Annex V List of interviewees for the study

List of interviewees for the study

1- Amir Ghauri	Former Editor, The News
2- Adil Shahzeb	Anchorperson
3- Adnan Rehmat	Media critic/analyst
4- Amber Rahim Shamsi	Anchorperson
5- Ayaz Khan	Editor, Daily 'Duniya'
6- Dr Irfan Aziz	Assistant Prof Wafaqi Urdu University, KCH
7- Dr Tauseef Ahmad Khan.	Former Head of Mass Comm, WUU, KCH
8- Faiz Ullah Jan.	Journalist
9- Dr Farooq Sulehria	National Beaconhouse University, LHR
10- Farzana Ali	TV journalist, Peshawar
11- Haroon Rasheed	Editor, Daily Independent Online, ISB
12-I. A. Rehman	Former Chief Editor, Pakistan Times
13- Dr Jabbar Khattak	Editor, Daily Awami Awaz (Sindhi) KCH
14- Kamal Siddiqi	Former Editor, The News/DAWN
15- Maira Imran	Journalist, ISB
16- Quatrina Hussain	Anchorperson, former Editor, The News
17-Rashid Rehman	Former Editor, Daily Times, LHR
18-Saher Baloch	Journalist, KCH
19- Saleem Shahid	Bureau Chief, DAWN, Quetta
20- Dr Seemi Naghmana	Head of Mass Comm, Karachi University
21-Syed Talat Hussain	Anchorperson, former Editor, ISB
22- Wajahat Masaud	Analyst, former Editor
23- Dr Wajid Zulqarnain	Head of Mass Comm, SZABIST, ISB

Questions and responses/views of the interviewees:

1-Has the quality of journalistic output deteriorated/improved in Pakistan after the advent of private electronic media (TV/Radio) and digital media (online news platforms/social media) compared to what it was before?

AAMIR GHAURI

Television is not still breaking the stories, stories are being broken by the journalists who are working with newspapers and then they become the part of news cycle. Television programs pick them up. That is essentially because it was the production houses of those televisions, you know for example, there is an anchor and they had a very limited team of one or two producers, associate producers and cameraman, they actually do not have strong news gathering team who basically raise genuine information. So they are focusing the daily development of the political stories. The stories about economy, human rights, education, health, and society, these are still being reported by serious newspapers and journalists.

ADIL SHAHZEB

I think journalism of electronic media is quite different from print media journalism. Electronic media did not exist before Musharrxdaf era. Analysis of its quality is not possible but the nature of journalism is robust in Pakistan. Media became fast and a speedy dissemination of information took place. People had to wait for news till the morning because everybody did not have access to Radio whereas PTV portrayed only the government's perspective. In reality, journalism started after the advent of electronic media. Speedy growth of electronic media within short span of time started with low quality journalism characteristics. Only Geo had quality journalism initially but later on it vanished due to competition for highest ratings. Because of this sensational journalism, quality has been reduced. Due to availability of news at hours of choice, the readership of newspaper is shrinking.

ADNAN REHMAT

I think there are lot of problems but there is also a vast improvement from before. For example, before 2002 we only had state television so we only heard the government's version; there was opposition's version but it was only sanitized and limited. After 2002 we were for the first time hearing opposition parties, we were hearing civil society, we were hearing traders bodies, lawyers and others. These are players in everyday political life who are influencing policy making and so. In that sense, there is a lot of alternative information available, which are versions of the same event, alternative to the government's version. This makes a huge impact; that's why TV channels from 2004-2010 onwards became very popular. Now the popularity is going down. They crossed certain lines after which economic compulsions kicked in and now they are just too commercial and no public interest is involved any more. And they are also being influenced by state actors. But in that period the quality of journalism has improved as the coverage of ordinary people's issues became stronger. So there is a lot of coverage of, for example, Multan, Peshawar and Quetta which were not covered before when only Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad were covered. Now, unfortunately, it is back to what was before.

AMBER RAHIM SHAMSI

I think we have to classify it into different epochs as well. There was the period between 2002 and 2008 as Musharraf era ended and PPP era began. Then there was post-2013 and Nawaz era. So there was a lot of experimentation in the beginning. Until 2013, there were investigative programmes, long form documentaries. There were very good programming that came out with reference to terrorist operations, Swat operations and terrorist activities. There was a lot of open debate that contributed to the quality of journalism. Naturally the down side to that was that 24 hours news channels required a lot of material. They tend to sensationalize or to present perhaps what I would call interviews news or breaking news. This causes the abuse of quality and now we see that investigative journalism cannot be found any more on television.

AYAZ KHAN

It has deteriorated because you have enough time to publish a newspaper to publish and do exclusive work. For example when a Pakistani cricketer, Muhammad Yousuf, embraced Islam, our sport reporter brought the story to my office. We did not break that story abruptly. We delayed its publishing for 15 days until the source confirmed and assured there would be no issue. If we published it earlier, it could have been rejected by the cricketer and would lost its impact. We would work on a single story for more than two months. Newspaper reporters are lethargic now. They just pick tickers from electronic medium and create stories. Some organizations have hired some brilliant reporters who work genuinely but the overall situation has deteriorated.

DR IRFAN AZIZ

With the advent of electronic and digital media, I think there has been some improvements. With the introduction of technology, journalism has become faster. More content and information is being shared now than before. This is the positive side of it. On the other hand, there has been some deterioration because of the restrictions imposed by the government and other pressure groups as well as because of attacks on journalists.

DR TAUSEEF AHMAD KHAN

After 2002, the huge change that has taken place is that objectivity has decreased whereas subjectivity has increased. Personal interests and benefits of reporters, editors and owners are supreme and are depicted as such in news media. Reporters represent their personal interests in stories they do and this is increasing every day, weakening the institute of the editor or the editorial desk. Those who edit news are now much less influential. This has also impacted the language of journalism. We now hear Sindhi and Balochi on television as well.

FAIZ ULLAH JAN

I don't think it has deteriorated; the proliferation of private electronic media has made the media scene more robust. Yes, it has led to serious ethically questions but no media system exists in a vacuum. The private electronic media in Pakistan right now is passing through 'growing pains.' It never happens that first a professional environment is created/constructed and then a media system is established. Both go hand-in-hand. The very presence of private electronic media has spurred a debate about how should it work. It offers an opportunity for debate where different sources of information should contribute to the plurality of opinion and diversity of sources.

FAROOQ SULEHRIA

Simply deteriorated. Shamelessly deteriorated.

FARZANA ALI

If we talk about quality, we have learned many things. From 2004 to 2012, terrorism prevailed in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. When I joined Aaj TV in 2006, the province and especially its adjoining tribal areas were totally trapped in terrorism but we were not trained in how to cover war, terrorism and conflict. Initially we faced difficulties but later on we learned to cover these areas. Many

foreign organization invested here and conducted trainings for journalists. We have faced loses but on the other hand we have learned a lot and our quality has been improved.

When electronic media became fully operational after 2005, there was mushroom growth of media houses. People started demanding speedy availability of news and information. At the same time we were not able to apply what we had learned. I think we have learned individually but could not applied our learning collectively.

HAROON RASHEED

We are doing more television and radio then we used to do before 2001. So numerically we have expanded but qualitatively it makes me sad to say no. We have new websites and numerous TV channels but very little to watch qualitatively and visually. Private electronic media is making money but not investing the same money into quality content. Same goes for the national digital platforms. They are putting online mostly what they run on their TV channels or user generated mobile material. Sadly, only a couple of international broadcasters are putting in money to produce quality content. It will have to change. It can't continue like this at a time when TV viewership is globally falling.

I A REHMAN

The deterioration is visible because electronic media is much younger than the print media. This also means that the number of channels are too many and talent pool is limited where they can recruit from. So, therefore, in electronic media the talent is thin and they have not gone to the mills. Print media, after decades and decades of collective experience, has acquired certain maturity. Electronic media is totally immature. There is not enough activity in the country to support all these television channels. So they make talk shows which are full of immature experts. The general standards of news, general standards of reacting to the news, general standards of measuring the accuracy and impact or authenticity of news have declined.

