



# Analysis

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## 2010 Update: Pakistan -- Use of SNS for Social Action Limited Primarily to Elites

Based on the current observed levels of participation on social network sites (SNS) in Pakistan and the country's past experience with street protest movements during the 2007 State of Emergency and 2009 lawyers Long March, it is possible that Internet users could leverage such sites to organize grassroots protest movements, but the intensity of such efforts would likely be limited by several factors, including:

- The predominance of English over Urdu as the most common medium used on social networking sites in Pakistan generally limits the spread of messages via social networking platforms to users with a good English ability. Political commentary from Pakistan's nascent English-language blogging community, composed of mainly college-educated urban elites, does not appear to reflect majority public opinion in the country overall, and would not resonate ideologically with either the poor urban masses or most rural Pakistanis.
- Internet access in Pakistan, while apparently growing, does not yet even approach the penetration levels seen in most Western countries, and access in rural areas lags well behind that in large cities. Although cell phone use is increasing even in rural regions, it is still relatively expensive, and many people choose not to access the Internet on their mobile devices.
- The relatively common movement of tech-savvy urban populations between Pakistan and locations abroad means that virtual community participants may not physically be on location to participate in grassroots street protest events.
- Political apathy, fatigue with current Pakistani leadership and political parties, and competing bread and butter issues may inhibit the degree to which the messages of protest movements resonate among participants in virtual communities.

This paper updates an earlier OSC analysis, titled "Use of Interactive Digital Media in Pakistan for Social Action Limited Largely to Elite" and dated 6 August 2009.

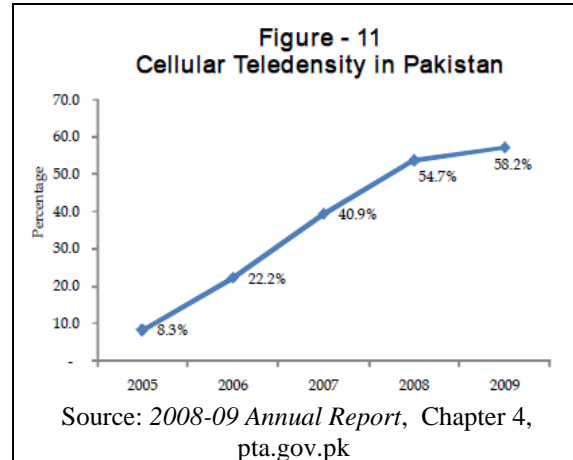
**Internet Access in Pakistan:** Internet access in Pakistan, especially broadband, is concentrated in the country's urban areas and is relatively sparse across the country's rural regions. As of 2009, Pakistan had 19 million Internet subscribers, according to the Pakistan Telecommunications Authority's *2008-09 Annual Report*.<sup>1</sup> However, the Internet Service Providers Association of Pakistan (ISPAK) estimates that there are currently as few as 7-8 million Internet users in Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> Using figures from the United Nation's 2009 population estimate (180.8 million), this places the usage rate at 10.51% or 0.5% of the population overall.<sup>3</sup> Other non-Pakistani sources also estimate that Internet penetration is around 9-11%.<sup>4</sup>

This OSC product is based exclusively on the content and behavior of selected media and has not been coordinated with other US Government components.

<sup>5</sup> Note that part of the discrepancy in Internet use estimates may arise from the fact that the number of Internet users may be higher than the number of Internet subscribers in developing countries like Pakistan because many users access the Internet from Internet cafes, not from their homes.

- A 2007 Intermedia survey found that 1% of respondents use the Internet at least once a week -- not a noticeable increase from the organization's earlier survey conducted in 2005.<sup>6</sup> Additionally, only half of those with Internet access used the Internet at home. Not surprisingly, more male respondents (3.8%) claim to have access to the Internet than female (0.4%), and more people with secondary professional degrees (11.9%) had access than any other levels of education.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, a March 2010 Gallup Pakistan survey found that 7% of respondents had used the Internet in the past six months, and more city-dwellers claimed Internet use (12%) than rural respondents.<sup>8</sup>
- **Broadband Access:** According to the PTA's *2008-09 Annual Report*, there were approximately 413,809 broadband subscribers in Pakistan in 2009, compared to 168,082 in June 2008 (a 146% increase), with the average monthly cost for unlimited 512kbs DSL US \$16.<sup>9</sup> However, broadband is still an emerging technology in Pakistan, and broadband penetration was only 0.26% as of 2009.<sup>10</sup> Broadband services include DSL, HFC, and WiMAX<sup>i</sup>. PTA estimates that there may be 4.35 million broadband subscribers in Pakistan by 2013.

**Mobile Telephone Use in Pakistan:** Mobile telephone penetration varies by province, with urban areas having much greater access to mobile service than rural ones. The PTA's *2008-09 Annual Report* shows cellular penetration (phones per 100 persons) at 58.2% in Pakistan overall, a 6.4% increase from the previous year. Sindh had the highest penetration (66.2%) and Balochistan the lowest (30.6%); Punjab (61.6%) and NWFP (37.0%) were in the middle.<sup>11</sup> The PTA lists the total number of cell phone subscriptions in Pakistan at 95.9 million (September 2009). There are five main mobile service providers operating in Pakistan: Mobilink (30.9% of market share), Telenor (22.2%), Ufone (21.2%), Warid (18.9%), and Zong (6.8%), figures as of 2009.<sup>12</sup>



<sup>i</sup> "WiMAX" stands for "worldwide interoperability for microwave access" and is a technology that provides the wireless transmission of data. Wateen Telecom (Pvt) Ltd launched its commercial WiMAX service in December 2007. Mobilink started offering voice and broadband WiMAX service in October 2008.

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- **Data Service:** All service providers offer some degree of data service with Telenor and Mobilink both claiming to be Pakistan's "largest data network." Both companies offer offers GPRS and "EDGE" GSM services. Short for "Enhanced Data Rates for GSM Evolution (also known as "Enhanced GPRS"), EDGE is a third generation (3G) technology that can deliver broadband-like data speeds to mobile devices.<sup>13</sup> Data service is not generally included in standard Pakistani subscription plans, and subscribers who wish to use their phones to browse the Internet must pay extra fees.
- **Mobile Devices:** Pakistan cell phone users have access to many of the same or similar cell phone models available in the US. However, smart phone devices are very expensive for lower income Pakistanis. For example, Mobilink charged 24,000 rupees (about \$288) for the Blackberry Pearl 8110 in January 2009 and 45,000 rupees (\$539) for the Blackberry Bold. Warid offered the Blackberry Pearl 8120 for 25,000 rupees (\$299).<sup>14</sup> The World Bank estimated Pakistan's gross national income (GNI) per capita at \$950 in 2008, placing these phones outside the reach of most Pakistanis.<sup>15</sup> However, there is significant income disparity within Pakistan as well -- English-language daily paper *Dawn* reported in early 2010 that Sindh Province has a per capita income of \$1,270, while Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province only has \$606.<sup>16</sup>
- **Short Message Service (SMS):** SMS messaging is popular among many mobile phone users in Pakistan, and several providers offer SMS-friendly discount packages. For example, Ufone's array of SMS packages includes: 300 SMS messages per day for 1.99 rupees per day (two cents), 500 messages per day for 3.99 rupees (5 cents), and 1,000 messages for two weeks for 25 rupees (29 cents).<sup>17</sup> The PTA reported that more than 25 billion messages were sent in 2007-08, a 200% increase from the previous year.<sup>18</sup> However, a December 2009 Gallup Pakistan poll found that most (37%) of respondents send messages in romanized Urdu, while 17% send messages in English, and only 26% send messages in Urdu script. Meanwhile, 29% said they do not send messages at all.<sup>19</sup>

### **Social Media Platforms**

**Blogs:** The Pakistani blogosphere, which began to develop in the early 2000s, remains small compared to that in Western countries such as the United States. General interest blogs typically resemble diaries with entries about authors' daily lives, popular entertainment topics, local events, or original poetry. Technology and sports-themed blogs are also prevalent, and only a handful of popular blogs focus exclusively on politics or current events. Many bloggers write in English instead of Urdu or minority languages such as Baluch, Pashto, or Sindhi. Their postings suggest they are primarily from Pakistan's urban, college-educated, upper class; have studied or worked outside of Pakistan; are employed in education, engineering, or IT fields; and consider the use of English a "marker for education and access to resources."<sup>20</sup> However, if Internet penetration increases in Pakistan's rural areas or suburban slums, the number of Internet users with lower levels of English literacy will likely rise, and demand for Urdu-language software and Internet content may increase.

