

Ethnic Violence in Karachi: Dawn and Jang Coverage of May 12, 2007 Ethnic Violence

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Abstract

Communities in Karachi have hardly lived cheek by jowl as there simmered ethnic tension in the city until recently often turning into clashes. The recently-subdued bloodshed traces its roots to 1985 killing of a Mohajir girl in a road crash after which the city was plunged into a communal frenzy with May 12, 2007 Karachi violence involving MQM, ANP and PPP being part of the long-standing communal frenzy. Considering rivalries between the said groups, the article aims to examine Dawn and Jang coverage of the May 12 violence which saw dozens of people die on Karachi streets. Textual analysis of both dailies has been carried out to compare their 15-day coverage of the May 12 violence which among other things helped find out either of the newspapers' slant towards any group. Discourse and content analyses suggest that Jang

not only mostly carried press releases but also shown a tilt towards MQM. Also, frequency and placement of news items have systematically been analyzed in addition to observing exclusive news about the fateful day.

Keywords: Ethnic nationalism, primordialism, identity, power politics, framing, textual analysis

Introduction

Sailing for General Pervez Musharraf had never been easy since his October 1999 coup for among many other issues he was faced with the removal of the-then Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammad Chaudhary was the last straw that broke the camel's back. The deposed justice did not take it in his stride and decided to face off with the dictator. The deposed justice as part of his campaign was scheduled to address a lawyers' convention at Sindh High Court premises wherein he was to reach on May 12, 2007 ("Riots disrupt Karachi calm," 2007). However, his plans were severely disrupted when the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) announced the 'peace rally' to support their progenitor General Musharraf. Here came the clash with the MQM supporting the dictator while their nemeses in the deposed justice wanted a smooth journey to his destination. The conundrum put the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Awami National Party (ANP) on collision path with the MQM, for they both supported the chief justice.

Claiming 34 lives, the May 12 incident forced the deposed justice to cancel his plans of attending the scheduled ceremony; with the fateful day becoming focal point of attention because ethnic rivals

were involved in straight fire besides manhandling journalists ("Riots disrupt Karachi calm," 2007).

Identity Politics

An ethnic group and its cohesiveness revolve around a belief in common ancestry which is usually an 'emotive feeling of solidarity' and such feelings get more relevant when there exists a bond in shape of common language or religion or some other common characteristics which lead to distinction between ethnic groups. The propensity of human beings to come out of isolation and form a group for both psychological and emotional needs has got close connection with the origin of the ethnic groups. Human beings at different stages of history have adopted various common attributes like common religion, common language, belief in common ethnic origin, cast, color of skin and so on as the basis of identification and it still continues. One thing must be mentioned that the more an identity group gets cohesive on basis of common traits like language, religion, color of skin etc, the more differences with other groups sharpen (Ahmed, 2012, p8).

Individuals, as per author Ishtiaq Ahmed (2011), come in close contact with each other sometimes on the basis of common language and sometimes common religion or any other common characteristic and one of the reasons behind them coming together is to launch collective efforts to pursue their demand in society/state, for only an individual could hardly make a forceful (political) demand on the state/society (p8). If the formation of an ethnic group a 'voluntary choice,' however, is an important question in addition to discussion on individuals' choice of joining/leaving any identity group. Brass in this regard has

presented two main concepts namely primordialism and instrumentalism.

As per primordialists, there are some 'attachments' every human carries with himself throughout his life. These attachments may be the place of his birth, kinship relationships, religion, common language and so on. Also, one of the explicit agreements among the primordialists is the claim to the common origin (Brass, 1991, pp79-80). Says Ishtiaq Ahmed about primordialism: "A stronger version of the primordialist concept of groups known as sociobiology is premised on the normality of ethno-nationalism. It holds a pessimistic view about durable peace between groups. Such arguments suggest even more forcefully that separating them and consolidating them as exclusive nation-states is the best recipe to preserve the peace. However, the principle of separate states for discrete groups would mean thousands of states as more than 8000 ethnic groups have been identified in the world population"(Ahmed, 2012, p9).

On the contrary, according to the instrumentalists, group identity is not that rigid and, in fact, quite fluid with role of the elites who use existing cultural factors for galvanizing a group to achieve support for their own agenda being very central to group identity. Quoting Brass, author Ishtiaq Ahmed argues: "It is when political leaders manipulate the so-called objective factors and cultural groups are animated with hostile propaganda that they develop subjective awareness about their difference and are drawn into conflict" (Ahmed, 2012). Hence, ethnicity as per instrumentalism doesn't enjoy an independent role and must be seen in a wider political arena. Also, Mohammad Waseem, writes comprehensively in this regard, saying that the instrumentalist "approach concentrates over

machinations of power politics whereby the elite picks up some critical aspects of the traditional culture, rooted in strong religious sentiments, and gives them a new meaning in the context of the current political struggle... In pursuit of political objectives, the elite mobilizes public opinion in its bid for power” (Waseem, 1989, pp78-79).