JABBAR KHATTAK

Quality has deteriorated badly because of the permission granted for cross media ownership. Many outlets of print journalism have compromised their ethics and quality with the advent of electronic media platforms run by their owners. In terms of standards and ethics, print media has also suffered along with electronic media.

KAMAL SIDDIQI

It has deteriorated especially after the advent of electronic media. The presence of more than 40 news channels that broadcast news 24/7, coupled with a faulty rating system, has resulted in many channels resorting to sensationalism to have their programs viewed.

MAIRA IMRAN

The quality of journalistic output has badly deteriorated. Reporting has also deteriorated due to fears of being fired from your job. There is a sense of insecurity among journalists. There are pay cuts and there are fears that you will receive a letter the next morning informing you that your services are no more needed. How well can you do reporting in thus kind of atmosphere?

Motivation for reporters is dead and quality has gone down. Now you are working to save your job instead of doing journalistic stories. In print media, there may be no sensationalism that one sees in the electronic media but everyone knows the biases of newspaper owners. Now newspapers are printing stories according to the desire of their owners. Previously too the owners had influences over newspaper but now they have got full control. The professional who did serious journalism in the past are not motivated in the present. Investigative and extraordinary work has almost disappeared.

QUATRINA HUSSAIN

The quality of journalism in TV frankly has never been high. If anything, it just worsened as more TV channels enter the field and it became a race for sensationalism and rating. Quality of journalism has completely been destroyed. One of the biggest problem that television news has is that it started focusing more on opinion driven talk shows rather than on producing news packages and documentaries. In television, opinion has replaced facts and journalism has frankly become lazy. I think the biggest problem that mainstream journalism has is that it requires people to think and physically read newspapers. Pakistan has a population that is 67% is under the age of thirty. The habit of reading newspaper in the morning among them has declined and so the readership is going down.

When the readership goes down and the revenue goes down, the supply of money that a newspaper is able to invest in investigative journalism or high quality journalism correspondingly also goes down. People are also now more accustomed to getting news online because in any case websites are updated frequently whereas a daily newspaper is giving news that is at least 12 hours old. I can read the news of today's events on a news website right after they happen whereas in physical newspaper I can read about them only tomorrow. The newspaper may die out but mainstream journalism will continue as newspapers' digital editions which should not be confused with social media.

RASHID REHMAN

You cannot say at once that the quality has either improved or deteriorated but you can view ups and downs. In a sense, when newspapers were increasing and satellite TV channels were also increasing at the same time, the quality of reporting and commenting improved due to this competition. But after sometimes, restriction were imposed by the government and the permanent establishment which resulted in self-censorship. Managements are forced to run media houses under the direction given by the state. This government has strangled media houses financially, reduced the quantity of ads and permanent establishment has built many roadblocks. Now we are of the view that such kind of censorship is beyond expectation even under dictatorship. There is a direct intervention and everything is being monitored. Mute buttons have been installed. When a phone rings, new instruction come into play. Every telecast is time delayed.

Now come towards social media. We have 65% of our population which is under 30 years of age. We have seen that they are attracted towards social media speedily. Their source of information in present time is social media. I think weaknesses and flaws of our educational system affected these readers negatively because critical thinking has not been encouraged. Now a days universities have become degree awarding factories. When there is no book reading and critical thinking, there would be no systematic knowledge. Critical faculty has not developed among youngsters to differentiate between what is right and what is wrong. They are confused. Over the years I have recruited many fresh graduates who have completed their degree. They don't know anything practically so we have to train them and make them fit for field experience. When a new generation previously stepped in, they learnt to cover their flaws while ignoring their egos. They are the stars of our journalism right now.

SAHER BALOCH

Now we have different kinds of journalism. On the one hand, we have people do hard core journalism and then we have people who tell you to also think about like soft stories. For instance, while working for Dawn and even at The News, I found everyone there very open to investigative stories though once in a while everybody wanted to do a soft story as well. At the moment, the focus is more on soft stories than on investigative stories. There is of course censorship which is also going on. And it is not just limited to local media. It has widened towards what we called international media in Pakistan. Especially if you are publishing or producing news in Urdu language, you have to be very careful. Even if you are working for an international news organization, you have to be careful what kind of news you are putting out because now a days the establishment is aware of it. They keep a very keen eye on everything.

So, in that sense, yes, the quality of journalism has in a way deteriorated because we are more focused on the very soft stories. It also has to do with bringing audiences to the website. You are required to increase the views of a story which I find really unfortunate. Because of electronic media, what has happened is that a lot of news stories are done to attract views. Numbers have taken over content. A lot of news stories are published keeping in mind the numbers they are bringing to a news website which is also, of course, important but I think journalist should not be told the kind of numbers their story has achieved. This should be the responsibility of the marketing department and the IT department – to keep a track of umbers. Journalists should not be focused on how much numbers a story is attracting because that is not what journalism is all about. It is about content. It should be content driven ideally. Unfortunately what has been happing especially for the past five years is that it has more focus on numbers. It is being driven by views -- like how many people are viewing your story. People, however, like something one day and they don't like it the other day.

SALEEM SHAHID

It has been greatly affected due to the non-professional approach of the media owners. They just want to serve their own interests of making money, of making themselves influential. In print media, there once was the institution of professional editor who was backed by a professional lower staff. Non-professional owners have hired non-professional staff that is why journalistic output has deteriorated. A few years ago, we use to publish a newspaper in the evening that was mostly filled with gossips but no news. Same thing is now happening at a very large scale. We have produced such non- professional products in great number after the arrival of private electronic channels. We have designated every news as breaking. In most of international channels, like BBC and CNN, there are very few breaking news. Once they break a story, they tell the audience that it is a developing story.

Now people have lost their interest and trust in the news media. In the past decades, when something was published in print media, the relevant people or institutes showed their concern and took notice of that. Now no one takes note of breaking news.

The other negative effect of breaking news is that there is no verification of news which was the basic characteristic of news. Now the standard of journalism in Pakistan is very low though in print media there are still some professional editors but nepotism is visible even there.

DR SEEMI NAGHMANA

We have seen a mushroom growth of television in this new era. People have been confused about how to utilize their newly attained freedom after 2002 but you can say that both deterioration and improvement happened side by side. There has been improvement in the sense that people now multiple option instead to getting bored by watching PTV. This became painfully clear to the states during Kargil war when it faced problems in the propagation of its viewpoint. It therefore decide to generate multiple voices within the country in order to respond the international forces. It was the beginning of a new era in which local issues were going to be highlighted in place of the totally centralized set up of PTV which only focused on news from the President's House and Islamabad. In this sense, it was a positive, productive and encouraging improvement.

In the past, people usually turned off their TV sets during news bulletin of 9 pm. In comparison to that, there has been a revolution since 2002 but due to mushroom growth of electronic media and because of a lack of awareness about its ethics, we have faced problems in news management which has resulted in low standards and ethics. It takes time to build standards for anything. I think it has been a positive change.

SYED TALAT HUSSAIN

I think the massification of news has had an uneven effect on journalism. News has spread beyond the elite, literate social circles and is having vast effect for all tiers of society. Media organizations try to somehow bow down to the level of communication which is easier to understand by ordinary people. That has had an effect on the quality of journalism. Expansion of media is so rapid that software/news content generation has not copped with it. You don't have institution that impart training to journalists who could use technology well. Therefore, the gates have been kept open. Everybody who could give anything has been allowed in. That has impacted journalism significantly. Newspapers have also suffered. The institution of editor has become weak. There used to be academy awarding the standards of journalism. The new institution has not been born. You have challenges in term of quality.