- **Readership:** Bloggers in Pakistan compete with mainstream mass media for online readership, and statistics from web traffic monitoring sites such as *Alexa* and *Technorati* suggest that most of the English-language blogs monitored by OSC receive fewer visitors than the websites of English-language Pakistani newspapers. The English-language telecom and IT group blog "Pro-Pakistani" is one of the only blogs to rank within the top 50 websites accessed by Pakistani ISPs, according to *Alexa* statistics as of June 2010.<sup>21</sup>
- **Worldview:** Political commentary on these blogs tends to be more moderate than views believed to be held by the Pakistani public at large and is often similar to the editorial stances of mainstream English-language Pakistani papers. Moreover, bloggers often link to or include excerpts from the online versions of both Pakistani and Western newspapers. They tend to criticize the policies of President Zardari's administration and Pakistan's central Government in general for worsening the country's terrorism or extremism problems, rather than always blaming the United States or India. However, there are also some bloggers who are harshly critical of India, Israel, and the US.<sup>ii</sup> Polls posted on Pakistani blogs also suggest that many blog readers are more politically moderate and less conservative than Pakistan's population overall.<sup>22 23</sup>
- **Diaspora Community:** Many Pakistanis from the country's urban upper class study abroad at universities in the United Kingdom or the United States, and English-language blogs appear to serve as platforms for current and former students in this dispersed virtual community to communicate with each other. Although many bloggers write from outside of Pakistan, statistics from the Internet traffic aggregating site *Alexa* suggest the readers of these blogs are mostly within Pakistan.<sup>24 25</sup>
- **Competition With Traditional Media.** Recent polling shows that even Pakistan's Internet-savvy youth still prefer to spend their time consuming traditional media, as compared to new media. For example, in a January 2010 survey of Pakistani youth published by the English-language monthly periodical *Herald*, only 12% of respondents selected "chatting / social networking sites" as one of the top three ways they spend their spare time. In contrast, 51% chose "watching television," 45% chose "reading books," and 33% selected "going out with friends."<sup>26</sup> In contrast to US television viewers, the survey also found that 20% of respondents watched news programs most frequently on TV, compared to 12% for music channels and 11% for Indian programs.<sup>iii</sup>

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<sup>ii</sup> For specific illustrations of this worldview, see 25 February OSC Report "Pakistan -- Bloggers Criticize Islamabad Over Google Earth Drone Photos," 3 December 2008 OSC Report "Pakistan -- Bloggers Condemn Mumbai Attacks, Warn Against Military Confrontation," and 21 September 2008 OSC Report: "Pakistan -- Some Bloggers Demand Firmer Stance Against Militants After Hotel Attack."

<sup>iii</sup> A May 2010 Nielson analysis of young adult viewers (18-34 years old) in the United States shows that, at home, 48.2% watched entertainment programming and only 18.3% watched news. At other locations, such as a bar or a restaurant, 38.3% watch sports, 21.6% watch entertainment, and 16.2% watch news.

- Past and Potential Impact of Blogging:** Pakistani bloggers played a significant role in the dissemination of news and information during the State of Emergency imposed on 3 November 2007 by the then President Pervez Musharraf and during the parliamentary elections of February 2008. When the government restricted access to mainstream media, some Pakistanis at home and abroad turned to blogging sites to get what they perceived as accurate news.<sup>27 28</sup> Although Pakistani bloggers today still provide some unique news content, virtual communities appear to be turning to more interactive online social media platforms (such as *Twitter* and *Facebook*) as their primary tools for organizing and sharing real-time information.<sup>29</sup> For example, during the 2009 "Long March" protest movement, bloggers used SMS and twitter monitoring services such as "Cover It Live" to aggregate real-time street-level commentary on the rallies.<sup>30 31 32 iv</sup>

**Twitter:** English-language bloggers in Pakistan actively use the micro-blogging platform *Twitter* as a tool for organizing events, aggregating online reaction to current events, and promoting the cyber presence of Pakistanis globally. *Twitter* is increasingly supplementing blogs and becoming the online social networking tool of choice for real-time interaction among Pakistan's small virtual community of English-language bloggers. Bloggers in Pakistan began using *Twitter* as early as 2006 and 2007, but consistent with the growth of *Twitter* globally, participation increased more rapidly in late 2008 and 2009.<sup>33</sup>

- Users:** Similar to Pakistan's English-language blogosphere, most Pakistani *Twitter* users appear to be young, urban, college-educated, and studying or employed in technology, business, or engineering fields. In August 2009, the web traffic monitoring site *Alexa* found *Twitter* to be the 14th most frequently visited site in Pakistan, behind other social networking platforms including *Facebook*, *YouTube*, *Blogger*, *Wikipedia*, *RapidShare*, and *Wordpress*.<sup>34</sup> By June 2010, it had moved up to 10th place according to *Alexa* statistics behind *Google*, *Yahoo!*, *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Blogger.com*, and *Wikipedia*.<sup>35</sup> The top-ranked spots for Pakistani *Twitter* users who are judged

#### Twitter Terminology

*Twitter* is a free microblogging social network platform where users send and receive short text-based messages up to 140 characters in length. *Twitter* was founded in California in 2006.

**Follow** To subscribe to another user's *Twitter* feed. Unlike adding another user as a "friend" on platforms like *Facebook* or *Flickr*, following on *Twitter* is not necessarily reciprocal.

**Hashtag** Word or phrase prefixed with a pound symbol (#), such as #Karachi that effectively label a post as being about a certain topic. Posts may include multiple hashtags, but tags count toward the overall 140 character limit.

**Tweet** To post an entry to *Twitter*. Individual posts are called "tweets."

<sup>iv</sup> Many of the blogs that were active during the State of Emergency are no longer active. These types of blogs that arise in response to a crisis tend to be short-lived, and their authors turn to other activities once the crisis passes. Examples of discontinued blogs include "Pakistan Blackout," "The Emergency Times," and "We Oppose Emergency in Pakistan."

"most influential" or "most followers" by computer algorithms on *Twitter* ranking sites such as *wefollow* and *tweepk* are shared among Pakistani bloggers, politicians, celebrities, and mainstream media -- The participation of media companies, political figures, and entertainment stars on *Twitter* suggests that the platform is becoming more mainstream and not just a youth phenomenon.<sup>36 37</sup> As mainstream media begins to offer commentary on politicians' and celebrities' *Twitter* feeds, it increases the visibility of micro-blogging outside the community of existing users.

