, they were under social, political and ideological compulsions. However, their political profile shows that they had no political affiliation but were aware of political developments and very much aware of religious-political developments in their respective areas and in the country. A sense of social obligation was an important factor in their work as most of them engaged in social activities at some level. Their educational profile also suggested that they choose journalism under social obligation, to bring change in society and this could be another reason for their inclination towards exclusive reporting. These factors contribute to the professional career of journalists.

Third, recklessness or a sense of adventure could have contributed to the risk. Some of the targeted journalists were more adventurous than others. The more adventurous ones did not belong to the conflict zones and they seemed to be lacking a nose for sensing the level of risk.

It is important to note that journalists from conflict areas of KP and FATA were not engaged in exclusive reporting. One reason would be that their routine reporting already

had a lot of substance. Secondly, the nature and pervasiveness of threats and pressure from friends and family stopped them from taking undue risks. Reporters' objectivity can save them from some threats but sometimes the elements that pose risk to journalists can become upset by accurate and proper coverage of their actions. At other times, they can resort to violence if they believe that a journalist is inclined towards an opponent actor. Then there is the copy-editing stage where the newsroom or media organizations emphasize or underplay elements of the story according to the editorial policy or pressure from state or non-state actors. In this context, everyday reporting in conflict zones becomes much more risky when compared to reporting in non-conflict zones even on issues that could expose journalists to risks. The role of newsroom becomes crucial, as more often than not the staff in the newsroom is not very aware of the situation on the ground and exposes their colleagues in the field to danger. The killing of Dr. Chishti in Quetta is an example of that. That is why conflict sensitive training for newsrooms and editorial policy orientation of reporters is important for minimizing the risks.

### **4.6 Threat Assessment of the Targeted Journalists**

Most of the respondents did not know about the severity of the threats the targeted journalists faced. However, they were sure that four of the slain journalists were aware that the nature of threats they faced was serious, but they had failed to calculate the ultimate consequences of the threats.

The respondents did not know about the frequency of the threats five of the targeted journalists had received, while about three others they were certain that the frequency of the threats was high and two victims had occasionally

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received threats. It is important that six of the targeted journalists received threats on their cellular or conventional phones. Two had received threats in writing. The respondents did not know how threats were delivered to two targeted journalists. Only one targeted journalist had had a violent interaction with the perpetrators before his killing, when his car was fired upon.

### **4.7 Context-specific Attributes**

#### **4.7.1 FATA and KP**

The threat matrix of KP and FATA is complex and the threat level high, but that is not the case only for journalists. Moderate, secular individuals and social activists also faced threats from different intolerant actors. The media came under more pressure from the militants as they had issued a religious decree and declared 20 journalists as their enemy. These threats focused on senior journalists and anchorpersons, who played the role of opinion leaders.

The case studies from KP and FATA reflect that media practitioners there face threats regarding coverage of non-state actors, who complain that the media is not giving them proper space or their point of view is maneuvered.

#### **4.7.2 Balochistan**

The Balochistan case is complex and more sensitive. In the province, both state and non-state actors target media practitioners because of their reporting and blame them for being the other side's agent. Apart from fewer professional training opportunities, geographical locations play an important role in the media threat matrix. The threats usually get attention from national and international media and human rights groups. The journalists are up



against two extremes; there are agents of the state who want complete media blackout on some issues, and non-state actors demand disproportionately high coverage. The media practitioner is caught in the middle.

#### **4.7.3 Sindh**

Apart from Karachi, the media in Sindh faces conventional threats from political, religious, criminal and influential people and there is a need to train the journalists in view of this specific context.

In Karachi, the threat matrix is complex, where coverage-hungry political and religious parties target media persons. The media organizations face pressure on account of their editorial policy in Karachi. One solution can be adding space to give due coverage to all political and religious activities. The Sindh government has had to develop a code of conduct for political parties to ensure that they do not try to influence media organizations. Implementing that could go some way towards relieving pressure on the media.

#### **4.7.4 Punjab and Islamabad**

The media landscape in Islamabad is an extension of the same in Punjab, where the bulk of the coverage is about issues of policy and political and national importance. Islamabad and Lahore are the nerve centers of opinion making and state and non-state actors pressurize both media practitioners and media groups there. The case of Saleem Shahzad was different since his area of focus was a conflict zone, but he was covering it mainly from Islamabad.

### **4.8 Classification of Sources of Threats**

The journalists targeted faced threats from multiple sources but the militants in KP, FATA and Balochistan

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emerged as the major source of threat to media practitioners. Criminal and politically backed mafias ranked second, followed by the state security institutions.

### **4.9 Compensation**

Families of five of the journalists targeted had not received any compensation from their media organization, government or any NGO. The families of five journalists killed were given compensation. Families of two victims received compensation from their media organization. One of these two was also given compensation by a media support fund established by International Media Support (IMS). Two other killed journalists' families had been given compensation by the government, and one by both the government the local press club. It suggests there is no uniform government/NGO compensation policy.

### **4.10 Conclusion of Findings: Nature, Intensity and Level of Threats**

1. The killed journalists' threat perception was weak.
2. The journalists belonging to small and local media outlets were more prone to threats. The state and non-state actors both contributed to the threat matrix at the local level. Criminals and militants in small towns and tribal areas mainly threatened journalists affiliated with local publications and media outlets with comparatively less outreach.
3. Affiliation with major media outlets, especially in small town and cities, offered some security and those upset by journalists' coverage do not react to such an extent which can create resentment against them at a national level. In major media stations, the journalists who are critical towards policy

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issues of the state and non-state actors are more prone to threats. Journalists who are considered to be opinion makers or are seen as playing a role in shaping the discourse on an important issue are also likely to face greater threats.