WAJAHAT MASOOD

The quality of journalistic output has improved in Pakistan. After the arrival of electronic and digital media in 2002, a larger number of people has engaged with the field of journalism. Prior to that, there were very few serious journalists in Pakistan but the arena has been transformed. The

landscape of journalism has totally changed with speedy news dissemination across the globe. Now you can get the news of distant places within no time. But, unluckily, things in Pakistan are not up to the mark due to self-censorship and other restrictions imposed by the government and other permanent establishments. For example, when Maulana Fazlur Rehman marched towards Islamabad, there is no news about it on electronic media but social media was giving every detail of that march. Due to the confusion between factual and fake news and some other reasons, resentment is increasing in the society. There are serious questions about the verification of news.

WAJID ZULQARNAIN

It has deteriorated. Responsible journalism is nowhere to be seen. Journalism is all about ratings and selling false stories. There are no proper training programs for journalists in Pakistan and they are expected to submit a certain number of stories in a day to get their salary so some of them end up making fake stories. Private media is a business which has the aim to earn money no matter what. The focus is on content creation and no importance is given to quality.

2-Has the skill level of Pakistani journalists deteriorated/improved in Pakistan after the advent of private digital media (tv/radio) and digital media (online news platforms/social media) compared to what these were before?

AAMIR GHOURI

The skill set has gone down. The reason is there has been a mushroom growth in electronic media. People thought it is a genuine new field opening. We have seen new journalism departments opening in every university but the courses are the same. They all are cutting and copy pasting courses taken from the older teachers who had never worked in television or print media but knew only theory. Teachers were not good so the product which they sent to the market was not good but it still ended up being employed. Then within five or six years, we saw a lot of people thrown out by their employees.

Also, no serious journalism is being done in television It is very frivolous. The nature of journalism is skin deep. There is no scope and chance in many of these TV channels to work on investigative stories backed by facts and figures, in-depth analysis and quotes from people who are subject specialists. Such people don't come on television. What you see on TV is second or third rated politicians. Sometimes you see ministers as well because they need to project the cases of the government.

The level at the top end of journalism has gone down -- from serious to frivolous. That is why journalists who are known across Pakistan still want to work with newspapers and are doing print journalism.

The overall level of education in Pakistan has also gone down in all fields of study. You cannot say that the journalism was spared.

ADIL SHAHZEB

Unfortunately, there are no skills training centers for journalists. Those who are trained abroad are thriving in this field. Many journalists from Pakistan are working with BBC and the US media in

very good capacities. Their skills were built on the job and through trainings they receive. When journalists are well-trained, they can do wonders.

There is a competition among journalists for breaking news. That' is why no time is spared for skills development. There is also a lack of training opportunities due to decrease in the budgets of media houses which are fighting for their own survival. No attention is paid to train professional journalists. It should be the responsibility of the government to make such arrangements. It must build institution for training as it is doing for bureaucrats. If that happens, results will be astonishing.

ADNAN REHMAT

First of all, we have to look at the number of journalists that increased ten times from 2000 to 20,000. We didn't have these when the private sector opened up. People who joined the media didn't come from universities. They were not trained. They were not formally qualified journalists. For the first two years, we had people from either English literature department or Urdu literature department who were joining the media.

But from 2005 to 2012, a lot of international NGOs started to train these people professionally. A lot of organizations are imparting professional skills and trainings so in that period the quality of journalism improved a bit. But because NGOs are only training journalists and not engaging with media owners and industry associations -- like Pakistan Broadcasting Association and Council of Pakistan newspaper editors – there has been no policy change. Even if I am trained as a journalist, when I go back to the newsroom I am prevented me from doing good journalism because my bosses want sensationalism so they do not carry carrying my work. Professionalism won for a few years but then market forces took over and advertisement and marketing departments of media houses prevailed, saying they needed sensationalism and hype to get more ads.

AMBER RAHIM SHAMSI

The skill level of journalists has deteriorated. Newspapers were not able to keep pace with changing requirements of the time. They have not managed to integrate with television. Media organizations that have television channels as well as other platforms are operating their operations separately from each other.

Media organizations do not train their journalists in order to keep pace with these developments. They are not trained in how to use social media, file news stories, integrate different mediums better. There is a lot of material that comes from television that could be used on websites such as Youtube and Instagram. There are many ways to integrate all these services and thus reach different audiences.

In terms of skill levels, we have seen far too many television channels, all mostly relying on current affairs panels, talk shows, political programming and lighter shows. They have not trained reporters in television to produce high quality contents.

AYAZ KHAN

There was period when famous and responsible journalists taught the new entrants. The first thing what we learnt then was the importance of the word -- how much important it is and its usage. With the passage of time, those teachers became extinct. Also, we have seen a mushroom growth in print media at that time. Owners offered even executive posts to journalists irrespective of the

experience. That is why the standards of skill level started falling down. Such things also happened in electronic media. Whenever a beginner came in to join, he was equipped with a microphone and assigned the duty of a reporter. He or she just speaks -- ignoring the ethics of reporting, vocabulary and language.

DR IRFAN AZIZ

We have seen a speedy expansion of journalism after the advent of electronic media. People joined this field quickly because of high salaries and its standing in society. A huge number of journalists was needed but they were never there in the required number. Universities and journalist organizations did not work for training this new breed. There has been no accreditation for many decades. There was no vetting of the new entrants in the same manner that there is accreditation for engineers and lawyers.

DR TAUSEEF AHMAD KHAN

Overall, the skill level has declined. The main reason for this is the decline of the editor's influence especially in Urdu newspapers. The matter published as news does not fulfill the criteria of news. Subjectivity and agenda is seen massively in every beat. The responsibility and work of editor and shift in-charge are decreasing day by day. The lack of objectivity is important in newspapers as much as it is in TV now.

FAIZ ULLAH JAN

Electronic media strives to 'break' news and be the first source of information about any event. This entails collecting maximum information in minimum possible time which leaves no space or time for context or perspective. For print journalism, every news story should carry context and background information. The problem arises when the same set of skills is used for the two different mediums.

FAROOQ SULEHRIA

TV medium requires no journalistic skills. All one needs is to have a disregard for decency. Social media should also not be compared with traditional media as far as skills are concerned.

FARZANA ALI

I think skill level has improved at the individual level. Its impact collectively somehow seems to have been negative. Due to the fast pace of journalism, we have encountered difficulties in the process of verifying news. Instant dissemination of news has affected the characteristic of news such as verification and balance which have deteriorated especially after 2014 when many

restrictions from government were imposed. What you are seeing is fake news, especially on social media. Competition for news has affected its quality negatively.

HAROON RASHEED

With the popularity of digital media, journalists are learning fast to improve their skills. They have to learn how to shoot a video now where as earlier they only needed a pen. They need a lot more trainings to bring them to the international levels.

I A REHMAN

The skill levels have deteriorated. They are pulling down the culture of news which has become very immature. So nobody bothers about it. And while print media has contributed to whatever improvement or upgrading one sees in electronic media, the latter is only eating up the former.

JABBAR KHATTAK

If you see the individual capacities of journalists, there is an improvement. But if you look on the skills in general, there has been a decay over the years. The reason for that is that both the print and electronic media have not paid attentions to upgrading and development of their human resources.

Secondly, the ethics and authenticity of news is always treated as secondary. Under breaking news, they have compromised everything. Electronic media channels are responsible for it because they required inflated human resources due to their overstretching and expansion. They have turned their focus from skills towards improving the presentation of journalists. Faces have become popular. Anchors who have to do the job of moderator have become visionaries. In some cases, they have specific agendas behind their talk shows.

KAMAL SIDDIQI

Many journalists are enhancing their skills by learning how to make audios and videos so that they can produce content for digital platforms. There is also a push for reporting through data journalism. But all this is relatively new.

MAIRA IMRAN

Only those people were skilled who were already working in traditional media before the advent of new media, are skilled only. But now even these people are not deploying their skills because no place is left for such things. Implementation of skill level has decreased.

QUATRINA HUSSAIN

I don't think I am going to say that it has improved or worsened. The number of people entering journalism -- whether it is in TV or print -- has definitely gone up. The quality of people with higher education has gone up. Obviously the opportunity for young people in journalism has gone up.

