

## Developing an Iraqi Media Style Guide and Conflict Reporting Module

Media play an increasingly important role in how societies adjust during conflict and emerge after a conflict. During these times, journalists and editors are called upon to demonstrate and enhance their professionalism. Media monitors play a pivotal role in identifying best journalism practices while media regulators develop ethical and professional standards. The development of conflict-sensitive reporting, responsible monitoring and active regulation have clear bearing on development, democracy and dialogue. More specifically, how language and images are used in reporting can make an impact in inflaming tensions or in reconciling differences.

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) began working with Iraqi media stakeholders in 2009 to seek ways to mitigate media incitement to violence. To strengthen the capacity of Iraqi media professionals to report, monitor and regulate media, USIP conducted a series of forums and training workshops involving Iraqi and international experts. These meetings started in Istanbul in September 2009 and continued with a six-day workshop in Beirut in November 2010.

One of the outcomes of this collaboration was a request by Iraqi media professionals to develop a style guide that contributes to dialogue and mutual understanding among journalists, monitors and regulators. It aims to encourage both self-regulatory and regulatory steps to facilitate conflict-sensitive reporting. This document outlines the development of a style guide and focuses on how to address inflammatory news coverage. This style guide is a 'living document' that is adjustable to the needs of each organization and should be updated to reflect changes in journalistic practices. *Journalists, media monitors and regulators can develop and customize the style guide to fit their needs.*

This resource begins by outlining the objectives of a generic style guide as well as its uses and sections. Recommended steps for creating a customized style guide are also presented. *The style guide is then applied to conflict reporting in Iraq as a case study for reporting on elections.* This guide also includes three appendices: a style guide template for journalists, another template for media monitors and regulators, and a glossary of inflammatory terms. While this resource addresses only some of the needs of Iraqi media professionals, it aims to promote some foundational practices that can be utilized by media professionals in Iraq and potentially in other conflict-affected areas.

# 1 Style Guide Objectives

## 1.1 What is a Style Guide?

- A style guide is a manuscript/document that articulates the institution's mission statement into specific guidelines. These standards and procedures ensure that a *professional, consistent and reliable* resource is available for journalists, media monitors and regulators.
- The style guide can be an *internal document* shared between members of the same institution or a *public document* increasing the transparency of the news reporting process.
- The style guide is also (if a public document) a *clear declaration of the openness and intentions* of the media organization. News organizations aiming to achieve balance and fairness are highly encouraged to make such documents public. Engaging in a transparent way with the public and with monitoring agencies provides a higher level of public credibility.
- The style guide offers answers to common questions about *language, newsgathering, reporting and producing*. It is the most widely shared document in the newsroom.
- The style guide is a tool *for news writing, producing and distribution*. It is also a tool for *understanding and monitoring* news and current affairs programs.

## 1.2 Why Have a Style Guide?

There are three broad uses for the style guide making it a required document for professional journalists and a useful tool for media regulators and monitors:

- Because a style guide is a benchmark for professional news standards, it can provide a model for aspiring journalists while allowing media monitors and regulators to gauge media's progress. A style guide provides clearly outlined *norms* for journalists to follow.
- Because a style guide aims to maintain *consistency*, it can develop news routines, standards and practices that can be promoted across the newsroom, the industry and the country. These standards are customized to the needs of each organization while conforming to recognized norms of good journalism.
- Because a style guide is written with journalists, media monitors and regulators in mind, it can serve as a tool for *training and guiding* on specific controversial and contested issues. It becomes a reference available to media professionals on a range of contentious or debatable issues.

## 1.3 Who Uses a Style Guide?

Traditionally, the use of a style guide was limited to news writers and editors. They use such resources to maintain consistency with veteran journalists and for mentoring junior writers/reporters. As Iraq tries to nurture a new generation of professional journalists, a style guide could provide much needed guidance.

More recently, other stakeholders interested in adhering to *higher standards of newswriting and reporting* have begun to adopt modified versions of the traditional style guide. The stakeholders, particularly media monitors and regulators, use style guides to increase the familiarity of their staff with newsroom routines and develop *check lists for identifying and monitoring* specific problems.