- Growth of *Twitter* Use Possibly Connected to Meetups/Tweetups:** *Twitter* first began to gain popularity among urban Pakistanis who were already bloggers on platforms such as *Blogger* or *Wordpress*. However, face-to-face "meetup" events in Islamabad, Karachi, and Lahore have helped expand Pakistan's virtual community of *Twitter* users to non-bloggers as well. These events provided opportunities for bloggers and prospective bloggers to informally network, discuss and test various Internet tools, and share strategies for promoting both English and Urdu language Pakistani blogs.<sup>38</sup> Many meetup events provided "live coverage" of the event by encouraging participants to post their real-time thoughts to *Twitter* using pre-determined hashtags.
- Government Response to *Twitter*:** Prior to the 2010 incident involving *Facebook* and "Everyone kDraw Mohammad Day," OSC had not observed any attempts by the Government of Pakistan to block access to *Twitter* in a way similar to how the PTA blocked access to *Blogger* from Pakistani ISPs in 2006.<sup>39</sup> However, *Twitter* was among the "hundreds" of sites blocked for several weeks in response to the *Facebook* incident. Nonetheless, several prominent politicians joined *Twitter* in 2009 and 2010. For more information politicians' user of social media, see page eight.
- Mass Media and *Twitter*:** Although *Dawn* was the first major media provider to join *Twitter* (May 2007), most of the news outlets that currently use *Twitter* joined in 2009 or 2010. Similar to US media, Pakistani newspapers and TV stations generally post links to stories on their regular websites instead of posting unique *Twitter* content. See table below for a snapshot of mass media on *Twitter*, as of 12 June 10.

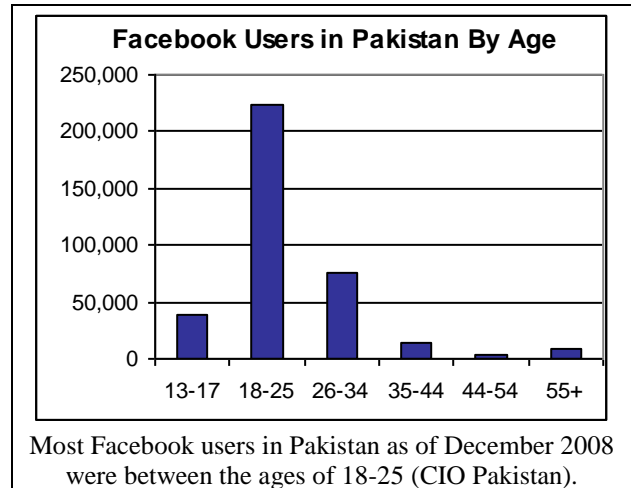
Name	Date Joined	Tweets	Followers	Language
Dawn	7 May 2007	39,855	4,455	English
Dunya TV	26 December 2009	2,496	507	English
Express 24/7	9 October 2009	2,354	1,807	English
Express Tribune	24 March 2010	849	829	English
Jang News	31 May 2009	88	843	English
Nawa-e-Waqt	24 April 2009	18,719	202	Urdu
The Nation	10 May 2008	13,975	1,409	English
The News	29 May 2010	193	94	English
Geo News TV	14 June 2009	12,072	392	English

**Facebook:** *Facebook*, a free membership-based social networking platform open to anyone worldwide, has not been officially localized for Urdu but is especially popular among college-aged Pakistanis who study or work abroad. OSC has observed scattered incidents of Pakistani

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activists using *Facebook* and other social networking sites to organize virtual or street protests. However, these messages probably have a smaller audience blog posts because they are typically only visible to *Facebook* members.

- Pakistani Users:** The web traffic monitoring site *Alexa* reports that, as of June 2010, *Facebook* is the fourth most frequently-visited site from Pakistani ISPs (behind *google.com*, *google.com.pk*, *Yahoo!*, and *YouTube*).<sup>40</sup> According to statistics from the Facebook Statistics Server, as published by *CIO Pakistan*, as of December 2008, out of an overall population approaching 180 million, there were 358,978 *Facebook* users registered from Pakistan (57.5% male, 38.7% female). See the chart above



for a breakdown of users by age group.<sup>41</sup> The site *CheckFacebook.com* estimates that as of August 2008, 4.8% of Internet users in Pakistan used *Facebook*.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, the number of *Facebook* users in Pakistan is still relatively small compared to other countries. For example, as of March 2010: Turkey (16,943,780), Indonesia (14,681,580), India (5,397,480), and Egypt (2,341,880).<sup>v</sup> *Facebook* itself reports the site has over 250 million registered users worldwide and that 70% are outside the United States.<sup>43 44</sup>

- Perceptions of Facebook: Draw Muhammad Day:** Although *Facebook* is one of the most popular social networking sites in Pakistan, it has recently come under criticism for the semi-viral "Everyone Draw Mohammad Day" campaign (20 May 2010).<sup>vi</sup> The Government of Pakistan, through the PTA, banned access to *Facebook* in Pakistan on 19 May 2010, following an order from the Lahore High Court (LHC) to block "objectionable material." Access to *Facebook* was restored on 31 May 2010, but commentary in Pakistani media and online forums suggests that residual resentment against *Facebook* may still be causing some Pakistani users to boycott the site.<sup>45</sup> For

<sup>v</sup> These statistics reflect registered users and do not indicate whether users actively use Facebook. Users self-specify their country on Facebook. The countries listed here were selected from a list of the top 30 countries with the highest number of Facebook users as of March 2010 based on Facebook Ad software (Facebook.com/ads/create).

<sup>vi</sup> The concept of "Everyone Draw Mohammad Day" was originally conceived as a protest threats of violence against artists who drew representations of the prophet Muhammad (Muslims of some schools of Islam believe that visual depictions should be banned) and the censorship of the US TV show *South Park*'s 201 episode. A *Facebook* event page was created to promote an "Everyone Draw Mohammad Day" to take place 20 May 2010.

example, an online poll hosted by the English-language *Dawn News Online* in early June 2010 found respondents split over the Pakistani Government decision to block *Facebook* -- 52% said that it was right to block the site, while 44% disagreed.<sup>46</sup> While the potential for anti-*Facebook* sentiment to flare up again remains, bloggers tend to support freedom of speech, and some of the most progressive even posted responses to the incident as, "Freedom of speech is a tricky issue... An anonymous blogger quoted on Norris' website emphasized, 'Fight for the right to draw Muhammad, but then decline doing so.' This is a significant (albeit still controversial) statement... As for the Pakistani government, concentrate on the big picture. Because the Lahore High Court's decision may have only exacerbated the situation further."<sup>47</sup>

- **Alternatives to Facebook:** *Facebook* alternatives, including *Millatfacebook*, have generally received negative reviews from potential users, one of whom termed the quality of the user experience "abysmal." For example, a review by the English-language daily papers *Express Tribune* said: "*MillatFaebook* is a bold effort only recently inaugurated by the Lahore High Court Bar Association (LHCBA), but it is unlikely to capture a large audience..." User comments on this online article ridiculed the site for being "100% halal" and "a rip-off from *Facebook*." Typical of many remarks, one user posted: "I'm all for the Pakistani's to progress and create their own brands in any field. But to create a brand to isolate from the entire world is foolish. It was also foolish and embarrassing for them to copy a brand and look of a site that they were up against."<sup>48</sup>

**Other Social Networking Sites:** In addition to blogs, *Twitter*, and *Facebook*, Internet users in Pakistan also belong to other social networking sites including, *Orkut*, *Flickr*, *LinkedIn*, *Google Map Maker*, and *Wikimapia*. In contrast to *Facebook*, *LinkedIn* is a business-oriented social networking site launched in 2003 and used primarily for professional networking. *Flickr* is a free image and video hosting website and online community platform where users share and comment on each other's photographs. Nonetheless, anecdotal survey data suggests that these other sites are not as popular as *Twitter* and *Facebook*.