Individual identity cannot be one dimensional with each individual having several affiliations/identities among which only one identity assumes importance at a particular time. And any clash between identities of an individual can be avoided if a particular identity is not imposed. Writes Sen succinctly:

“Each of us invokes identities of various kinds in desperate contexts. The same person can be of Indian origin, a Parsee, a French citizen, a US citizen, a woman, a poet, a vegetarian, an anthropologist, a university professor, a Christian, a bird watcher and an avid believer in extraterrestrial life and of the propensity of alien creature to ride around the cosmos in multicolored UFOs. Each of these collectivities, to all of which this person belongs, gives him or her a particular identity. They can all have relevance depending on the context. There is no conflict here, even though the priorities over these identities must be relative...” (Sen, 2005, p350).

Shedding light on the state and ethnicity, it is a rule rather than exception that the state attitude is differential towards various ethnic groups. In a multiethnic state, even recruitment of armed troops and their deployment to various strategic positions are screened on ethnic basis. However, it is not the case that whatever the state does would go well with ethnic minorities. Usually, employment is given on the basis of qualification besides

formation of political parties on some other ideologies (other than the ethnic one) to somehow reverse ethnic discrimination and to mitigate ethnic tension in a multi-ethnic state. (Ahmed 1996, pp23-24).

However, not all the times the state succeeds in subduing ethnic minorities who fear for their future as also stated by an authority: “We argue that ethnic conflict is not caused directly by intergroup differences, ‘ancient hatred’ and centuries-old feuds... Instead, we maintain that ethnic conflict is most commonly caused by collective fears of the future. As groups begin to fear for their physical safety, a series of dangerous and difficult-to-resolve strategic dilemmas arise that contain within them the potential for tremendous violence...” (Ahmed, 2012, p10). Making distinction between ethnicity and nationalism, the latter, in the words of an authority, ‘is like an older brother of ethnicity’ (Ito, 1999, p17). Nationalism in simple words belongs to the majority while ethnicity is all about minority. When the minority carves out an independent state for itself, it simply starts promoting (state) nationalism against which ethnic nationalism is triggered (1999, pp18-19).

Another factor is that category of identity can be only in relation to other categories. The more the group gets cohesive on the basis of some common characteristics like language, religion etc, the more its differences with other groups sharpened. “There is no identity of a group of people in itself but only in relation to others. The concept of identity combines the view from within with perspectives from outside. This means the identity of a group reflects both what its members think about selves and what others

think about this group and/or how they interact with the group's members" (Sokefeld, 2013, p241).

Sindhi Ethnic Nationalism and PPP

According to Babar Ayaz, Sindh was the first province in the united India "which supported Pakistan resolution moved by Jeay Sindh Movement pioneer Ghulam Murtaza Shah Syed on 3 March 1943" (Ayaz, 2013, p79), but after the creation of Pakistan Sindh was the loser, for whatever struggle it waged in the pre-partition era was for the autonomy of Sindh which, according to Babar Ayaz, was a country at the time of invasion by Arabs in the 8th century AD, but the early managers of the Pakistani state never acknowledged the multi-ethnic nature of the new Pakistani state. Babar Ayaz (2013) puts Sindh's grievances and the ensuing Sindhi ethnic nationalism in the following words:

"Sindhi nationalism has its roots in history, because it was a country even when the Arab invaded it. Sindh was the last province which was taken by the British in 1843 and was ruled by Talpurs. It was different from other provinces of North-West India because Sindhi had had official-language status since the mid 1880s. All the Sindhis were looking for, by supporting the cause of Pakistan was autonomy, the right to rule their province. But soon after Pakistan was made, they were in for a rude shock. The Muslim League leadership which was dominated by Punjabis- and-Urdu-speaking elite, as stated earlier, did not accept the fact that Pakistan is a multi-ethnic country and each ethno-linguistic nationality had its own reason for joining the federation. In the first Muslim League national council meeting after independence, 160 delegates out of 300 members were of Mohajir origin. The slogan of one Muslim nation denied the multi-ethnicity of Pakistan. So, their [Sindhis] right to have autonomy was also curbed" (pp80-81).

On the other hand, the interaction between the Sindhis and the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs were not exemplary for the Mohajir elites were not willing to integrate into the larger Sindh society besides the fact that Sindhis felt oppressed at the hands of Urdu-speaking elites for the latter were dominant in all fields of national life, triggering the Sindhi ethnic nationalism. The example of quota system introduced in the 1948 would be enough to understand the Sindhi-Mohajir clash particularly in the pre-1970 era. According to Adeel Khan, the quota system introduced in 1948 was biased in favour of Urdu-speaking Mohajirs. During the one unit scheme Karachi was mentioned separately while all the other provinces were cobbled together in the category of 'All Other Provinces and Princely States of West Pakistan' (Khan, 2005, p147).

