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Analysis of the role of communication devices shared on the internet - web 2.0 in the process of emergence of Public Sphere and democratization of Pakistani Civil Society

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This work is dedicated to my lovely parents, MOM & ABU G

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F.R

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A.1. *Objective de l'étude*

Cette recherché a pour objectif d'analyser le rôle d'internet au Pakistan et plus particulièrement son rôle dans l'émergence de la société civile pakistanaise. L'émergence de cette société civile peut-être vue comme un des facteurs de la politisation et de la démocratisation de la société. La société pakistanaise a besoin d'être éduquée, guidée afin que les principes démocratiques soient mieux connus, plus réels et que le pays s'engage plus fermement dans la voie démocratique. L'intelligentsia est engagée dans ce travail depuis longtemps, utilisant les moyens traditionnels de la communication de masse la presse, la radio et la télévision mais la société civile ne peut se réduire aux élites et notamment aux intellectuels, les autres catégories sociales doivent participer au processus, notamment la classe moyenne. Une des conditions de la démocratisation de la société nous semble devoir passer par un élargissement de la société civile, afin de combler l'écart entre les élites et les catégories les plus modestes de la population.

Il faut garder à l'esprit que le Pakistan est gouverné depuis sa création d'une manière oligarchique par les militaires même si quelques gouvernement civils animés par des partis politiques ont aussi existé. Mais peu d'études ont été consacrées à la société civile pakistanaise, les études existantes se sont souvent focalisées sur les questions économiques ou sur la chronologie mouvementée de l'histoire politique du Pakistan. Le rôle des médias au sein de la société civile n'a pas non plus donné lieu à des études. C'est pourquoi nous nous sommes intéressés dans cette thèse à l'émergence

de la société civile, à ses liens avec la vie politique et le rôle joué par internet dans la politisation de la société pakistanaise.

La situation du Pakistan est sensiblement différente de celles des pays arabes qui viennent juste de connaître le « printemps arabe ». Le Pakistan est un de ces nouveaux pays nés de l'effondrement de l'empire colonial britannique, né après un long combat mené par les leaders politiques pakistanais. Sa première constitution a été élaborée 9 ans après l'indépendance et les premières élections démocratiques ont leu lieu. Il a alors connu 4 coups d'Etat dont le dernier a pris fin en 2008 avec les élections de février et l'abdication du régime militaire en août. En dépit de ces obstacles dans le processus démocratique, le pays s'est toujours mobilisé contre les dictateurs, même si les dictateurs ont cherché à légitimer leur pouvoir en s'appuyant sur des référendums et en cherchant le soutien de la Cour suprême. Depuis sa création, le Pakistan a néanmoins des valeurs et une culture démocratiques à la différence de certains pays du printemps arabes qui n'avaient pas de constitution démocratique, qui ont été gouvernés pas des dictatures ou des régimes monarchiques sans interruption. Au Pakistan, la lutte en faveur de la démocratie n'est pas nouvelle, la société a été familiarisée avec une constitution démocratique, ce qui rend la notion de société civile différente de celles de bon nombre de pays arabes.

Ce n'est pas seulement la société civile qui est différente de celles des pays qui ont connu le "printemps arabe" mais aussi la situation des médias. Ces pays ont pas ou peu connu une liberté d'expression comme au Pakistan et donc des médias libres et indépendants. Au Pakistan, les médias traditionnels ont une longue histoire de combat pour la liberté d'expression, ce qui n'est pas toujours le cas dans les pays arabes. Dans ces derniers, internet à rempli le vide, canalisé les protestations, les rendant visibles à

l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur du pays. Tel n'est pas la situation du Pakistan où il existe des médias dynamiques et indépendants qui ont une longue tradition de combat contre les différentes dictatures qu'a connues le pays. Ce qui signifie qu'internet prend place dans un contexte où les medias ont déjà joué un grand rôle dans le processus de démocratisation. La question de son rôle, de la création de son propre espace doit être analysée à la lumière de ce contexte spécifique.

De mars 2007 à mars 2009, le Pakistan a connu un mouvement de démocratisation intéressant appelé 'The Lawyers' Movement', le mouvement des avocats, un mouvement sensiblement différent du "printemps arabe". A la différence de ce dernier, le mouvement n'a pas été seulement initié et impulsé par internet, pas plus qu'il n'a voulu destituer un gouvernement dictatorial, illégal ou inconstitutionnel. Ce qui différencie encore le mouvement des avocats des événements arabes, c'est qu'il n'a pas été initié par les jeunes ou la classe moyenne mais par l'élite éduquée et plus spécifiquement les avocats. De plus, les médias traditionnels ont été largement impliqués. Ensuite, les journalistes, les organisations sociales puis la majeure partie de la population ont participé et investi la rue, durant deux longues années. Enfin, il a eu lieu avant la vague des protestations du monde arabe. Comme l'a dit le journaliste pakistanais Muqtida Khan[1]

> "If we have an overview of the overall 60 years history of
> Pakistan, we see that the urban middle class have always
> been struggling for the constitution of a tolerant democratic
> governmental structure. But all the struggles done in different
> political eras could not achieve results as per the aspirations

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[1] Mansoor, M. (2008, June 16). "Middle Class Movement and Current Situation". *Daily Express*.

of the general public. Some petty achievements have been

gained through such struggles like the departure of the

weakening dictators etc, but any basic or fundamental change

in the form of government has not yet seen".

Le mouvement des avocats n'est pas un simple mouvement avec un programme simple de destitution d'un dictateur mais un mouvement réclamant une justice démocratique, le respect des lois. Ce mouvement a rassemblé la classe moyenne, les intellectuels, les écrivains, les journalistes, les activistes politiques et sociaux pour le respect de la constitution à un moment où la société pakistanaise a vu l'introduction d'un média de masse, alors qu'elle connaissait déjà des médias traditionnels libres et actifs.

A mi-chemin, le 15 juin 2008, Hameed Akhtar un journaliste, historien et célèbre écrivain donna son opinion dans un journal pakistanais en Urdu[2] :

"All the previous movements that took place during the 61

years old history of Pakistan had a foreign influence on them

as well as the personal interest of some political groups. This

is the first time that an educated and reasonable class of the

society has put it's everything on stake for the propagation of

democratic process in the country and for the rule of law and

constitution of the country. Also they have the support from

majority of the public".

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[2] Akhtar, H. (2008, June 15). "Long March and Governor Punjab". *Daily Express*.

Le mouvement a commencé dans un contexte où le pays était dirigé par un président issu de l'armée, General Mushrraf. Des élections parlementaires avaient eu lieu mais cette démocratie fantoche concentrait en réalité beaucoup de pouvoir dans les mains du président.

Ce dernier était sur le point d'achever son mandat présidentiel de 5 ans quant il voulu encore se présenter une nouvelle fois aux élections. Mais il lui fallait l'aval de la Cour suprême ce qui déclencha les protestations des avocats, rejoints ensuite par les journalistes et les activistes sociaux puis par la population. Un grand nombre de juges ont démissionné pour protester contre les actions du général. Le général provoqua alors un second coup d'Etat et bafoua la constitution. Le point à noter c'est que la protestation n'avait pas pour but de destituer le président mais était dirigé contre ses actions illégales à l'encontre du pouvoir judiciaire. Ce mouvement a été un mouvement en faveur du respect de l'indépendance du pouvoir judiciaire, ce qui est un élément fondamental pour une société démocratique.

Muqrida Mansoor écrivit dans sa chronique du 23 mars 2007 dans un des journaux les plus populaires en urdu du pays, le *Daily Express*[3] :

> "We have such examples in our history when the leaders of the political parties invited army to interfere in the affairs of the state. This role of the political parties weakened the civil society in Pakistan, and democratic rule of law curtailed. For the last several years this question has been circulating among the thinking circles of Pakistan that if the members of

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[3] Mansoor, M. (2007, July 23). "Are Conditions Changing?". *Daily Express.*

the civil society should act on its own without relying on the political parties for the restoration of their rights including the right to rule, as political parties have also failed in developing a common strategy on national issues. Such a chance was provided to the civil society on 9th of March 2007, when President Mushrraf sacked the Chief Justice of Pakistan and sent a reference against him in the supreme Judicial Council."

A la fin du movement victorieux, en mars 2009, voici comment un journal anglais, le *Daily Time* résumait le mouvement :

"Lawyers have steadily carried the standard of their principled cause for over two years. Organised in over 106 districts in the country with elected bars that can raise funds and organise protest marches, they are a civil society instrument with more grassroots discipline than the political parties."[4]

A.2. *Problématique de la thèse*

« The Lawyers' Movement », le mouvement des avocats, est intéressant à étudier car ce n'est pas un simple mouvement de protestation contre la dictature mais une procédure en faveur du rétablissement des institutions démocratique, en faveur du respect de la loi.

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[4] Editorial. (2009, March 17). Life after the Long March. *Daily Times*.

C'est aussi un exemple intéressant de mobilisation des classes moyennes et des intellectuels, écrivains, journalistes, activistes sociaux et politiques, avocats, œuvrant tous ensemble, main dans la main, pour le rétablissement d'un système judiciaire libre et indépendant de la dictature militaire. Ce mouvement a eu lieu dans un contexte très spécifique, celui de l'émergence d'un nouveau média de masse, internet. Dans ce contexte politique et culturel particulier, le rôle d'internet ne peut se résumer à l'arrivée d'un nouveau média vraiment démocratique, au seul média qui aurait vraiment pu s'exprimer librement et donc jouer un rôle déterminant et unique dans le processus de démocratisation.

Il faut donc maintenant examiner son rôle dans cette phase du processus de démocratisation qu'a été le « mouvement des avocats ». A travers cette thèse, nous avons essayé de voir si internet a joué un rôle dans l'émergence d'une société civile au Pakistan. Est-ce qu'il a participé au processus de démocratisation ? A-t-il fait l'objet de tentative de contrôle de la part du gouvernement. Est-ce que la mobilisation des blogs a visé à défendre une liberté d'expression qui aurait été menacée ? Dans un pays où les médias traditionnel sont dynamiques et puissant, est-ce qu'internet à pu créer son propre espace, trouver sa place ou a-t-il joué avant tout un rôle complémentaire, subordonné aux médias traditionnels ? Nous essayerons ainsi de voir s'il y a des liens entre les discussions des blogs et celui de la presse, si dans les débats et discussions, il y a concurrence, rivalités entre les deux et finalement de voir si internet constitue une menace pour la presse écrite.

A.3.   *Méthodologie*

Pour répondre à cette problématique, nous étudierons dans une première partie le concept de civile société, d'abord grâce aux travaux d'Habermas puis grâce à ceux d'autres chercheurs. Ce concept a fait l'objet de théorisation avant l'arrivée d'internet. Nous étudierons le rôle d'internet en se demandant s'il participe à l'élargissement, à l'apparition d'autres composantes de la société civile. Nous examinerons ensuite les critiques dont web 2.0 a fait l'objet : l'inégalité d'accès à internet, la prédominance des motivations commerciales et l'essor de l'individualisme plutôt que la socialisation, puis la pertinence de ces critiques concernant le sujet traité. Enfin, le concept de société civile doit être étudié dans le contexte spécifique du Pakistan. Mais c'est une sujet peut exploré jusqu'ici. C'est pourquoi nous étudierons à la lumière de la société civile dans le monde musulman. La situation politique au Pakistan doit être étudiée à la lumière des recherches déjà menées notamment par les chercheurs occidentaux ou français. Le rôle d'internet touche aussi au rôle particulier de la Diaspora, puisque cette dernière est une utilisatrice de premier plan de ce nouveau media, accessible de l'extérieur du pays.

Le contexte culturel et politique et notamment la présence d'une presse écrite ancienne, active, dynamique et libre nous a incité à engager une étude comparative. En effet, pour mieux comprendre le rôle d'internet dans ce mouvement des avocats, mouvement perçu comme une étape importante dans la démocratisation du pays, nous avons pensé qu'il fallait mener une étude comparative pour cerner sa spécificité. Est-ce que les rôles des deux médias sont différents ? similaires ? complémentaires ? et donc est-ce qu'internet a pu créer son propre espace social, est-ce qu'il a permis un autre mode d'expression ou encore est-ce qu'une autre partie de la société civile, différente

des élites intellectuelles que constituent les journalistes, a participé activement à ce mouvement pour la démocratisation du pays ?

L'étude comparative a été faite avec la presse et non pas avec d'autres médias comme la télévision ou la radio car ces deux médias interviennent tous les deux dans le domaine de l'expression écrite. Presse et internet mobilisent tous les deux des moyens similaires d'expression, la lecture et l'écriture et donc sont lus par des publics alphabétisés, qui font la démarche de s'informer par le biais de la lecture et de l'écriture. La seule différence, importante pour notre étude de la notion de société civile, c'est que la presse émane de journalistes, de professionnels des médias, alors qu'internet donne la parole à toute personne alphabétisé lui permettant de s'exprimer, de réagir à d'autres écrits et d'être lue. La seconde partie de cette étude est consacrée à l'analyse d'une sélection de journaux et de blogs ; cette analyse permettra de répondre à la problématique générale à partir de l'étude d'un cas particulier, notamment les réactions des auteurs des textes au mouvement des avocats. Ce mouvement a marqué le paysage politique du Pakistan, il est perçu comme un des épisodes décisifs de la longue histoire de la démocratisation du pays. Durant 2 ans, de mars 2007 à mars 2009 jusqu'à la restauration du Chef de la Justice et des autres juges qui avaient été démis de leur fonction, la société civile pakistanaise, avec à sa tête les avocats, a lutté contre les coups de force du gouvernement qui refusait de respecter la constitution du pays. Nous présenterons dans cette deuxième partie, la méthodologie employée et les sources.

Pour mieux comprendre le rôle joué par internet dans la démocratisation de la société civile au Pakistan, il apparaît nécessaire de l'étudier en comparaison avec le rôle joué par les médias traditionnels. En effet, au Pakistan, il existe des médias traditionnels libres, dynamiques et actifs ; le rôle d'internet ne peut donc être étudié seul, sans

prendre en compte le contexte médiatique spécifique au pays. Parmi ces medias traditionnels, la presse a été choisie dans le cadre de cette étude comparative en raison de ses caractéristiques communes en termes d'accès et d'engagement avec internet. Dans un pays comme le Pakistan où le taux d'alphabétisation est de 45%, la pénétration de la radio et de la télévision est très différente de celle des médias écrits. L'accès à internet est limité à ceux qui sont en capacité de lire et d'écrire et cette limite est aussi valable pour la presse, c'est ce qui a rendu la comparaison possible.

Pour cette analyse, seuls les blogs ont été sélectionnés car ils donnent la possibilité d'exprimer son opinion, de prendre connaissance de celles des autres, de les discuter. Les blogs sont ainsi un peu l'équivalent des articles et des chroniques, avec une différence, ces derniers sont en effet écrits pas des professionnels alors que les blogs peuvent être écrits par tous ceux qui ont accès à internet et qui souhaitent participer aux débats.

Pour réponde à la problématique posée dans cette thèse, deux méthodes complémentaires ont été mises en œuvre, une étude qualitative et une étude quantitative[5].

Harold Lasswelle, après avoir étudié les dimensions politique de la presse et des élites, ainsi que les phénomènes de masse media, a proposé une définition célèbre de « l'action of the communication »[6].

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[5] Cardon, P., and Desanti. R., (2010) « *Initiation à l'inquête sociologique* « Edition ASH

[6] Miège, B. (2005), *La pensée communicationnelle,* édition augmentée, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble.

Il propose ainsi plusieurs questions :

-   Qui s'exprime ? (Control Analysis).

-   Pour dire quoi ? (Content Analysis)

-   Par quels moyens ? (Media Analysis)

-   Pour qui? (Audience Analysis)

-   Avec quel effet (Effect Analysis)"

L'approche qui se focalise sur "qu'est-ce qui est dit ?" nous paraît pertinente pour cette étude. Cela a été défini par Earl Babbie comme "the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws"[7]. L'analyse du contenu des textes concernant le mouvement des avocats dans la presse et internet constituera la source principale de l'analyse.

La question de la censure et de la liberté d'expression doit d'abord être posée à la fois à propos de la presse et d'internet afin de mieux comprendre la spécificité des médias au Pakistan. L'analyse des propos présents dans la presse et internet permettra ensuite de mesurer les liens entre les deux medias et donc de voir si la société civile s'élargit grâce à internet. Si un lien est trouvé entre les deux médias, il faudra voir si presse et internet sont en concurrence, en opposition ou dans toute autre situation. La question de la complémentarité entre les deux medias doit être étudiée à travers l'étude des différents sujets abordés par la presse et internet, sont-ils communs, similaires,

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[7] Babbie, Earl R. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research* (12th ed.). Wadsworth: Cengage Learning, p. 530

différents ? Est-ce qu'internet crée de nouveaux sujets ou bien discute des thématiques déjà abordées dans la presse ? Est-ce qu'internet constitue une menace pour le média plus ancien ? Une fois qu'on aura répondu à ces questions, nous pourrons alors mesurer plus précisément le rôle d'internet dans l'émergence, l'élargissement de la société civile et donc dans le processus de démocratisation.

Nous avons choisi d'étudier la presse quotidienne et ses principaux supports : les articles, les chroniques, les éditoriaux et de lettres écrites par les lecteurs. Nous avons sélectionné deux des journaux quotidiens les plus lus un en anglais, l'autre en Urdu.

Dawn est un quotidien en anglais, l'un des plus anciens, des plus renommés et de plus lus au Pakistan. La version en ligne qui est libre et gratuite a conservé les archives du journal.

Le journal quotidien en Urdu *Express* a été choisi pour cette analyse. Il est relativement récent, créé en 1998 alors que d'autres existent depuis l'indépendance mais il a acquis une très grande audience et paraît simultanément dans onze villes du pays.

L'Express a aussi une version en ligne gratuite et facile d'accès, ne nécessitant pas une adhésion. Il est ainsi aujourd'hui le plus lu au Pakistan. Les deux sites de ces journaux ont conservé leurs archives ce qui a permis de réaliser cette étude en sélectionnant les articles concernant le mouvement des avocats.

Les blogs ont été sélectionnés selon 4 critères principaux :

- Les plus populaires en termes de lectorat,

- Les blogs spécialisés au sujet de la politique pakistanaise,

- ceux qui émanent d'auteurs multiples

- ceux qui ont conservé leurs archives depuis le début et jusqu'à la fin du mouvement des avocats

Les sites blogs selectionées pour l'analyze sont :

PkHope http://www.pkhope.com/, *Pakistaniat* http://pakistaniat.com/, and *FiveRupees* http://fiverupees.blogspot.fr/.

PkHope

Un blog en urdu consacré à beaucoup de thématiques dont la vie politique et sociale du Pakistan. Son contenu est très large, très alimenté par les lecteurs, ce qui en a fait un site incontournable pour cette étude.

FiveRupees

Il possède des caractères similaires au précédent. Il a gagné le prix 'The Best Political coverage Blog' au Pakistan en 2010, attribué par *The Express Tribune* et Google Pakistan.

Pakistaniat a quant à lui gagné le prix 'The Best Current Affairs Blog' en 2010.

L'analyse a été menée selon les critères suivants :

Nature du texte,

Le rédacteur,

Le titre du texte,

La nature de la discussion,

L'intensité des critiques,

L'argumentaire des critiques et dénonciations,

L'intension du rédacteur,

Les portraits des acteurs engagés,

Les outils utilisés pour convaincre,

Les allusions à la censure.

Un total de 450 textes ont été analysés dans la presse anglaise et urdu et un total de 279 blogs issus de 3 sites sélectionnées ont été étudiés.

A.4.   *Analyse et Résultats*

L'analyse des 279 textes des différents blogs durant l'intégralité du mouvement des avocats; c'est-à-dire durant deux ans, de mars 2007 à mars 2009 donne des résultats intéressants qui sont analysés en relation et en comparaison avec la presse. Les raisons de cette comparaison résident dans le fait que ce nouveau moyen de communication essaie de se faire une place dans l'espace public. Selon l'une des hypothèses de se travail ; il essaierait de remplacer la presse traditionnelle. L'analyse de ces textes des blogs est divisée en deux parties, la première consiste à mettre en évidence les indicateurs qui sont similaires entre presse et blogs, puis une 2e partie met en lumière les différences :

La première partie qui met en évidence les similitudes est importante à noter car le fait que la presse et les blogs sont allés dans le même sens est une des raisons du succès du mouvement. Les similitudes peuvent être classées ainsi.

A.4.1 Intensité des critiques

L'analyse montre que les critiques sont fortes pour la plupart : 47% sont très fortes (contre 52% dans la presse). Les critiques sarcastiques s'élèvent à 2,9% contre 12% dans la presse. Les critiques modérés s'élèvent à 10% pour les blogs et 7% dans la presse. Les résultats montrent la même tendance dans la nature et l'intensité des critiques aussi bien dans la presse que dans les blogs, contredisant ainsi la croyance que les blogs sont plus critiques que la presse.

A.4.2 Des Médias engagés

L'analyse montre que la presse et les blogs sont plus engagés que neutre à propos du mouvement des avocats. L'étude a consisté en un comptage des textes contre le gouvernement, en faveur du gouvernement ou neutre. Voici les résultats observés :

Dans l'analyse de la presse, les résultats montrent que presque 80% des textes de la presse sont contre le gouvernement et l'analyse des blogs montre presque les mêmes résultats. Seulement 13,6% rapportent les faits sans donner d'opinion (12% dans la presse) et les blogs favorables au gouvernement sont très rares 4,3% seulement comme la presse. Blogs et presse sont donc allés dans le même sens, partageant la même opinion sur la crise, défavorable au gouvernement et favorable au mouvement des avocats.

A.4.3 Des Médias engagés en faveur d'une cause

La question suivante qui se pose est de se demander si les deux medias sont engagés de la même manière ?

Les blogs ne critiquent pas les personnes impliquées mais s'engage en faveur de la cause défendue par les avocats. C'est intéressant de constater que contrairement à ce qu'on aurait pu penser, internet ne donne pas la parole à des personnes qui, parce qu'écrivant de manière anonyme, n'auraient pas le sens des responsabilités. Il n'y a pas de critiques et d'attaques personnelles mais les blogs sont clairement engagés en faveur du mouvement des avocats, manifestant ainsi des caractéristiques communes avec la presse.

La question de la censure doit être maintenant posée afin de savoir si l'engagement des médias a eu lieu de manière intéressée, c'est-à-dire en voulant défendre la liberté d'expression.

Le résultat de l'analyse montre que seulement 8% des articles concernent des attaques contre la presse et en faveur de la liberté d'expression, l'analyse de la presse avait montré une tendance similaire puisque seulement 10% des articles étaient consacrés à ces sujets. On peut maintenant se demander quelles sortes d'attaques et contre quels médias ces dernières étaient dirigées.

Les résultats montrent que parmi les 10% des articles des journaux consacrés à des critiques contre la censure de la presse, 78% sont consacrés à des attaques à l'égard de la télévision, de la même manière 78% des blogs sont consacrés au même sujet. 32% concernent des attaques dont sont victimes les journalistes et un peu moins parmi les blogs : 13,6%. Les journaux, la radio, internet et les bloggeurs n'ont pas été attaqués ou

victimes de la censure du gouvernement durant le mouvement des avocats. Cela veut dire que la mobilisation des médiats n'a pas eu lieu pour défendre leurs propres intérêts.

A.4.4   *Quels moyens ont été utilisés ?*

Cette partie entend analyser les outils qui ont été mobilisés par les blogs pour défendre la cause choisie. Les premiers paramètres concernent le sujet et le titre des textes, ils sont importants car ce sont les premiers à capter l'attention du lecteur. Dans les blogs, les titres sont encore plus importants car le texte n'apparaît pas sur la page web et le titre doit donner aux lecteurs l'envie de lire le texte en entier pour cliquer sur le lien.

L'analyse montre que le plus part des titres sont agressifs comme pour la presse (56.6% pour les blogs, 41% pour la presse), si la presse est un peu moins agressive, la tendance est toutefois la même. Le résultat confirme l'idée de similitude entre les deux médias.

Le 2e paramètre concerne le langage, quelle sorte de langage ? Est-ce un langage professionnel ? Désobligeant à l'égard du gouvernement ou envers les parties contestataires ? Est-ce que des références sociales ou politiques sont mobilisées ?

Une fois encore les résultats démentent une opinion commune assignant un langage professionnel à la presse écrite et non pas aux blogs. Or le langage est similaire dans les deux cas.

A.4.5   *Critique mais superficiel ?*

Cette partie cherche à montrer les différences et donc à répondre à la question de l'apparition d'un espace propre à internet dans un contexte où la presse écrite est très

dynamique et active. Ce sont ces différences qui donnent son armature et sa définition à ce nouveau média.

Les résultats montrent que les blogs sont très critiques puisque 52% des textes sont critiques à l'égard des actions du gouvernement alors que seulement 29% des journaux l'étaient. La dénonciation ne concerne que 26% des textes de la presse et 10% des textes de blogs. Par rapport aux textes qualifiés de critiques, les textes qualifiés de « dénonciation » vont plus loin puisqu'ils mobilisent une argumentation de la part de celui qui écrit. Ce qui veut dire que les blogs mobilisent moins que la presse une analyse et un argumentaire face à la crise.

La tendance est la même : condamnation de la dictature, illégalité des actes du gouvernement, attaques contre la justice, non respect de la constitution et des lois. Mais si la tendance est bien la même dans les deux medias, l'intensité est moindre dans les blogs, l'argumentation plus faible.

A.4.6   *Internet plus passif ?*

On pourrait penser généralement qu'internet est un média très actif, plus actif que les médias traditionnels demandant aux acteurs de s'engager activement.

Quand une personne qui n'est pas un journaliste professionnel commence un blog ou donne un commentaire, cela peut être considéré comme une participation active. Alors que 80% des textes sont des textes engagés maintenant nous devons voir si ces textes donnent une opinion passive ou active. Est-ce que ces textes donnent simplement une opinion ou demandent aux lecteurs de s'engager de manière active dans le mouvement ?

Les résultats montrent que dans la presse 77 % des textes donnent une opinion active et 17% passive, soit une différence de 60% alors que dans les blogs, 44% sont actifs et

28

35% passifs, soit une différence de 9%. Ce qui signifie que la presse est plus mobilisatrice, qu'elle demande plus à ses lecteurs d'agir concrètement, de s'engager dans le mouvement.

A.4.7 *Internet demande un changement de gouvernement ?*

Les résultats ont montré que les blogs sont engagés comme la presse, ils incident les lecteurs à réagir mais avec une moindre ampleur. Quel genre de solution proposent-ils ? Est-ce une solution constitutionnelle comme la presse le demandait ? Une solution constitutionnelle signifie une solution en accord avec la loi et rien de plus. Est-ce une solution pacifique qu'ils demandent ? Ou bien un changement de gouvernement ?