- In a June 2009 report by CIO Pakistan -- well before the "Draw Mohammad Day" *Facebook* controversy -- 92% of respondents chose *Facebook* as their "favorite social networking community. *Orkut* was second at 5% and *Hi5* third at 3%.<sup>49</sup>

### **Social Media-Related Topics**

**Multimedia as a Catalyst for Social Activism:** Multimedia shared online over *YouTube* or other websites can provide an important catalyst for social activism and can be a type of traceable road mark that can be used to track the spread of movements from platform to platform. For example, a video that appeared in early 2009 that purported to be the flogging of a girl by Taliban militants in Pakistan's Swat District quickly spread across platforms including blogs, *Facebook*, and *Twitter*. Some bloggers used *Facebook* as a forum for discussion,<sup>50</sup> while others used their blogs to advertise street protests and post photos and reports from the



rallies.<sup>51</sup> Although these protests were organized by pre-existing activist groups, not the bloggers, online support for the rallies probably gave them more visibility than they would have received in mainstream media alone. One participant on the *Teeth Maestro* blog reported that over 2,000 people participated in the Lahore rally that was broadcast live on local TV.<sup>52</sup>

- Conservative and widely-read Urdu-language daily paper *Nawa-e-Waqt* published on 5 April 2009: "The video of the flogging of a 17-year-old girl that has been made public by the BBC and *YouTube*, has triggered a new debate in and outside Pakistan. Religious scholars, politicians, human rights organizations, authorities, and the [Supreme Court] have taken notice of the incident."<sup>53</sup>

**Politicians' Use of Social Media:** Pakistani politicians are gradually beginning to participate on social media sites and use them for overly political purposes, although OSC has not yet observed any current national political leaders in Pakistan utilizing social media tools and networks to organize large-scale street demonstrations, rallies, or political gatherings.

- **Twitter:** In 2009-2010 mainstream Pakistani politicians began to use the micro-blogging site *Twitter* to interact both with non-political *Twitter* users and with each other. For example, Governor of Punjab Salmaan Taseer (PPP) joined on 6 October 2010 and had posted 447 tweets as of 12 June 2010, and had 1,944 followers. Meanwhile, Interior Minister Rehman Malik (PPP) joined *Twitter* on 22 May 2010, had tweeted 155 times, and had 2,543 followers. Other politicians on *Twitter* as of June 2010 include Muhammad Ijaz-ul-Haq (PML-N) who joined on 24 April 2010, Chief Minister of Punjab Shahbaz Sharif (PML-N) who joined on 25 April 2010, Nawaz Sharif (PML-N) who joined on 13 March 2009, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Chairman Imran Khan who joined on 12 March 2010, former President Pervez Musharraf who joined on 18 March 2010, former MNA Jamshed Dasti who joined on 26 May 2010, and MNA Marvi Memon (PML-Q) who joined on 14 July 2009, former Karachi Major Syed Mustafa Kamal who joined on 6 July 2009.
- **Public Reaction:** Pakistani bloggers and mainstream media have expressed mixed reactions to politicians' use of *Twitter*, with one saying that it is a "good thing that Politicians are in access of a common person...." but a "bad thing that *Twitter* is taken as a vehicle for propaganda [rather] than a means of sustained and meaningful engagement with voters or the general public."<sup>54</sup>

**Facilitation of Online Movements:** Social networking tools can be leveraged by youth or other groups to organize online political or protest movements, but the nascent attempts at online campaigns observed in Pakistan to date have been mostly apolitical.

- **"Go Green Pakistan" Campaign:** The "Go Green Pakistan" campaign was launched in August 2009 on social networks sites in connection with Pakistan's Independence Day on 14 August. Between 1 and 14 August, over 10,000 people converted their photos on *Facebook* and *Twitter* to a green background, as reported by the campaign's

organizers. Mirroring the virtual community of English-language Pakistani bloggers, promoters of this campaign were located in Pakistan, the United States, Qatar, and Abu Dhabi.<sup>55</sup> The self-described purpose of the movement was "to establish unity, love, and faith back in the younger generation of Pakistan." Although the movement was generally non-political, it demonstrated the potential of a few organizers to rally social network users around a common theme and promote the presence of Pakistan online.<sup>56</sup>

- **Pakistan Youth Revolution:** The hybrid online-offline "Pakistan Youth Movement" (PYM) appears to be a group of young Pakistanis who seek "to put the positive impact of Pakistan on the map of this world." Self-described as not a political organization, nor an NGO, the PYM was founded by Masood Sharif Khan Khattak and seems to include many of the same bloggers who participated in the August 2009 "Go Green Pakistan" online campaign. The group's website asserts, "The Pakistan Youth Movement is solely an independent entity and does not belong to any social, political, or religious sect or group what so ever."<sup>57 58</sup>

## General Implications

**Blogs Likely To Remain Peripheral to Mainstream Media in Near Future:** Although a few Pakistani bloggers are also regular columnists in Pakistan's English-language papers, there is limited discussion of blogs in mainstream Pakistani media, and English-language blogs do not appear to have much, if any, political influence in Pakistan. They do, however, offer the opportunity for like-minded Internet users in Pakistan and abroad to connect with each other and discuss current political topics.

- If Internet access increases in Pakistan, blogs may gain more widespread readership outside of urban centers, but OSC has not yet observed any activities by politicians aimed specifically at bloggers or instances of mainstream media complaining of losing market share to blogs or other social networking sites.
- Many bloggers link extensively to articles published in mainstream media, and their comments often center on whether they agree or disagree with the papers' stances. Similar to blogs in other countries, traditional media will probably continue to influence bloggers more than the reverse. Some bloggers have also begun to link to clips from popular Urdu-language talk shows that have been uploaded to *YouTube*.<sup>59</sup>
- Although Pakistan's most widely-read daily papers are published in Urdu, and most Pakistanis prefer Urdu TV channels,<sup>60</sup> much of the country's blogosphere is written in English. The slow adoption of Urdu fonts for Unicode has led to mainstream media websites either using an Arabic font or image files instead of text, such as the websites of the Urdu papers the *Daily Express*, *Mashriq*, the *Daily Taqat*, and *Khabrain*. This discourages hyperlinking and limits the utility of Urdu for sharing information across different social networking platforms.<sup>61 62</sup>

**Difficult To Predict What Gives Online Moments Traction:** Although members of Pakistan's virtual community have demonstrated the potential of organizing small-sized meetups and street rallies using *Facebook*, *Twitter*, and other social networking platforms, it is difficult to predict the types of current events that might spark accompanying street activity and the types which will only generate online criticism and discussion.