However, grievances of Sindhis were addressed up to some extent when Z. A. Bhutto took over as prime minister. As per Babar Ayaz, Bhutto was never an anti-one unit leader for he wanted to keep Punjabi elites with himself. According to Babar's work, "two major developments happened in 1972 that changed the face of Sindh politics. First, for the first time after the creation of Pakistan, the Sindh government got Karachi back, as the capital was shifted to Islamabad in the 1960s. This brought in Sindhi landlords and middle classes to Karachi and increased their share in government jobs gradually. Second, Bhutto, who had won the majority of national and provincial seats in the Punjab, managed to attract two independent Provincial Assembly members in Sindh to cobble a majority. This gave Sindhis, a chance for the first time after the creation of Pakistan, to head a government at the Centre. Consequently, the gateway of Islamabad was opened for the Sindhi elite and middle classes. At the same time it affected the popularity of the umpteen Sindhi nationalist parties. Even after the

assassination of Benazir Bhutto and PPP leadership being hijacked by her husband Asif Ali Zardari, the Sindhi voters would rather vote for PPP if they want a say and influence in the provincial and federal governments” (Ayaz, 2013, pp86-86).

Mohajir Ethnic Nationalism and MQM

However, the rise of Sindhis irked hitherto powerful Urdu-speaking Mohajirs as a huge blow was dealt to their interests by General Yahya Khan in 1969 when a new job ratio of 60:40 for rural and urban areas, respectively was introduced. And a final nail in the coffin was hit by the new prime minister in Bhutto, which among many other factors, led to Mohajir ethnic nationalism, when his government scrapped Karachi’s separate status besides reducing the merit category from 20 per cent to 10 per (Khan, 2005, pp148-149).

Also, ethnic Pakhtuns who had second largest share in the country’s powerful military had replaced Mohajir elites at the Centre in the post-1971 situation (2005, p67). While Sindhis had challenged Mohajir elites in Sindh, another ‘trouble’ awaiting them in their own stronghold Karachi was the increasing influx of Pakhtun migrants and their dominance in various fields. All these challenges led to Mohajir ethnic nationalism which was embodied by the formation of the All Pakistan Mohajir Students Organization (APMSO) in 1978. While the APMSO was converted into the MQM that is the Muttahida Qaumi Movement in 1984, the ethnic nationalism launched by Mohajirs was altogether a new experience in Pakistan.

The Pakhtun-Mohajir Clash and Rise of ANP

Though communal identities was established earlier, the incident which pitted Pakhtuns and Mohajirs against each other was the killing of a refugee girl student namely Bushra Zaidi in a road accident in 1985. On the other hand, Pakhtuns had also been able to replace Punjabi and Mohajir land dealers in the construction business introducing a new modus operandi involving violence in land grabbing in 1980s causing conflict between Pakhtun land grabbers and poor Bihari dwellers to whose houses the Pakhtun land grabbers wanted to extend their illegal occupation (Gayer, 2008, p55). This was the scenario wherein Pakhtun-Mohajir conflict not only got intensified but took ethnic tone leading to MQM exclusivism.

On the other hand, the main reasons behind the rise of the ANP in Karachi politics was the formation of the Pakhtun Loya Jirga in alliance with other political groups which gave voice to Pakhtun concerns about government decision of razing katchi abadis and banning of two-stroke rickshaws (Rehman, 2013, p31). Though the government was forced to take its decision back, the alliance in shape of Pakhtun Loya Jirga could not press ahead. "The Jirga initially worked for the good of Pakhtun, but then the Awami National Party started using it for political gains," Zia quotes Israr Shah Mashwani of the Pakistan Muslim League-N as saying (2013, pp31-32).

Also, the ANP succeeded in winning two Sindh Assembly seats in 2008 elections while another important event which "proved to be a watershed movement for the ANP in Karachi was the May 12,

2007 violence in the city in the wake of the (deposed) Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary thwarted attempt to address a local bar” (p32).
MQM, ANP and PPP in context of May 12 Violence

Having staged a bloodless coup, General Musharraf started throwing support behind pro-establishment parties including PML-Q and MQM. The MQM became one of dominant parties in Sindh after October 2002 polls along with PML-Q while the PPP was in opposition in the Sindh Assembly apparently having little powers. Also, the ANP representing Pakhtuns in Sindh had little power and say. Meanwhile, the MQM started gigantic construction work while lowering their exclusivist rhetoric, striving to transcend ethnic identities (Steve, 2011, p175). However, there remained trust deficit between MQM and other groups who also wanted their share in city’s resources.

It was this scenario in which the fateful event of May 12 mayhem occurred; with the MQM trying to help General Musharraf while the ANP and PPP—both MQM’s rivals—strived to help the deposed chief justice come out of the airport. According to Steve Inskeep, the author of ‘Instant City: Life and Death in Karachi,’ the main aim of the MQM on May 12, 2007 was to show its strength to the ANP—representing Pakhtuns—and PPP—representing ethnic Sindhis—on the streets of Karachi. Had the MQM failed to do so, it would have been failed to control streets of Karachi thus conceding street power to their rival ANP and PPP, as per Inskeep (2011, pp170-171).