The failure of journalism is predominantly the responsibility of the owners of media houses who are no longer training young people. Also, the quality of education in journalism or mass communication departments is not up to the mark.

RASHID REHMAN

The world is so connected that you can get information across continents within few minutes. When there was no internet and social media, you had to find and search the news. Books have been replaced with now tools among younger generation. This generation is more informed than the older one.

SAHER BALOACH

I'll give you my own example. When I entered journalism, I had a degree in journalism but nobody had told me how it was going be in the field so a lot of my early work was on trial and error basis. Reporters are sent to the field with no training. They don't have a skill set. They have to learn it on the job. I received training only after joining BBC two years ago and learnt about the dos' and don'ts.

Dawn is one place where there is a set system. There are two to three editors and subeditors who go through your story. Specifically in Herald, there was a proper editorial desk. So you learn a lot, seeing these people at work but even there it is basically up to you whether you learn anything or not. When you get into the cycle of breaking news, I don't think you get the time to even think about training and skills.

SALEEM SHAHID

Initially many international organizations came to Pakistan for training of journalists but later this process was not facilitated by media houses.

The first choice of media house owners is the face and presentation in front of screen. The person speaking on screen also claims that he/she is a journalist but in fact he/she is nothing without the assistance of the lower staff and researchers. He/she is not a journalist but only has the skill to speak well. That is why TV talk shows are non-productive. Stage actors are doing analysis of daily news. News ticker on TV screen are not written in a correct language and their construction is also wrong. Journalists have been killed just because of the language of breaking news.

Very few institutes are working for the training of journalists but journalists, too, mostly consider training as a wastage of time.

DR SEEMI NAGHMANA

Electronic media has a history of roughly 20 years. It's a short span of time to build standards especially in a country where education is not quite widespread and people lack a sense of critical thinking. It is the beginning of a new era. Many new problems have emerged recently -- that need to be sorted out.

We also have a multitude of anchors. Some of them are highly professional but others are not who mainly target sensationalism. They want to sell their product irrespective of its significance and influence on society. The market has no potential to support this mushroom growth of electronic media,

SYED TALAT HUSSAIN

The ability to deal with technology has improved. Technology itself has been a great teacher. You have journalists who are essentially a one man army. They use their own camera, have their own production staff and can post news online. They have Facebook, they can manage their own Whatsapp and know how to communicate with related groups and get information on Whatsapp groups.

But more basic, fundamental, skills in terms of communication abilities, creating stories and doing investigative journalism have suffered a lot even in print. Journalism has become very opinion-focused. We are fed on opinions -- not on facts. The distinction between facts and opinion is also blurred.

WAJAHAT MASOOD

New entrants in journalisms after the mushroom growth of electronic media in Pakistan after 2002 are not skillful. They are not trained and have no idea of using the language professionally. In my office, I have to spend a lot of time in correcting the stories content-wise and grammatically.

In previous decades, professional journalists such as Munnu Bhai would invest a lot of energy in train the next generation of journalists. Technical skills have vanished. There is a mixture of personal views, opinions and analysis along with actual news stories that you get in the name of journalism. Faces are more popular now than good journalists because the mental level of the society has gone down due to a lack of critical thinking as well as flaws in education system.

WAJID ZULQARNAIN

Deteriorated (Reason are mentioned above)

3-Have wages increased/decreased for Pakistani journalists in the 21st century after the advent of private electronic media (TV/Radio) and digital media (online news platforms/social media) compared to what these wages were before?

AAMIR GHAURI

In television, we have seen a phenomenal rise in salaries which has attracted young people to this medium. Comparative to other employment opportunities for fresh graduates, TV was paying respectable wages. Salaries in newspapers, on the other hand, have gone down as compared to the rest of the market. I have no exact figures but I don't think that the salaries has risen in comparison to the inflation rates. Newspapers are facing difficulties. Some newspapers are five-six months behind their payment schedule.

The relationship between employers and employees has also changed the years. When employers are asked for a rise, they tell the employees to go somewhere if they can't work at the same salary.

ADIL SHAHZEB

Firstly, you have to divide journalists into two categories. One category is that of anchors. They are well paid -- almost equaled to international standards. Although in recent years salaries have been slashed down across TV channels but still very competitive salaries are there for anchors. In the second category are reporters who I think are underpaid. Situation has been further aggravated due to slashing of salaries up to 30 % for all ranks. Pakistan's economic situation also adds fuel to the fire. There is no business for media outlets, no advertisements. This results in no revenue generation for TV channels. All these factors influence the quality and standards of journalism and also the living standards of journalists.

ADNAN REHMAT

Wages have increased for a majority of journalists. These are much better than these were in 2002 because there has been a high demand for qualified people and there were few of them around. After a while, however, their salaries reached a peak and then started going down because there was an oversupply of journalists and not enough positions available so the media houses not retaining people with high salaries.

There is only one exception: prominent anchors, prominent talk shows. They command salaries which are sometimes more than the entire salary bill of a whole newsroom. Though the number of such anchors has come down, some of them earn monthly salaries that are more than what people at CNN earn in a whole year. Salaries are also not linked with professionalism. According to PEMRA figures, there are 147 talk shows on TV channels so there are 147 news anchors. Most of them are not journalists. They are lateral entrants. They did not practice journalism before they became the face of the media. They get good salaries because they are good showmen.

AMBER RAHIM SHAMSI

When TV first came about, salaries experienced an astronomical rise. Now we see that salaries are shrinking. This is partially because of fact that TV has lost its credibility due to censorship and economic downturn. A lot of newspapers have cut down their budgets. Even TVs are laying off people. TV anchors, reporters and cameramen have either suffered salary cuts or are being fired. As a result, there has been a balancing of wages but even in this newspapers reporters and editors have suffered more than those working in TV.

AYAZ KHAN

With the advent of electronic media, salaries increased to that extent which was beyond most people's expectations. Journalist would not think that the remarkable salary increase was even possible. They were paid so little money that they could not afford even a full set of tea at office.

DR IRFAN AZIZ

From 2002 to 2016, salaries were increased in every field but this increase was not across the board. Salaries for anchors increased many folds but not for reporters and those working on the editorial desks. A large number of people working on the desk, in fact, have been interns. After 2016, however, we have seen an economic downturn due to which the industry is under depression and this is having a negative impact on salaries as well.

DR TAUSEEF AHMAD KHAN

With the introduction of electronic media, all budgets were shifted towards it and print media was ignored. But even in electronic media, only 10% of the employees received increments in wages. Over the last 19 years, a new system of contract employment and employment through third parties has resulted in a further exploitation of the workforce. Once it was decided by the wage board award that the salary of a subeditor would be equivalent to the salary of a grade 18 government officer. This has not happened.

FAIZ ULLAH JAN

There is a visible increase in wages but the distribution of this increase is not even because it does not follow a set criteria of qualification and position. Wages are decided more on the basis of whims than merit. More recently, scores of journalists have been laid off and many others have suffered pay cuts. This means the increase in media revenue was not natural and market-driven but was rater artificial.

FAROOQ SULEHRIA

No.

FARZANA ALI

Initially, from 2007 to 2016, new media houses offered very high salaries. The new TV channels offered high salary packages which started a migration of journalists to them from elsewhere. In print media, journalists have benefitted because of this migration. Many journalists from print have switched to electronic media where their salaries doubled overnight.

After 2017, all this has changed for the worse. We have lost our annual increments and are instead facing cutting of salaries and layoffs. In Peshawar alone, around 500 journalists have been laid off.

HAROON RASHEED

The salaries improved when TV came but now the salaries are not keeping up with inflation. Only anchors are well paid. The rest of the staff is making ends meet. I also doubt if digital platforms - except a few international brands -- are paying enough salaries to their staff.