4. The targeted journalists' religious and political affiliations had not contributed to the threats they faced.
5. Four journalists had received technical training from their respective media organizations, which focused largely on their business skill orientation to generate business for their media organizations and less emphasis was placed on their professional training. Two targeted journalists who had survived attacks had received professional and safety training from civil society organizations. Civil society could contribute to security of the media persons by playing a proactive role.
5. Three journalists had other sources of income and worked as part-time journalists. It is clear that being a part-time journalist does not shield one from threats; they too were equally prone to threats simply on account of their work as journalists.
6. The media threat matrix in Pakistan is broad and diverse and multiple factors contribute to it but the most important aspect is related to professionalism, including the way of reporting, professional attitudes and mainly the threat perceptions of the media persons. These are the areas where media organizations, government, media professional bodies and rights groups can intervene to secure the media landscape of the country.



# 5

## Recommendations

In Pakistan, the role of a range of actors has been far from satisfactory in protecting the rights and lives of the journalists. Journalists and media houses have been greatly affected by conflict and by different security situations, different perpetrators and different consequences across the country. Not only the journalists who have worked in conflict zones in the country but also those in the main urban centers have resorted to self-censorship to avoid threats. The following recommendations are addressed to them to improve their performance in ensuring safety and security for journalists.

### 5.1 The government

1. The government must meet its constitutional obligation by taking all necessary measures to minimize the level of threats against journalists and track down perpetrators of crimes against the media with a view to ensure freedom of expression. Special public prosecutors should be appointed at the provincial and federal levels to address the pervasive impunity for perpetrators. The initiative must cover FATA as well.
2. The government should bar intelligence agencies from taking any actions that can undermine the freedom of expression. In this regard, it should take

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into consideration the recommendations made by the Saleem Shahzad Judicial Commission.

3. The government should introduce laws and policy that reflect its commitment to the freedom of expression and to the safety of journalists. It should specifically address pervasive impunity for perpetrators of violence against journalists. This should include appointment of a federal prosecutor with the mandate to investigate and prosecute cases of journalists. The prosecutor must be full-time, have a dedicated office with necessary staff and the appropriate financial resources. The four provinces should also be encouraged to set up their own provincial prosecutors with similar mandates and resources.
4. The federal and provincial information ministries and departments should allocate resources for media safety trainings and other capacity-building, and also for supporting targeted journalists and their families. The Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Government has tabled a law creating an endowment fund with Rs10 million to help the families of journalists in distress. The Balochistan Government has created a committee to list cases of attacks against journalists in which they were killed to develop and prosecute cases in courts. These measures are good but need to be expanded and replicated by the federal, Sindh and Punjab governments. A focal person should be nominated at the ministries of interior and information for coordination to respond to any emergency situation regarding journalists and the media.

## 5.2 Media Houses

1. Media houses should arrange special trainings on conflict reporting for their staff. Such training must not be confined to correspondents in the field but also include staff in the newsroom, in particular news editors, assistant editors and sub-editors, in order to ensure that the risks and the strategies to deal with them are shared among all media persons.
2. Media houses must also take more responsibility for the safety of journalists, which must not be compromised for the sake of media ratings. All media houses should develop/adopt/endorse safety manuals and protocols for journalists, with the help of media professional bodies, government and civil society. This must be done in a consultative and inclusive manner. A Working Group of Pakistan Coalition on Media Safety (PCOMS) drafted a set of safety protocols in consultation with key media houses and senior media practitioners. These should be considered as a base draft for adoption by media houses which should be free to make amendments. The protocols must be publicized among journalists and displayed in prominent places in newsrooms, reporting rooms, press clubs and media offices. It should be mandatory for every journalist to sign up for the safety protocols at the time of recruitment. These should also be made part of the orientation for journalists assigned to cover conflict zones and other dangerous situations.
3. The media houses must arrange for the journalists operating in dangerous zones appropriate health and life insurance cover. They must also provide safety equipment, including, wherever necessary,

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bullet-proof jackets, first-aid kits and training to use them. It must be ensured that all journalists in such zones are aware of the facilities that they are entitled to and that are available to them through their media houses.

4. Media houses must be united in the cause of journalist safety. Media houses and editors' bodies should display solidarity when a journalist or a media house is attacked. Media houses should give due coverage to incidents of violence and intimidation against all journalists, not only against those employed by them.
5. Media houses should employ full-time security manager whose advice should take precedence when a journalist is given an assignment which involves security risk. A procedure should be introduced where a correspondent in the field should have an opportunity to explain his reasons if s/he disagrees with the security manager's assessment.
6. Media houses should work with journalists to highlight the importance of doing ethical journalism to minimize the threat level.

### **5.3 Journalists' Professional Bodies**

1. The role of trade unions of journalists should be made effective and productive. Safety of journalists shall be made the top priority in their charter of demands. They should actively seek to find answers to the challenges facing the journalists at risk. The conventional union structures and agendas should be redesigned to address the safety needs of the peers.
2. The journalists' bodies should engage owners of media houses through dialogue in order to



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persuade them to introduce safety measures for journalists, particularly for reporters in conflict zones.

3. Journalists' bodies should organize safety trainings with the help of media houses and civil society. The unions should work with their members to promote a discourse on the direct impact of journalistic ethics on safety and security. Using the press clubs across the country for these trainings and discussions can ensure not only easy access but also save money on the cost of arranging venues.
4. Journalists' bodies should monitor and document all incidents of intimidation or violence against media workers, and raise them at the appropriate forums, in collaboration with provincial and national level bodies representing journalists, to ensure a safe working environment.
5. The unions should get linked and involved with the like-minded international players.

### **5.4 The Journalists**

1. The journalists in Pakistan operate in a dangerous environment in general. They need to consciously and constantly attach priority to their safety and be mindful of the actors that can be force multipliers or force dividers in their context. They must enlist for safety trainings if their context calls for that.
2. Journalists need to be extra vigilant in covering stories which involve powerful actors who take offence quickly. Local correspondents should seek solutions in consultation with their media houses to ensure that the issue is covered without exposing them to risk. That can be managed sometimes by filing sensitive reports with a

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different dateline or requesting the media house to send journalists from outside a difficult district to cover the issue.