Newspapers' Coverage of Ethnic Issues

Social scientists should avoid seeing a particular news item through the lens of traditional definition of a news item which states that 'news is accurate and timely intelligence of happenings, discoveries, opinions and matters of any sort which affect or interest the reader.' Author Anura Goonasekera expresses the view that the news is not what we see nor do they always reflect accuracy and other characteristics stated above. Goonasekera states: "News production requires debatable decisions about priorities and depiction of events and issues. These decisions are made within the confines of cultural, legal, political, technical and commercial interests" (Goonasekera, 1992, pp9-10). Putting it more simplistically, news is not what they look but, in fact, news passes through many frames in the shape of cultural, legal, political, technical and commercial confines. It is therefore high time to understand that "a variety of factors influence (ing) the selection and shaping of news stories: from fairness and objectivity to deadlines, from political views of owners, managers and journalists to transmission cost; from financial interests of advertisers to ethnic and linguistic prejudices of owners, journalists, readers and viewers; from modern communications technologies to stakeholders' return" (1992, P10).

Formulation of Research Problem and Related Methodologies

May 12, 2007 is one of fateful days in Karachi history; with the metropolis witnessing colossal violence, involving all major political parties. The violence claimed more than 34 lives while the fighting between militant wings of political groups targeted media houses. With the ethnic violence having political implications for

the multi-ethnic Sindh, analysis of the press coverage of May 12, 2007 events at academic level is badly needed.

Textual analysis having qualities of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies is needed to reach any solid conclusion regarding the coverage of the May 12, 2007 ethnic massacre by Jang and Dawn. In qualitative research methodology we have a research method in the shape of discourse analysis which actually helps in “dig(ing) deep into the meaning of a particular text” (Hesmondhalgh, 2006, p120) without which it would be almost impossible to extract latent or hidden meaning in a particular text. Nonetheless, only finding the hidden meaning within a particular text cannot help us reach any broad generalization of data. Hence, the other tool with us is the quantitative research methodology to reach any broad generalization in connection with the data collected for comparison of both dailies. In the quantitative research methodology, the best technique suitable for our data is the content analysis, which according to David Hesmondhalgh, is a method of textual analysis which “involves(ing) counting and measuring quantities of items such as words, phrases or images...allows us to look across a large number of texts” (2006, p120).

Getting down to nitty-gritty of comparison between Dawn and Jang in connection with their coverage of the May 12 ethnic violence, front, back, city and opinion pages of both the newspapers published from May 13 to May 27, 2007 –15 days— were selected while news items, editorials and columns related to the May 12 have been perused through. To reach a conclusion regarding comparison of coverage of the May 12 events by both the dailies, we will have to see coverage of both the newspapers

from at least three angles including slant, frequency and placement of news items. And to find out slant of either newspaper, it must be seen as to how a particular newspaper has treated statements and press releases.

And then deciphering as to how many news items related to the May 12 events were published in the 15 days newspapers, we will have to find out frequency of the news items. Last but not the least, finding out as to how news items related to the May 12 have been placed will help us smoothen our way to reaching any conclusion about comparison of both dailies.

Both newspapers have given more space to statements as compared to events as table I shows that even Dawn published 57 May 12-related statements against only 17 May 12-related events. And the same is the case with Urdu daily Jang which has published 259 statements against only 66 events. Comparing statements and events published in both the newspapers, Jang has superseded its English counterpart in both statements and events by giving space to 259 statements against 57 published in Dawn which has also covered less number of events –17—against 66 Jang has published (see table I).

TABLE I

| Date | Dawn sta | Dawn Ets | Jang sta | Jang Ets |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 13-May | 8 | 5 | 26 | 28 |
| 14-May | 8 | 1 | 36 | 11 |
| 15-May | 7 | 4 | 38 | 7 |
| 16-May | 6 | 2 | 18 | 7 |
| 17-May | 3 | 1 | 18 | 3 |
| 18-May | 2 | nil | 20 | 4 |
| 19-May | 1 | 1 | 28 | 3 |
| 20-May | 2 | 1 | 4 | nil |
| 21-May | 3 | nil | 17 | nil |
| 22-May | 5 | nil | 14 | nil |
| 23-May | 4 | 1 | 6 | nil |
| 24-May | 2 | 1 | 13 | 2 |
| 25-May | 3 | nil | 7 | 1 |
| 26-May | 3 | nil | 6 | nil |
| 27-May | | nil | 8 | nil |
| Total | 57 | 17 | 259 | 66 |

Getting down to our first target of finding slant of both the newspapers towards any particular political group, we will have to see as to how events and statements related to a particular party have been given place on which page. Besides, it is also important to note as to how both the papers treated press releases of all the three political parties in MQM, PPP and ANP. Besides taking into consideration news items based on some events, those news items containing both a statement and an event have also been analyzed in the following table.