The development of style guides has increasingly become *a process of thinking* about the various challenges facing contemporary news writing and an attempt to provide specific written guidelines to be shared among various stakeholders. This process can provide a platform for discussing problems, practices and solutions to news making.

## 1.4 Which Groups Influence Media and the Style Guide Process?

Research on journalism practices suggests that various groups may be *interested, involved or influential* in the way media is developed, interpreted or regulated. Whether in reporting, monitoring or regulating the media, the intensity of these groups' interactions with the media is often controlled through specific guidelines in a style guide.

Such groups include: *media monitors, television journalists, print and radio journalists, politicians, the public, political supporters, religious leaders, regulators, government ministers, foreign governments, military & police and others.*

This section serves to remind journalists, monitors and regulators that media operate in a context that often affects the outcome of their work. In a conflict environment, the degree of interest, involvement or influence may vary from one group to another. In developing a style guide, media professionals should be aware of these various groups and their ability to shape the style guide development or implementation process.

More importantly, countries undergoing political, economic or security changes need to address additional influences. Perhaps the most important relates to safeguarding the security of its employees. By clearly addressing the use of inflammatory terms, in part through a style guide, journalists can avoid the personal and collective risks associated with drawing unwanted attention to their reporting.

## 2 Generic Style Guide Structure

### 2.1 Sections of a Style Guide

The following are explanations for the various sections of the style guide template (check appendices A & B).

### 2.1.1 Language Guide

The focus of the language guide is to *standardize grammar, spelling and the use of special words*. For instance, guidelines could address the use of standard Vs in colloquial Arabic, the use of Arabic or Hindi numbers or a standardized way of referencing names and titles.

### 2.1.2 Broadcast Writing Guide

This section specifically addresses the routines and processes of *selecting, researching and writing a news item*. It offers both veteran and novice journalists a step-by-step guideline regarding the craft of writing for television which differs from that of print or even traditional Arabic writing. Items may include guidelines to establish newsworthiness or standardized lead-ins and lead-outs in a newscast.

### 2.1.3 Guide for Presenters

Style guides need to specifically address on-air personalities (presenters, anchors or others) since television channels are increasingly relying on live talk shows with multiple guests. The challenges associated with live coverage should be clearly outlined and addressed, including content (such as opinion, openness and clarity) but also context (such as dress and make-up). *Guidelines on dress should be developed for all on air personalities, not just the presenters*. One recurring challenge for both news anchors and talk show presenters is the tendency to editorialize instead of reporting news in an objective manner.

### 2.1.4 Reporting Guide

Reporters are at the frontline of newsgathering and their *conduct on and off camera has repercussions on news delivery*. The types of interviews conducted, the selection of sound bites, the choice of terms used, and the duration of shots should be outlined and respected by the reporters. A reporting guide addresses the various challenges involved in the research, fieldwork and editing of reports.

### 2.1.5 Production Team Roles and Guides

This section includes an organizational chart as well as job descriptions of the newsroom staff. It clearly outlines *the hierarchy and reporting process within the organization*. Examples may include the relationship between technical and editorial staff, the news reporter and the producer and others. Well-defined task divisions and job descriptions create clear lines of delineation as well as increase responsibilities and accountability.

### 2.1.6 Special Considerations

Depending on each organization, special considerations guides may be developed to *deal with specific issues or in advance of certain events*. For instance, a crisis management guide could provide set directives for newsroom management in the event of an attack on headquarters. Also, such guidelines could outline how to establish redundant studios and facilities, and how to design organizational hierarchies.

### 2.1.7 Ethical Considerations

A newsroom can have specific ethical guidelines regarding dealing with victims, and images of deceased people. One particularly important area for balance and fairness relates to receiving gifts from politicians and businesses that may be trying to influence reporting. Media monitors could focus on determining whether specific politicians or businesses are involved in the financing of a television channel. Media regulators could focus on investigating if there was an exclusion of competing businesses or rival politicians as part of a channel's coverage.