3. Journalists should ask their media houses and trade unions to organize events and trainings focused on their safety and security needs and to provide health and life insurance. They must take safety protocols seriously.
4. A journalist must know when to say “no” when it comes to personal security. If a journalist does not value her/his life, no one else will either.
5. Every journalists should make it a habit to document in a specific format every single incident of intimidation, threat and/or attack that s/he faces and share the information with her/his supervisors, and the respective press club and journalists’ union.

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## Annex 2

### Profiles of the Victims

#### 1 - Dr. Abdus Samad Alias Dr. Chishti Mujahid (Killed)



**D**r. Samad alias Dr. chishti Mujahid was a medical doctor and a photojournalist and columnist for Karachi-based Urdu-language weekly magazine *Akhbar-e-Jahan*. He, along with his wife, was on the way to his clinic in Quetta when armed men fatally shot him on February 9, 2008. The police registered a case the following day. Separatist insurgent group Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) claimed responsibility for his murder, saying that he was killed for “ridiculing” their guerilla leader Balach Marri in his column on Marri's death in November the previous year. Marri was injured in a military operation on Pak-



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Afghan border and had later died in a hospital in Afghanistan, where he was buried. The news desk at *Akhbar-e-Jahan*, where Dr. Samad worked as a correspondent, had published his report with the title "Those who want freedom could not find two yards in their own homeland". This title upset the BLA which started threatening Dr. Samad soon after and eventually killed him. He had tried to clear the air by sending to BLA the original story that he had written and explained that the heading was not his idea but had been phrased by the newsroom. However, his efforts went in vain.

Dr. Samad had joined *Akhbar-e-Jahan* in the mid-1990s and had been writing on political and social issues in Balochistan. He had been working as a journalist since 1982 when he started writing columns for daily *Jang*, Quetta. He was 53 at the time of his murder. Dr. Samad had studied at public schools; he was married and lived in Balochistan in a joint family setup. He belonged to Kalat district but had later moved to Quetta along with his family for education and work. Reading and photography were his main hobbies. He was the head of his family and had a crucial say in important family matters. He did not have any family dispute or any conflict with the local *jirga*/tribal council. He owned a house and a car, and had a middle class background. He was working as a government servant in grade 18 as an eye specialist at Helper's Eye Hospital (which was his primary source of income). His average monthly salary was over PKR 50,000 (US\$474).

Dr. Samad was not affiliated with any political or religious party. However, he did support one of the mainstream parties in the country. He was not very fond of engaging in political or religious discussions, neither was he vocal on political or religious issues at public places. His work was generally perceived to be objective and unbiased.

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Even though he was not a full-time journalist, Dr. Samad still dedicated significant amount of his time to journalism. He would usually start his journalistic work after office hours and work late into the night. Dr. Samad did not have an academic degree in journalism. However, he had participated in several media training workshops.

He had generally received positive feedback on his work from the media and the public. He had also received appreciation from Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif for a historic photo of Chaghi Mountains as they changed color when Pakistan conducted nuclear tests there in May 1998. He was posthumously given a civilian award in recognition of his services and the Balochistan governor gave his family PKR 300,000 (US \$2,844) as compensation. However, the organization he worked for provided no compensation to his family.

Dr. Samad's organization had also not arranged any safety equipment or life or health insurance for him. He was not considered to be careful or conscious about his security and safety. His critical work included a book which contained articles and columns written by journalists and columnists on slain Baloch leader Nawab Akbar Bugti after his death. The book painted Bugti in a favorable light. Dr. Samad's major areas of interest in reporting were politics and social issues.

Shortly before his killing, he had been receiving frequent death threats from BLA. He had reported these threats to his close friends and family. Usually the threats were made through telephone calls.

His family did not receive any threats after his death, yet his younger brother moved to Lahore for a couple of years as a precaution. He eventually returned to Balochistan.

*(Field Research: Shahzada Zulfiqar)*

## 2 - Allah Bakhsh Nadeem Gurganari (Survivor)



Allah Bakhsh alias Nadeem Gurganari is a resident of Naal village in Khuzdar district of Balochistan. On October 25, 2012, when he was president of Khuzdar Press Club, unidentified armed men riding motorcycles shot at his two sons. One of his sons died instantly and the other was seriously injured and died in a hospital later.

Gurganari had completed his post-graduation from a public sector college. He is married and is the head of his family. His opinion matters in family and clan matters and disputes. He had never had any conflict or confrontation with anyone in any family matter or dispute.

His interests include reading history books, poetry, and writing poetry and fiction in his mother tongue Brahvi. His literary background encouraged him to join the media as a part-time profession. He engaged in journalism out of his own interest and neither the newspaper nor the TV channel that he worked for paid him any money.

Gurganari is not financially well-off and lives in a rented house. He is also a government employee and works as a

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clerk in the Education Department which is his main source of income. The range of his salary is between PKR 21,000 to PKR 30,000.

Gurganari is not affiliated with any political party. However, he has sympathies for the nationalists. He is not fond of political discussions and is also not vocal on political issues in public places. He does not express his political views publically even in front of people holding the opposite view. His approach towards reporting and analysis is considered objective and unbiased.

He is not affiliated with any religious group or party and does not sympathize with or support any such group. He is also not known to engage in religious arguments and is not vocal on religious issues at public places. He does not express his religious views publically even in front of people holding a contrary view, which is why his religious affiliation is not a distinguishing feature of his public image.

Gurganari does not have an academic degree or diploma in journalism. However, he has participated in many workshops and training programs arranged by media development organizations and human rights NGOs in Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. He works in a critical conflict situation, and his organization has not provided him proper safety equipment or any material to guide him with regard to conflict journalism. He became a journalist because he wanted to join "a sacred profession". He has not been insured by his organization or anyone else. He is careful and conscious about his security and safety.

His sources of information are open and he maintains professional relations with them. He usually verifies the information he acquires from one source by checking it with other sources. He reports events but does not judge if they are good or bad, which is why he does not indicate which the top stories he has produced are. The response and

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feedback from media and public to these stories has usually been no more than ordinary. His reports have not received praise from the state, NGOs, or religious or political parties.