TABLE II

| date | Dawn sta/ets | Jang sta/ets | Dawn MQM st/Ets | Dawn PPP st/Ets | Dawn ANP st/Et | Jang MQM st/Ets | Jang PPP st/Ets | Jang ANP st/Et |
|--------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | 6 | 5 | 1 | Nil | Nil | 3 | nil | nil |
| 13-May | 2 | 7 | Nil | Nil | Nil | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 14-May | 2 | 5 | Nil | Nil | Nil | nil | 3 | nil |
| 15-May | Nil | 12 | Nil | Nil | Nil | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| 16-May | 3 | 8 | Nil | 1 | Nil | nil | 1 | 2 |
| 17-May | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil | nil | nil | 1 |
| 18-May | Nil | 3 | Nil | Nil | Nil | nil | 1 | nil |
| 19-May | 2 | 5 | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 | nil | nil |
| 20-May | 1 | 2 | Nil | Nil | Nil | nil | nil | 1 |
| 21-May | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | Nil | 1 | 2 | nil |
| 22-May | 2 | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil | nil | nil | 1 |
| 23-May | 2 | 2 | Nil | Nil | 1 | 1 | nil | 2 |
| 24-May | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Nil | nil | 2 | 1 |
| 25-May | Nil | nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | 1 | nil | 1 |
| 26-May | 1 | 2 | Nil | Nil | Nil | nil | 1 | nil |
| 27-May | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 23 | 58 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 16 | 12 |

Second and third columns of table II reveal that the Urdu daily has given more coverage to news items containing both statements and event with the English daily publishing only 23 such news items while Jang has carried 58. The rest of the columns show that Jang has given more coverage to PPP news items containing both statements and events as compared to Dawn which has covered three such news items in 15 days while Jang has published 16 news items of PPP which contain both statement as well as event. On the other hand, while Jang published 11 MQM news items containing both events as well as statements, Dawn has given place to only four such news items of MQM. The above table shows inclination of Jang towards PPP as compared to MQM and ANP while Dawn remains subdued in its coverage of such news items, for it has given almost equal coverage to both PPP and ANP by publishing four and three news items of MQM and PPP, respectively in addition to placing only one such news item of ANP. For more details see the above table II.

Getting down to Dawn and Jang treatment of statements by MQM, PPP and ANP, it is important that we take a look at table III which reveals that Jang has comparatively given more coverage to MQM statements by placing 71 of its statements against 51 and 42 by PPP and ANP, respectively. On the other hand, the ratio of statements carried by Dawn is less but it like Jang has also carried more MQM statement than both the PPP and ANP with the number of MQM statements being 16 against eight each by PPP and ANP published in Dawn. In a nutshell, both Urdu and English dailies give more space to MQM statements as also depicted in table III.

Table III

| date | Dawn MQM sta | Dawn ANP stat | Dawn PPP stat | Jang MQM sta | Jang ANP stat | Jang PPP stat |
|--------|--------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 13-May | 1 | nil | nil | 12 | 3 | 5 |
| 14-May | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 6 |
| 15-May | 2 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 8 |
| 16-May | nil | 1 | nil | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| 17-May | 2 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 5 |
| 18-May | 1 | nil | nil | 7 | 2 | 2 |
| 19-May | 1 | nil | nil | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| 20-May | 2 | nil | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 21-May | 1 | 1 | nil | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 22-May | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 3 |
| 23-May | 2 | nil | nil | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| 24-May | nil | 1 | nil | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 25-May | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 26-May | 1 | nil | nil | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 27-May | nil | nil | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 16 | 8 | 8 | 71 | 42 | 51 |

Shedding more light on the slant of both Urdu and English dailies, it is important that we see as to how both the dailies placed statements of all the three political parties of Karachi. Taking help from table IV and V, it is crystal that Dawn published two MQM statements on its front page —as shown in second column of table

IV—during its 15-day coverage of the May 12 incident whereas the English daily has not given any space to statements of either PPP or ANP on its front page as column fifth and eighth of table IV shows.

Table IV

| Date | Dawn MQM ST FP | Dawn MQM ST Bg | Dawn MQM st CP | Dawn PPP st FP | Dawn PPP ST BF | Dawn PPP st CP | Dawn ANP st FP | Dawn ANP st BF | Dawn ANP st CP |
|--------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 13-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 14-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 15-May | nil | 1 | 1 | nil | Nil | 2 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 16-May | nil | nil | nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 17-May | nil | nil | 2 | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 18-May | nil | nil | nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 19-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 20-May | 1 | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 21-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 22-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 23-May | 1 | nil | 2 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 24-May | nil | nil | nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 25-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | 1 |
| 26-May | nil | nil | 1 | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| 27-May | nil | nil | nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | Nil |
| total | 2 | 1 | 13 | Nil | Nil | 8 | Nil | Nil | 8 |

On the other hand, the Karachi-based MQM enjoys full coverage of its statements on front page of the pioneer of Urdu journalism in shape of Jang since the daily has published 24 MQM statements on its front page (see column second of table V) against 19 of the ANP and 16 of PPP on its front page (see column seventh and fifth of table V). Comparing the coverage of statements of all the three political groups in Karachi, it is crystal clear that Jang leads Dawn in publishing MQM statements as the Urdu daily has published a whopping sum of 24 MQM statements on its front page against Dawn’s paltry two MQM statements (see table IV and V).

Jang once again supersedes its English counterpart in giving space on its front page by placing 16 PPP statements against naught on front page of Dawn with 11 ANP statements making it to the Urdu daily’s front page while the English daily has not published even

once any statement of the Pakhtun nationalist party on its front page during the 15-day coverage.