Si les blogs sont en général plus passifs, quand ils sont actifs, ils demandent un changement alors que la presse demandait plutôt une solution constitutionnelle, c'est-à-dire le respect de la loi. Le souhait d'une résolution pacifique est sensiblement le même dans la presse et dans les blogs (48% dans la presse et 40% dans les blogs). Il est aussi important de noter que les partisans de la révolte sont insignifiants à la fois dans la presse et dans les blogs et qu'une solution pacifique est la priorité dans les deux medias.

La différence notable réside dans la demande d'un changement de gouvernement qui est très forte dans les blogs mais toujours selon un processus politique et démocratique.

A.5. *Conclusion*

A.5.1 *La question de la liberté d'expression*

Au vu des résultats de l'enquête menée, il est possible de répondre aux questions posées et à la problématique. Premier point, il n'y a pas de censure exercée à l'encontre d'internet et des journaux durant la crise politique du mouvement des avocats. La

censure a, en revanche, touchée la télévision. Comme l'avait analysé Max-Jeans Zins dans son livre "La quête de l'identité" la presse et les medias sont libres au Pakistan même sous le régime militaire[8], cela se vérifie aussi pour Internet.

A.5.2   A propos du lien entre la presse et internet

Le mouvement des avocats a duré deux ans de mars 2009 jusqu'à la restauration du Chef de la Justice et des autres juges qui avaient été démis de leur fonction. Les données montrent un total de 450 textes trouvés en 2 ans dans seulement deux des principaux journaux. Ces textes sont composées de chroniques, éditoriaux, lettres aux éditeurs par des citoyens pakistanais. C'est la majorité de l'espace qui a été occupée par l'événement. Du côté des blogs, nous avons la même tendance, avec un total de 279 textes trouvés dans les 3 blogs. Ces textes sont composés seulement des blogs et pas des commentaires à leurs propos. Le grand nombre de blogs concernant le mouvement des avocats montre la participation active de la population au débat, en faisant d'internet une véritable plateforme d'échange d'opinions relative au débat politique, comme l'a dit Fraiser, le théatre de la participation politique[9]. Nous pouvons aussi conclure qu'internet et la presse ont partagé les discussions politiques, impliquant conjointement des professionnels des médias mais aussi le citoyen ordinaire.

A.5.3   A propos de la concurrence entre internet les médias traditionnels

Nous avons noté dans les résultats de l'analyse que les positions des rédacteurs des deux médias à propos du mouvement des avocats étaient similaires. Les opinions

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[8] Zins, M. J. (2002). *"Pakistan: la quête de l'identité"*. La Documentation Française.

[9] Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text* , 56-80.

défavorables à l'égard du gouvernement atteignent 80% dans les deux médias et celles favorables au gouvernement s'élèvent à 3 ou 4%. Les articles se contentant d'une simple narration de l'événement sont aussi bien en faible nombre (12 à 13%) dans les deux médias.

Cette surprenante similitude dans les résultats signifie qu'en présence d'une presse active, libre et indépendante, internet n'apporte rien de plus au débat politique en terme de contenu mais constitue surtout une plateforme au sein de laquelle plus de personnes peuvent s'exprimer et participer au débat. Cela veut dire que la société civile s'est élargie à des personnes qui maîtrisent et partagent les valeurs démocratiques. Avant l'arrivée d'internet, la classe moyenne jouait un rôle important dans les « tea houses » et les clubs mais ce rôle demeurait limité à ses propres membres. Là réside la conclusion principale et l'élément le plus intéressant à retirer de cette étude.

Selon Gerard, la société civile est "a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment."[10] Il est clair, d'après les données de l'étude, qu'internet a bien joué le rôle d'une plateforme permettant à des personnes de partager leur intérêt commun et de discuter de leur souhait de voir une évolution politique dans leur pays, dans le sens d'une plus grande démocratisation.

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[10] Gerard, H. (1998). Vernacular Dialogue and the Rhetoricality of Public Opinion. *Communication Monographs* , 83-107

Asen a défini la société civile comme "a realm of social life in which public opinion can be formed"[11] Dans le cas présent, 80% de l'opinion dans la presse ou sur internet sont résolument contre les gouvernement et ses actions illégales, actions qui ont bafffoué la constitution.

A.5.4   A propos d'internet comme étant complémentaire à la presse

L'étude montre que les discussions sur internet sont largement inspirées par celles qui ont eu lieu auparavant dans la presse écrite et dans la télévision, donc dans les médias traditionnels. Ces derniers restent les inspirateurs, les initiateurs des thématiques discutées, confirmant les analyses de Miege qui montrent les médias traditionnels sont la source de discussions qui ont lieu ensuite sur internet.[12]

Cependant, la thèse de Miege affirmant qu'internet donne des informations nouvelles ou dénoncent les informations données dans les medias traditionnels n'est pas vérifiée dans le cas spécifique du Pakistan. La plupart du temps, les bloggeurs commentent un article de presse ou une information donnée par la presse. Les articles des journaux où les extraits de la télévision sont alors cités par les bloggeurs. Ce qui signifie que les sources des bloggeurs ne sont pas des sources de première main venant d'eux-mêmes ou d'autres bloggeurs mais proviennent des médias traditionnels, ce qui amène à conclure qu'internet est plus un média complémentaire qu'un média qui a développé son propre espace.

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[11] Asen, R. (1999). Toward a Normative Conception of Difference in Public Deliberation. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 11(-129)

[12] Miége, B. (2007). *La Sociéte Conquise Par La Communication, t3, les TIC entre innovation technique et encrage social.* PUG.

Le contexte médiatique, à savoir une presse écrite très prolifique qui a de nombreux journaux en anglais et en urdu (la langue nationale), de nombreux quotidiens et mensuels, mais aussi une télévision très populaire dans le pays, fait qu'internet apparaît comme un nouveau média qui n'a pas encore réussi à s'imposer comme un média fort, inspirant lui-même des discussions à partir des ses propres sources, de ses propres sujets.

A.5.5   *La question d'Internet comme menace à l'égard des médias traditionnels*

Comme on l'a dit plus haut, internet est un média complémentaire aux médias traditionnels. Mattelart Armand & Michele ont émis des critiques à l'égard d'internet qui, selon eux, transforme les citoyens en consommateurs en raison du consumérisme de la société, en en faisant des « consommateurs de l'information ».[13] Mais cela ne semble pas le cas au Pakistan.

Internet a une pénétration très lente au sein de la société civile, seulement 10% de la société ont accès, essentiellement dans les villes. C'est une des premiers handicaps pour internet mais l'avenir va lui assurer une plus grande pénétration et donc une audience plus large.

Breton a déjà souligné le fait que les medias traditionnels restent la principale source d'information et sont des médiateurs importants entre la société civile et l'Etat[14]. Ceci semble confirmer dans notre étude et internet reste pour l'instant au Pakistan un acteur complémentaire et modeste à côté des médias traditionnels.

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[13] Mattelart, A. M. (1997). *'Histoire des théories de la communication'*. La Découverte. (page 44)

[14] Breton, P. (2000). *Le Culte de L'internet: Une menace pour le lien social?* La Découverte.

De plus, internet paraît selon notre étude plus renforcer les médias traditionnels plutôt que les menacer puisqu'on l'a déjà souligné, les blogs réagissent, commentent des informations venant des médias traditionnels. Cela veut dire que les blogs tendent à augmenter le lectorat des médias traditionnels, incitant les lecteurs de ces blogs à consulter l'article original.

A.5.6   A propos d'internet aidant l'émergence de la société civile

L'analyse montre que la presse apparaît comme le gardien de la démocratie en dénonçant les actes inconstitutionnels du régime dictatorial. Mais presse et télévision émanent des journalistes professionnels, de l'intelligentsia du pays. Un des obstacles à la démocratisation du pays est la distance entre cette élite intellectuelle et la population qui ne peut avoir accès à ces médias et ne peut s'exprimer que dans la rue. Ce problème concerne surtout la classe moyenne alphabétisée qui ne peut pas s'exprimer dans les médias traditionnels. C'est ici qu'internet joue un grand rôle en permettant à ces nouvelles catégories sociales d'accéder au débat politique à partir de leur propre maison. Habermas présente la fonction de la société civile comme le moyen d'engager des personnes privées dans le débat public.[15] Il faudrait poursuivre l'étude en ce sens car c'est un des éléments clé : la participation de la classe moyenne au débat politique.

S'il est vrai qu'internet a un taux de pénétration général faible au Pakistan, il est très présent dans l'univers des classes moyennes éduquées, les étudiants, les enseignants, les cols blancs. Or l'accès au débat politique d'une plus grande partie de la population nous apparaît comme une condition indispensable à la démocratisation du

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[15] Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought)*. The MIT Press.

pays, la réflexion, le débat politique ne peuvent être circonscrit à l'élite intellectuelle du pays. Comme Cardon la montré, internet a élargi la société civile. Avant internet, c'était seulement les professionnels des médias qui maîtrisaient les sujets du débat.[16]

A.5.7   A propos du rôle d'internet dans la démocratisation de la société pakistanaise

L'analyse a montré que 279 blogs ont été consacrés à la lutte des avocats contre l'arbitraire du gouvernement (sans compter les commentaires) au sein de seulement 3 blogs, des blogs non pas créés spécialement pour l'évènement mais consacrés plus largement à la vie politique du Pakistan. L'analyse a montré que les bloggeurs dénoncent l'arbitraire du gouvernement, demandent un changement de régime et des élections générales. Oberdorff a critiqué le modèle occidental de démocratie représentative qui exclut les citoyens ordinaires de la vie politique qui doivent se contenter de mettre un bulletin de vote dans une urne et pense que la démocratie doit être plus participative.[17] Le Pakistan partage le même modèle démocratique venu de l'Occident. Au Pakistan, Internet semble jouer un rôle majeur en ce sens, en élargissant la société civile, en permattant la particpation au débat politique de la classe moyenne éduquée, qui peut aussi faire le lien entre l'intelligentsia et le peuple.

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[16] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites* (Pages 35, 36).

[17] Oberdorff, H. (2010). *La Démocratie à l'ère Numérique.* PUG.

A.6.   Perspectives futures de l'étude

J'ai conduit cette recherche au regard de la fameuse définition de Harold Lasswell of 'Action of Communication'[18] mais les autres parties de « Action of Communication' – the Control Analysis, Audience Analysis, and Effect Analysis pourraient être menées avec beaucoup d'intérêt. L'étude a montré qu'un média alternatif, internet, a permis à la classe moyenne éduquée de participer au débat national et donc d'élargir la société civile à ceux qui étaient jusqu'alors exclu des moyens de communication et, à travers l'épisode du mouvement des avocats, de participer à un moment important dans le processus de démocratisation du pays, en réclamant le respect de la constitution et des lois à un gouvernement non respectueux des principes démocratiques.

Il serait intéressant de poursuivre par une étude plus spécifique sur les caractéristiques sociologiques de ces utilisateurs d'internet qui ont pris part au débat politique national. L'émergence de cette nouvelle frange de la société mérite plus d'attention. Comme l'ont souligné les auteurs rassemblés par Francois B. and Neveu E. (dir.), dans "Espcace Public mosaïques", la notion de société civile ne peut être aujourd'hui utilisée au singulier et la notion de société civile "mosaïque" permet d'évoquer la pluralité des participants à la société civile[19.] Il serait tout aussi intéressant

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[18] Miège, B. (2005), *La pensée communicationnelle*, édition augmentée, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble (Page 21). Mattelart, A. M. (1997). *'Histoire des théories de la communication'*. La Découverte (page 20).

[19] Francois B. and Neveu E. (dir.), *Espcace Public mosaïques*, Rennes, PUR, 1999

d'étudier plus spécifiquement le rôle qu'a joué la diaspora dans le débat politique et le

processus de démocratisation car c'est un des acteurs les plus actifs sur internet.

ABSTRACT

B. Abstract

In this thesis, the first study of its kind, the role of internet specially that of social networking shared devices on web 2.0 is analyzed in the process of emergence of Public Sphere – the notion introduced by Habermas, and ultimately in the process of democratization of civil society in Pakistan. Lawyers' Movement (March 2007 – March 2009) of Pakistan is selected to analyze this role as this successful movement for the rule of law in the country is solely responsible for a fundamental democratic change in the democratic culture and socio-political set up of Pakistan by bringing a vibrant and active civil society in the lime light of country's political and social life.

The content in Pakistani press and social communication content in blogs on blog sites during the course of and related to Lawyers' Movement are analyzed using the technique of content analysis as defined by Lasswell Harold, focusing mainly on the content of communication (said what?) for a qualitative as well as quantitative analysis.

The fundamental questions of the emergence of Public Sphere with the help of internet found to be true as it enhances the circle and forum of national public debate to the ones who had not been able to take part in it at the same level via the traditional means of mass communication, confirming the concept of Enhanced Public Sphere with the advent of internet presented by Cardon and also the concept of more participative democracy by Oberdorff by providing a platform to the educated middle class for voicing their opinion and ultimately filling the gap between the common people and intelligentsia of the society and taking active part in democratization of the society.

The subsequent findings of the study reveal that there exists a freedom of expression not only on the internet but in the Pakistani press as well, that there is a link

between the discussion in the press and in blogs and this discussion is concurrent, that internet has not yet presented itself as an alternate and better source for the flow of information confirming the criticism of Breton on the cult of internet and that the internet is instead behaving as complementary to the traditional media.

PART – 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

It is the age of basic transformation in the news treatment. Extraordinary speed is being experienced in adopting new media uses and technologies. There are now increasingly vague distinctions between professional journalists, amateur journalists, citizen journalists, bloggers and activist communicators. The viral dissemination of audio and video clippings of news through internet is a common practice in this age of web2.0.

Examining new digital political communications is theoretically relevant as it mirrors the larger societal move toward technology, new communications forms and social networking on the Internet. "Old Media" theories, constructed to explain and predict phenomena observed in traditional print and broadcast mass media forms, have proven inadequate to the task of understanding how digital media work and how consumers want/need information in forms and formats far different than those present before 1995 (advent of internet in public arena). How journalism both covers and immerses itself in this new digital paradigm is one key to the survival of news media in the 21st Century, at a time when traditional media forms and business models are crumbling or undergoing transformation. This thesis looks at one of the most vital functions of a non-conventional media in a democracy: the online coverage, practice and debate on political issues.

The news websites have become a well-known aspect of the news culture in a short period of less than two decades. It is not possible to establish the exact date or year when the first news outlet went online. According to Gunter it was the year 1990,

when for the first time newspapers could be accessed online in U.S[20], whereas according to Li it was two years later in the year 1992[21]. The appearance of the World Wide Web and the dot-com surge paved the way for the established news organizations in investing millions of dollars to go online and thus marking the initial expansion of the online news era.[21]

Today's internet has now evolved to what has been called web2.0, a term popularized by O'Reilly Media [21]. The use of the term web 2.0 marks for the specific changes related to the overall outlook of the online contents, the access speed, mobility and reception and production of the content. It is the evolution of the web, where instead of only text and graphics, it now includes audio & video streaming as well. All this had been possible due to the technological developments in this sector and the now availability of broadband and wireless technology like Wi-Fi that such huge amounts of data can be easily broadcasted through internet.

The public can now access the web anywhere through mobile devices, like smart phones and digital touchpad tablets whereas, the older version web1.0 was mainly static and was only accessible through computers like desktops & laptops. It is not just the mobility that has made web2.0 more user friendly but the ability to take part in the production and dissemination or broadcast of the online content that had made it more popular among the general users. The internet users are no more the silent audience now but they can also take part by uploading and sharing text, images, audio and video over

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[20] Gunter, B. (2003). *News and the Net.* L. Erlbaum,.

[21] Li, X. (2006). *Internet newspapers: The making of a mainstream medium.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

the internet. The most vivid and important characteristics of web2.0 now-a-days are the user-content generated websites like MySpace, YouTube, and Facebook.[22]

It is important to note that all these developments in the web2.0 sector had made a significant impact in the field of online news. Online news outlets are no more merely composed of text and images but consist of audio & video streaming of news clips as well, where online users can watch breaking news or listen to news bulletin online[23]. It is revealed in a survey of over eighty mainstream newspaper websites in U.S. in 1997 that only 7% of them had video content whereas 16% had audio content. This number rose to 44% of websites having both audio & video content by the year 2003. Video content had become a common feature on the online newspaper websites by the year 2005. [22]

For the mass media researchers the new social media web 2.0 has proven to be quite a challenge, as they have so far only been able to be at the circumference of 'cyberspace' but have subsequently failed to formulate a theory which might be able to explore and converge its many features & elements or explain and predict its effects on the society and also that how this social media is itself affected by the society's use of its digital world.

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[22] Project for Excellence in Journalism. 2007. The State of the News Media 2007: Newspapers.Journalism.org.
http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/2007/narrative_newspapers_intro.asp?cat=1&media=3
(accessed 10 Aug. 2009).

[23] (Greer, J., & Mensing, D. (2006). Evolution of Online Newspapers: A Longitudinal Content Analysis, 1997–2003. In X.Li (Ed.) Internet Newspapers: The Making of a Mainstream Medium (pp. 13–32). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

1.1   Rationale of the Study

This research study is aimed at analyzing the discussion and political debate on the internet in Pakistan and to reach to a conclusion that whether the media especially the internet is playing any role in the emergence of civil society in Pakistan? This emergence of the civil society can be viewed in the spirits of politicization or more appropriately the democratization of the civil society in general.

The civil society needs to be educated and guided and infested with the democratic norms and values by its own members in order to emerge and act in a more responsible way for the uphold and propagation of democracy in the society for an overall well being and prosperity of all of its members. The intelligentsia of the society had been doing this job for quite a long time using the traditional means of mass communication press, radio, and television. But the civil society is not merely composed of the intelligentsia/elite and the common people following their suit, it is the middle class which should make the most of the public sphere by bridging the gap between these two extreme classes and playing a vital role in the education and guidance of the civil society. Before the advent of the internet, this middle class had played this role in the tea houses[24], and society clubs but this role remained very limited to close groups and gatherings. Now with the internet the middle class which is both educated in Pakistan and having an easy access to the internet, can voice their political opinions and take part in the national debate while sitting in the comfort of their homes.

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[24] Jaffery, S. (2013, March 08). *Historic Pak Tea House cafe in Lahore reopens*. Retrieved from BBC
News Asia: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-21716603

Keeping in view the overall political history of Pakistan where this country is mostly run in an oligarchic manner mostly by the military establishment and in-between some civil regimes lead by the political parties, enforces the idea that a detailed study of the civil society in Pakistan is direly important which could explain the social and political fibre of the country. But the main problem is that there are only a very few such studies about Pakistani civil society and out of those very few studies the focus is mainly on the economic perspective and sometimes the chronological events of changing of governments in the country. Any such study which could focus on the political or democratic aspect of the society is hard to see especially the one with the role of media in the structure of a civil society does not exist. Therefore, the need strongly rises to see if finally in the recent years with the advent of internet especially the civil society be seen in its emergence in Pakistan in view of political life with prime focuses on the media especially the internet playing any role in it?

Pakistan being governed in an oligarchic manner for half part of its history (i.e., thirty three years out of a total of sixty six years) by the military establishment has quite a long history of censorship on the mass media and movements by the mass media in return for its freedom of expression. This has rendered the traditional media with a very critical and aggressive approach towards the government. Internet has been a very recent phenomenon both in the world and in Pakistan, therefore the laws for the censorship and control of the internet are to be formulated in Pakistan. Internet in Pakistan is yet to make its impact felt on the masses and its reach to them therefore, the intelligentsia is yet to move to this form of communication, which leaves a wide space open for whoever can access it and use it to voice his/her opinion through it. This can also be a very interesting study to find out who is using internet in Pakistan and why it

is being used, but this is not the aim of this research study. The aim and goal of this research study is that whether this internet medium is playing any role in the democratization of the civil society in Pakistan by contributing in the national political debate, or by discussing the political situation of Pakistan or by providing a platform to the civil society for voicing its opinions for the propagation of democratic norms and values in the society.

While talking about the role of internet in the emergence of civil society, the most recent phenomenon which comes to mind is the example of 'Arab Spring'. Arab spring is the term coined by media for a series of outbreak of protests and uprisings that began in the Arab world starting from December 2010 which led to the ousting of rulers from power first from Tunisia, and then from Egypt, Libya and Yemen. It further continued to the notable civil protests and uprisings in Bahrain and Syria as well. In the Arab spring the major role is played by the internet[25] through the social networking websites like Facebook etc, and also Youtube by sharing the videos of the protests and spreading it through internet to the main stream traditional media. The example of Arab Spring is a very good one where civil movements had been initiated by the middle class and spread along and created awareness and ultimately guarantying the participation of more and more people all this with the help of internet.[26]

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[25] Zeynep, T., & Christopher, W. (2012). Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations From Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication*, 363-379.

[26] Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E., & Tamir, S. (2013). Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. Lim, M. (2013). Framing Bouazizi: 'White Lies', Hybrid Network, and Collective/Connective Action in the 2010-11 Tunisian Uprising. *Journalism*, 921-941.

This research study is about the civil society of Pakistan while the political situation in Pakistan as well as the civil society of Pakistan had been quite different from that in the Arab countries hit by the Arab Spring. Pakistan is one of the newly born countries which broke out from the colonial rule of the British in the year 1947. It came into being after a long democratic and political struggle led by the political leaders democratically elected by the general public and fighting a constitutional battle with the British in the parliament during colonial rule. In the year 1956 only nine years after its birth the country had its first constitution ready and passed by the legislative assembly consisting of the democratically elected political leaders by the general public. Till present Pakistan have had its fair share of military coups, first being in 1958, then in 1971, in 1977 and latest in the year 1999, which finally ended in the year 2008 with general elections in February and resignation of last military Dictator in August 2008. Despite these hindrances in the political and democratic growth of the society, the country has always fought back with the dictators and even all the dictators have tried to legitimise their rule according to the constitution by conducting general referendums for the legality of their Presidency of the country and also trying to gain legal cover from the supreme judiciary for their illegal rule.

This history of Pakistan indicates that it had several struggles for democracy and rule of law and even the dictators trying to legitimize their rules by referendums and conducting general elections to form parliaments, which show that it is a society though controlled for the most part by military regimes still has democratic values and culture and a need and struggle for a true democratic society in its very essence right from its very birth which was made possible only by the same democratic process in the year 1947. The Arab Spring on the other hand had been a popular wave of protests in the

countries which had no history with the democracy or any such culture in the very roots of their societies. There had been dictators ruling for decades, and before them, the monarchs had ruled, so no history of any constitution or democracy earlier, this Arab spring is more like the first stepping stones by the Arab civil societies for the foundation of political democracies in their respective countries.

In Pakistan, on the other hand, struggle for democracy or removal of a dictator is not something new, the society is already familiar with the constitution and democratic process and struggles to achieve it whenever it is thwarted by some dictator. The difference is the social fabric and in the make of the civil society in Pakistan and in Arab countries making the case of Pakistani civil society quite different from that of the civil societies in the Arab countries hit by the Arab spring.

Not only the civil society is different in Pakistan than those in Arab spring countries but the situation of media is quite different altogether in these two different societies. Arab countries never truly had an independent and free media under the rule of dictators and monarch throughout their political histories, whereas, on the other hand in Pakistan we do witness a relatively free media due to the existence of constitution and democratic rules of the civil political parties democratically elected by the general public. In Pakistan the traditional media also have a long history of its struggle for freedom of expression against the dictators, so the media has also been hardened by having been engaged in such endeavours and would naturally leap for any such struggle in the future as well. The traditional media never had any such precedent in the Arab Spring countries, so internet filled this natural gap and spread the news of the protests

both inside the countries and to the outside world by social networking websites[27]. There is no such gap in Pakistani society which could be easily and naturally filled by the internet due to the presence of a very vibrant and aggressive independent media who also has precedents for its struggle for its rights under dictatorial regimes. Any role which internet would play in the emergence of the civil society, it will have to play in the presence of a very vibrant and aggressive traditional media by creating its own space for the mass media and thus it would no doubt be a challenge for it[28].

The study of Arab Spring in liaison to this research study is not done therefore on the basis of these two arguments that primarily the social fabric of the civil societies involved in the Arab spring and that in Pakistan is entirely different with different histories and political perspectives and secondly the difference in the nature and history of media in both societies as discussed.

Pakistan has a very interesting example of a movement quite different than the Arab spring in its recent history from March 2007 to March 2009. This is the example of what is called 'The Lawyers' Movement'. Unlike Arab spring this movement is not initiated or propagated solely by the internet, neither it is merely for the purpose of ousting a dictator from his illegal and unconstitutional office of the government. Again unlike the Arab spring this movement is not led and contributed only by the young and the middle class of the society, instead it had been started by the educated elite of the

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[27] Lim, M. (2012). Clicks, Cabs and Coffee Houses: Social MEdia and Oppositional Movements in Egypt, 2004-2011. *Journal of Communication*, 231-248. Howard, P. N., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia: The Role of Digital Media. *Journal of Democracy*.

[28] Hussain, T. (2012, July 14). Political 'Tsunami' in Pakistan. (P. D. Team, Interviewer)

society the intelligentsia- the lawyers, and is duly participated in by the media, journalists, social organizations, all the major political parties of the country, and finally the common people who gave their blood on the street along with lawyers during this movement which encompasses a total duration of two long years. Also these Lawyers Movement started three years prior to the Arab spring and finished successfully one year ahead the start of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, which makes the Lawyers' Movement as the one which could might be used as a precedent for the Arab spring but again in a very peculiar way, and could not be studied in the light of Arab Spring.

As described by a senior Pakistani journalist Muqtida Khan "If we have an overview of the overall 60 years history of Pakistan, we see that the urban middle class have always been struggling for the constitution of a tolerant democratic governmental structure. But all the struggles done in different political eras could not achieve results as per the aspirations of the general public. Some petty achievements have been gained through such struggles like the departure of the weakening dictators etc, but any basic or fundamental change in the form of government has not yet seen"[29], the Lawyers' Movement is not a raw movement with a very basic agenda of forcing out a dictator from his illegal office, instead it is a very acute & specific movement demanding the democratic justice and the rule of law, which could change for good the democratic setup of the country by bringing a fundamental change in it.

According to Bhatti, "Lawyers are inseparable constituents of this whole edifice of this corporatised justice system. They have direct professional and institutional stakes

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[29] Mansoor, M. (2008, June 16). "Middle Class Movement and Current Situation". *Daily Express*.

in the (mal) functioning of this system. Hence they make a powerful and privileged group of the intelligentsia, exposed to the logic and ill-logic of a power dictated by a colonial codification of the law"[30], therefore, this movement was perpetuated by the lawyers as they have direct stakes in the rule of law and the upholding of the constitution.

