Engendering Politics through Media

A Media Manual for Gender Sensitive Reporting on Women and Political Participation in Pakistan

Uks - A Research, Resource & Publication Centre on Women and Media

NED

National Endowment for Democracy

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A media manual based on how to report and produce gender sensitive radio programmes on Women and Political Participation in Pakistan.

Uks Research Centre would welcome reproduction and dissemination of the contents of the report with due acknowledgments.

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National Endowment for Democracy

The civil society and the mass media have an important role in deepening democratic governance in any country. We have seen at the international level, the effect that the international civil society is beginning to have on policies of government, and of international organizations, especially in relation to the need to improve the transparency and democratic governance of international institutions.

Benjamin Mkapa, President of The United Republic of Tanzania

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List of Acronyms

AF   Aurat Foundation

BPA   Beijing Platform for Action

HDR   Human Development Report

MOWD   Ministry of Women Development

NCSW   National Commission on the Status of Women

NED   National Endowment for Democracy

MDG   Millennium Development Goals

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Program

UNIFEM   United Nations Development Fund for Women

WPC   Women Parliamentary Caucus

WPS   Women Political School

Foreword

A flourishing body of work has been in the area of how women lack political representation and the issues and barriers that restrict women from reaching decision making positions. Similarly there is a body of work about the relationship between media and gender on various levels. How gender and media intersect and what are the opportunities and repercussions that appear as a consequence.

The liberalization of the media market and increase in the number of political participation for women both happened during Musharraf's era resulting in a dynamic where media and female political participants both were perplexed how to relate to each other. Few media outlets immersed in their newfound freedom stuck to old stereotypes and manners of representing women. Similarly new female political empowerment was covered in varied ways by Pakistani media from amazement to pure ridicule at various occasions.

Uks being a research, resource and publication centre dedicated to the cause of gender equality and women's development noticed this issue. Being an advocacy and rights-based group seeking to raise awareness and assist implementation of our goals and ideals, Uks came up with this manual to increase awareness about the need for female political participation and empowerment. To inform the journalists on how gender insensitive political reporting affects the cause of female political participation, and how they can be partners in advocating for the cause.

I hope this manual fulfills its purpose and opens up diverse and varied perspectives for fellows in the media on all levels to cover and advocate female political participation more responsibly and respectfully.

Tasneem Ahmar
Director
UKS Research and Resource Center

Acknowledgments

Manual Overview

The manual on "Engendering Politics Through Media" is developed to provide journalists particularly working within the radio industry an understanding of how gender surfaces within the realm of politics and news. It can be utilized for the capacity building of media managers', civil society and national institutions to ensure mainstreaming of women in political and electoral processes and train activists on how to build gender and media campaigns using the findings of NED[I] trainings. Illustrate and train activists on the various approaches that can be taken to do gender and media advocacy. It focuses on providing a background into the issues relating to women and politics and barriers that prohibit women from attaining optimum participation. The manual further discusses the implications of the lack of political empowerment of women within the context of progress and development of Pakistan, and how radio can minimize the negative impact by producing radio content advocating women's political participation from a rights based approach.

The manual begins with an over all introduction and links women, radio, development and politics for a better understanding of their relationship. Introduction is followed by section one which is further divided in session I and II elaborating on the connection between gender and politics, how it affects women's and nation's development respectively. Various constraints to political participation of women in Pakistan and the opportunities that exist to address those constraints are discussed. Later the whole gender and politics debate is addressed within the context of Pakistan. We will explore who is campaigning for the political participation of women and various international, national instruments, and policies that radio professionals hoping to advocate the goal of political empowerment of women must be aware of.

Section two contains practical guidelines for, advocating and planning gender-sensitive radio productions based on political developments - focusing on the recent political changes and developments in Pakistan. From forming a production team and selecting themes for the programs, research work in the field, using recording, editing evaluating and finally launching the complete series all technicalities involved in production of radio programs is covered comprehensively for the benefit of its users. For a better understanding Uks's recent radio production process is explained in detail at the end of the manual to serve as a case study example. It has checklists, guidelines, activities and discussions gathered from our experience in community radio. "Engendering Politics Through Media" concludes by providing recommendation for the future on how to work with and through the media in general and radio in specific to put gender on the political news agenda.

Introduction

Introduction discusses basic questions like why use radio for advocacy, what are various functions of radio and how they connect with the process of advocacy. What is community radio? How it can be an instrument for change and what is the relationship between gender and community radio, particularly in Pakistani context? Later in the session radio project *"Aurat ki Tarqaqi: Humari Taraqi"* by Uks research center is taken as a case study to bring to notice how all these concepts can be employed practically.

1.1 Objectives

- ❑ Exploring radio for advocacy
- ❑ To understand the role of radio for the progress of women in Pakistan
- ❑ To explore the relationship between community radio, women and politics
- ❑ To explain through case study how community radio empowers and gives voice to voiceless
- ❑ To explore what has been done already- *Aurat ki Tarqaqi Humari Taraqi* - A Case Study

1.2 Radio & Advocacy

It is crucial that everybody doing advocacy work consider communication as an important and never ending responsibility. The success of advocacy efforts hinge directly upon how well, one has acquired the skills and ability to communicate effectively using different media channels. Radio is one such channel which has been utilized for advocacy efforts world over successfully.

Radio as a means of communication has the power to promote public awareness and understanding of various issues and policies. In the modern world, media communication has been and still is the key element in bringing about people's participation in promoting social movement for sustainable development. Media in general and radio in particular plays the following important roles:

To Convey Information: The media can play an important role in democracy by providing information that helps people become involved in political and social processes that determine the kind of society that we have.

To Get Action: Getting the right thing done through people. The media promotes intelligent citizen involvement. By clearly bringing out the information on a particular problem or situation, the media helps sensitize and mobilize societies to take action on matters concerning their lives.

To Educate: People spend a lot of time on the media to educate the society on various issues. Some of the media activities involve discussions, question and answer sessions and skits etc. The more successfully a policy is popularized through communication, the more popular the policy becomes.

Thus, radio plays a significant role in shaping and moulding attitudes, perceptions and values in society. By clearly bringing out the information, individuals participate in creating public policy by doing various activities such as calling a radio talk show, discussing public issues through different other radio formats and giving voice to the marginalized. This puts extreme responsibility on the radio professionals and journalist within the context of gender equality to be mindful of what is aired, how it is aired and how does it impact the cause of women's progress, empowerment and emancipation.

1.3 Community Radio and Female Empowerment

In relation to community radio, the term 'community' refers to a collective or a group sharing common characters and/or interests. The term 'community' can either be defined as a geographically based group of persons and/or a social group or sector of the public who have common or specific interests.[2]

As compared to regular radio where corporate or government is in control community radio signifies a two-way process, which entails the exchange of views from various sources and is the adaptation of media for use by communities. In an ideal world community radio allows members of a community to gain access to information, education and entertainment. Thus we can say that community radio in its purest sense *"is a media in which the communities participate as planners, producers and performers and it is the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community*."[3]

Historically community radio has been used to give voice to underprivileged. It has been used by marginalized communities to voice their views against oppression. In South Africa, the apartheid laws ensured that the majority of citizens were disadvantaged and marginalized in the interest of the white minority. The apartheid regime actually used the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) as a monopoly that controlled the media industry. This led to struggles engaged by progressive forces, which then led to the establishment of community radio as a tool for development by community groups from the historically disadvantaged majority. Minority groups also saw community radio as a necessity for their communication and started joining the movement. Similarly in Latin America, community radio became the voice of the poor and voiceless – *Peoples Radio* (landless peasants, urban shack dwellers, impoverished indigenous nations, trade unions, etc.) and also as a tool for development.[4]

"I ritualistically sit with my husband, father-in-law while broadcast of Rudi no Radio takes place. When onus understands increases they move forward. And that is what I feel about your radio program. Every day is a struggle for every individual, especially in the village areas and one of the messages I hear from your program is about courage and strength. You have to be strong and brave in the face of adversity in order to move forward," says Jotsnaben Thakkor, Anand Gujarat.

Source: Women's Empowerment and Good Governance Through Community Radio Best Experiences for an Action Research Process, April 2008 Published April 2008, by: AMARC, World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters.

Hence we can say that community radio has a special relationship with the cause of female emancipation and empowerment. Initially conceived as a mouthpiece for voiceless; community radio has a number of attributes that make it an effective tool for promoting the cause of gender equality. It is not controlled by corporate and government interests which allows it to speak to issues independently. It uses local language that makes the information and the discussions on issues accessible to local communities. It transcends literacy barriers, which allows and encourages a great number of women to use it as their primary source of information. This is not to say that everything is rosy and perfect in the community radio sector. The same issues of women's under-representation and negative and stereotypical portrayal are faced by women in CR. However, because of its community-based and people-controlled nature, these issues are confronted to a much lesser degree. Given this reality, community radio remains to be an effective tool in promoting people's ownership of and participation in development processes that ultimately will guarantee accountability, transparency, affectivity, efficiency and responsiveness – all essential elements of good governance.[5]

1.4   Radio, Women & Politics

In recent times use of ICT and communication technologies for the empowerment of the women has been quite a successful tool. It has been argued that women empowerment should imply a power to participate in the decision making in all spheres of society, with no separation of the public and private and in all social, political, economic and cultural processes of society.

Engaging with the media can be an important strategy for women to maximize their impact and to increase their effectiveness as political actors. Women involved in formal and informal politics can engage with the media to contest negative or stereotypical portrayals of women and women politicians, and to challenge oppressive ideas about gender categories and roles. Civil society and activist groups can use the media to demand and ensure accountability from politicians and governments with respect to gender equity. Women politicians and activist groups can also use the media to build a strong public profile and communicate key political messages.

In this regard radio can be a potent tool to make masses particularly women aware and informed about their participation in decision-making process in both formal and informal political structures, and understand how it is vital for the betterment of their own human rights conditions. By doing so radio through its gender sensitive programming, coverage and framing of politics both in news, talk shows etc can advocate for real democracy in which women comprising about half of the world's population can be incorporated at different levels and different processes of decision making.

Impact of Community Radio in Africa

In terms of their civil status, following the consciousness raising by *Radio Pengdwendé*, women increasingly possess such documentation as birth certificates and identity cards received by court order. This was not always the case, for, while many women had certificates documenting their civil status, it was often the men who had them in their possession. With respect to development, income-generating activities that women took up with advice from the "associative life" program brought them substantial income. This income has allowed them to send their children to school, including their daughters.

1.5 Radio, Women & Empowerment

In terms of availability, immediacy and reach, the role of radio as a means of communication & advocacy is undeniable. Radio is the most powerful, and yet the cheapest, mass medium for reaching large numbers of people in isolated areas. It can promote dialogue and debate on the major issues of community developments as well as provide a platform for the expression of women's needs, opinions, and aspirations. In Pakistan majority of rural women are illiterate and have limited access to information. Since they also live in an unequal society, their contributions within the economic, social, and political spheres remain negligible, marginal, or even invisible. If radio programming is motivated by the belief that communication processes can empower women by providing information and knowledge as a basis for change and innovation; they can make decisions concerning their own livelihood and thereby increase their productivity. In Indonesia, a number of women community radio broadcasters have produced programs such as Women Voice Radio in Pariaman, West Sumatra and the Women Journal Radio Program to address violence against women and how women could make use of existing laws to assert their rights. In Fiji, femLINKpacific uses community radio to hold the government accountable to its commitment under UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSC RES/1325) on Women, Peace and Security. femLINKpacific has produced numerous radio programs that highlight women's role in peace building and conflict resolution."[6]

Following are two case study examples from South Asian region regarding progress of women and community radio as an instrument:

In Mozambique, women community radio broadcasters formed the Network of Women in Community Radios in 2003 to encourage activities seeking to ensure that women enjoy the same rights, duties and opportunities as men, as stipulated under the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, and recommended in the Beijing Declaration, and in the principles of the New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Namma Dhwani (Our Voice) Project

A Case of Advocating Women's Progress Through Radio

This community audio production centre - a partnership between VOICES, MYRADA, UNESCO, and poor farmer groups in the Boodkote sector in Kolar - kicked off operations in September, 2001. Equipped with an analog mixer, a recording room, instrument room and portable recorders, the centre is used and managed by the local community. Thirty-four villages may listen to agricultural, medical, educational, and cultural programmes. "Namma Dhwani" (Our Voice) began with a quasi-community radio pilot project to assess the possibilities for local participation and programme content. Our Voices applied for two 30-minute slots daily on the Chitradurga AIR Local FM Radio Station. Prasar Bharathi granted a once-a-month time slot of 30 minutes of airtime. The pilot project was conducted in a predominantly agricultural area of Chitradurga district, Karnataka. Experimental broadcasts were begun using a portable briefcase-sized radio stations (for recording and broadcast) provided by UNESCO in 1999. In 2001, UNESCO supported the construction of a full-fledged professional audio analog studio. Village women and men, farmers, rural entrepreneurs, children, and youth were identified to participate in the development of the programmes in various capacities. For instance, children provided suggestions and crafted their own educational programmes. Other themes include women's health, income-generating opportunities for rural management, watershed management, education for girls, and the impact of adult literacy programmes on rural life. Over 5 hours were recorded; 2 hours of air time were selected during an editing process. In total, eight community workers run the Namma Dhwani audio production centre. They regularly produce and "narrowcast" programmes on a range of issues from organic farming, to rain water harvesting, HIV/AIDS, drip irrigation, and many other local development issues. ("Narrowcast" is a term coined by the producers to indicate the fact that they have, as yet, been denied the right "broadcast" their own programmes). In the absence of this right, the workers have designed a process where audio cassettes are played to relevant community groups at various village centres. Every Tuesday evening for about an hour, the Namma Dhwani programme is transmitted over a loudspeaker as part of the village santhe/mandi (market) place just outside the production centre. Information about goods being sold and crop prices are included in the "narrowcasts", along with social messages and even birthday greetings.