### 2.1.8 Glossary of Terms

This glossary lists the *proper use of specific terms, as well as common spelling mistakes, common misuse of terms and inflammatory terms*. These glossaries are constantly updated to reflect the changing nature of news lexicons and the context in which terms appear. The glossary of terms also serves to set boundaries when it comes to terms and styles of writing. The glossary advises journalists against specific practices which could include “banned” or “disallowed” phrases/words/styles.

## 2.2 How to Develop Your Own Style Guide

Given the prior sections, newsroom directors, media monitors and regulators are encouraged to develop their own style guide that reflects the specific operational needs of their organization. While some Iraqi organizations have developed basic guidelines for journalistic practices, there is a need to develop style guides with a focus on conflict reporting. The following steps are suggested to enhance existing guidelines or develop practical style guides for journalists, news monitors and media regulators:

- **Review Existing Style Guides and Reference Tools.** Conduct a full inventory of existing materials and determine strengths and weaknesses. Assess whether conflict is adequately covered. Note positive features that should remain or be revised in your own customized version.
- **Involve all Staff and Build Consensus.** Focus on having all newsroom/monitoring personnel involved in the process. Each will contribute on specific sections related to their area of expertise. For example, language, reporting, interviewing, directing etc. Build consensual agreement by involving all staff in developing, applying and maintaining a style guide.
- **Employ Lessons from Content Analysis.** Use the content analysis study (attached) to raise awareness about content analysis methods. News media, regulators and media monitors can employ content analysis results to carefully target areas of improvement in news reporting. Style guides can take these results into account to serve as more effective training tools.
- **Cultivate Expert Opinions.** Gather sources or experts in key areas (legal, production, reporting etc.) from inside and outside the organization. Make these sources/experts involved in the process, particularly on certain issues like language, politics and economics. Ask each source to suggest key issues and solutions using the template form provided in order to improve the style guide.

- **Share Knowledge Across Sectors.** News directors, media monitors and regulators should meet regularly to benefit from their collective expertise by exchanging concerns and best practices. Greater understanding of each other's sector can lead to more consistent implementation of standard practices.
  - **Revise and Enhance on a Regular Basis.** Ensure that the style guide document is constantly revised and routinely updated to maintain its relevance and to take into account new contexts.
  - **Publish Results.** Adopting a style guide will enhance professional standards and the public credibility of the organization's monitoring or news presentation. This information should be shared in some form to share best practices and to inform the public that transparent practices are employed. By making such documents public, news organizations and media monitors invite public participation and enhance civic participation in mitigating conflict.
- **Refer to Appendix A for suggested items for developing a style guide for journalists**
  - **Refer to Appendix B for suggested items for developing a style guide for media monitors & regulators**

### 3 Conflict Reporting Module: Elections Reporting

This section presents a specific case study on conflict-reporting practices during elections. It outlines the role of media during elections, explores ethical and regulatory guidelines, defines inflammatory terms and offers standards for identifying and addressing inflammatory terms. It is advisable to incorporate aspects of this framework as part of any individually developed style guide.

The coverage of elections presents both an opportunity and a challenge to journalists, media monitors and media regulators. The intensity of the campaign, the changing headlines and the need for controlling inflammatory language makes it an exciting and a very contentious time. The following highlights the role of media and media professionals during an election period:

#### 3.1.1 Media's Possible Role during Elections

There are a number of roles that media could play during election periods, including *providing knowledge, developing a responsible public opinion and creating an environment that enables peaceful elections*. The roles are inspired by conflict-sensitive journalism:

- Telling people *what to think about not what to think*. For instance, media ideally do not tell the public that they should vote a particular candidate into office, but rather that this candidate wants to address certain issues.
- *Educating* the public about rights and responsibilities during elections.
- Providing a *two-way outlet* between citizens and their future representatives.