This movement is also an example of an active middle class and intellectuals, writers, journalists, political and social activists, and lawyers all working together hand in hand for the restoration of a free and independent judicial system in the country which could be free of the clutches of a military dictator and could perform as per its rights and duties listed in the constitution of the country.

This unique and unprecedented nature of this movement at a time when society is being introduced to a new form of mass communication – the internet in the presence of an already active and vibrant strong traditional media makes it worthy for this research study, as it brought a visible change in the political and social culture of the society evident from the later times in democratic rule in the country.

Half way through the movement, on 15th June 2008, Hameed Akhtar a veteran journalist, historian, and a famous writer voiced his opinion about Lawyers' Movement in his column in a popular Pakistani Urdu newspaper, "All the previous movements that took place during the 61 years old history of Pakistan had a foreign influence on them as well as the personal interest of some political groups. This is the first time that an educated and reasonable class of the society has put it's everything on stake for the

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[30] Bhatti, A. (2007, December 01). The Anatomy of Protest. *Daily Dawn*.

propagation of democratic process in the country and for the rule of law and constitution of the country. Also they have the support from majority of the public".[31] It sheds light on the motives of the movement and also on the perpetuators of the movement which is the educated middle class of the society.

This movement started in an era in Pakistan when it was ruled by a military President who had also conducted general elections during his tenure and a parliament did exist as a result of it with Prime Minister and all the other ministries in a parliamentary form of government. But as it had been a puppet democracy only for a show-off and to get the legitimacy from the public and supreme court of the country, the President was holding most of the powers which is not just highly unlikely in a parliamentary form of the government system but also contrary to the constitution of the country.

President General Mushrraf was previously allowed by the Supreme Court to contest presidential elections while still being in military uniform based on a controversial precedent of its kind. Mushrraf was about to complete his five year term as president as a result and now in view of the forthcoming scheduled presidential elections wanted to be able to compete once more in presidential elections while still being in military uniform, but there stood one obstacle in his way that he still had to get a decision from the Supreme Court in order to contest in presidential elections, as the last decision held its validity only for five years. By the look of this case's proceedings in the court and the debate in the media it was becoming quite clear that a decision in the favour of the General was unlikely to come, so in a pre-emptive strike Mushrraf

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[31] Akhtar, H. (2008, June 15). "Long March and Governor Punjab". *Daily Express*.

illegally ousted the Chief Justice of Pakistan Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry from his office and later on moved a reference against him on the charges of misconduct in the Supreme Court.

These actions of the General triggered a wave of mass protests throughout the country conducted primarily by the lawyers through the platform of Bar Associations in all the major cities, and later participated in by the social activists, the political parties and the common people. A huge number of judges resigned also from their posts in protest to these actions of the General. The General during the course of this movement imposed a second coup d'état and subjugated the constitution of the country. The important point to note is that these were not merely the protests for stripping off a dictator from his powers and ousting him from his office, but for his unconstitutional actions rendered against the Supreme Judiciary of the country. This movement was for the rule of law and for an independent judiciary which is a prerequisite of a democratic society.

Muqtida Mansoor wrote in his column, in the very beginning of the movement, in one of the most popular urdu daily newspapers of the country *Daily Express*[32]*,*

> "We have such examples in our history when the leaders of
> the political parties invited army to interfere in the affairs of
> the state. This role of the political parties weakened the civil
> society in Pakistan, and democratic rule of law curtailed. For
> the last several years this question has been circulating
> among the thinking circles of Pakistan that if the members of

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[32] Mansoor, M. (2007, July 23). "Are Conditions Changing?". *Daily Express*.

the civil society should act on its own without relying on the political parties for the restoration of their rights including the right to rule, as political parties have also failed in developing a common strategy on national issues. Such a chance was provided to the civil society on 9th of March 2007, when President Mushrraf sacked the Chief Justice of Pakistan and sent a reference against him in the supreme Judicial Council."

This presents an idea that how this movement was taken by the media when it was still in its infancy stage. This is the mood and temperament of the movement perceived by the journalists at its very birth, which went on for two years after meeting a successful end.

Abdullah points out a key factor for the two year run and successful completion of this movement by stating that, "The lawyers' movement that took the power quarters by storm was able to sustain itself over a longer period because their bar councils are democratic and hold elections regularly"[33]. This is the reason for the success of the movement that it was perpetuated and sustained by a professional class which is democratic in nature for its structure and for the election of its leaders. It is like a grass root democratic organization bringing a fundamental change in the democratic set up and edifice of the entire country with the help of other institutes as well who have stakes in the democratic culture of the country.

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[33] Abdullah, Z. (2008, May 18). Whither Democratic Norms in daily Dawn. *Daily Dawn*.

At the successful completion of this movement in March 2009, a leading Pakistani daily English newspaper '*Daily Times*' wrote an editorial and summarized the movement in these lines, "Lawyers have steadily carried the standard of their principled cause for over two years. Organised in over 106 districts in the country with elected bars that can raise funds and organise protest marches, they are a civil society instrument with more grassroots discipline than the political parties."[34] It points towards a phenomenal rise of civil society in the country in the form of this movement where an educated middle class led the public into a political and social endeavour against a dictator for a deep rooted and acute democratic cause which even political parties could never accomplish in the history of the country.

1.2 *Pakistan's Country Profile*

As this study is about the civil society of Pakistan and how it is influenced by the internet, a detailed profile of the country Pakistan is thus presented to produce a better understanding of the political and social fibre of the country. By the year 2010-2011 Pakistan has a population of 184 million according to U.S. Census Bureau, thus being the world's sixth most populous country. Pakistan covers an area of 800,000 square kilometres with a population density of 201 persons per square kilometres. For 2010 the GDP per Capita of Pakistan was U.S. Dollars 1,020 (PPP) according to the IMF, with an annual rate of inflation from 1990-2009 being as high as 10%. The percentage of population which lives below the international poverty line of US $ 1.25 per day is 23% of the total population. The 36% of the total population lives in urban areas while the rest 64% lives in rural areas.

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[34] Editorial. (2009, March 17). Life after the Long March. *Daily Times*.

Pakistan has four administrative provinces, federally administered tribal & northern areas of Baltistan & Gilgit and disputed territory of Jammu & Kashmir. Islamabad is the capital city of Pakistan with a population of 1.21 million. Karachi being the largest city of Pakistan both in terms of area (3,527 square kilometres) and a population of almost 15 million. It is one of the world's largest cities & the 10th largest urban agglomeration of the world.[35]

Pakistan has two official languages, Urdu & English. Urdu is also the national language & *lingua franca* of Pakistan. According to the 1998 census conducted by the Government of Pakistan, native urdu-speakers constitute only 7.59% of the total population but it is understood and used by 90% of the total population, thus being the *lingua franca* of Pakistan. In addition, Pakistan has four major provincial languages, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto & Balochi, as well as three major regional languages Saraiki, Hindko & Kashmiri. There are many other local languages and dialects spoken in many small areas of the country besides provincial & regional languages. The last census conducted by the Government of Pakistan in the country was in the year 1998. Ever since the Government of Pakistan is due to conduct a new census but due to the difficult security related situations especially in northern areas of the country for the last ten years now, it had not been possible to conduct a new census.

The 87 million out of the total population of 184 million are aged under 19, thus 47% of the total population of Pakistan is still under 19 years of age by the year 2010. The population annual growth rate is 2.5% per year. While looking at the proposed estimated population and the demographics, it is interesting to find out that most of the

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[35] *Karachi*. (2010, March 3). Récupéré sur *Wikipedia*: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karachi.

population of Pakistan is comprised of youth, i.e., the age group from 0 to 14 comprises about 36% of the total population of Pakistan in 2010, it means that 19% of the total population of Pakistan consists of males who are aged between 0 to 14 and 18% of the females in same age group. Also the age group from 15-29 makes about 30% of the total population of the country, thus 16% of the total population of the country are males between the age 15 to 29 and 14% are females in the same age group. The 18% of Pakistan's total population are the people of age group from 30 to 44. The remaining age group of 45 and above constitute only about 16% of the total population of Pakistan[36].

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[36] *US Census Bureau-International Data Base*. (s.d.). Consulté le 05 18, 2011, sur www.census.gov: http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/groups.php

Share of Age Groups in Total Population
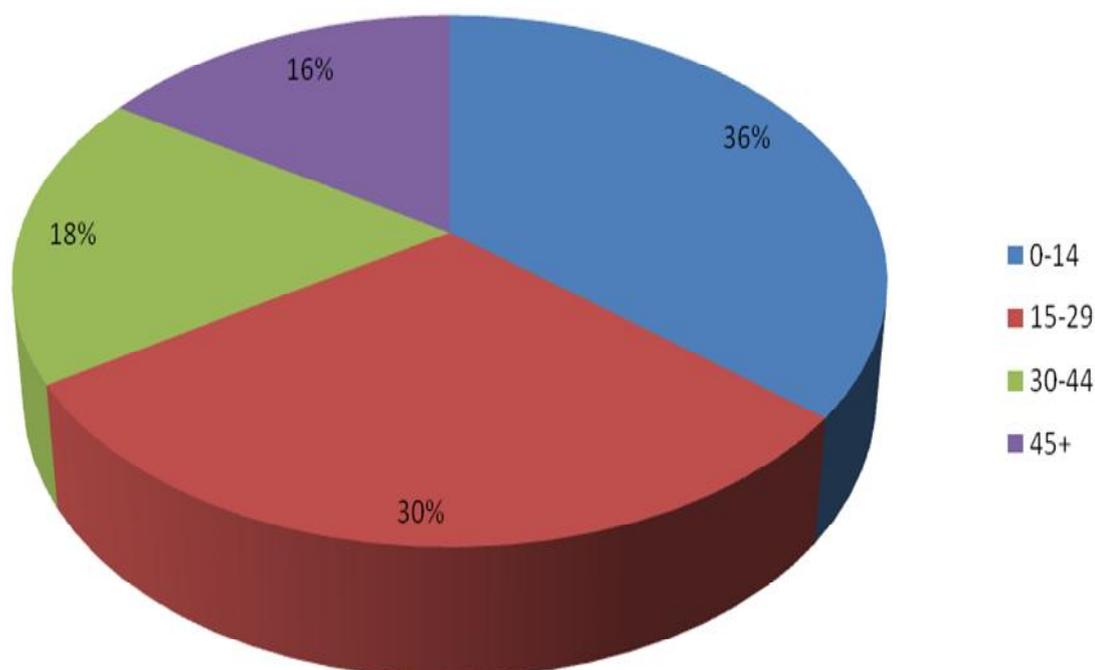
[37]

These statistics paint an interesting picture of Pakistan where a staggering 66% of the total population is aged between 0 and 29. This is the age group of youth, it is such a vibrant country with a huge number of young people. This shows the strength and hope in the promising future of the country. If this youth is properly educated it can play a vital role in the prosperity of the country.

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[37] *US Census Bureau-International Data Base*. (s.d.). Consulté le 05 18, 2011, sur www.census.gov: http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/groups.php

Genderwise Share of Age Groups in Total Population
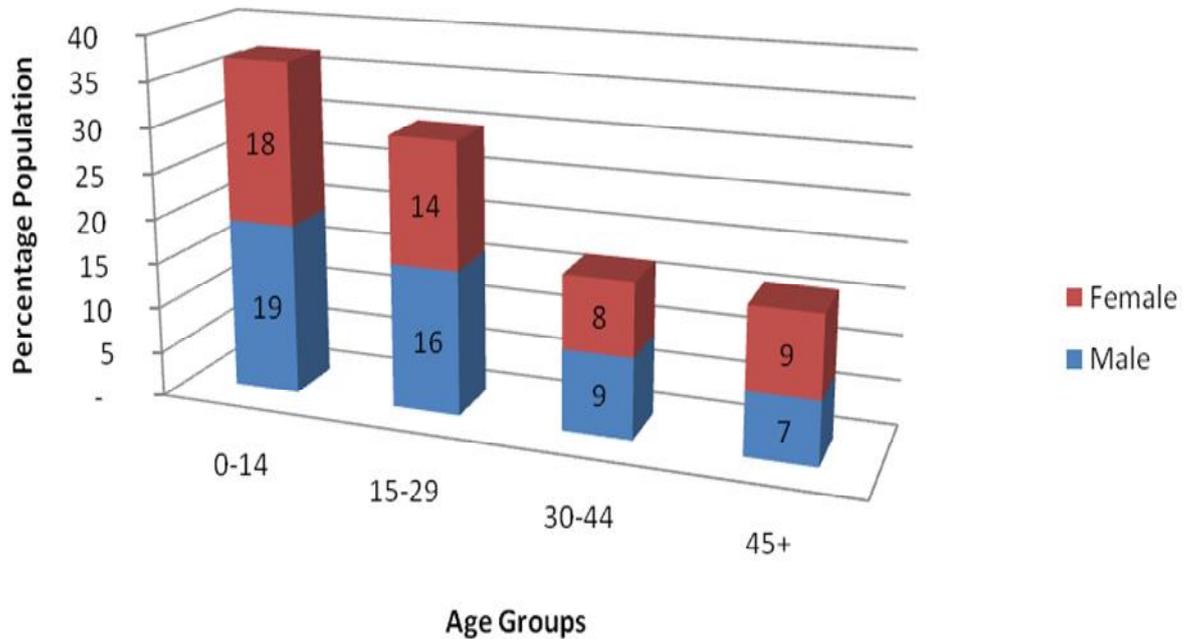
It is interesting to note here that Pakistan is a country who spends only 2% of its central government expenditures on the education whereas the allocation for defence being as high as 13% of the total budget. According to a survey conducted by UNICEF in the year 2008, the adult literacy rate in Pakistan is 54%. The youth (15-24 years of age) literacy rate among males is 79% and among females is 59%. The primary school enrolment ratio among males is 72% and among females is 60%. Primary school attendance ration among males is 76% and among females is 67%. Whereas, the enrolment ratio in secondary schools among male children is as low as 37% and among

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38 *US Census Bureau-International Data Base*. (s.d.). Consulté le 05 18, 2011, sur www.census.gov: http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/groups.php.

female children it is even lower i.e., only 28%. Hence, the secondary school attendance

ratio further falls among males to a 39% and among females to a 33%[39].

Youth Literacy Indicators
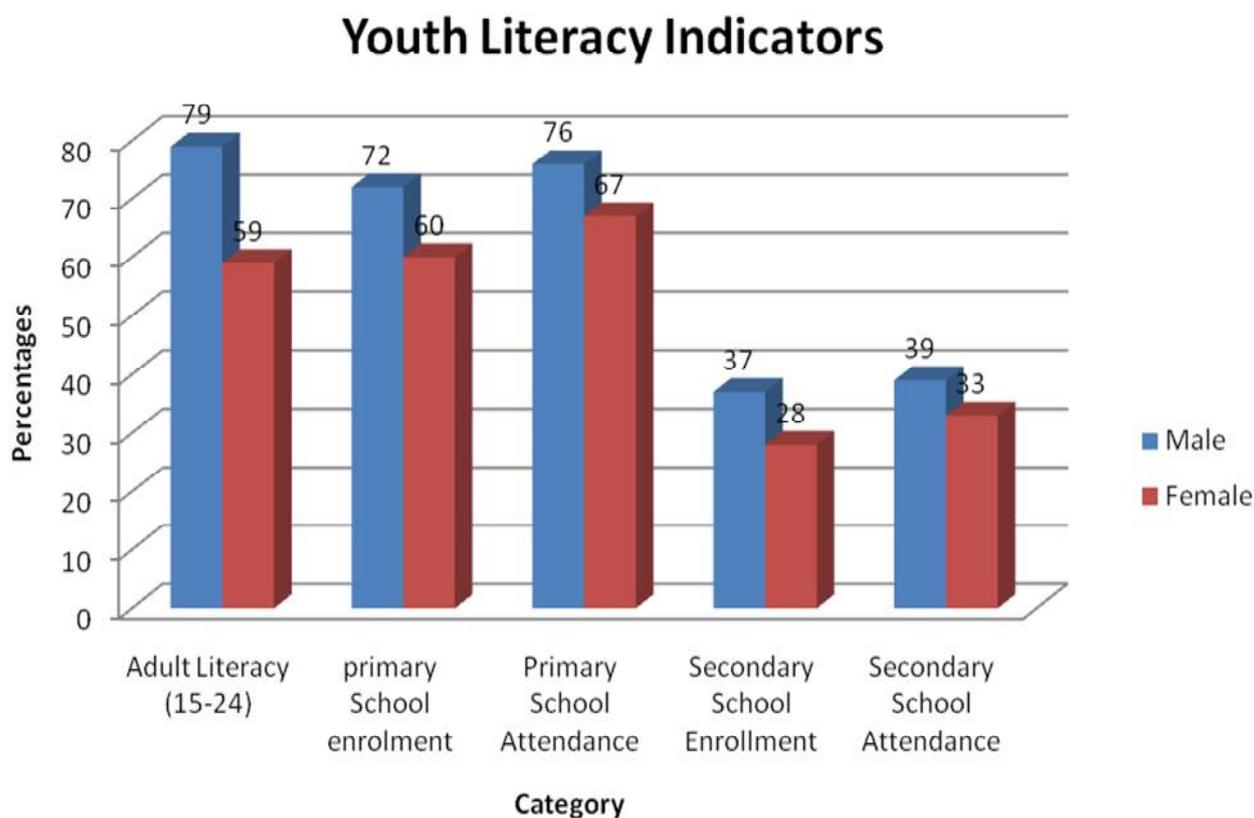
These statistics clearly show the literacy tendency among the youth in Pakistan.

While considering the literacy of a developing country like Pakistan the most important

age group is youth i.e., people who are 15-24 years old. Also the comparison between

the male and female population considering literacy is also very important considering

any age group especially the youth. These statistics indicate that the percentage of the

enrolment of children in the primary schools is quite high as well as their attendance in

them, but as we move to the secondary school level, we see a major decline in the

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[39] *Pakistan Statistics*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.unicef.org:

http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/pakistan_pakistan_statistics.html#77

enrolment as well as attendance in schools both in males and females. This specifies the need for higher education in Pakistan as well as a huge number of youth need to be educated and made aware of their political and democratic rights and responsibilities.

1.2.1   *Mass Media Context of Pakistan*

To study the role of internet in the Pakistani civil society it is pertinent to first glance a look on the context of already existing mass media in the country which includes television, radio, and the press. By having an overall view of the electronic media in Pakistan especially the television it is interesting to note that Pakistan did not even have a single private twenty four hour news channel in the country till the year 2002 when the very first news channel from private sector entered the market. Before that there were only a few state television channels with a clear focus more on entertainment and education rather than news, and which were owned and controlled by the Government itself. Also the concept of a twenty four hour channel devoted entirely to news was a new concept for the Pakistani television viewers. This revolutionized the Pakistani media and a number of private news channels came on air. This was the beginning of the information era in Pakistan.

In Pakistan ever since television is perhaps the most effective media for the spread of information. With literacy rate of 45% the readership of newspapers and the usage of internet always seems very low in comparison to the viewership of the television in the country. Also the accessibility of the television is much more than newspapers and the internet throughout the country. About 70% of country's total population still lives in the rural areas and thus particularly in the rural areas the accessibility of television is much more as compared to the newspapers and the internet due to the low technological

infrastructure in the rural areas, poverty which is more in rural areas, and the low literacy rate in rural areas.

In the year 2002, the government enacted the very first Act of Information thus allowing a free flow of private media organizations to start their broadcast in electronic media of the country. Therefore, the first private television channel in Pakistan started its broadcast in the year 2002, before that there had only been the government channels in the country. Besides being the first private channel this was also the first 24-hour news channel. This influenced many private channels to come into being, eighty nine in number till 2012 and about sixty percent of them are twenty four hour news channels. A competition developed and a new market boomed with these private 24 hour news channels trying to give more insight to the news and more credible information all the time. This gave rise to the popularity of television in the news sector as well which had earlier been a not so credible as electronic media news section had been totally under the control of the government before. These news channels operate in English and regional languages also including Punjabi, Pashto, and Sindhi, but the majority of them are in Urdu language which is *lingua franca* of the country thus having national scope rather than regional.

Ever since 2002 the television in Pakistan is free from any control of the government. It is actually this year when the television as primary and fastest news source established n the society for the first time. Prior to this year there had been only state owned and controlled television with its primary focus on entertainment and education but on the news. According to the act of Information 2002, the government now will distribute advertisements to the media houses by the process of transparent bidding and not on the

discretion of Information Minister. This step discarded any chance of pressure tactics to be exercised by the government on the content of the television programs.

There is however an authority called PEMRA (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority) which is responsible for giving guidelines to the channels for their content and takes the matter to the court on examples of clear violations to its defined guidelines. But again this authority has no legal and constitutional force or other measures to have its guidelines strictly followed by the electronic media and the best it can do is to file complaint in the court of law against that media group. Therefore, this authority has not proved very efficient so far and most of the media groups formulate their own SOPs (standing order procedures) and code of conduct. These SOPs and code of conduct is a part of education and training of the journalists in the country formulated by the senior journalist communities, academicians and intelligentsia. Very recently there has been a debate in the major media groups to sit together and formally define, formulate, elaborate and announce the code of conduct of television media and hand it over to the government to be implemented in the form of law after being passed by the parliament[40]. But so far the electronic media especially the television enjoys no clutches of any formal code of conduct designed and implemented by the government and thus runs totally free with only self control and informal vigilance of senior journalists and intelligentsia.

Pakistani society listens to a vast number of radio channels. These radio channels are still an important source for the spread of information in far rural areas. Besides the government owned Radio Pakistan, there are a number of private radio channels

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[40] Group, G. N. (2012, July 01). *Geo Asool.* Retrieved from Geo TV: http://www.geo.tv/asool/index.asp

including the famous BBC Radio channel whose Urdu Transmissions are still pretty famous among the old generation in rural areas specifically. Most of the focus of radio channels nowadays in Pakistan is entertainment and music and therefore the field for news reporting in the electronic media is mostly left to the television channels.

The press in Pakistan shares a unique history, even before the partition of British India into India and Pakistan, this region had four very prominent daily newspapers like *Pakistan Times*, *Civil and Military Gazette*, both in English language and *Zamindar*, and *Nawa-i-Waqt* in Urdu language. The newspaper industry has flourished to a great deal ever since. According to APNS (All Pakistan Newspaper Society) which is the premier body of newspaper publishers in Pakistan, the total number of daily newspapers on the roll with this society was only 41 in 1971 which has now risen to 384 in 2012.[41] This is merely the number of daily newspapers in the country which are widely distributed and published in 11 languages, including English and Urdu and other local and regional languages. The weeklies, monthlies, and other publications are in huge number as well which is in exception to this staggering three hundred and eighty four daily newspapers published in 11 different languages and having a total readership of about seven million in the country.

The newspapers in Pakistan are more of regular size in nature rather than the tabloid form and size, an average Pakistani daily newspaper contains about 20 pages. Almost all the major newspapers have their online editions as well which can be visited on internet for free without any membership login or fee. Also almost all the major

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[41] *About Us*. (2010, March 4). Récupéré sur All Pakistan Newspaper Society:
   http://www.apns.com.pk/about_us/index.php

newspapers have their weekly and monthly magazines and special editions on different occasions and events.

The Pakistani press has its rich history of fighting for its right of freedom of expression especially during the reign of four military dictators. Even during the democratically elected political regimes it faced sanctions via the allotment of government advertisements and paper quota for printing. But finally after the enactment of Newspaper Ordinance and Act of Information in the year 2002, the Pakistani press had been totally free from any clutches of the government. Now the government advertisement allocation body is fully autonomous and distributes the advertisements on the basis of merit i.e., primarily the circulation of each newspaper.

In an interview to an Indian magazine *Outlook* in November 2010, the famous American philosopher and media critic Noam Chomsky mentioned that "the media in Pakistan is more open, free, and vibrant than that in India"[42], it is important to note that Pakistan who had been run as an oligarchic state for most of its history has a press and media which is more free and active and vibrant when compared to the press and media of India which is representing the largest democracy in the world today, and where the political democratic process had never been derailed in its history after independence from Britain. Chomsky further mentions that "In Pakistan, apparently, the government, no matter how repressive it is, is willing to say to them that you have your fun, we are not going to bother you. So they don't interfere with it".

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[42] Ajaz Ashraf, a. A. (2010, November 02). *"Media Subdues The Public. It's So In India, Certainly" - Interview Noam Chomsky*. Récupéré sur OutlookIndia.com: http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?267553

The independence and freedom of the mass media in Pakistan including both the press and the television gives the idea that the society in Pakistan might not be very conducive to an alternate media like internet. As the common belief of internet being a more free and independent media in a society where the information is primarily controlled by the government, but that is not the case with Pakistan owing to its free and independent traditional media. Then the main aim of internet in this situation is the more democratic one, as it allows more participation from the general public in national debate and discussion and thus expanding the public sphere and reaching it out to the common people and middle class rather than limiting it to the intelligentsia/elite only.

1.2.2   Context of Internet Usage in Pakistan

The phenomenon of the usage of internet by the general public especially the sharing of ideas, views, and opinions over the world of Web 2.0 (social networking sites and blogs etc) is quite new in its existence, formation and style owing to the arrival of internet in Pakistan in the year 1996. Internet was still not so common in Pakistan till the year 2002. From then onwards internet has become a household commodity in the country but still in the main cities with higher literacy rate and better life facilities. A country with a total population mounting around 169 million the registered internet users are 18.5 million so far but growing with every coming day[43].

If we analyze the political blogs & websites concerning Pakistan over the internet, it is quite obvious that most of these blogs & sites are created and run by the Pakistani

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[43] *Internet World Stats, Pakistan*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.internetworldstats.com:
    http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia/pk.htm

Diaspora[44]. This shows the contribution of the Pakistani Diaspora in the politics of Pakistan through the internet. This is something they cannot do at the same level through the conventional media but the web 2.0 has made it quite easy for them. A lot of different points of views are available over there. It does not seem to move in just one direction like as if just against the current regime or in the favour of opposition only, but it has many different viewpoints and proposed solutions to the current political & social issues of Pakistan.

Besides the share of Pakistani Diaspora in the political debate over the internet we do find a lot of share from the Pakistani people living in Pakistan. The major part of it includes students & journalists. The interesting thing to note is that on most of these website & blogs we find videos from the television programs and there are discussions related to it in the comments section. So basically it is the Conventional Media which has grown so much popular and has taken hold of the public debate in such a way that even on the unconventional media like web 2.0 we find the discussions & blogs relating to the programs and discussions carried out by journalists & politicians on the television.