Source: The Communication Initiative retrieved from http://www.comminit.com/

Aurat ki Tarraqui, Hamari Tarraqui

A Case of Advocating Women's Participation Through Radio

Aurat ki Tarraqui, Hamari Tarraqui" (Progress for women, Progress for all) is a radio production, a project undertaken by Uks Research Centre in collaboration with NED, USA. Supported by National Endowment for Democracy, this project explored the past, present and future of Pakistani women in governance and the importance of having gender equity for democracy. The production also highlighted the problems; social, economic or any other that are faced by women in politics at all tiers.

Under this project radio programmes were developed and aired that provided a space where women can actively participate and learn about development issues such as human rights, children, governance, nutrition, and health, among others. Through these radio programmes millions of men, women and young people were reached who are instrumental in bringing about and sustaining change.

Six selected women producers in radio programming were trained to build their capacity. Later those female producers developed and produced radio productions which were balanced, informed and gender-sensitive and were based on social, economic and political developments particularly focusing on the recent political changes and developments, e.g.; appointment of a woman speaker in the National Assembly, and a woman Deputy Speaker in a provincial assembly, women ministers, a large number of women legislators etc.

The objectives achieved were bringing in more and better trained women in media. FM radio station capacity was enhanced in the areas of radio production, presentation and operation skill to enable them in voicing issues of governance at mass level for social change. It strengthened the ability of FM stations on how to transmit political content into public service broadcasting with gender sensitivity. And above all awareness-raising of the public particularly women about their role in the political sphere, how to strengthen that role and increased understand of radio professionals on how to report in a gender sensitive manner when it comes to supporting the political participation of women through trainings and radio productions.

Source: Uks Research, Resource and Publication Center retrieved from http://www.uksresearch.com/

Trainee Producers with trainers after successful completion of training workshop organized by Uks

Section One

Engendering Politics: Issues and Possibilities

Session I: Gender in Politics

Session I elaborates on how gender manifests in politics. What is the impact of patriarchal ideologies within the political sphere on the progress and advancement of women particularly related to political participation of women? It discusses the challenges and opportunities that exist for the women. This session also analyses why more women in politics are needed and does increase in the number of women politicians makes any difference.

1.1   Objectives

❑ To investigate the relationship between gender and politics
❑ To recognize gendered dimensions of leadership
❑ To understand various approaches to gender equality in and through politics
❑ To explore the constraints and opportunities relating to female participation in politics

1.2   Why Gender in Politics

Women constitute slightly more than half of the world population. Their contribution to the social and economic development of societies is also more than half as compared to that of men by virtue of their dual roles in the productive and reproductive spheres. Yet their participation in formal political structures and processes, where decisions regarding the use of societal resources generated by both men and women are made, remains insignificant. Presently, women representation in legislatures around the world is **18.4** percent[7]. Women's equal participation in political life is instrumental for enhancing their position in society. Women all over the world have worked very hard to get their political rights in many countries. Despite their hard struggle for a long period, they have, not yet been able to attain a rightful position in the arena of politics. They are still under-represented in most levels of governments and in legislative bodies. The presence of women in the political parties as well as in the political structure at the local, provincial, and national levels remains insignificant due to cultural and structural barriers.

First of all, it is necessary to understand the concept of politics. Politics is the shaping, sharing and exercise of the power. Involvement in politics is directed towards influencing power channels and elites for protecting one's rights and self- interests and giving legitimacy to political elites and their decisions[8]. Political sphere, thus includes the "spheres in social relations, where power relations are generated, institutionalized and used to encourage, control or move people attitudes, beliefs in a specified direction to control and regulate the distribution of resources[9]. The concept of political participation is closely involved with the concept of power as politics is a study and exercise of power, any political participation should mean a participation in this exercise of power, the power to effectively influence decision-making processes and policies, and to bring about the necessary social changes. Politics then is an exercise in power, and participation in politics should lead to a meaningful say in the processes that lead to the making of policies and decision and effective control to bring about a social change, so as to promote a better social order. Hence, political participation is much more than a physical participation in formal institutions and structures, though physical participation in formal political institutions is very much necessary for itself and as a means for influencing decisions. Direct and visible participation helps to enlarge freedom of the social group and accelerate the pace of its advancement.

The notion of power associated with politics makes the relationship between gender and politics a complex one, as power and authority have been associated with men only. The patriarchal system prevalent in our society does not consider women in roles other than that of caring and nurturing. Therefore political arena is the one where most rigid gender ideals and ideologies are manifested and promoted again and again. For a longer period of time and even today politics has been a boys club in Pakistan, irrespective of several quotas and reservation to improve the participation of women in the decision making process. However whatever the status of women in politics and their participation in political structures, one cannot deny the importance of women's equal role in decision making.

The importance of women's equal role in decision-making can be viewed from three points of view.

- It is a clear question of human rights: women make up half of the population and more than one- third of the workforce and so their right to full citizenship and equality of opportunity and treatment in employment must be clearly expressed by their participating in all levels of activity.

- It is a matter of social justice to combat discrimination against women, which is at its very harshest when it comes to political decision making.

Sex Role Stereotype

The term sex role stereotype refers to the belief that a set of traits and abilities is more likely to be found among one sex than the other .

- It is an essential requirement for the acceleration and effectiveness of development, as women are capable of providing a different sort of ability and creativity, which has not so far been tapped, and they can ensure a better balance in the allocation of resources and distribution of the benefits of the progress.

Think Pair Share:

➲ What comes to your mind when you think of women in politics?

➲ Is there any particular picture in head that comes with the idea strong, powerful, weak, and beautiful?

➲ From where do you think this image came in your mind, social values, beliefs about women, media?

➲ Write down your answers and share with group members

1.3   Gender and Leadership

Politics is considered to be a male dominated field. Therefore all the characteristics that have been associated with the concept of leadership in politics are considered to be only masculine in nature. There are many stereotypes regarding women who are involved in politics that they lack in the abilities and personality traits that is required in politics Most characteristics that have been associated with the political leadership are dominance, authority, assertiveness, rationality, emotional stability, ambition, confidence and self sufficiency, etc and these characteristics are considered to be masculine in nature. It is common perception that women are communal, possessing traits such as kindness, helpfulness, concern for others, warmth and gentleness, which makes politics a very difficult field for women to fully participates in.

Transformative Women's Political leadership is leadership which seeks to address gender inequity and social injustice through advocacy of gender-sensitive policies and programmes.

Think Pair Share

Before proceeding towards the next topic make three lists;

➲ In first, list desirable personality traits/qualities that a leader should have irrespective of gender
➲ In second, list desirable personality traits/qualities for a male leader
➲ In third, list personality traits/qualities for a Female leader
➲ Compare all the three list
➲ Do you notice any difference?
➲ What are those?
➲ Share with the group

Critical Gender Mass
The necessary percentage of women representatives in a legislature for transforming the legislative context from one in which gender-sensitive policy is unlikely, to one in which opportunities for implementing gender-sensitive policy are increased.

1.4   Why More Women in Politics- Does it Make Any Difference[10]

Why advocate for greater numbers of women representatives in politics? Are women more likely than men to pursue gender-sensitive policies or programmes? In addressing these questions we can distinguish between two basic understandings of political representation – descriptive and substantive – which underscore different (yet interconnected) arguments for the need to increase the number of women in formal political structures.

Descriptive Representation refers to the numerical proportion of women (compared to that of men) in any formal political structure. Those advocating greater gender equity in electoral politics draw on the notion of descriptive representation to argue that because women make up 50 percent or more of the population in most countries, governing bodies should do better to mirror this in the gender composition of elected representatives. Ensuring the election of more women candidates is thus seen as an important component of democratic governance and human rights. However, it is clear that achieving greater descriptive representation of women as a group does not necessarily result in equal access for all women, but rather often those who are privileged with respect to socio-economic advantages, education and other factors.

Substantive Representation refers to the act of representatives (i.e. women and men mps) advocating for certain groups (i.e. women). Campaigns to increase the number of women in formal political structures have sometimes combined descriptive and substantive representation, assuming that female representatives will be more likely to address 'women's issues'. However, as history has shown, there is no guarantee that women representatives will be more likely to pursue gender-sensitive programmes and policies simply because they are women.

Indeed, many women who are elected to positions of political power end up 'miming' the traditional political roles of men. Furthermore, women are differentiated by race, ethnicity, nation, culture, class, caste, sexuality, ability, religion, among other variables. Women's different social locations and experiences mean that they have a range of varied needs and political interests. These differences can conflict and contribute to political outcomes not of benefit to all women.

If we simply assume that women political representatives will be more likely to address 'women's issues' or to approach politics in particular ways, we risk reproducing problematic ideas about gender which subordinate and constrain women within politics. We also risk abandoning the responsibility that all members of government have for promoting gender equity. That being said, there is evidence that greater numbers of women (and marginalized groups) in political structures and spaces can transform those spaces – and wider social and political contexts in progressive ways.

Dual Approach to Political Transformation

Achieving gender-sensitive political transformation requires the election of candidates who are specifically committed to transformative gender-oriented goals (and this may include gender-sensitive and progressive women and men). It is thus important to advocate a dual approach which examines not only that which facilitates the election and continued tenure of women representatives in local and national politics, but also, how political representatives can be supported to address gender inequities and ensure that gender-sensitive policies and programmes are implemented and monitored. Women's direct involvement in public decision-making has long been seen not just as a matter of democratic justice, but as a means of ensuring better government accountability to women. To support women's participation in politics quotas have been an effective tool. The rising number of women in politics does not alone ensure better public sector responsiveness to women's needs. It must be linked to gender-sensitive good governance reforms understood as inclusive, responsive, and accountable management of public affairs that increases state capacity to implement gender policies [11]

> **Descriptive representation**
> The numerical proportion of women (compared to that of men) in any formal political structure.
>
> **Substantive representation**
> The act of representatives (i.e. women and men mps) advocating for certain groups (i.e. Women).

1.5   Achieving Gender Equality in Politics: Challenges and Opportunities

•   Challenges

Barriers to Women's Political Participation [12]

It is an accepted fact that women are faced with numerous challenges in the political arena. Men also face challenges but challenges for women are a bit different and difficult. The barriers that prevent women from attempting a political career are both practical (lack of time, money or access to education and training) and psychological (lack of confidence, fear of failure, and dislike of the culture of politics). Gendered poverty and political disadvantage are rooted in policies, practices, ideas and beliefs related to the position of women and girls in society. Men dominate existing political structures nationally and locally from political parties to the traditional authorities.

> **Saira Afzal Tarar** belongs to **PML-N.** She is of the view that religion does not and has not restricted women's political participation but it provides <u>a code of conduct for men and women</u>. While sharing her campaigning experiences, she says: "I never addressed men directly other than on one occasion when Mian Nawaz Sharif was visiting my constituency. People did not care about gender differences but they wanted competent and honest representatives capable of solving their problems."
>
> *Source General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.*

Tradition and Culture

Traditional norms and patterns of conduct in a predominantly male society and stereotypical perceptions of the roles and responsibilities for men and women pose a strong barrier to women's participation and advancement in politics. Politics is traditionally viewed as a man's game. Women's disempowerment is rooted in harmful traditional and discriminatory customary practices. Several traditional customs and cultural norms prevent women from becoming leaders. Such traditional customs and cultural norms are further reinforced by a patriarchal interpretation of religion Islam.

Women who reach high decision-making levels face negative attitudes ranging from reluctance to open hostility. Men and women are traditionally reluctant to support female aspirants for any public position to which men and women aspire. Similarly, political parties do not encourage female members to stand for any position of authority.

Reproductive and Nurturer Role

Women continue to bear most of the responsibility for caring and domestic work within the family. The traditional woman's prime years are taken up with having babies and looking after young children. This coupled with hours spent in food preparation, child-care and maintaining the family in addition to earning an income, place heavy demands on women's time leaving little time for political activities.

Lack of Access to Economic Resources

Since men are traditionally the breadwinners, women do not have the financial and other resources to enable them to run effectively for public office and win. The day-to-day struggle for existence leaves no time or resources to even consider a political career Candidates require money to campaign, money that women often simply do not have. Parties may provide political funding or support for candidates, but often candidates have to fund their own campaigns. Lack of resources is a particular problem for women in situations where politicians are expected to provide 'gifts' to voters in exchange for their support, especially in constituency-based elections.

> **Dr. Azra Fazal Phecho** belongs to **PPPP.** Having a strong political background facilitated her political struggle which could have been difficult, as per her own estimation. In her views, she also benefited by her age factor, as it is easier for a women with older age to campaign and socially manage the same as compared to a young female contestant.
>
> *Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.*

Confidence

Many women lack the confidence and assertiveness to embark on a political career. The sharp divide between the public sphere, which is perceived as men's and the private sphere, which is perceived as women's makes it not surprising that many women lack the confidence and self-esteem to embark on careers that would expose them to competing with men.

Corruption

Corrupt practices, which today characterize all public activities, have precluded women (who by and large tend to shy away from anything that would shame them or their families) from exercising their rights on an equal footing with men. The culture of violence is characteristic of election processes in South Asia which further alienates women from entering politics.

Lack of Solidarity-Networking

A weak network of women's groups translates into a weak sense of solidarity among women themselves. Besides this, the usual high level of rivalry among women militates very strongly against their coming together as a strong force.

Poor Literacy levels

A certain level of education is often an informal requirement for candidates for political office. In Pakistan, citizens are required to reach a certain level of education before standing for election. The high level of illiteracy and poor education and negative images in the media about women's role make women reluctant to step forward into leadership roles. They lack knowledge about the system, of how they could become politicians or how being in parliament could influence and change their everyday lives.

Shamshad Sattar Bachani, PPPP, has been contesting on her husband's seat since 2002. Concurring to others she adds that <u>lack of education is the biggest social ill</u> and disadvantage for women. She aims to focus on adult literacy among women so that they could at least read a newspaper and be aware of the happenings.