- In contrast to the April 2009 flogging video incident (see page eight) that served as a catalyst for small-sized street activities in Karachi and Lahore, the July 2009 killing of Christians in Gojra, Pakistan generated significant commentary on English-language blogs and condemnation of the Government of Pakistan's handling of the situation -- but no accompanying calls for street protests. Similarly, many bloggers spoke out against the Government's implementation of Sharia law (Nizam-e-Adl) in Swat District in spring 2009 but did not call for street protests.
- More recently, although the well-established *Teeth Maestro* blog predictably attempted to publicize street protests to condemn violence against Pakistan's Ahmedi communities following the 28 May 2010 attacks on two Ahmedi prayer halls in Lahore,<sup>63</sup> authors on other English blogs such as *All Things Pakistan*, *The Pakistani Spectator*, *Five Rupees*, and *Pak Tea House* strongly condemned the attacks but did not call for public rallies.<sup>64</sup>  
65 66 67 68

**Face-to-Face 'Meetups/Tweetups' Strengthening Virtual Social Networks:** Gatherings organized and advertised on free online social networking platforms such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* are providing a foundation of Internet communication channels that could help virtual communities in Pakistan organize quickly around a future issue or cause, similar to the student rallies held at universities during the State of Emergency in 2007.

- In late 2008, a meetup event in Lahore was organized on *Facebook* in only three days, according to post-event reports by participants. It was held at the Lahore University of Management Sciences, a site with historical significance for many Pakistani bloggers because it was the scene of mass student protests during the 2007 state of emergency. Word of the event spread on *Twitter* under the RSS hashtag "#LBM08." More recently, bloggers and other Internet users met in Karachi on 26 July to explore and share knowledge about *Twitter*. Participants discussed how *Twitter* could be used in Pakistan's socio-political environment and explored potential ways to avoid possible access or censorship restrictions in the future and "talked extensively" about what to do if a situation similar to that in post-presidential elections Iran arose in Pakistan.<sup>69</sup>

**2009 Long March Could Serve as Model for Future Movements:** The March 2009 "Long March" lawyers' movement where protesters took to the streets to urge the Government of Pakistan to reinstate Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry exemplifies the use of social networking in Pakistan to organize street activities and share information real time.

- The Long March was launched simultaneously in several cities on 12 March 2009 with the aim of reaching Islamabad by 16 March. Bloggers began reporting of police crackdowns on 11 March and of the Government imposing a ban on protests and marches in Punjab and Sindh provinces under Section 144, and participants began stepping up their online presence to drum up nationwide support. For example, one recent Lahore National University graduate who maintains a *Facebook* group, through which students organized participation in the Long March, told media, "[The] movement was blocked, and political activists were being arrested, so we took our fight online."<sup>70</sup>
- **Internet-Enabled Real-Time Interaction:** Social networking users utilized several collaborative media aggregating websites to pool real-time reactions and commentary on Long March activities. One example was *SeenReport* (longmarch.seenreport.com), a "people-powered" citizen journalism site that brought together live, nationwide updates via SMS text message, short blog posts, and images from the route.<sup>71</sup> Participants also used *CoveritLive* (coveritlive.com), an application that aggregates *Twitter* posts based on hashtags -- March participants used #LongMarch and #Pakistan. This application can be embedded in blogs and other websites and acts as a multiplier to share *Twitter* content with a wider audience. People on the street posted real-time situation updates on police raids, arrests, road blockades, and other events.<sup>72</sup>
- **Social Networking "Successful" But Had Limited Impact:** Although Pakistani bloggers lauded the efforts of social networking participants to provide organization, ground level reporting, and post-event analysis for the 2009 Long March,<sup>73</sup> the protests were also widely publicized on TV and in press and promoted by PML-N leaders (the main opposition party to the ruling PPP).<sup>74 75</sup> Thus, while bloggers gave themselves credit for organizing the march, media coverage of the event suggests that many participants decided to join based on reports in mainstream media and word of mouth, not social networking sites.
- **Government May Have Attempted To Hamper Mobile Communications:** After the 2009 Long March, the PTA denied issuing any instructions to mobile service providers to purposely congest networks to create disruptions in communications for Long March participants, but cell phone users reported connectivity problems on 15-16 March in Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Media reported that "sources in cellular services" said "PTA officials had asked them to congest their Base Transceiver Station (BTS)."<sup>76 77</sup> Meanwhile, bloggers on the ground reported that as of 1300 local on 15 March "SMS service in Islamabad/Rawalpindi is down on all networks" but that service was restored by 0315 local on 16 March.<sup>78 79 80</sup>

## **Further Reading**

- 25 May 2010 OSC: Report Pakistani Shutdown of Facebook Over Drawing Evokes Support, Doubts (U//FOUO)
- 10 May 2010: OSC Report: Terrorism -- Yazid's Eulogy for ISI Leaders Released Via Normal Channels, Reaches Facebook (U//FOUO)
- 30 April 2010: OSC Report: International Popularity of Voice SMS Increases as Communication Tool (U//FOUO)
- 18 Sep 2009: OSC Report: Pakistan -- Increasing Online Activity Targets US Expansion Efforts (U//FOUO)
- 4 May 2009 OSC Analysis: Pakistan -- Blogs Connect With Diaspora But May Lack Widespread Domestic Appeal (U//FOUO)
- 7 April 2009 OSC Analysis: Pakistan -- Popular Long March 'Soundtrack' Emphasizes Peaceful Resistance (U//FOUO)
- 11 December 2008 OSC Report: Pakistan -- 'Meetups' May Help Strengthen Bloggers' Social and Internet Networks (U//FOUO)
- 3 December 2008 OSC Report: Pakistan -- Bloggers Condemn Mumbai Attacks, Warn Against Military Confrontation (U//FOU)
- 21 September 2008 OSC Report: Pakistan -- Some Bloggers Demand Firmer Stance Against Militants After Hotel Attack (U//FOUO)

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<sup>1</sup> [Internet Site | | Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) | Annual Report 2008-2009 | | 94 | pta.gov.pk | Accessed 4 June 2010 | Official website of the Pakistani government agency responsible for regulating telecommunications in Pakistan.]

<sup>2</sup> [Internet Site | | Internet Service Providers Association of Pakistan | | | ispak.com.pk | Accessed 15 June 2010 | IDPSK was formed in 1997 to provide a common and unified platform for all Internet Service Providers operating in Pakistan ]

<sup>3</sup> [Internet Site | | BBC News | Country Profile: Pakistan | | | news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\_asia/country\_profiles/1157960.stm | Accessed 4 June 2010 | ]

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<sup>4</sup> [Online Publication | | Pakistan -- Internet Market | | 4 August 2009 | | budde.com.au/Research/Pakistan-Internet-Market.html | | Australia-based budde.com.au claims to be one of the largest telecommunications research websites]

<sup>5</sup> [Internet Site | Birds-Eye.net | Pakistan Broadband Operator Directory | | | birds-eye.net/directory/pakistan.htm | 4 August 2009 | ]

<sup>6</sup> [Online Publication | Steve Metcalf | BBC Monitoring | Analysis: Pakistani Bloggers Beginning To Get Noticed | 21 March 2007 | | (U) | 9 March 2009 | ]

<sup>7</sup> [OSC | | GMP20080614411001 | 31 May 2007 | | Media Survey Report: Pakistan | | | (U//FOUO) | Intermedia ]

<sup>8</sup> [OSC | | SAP20100324106004 | 18 March 2010 | | Survey Shows Internet Becoming Essential Part of People's Lives | | | (U) | Gallup Pakistan -- Website of Pakistan's "most respected" opinion and socioeconomic research organization. Established in 1980, it is an affiliate of Gallup International and has close collaboration with Gallup associates around the globe; URL: [gallup.com.pk](http://gallup.com.pk) ]

<sup>9</sup> [Internet Site | | Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) | Annual Report 2008-09 | | 81 | <http://www.pta.gov.pk/> | Accessed 10 June 10 | Official website of the Pakistani government agency responsible for regulating telecommunications in Pakistan.]