The political websites made and run by the Diaspora are not only consulted in Pakistan by the public but they also contribute in them in order to give their viewpoint. Then of course there are blogs & websites that are made by the professional journalists of conventional media like television and newspapers. There they write their own articles

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[44] Overseas Pakistani Friends. (2012, March 05). Retrieved from Overseas Pakistani Friends: www.opfblog.com. Londonstani.com. (2012, March 05). *Londonstani*. Retrieved from Londonstani: www.londonstani.com. CHUP. (2012, March 05). *Changing up Pakistan*. Retrieved from Changing up Pakistan: www.changinguppakistan.wordpress.com/

& tutorials on which the general users give their own viewpoints in the form of comments.

The Press of Opposition also does exist on this sphere. The major chunk of comments net users leave on the articles of journalists and on the television program videos is against the policies and actions of the current regime. But again it would be unfair to say that it's all against the current regime, we actually find the public very much disoriented in its approach and it's very difficult to find any homogenous approach or one set viewpoint. The diversity is there carrying a very large range of viewpoints of the net users towards any problem whether it be political or social in its nature.

As far as freedom of expression over the internet is concerned, in the political arena it is almost free hand to all the users. Such comments and words are seen being used against the political regime and politicians in general that the conventional media can never even think of. Mainly because the net users are not professional journalists and so the responsibility of their words when they are writing it over the internet is not exactly in the same way as it is on the newspapers or on the television. This is regard to the freedom of expression in the political domain and at the individual level where the sense of ownership of the words and phrases is not the same and sometimes not even comparable to the conventional media.

But quite recently we have seen at least two such incidents which might point a finger towards the freedom of expression in Pakistan even on the web 2.0. We witnessed the banning of one of the most popular websites in the world today www.youtube.com because it contained the videos which showed the indecent portrays of the Mohammad – a prophet according to Muslim concept. Then again according to the Supreme Court's

decision on 19th May 2010 the world's largest & most popular social networking website www.facebook.com had been banned for a few months in Pakistan as it started and promoted a page allowing everybody to draw the sketch of Mohammad. Both these incidents point towards the intolerability of the Pakistani people and regime towards the desecration of their most veneered religious figure-Mohammad.

The study of reasons on why these two websites were banned in Pakistan will lead to the study of religious ties and religious emotions of the Pakistani people and thus will deviate from the topic of research as we are more concerned about the political aspect of internet in Pakistan. But still an insight on why out of all the other Muslim countries only Pakistan took such an aggressive step towards the banning of such websites of immense popularity might be interesting and help understanding the concept of freedom of expression among the Pakistani people.

If religious ties are so strong and widely acceptable in the Pakistani society that it might evoke the highest courts in Pakistan to give a verdict against the banning of two of the most popular websites even among Pakistanis, then it might also give an insight of the minds of the people and their thinking patterns towards the things which could fall normally under the category of 'sacred cow'. Therefore, as far as freedom of expression in the general Pakistani society is concerned that is a debatable topic and needs much to find out about, but when we talk about the freedom of expression over the internet then again it is not something with which one can get a green signal all the way in this case. But if we talk specifically about the politics in Pakistan, then yes we might say that there is a high possibility of confronting almost no sacred cow in this area all the way.

As far as the sociology of usage of the internet in Pakistani society is concerned, it must be noted that Pakistan is quite a young society in the arena of internet. Moreover, being a country belonging to the third world and having poor infrastructure it is quite difficult to claim Pakistan as information based country, with more than 70% population still living in the villages which have either very low or no basic life facilities at all. In big metropolitans like Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar & the capital Islamabad the usage of internet is quite frequent. The reason being students, journalists and intellectuals in huge numbers in these cities plus the infrastructure is quite good over here with easy access to internet and availability of computers all over.

Now almost all of the big cities in Pakistan are equipped with cable net which provide a high speed internet. Pakistan is one of the few Asian countries which imply almost zero taxes on IT (information technology), therefore, the computers & their accessories are way cheaper in the markets than compared to any first world country. Also there are many ISPs (Internet Service Providers) who are in competition among each other thus providing very low rates for high speed internets even for domestic use. On the other hand as compared to the internet, the conventional media is widespread throughout the country with the help of digital TV & cable. The IT in Pakistan is being shifted from Dial Up connections to the Wi-Fi & high speed internet by the help of fiber optics which is covering more & more territory of Pakistan with every passing day.

Pakistan is a country which is under huge power crisis nowadays, this makes the usage of internet more & more difficult for the general public as well as in offices as well. The physical infrastructure is quite important to enhance the usage of internet in Pakistan. On the other hand the participation of overseas Pakistanis over the internet in the political sphere of Pakistan is exemplary. We have even come across certain examples

when some protest was organized by the expatriates in their residing countries collecting overseas Pakistanis and creating awareness among them through internet, which then triggered a chain reaction in Pakistan causing visible changes in the reaction of society towards certain issues of political nature and of security and society.

1.2.2.1 Internet Penetration in Pakistan

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) funded a project named Sustainable Development Networking Programme-Pakistan (SDNPK) and launched it in Islamabad in the year 1993, on the similar lines of such projects launched in other countries. This self-sustainable project was meant to provide dial-up, e-mail services to the general public and support to projects related to education[45].

Since SDNPK addressed a very important and un-touched segment of the market, the number of its subscribers increased within no time. As communicating via this e-mail service was much cheaper in comparison with the international fax & international dial-up services, many customers even from outside Islamabad also joined in to this network. This project of UNDP was thus later expanded to other major cities of the country like Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar and the funding of this project continued for many years to come.

Ever since SDNPK has trained more than 260 organizations from the development sector to set up, maintain and update their websites. This training in web

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[45] *History of Internet in Pakistan*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.ispak.pk:
     http://ispak.pk/internet_pakistan.php

publishing has also been conducted in Urdu, and Sindhi. As a result of this training, more than 160 Pakistani information rich websites have been set up which relate to both the Government and NGO (non-government organizations) sector. SDNPK also initiated the district websites and cyber community centres as well[46].

SDNPK also initiated Pakistan Development Gateway Project (Pakistan Country Gateway-PCG) in collaboration with World Bank Group and other organizations. The key objectives of PCG have been to facilitate an exchange and sharing of development knowledge, information and resources among Pakistan's public, private and civil society sectors.[47]

The year 1994-95 is marked with the beginning of the internet industry in Pakistan as Digicom, an entrepreneurial internet venture launched its very first on-line internet services in Karachi[48]. The same year Pakistan Telecommunication Company Limited (PTCL) started offering internet access (the dial-up connection) to the public via its nationwide local call network.

By the year 2000, the total number of internet users in Pakistan was 133,900 out of the then total population of the country 163,985,373. So by the end of the year 2000 the internet penetration in the country was only 0.1%. Ever since the internet industry in

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[46] *Sustainable Development Networking Programme-Pakistan SDNPK*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur
www.wiserearth.org:
http://fr.wiserearth.org/organization/view/7bd8a03b67f680edfd2e996e03c5da21

[47] *Pakistan Country Gateway*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.countrygateway.com.pk:
http://www.countrygateway.com.pk/about/index.html

[48] *History of Internet in Pakistan*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.ispak.pk:
http://ispak.pk/internet_pakistan.php

Pakistan has grown manifold by showing exponential figures in its growth rate. By the year 2006, the total number of internet users in the country increased to a total of 12 million out of the then total population of 167 million, making it an overall internet penetration of 7.2%. According to the data gathered by International Telecommunication Union (ITU) by the year 2010-11 the internet penetration in Pakistan has reached up to 10.4% with a total of 18.5 million internet users out of the country's total population of 177 million. This marks the 13,716.3% user growth in the internet sector from 2000-2010[49]. There are approximately 50 operational Internet Service Providers ISPs throughout the country now. Over the internet more than 30,000 domains are registered under .pk domain[50].

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[49] *Internet World Stats, Pakistan*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.internetworldstats.com:
        http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia/pk.htm

[50] *Internet Service Providers Association of Pakistan*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.ispak.pk

Percentage of Internet Penetration in Pakistan
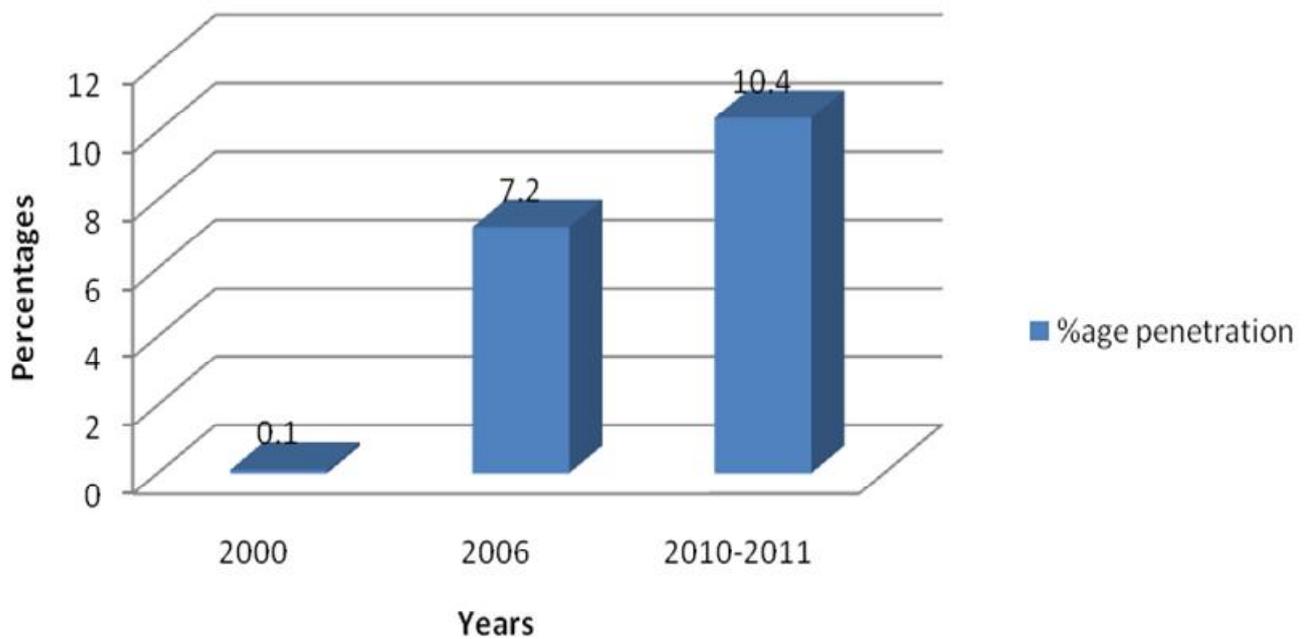
If the internet penetration in the population of Pakistan is analyzed in comparison with other regions like Asia, it is noticed that the internet penetration in Pakistan is quite high than some of the Asian countries even Malaysia and Thailand whose internet penetration is 16.9% and 16.1% respectively as compared to 18.5% of Pakistan. (Internet World Stats, Pakistan) The internet penetration is a very important indicator in determining the use of internet in any country or region of the world. A country like Pakistan having very moderate infrastructure in most of its regions with the exceptions of big cities and low literacy rate, an overall user growth of 13,716.3% in the internet sector is quite remarkable. Also 10.4% internet penetration within 10 years

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[51] *Internet World Stats, Pakistan*. (s.d.). Récupéré sur www.internetworldstats.com:

http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia/pk.htm

from a non-significant figure of 0.1% internet penetration in the early 2000 is worth noticing as well.

The internet penetration in Asia overall is 21.5%, in rest of the world it is about 37.9% and overall in the world it is about 28.7%. Asia shares about 42% of the internet users in the world, out of which China's share is 50.9%, Japan's share is 12%, India's 9.8%, South Korea's 4.8%, and Pakistan's 2.2%[52].

Internet Penetration Comparison in 2010
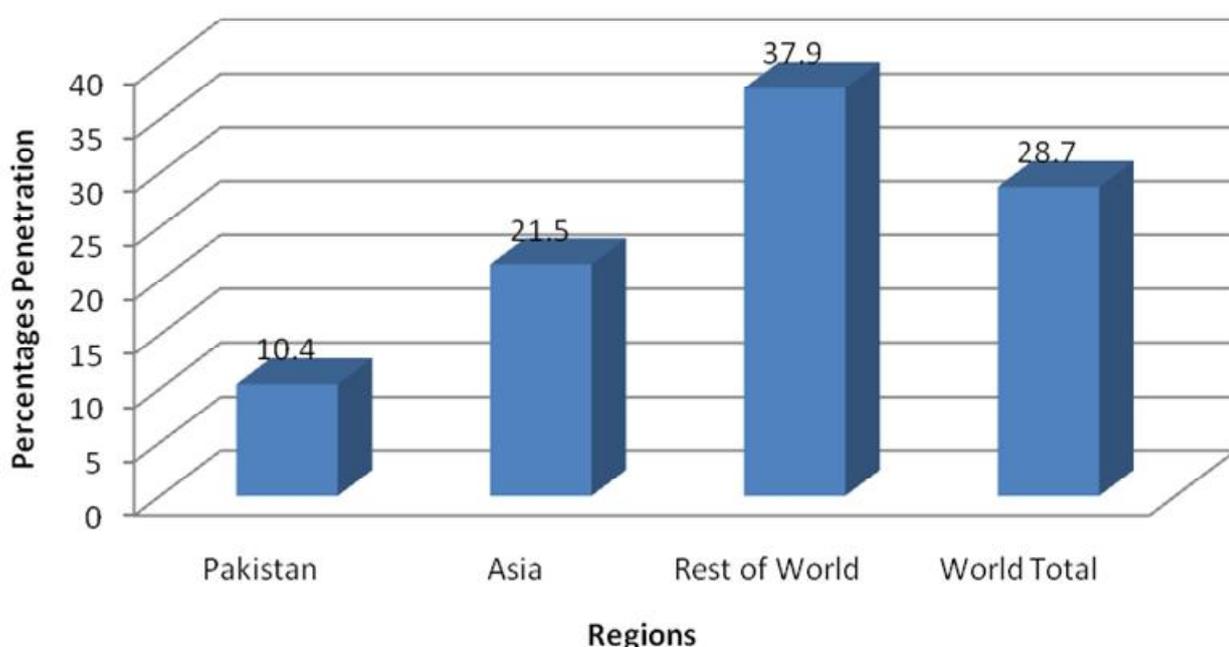
52

According to the Annual Report of Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) 2009-10, the subscription price for 1 Mbps unlimited DSL is reduced from Euros 38.5 per month to Euros 9.78 per month which could be one of the reasons for the exponential growth in the number of broadband subscribers. At the end of Fiscal Year

52   *Internet   World   Stats,   Pakistan*.   (s.d.).   Récupéré   sur   www.internetworldstats.com: http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia/pk.htm

2009-10, the broadband users in Pakistan have reached to 900,648 as compared to 413,809 at the end of Fiscal Year 2008-09, thus maintaining the constant growth rate of over 100% for three consecutive years.

BroadBand Subscribers in Pakistan
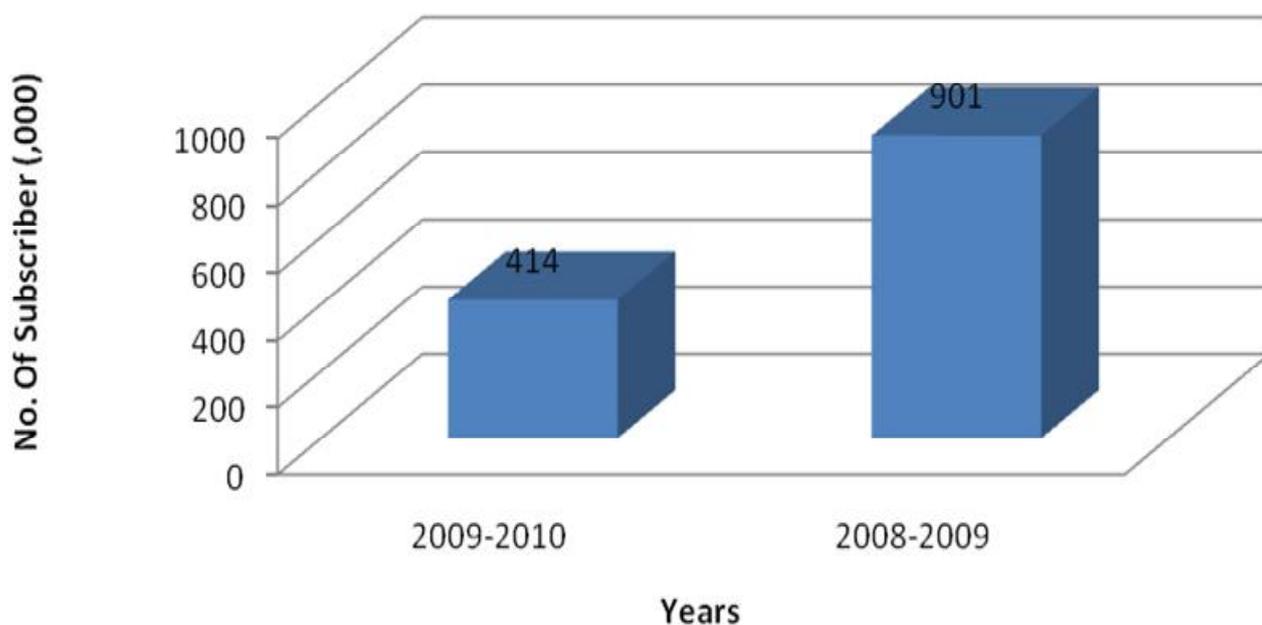
[53]

Internet Service Providers in Pakistan are offering wide range of Broadband technologies, such as Digital Subscriber Line (DSL), Hybrid Fiber-Coaxial (HFC), Cable Net, Fibre to the Home (FTTH), Worldwide Interpretability for Microwave Access (Wimax), and Evolution-Data Optimized (EvDO). As of April 2007, DSL is the leading broadband technology in Pakistan with its market share of approximately 52.9% and the major DSL providers in the country are Micronet, Linkdotnet, Cybernet, Multinet and PTCL. WiMax holds the second largest market share in the broadband

[53] Authority, P. T. (2009-2010). *PTA Annual Report.* Islamabad.

technology with approximately 29% market share. EvDO subscribers & HFC subscribers in Pakistan constitute the market share of 12.3% and 5.5% simultaneously. The remaining 0.7% of market share in broadband technology is covered by FTTH[54].

Market Share of Different Broadband Technologies in Pakistan
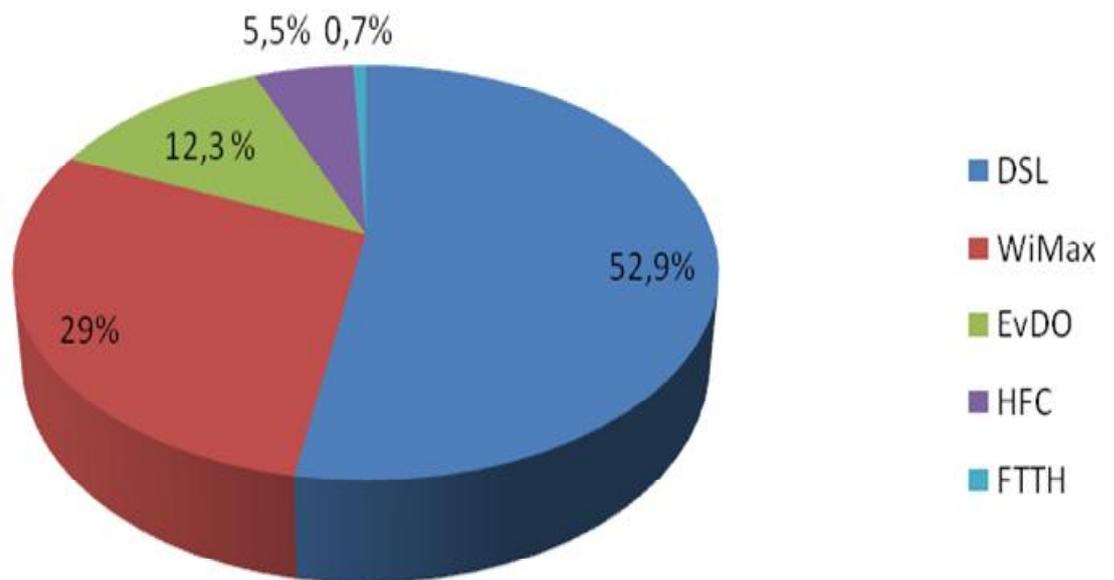
54

1.2.2.2 Mobile Phone Penetration in Pakistan

In this age of information mobile phone technology is also a great medium of dissemination of information, whether it is via voice calls, text messages, or picture and video messages therefore, alongside internet penetration in Pakistan it is also interesting to note that how much cellular network and mobile phone penetrated in the Pakistani society. Pakistan has mobile phone penetration of 60.4% at the end of Fiscal Year 2009-

[54] Authority, P. T. (2009-2010). *PTA Annual Report.* Islamabad.

10, hence a total number of mobile phone subscribers reaching 100 million at the end of

July 2010, with a cumulative average growth of 5% in the last three years time[55]. There

has been such a huge increase in the number of mobile phone subscribers in the recent

few years, this increase could be due to the pretty low rate mobile phone services

offered by the telecommunication companies who are operating at a cut-throat

competition within the country.

Cellular Subscribers in Pakistan
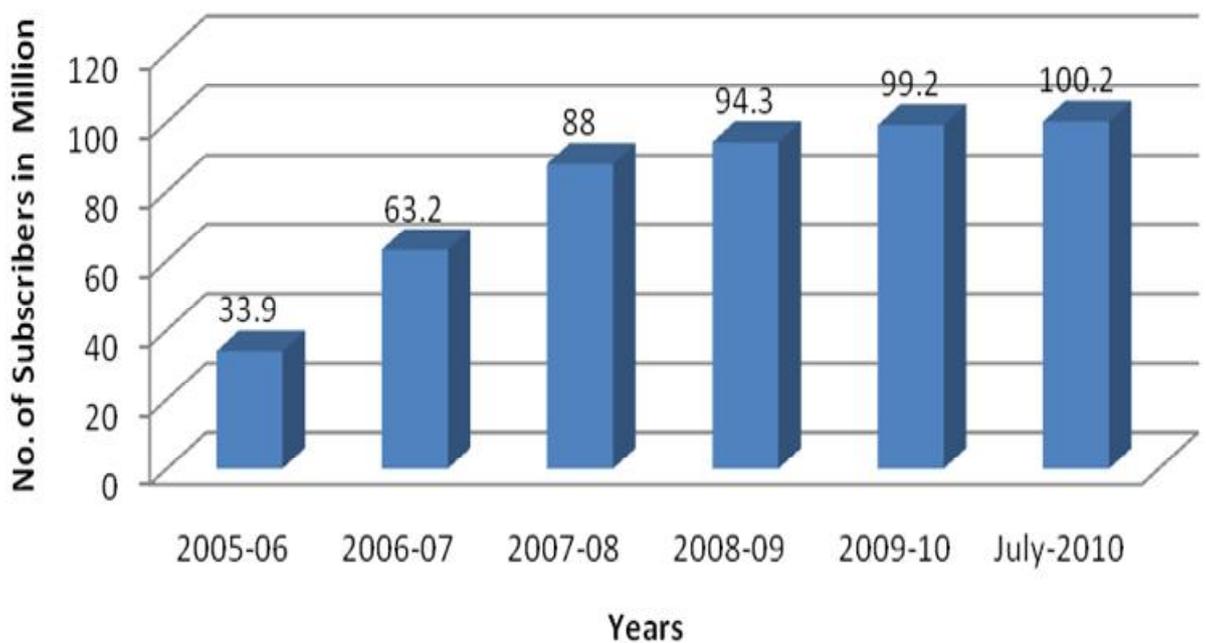
[55]

Pakistan Telecommunication Authority (PTA) states that, the number of internet

subscription on network of different cellular operators in the country has reached 14.4

million by the end of Fiscal Year 2009-10. Thus, showing an incredible growth of 161%

in the number of internet subscriptions on cellular networks, as total number of internet

subscribers on cellular networks was recorded to be only 4.4 million at the end of Fiscal

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[55] Authority, P. T. (2009-2010). *PTA Annual Report.* Islamabad.

Year 2008-09[56].

Internet Subscribers on Cellular Networks in Pakistan
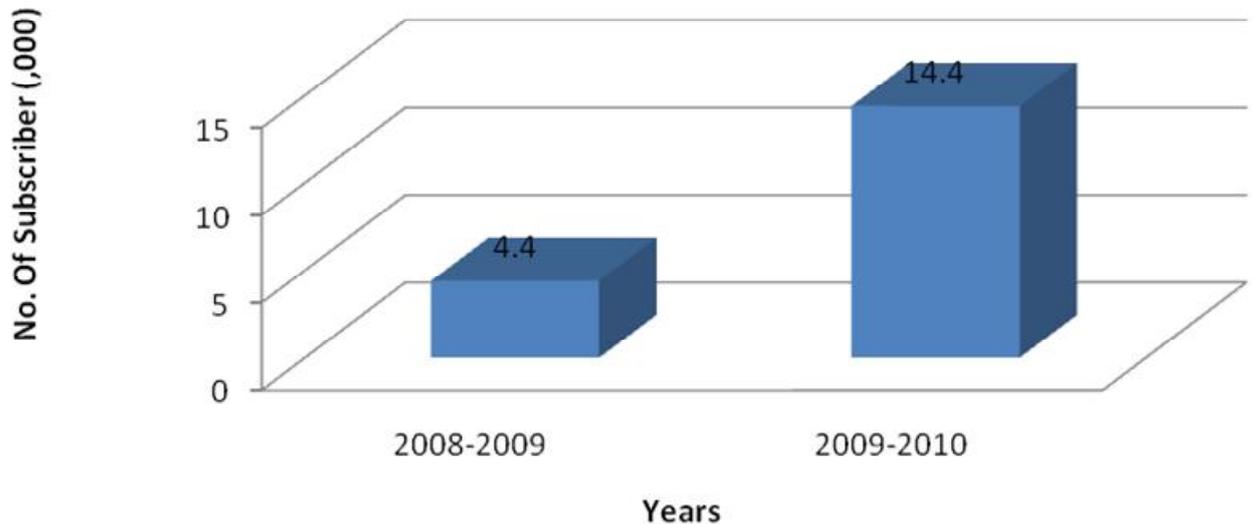
56

According to these latest available statistics of the year 2009-2010, these 14.4 million people with a mobile phone internet connection show that this society is highly connected via latest technologies and thus the flow of information in various forms is almost unstoppable and unbarred. With the advent of smart phones the cellular subscribers now posses internet at a single touch right in their palms without the need of cumbersome computers and ISP connections or cable. The smart phones have made the access to emails, the exchange of picture and video messages, all time connectivity to the social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter in a single touch.