*Source General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-*Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers

Marginalization within Political Parties

Most political parties in Pakistan do not have any strategy for equal representation in its executive as required by the Platform for Action[13]. Though women like Benazir and many other have been party leaders or on important positions within the party however it is only because they inherited the chairmanship. Not because they worked their way up on the party hierarchy. Parties have not adopted any other system to increase the number of women holding party offices.

Negative Image of Female Politicians

In a culture where women entering public life are considered to have stepped outside their traditional gender roles, women politicians are often subject to public criticism and attack. Whatever form the criticism takes there is often a sense among women politicians themselves that by entering public life they are judged to have 'overstepped the mark'.

When some women see the way that other women who are already in political life are criticized and vilified, they may well decide that the price of entering politics is too high to pay.

Independent MPA Robina Shaheen Wattoo observes that generally people do not make it easy for women to take this route and a 24-hour watch is on them from their dress to conduct to what they say.

*Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-*Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.

Impact on Personal Relations

Politics is generally seen as a 'men's game' some women fear that opting for the political life will mean being viewed as unfeminine and losing the love and support of their families.

Fear for Personal Safety

Women's fear for their families as well as their own safety can create greater barriers for them than would

Naghma Mushtaq Lhang, **MPA from PML-Q**. To her political journey has been anguishing as her husband and young son died and she had to claim this seat of family. In her area women are not even allowed to go out alone in day time and lawlessness is the norm with <u>no security or mobility provision for women</u>.

*Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-*Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.

exist for many men. Politics is mostly characterized by violence and unfair play that pose a danger particularly for women.

Despite the problems detailed above, over the years many competent and capable women have entered the political arena. But such women have encountered problems, which have affected their performance. These include, among others:

Resistance from Men

Cultural assumptions about women's roles in the wider society not surprisingly appear within political parties. Traditional gender roles may allow a role for women in politics, but it is one that is as close as possible to her traditional role, which is, serving men rather than sitting alongside them. When women venture out of these delimiting roles they are seen as difficult. It is not uncommon for them to experience a backlash from men in their party.

Lack of Political Will to Overcome these Problems

One of the greatest obstacles to women's political participation is the lack of political will. Past Governments have just not seen the need to encourage women to participate in politics. For example when women are elected they do not enjoy similar budgetary allocations as their male counterparts.

Sexual Harassment in Parliament
In the budget session of Sindh Assembly 2006, an allegation of sexual harassment was made by Assembly member Shazia Marri. This was the first public event of recorded harassment in the Sindh assembly in its hundred year history. The disturbing part was that no action was taken by the government on this serious issue. To add insult to injury, other women Members were used to make personal attacks on Shazia Marri.

Source: Daily Times Pakistan retrieved from http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/print.asp?page=2006\06\30\story_30-6-2006_pg13_2

• Opportunities

Advocacy and Training

If women political representation truly is the goal than political advocacy and training for young men and women is one of the answers.

Electoral System Reforms

One way of promoting female political participation is to encourage every political party competing in the General Elections to award some tickets to women so that women participation will be ensured. Of course these should not be sure shot weak seats. If the political parties fail to do so then the candidature of the respective parties would be cancelled automatically by the office of election commission.[14]

Promote Direct Election of Female Candidates

Among the various ways of electing representatives, direct election soul of democracy is most logical. Meaningful women empowerment and representation in policy – making have to be ensured through direct election.

Public Funding

Public funding of political parties with added incentive to include women is perhaps another area that can be examined. The rationale for political party funding by public, private or through subsidies etc is actually based on the need to ensure transparency and accountability in political process and political parties. As stated earlier one of the major challenges that women faced even those who wish to directly contest elections are finances. It is therefore suggested that if options for public funding of political parties are seriously examined they will help not only help men but also women.

Women Must Organize Beyond Party Lines- Women's Movement

Serious attempts to invigorate the women's movement in order offer support to women's entry into political decision-making and also for providing checks and balances. Hand in glove should be concerted effort towards mentoring of young women to take up leadership challenges and also to entrench the school curricular. Empowerment programs should raise consciousness on reproductive responsibility sharing.

Conscious and Awareness-Raising of Women

At the end of day this is after all politics. It is about influence. It is about power, and within patriarchal parameters of Pakistani society it is essential that women are aware and stand up for their own rights. Politics is about people who need to be approached and engaged which requires tremendous investment of self and other resources. Power and influence is never handed over on a platter. It has to be negotiated, strategized and sometimes fought for. There can be no short cuts to this.

Political empowerment of women has for decades been on the international agenda. Both the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ensure women an equal right with men to political participation. This session elaborates on the need, process and barriers to campaigning for the political rights of women within national context.

Session II:
Campaigning For the
Political Participation of Women

1.1 Objectives:

- To understand who is campaigning for increased female political participation
- To gain an understanding of women and politics within the context of Pakistan.
- To recognize various instruments, policies and mechanisms with regard to women and political participation that aid campaigning processes
- To recognize the barriers that exist while campaigning for political participation of women in Pakistan

1.2 Women in Politics- National Scenario

In Pakistan women's participation in political processes has been facing numerous hurdles, despite this the history of elections in Pakistan have witnessed some exceptional women leaders and workers. From Fatima Jinnah's challenge to Gen. Ayub Khan for the slot of president in indirect elections of 1964 to Benazir's ascendance twice to the office of PM as the first women head of government in a Muslim country, a number of women have braved the bruising political environment for a successful career in politics.[15]

Pakistan became an independent state in 1947. To a greater extent by that time women's lives were confined in the four walls of the house under strict male domination. However Pakistan freedom movement brought out several women from the confines of their houses into the political space. Quaid-e-Azam (the founder of Pakistan) and Fatima Jinnah, (the sister of Quaid-e-Azam) played very important role in bringing out women from their homes and emphasized that women should be equal partners in nation's politics.

In 1956, Pakistan's first constitution was adapted containing the provision reserving 5% seats for women. In 1973 the quota was expanded to provincial assemblies as well. In 1988 however the quota system under the 1973 constitution lapsed. Despite protests and lawsuits the quota system was not revised over 1990's. In 1996 Pakistan signed CEDAW legally abiding itself to provide political opportunities to the women of Pakistan. In 1999 General Musharraf's government introduced quotas for women's political representation once again.[16] According to the 2008 UN Human Development Report Pakistan ranks 82 on gender empowerment measure, where women held 20.4 % seats in the parliament and only 2% as female legislators, senior officials or managers.[17]

> The first Constituent Assembly had only two women representatives, Shaista Ikramullah and Jahanara Shahnawaz.

There have been many debates regarding the impact of quotas on the increased political participation of women. Critics[18] are of the view that quotas have only increased the number of women in the parliaments, but no substantial change with regard to gender equality has been seen. As one of the analyst notes that the *credit of 33 percent representation of women in the assembly goes to President Musharraf but this is also true that women are not included in policy and decision making and they have been there as decoration pieces.*"[19] Most of the women who have entered the parliament are the daughter, sisters and wives of influential politicians and these women do not make decisions on their own rather take leads from their male heads. In assessing the impact of women politicians, it is important to remember that "women enter politics within highly patriarchal structures of society and operate within those limitations" (ICES, 1999). Obliged to work in an environment dominated and shaped by men (who have also devised the rules of the game), the success of women politicians depends on their ability to adapt to that environment and to play by the rules set. That most abide by these rules is evident in their willingness to participate in the seedier side of political manipulations, and, even more sadly, when they become party to the perpetuation of violence in politics, as the case of Benazir governments as she was not able to repeal the Hudood ordinance both time she was in office.[20]

Women in Power and Decision Making in South Asia		
Countries	Seats in the Parliament held by Women MDG	Female legislators, senior officials and managers
	(% of total)	2007/08 (% of total)
Bangladesh	15.1	23
Bhutan	2.7	----
India	9.0	---
Nepal	17.3	8
Pakistan	20.4	2
Maldives	12.0	15
Srilanka	4.9	21
Source: UNDP HDR 2007-08		

Women make fifty percent of the country's entire population. History is a witness to women's tremendous contribution and participation in Pakistan's political development. However, their participation in the major national political field is still limited. They also play an important role in garnering prospective voters, yet their representation in parliament is small. Table below provides statistics on the number of women on local government level and even those are not very promising and do not reflect the commitment made by Pakistan on various platforms.

Country-wide State of Number of Seats, Filled in all tiers of Local Government Election - 2005 (as of March, 2006)				
Zila Council	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
Women Councilors	1,321	410	354	226	2,311
Tehsil/Town Council	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
Women Councilors	1,342	481	372	270	2,465
Union Council	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
Women Councilors	13,486	4,192	3,450	2,211	2 3 , 3 3 9
Grand Total	16,149	5,083	4,176	2,707	2 8 , 1 1 5
Percentage	57%	18%	15%	10%	100%

1.3   Pakistani Political Parties and The Woman Question

Women have proved to be very effective party workers but their strength as politicians remains unproven. According to Bari and Zia political parties in Pakistan include three different categories of women members which are;

❑ Women who are relatives of prominent or active male members of political parties.

❑ Women who came in through mainstream politics. Many of them belong to more affluent political families and keep a distance from their fellow women party members on the worker level or in the party's women's wing.

❑ Women active at the community or professional level. They are invited by the parties to join as they are able to mobilize more support among women on the local level and are active during election campaigns or at political rallies[21]

All major political parties have given space to women issues in their manifestos by recognizing ongoing discrimination and their struggle for socio-political empowerment. Social evils in society and systemic disadvantages, on an overall basis are recognized to be critical against women equality which is compounded by denial of equal political rights. Economic empowerment remains under recognized by all the manifestos except for PML-N which hints at micro credit. Vocational educational comes out prominently for all.[22]

These manifestos reflect the general perception of political parties about the role of women in national development and progress. Political parties do not give importance to support policies that show their commitment towards gender equality and equity. Women's role is limited to women wing, and to the areas of nurture and care. Political parties prefer to see women as their voters or as signatories to their policy decisions but they do not intend to include women in the process of policy-making[23]

> Women who participate in party politics out of their own interest and choice are low in numbers. Because of a lack of membership structures, many women do not define themselves as affiliated with any specific party. Instead, they support parties that their families are affiliated with..
>
> *Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women*-Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.

1.4   Who is Campaigning for Political Participation of Women?

On regional, national and global level a large number of individuals and civil society organizations are campaigning for political participation of women for the empowerment and subsequent development of women.

Civil society in Pakistan has been playing an active role in promoting women's role in governance and democracy. Few of them active in the area are:

● UNIFEM is the women's fund at the United Nations. It provides financial and technical assistance to innovative programmes and strategies to foster women's empowerment and gender equality.

● Aurat Foundation: To promote awareness among women of all socio-economic levels of their rights and status in society (information dissemination. Extensive training courses conducted at grass-roots level for the empowerment of women).

● The Council of Women World Leaders was created at a 1996 summit of 11 of the world's then-current and former presidents and prime ministers. The first convening of the Council took place in 1997 at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. The Council of Women World leaders presently has 36 members - which includes nearly all of the current and former female heads of state and government. An integral and essential part of the Council structure is the Ministerial Initiative, which engages sitting and former women ministers and cabinet members. The Ministerial Initiative began in 1998 to promote ministerial-level exchange on global issues, to identify and address the particular challenges facing women in ministerial leadership positions, and to increase their visibility both nationally and internationally.
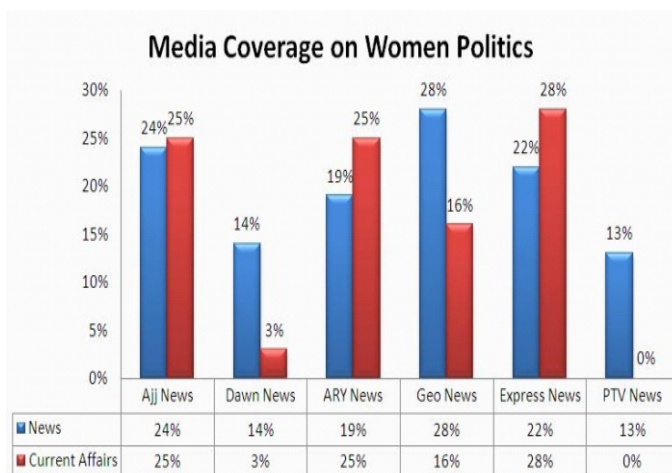
● **-HRCP - Human Rights Commission of Pakistan** is an independent, non-profit organization, founded in 1986, which is not associated or affiliated with the government or any political party. It is committed to act with impartiality and objectivity in all matters. Main aimsof the organization are; spreading awareness of human rights among the people, mobilizing public opinion, collecting information and disseminating knowledge about human rights abuses, and to monitor and defend human rights in Pakistan.

● **Amnesty International** (commonly known as Amnesty and AI) is an international non-governmental organization which defines its mission as "to conduct research and generate action to prevent and end grave abuses of human rights and to demand justice for those whose rights have been violated." Founded in London, England in 1961, AI draws its attention to human rights abuses and campaigns for compliance with international standards. It works to mobilise public opinion which exerts pressure on individuals who perpetrate abuses.

● **PILDAT** works for strengthening democracy and democratic institutions in Pakistan by building the capability of and instituting non-partisan monitoring framework for the elected representatives and legislatures while facilitating greater participation of all segments of the society in the democratic process and development of new political leadership.

Aurat Foundation along with other NGOs, launched a major campaign for the 2000-2001 __local elections. The result of these efforts was that 70,000__women ran for local positions. These women were given basic training by AF on several issues__how the election process works, how to run a campaign, and fill out nomination forms. At a more basic level, AF helped many women get national identity cards which most women did not possess nor did they know how to acquire one.

By **Jafar, A.**, 2008-07-31 **"Strategies of Activism: The Campaign to Increase Women's Political Participation in Pakistan"** *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting.*

Media mindfully or inadvertently also becomes a party when we discuss campaigning for women in democracy and governance. Freedom of media in Pakistan has resulted in numerous Pakistani TV channels which allocate prime time of their program for debates focusing on political developments in Pakistan. Various Pakistani news channels before and during the Elections 2008 started focused programs as well as news analysis.