<sup>10</sup> [Internet Site | | Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) | Annual Report 2008-09 | | 90 | <http://www.pta.gov.pk/> | Accessed 4 June 2010 | Official website of the Pakistani government agency responsible for regulating telecommunications in Pakistan.]

<sup>11</sup> [Internet Site | Pakistan Telecommunications Authority | 2008-2009 Annual Report | | | [pta.gov.pk/annual-reports/annrep0809/ch\\_04.pdf](http://pta.gov.pk/annual-reports/annrep0809/ch_04.pdf) | Accessed 10 June 2010 | ]

<sup>12</sup> [Internet Site | | Pakistan Telecommunications Authority | | | [pta.gov.pk](http://pta.gov.pk) | 3 August 2009 | ]

<sup>13</sup> [Internet Site | | Telenor Website | | | [mobilecomms-technology.com](http://mobilecomms-technology.com) | 3 August 2009 | ]

<sup>14</sup> [Internet Site | | Mobile Pakistan's Blog | Prices of Blackberry® Phone sets available at Mobilink and Warid – Dated January 2009 | 13 January 2009 | | [mobilepakistan.wordpress.com](http://mobilepakistan.wordpress.com) | | ]

<sup>15</sup> [Internet Site | | World Bank | Pakistan At a Glance | | | [devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/pak\\_aag.pdf](http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/pak_aag.pdf) | Accessed 8 June 2010 | ]

<sup>16</sup> [Internet Site | | Economics and Extremism | Dawn Media Group | 5 January 2010 | | dawn.com | (U) | First and most widely-read English daily, promotes progressive views]

<sup>17</sup> [Internet Site | | Ufone GSM | | | [ufone.com/prepay\\_BayhisaabOffer.aspx](http://ufone.com/prepay_BayhisaabOffer.aspx) | 3 August 2009 | ]

<sup>18</sup> [Internet Site | Pakistan Telecommunications Authority | 2007-2008 Annual Report | | | [pta.gov.pk/annual-reports/annrep0708/ch\\_03.pdf](http://pta.gov.pk/annual-reports/annrep0708/ch_03.pdf) | 4 August 2009 | ]

<sup>19</sup> [OSC | | SAP20091211106001 | 6 November 2007 | | SMS Preferred Medium for Communicating With Others | | | (U) | Gallup Pakistan -- Website of Pakistan's "most respected" opinion and socioeconomic research

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organization. Established in 1980, it is an affiliate of Gallup International and has close collaboration with Gallup associates around the globe; URL: [gallup.com.pk](http://gallup.com.pk) ]

<sup>20</sup> [Internet Site | Ivan Sigal | Global Voices Online | Pakistan: Internet and the Challenge of Language | 4 May 2010 | | [globalvoicesonline.org/2010/05/04/Pakistan-internet-and-the-challenge-of-language](http://globalvoicesonline.org/2010/05/04/Pakistan-internet-and-the-challenge-of-language) | | International community of bloggers who report on blogs and citizen media from around the world ]

<sup>21</sup> [Internet Site | | Alexa | | | Alexa.com | Accessed 8 June 2010 | Alexa traffic rankings can provide a rough estimate of the relative popularity of websites but do not include figures for total numbers of visitors. They are "based on three months of aggregated historical traffic data from millions of *Alexa* Toolbar users and data obtained from other, diverse traffic data sources, and is a combined measure of page views and users (reach)."]

<sup>22</sup> [Internet Site | | All Things Pakistan | ATP Poll: Will the Swat Deal Work? | 15 April 2009 | | <http://pakistaniat.com/2009/04/15/poll-swat-deal-taliban/> | 16 April 2009 | ]

<sup>23</sup> [Internet Site | | All Things Pakistan | ATP Poll Results: Biggest Threats for Pakistan | 28 March 2009 | | [pakistaniat.com/2009/03/28/poll-pakistan-threats](http://pakistaniat.com/2009/03/28/poll-pakistan-threats) | Accessed 10 June 10 | ]

<sup>24</sup> [Internet Site | | The Pakistani Spectator | Interview with Bloggers AKS, Ahsan, NB | 20 February 2008 | | <http://www.pakspectator.com> | Accessed 23 March 2009 | The "Pakistan Spectator" describes itself as "candid look on everything happening in and for Pakistan." ]

<sup>25</sup> [Internet Site | | Alexa | | | Alexa.com | 4 March 2009 | ]

<sup>26</sup> [OSC | Madiha Sattar | SAP20100112033001 | 1 January 2010 | Youth Speak | Herald | | (U) | Monthly, owned by the Dawn publishing group, with a circulation of 15,000. Considered to be a serious socio-political journal, with in-depth articles ]

<sup>27</sup> [OSC | | SAP20071106950027 | 6 November 2007 | | BBC Monitoring: Pakistanis Turn to Blogs, Online Forums in State Of Emergency | | (U//FOUO) | Caversham BBC Monitoring in English -- Monitoring service of the BBC, the United Kingdom's public service broadcaster]

<sup>28</sup> [OSC | | JPP20071118969004 | 18 November 2007 | | AFP: Young Pakistanis Use Blogs, Social Network Sites To Defy Musharraf Crackdown | | (U//FOUO) | (U//FOUO) | Hong Kong AFP in English -- Hong Kong service of the independent French press agency Agence France-Presse]

<sup>29</sup> [Internet Site | Kamran Bukhari | Pro Pakistani | HP Dawns in Pakistan with ISB Bloggers' Meetup | 17 December 2009 | | [propakistani.pk/2009/12/17/hp-pakistan-islamabad-bloggers-meetup/](http://propakistani.pk/2009/12/17/hp-pakistan-islamabad-bloggers-meetup/) | Accessed 13 June 10 | Awab Alvi is a dentist in Karachi who writes mainly on current political topics.]

<sup>30</sup> [Internet Site | | Awab Avi | Long March LIVE Updates | 11 March 2009 | | [teeth.com.pk/blog/2009/03/11/long-march-live-updates](http://teeth.com.pk/blog/2009/03/11/long-march-live-updates) | Accessed 10 June 10 | Awab Alvi is a dentist in Karachi who writes mainly on current political topics.]

<sup>31</sup> [Internet Site | Tamara | DigiActive | Interview: Dr Awab Alvi Organizer of the Long March in Pakistan | 14 May 2009 | | [digiactive.org/2009/05/14/interview-dr-awab-alvi-organizer-of-the-long-march-in-pakistan](http://digiactive.org/2009/05/14/interview-dr-awab-alvi-organizer-of-the-long-march-in-pakistan) | Accessed 10 June 10 | ]

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<sup>32</sup> [Internet Site | Rezwan | GlobalVoices | Pakistan: Live Coverage of the Long March | 11 May 2009 | | globalvoicesonline.org/2009/03/11/Pakistan-live-coverage-of-the-long-march | Accessed 10 June 10 | ]

<sup>33</sup> [OSC | | SAF20090504348001 | 4 May 2009 | | OSC Analysis: Pakistan -- Blogs Connect With Diaspora But May Lack Widespread Domestic Appeal | | (U//FOUO) | ]

<sup>34</sup> [Internet Site | | Alexa | | | Alexa.com/topsites/countries/PK | 4 August 2009 | *Alexa* determines relative site ranks based on statistics gathered by the Alexa Toolbar application and other undisclosed measures. Internet users can mask their ISPs or use an anonymizer to appear as though they are browsing the Internet from a different country than their actual location. However, due to the Pakistani Government's history of periodic Internet censorship, it is more practical for Internet users in Pakistan to try to use a non-Pakistani ISP than for users outside of Pakistan to use a Pakistani ISP. Additionally, since *Alexa* is a US site, it is more likely for results to be biased toward US ISPs than those of other countries.]