- *Correcting misconceptions and dispelling myths* about the various ethno-religious groups.
- Assisting in *consensus building* over some of the most divisive issues through current affairs programming that includes all sides of the debate.
- *Exploring the roots and causes of conflicts*, and with the help of specialists, examining possible solutions.
- *Enabling face-saving activities* particularly during the post-election period after the winners have been declared.

### 3.1.2 Four Guidelines for Media Professionals, Monitors and Regulators

An election period is an appropriate time to *remind* and *monitor* news writers and reporters of four important guidelines related to their professional conduct:

- **Defamatory:** Journalists need to avoid repeating inaccurate allegations and insults or twisting the truth about a person, while media monitors and regulators need to be watchful of the original source of such news items.
- **Derivative:** Journalists should avoid repeating what has been reported elsewhere without checking the facts and proper attribution. This may just repeat false information. Media monitors and regulators should be aware of the need for proper sourcing of information. Recognizing the difficulty of achieving such tasks, media organizations should carefully discuss ways to relay information not misinformation. Misinformation often results in increased tension.
- **Malicious:** Reporters should avoid misusing their power by twisting the news and using it as a personal weapon to deliberately harm anyone. Media monitors and regulators need to be watchful of the language, visuals and overall news presentation.
- **Corrupt:** Journalists should avoid accepting bribes. In the Iraqi context, media organizations should develop proper guidelines for possible gifts by setting proper disclosures, thresholds, etc. At the same time, such guidelines should clearly distinguish between gifts and correspondents' requests of special favors from politicians. Professional correspondents are not for sale. Also, professional monitors and regulators should develop rigorous methods for checks and balances, ensuring that their verdicts are unbiased.

### 3.2 Defining Inflammatory Terms

Building on USIP's on-going work with Iraqi media professionals, it is clear that the Iraqi broadcasting sector employs potentially inflammatory terms in a wide range of contexts. Particularly during election periods, the use of such terms can have dramatic effects on the Iraqi population, media personnel and politicians.



It is essential to build a common consensus around the meaning of “inflammatory” terms and their relationship with media activities, especially news reporting.

Inflammatory terms are those terms that make a person or group feel they are being unfairly *attacked* and *can tempt* a person or group to seek a violent reaction or response. On the other hand, the more that individuals or groups feel that they are fairly treated, the less likely it is they will resort to violence in retaliation against the journalist or the group he/she represents.

The role of media is essential in curbing the use of inflammatory terms, because **media can create suspicion, distrust and potential for conflict, but also can communicate, educate and dispel myths.** Media professionals, particularly journalists, need to express the facts in a way that gets the idea across without name-calling or moral judgment.

An excessive and unrestricted use of inflammatory terms may lead to incitement to violence. As a reminder, the Iraqi Communication and Media Commission’s (CMC) Interim Broadcasting Program Code of Practice (August 2004) addressed this issue specifically:

- “broadcasters themselves are responsible for the content of all material broadcast by them, whatever its source, and it is the responsibility of the broadcasters to ensure that their programs and services operate in compliance with the code.”
- “broadcasting that 1) incites imminent (meaning close in time, immediate or impending) violence, ethnic or religious hatred, civil disorder or rioting among the people of Iraq and 2) carries the clear and immediate risk of causing such incitement.”

When developing a style guide, the following are specific questions that need to be addressed. Particular attention is given to the use of terms and/or visuals:

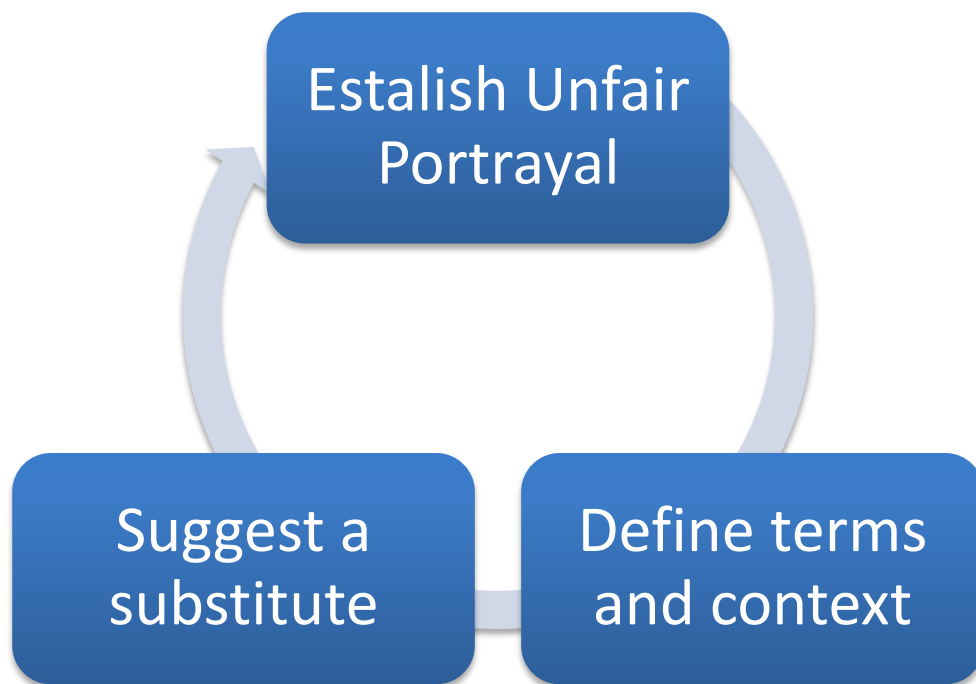
- What image/meanings are you (the journalist) trying to evoke?  
Here consider *the diversity of the Iraqi ethno-sectarian communities* as well as the *possible long-term implications* on certain demographics such as children and women.
- Why do you (the journalist) use these terms?  
It is important to try and *determine the reasons why journalists develop these routines.* Some of the common reasons include habit, bias, forms of control, or other.

### 3.3 The Three-Step Process for Identifying and Replacing Inflammatory Terms

The following is a three-step process that journalists, media monitors and regulators can apply to identify potentially inflammatory terms (check list of inflammatory terms for examples) and replace them with conflict-sensitive terms.



1. **Establish Unfair Portrayal:** In other words, could anyone be considered as attacked? Could the term tempt anyone to retaliate? Are we impartially expressing facts without passing judgments?
2. **Define Terms and Context:** The meaning of words depends on the context such as the sentence, visuals, tone of voice, audio elements and others. Put in context, does the proposed definition account for one or more cases when the word could be considered as inflammatory? List specific contexts in which the term may not be considered as inflammatory.
3. **Suggest a Substitute:** Propose an alternative term and try to put the substitute to the test. Is it one-sided (a term heavily used by one group to label another)? Are we unfairly framing the person or group (casting the person or group in a negative light)? Does the substituted word elicit emotive, victimizing, sensationalizing or demonizing perceptions in the public mind?



## • **Appendix A: Detailed List of Style Guide Items for Newsroom**

The following list offers a number of suggested questions/items to be resolved as you develop your organization's style guide. Please feel free to add to the list or adopt what you feel is appropriate for your workflow.

### **1. Language Guide (general intro)**

- 1.1. Standard Vs Colloquial Arabic
- 1.2. The issue Tashkeel/Tashreek
  - a) Rules to be observed
  - b) Acceptable and non-acceptable tashkeel
- 1.3. Dealing with Months
- 1.4. Dealing with special terms or words
- 1.5. Dealing with Numbers
- 1.6. Dealing with names and titles
  - a) Countries
  - b) Organizations
  - c) People (western names)
  - d) Titles