Over the period of time improved access to information through cable networks has been well utilized by all stakeholders. In one study[24] utilization of media for dissemination of information in the observed women constituencies in 2008 elections was high, i.e.77%.[25]According to the study the newspapers and cable networks did not issue public service messages. Some electronic media houses did broadcast public service messages regarding the importance of vote as national responsibility of every individual to strengthen democracy but women were not focused on exclusively. Media covered the women contestants largely, 75%, in observed constituencies which can be attributed largely to their affiliation to political party, political household and position in previous government.

Media Coverage on Women Politics

	Ajj News	Dawn News	ARY News	Geo News	Express News	PTV News
News	24%	14%	19%	28%	22%	13%
Current Affairs	25%	3%	25%	16%	28%	0%

In the same study Pakistani TV channels were analyzed to document the level and content of media coverage focusing women and politics from the broadcasted programmes to assess what is being highlighted, discussed in these programs and does media highlights, if at all, hurdles to women politicians due to their gender. In the news bulletins, the focus has been on national news. Indicators include women representation in panel and programmes related to the subject i.e. women in politics.[26]

1.5   Initiatives by Pakistani State

Women Parliamentarians Caucus was constituted in November 21, 2008. Due to the change in the constitution women were given a quota of 17 to 18%, according to it 60 seats were reserved for women in the house of 342 in 2002. Today in senate there are 17 women 76 in national assembly out of which 60 women are on special seats and 16 are elected through direct elections from Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan. Hence the total number in national parliament reaches to 100 or 102 approximately.   In provincial parliament in Punjab there are about 75 women, Sindh 29 and many in NWFP and Baluchistan as well. Hence if we join the provincial and National Assembly, the total number is 210.

Therefore it was obligatory to join these women on a platform of "Women own Agenda." This is a concept all around the world that development has a woman's face. Even today in Pakistan women face numerous challenges when it comes to day to day survival or realization of very basic of their human rights. Therefore it was indispensable to identify women's rights and to work on this issue, women with similar mind set were needed and it was necessary for them to have a bipartisan approach and agree on one agenda and through it involve in legislation and formulate appropriate policies. Hence the speaker of National Assembly joined all political parties'_ women in senate and formed the Women Parliamentarians Caucus. This was an immense achievement because before it all the efforts were unsuccessful. This was for the first time that all political parties' women gathered together on one specific agenda and consequently "caucus" was structured.hmi

Source: Interview of Mr. Shamoon Hashmi Deputy Secretary & Coordinator of Women Parliamentarians Caucus.

The Women's Political School (WPS) project, has been designed to sustain the gains of the Women's Political Participation Project (W3P) which was pioneering effort to train and nurture over 36,000 newly elected women councilors at the district, tehsil and union council levels. It was jointly supported by the Government of Pakistan, the Norwegian Government and UNDP and ran from February 2002 to March 2004.

GOAL
The overall goal of the Women's Political School (WPS) project, in line with national objectives and international commitments, is that of working towards the attainment of gender equality in the political sphere.

PURPOSE
The project purpose is empowering women in public office so that their issues and concerns are raised in the policy agenda and are addressed through public policy.

OUTPUTS/OBJECTIVES
The more specific outputs of the Women's Political School (WPS) project are as follows:

1. A holistic and integrated capacity development programme for women delivered;

2. Adequate and reliable support networks and systems for women participating in political processes facilitated and strengthened; and Institutional capacities of relevant training institutes, governmental departments and civil society strengthened.

Source:http://www.un.org.pk/undp/gender/gen -proj.htm.

Ministry of Women Development is a national focal Ministry for the advancement of women. It plays the role of advocate, planner and coordinator of women. It is responsible for formulation of policies and laws to meet the special needs of women ensuring that women interests and needs are adequately represented in public policy formulation by various organizations and agencies of government, promotion and undertaking of projects for development of women, matters relating to equality of opportunity in education, training, employment and facilities in health care and community development.

Challenges for Campaigning for Increased Political Participation of Women

In many areas patriarchal values are so entrenched that convincing people that a woman can be more than a wife and daughter takes a lot of effort.

- Sumaira a young woman working in Baluchistan for Aurat Foundation for the last several years told that AF couldn't even send publications addressed to women. Putting a woman's name on a piece of mail was considered unacceptable. They had to be addressed as wife of or daughter of without the woman's name even appearing on the mail itself.

- Women's political participation is seen by the families as disruptive of their family life. At first they think, ok she can contest election; it is just a neighborhood affair anyway. When an ordinary woman becomes a councilor then her doorbell rings more, more people visit her home and our cultures isn't where a woman can entertain guests of her own. Serious problems have been created in families who do not know how to reconcile with this new role acquired by the woman. The very idea of women as an individual meets with resistance.

- Saeeda, a young woman working in the Islamabad office of AF, revealed that they went at the grassroots level and worked and campaigned. We met with individuals and lived there day and night and motivated people, because it was impossible for women to leave their house and even more impossible to contest an election. The people were of the mindset that if our women left the house, they would become like this or like that [become modern or non-traditional] and the ulemas of the region also believed that it was against the principles of Islam for women to participate in politics.

- A very basic problem was that women did not even have national identity card which they needed to be a part of the election process. "Men thought perhaps if they [women] got ID cards, then they will become part of decision making and get rid of us.

Source: Jafar, A. , 2008-07-31 **"Strategies of Activism: The Campaign to Increase Women's Political Participation in Pakistan"** *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting*

1.6 International and National Instruments, Policies, Programs and Mechanisms

International	National
International ● Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW (1979) ● Beijing Platform for Action (1995) ● Millennium Development Goals ● ILO Convention 111: Discrimination (1958) ● Convention on Political Rights of Women (1952) ● ILO Convention 100: Equal Remuneration (1951) ● Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergencies and Armed ● Conflicts (1974) ● The Geneva Conventions (1949) and Additional Protocols (1977) ● Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the ● Prostitution of Others (1951) ● Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) ● Security Council 1325 Resolution (October 2000) ● Optional Protocol to CEDAW (1999) ● The Vienna Declaration (1993) ● Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) ● Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and Beijing+5 Outcome Document (2000)	**National** ● Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan 1973 ● The Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women (August, 1997) ● National Plan of Action for the Advancement of Women under the Beijing Platform (1998) ● National Policy for Development and empowerment of Women (2002) ● Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960) ● Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP) GRAP - Gender Reform Action Plan - includes one national and four provincial plans. It focuses on engendering planning and budgetary process to narrow the gap in public expenditure, restructuring of national machinery dealing with gender issues, ● facilitating policy shifts from social welfare to social development and women's development to gender equality. ● The Local Government Ordinance (LGO, 2001) ● Women's Political Participation Project.

Section Two

Engendering Politics
Through Media:
The Way Ahead

Session I: Gendered Face of Politics in Media

This session focuses on explaining what is media and news, how does it relate to gender. Does gender surface as an issue for media or is it a non-issue. If it is an issue how does it appear in formal media systems and processes? Why is political reporting important for media and is political reporting gender sensitive at all. Examples from Pakistani media are analyzed to determine the nature and quantity of political reporting relating to women and political participation.

1.1 Objectives

-
- Explore gender issues within media on various levels
- Understand the concept of gender framing
- To understand how gender insensitive political reporting further marginalizes women in political structures

1.2 What is Media and News[27]

Media are in the business of providing information. Women and men read watch and listen to this information daily which is in the shape of what we know as **news**. The media's focus on the current issues and events of the day and the collection and editing of this information for presentation through the news media newspapers, television and radio is the practice of **journalism**. Journalism, however, is not a flawless exercise. In simple terms, media's functions as already mentioned in the introduction chapter are:

> ➢ To inform
> ➢ To educate
> ➢ To entertain

The media do this by providing information that is collected and edited based on the media guiding principles of **accuracy**, **fairness** and **balanced** representation. Media also consider themselves as a 'watchdog' in the society, to ensure accountability in a society. This role is highly dependent on the political and social circumstances media institutions operate in and is different from region to region. Being the fourth pillar of the state there are several other roles that media plays, which are:

- ➢ Shape public opinion and attitudes
- ➢ Determine the public discourse and thereby shape our political, cultural and economic priorities
- ➢ Influence public policy through the news agenda
- ➢ Reinforce or challenge gender, racial and other stereotypes and norms
- ➢ Serve as the channel through which the public communicates to policy makers and through which policy makers communicate to the public[28]

Media can act as catalysts for social change through coverage of injustices and the marginalization of populations in society which often have little access to expression in the public sphere. In other words, the media can give a voice to those who often find their voices marginalized.

Why is Gender an Issue for Media?

It is said that media is a mirror of the society it reflects what exists in the society. Therefore during this processes media also ends up reflecting all the inequalities that exist in the society as well and absorbs those inequalities in its structures. Within the context of Pakistan inequalities relating to gender are prevalent, and when reflecting society media knowingly or unknowingly reflect those inequalities and most of the times is involved in promoting and further perpetuating them. **Gender** is **a** state of being male or female with reference to social or cultural differences rather than biological.[29] **Sex** is the biological distinction of what it is to be male or female. All over the world these distinctions are confused and impact the progress of both men and women. While the biological make up of women does not restrict them from exercising their rights and exploring opportunities, the roles and responsibilities associated with the cultural definition of what it is to be a woman strictly limits women from transcending the private sphere, and go beyond the role of nurturing and caring as prescribed by the society.

Patriarchal understandings of what a male ought to do and how a woman should lead her life permeate all social, political and civil structures and institutions. Media being one of them mindfully or inadvertently at times ends up covering news, producing shows according to the parameters defined by the society relating to both genders. Hence it is not uncommon for us to watch woman being inside the house cooking, cleaning and men going out earning and being productive in various media content.

While on one level media's content is highly biased when it comes to female gender, on another level women who work within media experience injustices that range from discrimination in promotion and hiring to sexual harassment in the newsrooms, which leads to a cyclical pattern where news is produced by the men for the men relegating women's voices, concerns and opportunities behind. Therefore, if we look at the media, gender inequalities, biases and prejudices show themselves in the following ways, among others:

- Women often comprise the rank and file of journalists and presenters in the print and broadcast media but few are in the top leadership positions.

- Women reporters are often assigned to health, education, and social issues, while men are given the political and economic assignments which are seen as part of the career path to senior editorial and media management positions

- If we read, listen to and watch those who are speaking in the media, majority are men. Although women and men live in the societies reported on and both have views on the events and issues. Women are made 'invisible' by the media's omission of their voices and images.

- When women do appear in the media, they most often are portrayed as sex objects, beauty objects, as homemakers, as victims (of violence, poverty, natural disasters, war and conflict, etc.); or they become front-page and headline (main story) news when they engage in activities which are not in line with society's prescription of what women 'should' and 'should not' do.

- News on the violations of women's human rights and discrimination against women are few and far between. When the media does cover gender issues such as violence, sexual and reproductive health, women in decision-making, these articles are often confined to special pages and segments in the media and tagged as 'women's issues', rather than being placed on the news pages as issues of concern to everyone.

- Certain categories of women receive even less attention in the media, such as elderly women, women from minority ethnicities and religious groups, the working class.[30]

While the media worldwide fight tenaciously to guard, protect and obtain legally the right to be free from government censorship; free from political and economic interests and controls, the media has been unable to detect, analyze and change alone, the gender biases, prejudices and inequalities that influence and impact on its operations and content.

The fight to free the media of gender biases and inequalities has come largely from gender activists who have identified the media as a key institution in the struggle for gender equality. Media provides the mediums through which gendered messages are transmitted and limit the ability of men and women in the society. These messages have the potential to reinforce, or challenge gender stereotypes and sex-based discrimination.

By giving quality coverage to women's issues news and communications channels can put women's rights and gender equality on the agenda of public policymakers. It can be done by holding governments accountable to many of the international and regional women's rights conventions and instruments they have signed in the same way the media holds governments accountable to conventions on torture, political rights, labor rights, etc.(*See Annex IV for further information*)

1.3   Is Politics an Issue for Media?

Media has always had a close relationship with politics. If it wasn't for the media, it is hard for the general public to understand what happens in the echelons of power, what decision are made that will affect our lives in the longer time. Everything political would operate and stay under complete secrecy.

When it comes to politics journalists play following roles; and within the parameters of these roles journalists can bring gender issue on news agenda as well.

● **Signaler role:** Journalists themselves have the belief that part of their job is that once something important political happens whatever it may be, they need to alert the world of what is going on;

● **Common-carrier role:** Journalists provide an appropriate channel for politicians to use when communicating with the public. They are the medium through which politicians communicate their ideas, opinions. Logically, somebody can't love or hate a politician if they do not hear what their stances and platforms are and politicians are unable to get this public feedback if they do not publicly state what they are about.;

● **Watchdog role:** In this regard, the media is on call ready to hold any politician or political party accountable for not acting responsibly towards the citizens or if they breach widely accepted standard or practice;

● **Public-representative role**: This basically comes down to being a public spokesperson and advocate.

These roles of journalists relating to reporting political developments make it clear that the relationship between politics, media and journalists is a closely knitted one, where each is necessary for others survival. Political development and happenings feed the newspapers and other media outlets, and only dominating voice reaches the public.

1.4   Is Political Reporting Gender Sensitive

As explained above media has great interest in politics, and political reporting covers majority of any news channel. Gender has increasingly become an issue within global politics. In Pakistan with the reservation of seats for women and repealing of Hudood ordinance gender has emerged to be an issue of concern on a lesser extent within the political realm. In this context the way media covers politics, and gender politics has become a matter of contention. The media coverage of women in politics brings to the core question whether media coverage reinforces rather than challenges the dominant culture.