[56] Khan, M. (2010, 08 06). *Mobile Internet Users Increasing Tremendously in Pakistan.* Récupéré sur www.propakistani.pk, http://propakistani.pk/2010/08/06/mobile-internet-users-increasing-tremendously-in-pakistan/

Most of the problems related to the access to internet in under privileged areas due to lack of good infrastructure and technological difficulties had been made almost disappeared by the advent of cellular phone technologies. Out of a total of one hundred million cellular phone subscribers, a staggering total of 14.4 million subscribers also using internet services on their mobile phones can arguably lead to this assumption that mobile phone internet usage might make the hindrance of poor infrastructure in the spread of internet negligible. But still it is evident and safe to assume that with the mobile phone access, the sharing of information in the general public is made much easier, quicker and unbarred by any controlling authority.

1.3   *Context of Lawyers' Movement*

As this research study is aimed at exploring the role of internet in Pakistan civil society for its democratization and the expansion of public sphere viewed through the prism of a very recent example of a movement that had a strong impact on the social and political life of the Pakistani society and formulated a unique precedent of resilience against any future attacks on one of the prime guardians of constitution and ultimately the democratic setup in the country, called the Laweyrs' Movement. It is important to present the context of this movement in a brief and chronological way as the events unfolded for it.

On 9th of March 2007, the then military ruler of Pakistan, President General Parvez Musharraf called the Chief Justice of Pakistan Mr.Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhary for a meeting and asked him to resign from his post or to face 'charges of misconduct'. The CJ (Chief Justice) refused to resign and opted to defend the charges. President Musharraf suspended the CJ. The Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan declared this suspension of the CJ as an 'assault on the independence of judiciary'. As a

result a popular mass protest movement started by the lawyers' community of Pakistan which went down in the history of the country by the name of 'Lawyers' Movement'.

The same day a reference was filed against the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr.Iftikhar M. Chaudhary, under the Article 209 of the Constitution of Pakistan, on the charges of misconduct, by President Musharraf. As a result the CJ was rendered "non-functional" by presidential decree (Notification. F(2)/2005 AII. Gaz. of Pakistan, Islamabad, Part III, p675, March 9, 2007). This presidential decree declared that CJ could not carry out the functions of his office any more while this reference was pending against him in the Supreme Court. The senior-most judge of the Supreme Court Mr. Rana Bhagwandas was on leave and out of the country so the President appointed the next senior-most judge available on the Supreme Court Mr. Javed Iqbal as the Acting Chief Justice.

Most of the charges listed against the CJ were similar to those in an open letter to the CJ written by a Supreme Court lawyer and famous television celebrity Mr. Naeem Bukhari on February 17, 2007. It contained charges against CJ that he is illegally uses his office and influences to favor his son dr. Arsalan Iftikhar, using extra ordinary protocol, announces decisions in the court while in written judgment an opposite conclusion is recorded, dignity of lawyers is violated, lawyers face discrimination in the court room, verbal onslaughts and threats to the police officers and other civil servants who appear before the court, wide publicity and media coverage turning it all into a 'media circus'.[57]

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[57] Waqar, A. (2007, March 10). Naeem Bokhari, in his letter, accused CJ of disrespecting lawyers. *Daily Times*.

According to the speculators, journalists and the supporters of the lawyers' movement, the real reason behind the dismissal of CJ went way beyond the stated allegations of the CJ's misconduct in his office. Earlier President Musharraf had assumed power in the country by a military 'coup d'état' in the year 1999, later in the year 2004 a legislation enabled the President to continue to rule the country till 2007 both as President of Pakistan and Chief of the country's armed forces. Now Pakistan was due to have parliamentary elections later in the year 2007 followed by a presidential election next year in 2008. The hottest political issue in the country at that time was the question if the President would be allowed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan to continue ruling the country while still being the head of Pakistani armed forces by allowing the President to contest in the coming presidential elections while still being in the army uniform. The opponents of the President claim that this might never have been permitted by the Supreme Court of Pakistan led by CJ Chaudhary. This speculation has its roots in the address of CJ Chaudhary in February 2007 when he told trainee military officers that in his opinion Predient Musharraf could not continue as Army Chief if he again ran for the office.

As soon as the news about CJ got ousted from his office, media took the issue to certain hype. Newspapers and the private TV channels were the first ones to react among the different factions of the traditional media. The lawyers were the first ones to react on this issue. They held out meeting of Bar Associations in the major cities mainly in the provincial & federal capital courts to form a resistance of like-minded lawyers in this issue against the president & his unconstitutional move. The lawyers and the Bar Associations in the country are very much political in nature as who so ever gets the ticket for election of the Bar Association gets it from any of the political parties'

approval which holds better majority or key posts in the Bar. Therefore, soon the matter was taken up by the political parties of the opposition because of the political affiliations of the lawyers supporting the movement.

At that time most of the major political parties of the country belonged to the opposition which includes two of the largest political parties of Pakistan, the Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and the Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group (PMLN), both have been in power twice each. As a result the journalists & human right activists also got motivated to participate in this hot issue getting popular with every coming day. More and more columns and articles were written in the newspaper on this topic both in the favour and against it. So did the tv channels started discussion programs where speakers were invited from every major political party of the country and also the government spokesperson to give their opinions and to discuss the situation in every aspect, constitutionally, politically, morally, & socially. At this point the general public's interest also developed in this issue.

The bar associations of all the major cities started holding meetings in the favour of the deposed CJ and invited him to give talks, this pulled huge number of lawyers to such meetings as well as people from all different walks of life. On 12th May 2007, CJ was due to address the Karachi Bar Association, but as soon as CJ landed at the Karachi Air Port an armed outburst played havoc on the street of Karachi, the unknown armed men attacked the people trying to usher CJ from airport to Karachi bar killing a total 42 people on this darkest of days in city's history. CJ ultimately had to go back from airport being unable to address the Karachi bar and its supporters. This incident added fuel to the fire as now this turned into a mass movement having also blood of its supporters.

With the stern stance of the government on this issue the situation got aggravated. The lawyers started strikes in all the major courts of the country on the platform of bar associations. Political parties also supported lawyers and bar associations in their strikes and asked for strikes on their behalf as well. With the support of the political parties the trade unions in big cities like Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi also followed the suit and started the strikes.

The reference filed against the deposed CJ in the Supreme Court finally had its decision on 20th July 2007, the apex court ruled out all the charges against CJ as baseless and untrue and restored him with full dignity and honour. The supporters of the movement rejoiced on this day as it seemed that their efforts on the roads and those in the court room fighting a legal battle have at last rendered them victory. But their victory and rejoice had been short lived as President General Mushrraf imposed emergency on the country on 3rd November 2007 and once again suspended the constitution, while putting the CJ at house arrest and deposing sixty judges from Supreme and High courts along with banning a few TV channel transmissions.

This move of the General was in anticipation to the impending judgment of the Supreme Court on the issue of him holding presidential elections while still being in the uniform of the General. It had been quite clear with the proceedings of the case and the on-going debate on the media that a decision in the favour of the wishes of the General is most unlikely to come.

Media and the lawyers were the first to protest against this yet another coup d'état by General Mushrraf. A new life breathed into the Lawyers' Movement once again, as CJ and sixty other judges of high courts were deposed in a single stroke by the

General once again. These include those judges who refused to retake an oath under the new PCO (Provisional Constitutional Order) issued by Mushrraf to replace the Constitution of the country for the time being. Many other judges also resigned in protest to this act of the General. The Lahore Bar Association, the largest in the country held a meeting in the Lahore High court on 5th November 2007 to protest against the imposition of emergency by Mushrraf. The police raided the Lahore High Court, used tear gas and baton charged on the lawyers and ended up arresting almost 800 lawyers. This gave rise to a nationwide protest by the lawyers, political parties and journalists against General Mushrraf.

Owing to the immense pressure created by the lawyers, the media and the opposition political parties, General Mushrraf resigned from his military office on 28th November 2007. The military emergency was lifted from the country at the same time. The members of the Lawyers Movement took it as a victory against the two times Dictator, it gave new hope to them and further fuelled their movement. General Elections which were due in December 2007 were briefly postponed to February 2008 due to assassination of a world renowned political figure and chairperson of largest political party of the country Pakistan Peoples' Party, Mrs. Benazir Bhutto. Her assassination in a political procession near the capital further led the angry crowds to protest against the President Mushrraf as he had been an opponent of the deceased and more importantly being president had the responsibility for the security of political leaders. It further aired the anti-Mushrraf sentiment in the country on a much larger scale then the lawyers could have brought it to.

The political parties in view of the anti-Mushrraf sentiment in the public & pressure from the lawyers' community and media formulated their manifestos based

primarily on the restoration of CJ for the upcoming general elections of 2008. The general elections of 18th February 2008 gave majority of the mandate to the two of the largest political parties of the country PPP & PMLN who had been arch rivals for more than two decades and had been most vocal about the restoration of the deposed judges.

Both these parties had already signed the famous Charter of Democracy on 14th May 2006, it was an accord to get rid of military dictator Mushrraf by forming a political alliance against him and any other political party supporting him in the elections. After having won the majority of the mandate the two parties once again signed a new charter on 9th March 2008 which was called the Murree Declaration with prime objective of the restoration of judges as soon as they come in power in the newly elected parliament.

The important factor to mention here is that the Lawyers' Movement was a catalyst and a push factor for the signing of the Murree Declaration as the main objective of this declaration along with the formation of a coalition against Mushrraf and his allied political parties was the independence of judiciary which was the key demand of the Lawyers' Movement. Both the main political parties promised to liberate the illegally deposed Chief Justice Chaudhary. The entire agitation against Mushrraf was fuelled by the demand of the independence of judiciary thanks to the Lawyers' Movement.

PPP & PML (N) knowing the popular demand of the people sided with Lawyers Movement to gain support from lawyers, journalists, human right activists and NGOs who were all fighting side by side in this movement along with general public. Both parties made the independence of judiciary an integral and most important part of

their election manifesto so and so that after securing highest mandates in the election they went to the length of signing a declaration together again before the formation of government leaving aside a roughly two decades of bad blood among them and renewing their promises to their voters of restoration of deposed judiciary and ultimately an independent and free judicial system.

As a result of 2008 general elections the PPP & PMLN came to power and formed a joint government. The new government gave a time period of thirty days to solve the issue and restore the judges, whereas the house arrest on judges was lifted immediately as soon as the old government handed over its power to the newly elected government on 24th March 2008.

Still after a period of thirty days the government did not restore the deposed judges, and gave a new deadline of three months to restore the judges and get the country out of this constitutional and political deadlock. The third largest political party PMLQ (Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam) who was in the government with the last president and who now held the office of the opposition leader in the parliament also took a u-turn and started supporting in the favour of this movement. All the other political parties now formed an alliance with the lawyers and journalists and gave more concrete plan for the restoration of CJ. The CJ also started touring different courts through the country to address the judges and the lawyers who were in his support. In each city he was ushered by a great many number of the people belonging to all different sects of life. This gave further hope and push to this movement.

On 14th June, 2008 a historical long march was conducted by the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement and hundreds of thousands of people walked to the capital city

Islamabad and reached before the parliament demanding the government to restore the judiciary. This had been a peaceful march and people dispersed on directions from the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement once they reach the avenue in front of the parliament and voiced their demands there.

Finally on 18th August, 2008 President Mushrraf resigned from presidency under extreme pressure from the new parliament and an impending fear of a move of no confidence from the newly elected members of the parliament. The newly formed political government, the opposition and the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement all considered it as their achievement and celebrated this day hoping for a quick resolution of the issue in hand unhindered now as the main opponent of the restoration of judges Mushrraf had left the presidency.

The PPP led government still did not restore the judges at the end of three months' deadline so in protest the second largest political party who was in slightly lesser majority then PPP, the PMLN resigned from the government and ministries on 25th August 2008. This put a lot of pressure on the PPP government who now formed alliance with other political parties on ministries and federal administration offices.

The political situation of the country got further aggravated and strikes from the lawyers' community and the PMLN and other political parties started on almost regular basis. The journalists, the media, the public in general, the lawyers, the human right activists, were greatly agitated by the stance of the new government who was known for its left wing ideas in the past. On 25th February 2009, the Supreme Court disqualified the leaders of PMLN from holding or contesting any public offices, on the basis of this decision PPP sanctioned Governor Rule in Punjab- the largest province of

the country, as it was ruled by a PMLN leader as Chief Minister. This gave rise to a new wave of protests and strikes as now the second largest political party got directly involved in the movement as it was ripped off its government in the largest province of the country.

The leaders of the Lawyers' Movement had already given a call for a long march to the capital Islamabad on 12th March 2009 and for a sit-in finally before the parliament until the government restores the judiciary. The opposition political parties took active part in the movement and mobilized all of its political strength and muscle to mobilize the general public to take part in this final long march for the restoration of judiciary. Prior to the announced date of the long march a ban was imposed by the government on rallies and protests and gathering of the people and thus several hundred people were arrested by the government which included lawyers, political and social workers and also the leaders of political parties and Bar Associations. All the ways to the capital city Islamabad were blocked to prevent the marchers entering into the city. The leaders of PMLN and PTI (political parties of the opposition) were put under house arrest along with the leaders of the Lawyers Movement.

Despite of all these efforts by the PPP government to thwart any possibility of a march to the capital city, on the 15th March 2009, the leader of the opposition party PMLN broke the house arrest amid thousands of his supports and started the march towards the capital city. Many different marches started from the major cities to be joined in the capital city finally. These marches swelled up to hundreds of thousands as they proceeded to the capital.

Finally past midnight 15/16 March 2009 the Chief Justice along with all the other deposed judges of the Supreme Court were restored to their pre-deposed positions and status by the Prime Minister through a presidential order, in his address to the nation on television. The lawyers, the social and political workers and also the media took it as a triumph for their beloved movement which finally reached its pinnacle and achieved the goals it set for- an independent and free judiciary. In the years to come, this freed judiciary proved its worth as it bravely gave decisions on the cases of corruption and misconduct in different institutions without any fear of reprehension. But more importantly this movement and its success gave birth to a precedent which will always guide the supporters of democracy in any future attempt by any institute against the democratic set up in the country.

1.4   Research Questions

The embrace of new Web 2.0 media by professional journalists, amateur journalists, bloggers & the general internet users and a growing percentage of the people participating in it with every passing hour, combined with traditional news media's lack of embrace and understanding of the new technologies and all the limitations it hosts including the governmental control over it, has created opportunities and concerns, confusion and more information than ever in this new media web 2.0, making it an entirely new entity and a new media which on some occasions is totally independent of the conventional media too, though in little proportions. Also the idea of more participative democracy is hoped to be achieved with the help of internet as it allows the voicing of opinion to virtually everybody and give people from all walks of life a rare opportunity to participate in national debate and discussion.

The growing tendency of this newly developed media of its own kind makes it very lucrative for study that whether it may or may not provide the answers to the century long questions we have been posing to and trying to get answers from our traditional media in a number of ways.

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Does Internet help in the emergence of Public Sphere in Pakistani civil society?

2. Does Internet help in the process of Democratization of Pakistani society?

3. Is internet controlled by the Government in Pakistan & therefore no freedom of expression exists?

4. The role of internet in Pakistan is being played in the presence of a very vivid and powerful traditional media, so is it trying to create (if yes) its own space and identity in Pakistani Mass Media or is it just being complementary to the Traditional Mass Media?

5. Is there a link between the discussions on the blogs and the ones on the main stream media, like in Press?

6. Is internet in concurrence or against the traditional media in regard to the on-going debate and discussion on both?

7. Is internet posing any threat to the traditional media by winning over its space in Pakistani Mass Media?

1.5   *Justification of the Outline of the Study*

As it has been evident from the research questions that the main focus and goal of this research is to study the internet and the role it could play in the democratization of civil society. For this purpose, first the process of democratization in a society needs to be viewed and it can be viewed best in the light of the concept of Public Sphere introduced by Habermas. The concept of Public Sphere needs to be studied and examined that how it could develop an understanding of the process of democratization in a civil society. This concept of Public Sphere was developed in pre-internet era in 1989, so it needs to be studied with the advent of internet in public arena. The improved concept of Public Sphere and its evolution with the arrival of internet can be viewed and studied in the light of plurality of Public Sphere, as internet might bring a huge diversity to its platform of discussion in the form of participants belonging to different sections of the society.

It further leads to the study of the process of democratization through the internet, that how could it play any role in this process, if it could. As the concept of more freedom of expression which might be relatively uncensored compared to the traditional mass media gives the idea that internet might be providing a better platform for the sharing of information and ideas. With this extended and enhanced share of information, views, opinions and ideas comes the concept of more participative democracy with the help of internet. The study of this concept of participative democracy with the help of internet is of core importance for this research.

With these concepts of internet playing role in emergence of public sphere and ultimately the democratization of the society, the criticism on internet especially about web 2.0 which is the main platform for sharing and participation of general public needs

to be studied as well. The criticism about the web 2.0 talks about the concepts of inequality in the accessibility of information on internet, the customization of information on internet, politicization of blogging and the promotion of individualization rather than socialization. These criticisms need to be studied to find out if they have any pertinence regarding this research study and that if they could be engaging enough to influence the results this study going to produce?

In the next phase the concept of civil society needs to be studied specific to Pakistan. But unfortunately there had not been enough studies done in this regard where the political and social fibre of Pakistani society are discussed and analyzed, hence, this is the field of study less explored. Therefore, a brief study of the concept of civil society in the Muslim World needs to be studied to see if it forms any link and connections to the civil society in Pakistan and if it can be studied in the light of studies about the civil society in Muslim World.

The political situation of Pakistan needs to be studied in the light of researches already done especially by the western and French researchers. Such a study is very important as it would familiarize this research with the French approach towards the political situation of Pakistan and thus the study of role of internet in Pakistani society in this context would give more appropriate and pertinent results. The study about the western and French approach towards the political situation in Pakistan points to the study of the approach and role of the Pakistani Diaspora toward political situation in Pakistan. As Diaspora is a special class which lives outside the country mostly in the west and are therefore influenced by the political culture and norms of the west and might be able to provide a different perspective and input to the country's on-going political debate and discussion. This Diaspora might not be directly engaged in the

politics and political debate in the country and thus perhaps the internet might be the only and most effective platform to ensure their participation in Pakistani politics, which makes it very interesting for this research study.

All this study of theories and concepts related to public sphere, democratization of the society and internet and its various aspects and features forms the theoretical basis for this research which will guide towards the final analysis. In order to study the role of internet it must be studied in comparison and in context to the already existing traditional media- the press, to develop better understanding. Because the independent, free and vibrant mass media in Pakistan is believed to be already playing its role in the democratization of the society, therefore, to analyze the same trend in this new unconventional mass media – the internet, it must be studied in comparison to the press to quantify and analyze its role, to see if there is a link between the on-going discussion in both the media or not?, If both media complement each other?, And if internet is trying to expand the public political debate and ultimately the public sphere?

The comparative study of the internet is done with the press and not with other forms of the traditional media like television or radio, the reason for this is that both media are linked with the process of reading and writing which makes them compatible for the study. Both media allow the participation of people who can read and write, it filters out a lot of public as in the case of television and radio, where no such skills of reading and writing are needed. The major and perhaps the only difference between these two media the internet and press from this point of view is that the press is not as participative as internet could be, the press only allows the professionals to take part in the discussion, and the view point of only a limited number of journalists, academicians and professionals related to the field of mass media area conveyed to the general public

whereas, the internet allows access to anybody for the sharing of their viewpoints and opinions. The basic criterion to participate in both the media is same but later restrictions come in due to the nature of the media, which makes these two media relatively compatible to be studied together in comparison.

The second part of this study is devoted to the formulation of a research methodology which could generate a format of the analysis that could answer the research questions raised. After the formulation of research methodology the data sources required for the analysis are selected and presented. The parameters of the analysis are devised according to the methodology and data available and explained briefly.

In the second part of the thesis after developing methodology and presenting data sources, the analysis is conducted and the results of the analysis are presented. The results of the analysis are verified with the research questions in the conclusion part to see if they have answered the research questions raised earlier and if could come up with interesting and engaging answers. Finally in the end the future prospects of this research study are discussed briefly as to which other dimensions of the research this study might lead to and prove fruitful for new dimensions of research as well.

PART – 2

PUBLIC SPHERE AND

INTERNET

2   Public Sphere and Internet

The first part of this thesis is devoted to the study and understanding of different sociological theories and concepts related to the field of study and the research topic. This study of different theoretical and research approaches help lay the foundations for the research approach of this proposed study. Study of the public sphere and internet is carried out in detailed perspective which is further rationalized in case of Pakistan, to be finally analyzed if the approach of western researchers about public sphere, internet and democracy hold true for Pakistani civil society as well.

2.1   *The Notion of Public Sphere*

There have been many theories in the field of communication, sociology, and political science. The idea is to study the overall impact created by the overlap of these sciences and their inter-relevance, with the usage of media in the civil society. Out of the so many research studies conducted in these inter-disciplinary fields, the theory and notion of Public Sphere proposed by Jürgen Habermas is perhaps the most incontrovertible. The theoretical framework of this research study finds its basis in this theory of public sphere and then later progresses with it in the era of internet and web 2.0.

2.1.1   Public Sphere by Habermas

The notion of the Public Sphere finds its conceptualization in the ideas expressed for the first time in the year 1989 by a German Philosopher and Sociologist, Jürgen Habermas in his book 'The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere – An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society', which is a translation of his

book in german "Strukturwandel der Öffentlicheit:Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft".

The German term Öffentlichkeit (Public Sphere) encompasses a variety of meanings and it implies a spatial concept, the social sites or arenas where meanings are articulated, distributed, and negotiated, as well as the collective body constituted by, and in this process, "the public".[58]

The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor.[58]

The concept of Public Sphere by Jürgen Habermas is very interesting and holds the fundamental importance for this thesis as it provides a platform for the general public to gather to discuss and share their ideas and opinions which are of the general and common interest to the common people thus empowering the common people to have a profound opinion by openly discussing and exchanging their views about their social and political life circle and ultimately becoming a part of a very active and lively social and political life.

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[58] Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought)*. The MIT Press.

2.1.2   Public Sphere by Other Researchers

The concept of Public Sphere is further explained by some other researchers in the following manner.

The public sphere is an area in social life where individuals can come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through that discussion influence political action. Gerard explains that it is "a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment."[59]

In reference to the public opinion, the public sphere is defined by Asen as an area where public opinion can be formed. "a realm of social life in which public opinion can be formed".[60]

Fraser explains that the public sphere can be seen as "a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk"[61]. This definition of the concept of Public Sphere elaborates the importance of *the medium of talk* also known as media these days. So it's the media who acts as a tool of mediation between the societies and ultimately between the state and the society. This idea is further strengthed by Armand & Michele Mattelart in the following words.

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[59] Gerard, H. (1998). Vernacular Dialogue and the Rhetoricality of Public Opinion. *Communication Monographs* , 83-107.

[60] Asen, R. (1999). Toward a Normative Conception of Difference in Public Deliberation. *Argumentation and Advocacy* , 11(-129.

[61] Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text* , 56-80.

According to Habermas the Public Sphere is a mediating sphere between state and society which allows the public discussion in a common recognition for the richness and maturity of the exchange of arguments between the individuals and confrontation of the ideas and enlightened opinions.[62]

2.2 *Improved Concept of Public Sphere with the Advent Of Internet*

The earlier work of Habermas presented in the year 1989 had faced much criticism before the researchers as it failed to give proper representation to other factions of the civil society. He just stressed on the idea of a single public sphere inhabited by all the social and civil circles of life, which is deemed as a myth by the critics as the formulation of such a single public sphere seems impossible which might represent the entire circles of the society.

2.2.1 Plurality of Public Sphere

In the year 1993, in the new preface of his famed book, "L'espace Public:Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise", Habermas insists on the plurality of the public sphere and he makes classification of public spheres in such a manner that on one side there is bourgeoisie and hegemonic public sphere most commonly called "Sphere of Public Authority" and on the other side there are other public spheres like sub-cultural spheres specific to other social classes. For example in western societies he shows the apparition of the plebeian public sphere or the private sphere, he explained that there are some formal opinions recognized by the political and social institutions and on the other side the informal,

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[62] Mattelart, A. M. (1997). *'Histoire des théories de la communication'*. La Découverte. (page 44)

personal and non-public opinions. In the formal sphere the biggest media, the most famous newspaper & tv channels.[63]

The notion of Public Sphere cannot be used in singular in today's society. In their book, Francois B. and Neveu E. evoke the idea of fragmented public sphere "mosaique", justified by the diversity of the participants of the public sphere[64].

The notion of plurality in public spheres or *Espaces Public Mosaïques* can be used to analyze the case study of this research study. This notion of plurality is very important and real, for example, in the case of Lawyers' Movement the main proponents of the movement, the lawyers they belong to almost all the spheres of the society; the *bourgeoisie*, the *political*, the *intelligentsia*, and the civil society as well. Also the people taking part in the discussion on internet might belong to different classes of the society joined together on a unique platform of internet.

2.2.2   Evolution of Public Sphere With Internet:

The idea that internet creates a new sphere for the citizens as been studied in the form of some case studies in the book 'Internet, Nouvel Espace Citoyen?' by Jauréguiberry Francis and Proulx Serge. They talk more about the socialization done by the advent of web 2.0. The case studies which focus on the political aspect of the

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[63] Habermas, J. (1993). *L'espace Public: Archéologie de la publicité comme dimension constitutive de la société bourgeoise*. Payot. (page V, VI, 255, 258)

[64] Francois B. and Neveu E. (dir.), "*Espcace Public mosaïques*", Rennes, PUR, 1999

internet in their research work are of no relevance to this research study as they are related to the municipal elections at the city level.[65]

Cardon explains that Habermas spoke about Public Sphere before the arrival of internet and according to Habermas the notion of Public Sphere was characterized by the fact that the public discourse has a specific criteria which gives them a general interest and some of the discourse deserves to be known by all the people but some of it does not need to be known by all because it is not interesting to the entire public lacking the general interest.[66] With internet this idea changes, because everything which is available on internet is not public because everything accessible on internet does not necessarily have the general/public interest in it.

Cardon describes that internet has expanded the public sphere beyond its traditional limits. Before internet it was the professionals who decided what to publish on the media and what to not, meaning they were the sole deciders of what is private and what is public. But now with the advent and accessibility of the internet, it is the internet users who define the border between the public and private. This border is now dynamic and subtle, thanks to the internet.[66]

2.3   *The Process of Democratization through Internet*

According to Wolton, there can be no democracy without public space[67], i.e., a symbolic place where current affairs can be debated. This notion of public space used by Wolton, cannot disassociate itself from the role of media in it, thus giving rise a

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[65] Proulx, F. J. (2002). *Internet, Nouvel Espace Citoyen?* L'Harmattan.