<sup>35</sup> [Internet Site | | Alexa | | | Alexa.com/topsites/countries/PK | 8 June 2010 | ]

<sup>36</sup> [Internet Site | | Tweepk | Top Pakistani Twitter Users | | | tweepk.com | Accessed 10 June 10 | ]

<sup>37</sup> [Internet Site | | WeFollow | Pakistan Twitter Users | | | wefollowcom/twitter/pakistan | Accessed 10 June 10 | ]

<sup>38</sup> [OSC | | SAP20081211348001 | 11 December 2008 | | OSC Report: Pakistan - 'Meetups' May Help Strengthen Bloggers' Networks | | (U//FOUO) | ]

<sup>39</sup> [OSC | | SAP20070317081007 | 17 March 2007 | | Pakistani Bloggers 'Concerned About More Than a Ban' on Blogspot | | (U) | Lahore Daily Times (Internet Version-WWW) in English -- Internet version of the independent, moderate daily, run by veteran journalist Najam Sethi and published by the Friday Times group. Strong critic of radical and jihadi elements. Provides extensive coverage of activities of jihadi/militant groups. Caters to the educated middle class, with an estimated hardcopy circulation of 20,000]

<sup>40</sup> [Internet Site | | Alexa | | | Alexa.com/topsites/countries/PK | Accessed 8 June 2010 | ]

<sup>41</sup> [Internet Site | | CIO Pakistan | Facebook DataPoints | 3 January 2009 | | ciopakistan.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/09-01-datapoints-how-much-of-pakistan-is-on-facebook.pdf | | ]

<sup>42</sup> [Internet Site | | CheckFacebook.com | | | checkfacebook.com | 4 August 2009 | CheckFacebook.com is not affiliated with Facebook. Each day this site tracks data reported from Facebook's advertising tool with the stated purpose of helping marketers and researchers understand the global spread of Facebook.]

<sup>43</sup> [Internet Site | Facebook | Statistics | | | facebook.com/press/info.php?statistics | Accessed 8 June 2010 | ]

<sup>44</sup> [Internet Site | | Nick Burcher's Blog: Personal Thoughts on the Evolution of Media and Advertising | Latest Facebook usage statistics by country - 12 months of extraordinary global growth | 21 March 2010 | | nickburcher.com/2010/03/latest-facebook-usage-statistics-by.html | | Nick Burcher is Head of the VNC UK and Products / Partnerships EMEA at Publicis Groupe's newly created VivaKi Nerve Center in London]

<sup>45</sup> [OSC | | SAP20100525477001 | 25 May 2010 | | OSC Report: Pakistani Shutdown of Facebook Over Drawing Evokes Support, Doubts | | (U//FOUO) | ]

<p>This OSC product is based exclusively on the content and behavior of selected media and has not been coordinated with other US Government components.</p>
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<sup>46</sup> [Internet Site | Dawn News Online | Online Poll: An order has been issued for Facebook access to be restored, but was it right to ban it in the first place? | Accessed 4 June 2010 | dawn.com | (U) | First and most widely-read English daily, promotes progressive views ]

<sup>47</sup> [Internet Site | Kalsoom | CHUP! Changing Up Pakistan | From South Park to the LHC Ban – How Did We Get Here? | 19 May 2010 | changinguppakistan.wordpress.com/2010/05/19/from-south-park-to-the-lhc-ban-how-did-we-get-here | Accessed 14 June 10 | English-language blog by an overseas Pakistani currently residing in the US ]

<sup>48</sup> [Internet Site | Express Tribune Online | Millat Facebook Review: Thumbs Down | 27 May 2010 | tribune.com.pk/story/16614/millat-facebook-review-thumbs-down | (U) | Website of a newspaper partnered with The International Herald Tribune, the global edition of The New York Times. The paper -- published every day except Sunday -- is part of the Lakson Group, which includes an Urdu newspaper, The Daily Express; an Urdu TV news channel, Express News; and an English-language TV news channel, Express 24/7. The group's media wing has no known political affiliations and operates as a moderate, independent commercial media organization ]

<sup>49</sup> [Internet Site | CIO Pakistan | Data Point: Who's Doing What Online? | June 2009 | ciopakistan.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/09-06-datapoints-whos-doing-what-online.pdf | (U) ]

<sup>50</sup> [Internet Site | Adil Najam | All Things Pakistan Blog | Pakistan at War: Video of Girl Flogged by Taliban in Swat. Chief Justice Takes Suo Moto Notice | 3 April 2009 | pakistaniat.com | ]

<sup>51</sup> [Internet Site | Awab Alvi | Teeth Maestro Blog | Protests in Karachi and Lahore Against Flogging Incident | 4 April 2009 | teeth.com.pk/blog/2009/04/04/protests-karachi-lahore-against-flogging-incident | Awab Alvi is a dentist in Karachi who writes mainly on current political topics.]

<sup>52</sup> [Internet Site | Farooq Tariq | Teeth Maestro Blog | Lahore Protest - Over 2000 Against Talibanization | 5 April 2009 | teeth.com.pk/blog/2009/04/05/lahore-protest-over-2000-against-talbanisation | ]

<sup>53</sup> [OSC | SAP20090406100003 | 5 April 2009 | OSC Summary: Pakistan: Urdu Press Roundup on Public Flogging of Girl by Swat Taliban | (U//FOUO) ]

<sup>54</sup> [Internet Site | Talal Masood Personal Blog | Go Green Pakistan Campaign Hits Media – Geo News | 13 August 2009 | talalmasood.com/blog/go-green-pakistan-campaign-hits-media-geo-news-236 | Accessed 13 June 10 ]

<sup>55</sup> [Internet Site | Go Green Pakistan | Go Green Pakistan Team | | | | gogreenpakistan.com/go-green-team-members | Accessed 13 June 10 ]

<sup>56</sup> [Internet Site | Go Green Pakistan | Go Green Pakistan Team | | | | gogreenpakistan.com/go-green-team-members | Accessed 13 June 10 ]

<sup>57</sup> [Internet Site | Talal Masood Personal Blog | Pakistan Youth Revolution, Go Green Pakistan and Me | 2 January 2010 | talalmasood.com/blog/pakistan-youth-revolution-go-green-pakistan-and-me-365 | Accessed 14 June 10 ]

<sup>58</sup> [Internet Site | Pakistan Youth Movement | | | | | pakistanyouthmovement.com/about-pym | Accessed 14 June 10 ]

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<sup>59</sup> [Internet Site | PK On Web | | | | pkonweb.com | Accessed 14 June 10 | ]

<sup>60</sup> [OSC | | SAP20100603106003 | 21 May 2010 | | Gallup Pakistan Poll Shows Majority Prefer to Watch TV News Channels in Urdu | | (U) | Website of Pakistan's "most respected" opinion and socioeconomic research organization. Established in 1980, it is an affiliate of Gallup International and has close collaboration with Gallup associates around the globe; URL: [gallup.com.pk](http://gallup.com.pk) ]