> In most political rallies and campaigning activities, 'women were seen, not heard'. In major party rallies, women were at center stage and covered through visuals/pictures but rarely were their speech and views either covered or reported.
>
> *Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-Contested Constituencies' Constituencies' by The Researchers.*

1.5   Gender Framing

Framing is the art and science of organizing information in a way that connects to what people already think, aligns with what they already know and helps them see new ideas in a context that acknowledges and builds on their values.[31]Journalist and scholar Walter Lippman (who coined the term "cold war") referred to frames as "the pictures in our heads." When we hear the word "rat," for example, we have an immediate negative association that can't be dislodged easily, which is why rat is such an enduring metaphor for the lowest of the low– backstabber, betrayer, sneak,[32]snitch. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual".[33]News frames are located within a particular culture and are products of the complex interaction between sources, media and audiences. The political culture determines over all norms and values in a society particularly relating to women, their place in the public and private sphere, and the roles and responsibilities associated with them. Hence the coverage of women in politics is most of the times done within the parameters of these frames. Gender frames are also highly influenced by dominant culture and values of the audiences, hence any frame which des not reflect the value of a society is not going to be accepted by the audiences, leading to a failure of news.

1.6   Gender Stereotypes and Gender Framing[34]

Gender framing and gender stereotypes as concepts are somewhat related. For example a woman candidate must be perceived by the voters as more knowledgeable about childcare policy than a man. Journalists may assume that feminist is anti family. Many may find female leaders to be more peaceful and aversive to war as compared to make. Gender frames can affect women politicians both positively and negatively, within the context of Pakistan, gender framing emanating from tradition patriarchal values and norms restricts woman from coming out of their socially prescribed roles. The box on next page explicitly shows the trend prevalent in our society when it comes to covering women in politics. "The interplay of media at all stages of political and electoral process was observed to be more of "statement of positions" than being a facilitator for "informed opinion making."[35] It was noticed that women and electoral political issue did not merit substantive discussions but remained ornamental. Women politicians are used more as "political object" then "political substance" that they bring to the discussion. It generally contributed to project women of power bases and those who could equate men in aggressive behavior and generate sensational arguments and counter arguments. The media did not contribute to the projection of political novices or first timers but used them more to bring out position of political household.

> Electronic media also repeatedly raised the point that women politicians in Pakistan are because of being wives or daughters of politicians and from dynastic political households.
>
> *Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.*

> Derogatory reporting did not become an issue during elections 2008. Monthly magazines like Herald and Newsline reported women in politics from policy and academic level which was more for urbanized audience. Overall, information on women politicians' was more contextually reported along with their shifting political loyalties and linkage to political household.
>
> *Source: General Elections-2008: Observation of Women-Contested Constituencies' by The Researchers.*

Session II: Working with the Media

Session II focuses on developing skills of gender activist and media professionals in promoting gender sensitive political reporting. The chapter begins with what is advocacy, how does it relate to gender and provides a step by step guide to develop media content advocating women's rights. Uks initiatives and a guideline extracted from them have also been discussed along with an ethical guideline for journalist on the issue of politics, gender and media. The session concludes by envisioning a way ahead with a partnership of both media and gender advocates.

1.1   Objectives

❑ To understand advocacy
❑ To be able to critically analyze political reporting from a gender perspective
❑ To learn the tools to engage in a useful and successful advocacy process

1.2   What is Advocacy?

Advocacy is the process of standing alongside an individual who is in need of support and speaking out on their behalf in a way that represents the best interest of the person even if that cause or interest does not necessarily coincide with one's own beliefs, opinions, conclusions or recommendations. It is also defined as "speaking, acting or writing (with a minimal conflict of interest) on behalf of the perceived interests of a disadvantaged group or person to promote, protect and defend their welfare and social justice".[36]

A vast majority of important social changes over the world have been driven by the advocacy efforts of various organizations. Lobbying and advocacy are often confused. Lobbying involves taking specific positions on legislation, whereas advocacy is much broader.

1.3   Why Use the Media for Advocacy?

As NGOs or individuals concerned with social change, we need to have access to the government. But how can we gain that access? Not all of us are so fortunate as to have a direct connection that allows us to visit government officials personally to put our case forward. We can send government officials letters and reports, but will they actually read and act on them?

The media is an extremely powerful tool for governments to work for change. Government officials watch TV, perhaps listen to radio, and read the newspapers. Media helps government officials understand what issues are "hot" and need to be addressed; media can shame government officials into behaving better, and offer information on problems and solutions that otherwise might be ignored. Of course in the process, this information will reach not only government officials but the general population as well, further strengthening our advocacy work.

 The more an issue is reported in the news, the more people will be aware of and concerned about it, and the more the government will be forced to take notice. If you have no direct access to your country's policymakers, one effective way to reach them is through the media; even if you do have direct access, media can strengthen your case. Media coverage will also encourage the general public that your issue is important. To keep our issues in people's minds, we have to keep them in the news. To do this we have to get journalists' attention, understand what they want, and make our issues newsworthy.

1.4   Gender Media Advocacy

 To reach the government it is essential for the organizations involved in gender activism to include media. However the complex relationship of gender with the media makes advocacy a process that must be conducted on multiple levels.

"Gender Media Advocacy includes lobbying, campaigning, research, training, media monitoring, communication and alliance-building activities which seek to advance women's rights and gender equality in and through the media".[37]

There are two angles to gender and media advocacy

➢ Media as target audience: Planned and consistent advocacy for gender equality in the media's workplace policies and conditions of service, as well as in editorial and advertising content.

➢ Media as partner and tool for getting across messages on gender equality: The strategic use of the media as a tool for advancing gender equality in all sectors, especially public policy, and to bring gender justice to the public's attention.

At first glance, it may seem as if two different gender and media advocacy strategies are called for to address these two issues. But, by taking on the media as institutions within which the struggle for gender equality is situated, activists will create also the opportunities for priming the media to be a credible voice when it reports on and covers gender equality issues. Often gender and media activists are tackling both of these angles at the same time. The media cannot be used as an effective and credible tool to advance messages on gender equality if the messages it sends daily through reports on events and issues are gender-blind or negative about women's roles and contribution in a society. Likewise, the media cannot challenge the lack of women in decision-making in governance structures, if there is a paucity of women in leadership positions within the media. In targeting the media to bring about more gender sensitivity and awareness to the editorial content and to ensure equal opportunity and equal access for women in media work spaces, gender and media activists are at the same time opening the space to engage more effectively with the media in getting across messages on gender equality.[38]

1.5 Getting the Issue on the Media's Agenda: Uks Initiatives [39]

Over the period of time Uks has had various media initiatives that advocate equal rights for women in all spheres of life. It has provided a forum for debate, discussion and its implementation. Initiatives by Uks range from organizing workshop, conferences to specified training on various aspects of journalism particularly radio pre, post and during production technalitaties relating to content. Below is a quick guideline extracted from various radio trainings and projects conducted by Uks with an objective to put gender and women's development, empowerment and attainment of their equal rights on news media agenda. Though specifically related to radio these are broader guidelines that can be creatively adapted to other mediums as well.

Different Media Workshops Organized by Uks

Gender Sensitive Radio Production: Quick Tips

Why Radio Rationale	Most FM channels in Pakistan can be broadly categorized into two categories. One is entertainment and the others consist of channels with educational or special interests like NGOs etc. Today in Pakistan commercial as well as community radio industry is growing. It is the responsibility of journalists to ensure good quality programs. One such need is gender sensitivity that needs to be inculcated in all sorts of programs. As radio is a tool to disseminate information it is important that information disseminated respects diversity and equality and both are ensured within the structures of radio industry as well.
Why Women-Rights Based Approach to Radio Reporting-programming	Media is the fourth pillar of society acting as a watch dog, but the general perception promoted through media is that violence, deprivation and unequal opportunities are solely women's issues. Such a lack of awareness of women's role and activities results in inequalities. Media should celebrate womanhood and at the same time advocate for the social political and civil rights of women as humans and as women. Increasing gender awareness through radio can help to bring about social equality. Journalists need training to understand gender power relations and to avoid reinforcing or perpetuation of gender stereotypes. They need to report from a gender lens to enhance women's status in society. **Raise Voice Against Gender Injustices:** It is a social responsibility of media practitioners to raise voice against injustices and to do so **regularly.** Each social taboo related to gender limits woman's status in all spheres of life. **Ensure Participation and Empowerment:** Radio programs should be aimed at empowering women and enabling them to participate in making their own decisions. They must motivate and inspire them to stand up for themselves and should provide them opportunities to be productive.

How Radio - Technicalities

Good Background Research is mandatory for any script. The producer should be well aware of the topic under discussion and relevant conditions, history and figures. Do focus groups, surveys etc.

Good Script: Have a simple script which must tell a good story. Bring conflict, interest, drama and human angle in your story. Don't mix a feature and compeering script.

Brainstorm for Themes: Be innovative, creative, bring various perspectives, for example women's political participation in local bodies can be one.

Articulation: Easy and clear expression is another key to improve voice quality. Proper articulation and enunciation add substance to the voice. Hence, avoid a lazy mouth and slurring of words. Effective articulation contributes to good pronunciation.

Interviewing for Radio: Broadcast interviews and quotes carry an authority, which quotes in the newspapers can never match. An interview is aimed at drawing out information, ideas or emotions from an expert, a personality or a regular person through asking questions. An interview is not a discussion. The interviewer is not there to argue, agree or disagree. He/she is there to ask questions.

Avoiding Noise, Hisses and Unwanted Sounds: Any recorded piece can be termed good if it makes easy listening. The basic part of any recorder is a mike. If the mike is hand held, the hand must be kept as still as possible and at the same level. Keep your hand comfortable at a level where you can hold it still for a few minutes. Most common mistakes include forgetting to switch on the recorder. If the mike is connected to the recorder with a wire, the wire should be pre-tested to ensure that it is not worn out, has no kinks or cracks due to misuse. After recording, wind up the wire properly and unplug it from the recorder.

Clarity in Recording: There must be clarity in recording, a comfortable distance between interviewer and interviewee must be maintained to ensure clarity. Avoid Background noises, request recording in outdoor spaces or galleries. Uni-directional and multi-directional mike should be chosen according to needs. Prepare a check list of all the equipment needed by any recorder/producer before leaving for work. Keeping extra batteries is essential for radio producers. Record extra sounds and questions that may come in handy later as fillers. Don't delete raw material that may be needed later for any other project. Producers should not have a tunnel vision and should keep an open mind and flexible plans. Editing the right material and sticking to the relevant details are the essence of a quality production.

Ethical Guidelines for Gender Sensitive Political Reporting

‣ News definitions should be expanded to include coverage of more women, locally, nationally and internationally.

‣ Though public representative all the politicians have a right to privacy relating to their personal matters, personal details must not be used when irrelevant to the news story.

‣ Avoid sensationalism and concentration on "fights" amongst various female politicians, men also do but no one bothers.

‣ Do not use women leaders or politicians as a color splash on the first page only, report substantively and responsibly.

‣ Women political leaders must receive same treatment as men in all areas of coverage.

‣ Physical references, sexist language demeaning stereotypes and condescending phrases should not be used.

‣ Women must choose their own courtesy titles, Ms, Miss or Mrs and should be called women not girls.

‣ News should include gender free-neutral terms as compared to gender specific (use chairperson not chairman).

‣ Discourage use of stereotypical and hackneyed phrases while describing women politicians and their activities.

‣ Gender frames used must promote a positive, productive image of female politicians, not as daughters, wives and sister of a male politician which is the only frame used most of the times.

‣ Issues/Controversies relating female politicians must not be blown out of proportion just because they are women (Nilofer Bakhtiar case in example) .

‣ Include women in the news stories in the context of political decision-making. Unfortunately the professional approach to journalism gets information from experts or sources mostly male which exclude women from policy debate.

‣ Try not to emphasize "the first woman to achieve-or become a politician" as it implies a sense of amazement at a woman's achievement.

1.6   Media Advocacy Strategy

The key to any successful advocacy effort is strategic planning, and for groups working toward gender and media reform and gender justice, that's even more true. It is crucial to consider how messages for change can reach the right audiences.

The purpose of this advocacy plan is to integrate various aspects of Uks projects and advocacy efforts. By planning long-term, you will be positioned to be proactive, rather than just reacting to the existing environment. The strategic plan will help deploying resources more effectively by highlighting synergies and shared opportunities amongst media professionals and gender activists. Though this plan is focused on radio production advocating political participation of women, it can be used and adapted creatively to fit other mediums and address related gender issues.
-
- What are your goals?
- Who is your target?
- Who is your audience?
- What is your frame?
- What is your message?

1.7   Goals

What are your goals?

- Why are you launching advocacy efforts in the first place?
- What, specifically, do you want to win?
- For the purpose of planning, you should define your goals in terms of outcomes (e.g., Secure support of journalist for gender sensitive political reporting), and not outputs (e.g., train 100 radio journalists about gender sensitive political reporting)
- Outputs are the tactics that will help you reach the outcomes, which are your true goals. (train 100 radio journalists about gender sensitive political reporting)
- What is your positive vision for the future?

For example your overall outcome is secure support of journalist for increased political participation of women in Pakistan. In designing your campaign at the planning stage, you choose one angle to focus on in order to be able to develop clear objectives, and to ensure that you engage with the media in a dialogue and process to bring change.

Putting it in Practice Box

What's the Issue?
You are concerned about the issue of female political participation and how it is represented in the media, you believe that the media does not cover this issue often, and when it does cover stories of female political participants, they are usually sensational, portray women as just an add on in the political process without any say in policy making. In news stories relating to female politicians   some media may allude to the woman's appearance, how she was dressed, or of her doing something which is considered 'not appropriate' in terms of gender stereotypes. In deciding how to approach the media on this issue, you decide to build a campaign on gender and political participation in the media.

- Finding focus: This issue can be tackled form several angles. A few that could be considered in a gender and media campaign on this issue include among others:

- Political reporting is gender insensitive and is condescending in nature.

- Female politicians and their difficulties are not considered a newsworthy topic for the media and are seldom reported on as an issue which is central to the protection of women's human rights.

- Women Politicians only make news when they have been harassed, have been in a conflict or do something not expected of their gender in Pakistani society.