In an interview, he said he tries to be objective in his reporting and analysis. Usually, he does not receive any feedback from the people about his reporting. His major interest in reporting is crime and social issues. He used to cover political events, but in the prevailing situation in the district, he had quit, as had other reporters in Khuzdar, reporting on political issues except press conferences of well-known people.

Gurganari was given death threats by BLA. He claimed that almost every single journalist in the district had received death threats and most of the local journalists were on a hit-list of BLA. Later, after intervention by Balochistan Union of Journalists (BUJ), the armed group had withdrawn the list. Gurganari had not received any threats from state institutions, including law enforcement agencies and police. Khuzdar Press Club had reported the threats against him to Balochistan Union of Journalists. His family and friends knew about the threats. Usually, journalists received threats in writing.

Gurganari said that he had not received any threat, but decided to migrate to Quetta for some time and then to Hub town, bordering Karachi. The security measure he had taken to prevent or manage the threats was to migrate from Khuzdar. His organization and the authorities had provided no support, compensation or security.

About the attack on his sons, Gurganari said that the attackers wanted to kill him, but did not find him because he was mostly confined to his house. According to the police, a case was not registered by his family.

*(Field Research: Shahzada Zulfiqar)*

### 3 - Musa Khankhel (Killed)



Musa Khankhel was a journalist working with Geo TV and English daily *The News* when he was killed in Swat on February 18, 2008. The incident occurred after the first violation of a peace agreement between the government and Swat's Taliban militants. According to local journalists, Musa was targeted while covering a peace march led by militant group Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) chief Sufi Muhammad, who was also father-in-law of local Taliban leader Fazl Ullah.

Musa had been shot several times in his upper body. His younger brother Essa Khankhel, who is also a journalist, said that during coverage of the march, Musa had separated from his colleagues in Matta area. When they found his body, his hands and feet were tied.

Musa, 28, resided in Mingora in district Swat and had been affiliated with Geo TV for 10 years. He had an intermediate (12<sup>th</sup> grade) degree from a public sector college. Musa was not married and lived in a joint family setting. He was not the head of the family. His hobbies and

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personal interests included playing cricket and meeting his friends. He had never had a serious confrontation with anyone.

In terms of his economic status, Musa owned a house in which he lived but used to travel by public transport. He was financially well off and belonged to a middle-class family. Journalism was his only source of income. His salary ranged from PKR 15000 to PKR 20,000.

Musa did not have affiliation, sympathies or support for any political party. He was not fond of engaging in political discussions and was not vocal on political issues in public places. He was reluctant to express his political views publically even to people holding contrary views. According to one of his colleagues, his approach towards reporting and analysis was objective and unbiased.

Musa was not affiliated with any religious party nor had sympathies or support for any religious groups. He was not one to engage in religious debates and avoided giving religious views in front of people holding opposing views. Hence, religious affiliation was not a distinguishing feature of his public image.

Musa was a full-time journalist but did not hold a degree in journalism. However, there was more than one view on his professional training. According to one of his colleagues, he did not get any training from any media group or organization and was not provided with any safety equipment even as he worked in a conflict zone. His brother, however, said that Musa had got some training and was also provided safety equipment by his media organization during the Taliban insurgency in Swat, but later it was taken back.

Musa had some special official and non-official sources with which he had personal relations. The information he

## MEDIA SAFETY IN PAKISTAN

received from them was usually exclusive and not available to other journalists.

Musa was considered an objective reporter who was interested in conflict reporting and his reports were generally considered exclusive, if adventurous. It was believed that he was not sufficiently careful about his security. Musa was not famous for any of his stories but gained prominence for his conflict reporting at the time of the military operation following the Taliban insurgency in Matta area of Swat. He was very active in reporting on the military operation. His reports generally ran as tickers on Geo TV.

As far as his friends and family knew, Musa had never received any threat either from a political, ethnic or religious group or from any state institution, law enforcement agency or police. However, both the organizations that he worked for provided compensations to his family after his murder.

Then Geo managing director Azhar Abbas, told CPJ that Musa was shot during the fighting which took place in a militant-controlled area near Matta. In a BBC report, his brother said that he had been abducted before his murder. Hamid Mir, Musa's supervisor at Geo, told CPJ that Musa was threatened for the coverage of the military offensive in Swat and that he had also called Mir up to say that he feared for his life and believed that an intelligence agency intended to kill him. Musa was reportedly killed just hours after this phone conversation with Mir.<sup>1</sup>

*(Field Research: Zia Ur Rehman)*



#### 4 - Mukarram Khan Atif (Killed)



His brother Muslim Khan says that Mukarram Khan Atif was offering evening prayer in a mosque close to their home in Shabqadar town in Charsadda district on January 17, 2012, when unidentified attackers opened fire on him. Mukarram was shot in the head. The mosque prayer leader was also injured. They were taken to a hospital in Peshawar where Mukarram died the same evening.

Mukarram, 44, was associated with local and international media outlets, and had reporting experience spanning two decades. Besides reporting, he was also a human rights activist and committed to creating human rights awareness in his area.

Brought up in the tribal culture of Khyber Agency in FATA, Mukarram was married and lived in a joint family system, which had increased his financial obligations. He did not have a formal degree in journalism. He was fond of reading and had done his masters in Urdu and Islamic Studies. He was a law graduate as well. Mukarram

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belonged to a middle-income group and owned a house. Despite his hard work in journalism he did not earn much. Transport was a big issue for him and he had been facing a financial crisis as well. His salary and stipends from media outlets were his only source of income. His maximum monthly income was PKR 50,000 (US \$474).

After joining journalism he had attended different professional training workshops. However, his organizations had not provided him proper safety equipment or guidance manuals for conflict reporting. He was quite careful about his security.

Mukarram was an objective reporter and his reports and writings were considered informative and balanced. Social issues were his priority and for such issues he did not need sources among state or non-state actors. Mukarram had a very professional approach towards his sources.