Table V

| Date | Jang MQM ST FP | Jang MQM ST BP | Jang MQM st CF | Jang PPP st FP | Jang PPP ST BP | Jang PPP st CF | Jang ANP st FP | Jang ANP st BP | Jang ANP st CF |
|--------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 13-May | 4 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 14-May | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 15-May | 2 | 6 | nil | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 16-May | nil | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 17-May | 1 | 3 | 1 | nil | 2 | nil | nil | 2 | nil |
| 18-May | 2 | 4 | 1 | nil | 1 | 1 | nil | 2 | nil |
| 19-May | 1 | 1 | nil | 1 | 1 | 3 | nil | 2 | 1 |
| 20-May | 2 | nil | nil | nil | 1 | nil | 1 | nil | nil |
| 21-May | nil | 1 | 1 | 1 | nil | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 22-May | 2 | 2 | 1 | nil | 2 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 23-May | 1 | 1 | nil | nil | nil | 1 | nil | 1 | 2 |
| 24-May | 3 | nil | 1 | 1 | nil | nil | 2 | nil | nil |
| 25-May | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 26-May | 2 | 1 | nil | 1 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil | 2 |
| 27-May | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | nil | 1 | nil | 3 | 2 |
| total | 24 | 35 | 12 | 16 | 16 | 19 | 11 | 18 | 13 |

Drawing fully upon figures drawn into table IV and V, it has also been discerned that Dawn city pages' MQM statements are more than Jang with the English daily carrying 13 MQM statements while the Urdu daily 12. However, Dawn fails to give more coverage to PPP statements on its city pages for it has given place to only eight PPP statements against 19 by Jang. Leaving it to readers to compare for themselves statements of all three groups on back pages of both the papers by fully utilizing figures of both table IV and V, it must be mentioned that city pages of both the newspapers have not ignored ANP statements, for Dawn and Jang have placed eight and 13 ANP statements on their city pages, respectively.

Having studied comparison of both Dawn and Jang in connection with their coverage of statements, events/statements and their placement, let's move ahead to find out about both the dailies coverage of press releases issued by all the three political groups in

Karachi which in turn will help us find more about the slant of both the dailies towards any political group of the Sindh metropolis. However, before moving ahead, it must be kept in mind that it is only Jang which we will analyze in connection with political parties' press statements, for Dawn has no such tradition of carrying press releases of any political group or any other stakeholders, though the English daily usually refers to a press statement only to balance a story or substantiate an argument in addition to publishing it through its own reporters, a practice which is always looked down upon in the English journalism.

So, analyzing Jang treatment of press releases by all parties, it is important that we take a look at table VI which reveals that during the 15-day coverage of the May 12 horrific incident by

TABLE VI

| Date | Pres rel | FP Pres rel | MQM Pres rel | ANP Pres rel | PPP Pres rel |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 13-May | 11 | 3 | 2 | nil | nil |
| 14-May | 14 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 15-May | 15 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 16-May | 7 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 17-May | 5 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 18-May | 8 | 2 | 2 | nil | nil |
| 19-May | 9 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 20-May | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 21-May | 8 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 22-May | 3 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 23-May | 2 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 24-May | 2 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 25-May | 3 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 26-May | 2 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 27-May | 3 | 1 | 1 | nil | nil |
| Total | 92 | 15 | 14 | nil | nil |

Jang the Urdu daily carried a total of 92 press statements of which the newspaper give space to 15 press releases on its front page. Though the number of press statements carried by Jang on its front page is not much but the staggering fact is that out of 15 press statements the pioneer of the Urdu journalism Jang has given space to a mammoth 14 press releases by MQM which seems to have used the platform of Jang as the party's mouthpiece which of course does not auger well for the press in Pakistan in general and the Sindh largest city in particular. Jang has hardly carried any press release from any political group even on its back page let alone front page. The above table VI tells the rest about Jang slant towards political groups.

Before we take a look at the placement of May 12-related news items, we will do good to deal with the frequency of such news to make further comparison between both the dailies in connection with the May 12 Karachi events. The following table VII will help us in this regard.

Table VII

| date | Dawnfreq | Dawn FP freq | Dawn BP freq | Dawn CP freq | Jang freq | Jang FP freq | Jang BP freq | Jang CP freq |
|--------|----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 13-May | 20 | 6 | 4 | 10 | 59 | 15 | 38 | 6 |
| 14-May | 14 | 5 | nil | 9 | 54 | 11 | 22 | 21 |
| 15-May | 13 | 1 | 2 | 10 | 53 | 22 | 11 | 20 |
| 16-May | 9 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 38 | 9 | 11 | 18 |
| 17-May | 8 | nil | 1 | 7 | 29 | 8 | 14 | 7 |
| 18-May | 2 | nil | nil | 3 | 26 | 6 | 9 | 11 |
| 19-May | 2 | nil | nil | 2 | 33 | 5 | 7 | 21 |
| 20-May | 6 | nil | nil | 2 | 13 | 9 | 3 | 1 |
| 21-May | 4 | nil | nil | 4 | 25 | 5 | 9 | 11 |
| 22-May | 8 | nil | Nil | 8 | 20 | 8 | 4 | 8 |
| 23-May | 7 | 2 | nil | 5 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| 24-May | 6 | nil | 1 | 5 | 17 | 10 | 4 | 3 |
| 25-May | 4 | nil | 1 | 3 | 19 | 8 | 6 | 5 |
| 26-May | 4 | 1 | nil | 3 | 17 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| 27-May | 2 | nil | nil | 2 | 17 | 6 | 6 | 5 |
| Total | 110 | 16 | 11 | 80 | 429 | 130 | 151 | 148 |