I A REHMAN

There were some improvements in ages at the time of TV's advent as the electronic media took people from the print by offering them high salaries. So, a kind of bubble happened which could not be sustained as both the print and electronic media are in a crisis now. Employers are finding it difficult to pay their staff. They do pay a certain anchors regularly but the rest are starving.

JABBAR KHATTAK

Electronic media has set up a very unrealistic financial model for itself. The government gave its advertisements to electronic media at the cost of print media. It increased the budget and rates for TV many folds. Now all that has slow down as the state has taken back its feed.

Media has also benefited from helping big businessmen's anti-consumer policies. Most of our media house have compromised their professional ethics on adverts provided by Bahria Town. They also do not inform consumers about mobile phones prices and features and hidden charges of banks. They have similarly facilitated non-democratic forces which curb individual and collective rights of people. They have done propaganda and some of them have become the mouthpieces of politicians for financial gains only.

Now this process is gradually slowing down. The revenue of media houses has drastically dropped and they have lessened their expenses. For this, salaries has been slashed down. In many organizations, people have also been laid off.

KAMAL SIDDIQI

Salaries increased significantly in the early 2000s after the advent of private TV channels. New channels offered lucrative packages to those they wanted on board. Because of the staff exodus to TV, newspapers also had to raise salaries. Owing to a number of reasons, however, the market is now going through a correction. As a result, many journalists have lost jobs while others are adjusting to lower salaries.

MAIRA IMRAN

In print media, even the payment of salaries has become a big question. There are no increments, salaries are being slashed and delayed but there is no mechanism to regulate the economy of newspapers.

With the introduction of electronic media, we saw a major migration from the print media to electronic media because there were not enough skilled people around at the time. But now that a huge number of mass communication graduates are available, they are preferred to fill the posts as interns instead of hiring senior journalists on permanent basis.

QUATRINA HUSSAIN

When in 2002 new television channels came up, they gave good salaries but the contraction in the market had to happen. There were too many channels for the advertising pie to feed. The advertising has stayed the same but now it is getting divided among more channels and newspapers than before.

In the print media, we still have the wage board award which has been delayed over and over again. Salaries in the print media are not the same as have been offered to people in TVs. Now a lot of people who have two to five years of experience are getting 15,000-25,000 rupees per month. When they were hired by news channels, they were given 40,000-50,000 rupees per month. One channel, WAQT TV, has actually shut down. Others may also shut down. This is going to happen because market forces are making it happen.

RASHID REHMAN

After 2002, we have seen a mushroom growth on electronic media as well as of print media. Many new newspapers in regional languages were launched. Since media houses were making money, undoubtedly the salaries were increased.

But now the situation is again turned around especially under this government. Thousands of journalists have been laid off. The media houses have downsized their staff and are decreasing staff salaries.

Many journalists have accepted it because they have no alternatives. No job is available in the market.

SAHER BALOACH

The driving force for a lot of people to join electronic media was good salary. A lot of people were not getting paid well in print so electronic media was a good window of opportunity for them. They got really good salary packages.

But, of course, more wages are now dependent on the kind of story of story they do or don't do. If you are doing investigative work, the first thing that will get slashed is your salary. Those annoyed by your story directly call your owner and the owner then call your editor finally the reporter has to pay the price for his or her work. Earlier, of course, they used to issue life threat life to a journalist but now the bigger thing that you can do to a journalist is slash their salary.

When it comes to salary system, it is actually really bad. You have to basically fight for your salary. Even international organizations operating in Pakistan operate like Pakistani organizations. They are very careful about how much money is given. It is very easy to get away with exploiting someone in Pakistan and getting work done without paying the wages workers deserve.

SALEEM SHAHID

The situation is very precarious. People migrated from the print to electronic media due to handsome salary packages but after a short period of time things have gone worse. Electronic media has started laying off journalists and now they are jobless. TV channels pay handsome amounts to some important persons like anchors but lower staff is still living hand to mouth. Anchors, too, have to generate their own salaries by attracting more advertisement.

In print media, wages were increased after the arrival of other media but the situation is much worse now. Newspapers have cut short the salaries of their staff from top to bottom.

DR SEEMI NAGHMANA

Different patterns to different people. Some people are getting high salaries -- especially famous anchors, editors and producers -- while others are getting the same old wages. Salaries, however, were increased disproportionately. Huge amount was used to poach anchorpersons and to keep them.

SYED TALAT HUSSAIN

The market has expanded so journalism as profession has started to pay more but the wages have not risen equitably. Journalism was never considered a paying profession. In fact, you were considered a loser or slightly crazy to become a journalist.

If you look at size of advertisement pie, it has really become very big and, accordingly, the salaries have gone up. I remembered, when I was the executive editor of The News, a very prestigious position, I was given Rs 30,000 rupees in 2005 but my take home salary after deduction of taxes was 22,500 rupees. When I joined journalism, my first take home salary was 1,130 rupees. My next salary was 4000 rupees in 1994.

WAJAHAT MASOOD

With the introduction of electronic media, wages have gone up. We have seen same pattern of growth in print media also. I have observed that non-professional journalists are enjoying high posts with high salaries.

But all this was for a short time. Now the conditions is so precarious that it has become difficult for a journalist to even survive. Economic recession has also added fuel to the fire. Across the board, wages have been deteriorating and journalists are facing layoffs.

WAJID ZULQARNAIN

There has been a notable increase in employment opportunities since there are many TV channels now but the wages are not reasonable. More people are hired on low salaries instead of hiring a few qualified professionals on reasonably good salaries.

4-Have job security and other working conditions (including personal safety and security) improved /deteriorated for Pakistani journalists in the 21st century after the advent of private electronic media (TV/Radio) and digital media (online news platforms/social media)?

AAMIR GHAURI

The media houses that have been around for the last sixty, seventy years have stable working conditions. They know how to work with their team. Working conditions may have been working there for the last 25 years. They may not be happy with their pay packages but still they prefer working there instead of anywhere else.

On the other hand, there are new media houses whose owners have been doing different other businesses have not handled journalists who are critical of government and power. Often, we have seen journalists being mistreated by these employers. We have seen people who have been thrown out. There is no job security in those media houses.

ADIL SHAHZEB

Everything is linked with finances and revenue of the channels. If your company is doing well, then you have a job otherwise your job security is doubtful. Second and third tier channels have no job security.

Personal safety, on the other hand, has exceptionally improved in Pakistan in recent years. Previous and current governments have maintained good law and order across the country especially in tribal areas. Credit for that goes to law enforcement agencies and security forces.

ADNAN REHMAT

We have had good working conditions, good salaries and good perks and privileges -- something that old journalists could only dream off. But after 2010, when the economy dipped and popularity of TV channels started going down -- because they are all doing the same kind of programs, focusing more on talk shows than on field based news reporting -- the quality of journalism deteriorated. Journalists started putting less efforts in their work and their salaries started going down and their perks and privileges were withdrawn. A lot of TV channels are not even paying salaries. Over three thousand journalists have lost jobs in 2018 and 2019.

AMBER RAHIM SHAMSI

Job security has definitely deteriorated. Earlier, there was some kind of a healthy competition among the media houses so journalists had more choices. Now the media organizations across the board are scaling down their operations and firing their people. The other problem is contracts which offer no job security. Many media organizations are run as Seth media where the owner, the seth, has the sole prerogative of hiring and firing. There is no check on their power.

AYAZ KHAN

When the number of newspapers was small, there was still job security and also job opportunities. Now with the huge expansion of media, there is no job security. There are no job opportunities even. Instead we have seen lying off of journalists because media organizations do not have a business model that can support journalistic activity on a sustained basis. Talk show hosts were given high salaries whereas their support personnel were given very low wages. They have lost their importance. That a face could earn more money than journalistic work became conventional wisdom across the news media.