<sup>61</sup> [Internet Site | Ivan Sigal | Global Voices Online | Pakistan: Internet and the Challenge of Language | 4 May 2010 | | [globalvoicesonline.org/2010/05/04/Pakistan-internet-and-the-challenge-of-language](http://globalvoicesonline.org/2010/05/04/Pakistan-internet-and-the-challenge-of-language) | | International community of bloggers who report on blogs and citizen media from around the world ]

<sup>62</sup> [Internet Site | Sakina Younus | Pro-Pakistan | Urdu: Our National Language -- Really? | 21 March 2010 | | [pro-pakistan.com/2010/03/21/urdu-our-national-language%e2%80%94really/](http://pro-pakistan.com/2010/03/21/urdu-our-national-language%e2%80%94really/) | (U//FOUO) | ]

<sup>63</sup> [Internet Site | Awab Alvi | Teeth Maestro | Karachi: Solidarity Rally for All Ahmedi Victims in Lahore, 4:00pm Press Club | 29 May 2010 | | [teeth.com/blog/2010/05/29/solidarity-rally-for-ahmedi-victims](http://teeth.com/blog/2010/05/29/solidarity-rally-for-ahmedi-victims) | Accessed 12 June 10 | Awab Alvi is a dentist in Karachi who writes mainly on current political topics.]

<sup>64</sup> [Internet Site | A Khokar | The Pakistani Spectator | Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam: Heretic or a Scapegoat | 4 June 2010 | | [pakspectator.com/ahmadiyya-movement-in-islam-heretic-or-a-scapegoat](http://pakspectator.com/ahmadiyya-movement-in-islam-heretic-or-a-scapegoat) | Accessed 12 June 10 | The " Pakistan Spectator" describes itself as "candid look on everything happening in and for Pakistan." ]

<sup>65</sup> [Internet Site | Ali Yar Khan | The Pakistani Spectator | Qadyani or Ahmadi or Whoever, Victims Were Innocent | 29 May 2010 | | [pakspectator.com/qadyani-or-ahmadi-or-whoever-victims-were-innocent](http://pakspectator.com/qadyani-or-ahmadi-or-whoever-victims-were-innocent) | Accessed 12 June 10 | Accessed 12 June 10]

<sup>66</sup> [Internet Site | Mohsin Sehgal | The Pakistani Spectator | Condemn Ahmadi Worship Places Attack in Lahore | 28 May 2010 | | [pakspectator.com/condemn-ahmadi-worship-places-attack-in-lahore](http://pakspectator.com/condemn-ahmadi-worship-places-attack-in-lahore) | Accessed 12 June 10 | The " Pakistan Spectator" describes itself as "candid look on everything happening in and for Pakistan." ]

<sup>67</sup> [Internet Site | Ahsan | Five Rupees | The Ahmedi Killings: Time for the PPP To Step Up (Updated With Taliban Statement) | 29 May 2010 | | [fiverupees.blogspot.com/2010/05/ahmedi-killings-time-for-ppp-to-step-up.html](http://fiverupees.blogspot.com/2010/05/ahmedi-killings-time-for-ppp-to-step-up.html) | | Accessed 12 June 10]

<sup>68</sup> [Internet Site | Adil Najam and Owais Mughal | All Things Pakistan | Hatemongers Attack Pakistan Again: Ahmedi Mosque Gunned. 70+ Killed | 28 May 2010 | | [pakistaniat.com/2010/05/28/ahmedi-mosque-attacked-lahore](http://pakistaniat.com/2010/05/28/ahmedi-mosque-attacked-lahore) | Accessed 12 June 10 | ]

<sup>69</sup> [OSC | | SAP20090803950024 | 3 August 2009 | | BBCM: Pakistani Bloggers Get Together To Learn More About Twitter From Each Other | | (U//FOUO) | Caversham BBC Monitoring in English -- Monitoring service of the BBC, the United Kingdom's public service broadcaster]

<sup>70</sup> [Internet Site | Huma Yusuf | Christian Science Monitor | Following Pakistan's protest march, a long trail of Twitters | 16 March 2009 | | [features.csmonitor.com/globalnews/2009/03/16/following-pakistans-protest-march-a-long-trail-of-tweets/](http://features.csmonitor.com/globalnews/2009/03/16/following-pakistans-protest-march-a-long-trail-of-tweets/) | | ]

<sup>71</sup> [Internet Site | | SeenReport | Long March for Justice | | | [longmarch.seenreport.com](http://longmarch.seenreport.com) | 4 August 2009 | Self-describes as a "people powered news site that enables common people to report pictures of events they witness." It is a SMS and MMS-based interactive Pakistani startup. ]

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<sup>72</sup> [Internet Site | CoveritLive | | | coveritlive.com | 4 August 2009 | ]

<sup>73</sup> [Internet Site | Osama A. | Green and White Blog | Citizen Journalism at its finest | 16 June 2009 | | greenwhite.org/2008/06/14/citizen-journalism-at-its-finest | | Osama is the founder of Green & White and the Startup Insiders event series. He has been involved in building online communities since 1997. He is also the CEO of CDF Software, and offers strategic consulting services in New Media and Social Media Marketing.]

<sup>74</sup> [OSC | | SAP20090316021002 | 16 March 2009 | | Program Summary: Islamabad PTV News English 1300 GMT 16 Mar 09 [ISL] | | (U//FOUO) | Islamabad PTV News in English -- Government-run television]

<sup>75</sup> [OSC | | SAP20090316100002 | 16 March 2009 | | Selection List: Pakistan Press Nawa-e Waqt 16 Mar 09 | | (U//FOUO) | Rawalpindi Nawa-e Waqt in Urdu -- Privately owned, widely read, conservative Islamic daily, with circulation around 125,000. Harshly critical of the US and India]

<sup>76</sup> [OSC | | SAP20090316110003 | 16 March 2009 | | Pakistan: Govt Agency Allegedly Clogs Mobile Networks to Hamper Long March | | (U//FOUO) | Islamabad The News Online in English -- Website of the widely read, influential English daily, member of the Jang publishing group. Neutral editorial policy, good coverage of domestic and international issues. Hardcopy circulation estimated at 55,000; URL: <http://www.thenews.com.pk>]

<sup>77</sup> [OSC | | SAP20090315102002 | 15 March 2009 | | Pakistan: Govt Coercing Mobile Phone Companies to Jam Services During Long March | | (U//FOUO) | Islamabad The News Online in English -- Website of the widely read, influential English daily, member of the Jang publishing group. Neutral editorial policy, good coverage of domestic and international issues. Hardcopy circulation estimated at 55,000; URL: <http://www.thenews.com.pk>]

<sup>78</sup> [Internet Site | Aamir Attaa | Pro Pakistani | PTA Asks Cellular Companies To Suspend Communication | | 14 Mar 2009 | propakistani.pk/2009/03/14/pta-asks-cellular-companies-to-suspend-communications | Accessed 14 June 10 | ]

<sup>79</sup> [Internet Site | Kashif Aziz | Chowrangi | PTA Crackdown on Cellular Networks and Internet as Long March Draws Close | | 15 Mar 2009 | chowrangi.com/pta-crackdown-on-cellular-networks-and-internet-as-long-march-draws-close.html | Accessed 14 June 10 | English-language group blog carrying commentary on current events, business, entertainment, and technology-related topics]

<sup>80</sup> [Internet Site | | PK Politics | Long March – 14 March 2009 [Live] | | 14 Mar 2009 | | pkpolitics.com/2009/03/14/long-march-14-march-2009-live | Accessed 14 June 10 | ]