Apart from social issues, he also had to cover security issues from his tribal area, because he was supposed to cover all the issues from his area since, unlike beat reporters, media groups appoint only one correspondent to cover all issues in an area. He had extensively covered military operations against militant extremists.

He was not only head of his family, but also a tribal elder and as such his opinion in *jirgas* and family issues had value and nobody had complained about his opinion and decisions in these matters.

He was not affiliated with any political or religious party but was a member of a human rights organization. He was fond of discussion on political issues and was very vocal in expressing his political views, which were objective and he always tried to avoid confrontation in political discussions. However, he avoided indulging in religious debates. According to his brother, he was expressive in his political views but his supervisors thought otherwise.

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His brother was not aware if Mukarram had received any threats but some of the family members had conveyed their concerns to Mukarram's friends. His senior colleagues and supervisors knew that he was receiving threats from militants because he had shared that information with them. A spokesman for Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) said that they had killed Mukarram for not conveying the Taliban's point of view. He said that he had been warned many times before for not telling their side of the story.<sup>2</sup>

Militants had threatened Mukarram on the phone and also conveyed warnings to him through fellow journalists. The organization he had been working for provided compensation to his family and a media safety fund set up by IMS also provided some financial assistance.

*(Field Research: Dilawar Jan)*

## 5 - Muhammad Ayub Khan (Killed)



**M**uhammad Ayub Khan was a full-time journalist working for a local newspaper *Karak Times*. He was killed on October 11, 2013, in Karak district of KP province. According to his son, Shamsur Rahman, he and his father had stopped at a grocery shop after evening prayers when unidentified attackers shot and killed his father.

Ayub, 45, was a resident of Karak. He had completed his matriculation from a public sector educational institution. He was a married man and lived in a joint family set up. Not much was known about his hobbies and interests.

Ayub was head of his family, but his opinion did not carry weight in family disputes or clan matters. He had no confrontation with anyone in matters of family or *jirga*.

He was not very well-off financially and belonged to the lower-middle income bracket. He owned the house that he lived in and used public transport for travel. Although he did not have a regular salary, journalism was the main source of Ayub's income. He also earned money by

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working as a salesman for a medicine outlet. Ayub also owned some arid land. His average monthly income was less than PKR 15,000 (US \$142).

Ayub was not affiliated with nor supported any political party. However, according to his brother, he was inclined towards mainstream political parties. He was not fond of political discussions and not vocal in talking about political issues in public places. He was not keen on expressing his political views publically. According to one of his colleagues, his approach towards reporting and analysis was objective and unbiased.

According to his brother, Ayub was affiliated with the *Tableeghi* (preaching) group and was fond of religious discussions and arguments. He was often vocal on religious issues in public places and was open to express his thoughts publically even in front of people holding contrary views.

Neither his media group nor any other organization had arranged a professional training course for him. His organization had not provided him safety equipment or a guidance manual for working in conflict areas. No insurance cover was provided by his own or any other organization. He was not careful or particular about his safety and security. The motive for his murder remained unknown.

According to one of his colleagues, he had some special sources of information and had access to news not available to all journalists. His relations with the sources were intimate and personal. Sometimes, he counterchecked his information with other sources, but usually he treated the information he acquired from his sources as final. The possibility of his access to and relation with his sources being linked to the threats he faced was low, friends and family said. The main reports by him

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included one about rising break-ins at houses, and about activities of drug dealers and lack of action by the police. People appreciated the reports and believed that they provided an accurate assessment of the situation.

Ayub was an objective reporter and analyst, according to his brother and a colleague. Generally, his reports and analyses were perceived as exclusive. His main interest in reporting was politics and crime. His reports received neither appreciation nor disapproval from any NGO, religious or political party or any state institution.

Ayub was not known to have received threats from any political, ethnic or religious group or from any state institution. He had frequently been threatened by drug dealers, according to his colleague. Ayub had occasionally received death threats from hired assassins on the phone, his brother said. His family had not received any compensation.

*(Field Research: Dilawar Jan)*

## 6 - Shamim Shahid (Survivor)



Shamim Shahid, a senior journalist from Peshawar, had escaped a suicide bombing aimed at targeting him at Peshawar Press Club on December 22, 2009. The suicide bomber had first asked about him before blowing himself up. Shamim was in Afghanistan at the time.

Shamim, 47, has 30 years of experience in journalism and has worked with various national and international media groups. He is a thorough professional and a full-time journalist. He has a masters degree in journalism from a public sector education institution in Peshawar and has attended many media training courses and workshops in Pakistan and abroad.

Although he works in conflict areas but his organization has not provided him any safety gear. He is conscious about his security and utilizes the techniques he has learned in the training workshops in that respect. He has his own security guards and avoids visiting FATA and critical conflict areas and does not keep a close contact with the militant extremists' active in the area. He keeps changing his routine and routes. His organization has provided him financial

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support and in many cases allows him to report about political development from other cities.

He is an objective reporter mainly focused on political issues and conflict and does not indulge in sensational reporting. As a senior journalist, his sources are diverse and he has special sources which are not available to all journalists in the area. He maintains good relations with his sources and verifies his information by using a number of sources.

Important reports by him include one highlighting rifts among the Taliban ranks, including differences between TTP top leaders Hakeemullah Mehsud and Wali-ur-Rehman. Both were later killed in drone attacks. Other reports include a scope about the Haqqani Network and other militant organizations operating in Pakistan.

Shamim is considered a pro-peace activist and militants often threaten him. He has received appreciations and awards for his stories from different NGOs. He has received death threats from militants and state agencies. He has brought most of these threats to the attention of the organizations he works for, as well as media bodies including PFUJ, CPJ and Reporters Sans Frontières (RSF). The frequency of these threats is quite high and he receives these threats mainly on his cell phone.

Married and head of his family, Shamim lives in Peshawar. He has no political affiliations but his political views are inclined towards nationalist politics of the province and he is fond of political discussions. He is often invited to TV talk show to offer his analysis.