DR IRFAN AZIZ

There has never been any job security in Pakistan's new media – neither now nor in the past. Main reason for that the media owners and the government did not lay down proper guidelines. No clear terms of reference are clearly mentioned and designed for the media industry. Every other profession -- like banking, police and army -- have established their professional accreditation and testing system before recruiting people but unfortunately there is no such system in Pakistan. We have very informal and unregulated media industry. There are no standardized levels of progress and development. Employment is not linked with education. Salaries are given according to responsibility.

DR TAUSEEF AHMAD KHAN

After 9/11, non-state actors made the life of journalists very difficult. I did a research study which showed that only one journalist was killed in Pakistan between 1971 and 1988. Since 2001, however, Pakistan has become the third dangerous country for journalists. Nearly 150 journalists

have been killed since then but only in only one case were the murders punished. In most cases, the alleged murders have not even been arrested, let alone investigated and prosecuted. Media owners have not done nothing to provide safety to journalists even though some non-government organizations have been working to create awareness about it. The government has never made it mandatory for the media houses to allocate budget for the safety of journalists. There has never been any insurance policy for most journalist, in the past as well as in the present. Reportedly, the equipment and vehicles owned by electronic media houses are insured but journalists have been provided no insurance.

Working conditions, thus, are worsening day by day. Media houses have a very limited number of permanent staff. After 2017, many journalists have been laid off due to economic recession in the media industry. But while on the one hand older employees are being shown the door, newer ones are being recruited on subsistence salaries. If we do a survey on how many media houses pay their employees on time, hardly four companies will be found to be doing so. There is a delay of 20 to 30 days in payment of salaries in most media houses. Some print media companies have not paid salaries from six months.

FAIZ ULLAH JAN

Private media has expanded alongside conflict in Pakistan over the last 18 years. Media industry was opened up for private ownership right when the so-called war on terror started. This period is also marked by a hype created by the state about national security. As a result a brazen and brutal suppression of freedom of expression has resulted in physical and mortal threats to journalists.

FAROOQ SULEHRIA

No.

FARZANA ALI

Things improved quickly in early 2000s but they started deteriorating again soon afterwards. Life style of journalists improved initially is facing a reverse since then.

HAROON RASHEED

There is no concept of job security till today. Working conditions have become relatively better than in the past but personal safety has not improved. I doubt if we have the right Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) before deploying journalists to any assignment or publishing any news.

I A REHMAN

It has deteriorated. There were always problems in the print media but throwing people out of their jobs was very difficult. In the electronic media these day, they just send you a letter saying don't come to office tomorrow.

JABBAR KHATTAK

Job security and working condition have deteriorated. People have compromised their job security due to high salaries that were offered to those who were willing to work on contract basis. Because of this culture, rest of the media practitioners have also suffered.

KAMAL SIDDIQI

Job security as well as working conditions have deteriorated. We have seen attacks on both journalists and media houses. Over the past two years, we have also witnessed a large number of journalists being laid off.

MAIRA IMRAN

No improvement has happened in job security. If anything, it has deteriorated. No one cares about working conditions. Everybody is trying to save their jobs. Journalists have only two demands now: One is to restore their jobs and second is the payment of salaries on time. All other things -- like working conditions, job security and job structure – have gone down.

QUATRINA HUSSAIN

Personal safety has not improved at all because the security conditions in Pakistan as it is dealing with terrorism, sectarianism and so many other security issues. Pakistan has had one the highest rates of causalities in journalism so personal safety has always been an issues since 2002. Many journalists have faced threats because of a rush for rating and to break the news earlier than others. We have had the concept of double bombing: a bomb goes off, rescue ambulance, police and journalists get there and then a second bomb goes off. There was no security SOPs to avoid such a dangerous situation. Personal safety was in danger all the time. Several people I know have been injured in these kinds of situations.

As far as job security is concerned, it is nonexistent. In private sector, there is no such thing as job security. To talk about job security in this age is pointless.

RASHID REHMAN

There is no improvement in personal safety and job security. A large number of journalists were killed but only two cases were resolved. In overwhelming number of cases, justice has not been

served. There was a constant threat perception during the period of terrorism -- not from terrorists but also from permanent establishment.

Among the new generation of journalists, the ability to take risk and show the courage of conviction have not found strong roots. Journalists have become risk averse, managing to operate under the limitations and restriction imposed on them.

SAHER BALOACH

The security conditions are unfortunately the same. There is no change for the better. In the 1990s or in the 1980s, when it was very difficult to get news, it was also a bit difficult to get to a journalist but now it has become easier. For some journalists, it has always been the same regardless of which decade they worked in. Your safety, of course, depends upon the kind of work you are doing. If you are doing fluffy stories, nobody is going to say anything to you but if you are doing work that raises questions and creates a conversation then definitely you are not safe.

I also don't think news organizations think about these things. A lot of organizations don't even allocate any money to cope with emergencies situations arising out of security threats.

Job security is even more precarious. Entire news organizations are being shut down all of a sudden. This is one of the worst times to be a journalist in Pakistan. I have seen many of my colleagues lose jobs overnight. They were not even given a notice. They were just told to just leave. Just imagine: you have been working somewhere for 20 years and suddenly you are told that you don't have a job.

There are no opportunities anywhere else too. When you have been in journalism, you can't do anything else.

The only way to survive in this kind of market is train oneself in different mediums and try out different things. If you have like multiple skills -- for instance, you are not just a reporter but also a videographer, a photographer and an editor – then of course you have better chances of survival. So job security depends on how much journalists are willing to learn by themselves because nobody is going to do it for them -- especially in the uncertain job market that we now have.

SALEEM SHAHID

Job security and *jaan* (life) security have been badly affected. Journalism, in any case, is a very thankless job. Now, we have seen deterioration even in those media institutions where journalists were once professional, well-trained and well-paid. The have now imposed a 30 per cent salary cut.

Life security is nowhere. Within the last few years, almost 50 journalists have been killed in Balochistan. What is even more tragic is that media houses refused to own many of their employees after they were killed. This is what happened with Irshad Mastoi. His family has not been given any compensation by his employers.

Journalists who are working in the interior Balochistan are not being paid either employers. They are working for free. I met journalists form the tribal areas and asked them how they managed to put food on the table as their employers were not paying them. They said they had started accepting money for reporting news that promote a specific agenda.

DR SEEMI NAGHMANA

There is a competition among TV channels for reporting. No such thing existed during the time when we only had PTV which did not take any risk in reporting. Journalism was not competitive back then. It emerged when a mushroom growth of media houses took place. Competition as well as sensationalism have altered the media market trends which have emerged in order to cater to the changing tastes of the society.

SYED TALAT HUSSAIN

Answer is both yes and no. Yes in the sense that, for instance, there is more focus on journalists and journalism than before. Media houses and media owners have used this focus to plead the case for safety. They no longer belong to the generation that used to die in darkness, with nobody even knowing about the killing. Journalists are getting heard and are make big news. There is a public outrage whenever there are threats to their safety. This has created a sense of security and protection.

On the other hand, Pakistan has become one of the most dangerous places for journalists. A huge number of journalists have been killed since was in Afghanistan in 2001 and not enough follow up has happened over their killings. There is also a general escalation of violence in our society and security has become a big issue.

As far as job security is concerned, the dynamics of market have been cruel and have resulted in the loss of job security. Journalists have been put under an open economy and market forces are defining the requirement of their jobs. Job security has become very weak because the market is very volatile.

WAJAHAT MASOOD

Journalists are the most vulnerable species of this time. Many serious journalists have taken asylum in other countries due to threats to their safety. Many journalists have been killed but only in two cases have the attackers faced justice. Our secret agencies, too, often give shut up calls to journalists, making them vulnerable to physical threats.

There is nothing like a permanent job now. Many media houses prefer to hire fresh graduates as interns because they don't cost much. These employees, however, have to wait long for their appointment letters.

WAJID ZULQARNAIN

Absolutely no job security or safety is available for working journalists. They face all sorts of dangerous situations in their career. No one takes responsibility for their safety.

5-Has the social and political impact of journalism and journalists in Pakistan increased/decreased since the advent of private electronic media and digital media?