Though Dawn has not miss out on any particular news, it has failed to catch up with the Urdu daily in publishing the May 12-related news with the Urdu daily carrying a mammoth 429 news items on its city, front and back pages against 110 published by Dawn which has carried sizeable 80 news items on its city pages against 148 displayed by Jang on its city pages. On the other hand, Jang gives display to 130 news items on its front pages during its 15 days coverage while Dawn published on 16 news items on the corresponding pages. It was also observed during the analysis that Jang published huge display to the May 12-related news items against Dawn which only carried 11 news items against 148 published by Jang on its back pages.

Table VII also shows the overall frequency of May 12-related news items in column second and sixth depicting fluctuation in publishing of news items in wake of the May 12 incident. However, the salient feature of said columns is that the overall number of news items kept on decreasing. The similar is the case with news items published on front, back and city pages of both the dailies. For more details see table VII.

Table VIII

| Dawn cm | Jang cm | Dawnexcl | excl in cm | Jang excl | excl in cm |
|---------|---------|----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| 269 | 528 | 3 | 34 | nil | nil |
| 192 | 500 | 2 | 42 | nil | nil |
| 143 | 315 | nil | nil | 1 | 6 |
| 134 | 450 | nil | nil | 2 | 34 |
| 112 | 223 | 1 | 34 | nil | nil |
| 49 | 208 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 26 | 228 | 1 | 21 | nil | nil |
| 91 | 144 | nil | nil | 4 | 49 |
| 71 | 199 | nil | nil | 1 | 18 |
| 144 | 164 | 2 | 22 | 1 | 8 |
| 122 | 89 | nil | nil | 1 | 10 |
| 110 | 159 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 61 | 112 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 44 | 106 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 34 | 98 | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 1602 | 3523 | 9 | 153 | 10 | 125 |

Jang has so far led Dawn in every category from statements to events to press releases which is evident from the fact that Jang has given more space to May-related news as column second of table VIII shows that Jang has covered all its news items in space of 3523cm while Dawn has given 1602cm to the May 12-related news items as evident from column first in table VIII.

However, the thing worth mentioning here is the fact that Dawn has succeeded in covering the May 12, 2007 event in a better way as, mentioned earlier, it has besides giving no space to press releases of any political group the way Jang did carried exclusive news items about the May 12 event as evident form column third and fourth. Though Dawn publishes nine exclusive news items against 10 carried out by Jang, the fact is that Jang exclusives are

extremely short and shallow for they as mentioned earlier simply failed to meet prerequisites of any feature or human interest story.

On the other hand, propensity of Dawn to give more coverage to exclusive news items about the May 12 Karachi events could easily be gauged from the fact that where Jang was able to give only 125cm space to its 10 exclusive news, Dawn opted to carry out its nine exclusive news in space of 153cm. Table VIII tells the rest.

Getting down to placement of news related to the May 12, 2007 Karachi events, let's take a look at table IX which amply makes it clear that while Dawn publishes the May 12-related event 13 times as its lead news on front, back and city pages, Jang only displays such news as lead news five times on the corresponding pages.

Table IX

| date | Dawn FP ID | Dawn BP LD | Dawn CP LD | Jang FP ID | Jang BP LD | Jang CP LD |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 13-May | lead | Nil | lead | nill | lead | lead |
| 14-May | lead | Nil | lead | lead | nil | lead |
| 15-May | lead | lead | lead | lead | nil | nil |
| 16-May | ni | lead | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 17-May | nil | Nil | lead | nil | nil | nil |
| 18-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nill |
| 19-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 20-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 21-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 22-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 23-May | lead | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 24-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 25-May | nil | Nil | nil | nil | nil | nil |
| 26-May | lead | Nil | lead | nil | nil | nil |
| 27-May | nil | Nil | lead | nil | nil | nil |
| Total | 5 leads | 2 leads | 6 leads | 2 leads | one lead | 2leads |

In fact, Dawn while giving more importance to the May 12 horrific incident displayed the news items about it five times on its front pages during its 15-day coverage, two times as lead on its back pages and six times on its back pages. On the other hand, during the 15-day coverage Jang gave only two times lead display on its front pages to the May 12 events while only one time such news made back pages with the city pages giving only two times lead display to the May 12 Karachi events. See the above table.