He has no affiliation with a religious group but he does not discuss religious issues with colleagues or in public and his religious affiliation is not the defining feature of how he is viewed.

*(Field Research: Dilawar Jan)*



7 - Abdul Razzaq Sarbazi  
(Killed)



Abdul Razzaq Sarbazi had been missing from Lyari area of Karachi since March 2013. On August 21, 2013, his dead body was found in Surjani Town area. He worked for daily *Tawar*, which is considered the only Baloch newspaper to publish at length news and reports of Baloch insurgent groups. The paper also published reports against enforced disappearances in Balochistan. On April 6, 2013, unidentified persons attacked the Karachi office of daily *Tawar* situated in Lyari, took away computers and data and burnt the office, according to an April 7 BBC Urdu report. Before that, Javed Naseer Rind, another journalist working with daily *Tawar*, had been found dead after being reported missing in Balochistan in September 2011. Shortly after the killing of Rind, Khadim Lehri, editor of the daily, reported receiving threats and went into hiding. It is unclear if Razzaq had covered any sensitive stories for *Tawar*.

Sarbazi, 42, resided in Lyari, Karachi. For almost 10 years he had been associated with several media groups. He was a graduate from a public sector institution. Sarbazi lived in

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a joint family system, was married and the head of the family. His interests and hobbies included political debates and reading books. He never had any conflict or confrontation with anyone in any family disagreement or *jirga*.

He was from the lower-middle income bracket, owned house in which he lived but used public transport for travelling. Journalism was his only source of income and used to get a salary of PKR 15,000 a month.

Sarbazi did not have affiliation with any political party but had sympathies and support for nationalist political parties in Balochistan. He was fond of engaging in political debates but only with friends and like-minded people. He avoided talking about political issues in public places. According to one of his colleagues, Sarbazi's approach to reporting and analysis was objective and unbiased.

He had no affiliation with or overt sympathies for any religious party or group. He was never keen on publically engaging in discussion on religious issues and avoided airing his views on religious issues among people holding contrary views.

Sarbazi was a full-time journalist but lacked an academic degree in journalism. He had no professional training and when he worked in conflict zones his media organization did not arrange any safety equipment or life insurance for him. He was rather particular about his safety and security.

Sarbazi's sources of information and news were as open and usual like other journalists and he maintained professional relations with the sources. The information he got was counterchecked with other sources and critically evaluated by him.

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Sarbazi was an objective reporter interested in political reporting and his reports were generally perceived to be balanced and informative.

His columns against Baloch nationalist groups in the newspaper caused problems for him but due to his professional work he was very popular and greatly respected in the Baloch-dominant areas of Karachi and Balochistan.

Sarbazi was fond of reporting and there appeared to be no other motive behind the risky job he took. He did not receive any threat from any political, ethnic or religious group or from any state institution. According to his colleagues and family, Sarbazi neither received nor reported any threats. No compensation was paid to the family after his death. A case was registered with Chakiwara Police Station on March 27,2013 but no headway had been made in apprehending his killers.

*(Field Research: Zia Ur Rehman)*

**8 - Munir Ahmed Sangi**  
**(Killed)**



**M**unir Sangi was a journalist affiliated with Sindhi regional press. He was shot and killed on May 29, 2006, while covering an armed clash between members of the Unar and Abro tribes in Larkana district of Sindh province.

Sangi had an urban lower-middle class background and had received formal education up to matriculation. He was fond of photography, reading and playing cricket and enjoyed the social freedom that not being the head of his family, tribe or clan offered. His family was not well-off. Although they owned a small house, they were not able to afford own transport. Journalism was his sole source of income and his monthly income was below PKR 10,000 (US \$90).

Even though he was a full-time journalist, Sangi did not have any academic degree in journalism and had not attended any training workshop either with the support of his media group or an NGO. He was not provided proper security training by his organization. He was not working

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in a conflict zone and was not much concerned about his personal security. Sangi was an objective reporter and always remained in search of exclusive news. He was keen on doing conflict reporting and he had special sources and blindly followed them. He never thought that his sources posed any risk to him. His exclusive stories included a report in Jhandi Brohi area, where he photographed robbers who had kidnapped a local police officer. Another story mentioned by one of his colleagues was about the coverage of a protest of residents of Shahdad Kot district in 2004, demanding change of name of the district. The protest had turned violent and several protesters were killed and injured in police firing. People still remembered Sangi's courageous coverage of the events.

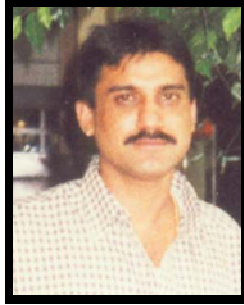
He had not received any formal appreciation or award from his own media group or any other body but, he usually got good feedback from his media house and the public, which fuelled his pursuit of more exclusive reports.

He had been receiving threats from the Unar tribesmen and from the dacoits that he had covered. At times, police had also threatened him to stop covering sensitive stories. A local criminal gang had beaten him up once as well. His family and colleagues knew about the threats, which he usually received on the phone.

Sangi was not affiliated with any political or religious party and did not express his political or religious views. He had an unbiased opinion towards political and religious issues. The Sindh government had announced PKR 500,000 (US \$4,739) as compensation for his family.

*(Field Research: Zia Ur Rehman)*

**9 - Muhammad Javed Khan**  
**(Killed)**



**M**uhammad Javed Khan was killed in Islamabad July 3, 2007 in crossfire between the security forces and militants during the Red Mosque operation in Islamabad.

Javed, 42, was a resident of Islamabad. He had studied at public schools but had left his education even before doing his matriculation. He was married with two children and they lived in a single family setup. His hobbies and interests included social work and photography.

Javed was head of his family but had never had any confrontation with anyone in any family matter or dispute.