In designing your campaign at the planning stage, you choose one angle to focus on in order to be able to develop clear objectives, and to ensure that you engage with the media in a dialogue and process to bring change. So, for our example, the focus of the campaign is: To improve the quantity and quality of female political participation in the media.

Deciding Goals: The goal is to shift the media's coverage of female political participation from that of a sensational news event to an issue of human rights and justice

Deciding Objectives

Main Objective: To improve the quantity and quality of coverage female political participation in the media

Specific Objectives: There could be two objectives to reach the overall objective:

- To train journalists on how to report on politics in a gender sensitive manner
- To develop guidelines for the media on how to report on female political participation in the political processes

1.8   Target Your Audience

- Who can give you what you want?
- Can you directly influence this individual's decision making?
- If not, who can?
- Who do you need on your side to get what you want?
- Who can persuade the decision maker to do what you want?

Putting it in Practice Box

So if your objective is to improve the quantity and quality of coverage female political participation in the media, who should you be targeting. It is essentially important to target the right audience otherwise all your resources would go to waste. To improve the quality and quantity of coverage the obvious target audience is the journalists, media professionals working within the structures of media industry. To narrow it would include both male and female journalists within the field of political reporting.

1.9   Know Your Audience Through Research

- Media Monitoring
- Focus groups
- Surveys
- Door-knocking
- Talking to strangers in the supermarket, on airplanes, etc

Putting it in Practice Box

Know your audience, for example through focus groups ask women politicians on what are the gender issues they face in the media when they are represented. How can these corrected. How do they think media can improve their situation, what do they want to change.

Through media monitoring see how women political representatives are already represented in various media. What is the language used and what would you like to change. What is the frequency of coverage, is it satisfying, is the quality good enough.

1.10   Frame the Issue

Describe the issue in a way that resonates with the values and needs of your audience, and is also interesting to journalists or "newsworthy."

- What is this issue really about?
- Who is affected?
- Who are the players?
- What hooks does this frame contain?

Putting it in Practice Box
Messages in gender and media advocacy can best be framed using the key media principles and values of accuracy, **fairness, balance and diversity**, and **fair representation**. It can be framed according to the social responsibility of media and its role as the watch dog. For example, the issue of the lack of women's access to expression in and through the media can be addressed as "marginalizing voices." The low percentage of women speaking on public policy issues in the media can be related to the media principle of **balance and diversity**. If there are only men's voices, and those only of men in positions of power and formal authority as the sources, then media is not living up-to its own responsibilities and not respecting its principles.

1.11   Craft and Discipline Your Message

Messages and slogans must also be related to appropriate media and channels through which they will be disseminated. The medium and the message are intimately connected. The following questions should be considered when choosing the most appropriate mediums and channels:

- What is the purpose of what you are trying to do?
- Who are you trying to reach with your messages and how many people in each target group do you need to reach in order to meet your objectives?
- What is the source of information your target groups use most often and trust the most?
- What are the different messages you need to convey to cover all the important knowledge gaps and obstacles that were revealed during the target group research?

Putting it in Practice Box

For example Uks project, "Our Development, Our Voice" aiming at promoting women's role in democratic governance and political participation divided the message into themes, like sensitization of women and men on realizing the importance of equal partnership in political development, Women and Education Policy, Advocacy of Government's role on behalf of women, Portrayal of women in media. Later they used a story based approach as a message. The themes resonated with various audiences and were quite successful as message.

Tell a Story- Story-Based Strategy

At the heart of the struggle gender and media issue is the recognition that we live in a world shaped by stories. These stories take many different forms: from the daily anecdotes we share with friends and loved ones to the deepest personal narratives we carry around to remind us who we are and where we come from. Stories are embedded with power — the power to explain and justify the status quo, as well as the power to make change imaginable. Which stories define the cultural norms? Who is portrayed as the main character, and whose story is erased or distorted? Who gets to tell their own story and who has stories told about them? These questions are the narrative components of the relationships of power and privilege, the unequal access to resources, and denials of self-determination that define much of our current economic and political system. Uks has many times adopted a story based strategy to send messages across to its audiences. One of the most effective ways to change attitudes and provide new information is by telling a good story. By placing a story at the center of a campaign, organizers can articulate the change they want to make with a common narrative that ties together messaging, media, gender and advocacy. Following is an excerpt from one of the story based messages prepared by Uks.

"There is a saying in our native language, "Learn, either through education or experience". I do not have a formal education. All I have learnt is through experience. That is why when women turn to me for help when their rights have been violated I can understand and feel their pain. I have been through the worst of pain and humiliation and I would never want any woman to experience even anything half that bad. There is no lack of good men in our country but I believe that only a woman can understand and empathize with a woman."

Source: Mukhtaran Mai's speaks in a radio programme "Hamari Tarraqui, Hamaray Masael" (our development, our problems) for Uks Radio Project-2008

1.12 Select and Train Spokespeople

- Who are the best messengers to reach your target audience?
- Adjust the message if needed at this stage; something that works on paper may fail when you actually say it.
- Choose someone with an effective speaking style and a look that appeals to your audience.

Putting it in Practice Box

For example Uks project team of, "Aurat ki Taraqi: Hamari Taraqi" aiming at promoting women's role in democratic governance and political participation held a meeting with_ the Project Director and shared information of the activities carried out for the project. Project team coordinators identified potential candidates for interviews from FM Stations. After interviews at the Uks office in Islamabad, six candidates were finalized. The trainees for the project were oriented on their responsibilities and the goals of the project. The FM Stations of the respective trainees were notified on their selection and briefed about the project. The team of six trainee radio producers was selected such that two each were from Islamabad/Rawalpindi, Hassan Abdal and Bhawalpur.

1.13 Track Coverage

- Create a system to capture your media hits. Search index websites, such as google news for mentions of your organization or issue.
- Consider hiring a print news clipping service.
- Contact an audio/video clipping service prior to major TV and radio hits to ensure capture of those hits.
- Enlist staff or community volunteers to collect print hits and record TV and radio appearances and features.
- Note which journalists/media outlet covered your story, if you liked the coverage, thank them tactfully for a well-balanced story and continue to cultivate your relationship with them.

Putting it in Practice Box

"Females especially have appreciated the stories of disability, women in politics and women legal rights saying that those programmes are very informative."

"The local people of Hassanabdal and surrounding areas keenly follow the broadcast of the programs, till now two programs have been aired with repeats on Sundays. Housewives and some young listeners have made phone calls to the station appreciating the stories and concerns that have been brought forth in the stories".

Feedback from trainees after airing the radio shows: Uks project on "Our Development, Our Voice" aiming at promoting women's role in democratic governance and political participation.

1.14   Evaluate Your Efforts

After each effort, assess what was successful and what could be improved. Review the coverage that your organization received, assess the impact of email and research how your advertising was received by its intended audience. Remember, each of your tactics should be measured by how much closer it brought you to achieving your goals. It might help to wait a week or more after the event to begin an assessment, as it's helpful to develop some perspective.

Putting it in Practice Box

The Uks project team innovatively evaluated their efforts one way through the phone calls and short messages recieved. Eight listeners of Power 99 from Islamabad and Rawalpindi called the Uks NED team sharing their delight that women are doing a wonderful job, and Uks is not just producing radio programmes but also building capacity of young people on developmental journalism on grassroot level. Five sms were received by the Uks NED team from different listeners, including our NED producers from Bhawalpur who were listening to the radio show and programmes via accessing the FM Power 99 website. A male caller suggested that such radio programmes produced by the Uks radio project which is an all-female team should be a continuous endeavor for behavior change communication and awareness for the society.

1.15   Lessons Learnt

Every advocacy exercise leaves with lessons that make your experience even richer. There are many lessons to be learnt so that mistakes should not be repeated. In the context of advocacy through radio following lessons must be kept under consideration:

- **Longer Time Period:** There is a possibility of time loss due to unforeseen events. Time period for the actual production phase should also be increased for the trained producers, considering the time loss due to unforeseen events and talents' availability in different locations/ field for conducting the recordings.

Putting it in Practice Box

The tragic incident of the former premier Ms. Bhutto's assassination and delay in the 2008 elections were unforeseen events that resulted in delays of the program Aurat ki Taraqi Humari Taraqi production phase. The Trainee producers were unable to arrange meetings, commit to appointments with the existing establishments for their stories and unable to travel to the planned locations.

Uks during their radio projects felt that an increased time period of the initial training workshop, ten rather than five days of trainings would have been more effective. A few trainees were not only first time radio producers but all lacked technical skill regarding state-of-the-art recording hardware and software. More time for imparting knowledge to these talents on conceptualizing their radio stories, deeper understanding of the issues and themes of the radio production series was needed. Also time for practice on the software for making their radio stories and handling the mini-disk recorder would have helped them in overcoming their hesitation in the use of equipment and bringing out their more creative sides.

Increased Field Visits: Field visits are of immense importance, as long as one is not familiar with the turf they are going to work on, issues and problems will surface again and again.

- **Retention of Talent**

Apart from identifying appropriate spokesperson for your training it is also essential to retain their interest and their presence throughout the project. Make sure you have measures in place to ensure participation till the completion of the project.

1.16   Celebrate

Don't forget to celebrate the victories you achieve, and your role in achieving them. Taking the time to post links to positive coverage on your Web site, or to blog about your win, honors the support you've received, and helps to energize your allies for the next fight.

1.17   The Way Ahead

Efforts to improve the media coverage of women in politics and to support female participation in democracy and governance needs to be understood in the larger context of the practices of the news media and professional codes, ethics and practices that provide official guidelines governing the standards of journalism.[40]

When a discussion on gender bias in the media, it is not be understood that reporters, editors or even political cartoonists are begin accused of being consciously sexist in the coverage that they give to women in the political world. The case is not that we as gender and media activist think that journalists are any more consciously biased than anyone else. It is not the conscious bias that we are concerned about, rather a more insidious unconscious bias that is the problem.

We all have unconscious stereotypes that we use to frame our understanding of how women and men should behave – and of how politicians should behave. Unfortunately, those stereotypes that we so often hold of "women" do not map well over the stereotypes that we hold of "politicians". As a result, women who seek elected office frequently face expectations that are very different from the expectations facing male politicians. These differences are built into our evaluations of male and female politicians and they are reflected in the media coverage that they receive. As already discussed the coverage that women receive is very different from the coverage that men receive.

And this coverage in return closes doors on many other women who want to participate in governance and democratic processes. Media professional in the news business must respect the social responsibility that lies on their shoulder. As watch dogs, it becomes a moral responsibility for them to support the cause of women's political participation in governance and democratic processes. They must be inclusive and diverse and fair in their reporting of political events relating to women.

A partnership on the basis of human rights, democratic principles and equality needs to be forged between journalists and gender and media activists for a media which is more inclusive irrespective of gender, race, cast or creed.

Annexure

Annex I: Beijing Platform for Action: Area of Concern Women & Media

- Women and the Media
- During the past decade, advances in information technology have facilitated a global communications network that transcends national boundaries and has an impact on public policy, private attitudes and behaviour, especially of children and young adults. Everywhere the potential exists for the media to make a far greater contribution to the advancement of women.
- More women are involved in careers in the communications sector, but few have attained positions at the decision-making level or serve on governing boards and bodies that influence media policy. The lack of gender sensitivity in the media is evidenced by the failure to eliminate the gender-based stereotyping that can be found in public and private local, national and international media organizations.
- The continued projection of negative and degrading images of women in media communications - electronic, print, visual and audio - must be changed. Print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women's diverse lives and contributions to society in a changing world. In addition, violent and degrading or pornographic media products are also negatively affecting women and their participation in society. Programming that reinforces women's traditional roles can be equally limiting. The world- wide trend towards consumerism has created a climate in which advertisements and commercial messages often portray women primarily as consumers and target girls and women of all ages inappropriately.
- Women should be empowered by enhancing their skills, knowledge and access to information technology. This will strengthen their ability to combat negative portrayals of women internationally and to challenge instances of abuse of the power of an increasingly important industry. Self-regulatory mechanisms for the media need to be created and strengthened and approaches developed to eliminate gender-biased programming. Most women, especially in developing countries, are not able to access effectively the expanding electronic information highways and therefore cannot establish networks that will provide them with alternative sources of information. Women therefore need to be involved in decision-making regarding the development of the new technologies in order to participate fully in their growth and impact.
- In addressing the issue of the mobilization of the media, Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in policies and programmes.
- Strategic objective J.1.
- Increase the participation and access of women to expression and decision-making in and through the media and new technologies of communication

- **Actions to be taken**
- By Governments:
- Support women's education, training and employment to promote and ensure women's equal access to all areas and levels of the media;
- Support research into all aspects of women and the media so as to define areas needing attention and action and review existing media policies with a view to integrating a gender perspective;
- Promote women's full and equal participation in the media, including management, programming, education, training and research;
- Aim at gender balance in the appointment of women and men to all advisory, management, regulatory or monitoring bodies, including those connected to the private and State or public media;
- Encourage, to the extent consistent with freedom of expression, these bodies to increase the number of programmes for and by women to see to it that women's needs and concerns are properly addressed;
- Encourage and recognize women's media networks, including electronic networks and other new technologies of communication, as a means for the dissemination of information and the exchange of views, including at the international level, and support women's groups active in all media work and systems of communications to that end;
- Encourage and provide the means or incentives for the creative use of programmes in the national media for the dissemination of information on various cultural forms of indigenous people and the development of social and educational issues in this regard within the framework of national law;