[66] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites.* (page35, 36)

[67] Wolton, D. (1992). Les contradictions de l'espace public médiatisé. *Hermès CNRS,* doi 10.4267/2042/15362

notion of 'mediatised public space'. The traditional media had been mediatising the public space for more than six decades now but the internet in the last decade has revolutionized the concept and boundaries of public sphere, therefore, it is deemed to play an important role in the process of democratization of a civil society as well. As internet is providing a platform for the people to express and exchange their ideas on an open platform, this action is the soul of democracy. But the process of democratization is a very complex process which depends upon many factors working in close relation with each other and inter-depending to each other which are further discussed below.

2.3.1   More Freedom of Information

The role of internet in the process of democratization has been well studied and among these studies is the book writeen by Henri Oberdorff "la Démocratie à l'ére numérique". He explains that thanks to internet, the society has more freedom. First, internet increases the freedom of information, then it changes the scales i.e., of the time, which means that information is almost accessible in real time with the speed never known before, with some clicks you can find information about all the topics and before internet you had to wait for the news bulletin on television or the newspaper's new edition in the morning. There is another scale it's the geographic scale, it means that there are no geographical limits, there are no frontiers or borders between states. The third scale is about the quantity of information, as the quantity of information on the internet is really huge as compared to the books in the library and other documents. The computer can stock huge amounts of data in it now. The search engines help finding

information very easily and quickly within no time. For example everybody can have access to the public reports available on the internet.[68]

The traditional media does a selection of information for its audience but with the help of internet anybody can find any information without any control of the third party. The internet increases the freedom of communication & expression. It increases the private communication with the help of email. It increases the social communication as well with the help of chat rooms, social networking sites, blog sites and discussion forums. The communication through internet is horizontal while the communication through traditional media is vertical in its nature. It means the communication between the equals. Democracy needs debates, discussions and the exchange of ideas. The term of forum is very significant as in ancient Greece, the common people used to meet up in a specified open space 'forum' called Agora to discuss the social and political issues, to vote, to decide the political plan and to ultimately take decisions in governing the city. A citizen who is more informed expresses more and thus can contribute more in the functioning of the democracy. The quality of the democracy depends on the quality of the citizens.[68]

2.3.2   More Participative Democracy

Oberdorff explains that the western model of democracy is Representative Democracy and this kind of democracy is more and more critical because the common people cannot participate in the political life more than just voting for the election of their representative in the government. So the western democracy needs to be more

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[68] Oberdorff, H. (2010). *La Démocratie à l'ère Numérique.* PUG.

participative with the common people being more in command of the political decision making rather than just voting for their representative and then letting that representative decide on their behalf for the pre-decided term of his/her tenure.[69]

Pakistan belongs to the same political system of democracy which is representative in its first stage and then non-participative on the behalf of the citizens. In Pakistan the priority is the stability of the democratic system whereas the media is taking up the issue of a more participative democracy. The issue of a more representative type of democracy does exist in Pakistan as it does in the western societies but with a slightly different approach i.e., by launching a struggle for a more stable democratic setup which has no threats from the civil and military coup d'état and on the other hand also trying for more representation of the common people in the political decision making with the help of media.

Public sphere is dominated by the traditional media and nobody can react but on the internet everybody can react, its more on equal basis. Oberdorff studied the role of internet in western societies and in authoritarian societies like China and this research is about Pakistan which is sometimes similar to the western societies in its democratic setup but lacks the stability in it that resembles with the authoritarian societies like China, making the case of Pakistan much more interesting to study.

In China internet is not free, it's under the total control of Government there[70], the use of internet, and the police does the surveillance on the private life and on the

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[69] Oberdorff, H. (2010). *La Démocratie à l'ère Numérique.* PUG.

[70] Mattelart, A. (2007). *La Globalisation de la Surveillance, Aux Origines de l'ordre Sécuritaire.* La Découverte. Arifon, O. (2012). Chine: de la muraille à Internet, permanence du contrôle étatique. *Hermès 63*, 160-164.

public opinion expressed by the users of internet. The cyber surveillance is present in China which means a decrease in the freedom of expression and the freedom of information.[71]

2.4   Criticisms about Internet

Internet especially the web 2.0 where provides more access to free information and paves the way for more participative democracy also invites huge criticism from researchers and social scientists. These criticisms relate not only to the medium of internet but also to the role it is deemed to play in the society. These criticisms are viewed and analyzed so that if they could be supported or rejected finally by the results of the analysis of this study.

2.4.1   Individualization VS Socialization

Miege explained that now the sociological researches show individualization of social practices, and how internet participates to the process of individualization. He explained that blogs constitute a new form of social communication of masses, which is individually received but nevertheless, internet can be useful for the social movement and people can react to the traditional media, can control its information and can deny it if necessary and also can produce and give some new information, thus the common people having a power on the traditional media with the help of internet. But we must

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[71] Sautedé, E. (2003). Les Artifices Moderned de l'Agit'prop-Internet et Crise du 'SRAS' en Chine. *L'audience Presse, Radio, Télévision, Internet, Hermés* .

not overestimate the power of the common people over the traditional media and their influence on the traditional media.[72]

2.4.2   Mass Self-Communication & Interactive Solitude

Miege explains the same idea with a different notion of 'Mass Self-Communication', he explains that the research in sociology shows a tendency of individualization of the social practices. He argues that the blogs constitute a new shape of massive communication which is social in nature nevertheless, it is produced, received, and sensed individually. The social movement has the individuals in rebellion who are capable to control, deny and to produce the counter information of the traditional media, all thanks to this Mass Self-Communication.[72]

The mainstream media has a tradition of delivering communication which is directive and unilateral in nature, whereas, on internet it's the opposite because the communication is interactive in nature and more attentive to the reactions of the public.[72]

Wolton speaks about 'interactive solitude' to describe a society in which the individuals use internet a lot but are incapable to communicate in real life with their neighbors[73], thus creating an environment of solitude for the internet users but such a solitude is not entirely solitary in its true sense but interactive in nature as the individual is communicating with some other individual through internet and thus the exchange of

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[72] Miége, B. (2007). *La Sociéte conquise par la communication, t3, les TIC entre innovation technique et encrage social.* PUG.

[73] Wolton, D. (2000). *Internet, et Après? Une théorie critique des nouveaux médias.* Paris: Flammarion. (page 106-107)

ideas and a dialogue is going on in this confinement[73]. Now it is interesting to study that how this interactive solitude can bring about any social movement or change in the society and thus eventually has an effect on the common people and their thinking.

2.4.3 Critical Vision of the Cult of Internet

The evolution of Internet into an alternate media with more freedom of information and expression and participation from a wider range of public has further transformed it into a cult. There are many critics who do not believe in this cult of the internet and propose a critical view about it. Among these critics is Andrew Keen, who proposes the idea that,

> "The web 2.0 revolution has peddled the promise of bringing more truth to more people-more depth of information, more global perspective, more unbiased opinion from dispassionate observers. But this is all smokescreen. What the web 2.0 revolution is really delivering is superficial observations of the world around us rather than deep analysis, shrill opinion rather than considerate judgment".[74]

This criticism of internet points towards the level of debate and makes a point that the debate is shallow and lacks mature and concrete analysis and arguments. This might be the stage two while examining the debate on the internet, but the focus of this study is on the stage one i.e., the participation of more people in the national political debate to

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[74] Keen, A. (2007). *The Cult of the Amateur-how today's internet is killing our culture,* Doubleday/Currency Publishers. (page 16)

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enhance the process of democracy by providing a platform for more participative democracy.

2.4.4 Inequality in the Accessibility of Information

Erik Neveu being another staunch critic of the myth of internet denounces the myth of a society created by the internet in which the social relation would be more equal among its members, the internet-users. Neveu stresses on the social and economic inequality of the accessibility in using the internet, he describes this fact with the help of the results of a survey conducted in 2008 in France that 95% of the students and 19% of the executive job holders, 57% of the tertiary job holders, and 36% of house wives have used a computer within the last month.[75]

Furthermore, the participative and the online citizen journalism allows the participation of only the educated public mostly belonging to the middle class and does not provide a platform for the uneducated and unprivileged masses of the society to have access to the public debate via the communication techniques used on the internet[76]. The question of inequality in the accessibility of internet in Pakistan is very important. As the internet penetration in Pakistan is not more than 10% in the overall population. Miege explained that in addition there is another problem, you need to have the communicational competency which means to know how to use the internet etc.

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[75] Neveu, E. (2011). *Une Société de Communication?* Montchrestien.

[76] Pélissier, N., & Chaudy, S. (2009). Le journalisme citoyen et participatif sur Internet: un populisme dans l'air du temps. *Quaderni*, 89-103.

This communicational competency is linked and directly proportional to the possession of 'cultural capital'.[77]

This may lead to the idea that internet is not the harbinger of the process of democratization as it has no equal accessibility to all the public, and the communicational competency is not uniform among all its users. This criticism might be right as far as equal accessibility to all is concerned but at the same time internet might be providing a platform to those who might otherwise not be able to participate on any forum in political national debate.

2.4.5 Customization of Information on the Internet

All the information seems to be accessible on the internet but in reality you can only access that piece of information which you are looking for or searching intentionally on the search engines[78]. In a way he is talking about the customization of the information which is based on the social determination of the internet user. Customization of the Information is an idea more like the communicational competency, there the effectiveness of the communication of the individuals is based on their social and intellectual capacity and same is the case with the access of information, the more educated, socially capable or cultured you are the more information of the general interest you will be accessing rather than just chattering about the trivialities of your personal life on the internet.[79]

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[77] Miége, B. (2007). *La Sociéte Conquise Par La Communication, t3, les TIC entre innovation technique et encrage social.* PUG, (page 200, 202).

[78] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites.* (page 42).

[79] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites.* (page 42).

Cardon further strengthens this idea by giving the example of social networking sites, the majority of users on these sites are the younger generation and the less educated people who are ultimately less socially responsible, therefore, these users use internet for more personal reason like chattering about their personal lives and about their friends and families. So in a way it's the democratization of the media as more and more people are using this new media with freedom but again this is not democratization in its true sense as the major chunk of the opinions and ideas shared on these networking sites are of no or very less importance to the general interest of the common people.

> "As traditional main stream media is replaced by a personalized one, the Internet has become a mirror to ourselves. Rather than use it to seek news, information, or culture, we use it to actually BE the news, the information, the culture",[80]

This concept of Keen further strengths the idea of internet being used for more personal reasons. But again the important part here is the use of internet by more and more people, the discrepancies can be removed along the way as people become more and more aware of their social and political role.

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[80] Keen, A. (2007). *The Cult of the Amateur-how today's internet is killing our culture.* Doubleday/Currency Publishers

2.4.6   Internet as a Myth

As Oberdorff shows a certain tilt in the favor of internet as a harbinger of democracy in a society which lacks democratic setup like China and also as a hope for more representative democracy as in western societies, Estienne considers the idea of democratization through internet as a myth. He stresses on the point that it's a very powerful myth that internet embodies a new public sphere which allows the free expression to all and eventually abolishes the hold of the traditional media and eventually the mediatization done by the traditional media.[81]

The process of democratization aided by the new media- internet, whether it's a reality as posed by Oberdorff or just a myth as contested by Estienne, this phenomenon is very interesting to study in the special case of Pakistan. It will be interesting to know that whether internet plays any significant role in the process of democratization of the country which is visible in the country's civil society or it is just possible in the imaginary world of the sociologists who consider internet as a harbinger of democratization in the otherwise democratically deprived societies.

Breton presents a critical vision of the democratic aspect of the internet. He denounces the cult of internet, the cult of transparency, the disappearance of border between private and public lives. He is of the view that the process of mediatization abolished by the advent of the internet is not in any way favorable to the society. Also he disagrees with the Utopian vision of the internet. He does not believe that the utopian vision of the internet is reality rather just only a myth according to him. He disagrees with the fundamentalists of the internet who are of the view that the traditional

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[81] Estienne, Y. (2007). *Le Journalism après Internet.* L'harmattan. (Page 187)

mediators between the civil society and state like media & professional journalism are an obstacle to the circulation of the information.[82] It will be interesting to find out in this study if traditional media is really an obstacle in the flow of information to the society and if internet is a liberator of this flow of information.

2.4.7   Politicization of Blogging/web 2.0

The people who are using internet very frequently for more personal reasons and having very little or no political or general interest in the communication they are being part of can be politicized in the time of a political crisis. For example during the Lawyers' Movement many internet users turned towards the weblogs and discussion forums about these issues, giving their opinions about these issues and even using social networking sites like facebook, myspace, twitter to show their concern about these issue thus ultimately politicizing their online communication and making it more related to the general interest of the common people.

Cardon gives a similar example, in Thailand there was a private blog run by a young girl named Alisa Chiraponsge who wrote with a pseudo name 'aka gnarlykitty', this blog who was visited by other girls of the same age and interest was all about fashion and personal lives of these friends but when in 2006 there was a 'coup d'état' in Thailand, Alisa goes out on the road and takes some photos of her with the tanks on the road etc and posted these photos on her blog which was previously apolitical. Later on, these photos of coup d'état were watched and used by many people and even the

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[82] Breton, P. (2000). *Le Culte de L'internet: Une menace pour le lien social?* La Découverte.

traditional media. On Wikipedia even there was a link to her blog under the article about coup d'état in Thailand, this made it a huge success and millions of people watched these photos and her apolitical blog became a 'global voice' within no time.[83]

At the same time the internet favors connection and discussions among similar people within an impenetrable circle. As people appreciate the opinions of the other people as long as they suit their own interests and are similar to their own opinions. It is particularly true for people with extremist trends and opinions. If you belong to the centre of the political sphere you discuss within your circle, i.e., within the same political family and you react a lot to the opinions of an opponent political family. So the inter-citation is very common in such political discussions about the ideas of the opponent political belief.[83] The debates with the opponents reinforce your own opinions and your attachment to your own ideological family.[83] This lays stress on the fact that the communication or political debate on the websites of political parties and such discussion groups might not be very interesting and could not be considered as serious and thought provoking.

2.5   *Public Sphere Specific to Pakistan*

The research questions of this study revolve around the ideas of internet especially the web 2.0 being a new public sphere in this digital age or mildly being a sub-sphere in itself of already existing strong and conventional public sphere, in either case is it helpful in the democratization of the Pakistani civil society which is being a neo-democratic society being held in the clutches of military-oligarchy governmental setup for decades since its birth. So the question arises that if this web 2.0 is able to

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[83] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites.* (page 71, 92, 93)

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raise the awareness level of the civil society towing it on the road of becoming a democratic society.

2.5.1 Concept of Civil Society in Muslim World

Pakistan is a Muslim majority country hence, the concept of civil society in it is first studied in light of concept of civil society in Muslim world. The relation between democracy and civil society is explained by Augustus Norton. It holds valid in the case of Pakistani civil society that 'a vital and autonomous civil society is a necessary condition of democracy (though not a sufficient one)'[84]. On the other hand the general vision is on the contrary as many scholars think it highly likely that a vibrant and autonomous civil society being emerged in muslim countries in the near future. The main criticism about the muslim civil societies in general is that they are corrupt, deficient, absent, insignificant and weak most of the times under a authoritarian regime.

A very prominent scholar like Ernest Gellner argues that muslim societies are infested with faith which finds its roots in religion and all they present is just a very weak hope for a civil society at its best. Ernest Gellner explained that the muslim world has a specific culture with some values which are not favourable to democratic societies, particularly values about ethical and rational norms and individualist norms. He further explains that in the muslim societies religion and state are in unison and the

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[84] Norton, A. R. (1995). Introduction *in "Civil Society in the Middle East"*, Brill.

very notion of a secular society is a dilemma and thus civil society is absent totally in muslim societies.[85]

Ishtiaq Ahmad disagrees with Gellner because he finds that this kind of approach is essentialist. As Gellner considers that Islam is a system of beliefs and practices which are non-modifiable, Ahmad thinks that the contemporary Muslim world is engaged in great political and ideological debate regarding the questions of Islamic law, democracy, secularism and human rights. He also believes that if Muslim intellectuals in general and Pakistani intellectuals in particular seriously discuss the Islamic state project they would have no problem in showing that it is no more than an anachronism. According to Ahmad, Muslim countries can be modernized and can know secularism but for this the independent intellectuals are to determine how modern Muslim societies can achieve rapid economic development as well as social justice.[86]

Bryan S. Turner, an *orientalist,* explains the reasons why civil society could not be developed in the muslim world. Turner argues that the absence of capitalism in the muslim world ensured by the feudalism is the main reason of muslim societies lacking the civil society and democracy. According to his views,

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[85] Gellner, E. (1991). Civil society in historical context. *International Social Science Journal*, 43(3), 495-510.

[86] Ahmed, I. (2005, February 15). Islam and political change. *Daily Times*. For a similar discussion in another cultural context i.e., China, see Arifon, O., & Ricaud, P. (2007). La liberté d'expression, une spécificité occidentale? Regards sur la Chine. *Evolution de l'économie libérale et liberté d'expression*, 347-362.

"Islamic society lacked independent cities, an autonomous bourgeois class, rational bureaucracy, legal reliability, personal property and that cluster of rights which embody bourgeois culture, the absence of civil society simultaneously explained the failure of capitalist development and the absence of democracy".[87]

Turner arguing that these institutions act as a network which mediates between the individual and the state, thus empowering the individual and inculcating the democratic culture in the society. In most of the Muslim world we do see an absent or dormant *bourgeois* class, and a very active feudal class which takes part in the political process thus inhibiting the formation of a civil society and ultimately the democratization of the society to its very core.

2.5.2   Concept of Civil Society in Pakistan

In this research study the researcher would try finding out if the civil society in a country like Pakistan can find its breath, its individuality and ultimately make its presence felt by educating itself and infesting itself with the democratic ideas and norms, and culture. As explained by Norton that the democracy as we know it today in the west is not achieved merely by elections but only by its civil society which in the form of associations, clubs, guilds, syndicates, federations, unions, parties and groups come together to provide a buffer between state and the citizen.[88]

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[87] Turner, B.S. (1984). Orientalism and the problem of civil society in Islam, in "*Orientalism, Islam, and Islamists*" by Altaf Hussain, Robert Olson, Jamil Qureshi (etd.) Amana Books, 23-42.

[88] Norton, A. R. (1995). Introduction *in "Civil Society in the Middle East"*, Brill. (Page 7)

In order to study and explain the civil society in Pakistan it is important to find out first the relation between civil society and state in Pakistan. This country being governed in an oligarchic manner with strong military establishment and in-between some civil political parties, does offer a clear division between the government and state. Therefore, the question of democracy at the state level as well as in the civil society has been studied by many scholars from time to time whether it be under strict military rule of General Zia during 1980s, during weak political governments of alliances of 1990s, in the era of General Musharraf's martial law and also in the current civil political democratic setup, where a civil government of coalition born out of general elections of 2007 has just completed their full constitutional tenure (comprising of 5 years) of any civil politically elected government in Pakistan, and a new civil political democratic government is now in power as a result of general elections of May 2013.

Hussain Haqqani the ex-ambassador of Pakistan for the United States of America has studied this question of democracy in Pakistan and the difference between state and government in Pakistan in his famed book "Pakistan between military and mosque". He explained that since the birth of Pakistan there is military oligarchy and this military oligarchy uses religion as a very important factor for national identity and the government used the Pakistani identity is based on religion[89]. Pakistan is an

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[89] Haqqani Husain, *Pakistan between mosque and military*, Washigton, Carnegie Endowment for international Peace, 2005, "History repeats itself in Pakistan, *Journal of Democracy,* (2006-10) vol.17: n°4, p.110-124, "Pakistan : the society and State", *Journal of Democracy*, (2006-04) vol.96: n°2, p.195-379.

ideological state based on religion and this state evolved to jihadist ideology particularly with the war of 1971 on the East Pakistan leading to the creation of Bangladesh. The Americans supported the Pakistani government and this is why the civil society cannot emerge. The government having the American support and the support of its army, and thus civil society could not emerge.

Haqqani has studied with great depth the role of military establishment as well as religious factors involved in the politics and governing of the country ever since its birth from 1947 till the general elections of 2007. Haqqani like many other scholars was not so hopeful for the outcome of the elections of 2007 due to the fact that these elections were to be held under the president ship of Mushrraf who only 3 months before the general elections was forced to leave his command of the army, so the general notion popular among the political parties and the general public was that the elections are not going to be fair and are going to be rigged in order to give a continuing support to the ex- military general.

Just one month prior to the general elections of 2008 the two main political parties of Pakistan PPP (Pakistan Peoples Party) and PML (N) (Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group), who had been the political arch rivals for about two decades, signed a pact called Murree Declaration, in which they promised to contest in the elections together so that a friendly politically democratic environment is created leaving no room for the ex military general and his supporters, all in the name of democracy. This left less doubt in the minds of people and created a new hope for change which was evident in the outcome of the elections, both the parties gaining most seats in the parliament & ultimately Mushrraf had to leave his office as President of Pakistan.

Keeping in view the analysis of Turner about the reasons why the muslim society is far from democracy, the example of Pakistan is very clear and pertinent. In Pakistani society we have a very active and dominating feudal class, who owns most of the lands in the rural areas in a country where more than 70% of the population lives in villages and economically it is an agricultural country. Holding captive most of the population of the country the feudal class plays an active role in the politics of the country. The feudal class for its survival denies education to its rural subjects and the development of the infrastructure in rural areas thus paving the way for the inhibition of the creation of any kind of bourgeois class. With the absence of bourgeois class and culture and all the other institutions which form a network of mediation between the individual and the state like personal property, and legal reliability, the process of democratization is stagnant and even non-existent in such environment.

Whereas, in the urban areas i.e., in the big cities, where there are no effects of feudalism and therefore the presence of the industry and educated class, and the right of possession of property, and thus legal reliability favours the growth of middle and upper middle class which constitute an Asiatic version of bourgeois class. The politicians in the urban areas mostly belong to the class which holds and runs industries and therefore have more reliance on the constitution of laws for the protection of their property and the safe running of their business favours the democratic process. It is unlikely to the politicians from the rural areas that they are mostly feudal lords themselves and do not believe in the concept of personal property for people other than the feudal families, and ultimately have no need for the constitution of law and any reliability on it. Therefore in Pakistan, we see an emerging upper and upper middle class having western concepts of property ownership and capitalistic approach towards the businesses, this class in need

of the constitution of law and its implementation for the protection of their property and smooth sailing of their businesses and also the educated class which rely heavily on the tertiary source of income like services etc have more stakes on the democratic setup. Thus an upper and upper middle class is rising exhibiting and demanding the rights similar to the western bourgeois class and paving its way to the democratization of the society, a very recent example of which is the Lawyers' Movement (2007-2009) in Pakistan started by the lawyers belonging to the intelligentsia of the society as they are most educated and belong to almost all the classes of the society the rural, the urban, middle class, upper middle class, and even the elite, with the deposition of the current chief Justice of Supreme Court and ultimately engaging most the classes which constitute an emerging and infant civil society in Pakistan of today.

2.5.2.1 Pakistani Diaspora's Share in Pakistani Civil Society

Most of the research studies available regarding the Pakistani Diaspora are focused on the social, cultural, and economic life of the Diaspora in their residing countries rather than their influence on life in Pakistan it takes an angle which views from the side of the Diaspora, that is, from the external angel that how the internal embodiment of culture, and economic and social life effects the external life of this community.[90]

The research studies about political lives and political aspect of the Diaspora are carried out as well, but again in this case the angle of the study is the creation of a new diasporic civil society in the residing country rather than the influence of the

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[90] Werbner, P. (1990). *The Migration Process: Capital, Gifts and Offerings among British Pakistanis.* New York: Berg.

diaspora on the internal political situation and democratization of Pakistani civil society.[91]

Besides UK where most of the Pakistani Diaspora is found living and acting as a very distinct and prominent sphere of civil society, the second most numbered and prominent Pakistani Diaspora is found in the USA. Also the studies related to the Pakistani Diaspora in USA explains the aspect of Pakistani Diasporic political life inside USA rather than their influence or role in the politics and democratic debate going on inside Pakistan.[92]

The Pakistani Diaspora which is huge in number and living in many different countries like UK, USA, Canada and European countries including France, Spain and Italy has its own place and influence on the Pakistani civil society. The Pakistan and its Diaspora are distinct but mutually influencing forces on one another as rightly pointed by Stephen M. Lyon and Marta Bolognani, "Pakistan and its Diaspora are distinct and there are enormous difference between the lived experience of people born, brought up,

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[91] Werbner, P. (2011). "Revisiting the UK Muslim Diasporic Public Sphere at a Time of Terror: From Local (Benign) Invisible Spaces to Seditious Conspiratorial Spaces and the 'Failure of Multiculturalism' Discourse" in "*Pakistan and Diaspora: Multidisciplinary Approaches*", Stephen M.Lyon and Marta Bolognani (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan.

[92] Leonard, K.I. (2003). *Muslims in the United States: The State of Research*. Russel Sage Foundation, New York. Arif A.M., (2008*). "Pakistan in the United States: From Integration to Alienation?", in "Pakistan Diasporas: Culture, Conflict and Change"*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

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and living in Pakistan and those people of Pakistani origin born, brought up, and living in Britian" [93]

The Pakistani Diaspora shares a constant and active flow of information with Pakistan as well as resources making it an aggregated population with individuals within which belong to highly disaggregated groups having very independent social, economic, and political trajectories.[94]

Talking about the popular recent Lawyers' Movement which has been organised by the lawyers belonging to both upper and middle social class of the society, helped by journalists, political parties, NGOs and humanitarian organizations for the 'rule of law' in the country, Bolognani argues that other issues more important than this movement and affecting the majority of population of Pakistan directly could not get that much importance because lack of the audience among Pakistani Diaspora. Bolognani and Lyon concluding their argument with the suggestion that Pakistan no more makes sense without the firm account of its diasporic influences.[95]

In order to study the role of Pakistani Diaspora in the political arena of Pakistan, the search probe returns with zero results, meaning that there had been no concrete research studies from this perspective where it could be mentioned how

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[93] Bolognani, M., & Lyon, S.M. (2011). The Mirror Crack'd: Shifting Gazes and the Curse of Truths, in *Pakistan and its Diaspora: Multidisciplinary Approaches.* Stephen M.Lyon and Marta Bolognani (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan.

[94] Bolognani , M. (2011). Rang de Basanti in Pakistan ? Elite student Activism, the Emergence of a Virtual Globalized Public Sphere, and the 2007 Emergency, in *Pakistan and Diaspora: Multidisciplinary Approaches*. Stephen M.Lyon and Marta Bolognani (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan.

[95] Bolognani , M. (2011). Rang de Basanti in Pakistan ? Elite student Activism, the Emergence of a Virtual Globalized Public Sphere, and the 2007 Emergency, in *Pakistan and Diaspora: Multidisciplinary Approaches*. Stephen M.Lyon and Marta Bolognani (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan.