AAMIR GHAURI

I am not sure about the direct impact of electronic media yet but the impact of print journalism is decreasing. We have seen the death of some of very serious journalism models like, for example, the closing down of the Herald and Newsline magazines. We used to look up to these magazine for serious investigative stories. Newspapers are shedding the number of their pages so they are forced to just focus on government departments and their works.

This is also because of the changing time. The economy is not doing well. All the newspapers are suffering because they are primarily dependent on private businesses and the government for ads and both these avenues for ads have dried up.

ADIL SHAHZEB

Perception building among masses in Pakistan totally rests on talk shows. Street vendors donkey cart owners also quote Hamid Mir, Kashif Abbasi etc in their discussion on politics. It shows the influence journalists have on perception building. Current affairs programs have a lot of influence on narrative building. For example, support for Imran khan's political narrative originated from these talk shows.

ADNAN REHMAT

Awareness among people mainly comes from talk shows and live coverage of events. For example, the 2018 elections were greatly influenced by media coverage. Even on election day, political leaders were on every TV channel. And, thanks to media coverage, people have more awareness about economy and climate change and how these are linked to their livelihood.

AMBER RAHIM SHAMSI

A few years ago, TV journalism and TV journalists had lot of impact. Talk shows hosts specifically had a lot of influence. Their impact was similar to the impact that newspapers used to have over certain powerful urban elite in Pakistan.

Bu I also feel the media has not able to cover all issues with fairness and balance. Yes, they have been subjected to censorship but they have curbed themselves, too, and have chosen not to pick

issues that will get them on the wrong side of the people who are powerful. At some level, they have also lost credibility.

AYAZ KHAN

If you look at older newspapers, especially at columns, you will not see the word 'I' in them. The always spoke in a generalised way. But now 'I' has been introduced and the quality of writing has suffered. The situation deteriorated further when journalists became the spokespersons of political parties and other organisations. Journalists only talk about the groups from whom they get money. This obliterated their journalistic identity. As a result the idea of conveying 'news as it happen' has suffered badly since journalists now incorporate their own views and opinion in news reports.

DR IRFAN AZIZ

There is an increase in the importance and status of journalists in the society. With information explosion and speedy dissemination of news, people feel the need for balance and reliability in the information they receive. The importance of established journalists has increased since people see them as the purveyors of balance and credibility. They also wield and effective influence in social and political sectors with their professional journalism.

DR TAUSEEF AHMAD KHAN

Impact has increased after the advent of electronic media because it has linked common people to the sources of information generation and information dissemination. Before 2007, common people were not aware of the Supreme Court, the Supreme Judicial Council and how parliamentary procedures. People are now more aware of all this and some have made this information to get justice for themselves. News media has played a leading role against social injustice.

FAIZ ULLAH JAN

Political impact has increased. That, however, is not the case as far a social impact is concerned. New media is yet to have people's interest has yet at its heart. The spectrum of media debate has significantly narrowed to politics which minimises its social impact.

FAROOQ SULEHRIA

Hard to say. One needs empirical evidence to answer this question.

FARZANA ALI

We have lost trust. That's why people pay no attention to. They believe we are working for a specific agenda. People would come to us to share information because they thought we were out to help the public at large. Now their trust has been shaken too much that they are not ready to

listen us now. Due to the attitudes of analysts and para-shooter anchorpersons, reporters and ordinary journalists have suffered greatly.

HAROON RASHEED

Yes, the media's influence is still there but most of the journalism today is revolving around politics alone. For social change, social issues will have to be taken up in a way that are easy for people to understand and digest.

I A REHMAN

The media's effectiveness depends on the space that the state provides to it. If the state decided to not listen to anyone including the media, what effect will the media then have?

In the past, the government always took note if the print media or electronic media highlighted anything. That kind of influence is decreasing for the print media now. This may also have to do with the state of governance and may not be entirely dependent on the state of the media itself. Is the state listening to the people or not? There was a time when the state had to listen to people. Now the state doesn't listen to people. So the media also has no effect.

JABBAR KHATTAK

Electronic and digital media have, undoubtedly, enhanced awareness among people. Public at large has become very fond of watching talk shows which aware of the daily happenings. With the passage of time, talk shows lost their credentials, quality and impartiality.

KAMAL SIDDIQI

Somehow, the prestige associated with print journalists has not been carried over to broadcast journalists. At the same time, because of our low literacy rate, the advent of private television has led to a massive rise in media audiences. In that sense, the impact has, indeed, increased.

MAIRA IMRAN

Serious anchors and journalists all came from traditional media where there still is a group of people who are trained in the basics of journalism. The emerging group of journalists, however, is just copying Indian style of journalism which we were advised not to do in any condition. We were trained to remain impartial in any case but this new generation is not trained enough to handle impartiality because they had no avenue to have learnt it.

QUATRINA HUSSAIN

TV's impact started also increasing in 2003 and 2004 when private TV channels entered the field and started shaping public opinion. One of the biggest advantages of TV news is that you are not required to read news to understand it. That is the biggest drawback of the print media – it is literacy- required. TV shattered that criteria by making news content and information available to all. That's why it has had a massive impact on politicising, in some cases even polarizing, and reshaping public discourse on every issue.

RASHID REHMAN

We have seen an increase in media's impact on people. They often look for news eagerly on TV, in newspaper and on social media. They are fully aware of how to get new information. They are now also interested in global affairs. This is a revolutionary transformation in the media landscape.

SAHER BALOACH

There are still people who are raising social and political issues and they are doing stories no one else is doing. Apart from that, I see the situation as a bit bleak. When the electronic media started in 2002, it was a new for Pakistan so people immediately started taking a lot interest in it. People were interested in knowing about everything. They also started looking up to news anchor. But a decade down the road from that, people already know what kind of a stance a TV or a talk show host will take on a certain issue so they are no longer interested as much as they once were.

I think this lack of interests also has to do with the fact that many important social and political issues have taken a back seat in the media. News organisations are also facing a resource crunch. When you don't have money, how can you invest in your human resources? No matter how passionate you are as a journalist, you do need job security and you do need money.

SALEEM SHAHID

When an official comes to know that a journalist is coming to see him, he just shuts the door of his office because he believes the journalist is not coming to him for news but for other personal reasons. The image of a journalists has deteriorated a lot as every journalist is use his or her influential contacts for personal gains. Now people don't even trust journalists.

People still have some trust in the print media and they wait for newspapers to verify news reports because some how they see that professionalism is still operative there. But even in print journalism, many newspapers just exist on paper. Their owners give business cards to their employees and tell them go in the field and earn money for him as well.

DR SEEMI NAGHMANA

The impact has increased manifolds because people turn to television to know what is happening around them. Previously this was not the case. People used to watch TV or listen to the radio only for entertainment -- not for news.

SYED TALAT HUSSAIN

The impact has is significantly increased but there is a downside to it. If your influence is defined by credibility then your credibility is tested every day. You can no longer take your credibility for granted. So, on the one hand, you have bigger impact and greater reach to political forums but, on the other hand, you have to be very careful about you rating and credibility. Once that credibility drops, people don't even look at you. They remember that you as a journalist who mislead them.

WAJAHAT MASOOD

Prior to the advent of electronic media, journalists were considered paramount parts of the society. They were given a very prestigious social status. People awaited to listen to their viewpoints. Now they have lost their importance. Now the common people think that journalists are misusing their positions. They are seen as black-mailers.

WAJID ZULQARNAIN

Social and political impact of journalism has definitely gone up. Since the advent of private electronic media and digital media, there is a bombardment of content/information which influences people in one way or another. Digital media is interactive and it allows people to become a part of the social and political campaigns or discussions that they like.

6-Has the respect for and trust in journalism and journalists in Pakistan increased/decreased since the advent of private electronic media and digital media?

AAMIR GHAURI

I think serious journalists are still liked by the people. They still believe that journalists are working for public interests but if you pick up social media trends, you will find out that even these journalists are being abused.