- Guarantee the freedom of the media and its subsequent protection within the framework of national law and encourage, consistent with freedom of expression, the positive involvement of the media in development and social issues.
- By national and international media systems:
- Develop, consistent with freedom of expression, regulatory mechanisms, including voluntary ones, that promote balanced and diverse portrayals of women by the media and international communication systems and that promote increased participation by women and men in production and decision-making.
- By Governments, as appropriate, or national machinery for the advancement of women:
- Encourage the development of educational and training programmes for women in order to produce information for the mass media, including funding of experimental efforts, and the use of the new technologies of communication, cybernetics space and satellite, whether public or private;
- Encourage the use of communication systems, including new technologies, as a means of strengthening women's participation in democratic processes;
- Facilitate the compilation of a directory of women media experts;
- Encourage the participation of women in the development of professional guidelines and codes of conduct or other appropriate self-regulatory mechanisms to promote balanced and non-stereotyped portrayals of women by the media.
- By non-governmental organizations and media professional associations:
- Encourage the establishment of media watch groups that can monitor the media and consult with the media to ensure that women's needs and concerns are properly reflected;
- Train women to make greater use of information technology for communication and the media, including at the international level;
- Create networks among and develop information programmes for non-governmental organizations, women's organizations and professional media organizations in order to recognize the specific needs of women in the media, and facilitate the increased participation of women in communication, in particular at the international level, in support of South-South and North-South dialogue among and between these organizations, inter alia, to promote the human rights of women and equality between women and men;
- Encourage the media industry and education and media training institutions to develop, in appropriate languages, traditional, indigenous and other ethnic forms of media, such as story-telling, drama, poetry and song, reflecting their cultures, and utilize these forms of communication to disseminate information on development and social issues.
- Strategic objective J.2.
- Promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media
- Actions to be taken
- By Governments and international organizations, to the extent consistent with freedom of expression:
- Promote research and implementation of a strategy of information, education and communication aimed at promoting a balanced portrayal of women and girls and their multiple roles;
- Encourage the media and advertising agencies to develop specific programmes to raise awareness of the Platform for Action;
- Encourage gender-sensitive training for media professionals, including media owners and managers, to encourage the creation and use of non-stereotyped, balanced and diverse images of women in the media;
- Encourage the media to refrain from presenting women as inferior beings and exploiting them as sexual objects and commodities, rather than presenting them as creative human beings, key actors and contributors to and beneficiaries of the process of development;
- Promote the concept that the sexist stereotypes displayed in the media are gender discriminatory, degrading in nature and offensive;
- Take effective measures or institute such measures, including appropriate legislation against pornography and the projection of violence against women and children in the media.
- By the mass media and advertising organizations:
- Develop, consistent with freedom of expression, professional guidelines and codes of conduct and other forms of self-regulation to promote the presentation of non-stereotyped images of women;
- Establish, consistent with freedom of expression, professional guidelines and codes of conduct that address violent, degrading or pornographic materials concerning women in the media, including advertising;
- Develop a gender perspective on all issues of concern to communities, consumers and civil society;
- Increase women's participation in decision-making at all levels of the media.

- By the media, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, in collaboration, as appropriate, with national machinery for the advancement of women:
- Promote the equal sharing of family responsibilities through media campaigns that emphasize gender equality and non-stereotyped gender roles of women and men within the family and that disseminate information aimed at eliminating spousal and child abuse and all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence;
- Produce and/or disseminate media materials on women leaders, inter alia, as leaders who bring to their positions of leadership many different life experiences, including but not limited to their experiences in balancing work and family responsibilities, as mothers, as professionals, as managers and as entrepreneurs, to provide role models, particularly to young women;
- Promote extensive campaigns, making use of public and private educational programmes, to disseminate information about and increase awareness of the human rights of women;
- Support the development of and finance, as appropriate, alternative media and the use of all means of communication to disseminate information to and about women and their concerns;
- Develop approaches and train experts to apply gender analysis with regard to media programmes.

Annex II: A Gender Sensitive Code Of Ethics For Print Media In Pakistan developed by UKS

Right to privacy

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

Pictorial depiction of women

Wherever possible pictures of glamorous women are to be replaced with pictures of women who have achieved successes in various fields. There is a pressing need to remove disproportionate pictures of foreign women in skimpy sports wear and beauty contests etc. and replace it with positive portrayal of local women in sports. Uncaptioned pictures of women appearing in most newspapers (at events and gatherings) need to be published with the permission of the subjects.

Rectifying under representation of women

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

Projection of gender roles in advertisement

Advertisements from sexologists (offering potency dugs etc.) and quacks should not be published by newspaper. Not only do these advertisements indirectly signal violence and sexual aggression but also portray a false image of masculinity, equating it with physical prowess. Maximum restraint should be exercised regarding the publication of vulgar and provocative advertisements of movies. There is a growing need for advertising agencies to project healthy gender roles, that is, show men engaged in domestic activities and involved with children, as well as discourage the 'commodification' of women's images in advertisements of shaving creams, cigarettes, tires etc.

Quality coverage of women issues

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

Maintaining professional standards

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

Annex III Project Details

Name of Project:
"Aurat ki Tarraqui, Hamari Tarraqui" (Progress for women, Progress for all)

Name of Implementing Organization:
Uks - Research, Resource and Publication Centre on Women and Media

Introduction:
"Aurat ki Tarraqui, Hamari Tarraqui" (Progress for women, Progress for all) is a radio production, a project undertaken by Uks Research Centre in collaboration with NED, USA.

The main idea behind this project is that one of the major challenges in gender equality is to provide information and an impetus for change on the individual level. Reaching them effectively is another challenge within this challenge.

The proposed radio programmes will provide a space where women can actively participate and learn about development issues such as human rights, children, governance, nutrition, and health, among others. Through these radio programmes we will be reaching out to millions of men, women and young people and who can be instrumental in bringing about and sustaining change.

Purpose:
The project addresses two major issues:
▸ Training and capacity building of six selected women producers into radio programming and
▸ Balanced, informed and gender-sensitive radio productions based on social, economic and political developments - focusing on the recent political changes and developments, e.g.; appointment of a woman speaker in the National Assembly, and a woman Deputy Speaker in a provincial assembly, women ministers, a large number of women legislators etc.

Objectives:

The project hopes to achieve the following objectives.

▸ Bring in more and better trained women in media

▸ Build capacity of FM radio stations on radio production, presentation and operation skill to enable them in voicing issues of governance at mass level for social change.

▸ Strengthen the capabilities of FM stations on how to transmit political content into public service broadcasting with gender sensitivity.

▸ Raise public awareness and understanding on these issues both through the trainings and radio productions.

Activities Undertaken during the reporting period January-March 2009
The two major activities planned during the third quarter were:

▸ Completion of radio production tasks assigned to each trainee
▸ Supervision of trainees work and progress by the Uks' Senior Producer and Coordinator

Constraints:

During this quarter two major issues that initially posed as hurdles were the sudden change of plans of two trainees:

1. The trainee from Peshawar Ms. Sarosh Almas Taj Awan had to leave for U.S.A. She got a call from a Ph.D. programme. However, she completed her production tasks before leaving. She submitted her production tasks and duly returned the technical equipment to Uks.

2. A similar situation occurred when another trainee Ms. Zeba Qureshi from Lahore had to discontinue her work due to personal reasons. Ms. Afshan Bokhari of the same FM channel-103 replaced her from Lahore. Ms. Rukhsana Mussarat covering all the topics and issues in the training held for these amateur producers in the first quarter managed to give Ms. Bokhari a crash course in Lahore.

1.16 Trainee Producers: The Final List

1. Ms. Sarosh Almas Taj Awan, Peshawar
2. Ms. Lalarukh Farooq, Rawalpindi
3. Ms. Maimoona Farooq, Multan
4. Ms. Saadia Chaudhary, Islamabad
5. Ms. Syeda Afshan Bokhari, Lahore
6. Ms. Unbreen Fatima, Karachi

1.17 Trainee Producers: Feed Back

1. Ms. Syeda Afshan Bokhari

"Ms. Rukhsana conducted the workshop from which I learned a lot of new techniques and ideas. I was trained in the art of editing and other technical issues in detail with such a simple and easy way. That is pretty appreciable. After the training session a practical session was started in which I have learned so many exciting and new techniques. That would be quite helpful for my personal development and for my organization as well.

I had talk to people regarding Lahori culture and cuisine. The few replies I received were very interesting since many of them have them excused themselves and refused to give any answers at all.

I have learned and gained so much from this workshop. I am grateful to Ms. Tasneem Ahmar who has trusted me with this responsibility and given me this opportunity to be a part of this training and production project."

2. Ms. Lalarukh Farooque

A radio production training methodology was devised to enable women radio producers to maximize their understanding of the subject. In this process I learned new skills and improved my knowledge to bring about a social and behavioral change.

The workshop methodology consisted of:
❑ participatory methods of teaching / learning;
❑ Interactive lectures,
❑ group and individual presentations,
❑ Group Discussions,
❑ Brainstorming

The training lasted for five days from 13 October to 17 October. Here I would like to mention and appreciate the friendly and cooperative environment at the Uks Research Centre. On the last day of training we, the trainees, were provided an opportunity of experiencing fieldwork, where Ms. Rukhsana (Project Coordinator) and other Uks staff facilitated us. After field work we edited these recordings to have the idea about the radio productions. In editing, here I again would appreciate the facilitation provided by Uks staff (Saadia Mehmood, Gulrukh Khan). On the last day of training, Uks arranged a get-together. It was a great opportunity to meet Uks' former staff, interactive discussions, experience-sharing with them was another good experience. I found the training session informative and I was eager to start my work on following topics

For the topic 'sharing information with women parliamentarians on women's rights' I was supposed to interview a woman politician. Ms. Fahmida Mirza (Speaker National Assembly) seemed an appropriate choice for that programme. After a long correspondence it was told that due to her busy schedule and frequent non-availability of Mr. President in Pakistan, lady is unable to manage time for the interview. Questions for the interview were even faxed to her but to no avail. At this stage I was a bit disappointed but

again I mustered up courage and tried to interview Ms. Sherry Rehman but she was also not available as she was out of the country. Finally, I made an appointment with Ms. Bushra Gohar, Minster National Assembly (Awami National Party) and the interview went well.

For the theme 'Portrayal of women in Media', I wanted to interview Hamid Mir (Anchor person of Capital Talk, GEO News) but he excused due to his busy schedule. Mr. Talat Husain (Aaj News) was also not available. So I coordinated with Mr. Amir Ilyas Rana (Bureau Chief, Express TV). Moreover Mr. Zahid Hussain Chughtai (Editor, Nawai Waqat /Sunday Magazine) and Mr. Muhammad Farooq Ahmed (Columnist) provided detailed insight for this feature.

I made similar endeavors for recordings for other topics and interviewees. An MPA was also interviewed. Here I would like to mention an interesting experience. I selected a Bengali person for an interview assuming English would be the medium of communication. I learnt at quite late that he was unable to speak Urdu or English. His colleagues were also not available for interpretation so all my efforts were futile.

Penal Discussion with working women was a good experience for the theme of 'sensitisation of men towards women empowerment'.

The ***major difficulties I faced*** *during these recordings were:*

- *Useless Correspondence (especially with politicians)*
- *Non-availability of interviewee (Even after setting appointments)*
- *Limited time from interviewee (They usually don't talk much about topic, most of the time spend in irrelevant conversation)*

During recordings I noticed that people have different mindsets about the progress of women and still they are reluctant to talk about women and their empowerment.

After completion of some interviews and recordings I realized that interviews were useless, as topics were not well discussed in those recordings.

Recordings have been done and now editing process has started. Work on scripts is also in progress. I am trying to put my utmost effort in scripting, recording and editing to finalize programs.

3. Ms. Sarosh Almas

My journey with Uks begins from September 13th, 2008 when Sir Amjad Qamar of Radio Buraq 104 FM Peshawar nominated me. Soon after that Ms. Rukhsana called me and gave me details about the workshop, which was going to be held on 13 till 17 October, 2008. Well, days passed and 12 Oct came, I went to Islamabad, My stay there was really fruitful. I learned a lot from the Uks Team members. Their excellent and vision-oriented lectures set me thinking towards a new dimension. At the end of the workshop all team members were assigned tasks for working in their own regions. I was supposed to work on four themes (Education, Millennium Development Goals, Women Empowerment and Women Rights) to cover Peshawar region. These really contributed to my fieldwork experience.

Problems Faced:

During the recording the main problem that I faced was that interviewees either avoid us or even if they do set appointments, they refuse to meet us without due to some 'personal matters to resolve or tight schedules.

I forgot to take my camera along for interviews. So now I have pictures of only one visit that was to Peshawar board where I took an interview of Chairman, Peshawar Board.
Unfortunately another problem arose after the death of an MPA in a bomb blast. MPAs were reluctant to set apoinments for recordings and their PAs always informed me that they are in meeting or sessions.

One problem was with the microphone also. I recorded my feature in my voice with the help of small mic but it had no buffer so recording quality did not turn out to be good..

As I was a part of Buraq team and APS teaching staff so I could spare my time only 3 days in a week for this work after 2 pm. It was difficult for me to manage sometimes.

Nevertheless, this gave me lot of experience and good memories too. People shared their views and problems with me which leads me to a very good feeling for all times. I wanted to do something especially for the people of Bajour. However I am going to America for higher studies so I am unable to continue my work with this prestigious organization.

4. Ms. Maimoona Farooque:

I have had the opportunity of attending media training at Uks research Center and working on a radio production assignment. It was a great learning experience for me, especially in the field where I learnt many a new techniques.

The media training session was informative and comprehensive but it would have been appreciated if the technical training session were longer. Information about the new media scenario and production techniques was interesting but limited time was one constraint.

Problems faced:

One problem that I faced frequently for most of my interviews for the recordings, especially those with Government officials and parliamentarians was, that they avoid being interviewed and hence do not give appointment. Even those who did set appointments failed to meet them, which was quite discouraging and frustrating.

For one of my program themes, I found it very difficulty to find an HIV Positive case, since most avoid telling their positive status.

I found that conducting an interview is indeed difficult since talents often give irrelevant answers.

Often interviewees or interviews were interrupted by visitors or people entering/leaving the rooms. That not only distorted recordings but also distracted the interviewees.

1.18   Supervision and Progress analysis

This task was assigned to Ms. Rukhsnana Mussarat, Senior Radio Producer and Coordinator. She travelled to Lahore (18th - 23rd March), Multan (10 days), and Peshawar (10 days) to supervise the NED trainee producers working at these locations. She analyzed their work quality, progress and helped them to make the radio programmes. Ms. Mussarat provided assistance in the following areas:

? Editing
? Scripting
? Using the recording equipment and software

Summary

This report provides a brief overview of the tasks completed during the third quarter of this project.