'outsiders' play in the 'inside'. This research study is aimed at analysing the unique and important role internet might play in enhancing the public sphere to those who could have not been a part of public sphere before. While studying the political debate on the internet it will be interesting to study specifically the contribution of Pakistani Diaspora in it as well.

2.5.2.2 Share of Pakistani Students in Pakistani Civil Society

Pakistan is a country where 60% of the population ages from 12-35 years, most of them being students. This surprising fact makes the youth and especially the students who have access to traditional media and internet are the most active and most important part of the entire population. It is evident especially by the active and aggressive participation of the students over the last 4 years in the political discourse of the country not only theoretically but practically as well. One such example is the movement of an elite private university LUMS (Lahore University of Management Sciences) in Lahore the provincial capital of Punjab- the largest province of Pakistan in terms of population and infrastructure, against the November 2007 Emergency in the country posed by the then president Mushrraf.

This movement started as a sidekick of the Lawyers' Movement and soon assembled the students associated with this movement under the banners of 'rule of law' and 'democracy'. Marta Bolognani explains this movement in a way that although a clear connection between the lifting of the state of emergency from the country and this movement cannot be made but the means and the self-reflection through which the

movement and protests went through and progressed may create long term repercussions on the public sphere in Pakistan.[96]

This is a case of the students in the inside of Pakistan, a huge number of students are studying in higher education outside Pakistan in UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and different European countries including France, Germany and Italy. According to the HEC (Higher Education Commission), about 5000 students are doing doctoral studies in western countries. This makes it even more important to study the political approach and engagement of these students in the ongoing political and civil debate in the country. These students studying outside Pakistan are essentially all equipped with the internet to stay connected back home as well as fellow colleagues in their residing countries. This makes them an interesting part of the data as they might/might not be participating in national political debate on blogs.

2.6   *The Political Situation of Pakistan & Harbinger of Change*

Christophe Jaffrelot in his book "Le Pakistan" explains how Pakistan has been under the influence of authoritarian type of governments ever since the British colonial times[97.] The British controlled and governed the country by Viceroys who were appointed directly by the Queen. Immediately after the independence from British rule, Pakistan engaged in a war against India for the right over Kashmir, thus the foundations

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[96] Bolognani , M. (2011). Rang de Basanti in Pakistan ? Elite student Activism, the Emergence of a Virtual Globalized Public Sphere, and the 2007 Emergency, in *Pakistan and Diaspora: Multidisciplinary Approaches*. Stephen M.Lyon and Marta Bolognani (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan.

[97] Jaffrelot, c. (2000). *'Le Pakistan'*. Fayard.

of this newly born country was laid in a security obsessive environment, giving utmost importance to the national army & defence system.

Furthermore, the demographic and cultural divide between the two parts of the country the East Pakistan and West Pakistan separated by Indian Territory in between the two regions, had a major influence on the shaping of the political culture of the country. The West Pakistan comprised mainly of Punjab being the most populous province of the country and most of the Pakistani Army comprised of Punjabis, whereas Bengalis being more in number then the entire West Pakistan demanded for provincial autonomy and democracy, which had not been acceptable to the feudal West Pakistan ruled mainly by the feudal lords in close harmony with the strong hold of the army. This led to the separation of East Pakistan and creation of a new country in the form of Bangladesh in the year 1971.

Even after that the authoritarian setup of government was not taken aback as only six years after the separation of Bangladesh there had been another 'coup d'état' in Pakistan by the army. The USA also supported the military regime in Pakistan as the strategic location of Pakistan in reference to the cold war against USSR had been of key importance to the USA. According to Jaffrelot, the help and support from US for the Pakistani Army holds a pivotal importance in this scenario. The feudal lords and tribal chiefs represented the 75% of the deputies in 1988. In 1993 it reduced to a total of 62%. But nevertheless, it is still very high.[98]

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[98] Jaffrelot, c. (2000). *'Le Pakistan'*. Fayard.

According to the thesis of Jaffrelot, the democratization could not be successful because the civil society had been very weakly organized, due to feudalism, absence of trade unions, and because of the anti-communist politics in the 50's. Also the traditional hierarchy on the basis of caste and tribe has kept the society so far in a specific climate very conservative in nature.[98]

Jaffrelot predicts that the change will come from the urban middle class and the intellectuals, rather than from the 'muhajirs' (immigrants from India at the time of partition) and the businessmen. According to him the intellectuals can bring the change of democratizing the country by establishing NGO's (Non-Governmental Organizations) for creating awareness in rural masses which still comprise roughly more than seventy percent of the total population.

Jaffrelot further explains that the government tried to fight the NGO's and also the islamists as there is a special struggle for the conquest of the social space in between these actors, but as the civil society is not well organized, the NGO's are a mean to achieve the otherwise.[98]

A very prominent book about the civil society in Pakistan "Power and Civil Society in Pakistan"[99], also presents the civil society in Pakistan but mainly from economic point of view and just one article about the NGOs in Pakistan; "Critical Engagements: NGOs and the State" by Omar Asghar Khan, in which he describes the initiation of the culture of NGOs in Pakistan and the problems faced by them on their way to democracy through military and civil political regimes. NGOs being an

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[99] Weiss, A.M., & Gillani, S.Z., (ed.). (2001). *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.

important part of the civil society especially in a country like Pakistan which has been a victim of a lot of internal and foreign problems. In such complex social setup, the NGOs have come to lay an important role in the process of socio-political change in the country making NGOs a very important and functional part of the civil society in Pakistan.[100]

However, in this research study the researcher would like to investigate if the process of democratization is being carried on or not with the help of internet by creating a social space in the vibrant civil society of Pakistan of today. As Jaffrelot is of the view that NGO's along with the intellectuals of the country are the harbinger of change and ultimately of democratization of the society by occupying a social space in the civil society of the country and by creating awareness in the middle class and rural masses of the country by the help of NGO's[101]. It will be interesting to study these aspirations if at all carried out by the middle class and intellectuals in today's era of web 2.0 using the readily available platform of internet and web 2.0 rather than NGO's which have many fundamental and infrastructural pre-requisites contrary to the simple use of internet for the same purpose.

The case study of Lawyer's Movement present an excellent example of an active middle class and intellectuals- the lawyers working hand in hand for the awareness of general masses to gain support and to bring masses on roads for the protests and ultimately for the restoration of a free and fair judicial system in Pakistan.

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[100] Khan, O.A. (2001). Critical Engagements : NGOs and the state, in *Power and Civil Society in Pakistan* by Anita M. Weiss and S. Zulfiqar Gilani (ed.), Oxford University Press.

[101] Jaffrelot, c. (2000). *'Le Pakistan'*. Fayard.

2.6.1   *Lawyers' Movement – the harbinger of change in Pakistan*

In a very recent book published at the end of 2011 about the civil societies in Muslim world, there is an article by Daniela Bredi about the Lawyers' Movement in Pakistan arguing its role in the uplift and awareness of civil society. Although this being a chronological article telling in detail the events of this movement and lacking the insightful analysis of its social and political and democratic role and its influence on the general elections of 2007, it still gives the idea of an excellent example in a muslim country Pakistan where a change in the civil society is observed which has its roots entirely in the social and democratic grounds rather than in religious grounds as contested by Gellner.

According to Daniela Bredi, in 2009 &2010 the Pakistani society went through its most difficult times, the violence, the assassinations, the arrests made by the government of masses. And the fact that military was stronger with its increasing presence in the society. And in this very dramatic situation the civil society woke up and lawyers movement is an example of its awakening call[102]. It's a very good example which shows that the civil society can wake up and can react and can do something against a non-democratic government. She explains that the main goal of the movement was to change the mentalities and to critic the feudal system. In Pakistan there is no equality before law. The force is stronger than the law or the rights of the people. There are a lot of violations against the constitution and some people are above the law. That means that it's a very critical situation, the social contract between the state and the

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[102] Bredi, D. (2011). L'éveil de la société civile au Pakistan: le mouvement des avocats, in *Les Sociétés civiles dans le monde musulman*, Anna Bozzo et Jean-Pierre Luizard (dir.), Paris, La Découverte, 399-412.

people was defined in the constitution of 1973 and now this contract does not function anymore. There is no sense and no reality because many people have no freedom, have no basic human rights. She explains that to change this and to stop this political crisis, you can reinforce the independence of judicial power and that's happened in the lawyers' movement as they reinforced the judicial power in the country. An independent judicial power can force the army to stop anti-constitutional actions and can stop the action of the president arbitrary to the constitution e.g., the dissolution of the parliament. The Martial law can be countered thanks to the judicial power.[102] Now the people knew that they can demand the respect of the fundamental rights thanks to the independence of the judicial power.[103]

Bredi discusses the first idea between Gellner and Ahmad, the lawyers' movement shows that Muslim civil society can transform itself in a more democratic society which subsequently means that Islam is not an obstacle in the democratization of a society. She stresses on the judicial power because they share the same values of democracy and rule of law as the westerners do. And they are also against the excessive power of the chief executive of the state. It shows that the civil society is not weak and that the people can react to defend their civil rights even if it is not a religious issue. She concludes that Ahmad is right as she believes that Muslim intellectuals can emerge and move all the society towards democratization and secularism[104.] She gave many examples about the role of lawyers in the political history of Pakistan, but particularly

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[103] Awais, A. (2009, March 14). The Message of the Lawyers' Movement. *The News*.

[104] Bredi, D. (2011). L'éveil de la société civile au Pakistan: le mouvement des avocats, in *Les Sociétés civiles dans le monde musulman*, Anna Bozzo et Jean-Pierre Luizard (dir.), Paris, La Découverte, 399-412.

the current movement by lawyers shows that civil society can move and can act for democratization and not only for religious issues.

Describing why lawyers actively got engaged to such a level that they started an entire movement on the issue of ouster of Chief Justice from his office Bhatti explains that the lawyers are the inseparable constituents of the whole edifice of western judicial system exercised also in Pakistan, and therefore, they have direct professional and institutional stakes in the functioning and also mal functioning of this system. Hence they make a powerful and privileged group of the intelligentsia, exposed to the logic and ill-logic of a power dictated by codification of the law.[105]

Judicial system being a pillar of a democratic society is most affected by such abuse of power by a single person in the highest office of government, as this institute works only on the working of constitution in its true spirits. The institute of judiciary is composed of judges and lawyers mainly, judges following a strict code of conduct as per their status cannot take part in any protest or movement, and the judges can at most resign from their posts which most of them did in protest for this movement throughout the country. On the other hand lawyers having no such obligations and restrictions and being an integral part of this institute broke into protests all over the country for the rule of law.

Lawyers could start and sustain such a huge movement throughout the country for a long and enduring period of two years only because they are a well organized and democratically established body. Abdullah describes it as "The lawyers' movement that

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[105] Bhatti, A. (2007, December 01). The Anatomy of Protest. *Daily Dawn*.

took the power quarters by storm was able to sustain itself over a longer period because their bar councils are democratic and hold elections regularly".[106] Lawyers have Bar Associations throughout the country in every district court, these bar associations hold elections regularly. Therefore, lawyers had already well organized and democratic organizations throughout the country at their disposal which could be easily mobilized for any line of action against any possible threat to their institute, which ultimately proved its worth in this movement.

Bredi is very optimistic about the role of the lawyers because lawyers did well and she hopes that they will continue in the favour of democratization of the country and she explains that there are some obstacles against democratization e.g., the fact that western countries support the corruption at the government level in Pakistan and the governing people who are corrupted in Pakistan. This support hinders the development of the civil society and a democratic political system. The civil society exists and can how that it is capable to resist the corrupted government and to stop the wrong & illegal actions of this government.[107]

In order to study the Pakistani civil society the first step is to find out what exactly is a civil society and what are the components of Pakistani civil society and then the role of each component in the proposed case study (Lawyers' Movement 2007-2009) is to be analysed to find out if there exists a viable civil society in Pakistan which can be efficient in performing its role.

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[106] Abdullah, Z. (2008, May 18). Whither Democratic Norms in daily Dawn. *Daily Dawn*.

[107] Bredi, D. (2011). L'éveil de la société civile au Pakistan: le mouvement des avocats, in *Les Sociétés civiles dans le monde musulman*, Anna Bozzo et Jean-Pierre Luizard (dir.), Paris, La Découverte, 399-412.

The main problem in studying the Pakistani civil society is that there are a very few studies about it. Just a handful of researches which are available take the study in a different perspective rather than the political, democratic, or media point of view, these studies mostly focus on the economic perspective and sometimes merely the chronological history of the events in the Pakistani politics, the changing of the governments and nothing more.

PART – 3

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE

PRESS AND BLOGS

3   A Comparative Study of the Press and Blogs

After the development of theoretical research basis of this study in the previous part, this part of the thesis focuses on its empirical implication in the frame of the case study of Lawyers' Movement, formulating the analysis which could help answering the research questions of the study. This part is further divided into two phases, phase I focuses on the formulation and development of the research methodology for the analysis to understand, analyze and answer the question of role of internet in emergence of public sphere in Pakistani civil society and ultimately the process of democratization of it, also the formulation of the parameters of analysis, the timeline of the data, and the selection of the data sources needed for this analysis. Phase II focuses finally on the analysis, results of the analysis, and discussion of these results that how far the analysis had been able to answer the research questions of the study.

3.1   *Phase I - Research Methodology*

According to Miege, there exists a consensus among most of the researchers of today about the methodology in the discipline of the Science of Communication. Their approach is based on;

1) The object of communication must be understood in relation to its inevitable connections to the different social spheres,

2) The inter-sciences studies yield more fertile and productive research,

3) The elaboration of the theoretical aspect of the research must be based on the empirical observations[108.]

Based on the recommendations proposed by Miege and the consensus among most of the researchers of the field, it is interesting to find that the object of communication in this research is the internet and it cannot be studied solitarily unless analyzed in connection to the similar role played by the traditional media in Pakistan. To better understand the role played (if any) by the internet in the democratization of the civil society in Pakistan, it needs to be studied in the context of the role played by the traditional media in this regard. In a society like Pakistan where a free, vibrant, and active traditional media is present, the role of internet cannot be studied in its individuality, as the internet cannot even exist in total individuality and seclusion in such vivid presence of traditional media.

Among the traditional media only the press is selected for this comparative study with the internet. The reason for this selection of press is the similarities of internet and press in the terms of access and the prerequisites of engagement towards them both. In a country like Pakistan with a literacy rate of 45%, the penetration of television and radio is quite different to that of press and internet. Both press and internet require the basic literacy skills, therefore, among the users of traditional media

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[108] Miège, B. (2005), *La pensée communicationnelle*, édition augmentée, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble. Mattelart, A. M. (1997). *'Histoire des théories de la communication'*. La Découverte.

only those people who can read the newspapers and have access to internet can use it to voice their opinions.

The access to the internet is basically limited to only those who have the ability to read and write and this limitation is also applied to only one form of traditional media which is the press, so it makes it suitable for a comparative study with the internet. For this analysis among different sources of data present on the internet only the blogs are selected, the reason is that on the blogs people write their opinions and discuss it in a special decorum to be shared with the fellow internet users. Blogs are a mirror image of newspaper articles and columns, the only difference is that the newspaper articles and columns are written by professionals only whereas blogs can be written by anybody who has internet facility and wants to share his/her opinion to the fellow internet users.

Miege further explains that Habermas's thesis influences profoundly the researchers who try to study in a new manner the role of the media; in the formation of the opinions, in the circulation of the ideas, and in the political life.[109]

In the press the views and opinions of the professional journalists and academia are shared with the public and on the blogs people not necessarily from intelligentsias but from all the segments of the society can voice their opinion and have it shared by other people, thus a more varied and enhanced participation in the public debate is ensured this way.

Furthermore, this study is entirely based on the empirical observations which are manifested in the form of writings both in the press and in the blogs during the

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[109] Miège, B. (2005), *La pensée communicationnelle*, édition augmentée, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble.

course of the Lawyers' Movement. This movement has rendered serious and practical changes in the life of the civil society of Pakistan and to base the research on these social and political aspects of the Pakistani society which has shaken it to its very core in the recent years seems inevitable for a quality research. The model of the research analysis is to do the analysis of texts on these media, their recording and presentation in the form of empirical results to confirm or reject the research questions posed.

3.1.1 The Content Analysis

To answer the research questions of the study the sociological approach is used in which two main approaches are used to gather and collect data and to analyze it, both Qualitative Research and Quantitative Research is conducted by using the Content Analysis. These two approaches qualitative and quantitative are complementary in the sociological methodological approach.[110]

Harold Lasswell after studying the political dimension of the press and the elite, the phenomenon of the propaganda and mass media came up with a very famous definition of 'action of the communication';[111] which divides the content analysis into five distinct stages to be studied thoroughly.

"To analyze the action of communication certain questions must be answered like:

- Who? (Control Analysis).

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[110] Cardon, P., and Desanti. R., (2010) « *Initiation à l'inquête sociologique* « Edition ASH

[111] Miège, B. (2005), *La pensée communicationnelle*, édition augmentée, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble (page 20, 21)

- Said What? (Content Analysis)

- Which Channel? (Media Analysis)

- To Whom? (Audience Analysis)

- With What Effect (Effect Analysis)"

Control Analysis focuses on the study of the ones who are disseminating the information or the messages, in this case the bloggers. A sociological analysis of the bloggers can lead to answer the question of fragmented or mosaique public sphere, posed by the Francois B. and Neveu E.[112], as bloggers might belong to different spheres of civil society in real life but on the internet they might form a new public sphere along with other internet users.

Control Analysis would help to find out the sources disseminating the information and their target audience is deciphered by conducting Audience Analysis. These two forms of the analyses are intermingled and complementary to each other in case of study about the internet, because on internet the distinction line between the source and the audience is not quite clear as it is in the traditional media. Such analyses can serve as another research dimension and an off shoot of this research study.

Media Analysis is important as basically it is the study of an alternate media- the internet and even inside this media which channels are used for the action of communication, like weblogs, discussion forums, social networking sites etc. it might

[112] Francois, B., and Neveu E. (dir.). (1999). "*Espcace Public Mosaïques*". Rennes, PUR.

help answer the questions like which media is being popular among the people and what the reasons for its use by the people. It can lead to the exploration of the different media forms and their usage by the people to voice their opinions and views. But the research questions of this study are more related to what is happening on internet rather than the exploration of internet media itself, which makes this analysis irrelevant to the orientation of this study.

Effect Analysis is needed to find the overall impact this action of communication through internet is having on the Pakistani Civil Society in the process of democratization. It could lead to the quantifiable results and statistics to measure the process of democratization in the society. The aim of the research questions of this study is to analyze whether the process of democratization in Pakistani civil society is aided by the internet by the emergence of public sphere, but not to measure, and quantify its impact on the society overall.

The approach of the analysis which focuses on the analysis of 'what is said?' is more pertinent to this research study. This is rightly and concisely defined by Earl Babbie as "the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws"[113]. The analysis of the content of texts related to the Lawyers' Movement both in blogs and in the press during movement's entire course can help answering the research questions of this study.

Ole Holsti describes the content analysis as "any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specifes characteristics of

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[113] Babbie, Earl R. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research* (12th ed.). Wadsworth: Cengage Learning. p. 530

messages".[114] Thus the method of content analysis allows the researcher to locate the more important and focused parts of the content of the texts by systematically identifying the characteristics of the text and quantifying it, for example by recording the frequencies of most used keywords, or phrases and by characterizing the texts on the basis of their overall tilt and goal. This technique helps to analyze huge amounts of information in texts by categorizing its various aspects and features with the help of the use of coding technique.

The Content Analysis is used to answer the research question of this study about the freedom of expression on the internet. The study of the content of the blogs will lead to the conclusion that if there is some censorship on the internet in Pakistan or not. The language used in the blogs can tell how much liberty in the expression of the viewpoints is taken by the bloggers and if there is any news about any censorship of any blog or internet site. Same question is to be analyzed on the press to see if press is under any censorship or blockage from the government authorities over any expression of criticism against it or not.

The analysis of the content in the press and in the blogs simultaneously during the Lawyers' Movement will help to understand and answer the question of any link present in the discussions going on both the media, which will explain if the public sphere is extended to more people by enhancing its circle of public debate to the internet users as well. If a link is found between the discussions going on both the media then the next question of internet being in concurrence or against the traditional media can

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[114] Holsti, Ole R. (1969). *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley

also be answered again by the detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis of the content on both the media.

The question that if internet is a complementary media to the traditional media in Pakistan can only be answered with the analysis of the content of the discussion in press and in the blogs. It means if the blogs are only using the contents from the traditional media and not some original and new content of its own to debate about among the internet users. Pakistan has a very vibrant and aggressive traditional media especially in the form of twenty four hour private news channels which are abundant in number and offer a variety of current affair programs on Pakistani politics. These current affair programs engaging many popular journalists and anchor persons who play host every evening to many different politicians from all the political parties in Pakistan have been very popular among the audience as evident from the high channel ratings the TRPs (Television Rating Points). These programs being a hot debate among the audience also live long enough to appear immediately on the internet blogs, discussion forums, political websites and facebook pages to continue the debate among internet users which they initiated on the TV. Therefore, internet becomes a host to such clippings and even entire programs from TV and a heated debate continues on the internet as well in different form, whether it is in blogs, discussion forums, and websites of political parties or Facebook pages. As this study is limited to blogs only so a content analysis will help answering this question very specifically. From traditional media not only the television programs influence the discussions on the internet but the newspaper articles and columns by famous journalists also provide fuel to the heated critical discussions on the blogs, which can be further validated or rejected as a result of an in-depth content analysis.

On the other hand if content analysis of press shows that the discussion on it is generated and inspired by the discussion initiated and going on in the blogs, it will reject the earlier hypothesis generated by question of internet being complementary to the traditional media and paves way for another research question which is related to the internet posing a threat to the traditional media by engulfing its space in the mass media. As proposed by Miége that internet might refuse the information given by the traditional media and might give some new information which in turn might influence the traditional media[115], so this concept of Miége along with the question of internet wining over space of traditional media in mass communication can be answered by the detailed qualitative analysis of the content on both the media.

Once these specific content related questions are answered, the paradigm created overall by the answers can lead to answering the ultimate two major and main questions of this study, the question of internet helping in the emergence of public sphere and the question of internet helping in the process of democratization of the society. For sure the quantifying and the measure of the effect of internet in public sphere and process of democratization is not the subject of this study but the main aim of the study is to see if any such help is rendered by the internet in these two processes or not, which could transform the notion of the researchers about the role of internet in Pakistan as a more serious one and could lead to the study of effect and impact of the internet in Pakistani civil society.

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[115] Miége, B. (2007). *La Sociéte Conquise Par La Communication, t3, les TIC entre innovation technique et encrage social.* PUG.

3.1.2 Data Sources

As this research study is based on a comparative study between the internet and traditional mass media, the data sources are from both the internet and from traditional media of mass communication. In the following text the data sources from both the media are explained along with their limitations and merits and thus the data sources are selected on the basis of the criteria developed as result of merits and demerits of the sources available.

3.1.2.1 Sources from Traditional Media

From traditional media press is selected for the analysis. The reason for the selection of press is that it is the written media where journalists and other members of intelligentsia of the society express their views in the form of writing. This media is operated and run by one of the most educated classes of the society the journalists, also the audience of this media which in this case is readership, is also somewhat educated class, as only who can read and write have access to the press. Thus in a way the sender and the receiver of the information are well defined by being required a certain pre-requisite, whereas, the other form of traditional media like radio and television do not have a clear and well defined receiver of the information, which could be anybody belonging to any class of the society whether it be educated or un-educated. Such pre-requisite of the receiver is necessary to be taken account of as this study is mainly focused on the role of internet and the role of press is being studied only so that the role of internet could be compared with it for more rational and justified results, and for the internet the definition of both the sender and receiver of the information follow almost the same criteria and pre-requisite of being educated and related to writing and reading.

In press again there are many forms of communication including the magazines, the weeklies, the monthlies, and a lot more of it, but out of all the forms of press, only the daily newspapers are selected for this analysis. The reason is that the daily newspapers are the quickest form of reporting and respond to any news among the press, it is also the most read form of communication in the press. The newspapers have a very specific design which serves as a common pool for the input of expression of ideas, analyses, and opinions from different strata of the public, for example, news analyses from the journalists, columns from the journalists and intelligentsia of the society, editorials written by the editorial board of the newspaper, and letters to editors written by the general public.

The daily newspapers in Pakistan are published in eleven different languages which constitute the regional and local languages as well, but mainly in two major languages, English and Urdu. For this analysis two of the country's largest selling newspapers are selected both from English and Urdu language publications.

Dawn is an English daily newspaper of Pakistan which is selected for this analysis, the reason is that it is the oldest, most respected and most read English newspaper in the country. *Dawn* newspaper was founded in 1942 by the founding father of the nation, Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah five years before the creation of Pakistan in British India Delhi. After the creation of Pakistan the newspaper shifted to Karachi and since then it is being published simultaneously from Karachi, Lahore and the current federal capital Islamabad. This newspaper throughout its history and even today uses the services of most prolific journalists in the country and is held in high esteem among the journalist community. It also sometimes publishes syndicated articles and editorials

from popular and leading newspapers of the world too like, *The Washington Post, The Guardian* etc.

Among English dailies *Dawn* has the largest readership in the country. It also has an online version of the newspaper as well, which can be accessed for free without any registration or membership required. This online version has an extensive collection of archives of the newspaper as well, these archives have the complete version of entire newspaper available for everyone, which makes the acquiring of the data for this study very easy and readily available over the internet.

From Urdu daily newspapers in Pakistan *Express* is selected for the analysis. This newspaper is relatively a new one compared to the other Urdu daily newspapers in the country which are being published ever since the birth of Pakistan, as it was founded in 1998. But instead of being a relatively new newspaper *Express* has taken lead in its circulation and readership from other rival and old newspaper in the country. *Express* is the most widely published newspaper in the country and it is the only newspaper which is being published simultaneously from eleven different cities of the country.

Express has also an online version totally free and readily available on its website without any registration fee or membership login for everyone. Actually it is this newspaper which started this trend in Pakistani press to have its online version readily and freely available to all over the internet, maybe it is because of this reason that this newspaper is also the most read newspaper from Pakistan over the internet. The website of *Express* like the website of *Dawn* offers the archives of the newspaper readily and easily available over the internet making the collection of data for this research study possible just by the use of internet.

For this research study the online archives of both *Express* and *Dawn* are consulted through internet using their corresponding websites for the duration of Lawyers' Movement and texts related to the movement are selected for the analysis of this research study.