### **2. Broadcast Writing**

- 2.1. Establishing newsworthiness
- 2.2. Inverted Sentences (one shot to tell the story)
- 2.3. Starting with the VERB
- 2.4. Active voice
- 2.5. Tenses (present v/s past)
- 2.6. Short sentences
- 2.7. One idea one sentence
- 2.8. Redundancy and repetitions
- 2.9. Quotation (or not)
- 2.10. Headlines (Hey it's important)
- 2.11. The lead
  - a) Repeated lines
  - b) Revelation
  - c) Confusion
  - d) Nothing new phrases
  - e) Address the viewer
  - f) Move the story forward
  - g) Generate interest and excitement
- 2.12. Lead-ins and Lead-outs
- 2.13. Teases
- 2.14. Transition Sentences
- 2.15. Numbers
- 2.16. Sourcing

- a) Dealing with Analysis and opinion
- b) Dealing with insufficient sources
- c) Sourcing Allegations
- 2.17. Accuracy
- 2.18. Conflicting Reports (using “at least”, or contradicting reports)
- 2.19. Balance (who’s version of the story)
- 2.20. Judgment Words (the classic case of martyred, suicide, killed)

### **3. Guide for Presenters:**

- 3.1. Opinion
- 3.2. Openness and Clarity
  - a) Knowledge is power (so is ignorance)
  - b) Honesty OFF air as well as on air (list of questions or list of themes, paying guests or reimbursing them etc.)
  - c) The pre-interview (it allows for follow-ups)
  - d) Denials, refusals, no comments
- 3.3. Getting them on air (your sales pitch)
- 3.4. Intro show, package and show sign off
- 3.5. Talent
  - a) Guidelines on Look
  - b) Make-up

### **4. Technical Style Guide**

- 4.1. Report Pitches
  - a) Process
  - b) Editing
  - c) Final Script
- 4.2. Durations
- 4.3. Shooting/Editing
  - a) Pictures
  - b) Talent
  - c) Audio
  - d) Rushes B-Roll
  - e) Bridges, Piece To Camera
- 4.4. Reports
  - a) Do’s and Don’ts
  - b) Voice Over structure
  - c) Package Structure
- 4.5. Interviews
  - a) Do’s and Don’ts
  - b) Interview Structure
- 4.6. Donuts
- 4.7. Constructing a Package
  - a) Examples

- b) Sign Offs

## **5. Production Roles and Guides**

### **5.1. Generic Newsroom task division**

- a) Organization
- b) Producer
- c) Talent (presenter, reporter)
- d) Writer/assistant producer

### **5.2. Newsroom and Operations**

- a) Graphics
- b) Directors
- c) Facilities

### **5.3. Show editing Guide**

- a) Pre-production (creative brief, pitch, graphic)
- b) Production (stockfootage, show footage, audio production/selection)
- c) Online editing
- d) Revisions
- e) Starting all over again

## **6. Special considerations**

## **7. Glossary of Technical Terms**

## **• Appendix B: Detailed List of Style Guide Items for Media Monitors and Regulators**

### **1. Language Guide (general intro)**

- 1.1. Standard Vs Colloquial Arabic: Are there any instances where the use of a special local dialect is problematic?
- 1.2. Dealing with special terms or words: What about the use of special terms that would, to an average observer, denote a certain bias (positive or negative)?
- 1.3. Dealing with names and titles: How does dealing with the names (countries and organizations) or titles (people) reveal a certain bias?

### **2. Arabic Broadcast Writing**

- 2.1. Establishing newsworthiness: how is newsworthiness established? Why is this particular story the lead in the newscast? How does that compare across all channels?
- 2.2. Quotation (or not): how are people cited? Verbatim? A soundbite? With caption? Is it verifiable?

- 2.3. Headlines: what language is used to frame the headlines?
- 2.4. The lead: what techniques are used to reveal the story? Is it confusing? How is the viewer addressed? What elements are used to generate interest and excitement?
- 2.5. Lead-ins and Lead-outs: In leading in and out of a story, does the anchor do any editorializing?
- 2.6. Teases and transition sentences: how do anchors tease or transition to a story?
- 2.7. Sourcing
  - a) Dealing with Analysis and opinion
  - b) Dealing with insufficient sources
  - c) Sourcing Allegations
- 2.8. Accuracy: How verifiably accurate is the reporting? How do they deal with conflicting reports? What do they say when there are contradicting reports?
- 2.9. Balance: Who's version of the story is being told?
- 2.10. Judgment Words: How do they deal with controversial situation? How consistent is their use of judgment words? For example, the classic case of martyred, suicide, killed.