So, I don't think respect has come down but because Pakistani society has been very brutally divided between us and them over last 20 years in Pakistan, likes and dislikes have become really strong. Electronic media has only sharpened this division. People just pick up ideas from a TV anchor on who is good and who is bad.

ADIL SHAHZEB

Trust or deficit of trust in your journalism is directly linked to the perception of partisanship in your writing or in your show. If the supporters of a party perceive you as an opponent, they will troll you and call you a *lifafa* journalist.

ADNAN REHMAT

I think we again have to divide the answer to this question in two phases. There was a lot trust in and respect for journalism and journalists right up to 2010 because a lot of public interest issues were being discussed in the media. Popular social, political and business leaders were coming on TV to talk.

Now we see only a limited set of people on television screens. They are either sponsored by the state or they always carry an agenda. Resultantly, media has given up its principles – such as giving balanced coverage to different viewpoints. The media outlets are providing the same viewpoints without offering their opposites. Respect for journalism, therefore, has gone down. Journalism is now seen as part of Pakistan's problems not as part of a solution

AMBER RAHIM SHAMSI

The journalism's credibility has suffered partially because of censorship, self- censorship and the perception that certain journalists are working on a certain agenda. In many instances, this perception is correct because a lot of media organizations clearly have biases or agendas. But the credibility has also suffered because there have been a lot of social media campaigns against various newspapers, television channels and journalists.

AYAZ KHAN

Respect and trust have decreased immensely because of our anchors. They come on TV with their own agenda. We always ignore the mistakes what make and just talk about the freedom of media. That is why we are suffering.

DR IRFAN AZIZ

Over the years, TV channels have lost their ratings. They have also lost their importance and credibility. In the same way, newspapers have failed to maintain a distinct identity – apart from electronic media. People never want to read news which they have already watched on TV. Newspaper are kept in offices only for record. No one will buy a newspaper for 25 rupees every day because people can get the same news on TV – and with additional audio-visual effects.

Having said that, the credibility of journalists has improved because Pakistan is a very volatile country and political instability is always suitable for the news business. In times of political turmoil, people usually try to access the views of the journalists they trust and even ask question about any the latest developments.

DR TAUSEEF AHMAD KHAN

Respect level has gone down. Same kind of programs running on every TV has made journalists very unreliable. Secondly, scandals involving journalists are being circulated through social media every day.

Previously, people did not know if a journalist could be bribed or what *lifafa* journalism was. Social media has played a pivotal role in making them aware of all these things. This awareness has resulted in the decline of journalism's credibility.

FAIZ ULLAH JAN

Both have decreased because of journalism's disconnect from the real issues of people.

FAROOQ SULEHRIA

Hard to answer without a proper research.

FARZANA ALI

Trust in journalists has decreases greatly. Once people asked us about what was going on in the country. For the last five years, due to social media and various other factors -- such as the government's handling of the media, activities of intelligence agencies, and censorship – the credibility of journalists has gone down.

When people now meet a journalist, they make fun of him or her and his or her channel. People have fixed opinions about each channel. This is mainly because many things that are not telecasted on TV due to restrictions from PEMRA appear on social media and show TV channels in a bad light – as liars and propagandists.

HAROON RASHEED

Not interested to answer.

I A REHMAN

Media as a whole has lost credibility. Media has lost the good will of the people. Neither print media nor electronic media is reporting everything. In many cases, media is reporting only what is officially said. This means that there is a lack of reasons why people should feel that the media can be trusted.

JABBAR KHATTAK

Credibility varies from person to person. Many journalists, media practitioners and anchors have been exposed due to their unethical practices. They have lost their credentials.

Unfortunately, local journalism is not being supported by the government which has had a severely negative effect on local issues, local leadership and local economy. If we had supported local journalism, things would have been different and journalism could have provided bread and butter to many people and resolved many local issues, thus improving local economy and helping the emergence of local leadership. That way you could have also increased the participation of public in the journalistic and media activities and thus strengthened democratic values in the society.

KAMAL SIDDIQI

Respect possibly has gone down with the rise in sensationalism and fake news.

MAIRA IMRAN

Trust is gone. When I joined journalism ten years ago, people would come to me with applications whenever I went. They wanted me to write or broadcast about their problems. Now when people come to know about someone being a journalist, they start taunting and blaming you. Trust and respect have been shaken badly.

QUATRINA HUSSAIN

Respect for journalists, especially the people we seen on TV rose after the advent of the electronic media. This is because when you come into people's homes every day, and they watch you, they feel that they know you. Presenters and anchors thus became celebrities. There has been a lot of respect for journalists and what they said.

In recent years, however, this respect has gone down. As society becomes polarized, journalists are seen as taking the sides in this polarization. This, indeed, is a global phenomenon with American President Donald Trump targeting the critical media as fake news, fake media. We have seen our own political parties say the same thing as well. If you are seen as opposing the views of a certain political party then the supporters of that political party call you corrupt and *lifafa* journalist. This has generally eroded respect for journalists and journalism.

RASHID REHMAN

The journalism landscape in Pakistan offers a mixed picture of freedom, manipulation, and constraints. In 2016, a very vague electronic crime act has been passed and has led to the blocking of many social accounts.

In older periods of repression, there was a trust in journalism because journalists fought for the freedom of expression. Now that journalists are not waging a serious struggle for the freedom of expression, they are often seen as being on the payroll of someone which is seen as a reason why

they have compromised on their professional ethics. They are seen as serving the interests of the powerful.

SAHER BALOACH

Immediately after 2002, people like Hamid Mir, Talat Hussain, Najam Sethi and Asma Sharazi became household names. Everyone used to respect them because they were seen as saying whatever they said after a proper investigation.

Then we saw how social media and specifically Twitter has changed how these people are look at now. We have heard all types of stories about them so we realised that everything in the media was not black and white but some shady things are also going on. These journalists all were seen to have their alliances, affiliations and angles to stories.

So while people are more interested in news than they were before, the credibility of journalists is now under serious doubt and question. People now see journalists as being on the payroll of someone. They believe that every journalist has his or her own biases and that every news organization has an agenda.

So people have become smarter and they have devised their own ways of finding out what they see as the real story. They have their own sources and channels from where they get information. In a sense, they are not relaying on journalists. This is making the job of journalism more difficult than before. We have to do more than we ever did to become credible.

SALEEM SHAHID

People are just fed up by talk shows and pay no attention to the opinion of theses anchors. I was told in a seminar in Islamabad that there were 1800 to 2000 journalist before 2002 but now we have 20,000 journalists. I immediately responded that there were still only 1800 journalists in the country and I did not know what to call the rest.

DR SEEMI NAGHMANA

Now people pay less heed to any news telecasted on TV comparative to previous years. But when TV first came around, people would be surprised to see and hear new as, when and where it happened. Whatever they saw or heard on TV, they believed it to be authentic. Now that perception has been reversed. Confusion among society has increased due to all the advancements in information technology and due to the presence of all the multiple sources of news.

SYED TALAT HUSSAIN

You will be respected if you are credible and your opinion is logical. Respect is related to credibility and credibility is maintained by your facts and accurate information and by the expression of your opinion in a logical way. You will not be liked but that is different from being

respected. People may dislike you for what you say and write but they will respect you if your facts are accurate

Journalism has become a mass profession. Journalists' interaction with people has increased. Journalists now get feedback about their work in real time. Wherever you have greater public interaction, it is always difficult to maintain respect as there are always people who will question you. So the traditional notion of respect based on acceptance without questioning is gone. You have to earn, win and sustain your respect based on your daily work.

WAJAHAT MASOOD

Trust has been badly shaken. We are just making efforts to serve the interests of our masters. Genuine journalism has been replaced with parallel or monopolized journalism. Journalists have compromised everything -- credibility, respect and influence.

WAJID ZULQARNAIN

I don't think the level of respect or trust has increased. It is just that people have become addicted to news media and sometimes they also rely on it for obtaining information and analysis.