Before we get down to Dawn and Jang editorials and columns published in connection with the May 12 Karachi events, it would be interesting to analyze some opposition and other statements and statements/events condemning Karachi's powerful MQM. News items in this connection were analyzed for the sole purpose of seeing whether the two newspaper organizations have succumb to pressure of MQM which along with other political parties including PPP and ANP has never shied away from threatening and subsequently vandalizing newspaper offices. It is also relevant to note that though every major political party of Pakistan was involved in violence against staff members of the newspapers, the PPP and others have relinquished this practice up to some extent. The MQM has, however, for long pressed ahead with their violent attitude against the press.

Table X

| Date | Dawn MQM naming | Jang MQM naming |
|-------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 13-May | 3 | 5 |
| 14-May | 1 | 13 |
| 15-May | Nil | 10 |
| 16-May | Nil | 9 |
| 17-May | Nil | 12 |
| 18-May | Nil | 6 |
| 19-May | Nil | 7 |
| 20-May | Nil | 8 |
| 21-May | Nil | 8 |
| 22-May | 1 | 6 |
| 23-May | 1 | 2 |
| 24-May | 1 | 3 |
| 25-May | Nil | 2 |
| 26-May | Nil | 3 |
| 27-May | Nil | 1 |
| total | 7 | 95 |

Notwithstanding, despite all odds Jang in particular carried out about 95 news items during its 15-day coverage which condemned MQM directly or indirectly in connection with the May 12 Karachi carnage. On the other hand, Dawn that along with Jang was subjected to MQM vandalism in the past gave less display to anti-MQM news items, of course, not due to succumbing to any pressure from MQM but owing to less number of news items it displayed during its 15 days coverage. See table X.

Table XI

| Date | Dawn pic | Dawn edt | Dawn col | Jang pic | Jang edt | Jang col |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 13-May | 5 | 1 | Nil | 17 | 1 | 4 |
| 14-May | 5 | Nil | nil | 16 | nil | 4 |
| 15-May | 4 | 1 | 1 | 32 | 1 | 1 |
| 16-May | Nil | Nil | 1 | 15 | nil | 3 |
| 17-May | Nil | Nil | 1 | 5 | nil | 3 |
| 18-May | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | nil | 1 |
| 19-May | Nil | nil | 1 | 5 | nil | nil |
| 20-May | 1 | Nil | 2 | 3 | nil | 2 |
| 21-May | 1 | Nil | 2 | 1 | nil | nil |
| 22-May | Nil | 1 | nil | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| 23-May | Nil | Nil | nil | 4 | nil | nil |
| 24-May | 3 | 1 | nil | 3 | nil | nil |
| 25-May | 1 | 1 | nil | nil | 1 | 2 |
| 26-May | 1 | Nil | nil | 2 | nil | 1 |
| 27-May | Nil | 1 | nil | nil | nil | 1 |
| total | 24 | 7 | 9 | 111 | 4 | 23 |

Getting down to Jang and Dawn treatment of pictures during their 15-day coverage of the May 12, 2007 Karachi events, table XI amply shows that Jang gives display to a whopping 111 pictures in comparison with mere 24 photos carried by Dawn which unlike the Urdu daily published only related pictures besides taking great care of all journalistic standards while selecting only relevant pictures. On the other hand, Jang not only carried excessive pictures but also its pesky repetitive pictures' coverage was sheer reflection of editors' poor choice which was also observed in Jang selection of photographs in the immediate wake of the May 12 Karachi carnage, since the daily in contravention of all journalistic norms carried violent pictures mostly on its city pages.

The above table also reveals an interesting contrast between opinion columns both the newspapers carried, for Dawn only published nine columns during its 15-day coverage of the May 12

events against mammoth 23 carried by Jang which mostly not only lacked an in-depth analysis of the Karachi carnage but also reflected views of the Rip Van Winkle disciples of state historians who always seek to sweep the true history of the region under the carpet. On the other hand, most columns published in Dawn were balanced having an in-depth analysis of the May 12 Karachi carnage which was mostly not only discussed in true historical perspective, but the reader was also furnished with a socio-economic and socio-politico perspectives by columnists having exposure to diverse sources of opinions. Similarly, Dawn editorials as depicted in table XI were not only more in number but also more balanced besides the above mentioned qualities of Dawn columnists.

Conclusion

An exclusively separate column namely ‘ethnic coloring’ was drawn to find out whether either of the dailies published any news that could have been ethnically controversial. In this column a reporter’s own version or his commentary on the May 12 events if any was minutely observed. While Jang reporters did not get involved in any sort of opinion-making regarding the May 12 incident in any of the news items, Dawn journalists were observed in one or two stories making positive commentaries.

Secondly, press releases are usually provocative but Dawn hardly carried any press release which means no ethnically provocative news item in the daily. On the other hand, though Jang did carry press statements, particularly those of the MQM even on its front page, it was keenly observed that the tone of most of the statements as well as press releases including those issued by the

MQM were reconciliatory. In this regard, a separate column namely 'violent news' was designated to have any news containing biased reporting, threatening language, allegations against other ethnic groups and incitement to violence. However, Dawn had had no 'violent news' during its 15-day coverage of the May 12 events while Jang had got only one such news item which the daily published on its city pages on May 19, 2007.

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