### **3. On Air Guide for Presenters and Reporters:**

- 3.1. Opinion: Do presenters explicitly offer their opinions? Do they disguise their opinions in formulating their questions?
- 3.2. Openness and Clarity
  - a) Knowledge is power (so is ignorance)
  - b) Honesty OFF air as well as on air (list of questions or list of themes, paying guests or reimbursing them etc.
  - c) What is their policy concerning denials, refusals, no comments?
- 3.3. Intro show: How do they introduce the show? Do they resort to expressing their opinion?

### **4. Reporting Guide**

- 4.1. Reporting Live:
  - a) Analysis and opinion versus facts
  - b) Do they expression caution in their reporting?
- 4.2. Shooting/Editing
  - a) Pictures: What images are associated with which words? How shocking are the images?
  - b) Rushes B-Roll: Are the B-rolls or archival footage supportive of the story or misleading?
- 4.3. Interviews
  - a) Do's and Don'ts
  - b) Interview Structure

## 5. Special considerations:

How do reporters, anchors, producers and pundits deal with crisis situation (reporting on a bomb scare, an explosion etc.)? How biased is their reporting? What adjectives, terms, visuals do they use? How emotional or structured is their reporting, choice of interviews, images etc.?

## 6. Glossary of Technical Terms:

Following a thorough analysis, a list of commonly used terms would emerge and as monitors and regulators, you want to develop a lexicon for a conflict sensitive journalism.

### • Appendix C: Glossary of Inflammatory Terms - 10/12/2010

As part of the workshop conducted by USIP in November 2010, participants collaboratively revised the terms that were previously identified by Iraqi media professionals as potentially inflammatory. The participants - news directors from five major satellite channels, media regulators and civil society media monitors - also began to build a consensus about alternative terms. The original terms can be found in the “User Guidelines for Preventing Media Incitement to Violence in Iraq” resource from this link:

<http://www.usip.org/files/resources/Preventing%20Media%20Incitement-User%20Guidelines.pdf>

By applying the Three Step Process for Identifying and Replacing Inflammatory Terms as outlined in this guide, participants were able to discuss and debate whether a term, or its suggested alternatives, was inflammatory or not. Then a consensus was built over one or more alternatives that could be adopted.

The following is a summary of the terms identified and their proposed substitutes. Note that terms may have different substitutes depending on the context.

This section also includes an additional list of terms to consider, particularly during situations in which conflict might arise such as elections.

- Iranian/Foreign agenda  
Alternative: (neighboring countries’) interests or interferences
- Sectarian quotas  
Alternative: National partnership, political participation
- Conspiracy  
Alternative: Plans, schemes or orientations
- Exclusion  
Alternative: Banning, neutralization or distancing
- Deprivation  
Alternative: Exception or banning

- Marginalization  
Alternative: Reducing the role
- The rule of the majority  
Alternative: define the nature of this majority - for example parliamentary majority, political majority or electoral majority.
- Authoritarian parties  
Alternative: ruling parties or influential parties
- National resistance  
Alternative: militant groups, outlaw groups or terrorist groups
- Federalism  
Alternative: federation which emphasizes unity rather than partition.

The style guide is not a fixed document, and it should be constantly adapted to the changing practices of journalists. In fact, the workshop participants deemed that certain terms, identified as inflammatory in the previous resource, were no longer in use and therefore are to be removed from the glossary. These terms are:

- Vote or do not vote (this was a campaign slogan not in use anymore)
- The Shiite-Kurdish alliance

Media professionals should adopt and adapt new terms for the style guide. Participants considered several terms for inclusion on the list of inflammatory terms, but none succeeded in passing the Three Step Process for Identifying and Replacing Inflammatory Terms. Some of these terms were:

- Disputed areas
- The defunct regime
- The central government