Javed was from an urban lower-middle class background. He owned the house he lived in and also had a 1970 model car. He also used public transport. Javed was not well-off. His work as a journalist was his only source of income and his salary ranged from PKR 15,000 to 25,000 a month.

Javed neither had affiliation with nor support or sympathy for any political party. According to one of his colleagues, he was fond of political discussions but only with friends

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or like-minded people. He was not vocal on political issues at public places and was reluctant to express his political views publically even in front of people holding opposing views. According to one of his colleagues, his approach towards reporting and analysis was objective and unbiased.

Javed was not affiliated with any religious group or party nor had sympathies or support for any such group or party. He sometimes engaged in discussion on religious issues, but only among friends or like-minded people. He was not vocal on religious issues at public places and would not express his religious views publically in front of people holding contrary views.

Javed was a full-time journalist who devoted between 10 and 14 hours a day to his work. He had not attended any professional training course from his media group or other organizations. He was covering active armed conflict but his organization had not provided him proper safety equipment or a manual of dos and don'ts. Javed was not very careful about his safety and had not taken any safety measures even as he covered scenes where exchange of fire was not uncommon. His organization (DM Digital) had arranged life insurance worth half a million rupees (US \$4,739) for him. Video Journalists Union had arranged health insurance of 0.1 million (US \$948) for him.

His sources of information and news were open and similar to those of other journalists. He maintained professional relations with his sources. He usually counterchecked with multiple sources the information he received. The top two stories he had produced were 'the Lal Masjid Operation' and 'special coverage of terrorist activities'. The response and feedback from the media and public to his stories had usually been good.

## MEDIA SAFETY IN PAKISTAN

He was an objective reporter and analyst. Most of his reports were generally perceived as adventurous, exclusive, and sensational by most people. His major interest in reporting was conflict and crime, besides politics and social issues.

Javed had not received threats from any state actor or any political, ethnic or religious group. However, he had received death threats from some armed men who had fired at his car. He had received general threats occasionally, but had not reported them to his media organization. The National Press Club had given a residential plot to his family and the government had given 0.5 million (US \$4,739) in compensation.

*(Field research: Ali Abbas)*



**10 - Abdul Razzaq Jaura  
(Killed)**



Jaura worked for a private TV channel, Royal News, in Mianwali district of Punjab. He was shot dead by drug dealers on November 03, 2008. The reason behind his murder was one of his reports on drug trafficking in the area. The case for his murder was lodged with the police the same day.

Jaura, 46, had previously worked for various newspapers. He had an intermediate (12<sup>th</sup> grade) degree from a public college in Mianwali. He was the head of his family and had a say in important family matters. He owned the house he lived in and also had a motorcycle that he used to get around.

Jaura was not affiliated with any political or religious party and was not very fond of engaging in political discussions. However, he was vocal in expressing his views about political matters, even to people holding opposing views. According to his family and colleagues, his views were objective and unbiased.

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Jaura was not a full-time journalist. He also had a computer shop. However, according to his family, he dedicated around 8 to 10 hours a day to his journalistic work. He did not have an academic degree in journalism. The focus of his reporting was crime and social issues. He was generally believed to be an objective reporter and his work was perceived to be exclusive and facts-based. He had also received an award from the district government for his journalistic work.

He had not been provided with safety equipment or a manual for working in conflict areas by his organization. He did not have life or health insurance. However, Jaura did take some safety measures on his own while covering stories.

According to his colleagues, he had a very professional relationship with his sources and always counterchecked any information that he received from them. His top stories include reports on floods, drug trafficking and sale of prohibited meat. His stories had generally got positive feedback from media and the public.

Jaura had not received threats from any political/ethnic/religious group or any state actor. However, two drug dealers identified by his family had threatened him verbally over one of his TV reports on drug trafficking.

The family of the slain journalist did not receive any compensation from his employer, the government or any NGO.

*(Field research: Ali Abbas)*

### ANNEX 3

#### Questionnaire

Media Safety in Pakistan: A comprehensive study of threats to journalists in Pakistan

Dear Respondents,

This is an independent field survey to measure public opinion on aspects of environment in which Pakistani media and journalists operate. The purpose is to explore ways to strengthen media and journalists' capacity in objective reporting and analysis and in managing field risks. Your participation is voluntary and you will remain anonymous. There is no right or wrong answer; this is a survey of your personal views.

You can refuse to answer any question and can terminate your interview at any time. Your information will be strictly confidential. As far as possible, you should conduct this survey alone with the interviewer.

Interviewer's name:

Interview Date:

Interviewee's I.D Code: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of interview:

Interviewee's relation/association with the victim: \_\_\_\_\_

#### Personal Information of the Victim

1. Name of the victim: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Last employer (media group) of the victim: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Professional job history: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Age (when threatened or at the time of death): \_\_\_\_\_
5. Gender
  - a. Male
  - b. Female
6. Educational background

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- a. Public Sector
  - b. Middle class private sector
  - c. Elitist English medium
  - d. Cadet colleges
  - e. Madrassa
  - f. Madrassa and secular both
7. Marital status
- a. Single
  - b. Married
8. Place of residence
- a. Punjab
  - b. Sindh
  - c. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
  - d. Balochistan
  - e. FATA
  - f. Islamabad
  - g. AJK
  - h. Northern Areas
9. Administrative domain of residence
- a. Rural
  - b. Urban
10. Personal interests and hobbies of the victim: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
11. Was he head of the family?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response
12. Was he head of his clan or tribe?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response
13. Did his opinion matter in family/ clan matters/disputes?
- a. Yes

## ANNEX

- b. No
- c. Don't know/no response
- 14. Did he have some conflict/ confrontation with any one in some matter of family dispute or *jirga*/ family/tribal council?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response
- 15. If yes, was it of a serious nature?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response
- 16. If yes, do you think, it would have contributed negatively in his overall image in clan/tribe?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response