The activities undertaken and successfully completed during this quarter include:

? Completion of recording tasks assigned to each trainee
? Supervision of trainees work and progress by the Uks' Senior Producer and Coordinator

1.19 Theme/Trainee Grid

	Theme	Format	Location
1.	Rights awareness, bottom-up approach.	• Interviews of Parliamentarians (5 minutes) by Lalarukh • Feature (4minutes) by Mamoona • Feature (4 minutes) by Sarosh Almas Taj	Islamabad, Multan, Peshawar.
2.	Sensitisation of women and men on realizing the importance of equal partnership in economic development.	• Vox pops (2 minutes) by Afshan • Feature (5 minutes) by Afshan • Panel Discussion (5 minutes) by Sarosh Almas Taj	Islamabad, Lahore, Peshawar.
3.	Women's political participation	• Interview (5 minutes) by Unbreen • Feature (6 minutes) by Saadia Chauhary	Karachi Rawalpindi
4.	Women and Education Policy	• Feature (5 minutes) by Mamoona • Vox Pops style feature (6 minutes) by Sarosh Almas Taj	Multan Peshawar
5.	Girl Child Education	• Feature (5) by Sadia Chaudhary, • Vox pops (2) by Afshan • Interview (5) by Afshan	Lahore, Islamabad, Rawalpindi
6.	Civic Education	• Interview (4 minutes) by Lalarukh • Feature (5 minutes) by Lalarukh • Vox Pops (4 minutes)by Sadia Chaudhary	
7.	Integrating women's health concerns in the National Health Policy	• Report HIV prevalence in women (6 minutes) by Unbreen and Taj Almas. • Interview (5 minutes)Dr. Khan/ Huma Khawar by Sadia Chaudhary. • Oral testimony/ Feature/ voxpops (3 minutes) by Mamoona Farooq	Karachi Islamabad Multan
8.	Sensitising men to support women's empowerment	• Feature (6 minutes) by Lalarukh with Rukhsana Mussarat. • Interview (5 minutes) by Sadia Chaudhary. • Vox Pops (2 minutes) by Maimoona	Islamabad Rawalpindi Multan
9.	Advocacy of Government's role on behalf of women	• Interview (5 minutes) by Lalarukh • Feature(6 minute) by Sadia Chaudhry • Vox Pops (2 minutes) by Afshan	Multan Peshawar Lahore Islamabad Karachi
10.	Portrayal of women in media	• Report (4 minutes) by Unbreen Fatima. • Interview (4 minutes) by Lalarukh. • Feature (5 minutes) by Afshan	Peshawar Lahore Islamabad Karachi

Annex IV: Why Gender is an Issue for Media[41]

Why Gender Equality Makes Good Editorial and Business Sense for the Media

Freedom of speech: Giving equal voice and air-time to women and men, representing both in their multiple roles in society is intrinsic to freedom of expression and speech.

Good governance: 'Do as I say and not as I do' can no longer be the mantra of the media which is being more and more scrutinized by all sectors of society. As much as the media has a duty to serve as a watchdog on society, the media itself must lead by example and practice good governance in its own operations.

Respecting women's and men's human rights: The media's editorial content, through images, language, portrayal and absence of a diversity of voices and views, and its workplace should not be the site for the violation of women's rights to voice, equal opportunity, integrity and dignity. Language used by the media should not perpetuate stigma, discrimination or sexist attitudes against women or men.

Women are a large growth market for the print media: In most countries, women constitute the highest potential growth market for the print media and have also been shown to be among the most loyal readers. Segmenting readership by gender and responding accordingly, would, in all likelihood, reveal that gender sensitivity is a good business proposition.

Women's needs as listeners and viewers: Few analyses of programming for radio and TV are gender disaggregated. They fail to take account of women's time constraints as a result of their multiple roles and of their preferences with regard to content. As research elsewhere has shown, gender sensitivity in programming could yield significant business gains.

Women as consumers: Women make many of the decisions on household spending. This is yet to be factored in many countries into the way advertising is designed. Is advertising that demeans and turns women into commodities really enlightened self-interest on the part of advertisers?

Source: adapted from Whose News? Whose Views? edited by Colleen Lowe Morna, Gender Links, 2001-

II. Arguments and information about parity democracy and women in decision-making

1. What is parity democracy?

Parity democracy is a concept aiming at:

- Acknowledging the equal dignity and value of persons of both sexes;
- Making our political system more democratic and just;
- Renewing the social organization in such a way that women and men equally share rights, responsibilities and power.

Parity democracy implies the equal representation of women and men in decision-making positions. Both sexes should be represented whenever decisions are made that affect their lives. **Even if women have the same formal political rights as men, and if some individual women hold high political positions, women as a group are too often excluded from decision-making positions on the political stage.** It is mostly men who set the political priorities and decide on the spending on public money, and the political culture continues to be male dominated.

Women's presence in politics is a standard indicator of the democracy of a society.[43] If more than half of the population is persistently under-represented, the legitimacy and the functioning of the democratic system are put under question. Therefore parity democracy is a step towards a modern democracy. Introducing parity needs to be seen in the context of European initiatives and measures to promote inclusive and participatory democracy and to increase the democratic legitimacy of European institutions. The introduction of parity democracy at EU level would also be an important corollary to the institutional reforms, which will take place if the new Lisbon Treaty enters into force.

Parity democracy is not just about numbers, but also about improving the quality of policies. A 30% representation of women is considered as the critical mass needed in order for the women representatives to be able to change the political culture, bring new issues to the agenda, and to act efficiently for women's rights.[44]

Why is Parity Democracy different from quotas

The EWL defines equal representation of women and men in political decision-making as a 50/50 representation of each sex in any decision-making body. Although parity democracy implies setting a minimum for women's representation, it is conceptually different from quotas. Quotas can be seen as a temporary means used to protect the rights of a minority and ensure its participation in the decision-making. Quotas are temporary tools to fix a bias, but parity goes a step further, because it doesn't have a time limit and because:

1) Parity concerns the **equal representation and power-sharing between women and men, for which quotas are one possible means**. Parity transforms concepts such as citizenship, equality universality, making political systems more democratic.

2) Unlike quotas, the concept of **parity democracy does not treat women as a minority** group within the dominant framework. Women represent more than half of the citizens, so they can not be considered as a minority any more than men.

3) **Parity democracy implies removing structural and cultural impediments for women's entry into decision-making**, such as adapting the working conditions of elected representatives to the demands of modern life, dissolving gender stereotypes, and changing electoral systems which are less favourable to women.

Arguments for parity democracy

Parity democracy can be defended on four different grounds: i) arguments based on equality and justice; ii) arguments based on democracy; iii) arguments based on the concrete benefits that women's increased participation would bring; and iv) arguments based on the idea of women's interests. Different arguments work in different political and cultural contexts, depending on how the issue of gender equality has been framed in political discussions in a given country.

I) The equal representation of women and men is a question of justice and equality between women and men
- The right to political participation is a fundamental human right for women and men and it needs to be concretely put into practice.
- EU member states have committed themselves to equality between women and men many times at international, European and national level.

II) The equal representation of women and men is an aspect of modern democracy
- Women's under-representation in politics is a serious democratic deficit and a threat to the legitimacy of our democratic system. Parliaments are not fully inclusive of the opinions and perspectives of the population they represent unless women more than half of the population are equally represented.
- To develop policies which affect people's lives without their presence and without taking into account their opinion, perspectives and realities is not in line with modern idea of democracy.

III) Gender balance improves policy making
- The inclusion of both sexes in policy making leads to more adequate decisions and to an allocation of public resources that better fit the needs of a diverse citizenry, heightening in turn public satisfaction with policy delivery.
- Women equal participation may lead to the introduction of new or neglected issues to the political agenda. For example, because women have been the ones most affected by issues of reconciliation of work and private life, and have not been present enough in decision-making, reconciliation has long been seen as a private issue rather than a problem to be tackled by the society.
- Including women to the field of politics may result in a new political culture, which can lead to better government and better conflict resolution.

IV)   Better representation of women's interests and perspectives

- Women as a group have some common needs and interests related to i.e. sexual and reproductive rights or
- violence against women that do not concern men to the same extent.
- Women's and men's interests may conflict because of the gendered division of labour and uneven share of power.

Recent studies in countries where women's presence in political decision-making has increased show evidence, that women's equal representation in politics can lead to important changes in the political culture and in the content of the policies. Although more research is needed, numerous examples can be presented to support the argument that gender balance makes a difference. However, even if women's equal representation in politics would not change anything, parity is needed in the name of equality, democracy and justice.

Benefits of parity democracy

Benefits for the European Union
- Remedying the democratic deficit, the under-presentation of women undermines the EU initiatives to bring the Union closer to women and men living in European societies and engage them in decision-making processes. It is also an obstacle to more adequate political decisions and a better allocation of the Union's resources.
- Gathering the support of European women for the European integration, as according to surveys, women are more euro-sceptic than men. This requires more women involved at EU level and addressing more issues that are perceived as important for them and for the improvement of society as a whole.

Benefits for political parties
- A renewal of people within the parties, widening the perspectives and bringing new competences in order for them to be more representative of the citizens they are meant to represent.
- A renewal of the legitimacy of the parties and more specifically, an increase of support from women for their policies and their actions, as women may give more support to political parties that take their preoccupations into account and that ensure their participation and representation.

Benefits for European women
- Ensuring the visibility of women on the political field and thus contributing to the eradication of stereotypes and the realization of women's human rights
- Putting women's interests on the agenda of the European Union.

1. Suggested Answers to Arguments against Parity Democracy

Does parity democracy violate democratic principles? No!
Some reject parity in the name of democracy. Measures to introduce parity are said to violate the key democratic principles of equality and universality; of each woman and man having equal value and equal rights in front of law and in politics. In fact, this idea of universality of democracy is based on abstract individualism, and voters and representatives are seen as deprived from all social attributes such as gender, class and race. However, this universalistic view of citizenship is a historically specific idea, which emerged in the French revolution and was itself originally based on the exclusion of women. Universal citizenship is therefore a partial concept that under the guise of neutrality has served the purposes of dominant social groups.

This neglect of differences, which is still understood as the basis of democracy and enshrined in different ways in our political systems means that the voice of women is suppressed by a political world monopolised by men, and women's full access to their political rights is denied. **True equality presupposes acknowledging and accepting difference.** Women and men face different realities and consequently have different problems, needs and interests. To ignore these differences is to favour the current unequal relations of power and thus to perpetuate inequality.

To be universal, **democracy must apply equally to all women and men and to members of discriminated or excluded groups.** The critique of parity democracy in the name of universalism and equality reveals that these are still partial conceptions. Parity democracy does not abandon universality of democracy on the contrary, by exposing its limits, parity extends the frame of the universal and the scope of the democratic principle of equality. As such parity contributes to more justice and democratic progress.

Is parity democracy contrary to the principle of freedom? No!

In the name of freedom, some people criticize parity legislation on the pretext that it makes the State intervene unnecessarily in an area where free competition on the "best man (sic) wins" basis or voluntary self-regulation would be preferable. Parity democracy is also accused of curbing the free choice of the electorate.

"Natural" progress in the field of gender equality will not be enough to influence the historical relations of power between women and men and to end the discrimination of women in the political world. Women who aspire to political office face numerous structural and cultural obstacles. In the event of injustice, it is the State who is best placed to implement measures in favour of a more just situation. Rather than waiting centuries for hypothetical equality in the political arena, citizens must take their fate into their own hands and take additional and decisive steps towards true equality between women and men.

As regards the "freedom" of the electorate, it is already circumscribed by other factors, such as electoral systems which allow voters to choose the party but often not the representative, and a representation of regions which does not always reflect the number of inhabitants. It cannot be said that in a system where political parties choose and rank the candidates, often based on non-transparent and non-democratic procedures, it is the voter who has the freedom to choose. Therefore, a fair representation of women as well as other groups on candidate lists enhances rather than undermines the freedom of the electorate to choose candidates who represent them.

In a democratic society, freedom has to be defended, but it needs to be counterbalanced with promoting justice and equality. Freedom and equality do often contradict, but this is the very essence of democracy. Only by accepting the confrontation of the two key democratic values can we guarantee that our political system remains democratic.

Does parity democracy take into account merit? Yes!

The argument that politicians should be elected based on their qualifications and not on the basis of their gender, or that it is shameful for women to be elected because of their gender, shows how women's qualifications are downgraded in a male-dominated political world. Women's engagement with informal politics on local level and within civil society and their high level of education, make women ideal candidates for positions of political responsibility. It should also be emphasised, that women face many structural and cultural obstacles such as access to financial and other resources, traditional division of paid and unpaid labour between men and women, and the prejudices of the political parties and voters, which make women's political participation much more difficult even with equal merit.

Merit, while being an essential criterion in the choice of an elected representative, must not be used to avoid the question of representation and legitimacy. Equal political participation of women and men is a question of representation and is as such comparable to having rules for each country's representation in the European Parliament for example. In the same way, international civil servants within the European Commission and other institutions are chosen first on the basis of nationality, and after on the basis of their qualifications. Quotas based on nationality have never been seen as a problem for the voters or a cause of shame for those elected or employed, but as something which guarantees the legitimacy of the European institutions. Accordingly, women politicians elected in the framework of a gender quota system are chosen because they are competent and they have a lot to contribute to the political world, but also because they represent half of the population.

Does parity democracy promote a simplified view of women? No!

Some oppose parity democracy as a limited idea that adopts a natural view of women and their interests, and ignores the diversity of women. To support parity is not to say that women form a unified group with common interests which should be represented. On the contrary, it is only by increasing the number of women representatives that the diversity among women will be truly represented. Parity is therefore the very possibility to get this diversity of perspectives and interests represented and heard.

[1] National Endowment for Democracy

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