### **Economic Status of the Victim**

- 17. Did the victim own a home or live in a rented one?
  - a. Owned
  - b. Rented
  - c. Don't know/no response
- 18. Did the victim own a car or use public/office transport?
  - a. Owned a car
  - b. Used office transport
  - c. Used public transport
  - d. Don't know/no response
- 19. Was victim financially well-off?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response
- 20. What do you know about his family's socioeconomic background?
  - a. Well-off/upper class
  - b. Middle class

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- c. Lower middle class
  - d. Lower middle class
  - e. Don't know/no response
21. What was his major source of income? (please write)
- 
- 

22. Was journalism his sole source of income?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/no response

### **Political Affiliation**

23. Did the victim have affiliation with any political party?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
24. If yes, what was the nature of political party?
- a. Mainstream
  - b. Nationalist
  - c. Religious-political
  - d. Ethnic or local
  - e. Don't know/ No response
25. If not formally affiliated, did he have sympathies or support for any of the following types of political parties?
- a. Mainstream
  - b. Nationalist
  - c. Religious-political
  - d. Ethnic or local
  - e. Don't know/ No response
26. Was the victim fond of political debates?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
27. If yes, were these debates confined among friends or like-minded people?

## ANNEX

- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know
28. Was he vocal to talk on political issues at public places?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No Response
29. Was he open to express his political views publically even in front of people holding contrary views?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
30. Do you think, his political affiliation was a contributing factor to his generally-held public image?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know
31. What are your views on the victim's approaches to reporting and analysis?
- a. Politically biased and subjective
  - b. Objective and unbiased
  - c. Don't know

### **Religious Affiliations**

32. Did the victim have affiliation with any religious group/party?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
33. If yes, what was the nature of that group/party?
- a. Religious-political
  - b. Sectarian
  - c. Educational-religious
  - d. Welfare/charity
  - e. Non-violent radical

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- f. Violent radical
  - g. Don't know/ No response
34. If not formally affiliated, did he have sympathies or support for any of the following religious groups/parties?
- a. Religious-political
  - b. Sectarian
  - c. Educational
  - d. Welfare/charity
  - e. Non-violent radical
  - f. Violent radical
  - g. Don't know/ No response
35. Was the victim fond of religious debates?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
36. If yes, were such debates confined among friends or like-minded people only?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know
37. Was he vocal to talk on religious issues at public places?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ no response
38. Was he open to express his religious views publically even in front of people holding contrary views?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
39. Do you think his religious affiliation was a contributing factor in his public image?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know



ANNEX

**Professional Life**

40. Was the victim full-time journalist?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
41. If not, how much time he usually devoted to journalism in a day/week or month?
- 
42. Was he qualified journalist (held degree or diploma in journalism)?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
43. Had he attended any professional training course from his media group or other organizations? (If international, please mention)
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
44. If he was working in conflict areas, had his organization provided him proper safety equipment/manual etc?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
45. If yes, did he take safety measures, while covering the conflict?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
46. Had he got any life/health insurance from his organization or some other?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response

## MEDIA SAFETY IN PAKISTAN

47. Was he enough careful and conscious about his security and safety?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
48. In your view, was he an objective reporter/analyst?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
49. How were his reports/analyses generally perceived by most people?
  - a. Adventurous
  - b. Exclusive
  - c. Sensational
  - d. More informative than others
  - e. Balanced
  - f. Any other comment (please mention): \_\_\_\_\_
50. What was his major interest in reporting?
  - a. Conflicts (militancy/terrorism/political violence /tribal clashes etc)
  - b. Politics
  - c. Crimes
  - d. Economy/trade
  - e. Social issues
  - f. Religious issues
  - g. Any other
  - h. Don't know/ No response
51. What do you know about his sources of information and news?
  - a. Open and usual like other journalists
  - b. Had some special sources not available to all journalists
  - c. Don't know
52. How would you describe his relation with the sources?
  - a. Intimate and personal
  - b. Professional only

ANNEX

- c. Don't know
53. How did he treat the information he acquired from his sources?
- a. Believed it as final
  - b. Critically evaluated and investigated it
  - c. Counterchecked with other sources
  - d. Or other: \_\_\_\_\_
54. To what extent was the nature of his access to and relation with his sources linked to the threats he faced?
- a. Low
  - b. Fair
  - c. Extreme
55. Do you remember and can list top three stories the victim had produced? (Please write)
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
56. What was the usual feedback and media/public response to these stories? (please write)
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
57. Had he received appreciation on these reports from any quarter (state-NGO-religious or political party)?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
58. If yes, was it in form of award/ cash prize etc.
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response

**Threat Matrix**

59. Had he received threat from any political/ ethnic/ religious etc group?
- a. Yes

## MEDIA SAFETY IN PAKISTAN

- b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
60. Had he received threat from any state institution/ law enforcement agency/ police etc.?
- a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. Don't know/ No response
61. If yes, what was the nature of the threat?
- a. Life threat
  - b. Threat to life of family members
  - c. Physical abuse
  - d. Related to job and property
  - e. Any others: \_\_\_\_\_
  - f. Don't know/ No response
62. Frequency of the threats?
- a. Occasionally
  - b. Quite frequent
  - c. Don't know/ No response
63. What was his response? (please write)
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
64. Who he believed was the source of threat?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
65. How he received these threats?
- a. Written
  - b. Telephone calls
  - c. Email
  - d. By physical abuses
  - e. Other, (please describe): \_\_\_\_\_

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<sup>1</sup> CPJ, 'Journalists killed since 1992', Musa Khankhel. Accessed on February 11, 2014, <http://www.cpj.org/killed/2009/musa-khankhel.php>

<sup>2</sup>BBC News, Pakistan Taliban admit killing reporter MK Atif, January 18, 2014. Accessed on April 15, 2014, [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-16612030](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-16612030)

The present state of media in Pakistan calls for more qualitative and quantitative research, which could help the state, media organizations, civil society and rights groups to evolve better polices and interventions to protect the journalists. This study by Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) is an attempt to fill this vacuum, with the overarching goal of supporting safety, security and professional outlook of Pakistani media and journalists in reporting and analyzing conflicts.

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