3.1.2.2 Sources from Internet

On the internet there are many different modes of communication used by the internet users for the expression of their opinions and ideas. These modes of communication mostly include: discussion forums, pages from social networking sites, and blogs. An extensive careful primary study is conducted on all these modes of communication for their selection for the usage of data for this analysis.

3.1.2.2.1   Social Networking Sites

Most of the social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and MySpace do offer a global and open platform for their users to express their opinions, ideas, experiences, and preferences about almost everything on this earth. When it comes to the expression of political ideas and views, the expression is generally superficial and the analysis lacks any depth, the main motive of all this expression on such social networking sites seems to be the mere propagation of self image and the expression lacks the common interest most of the time. There are a few rare examples where such personal communication transforms into a discussion having common interest but this study primarily focuses on the parallel political debate over the internet by the common internet users who have an alternative media- the internet as a platform for their expression of views about the Lawyers' Movement. this study is not focused on the

creation/transformation of a public sphere out of private sphere but it rather is an attempt to investigate if internet is providing a platform for enhancing the political national debate to those who could not be a part of this national political debate on the traditional modes of mass communication and now perhaps internet might provide them this opportunity and thus actively taking part in democratization of the society.

After a careful primary study of the major social networking sites, the researcher is of the view that the discussion on most of the Facebook pages and other main social networking sites like Twitter and MySpace follow the suit described by Cardon that the users use internet for more personal reason like chattering about their personal lives and about their friends and families and that eventually this is not democratization in its true sense as the major chunk of the opinions and ideas shared on these networking sites are of no or very less importance to the general interest of the common people.[116] This makes most of the pages and discussion and groups from major social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and MySpace a little less serious when it comes to the political debate and analysis, but the political discussion forums and blog sites on the other hand present a slightly different picture.

3.1.2.2.2   *Discussion Forums*

There are a few Pakistani political discussion forums available on the internet. These discussion forums are very popular among Pakistani internet users as they provide not only the groups for discussions but also include video clippings from the

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[116] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites.*

popular TV shows and allow comments and reviews from their users on them. These discussion forums are particularly popular among the Pakistani Diaspora because the television programs posted on them might be the only available source for the Diaspora in some cases to have access to Pakistani television in some way. The Pakistani Diaspora can have access to Pakistani television channels through cable and dish network in countries where the Pakistani Diaspora lives in huge numbers and communities like in United Kingdom, United States of America, Saudi Arabia, and most of the Gulf States, but in other countries especially in Europe where Pakistani Diaspora is not present in huge communities in a single country but is dispersed all over, such access to Pakistani television channels is not available. Therefore, such discussion forums become especially very popular among internet users of Pakistani Diaspora in such countries as they are the only source there which could provide them with their favourite television channel programs particularly political talk shows.

The most popular discussion forums among the internet users are these four websites in particular: *Awaz TV* (http://www.awaztoday.com/), *Zem TV* (http://www.zemtv.com/), *PkPolitics* (http://pkpolitics.com/), *Siasat* (http://www.siasat.pk/forum/content.php). The popularity of these websites among internet users is evident from the huge readings of the viewership counters on these websites which is way above the readings on other websites and discussion forums of the same genre.

These forums offer a huge variety of television programs related to Pakistani politics and current affairs from almost all the television channels of Pakistan. *Awaz TV* and *Zem TV* both offer only these television programs and the internet users can comment below on these programs where a debate can even be started sometimes but

there are no discussion forums in particular on both these sites, which make them unsuitable for this analysis.

On the other hand *PkPolitics* and *Siasat* both offer discussion forums along with these television programs and the internet users comment on the programs and also participate in heated debates on the discussion forums which follows decorum of debate topic and all. But the archives of these discussion forums on *PkPolitics* start from January 2008 (almost one year after the start of Lawyers' Movement in March 2007) and on *Siasat* the archives are available from October 2008 (One and a half year after the start of Lawyers' Movement). This makes both these discussion forums also not suitable for this analysis as the availability of complete data is not possible on these sites.

There are also discussion forums on the websites of major Pakistani political parties available for their members and common internet users. But the discussions on these forums are mostly related to the ideology, functioning and criticism on the fellow political parties. A general discussion void of the political biases about the political situation of Pakistan which could be a part of serious political national debate is still lacking on such platforms offered by political parties of Pakistan on the internet chiefly for their members. Therefore, such discussions forums are also not selected for this analysis.

3.1.2.2.3   *Blogs*

Blogs (short for web logs) are for the most part almost a mirror image of the newspaper articles like columns. Although blogs have different designs even from each other, as some blogs have images, or video clippings imbedded in them as the main

point of discussion, some have text clippings from newspapers, but for the most part a common design and style is followed in blogs which is similar to that of a newspaper column.

The blogs and discussion forums about Pakistani politics are in English most of the time unlike the more popular newspapers in the country which are in Urdu and have a larger readership when compared to English newspapers. The reason somewhat is technical also, as urdu typing is not common as it requires an urdu keyboard and also enhanced training to type urdu whereas, typing in English is very common among the Pakistanis in and out of the country. In Pakistan almost the entire education is delivered in English language in the educational institutes so the idea of most of the Pakistanis being more familiar with English typing seems logical. Whereas, urdu typing is not common and is required in only certain professions like in the urdu print media etc, so it is learned only by the people in this or similar professions and thus requires separate training which is not available in general in basic educational institutes due to its low professional and everyday demand. Therefore, almost all of the data available on blogs is in English language with very few Urdu blogs.

3.1.2.2.3.1   Blogs from Pakistani Diaspora

The idea of Diaspora using internet for its input in the political national debate is interesting to study and analyze. The Pakistani Diaspora who in otherwise cannot take part in national political debate using the traditional means of mass communication and even if takes part it is very limited and restricted, can at least take part in it via internet by expressing its views in blogs. The comments and reviews left on the blogs by its readers are very hard to determine that whether these comments and reviews are left by local Pakistanis or by the Diaspora. Whereas, the blogs if written by the locals or

Diaspora can be determined as some blog sites also give the profile of their bloggers. In addition to this there are blog sites created and operated by the members of Pakistani Diaspora specifically for the other members of the Diaspora about the political and social situation in Pakistan and in their residing countries.

Although there are numerous blogs written by bloggers from Diaspora but such sites feature blogs only from one individual and they have very limited and small readership, because usually such blogs lack discussions of common interests. Those blog sites are relevant and important for this study which feature blogs from multiple authors on varied topics and domains of common interests of Diaspora and have huge readerships. Three main blog sites are very popular over the internet among the Diaspora which is evident by the huge number of subscribers they have and also huge number of views and reviews left on the blogs and they also feature blogs on many different topics including political and social issues of Pakistan and also of the countries bloggers and readers reside in. These blog sites are *Overseas Pakistani Friends* http://www.opfblog.com/, *Londonstani* http://www.londonstani.com/, and *Changing up Pakistan* http://changinguppakistan.wordpress.com/.

Londonstani is a blog created by the Pakistani Diaspora of United Kingdom mainly of London city. Unfortunately this blog has no archives and therefore data needed for the analysis is not available on this blog site.

Overseas Pakistani Friends is also a blog by the Pakistani Diaspora in United Kingdom. This blog features many blogs from different bloggers and it covers almost all topics of political and social life of Pakistanis in United Kingdom as well as politics of Pakistan. This blog could have been very interesting for the analysis but the archives

of this blog site start from February 2008 midway to the start of Lawyers' Movement (March 2007- March 2009), therefore, data from this blog site could not be used for the analysis.

Changing up Pakistan is a blog site created and operated by the Pakistani Diaspora in United States of America, it is a political blog featuring blogs from many different authors about political situation of USA and Pakistan. The archives of this blog site start from January 2008 again halfway from the start of Lawyers' Movement in March 2007, thus this blog site also could not be used for the analysis.

3.1.2.2.3.2 Blogs by the Newspaper Groups

The three main and leading English daily newspapers of Pakistan *Dawn*, *The News*, and *Tribune* also have their blog sites where a number of registered bloggers are invited to post their blogs on varied topics, like politics, social life, sports etc. The professional journalists belonging to these newspapers also write their blogs sometimes for these blog sites.

These blog sites are operated and managed by the media groups who own these newspapers as well, which makes these blog sites little less interesting as the purpose of this study is to analyze the blogs on internet which are operated by the common internet users and bloggers, so that a parallel and many be different set of opinions and ideas be explored for the study, proving/disproving the presence and role of a new vibrant non conventional media in the democratization of Pakistani society.

3.1.2.2.3.3 Selection of Blogs for the Analysis

Besides the blog sites of media groups there are many blog sites which are more general in nature and are being operated by individuals not related to any media

group. Among such blog sites many encircle almost all the different domains like news, current affairs, social issues, sports, fashion, and entertainment. Such blog sites which are more general in nature and offer a wide range of blog posts about different domains is also not very interesting for this analysis, due to the presence of data noise, and also due to the main focus and readership of such sites. On the other hand such blog sites which are very particular in nature and deal only in politics, news and current affairs are selected for this research. The reason is the more seriousness in the approach of blogs on these sites and the tackling of the political issue are given prime focus on them. The bloggers are very passionately focussed on writing only about politics and current affairs and also the readers are pre classified as only the internet users who are more seriously interested in the political situation of the country and are looking forward to read serious views and opinions about it and to give their own input follow such blog sites.

There are many blog sites on the internet related to the politics of Pakistan specifically, and the blogs written on the political situation of Pakistan present a much more serious debate. These blog sites feature blogs from individual bloggers as well as MABs (multi-author blogs). The personal blogs and blog sites operated by single individuals yield very few articles and data is composed of the opinions of a single person, therefore, the blog sites featuring MABs are selected for this study to have more input from more internet bloggers and writers.

The blog sites operated by single individuals also have very few readership whereas, the blog sites offering MABs have huge readerships comparatively where only a single blog post receives more than one hundred comments on average and even more than that in terms of number of views. Also the blog sites which offer huge archives

easily and readily available to be accessed over the internet dating from the start of the Lawyers' Movement March 2007 to the end of the movement in March 2009, are to be selected for this analysis as it will make the collection of data for this study possible.

The blog sites selected for this research analysis are selected on the basis of these four main criteria all of which must be fulfilled by a blog site to be selected for this analysis:

- The most popular blog sites having most followings in terms of readership,

- The specialized blog sites about Pakistani politics,

- The blog sites offering blogs written by multiple authors,

- The blog sites having archives dating before the start of the movement till its end.

Even on the blog sites fulfilling all these three criteria the blog posts related to the Lawyers' Movement are selected for the analysis of this research study.

Three blog sites fully comply with the four main criteria developed for the selection of data from blogs for this analysis. These sites are *PkHope* http://www.pkhope.com/, *Pakistaniat* http://pakistaniat.com/, and *FiveRupees* http://fiverupees.blogspot.fr/.

PkHope is a very unique blog site in addition to fulfilling all the four criteria discussed above, this blog site features blogs in Urdu language as well, and any other blog site with this feature is not available on the internet which also has huge

readership, multiple author blogs and archives which suit this research study. This is a blog site which is not dedicated solely to the blogs related to the politics of Pakistan but instead it features blogs related to the social issue of Pakistan as well, the blogs on this site encircle almost all the aspects of the entire political and social situation of Pakistan.

It is also a huge blog site featuring almost fifteen to twenty blogs on average daily only on political situation of Pakistan, and every blog has about hundred and more reviews and comments on average and even a lot more views. All these features make this blog site ideal for this research study.

FiveRupees is a huge blog site with a high number of readerships of the blogs written by multiple authors mainly on the international politics and the political situation of Pakistan and having archives throughout the period of Lawyers' Movement, all these features making this blog site suitable for the data selection for this analysis. In addition to all these important features, this blog site is a winner of 'The Best Political coverage Blog' in the Pakistan Blog Awards 2010, conducted by *The Express Tribune* and Google Pakistan.

Pakistaniat is another blog site fully complying with the four basic criteria developed above for the selection of data for this analysis. This blog site is winner of 'The Best Current Affairs Blog' in the Pakistan Blog Awards 2010, conducted by *The Express Tribune* and Google Pakistan.

It is a huge blog site with blogs from multi authors about current affairs and politics in Pakistan, this blog site has a huge number of following among the internet users and blog readers in Pakistan evident from large number of comments, reviews and views of each blog featuring on this blog site, in addition to all this the archives of this

blog site duly cover the entire Lawyers' Movement. These all features make it an ideal source for the collection of data from internet for this analysis.

3.1.3 Timeline of Data

The Lawyers Movement is spread over a span of two years from March 2007 to March 2009. All such movements which spread over long durations of time have high and low points, high points meaning the important incidents which make the most news value and low points are some dormant phases where nothing important is actually happening which could make news value and be reported after all.

During these two years there had been very important incidents and moments in Pakistani politics related specifically to the movement and also those which are the produce of the movement, making the most news value and a timeline of the movement. Nineteen such incidents are of core importance for news, debate and analysis and thus have been classified into thirteen phases comprising an overall of one hundred and one days for the selection of data.

3.1.3.1 Phase I

On 9 March, 2007 General Musharraf removes Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry from his office and the next day he sends a reference against Chief Justice in Supreme Court on the allegations of misconduct on his behalf. This immediately triggers a wave of reaction among the lawyers and they start protesting against this act of General which they consider illegal and unconstitutional, marking the beginning of a movement later termed as Lawyers' Movement. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 10 March to 16 March 2007.

3.1.3.2 Phase II

Chief Justice is set to address the Karachi Bar Association on 12 May 2007, he arrives at Karachi Airport along with his supporters but the city is ransacked in a blood bath by armed men allegedly the opponents of the movement and supporters of General Mushrraf, as a result forty one people are killed, finally forcing the Chief Justice to return from the airport along with his supporters. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 13 May to 19 May 2007.

3.1.3.3 Phase III

On 20 July, 2007 the Supreme Court of Pakistan restored Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry with full dignity and authority as Chief Justice of Pakistan, and discards the reference sent by General Mushrraf. It seems like Lawyers' Movement has achieved its purpose by fighting a legal battle in courts and winning the case. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 19 July to 25 July 2007.

3.1.3.4 Phase IV

3 November, 2007 General Musharraf imposes state of emergency in the country, the constitution is suspended. As a result of this second coup d'état Chief Justice Chaudhary along with another sixty independent judges are dismissed and put under house arrest. After two days police raids the Lahore High Court Bar Association and after baton charging and throwing tear gas into the premises, arrests more than 800 lawyers, who were gathered there to protest against these acts of the General. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 4 November to 10 November 2007.

3.1.3.5 Phase V

On 28 Nov, 2007 President General Musharraf retires from Pakistan Army due to immense international pressure created in response to his second coup d'état as well as national pressure from opposition political parties, lawyers and media and thus, gives up one of the two offices he was holding. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 27 November to 3 December 2007.

3.1.3.6 Phase VI

Prominent political leader, twice Prime Minister of Pakistan and international figure Benazir Bhutto is assassinated on 27 Dec, 2007 while returning from a political public procession in Rawalpindi. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 27 December 2007 to 2 January 2008.

3.1.3.7 Phase VII

The results of the general elections of February 2008 show that Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz Group (PMLN) have been in majority and are likely to form a coalition government. On 9 March, 2008 leaders of these two political parties Mr. Asif Ali Zardari of PPP and Mr. Nawaz Sharif of PMLN sign an agreement to restore the deposed judges within 30 days of formation of national coalition government. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 9 March to 15 March 2008.

3.1.3.8 Phase VIII

n 24 March, 2008 Mr. Yousuf Raza Gilani gives his very first orders right after being elected Prime Minister of Pakistan that all the detained and house arrested deposed judges are to be released immediately. Lawyers' Movement takes a huge step

forward as judges are released from detention but are yet to be reinstated to their posts. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 24 March to 30 March 2008.

3.1.3.9 Phase IX

Deadline for the restoration of deposed judges given by Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) the coalition government partners to the government expires on 12 May 2008 and still the deposed judges are not restored. As a result on 17 May, 2008 Pakistan Bar Council announces a long march from Lahore to the capital – Islamabad, that is to be held on 10 June, 2008. However the Peoples Lawyers Forum- a major lawyers' party considers it against the Pakistan Peoples' Party government and did not support the long march. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 11 May to 20 May 2008.

3.1.3.10 Phase X

On 14 June, 2008 a historic long march is held from Lahore to Islamabad, thousands of people from all walks of life participate in it. The participants of this march are gathered before the parliament, where they raise slogans and are addressed by the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement and are then peacefully dispersed on their leaders' directions, with promises to continue the movement peacefully until the judges are restored by the government. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 12 June to 18 June 2008.

3.1.3.11 Phase XI

President Mushrraf resigns from presidency in anticipation of an eviction vote from newly elected parliament on 18 August, 2008. Lawyers and other supporters of the

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movement consider the resignation a great achievement and celebrate it as they are now only one step away from achieving their aims.

However, even after the resignation the government is not inclined to the wishes of the movement and as a protest the second largest political party PMLN leaves the coalition government on 25 August, 2008. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 18 August to 29 August 2008.

3.1.3.12 Phase XII

On 25 February, 2009 Supreme Court disqualifies leaders of PMLN Mr. Nawaz Sharif and Mr. Shahbaz Sharif (Chief Minister of Punjab) from holding or contesting public offices. As Chief Minister of Punjab is disqualified, the provincial government is toppled and as a result Governor Rule is imposed in Punjab by the federal government.

Leaders of the movement have already given the call for a final long march on 14 March 2009 to the capital Islamabad from all corners of the country which would lead to a sit-in before the parliament until all the deposed judges are restored by the government. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 25 February 2009 to 3 March 2009.

3.1.3.13 Phase XIII

In the anticipation of proposed long march on 14 March 2009 by the leaders of the movement, government places a ban on rallies and protests and arrests several hundred lawyers and opposition party's political workers and leaders on 11 March 2009. Besides all this the very next day lawyers, political workers and civil society gather in several cities for the Long March to Islamabad, scuffle with police, hundreds of arrests

are made again and no one is allowed to leave their cities for Islamabad. Authorities have also placed main leaders of the movement under house arrests while others are underground preparing for the long march. Leader of the opposition political party Mr. Nawaz Sharif is also under house arrest but on 15 March 2009 he breaks through the road blocks with his supporters and comes out on the roads in Lahore to begin the Long March.

This is believed to be the turning point of the movement as thousands of people joins the rally which heads towards Islamabad, the number of participants swells up to hundreds of thousands as more and more people join in on its way to the capital. Midnight 15/16 March, 2009 government gave in when these hundreds of thousands of people moved towards Islamabad lead by Mr. Nawaz Sharif and the leaders of Lawyers' Movement. Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry is finally restored as Chief Justice of Pakistan along with other deposed judges dismissed by Mushrraf in an address to the nation by Prime Minister Gillani on television, marking the successful completion of Lawyers' Movement. Data is collected for analysis from newspapers and blogs from 11 March to 19 March 2009.

For each of these important phases of the movement on average for one week the selected newspapers and blogs are scanned for texts related to the movement and the data is then analyzed for the research.

3.1.4   Parameters of the Analysis

The content analysis for this study is qualitative to begin with and then with the help of coding and categorization of different aspects and characteristics of the text, for better understanding and presentation of concrete analysis results, it leads to the

quantitative analysis. The researcher after reading every single text selected from press and blogs will identify the text on basis of the presence of following indicators and record them by codifying them.

i. Type of text,

ii. About the writer,

iii. Title of the text,

iv. Qualification of discussion,

v. Level of Criticism,

vi. Justification of Criticism/Denunciation,

vii. Intent of the writer,

viii. Demands of the writer,

ix. Portray of the Actors Involved,

x. Writing Tools Used,

xi. Report of Censorship on Media

The analysis of these indicators will give a clear picture of the difference of the content in both the media and will help establish the fact that whether the content in both media is different or not, and if it is different than in what sense it is different. This will allow establishing if the main goal of both the media is towards democratization of the society and also answering other questions of this research study as well.

3.1.4.1 Type of Text

This indicator is used to differentiate between different types of texts studied for the analysis. It includes following six types of the texts both from the press and from the internet: Columns, Editorials, Foreign Editorials, Letters to the Editors, Letters to the Editors by Diaspora, and Blogs.

In the newspapers there are a varied number of texts available and thus all of them are studied to see if any different trends are seen among different types of texts. The text related to the reporting of the news is not included in the analysis, as it is mostly the mere reporting of the events, but the text types in which the opinion/viewpoint of the writer is depicted are selected for the analysis. The description of these different types of texts is as follows.

Columns are the newspaper articles written mainly by the professional journalist, it also includes articles written by authors, technocrats and important members of civil society belonging to intelligentsia. Columns depict the individual views and ideas of the writer only. It is written with the same main title every time but with the different sub title which relates to the content of the column. In a typical Pakistani newspaper there are on average seven to eight columns published every day. A typical column is published almost every day or at least three to four times a week in the daily newspaper, which shows that a writer is usually very consistent in writing column. It is observed that a newspaper may have columns from writers who altogether have different opinions and ideas but yet published in the same newspaper on the same day, so it is basically the opinions and ideas of only the writer at individual level.

Editorials are the newspaper articles written by the editorial board of a newspaper. A typical Pakistani newspaper publishes two to three editorials everyday on important issues. As editorials are written by the editorial board of the newspaper, they depict the opinion and viewpoint of the newspaper itself, rather than viewpoint of a single individual or journalist.

Sometimes in Pakistani newspaper we do see an editorial taken from some foreign newspaper. Mostly English newspapers publish a foreign editorial but Urdu newspapers also publish them after translating them in Urdu. These editorials are very few in number, very occasionally a newspaper published a foreign editorial. Only the editorials relating to some important issue in Pakistan are selected for publication and also the ones which are published in very renowned foreign newspapers like *New York Times*, *The Guardian* etc.

An important section in Pakistani newspapers is the section of Letters to the Editors, these are the letters written to the newspaper by its readers. Every newspaper receives a number of letters from its readers which are mostly related to some important issue of common interest, these letters are further selected for the publication by the editorial board of the newspaper. The text of these letters is very important and interesting for the analysis as it shows the feedback of the readers.

In local Pakistani newspapers there are also letters from the Pakistani Diaspora. Almost all the major Pakistani newspapers both in English and in Urdu language have their online versions as well available to those who can access internet both inside and outside the country. These online newspapers are available without any registration or membership fee required, they are the same newspapers and are just the electronic

version of the original newspaper in paper edition. It makes the major Pakistani newspaper readily available in time for readership online and thus Pakistani Diaspora has easy and quick access to these newspapers, extending readership over borders. So the Diaspora also provides its feedback by writing letters or emails to these newspapers which are then also published after being selected by the editorial board of the newspaper.

From the internet the blogs (web logs) are selected for this analysis. These are mostly the articles written by bloggers on the blog sites of general, current affairs or political affair themes. Blogs are written mostly by single individuals on blog sites but now there are many blogs which are written by multiple writers/bloggers on a single blog site as well, called MABs (multi-author blogs). Both these kinds of blogs are categorized here together for the analysis.

3.1.4.2 About the Writer

This indicator is used to categorize all the writers of different texts analyzed. Four main categories of the writers are devised for this analysis, which are: the professional journalist writing in newspaper, professional journalist writing in blog, blogger, and commenter.

Almost all the newspaper articles written by the professionals are categorized as written by professional journalists, the bulk of the texts selected from the newspapers fall under this category of the writers. It includes columns, editorials, and foreign editorials. It only leaves aside the letters written to the editors.

There are some blog sites where professional and main stream journalists from the traditional media also write their blogs. Such texts are categorized as professional

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journalists writing in blogs. These blog sites are either owned/run by the professional journalists themselves or in some cases they just write for the blog site which engages other writers and bloggers as well. There are also examples where journalists don't specifically write for the blogs, but their writing from the press are posted on the blogs by the bloggers and blog operators, thus enhancing the readership of the journalist and inviting direct remarks and feedback from the readers.

Bloggers are mostly amateur writers or amateur/citizen journalists or some common internet users who express their viewpoints by writing articles on web log sites. The blogs written by them fall into this category of writers.

Commenter is a huge category which encircles at least three different types of writers. Letters to the editor written by general newspaper readers fall into this category. Also the letters to the editors written by the Diaspora also falls into this category. It also includes the comments left on the blogs by the blog readers.

3.1.4.3 Title of the Text

An important indicator of this analysis is the title of the text. It is the first part of the text read by the reader. It presents an outline of the text, the subject of the text, and most of the time reader decides to read or not read the text just by reading its title. The titles of all the texts to be analyzed are divided into four categories: neutral, aggressive, sarcastic, and defensive.

Categorization of title of the text as neutral is done when the title is just representing the facts and is not taking any sides. For example titles like "View from a

half way point[117], "The anatomy of protest"[118], and "new age of the media"[119] these are the titles which don't show the tilt towards any pole and are thus categorized as neutral.

Aggressive, this term has a meaning that is relative to any particular situation or idea. The utilization of this term and category in this analysis is for the titles of the texts that are considered against the government and highly in the favour of the Lawyers' Movement. For example the titles like, "Whither democratic norms?"[120] "Locating freedoms"[121] and "Emergency or martial law?[122]"are in favour of rule of law – the basic principle and ideology of Lawyers' Movement and against the government which is run by a military dictator, these titles give a signal that the following text is going to be a strong criticism of the military regime and in favour of Lawyers' Movement, and are thus categorized as aggressive.

Sarcastic, this term and category is assigned to those titles of the texts which show a hint of sarcasm or satire towards the government. It is also criticism like the one in previous category of 'aggressive' but here the tool of criticism is rather sarcastic and satirical. For example the titles like, "Pakistan khappe[123]" it is a text from an article in a newspaper, the word 'khappe' is taken from Singhi language of Pakistan, which means

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[117] Khan, T. A. (2008, March 27). View from a halfway point. *Daily Dawn*.

[118] Bhatti, A. (2007, December 01). The Anatomy of Protest. *Daily Dawn*.

[119] Siddiqa, A. (2008, March 28). New age of the media. *Daily Dawn*.

[120] Abdullah, Z. (2008, May 18). Whither Democratic Norms in daily Dawn. *Daily Dawn*.

[121] Saqi, A. (2008, March 28). Locating freedoms. *Daily Dawn*.

[122] Rahman, T. (2007, November 8). Emergency or martial law? *Daily Dawn*.

[123] Husain, A. A. (2008, August 27). Pakistan 'khappe'. *Daily Dawn*.

long live, but in this text the writer has used it to do satire on the government, that besides the policies of the government against Pakistan and particularly Sindh province (the incident of killing of 12 people in Sindh during a welcome procession to the Chief Justice for his address to the Karachi Bar Association in support of the Lawyers' Movement), the Sindhi people and government say Long Live Pakistan. Sometimes only the text does not fully convey the meaning and the reader must read the entire text to make complete understanding of the title.

Defensive, again it is a term having relative meanings. This category is used in this analysis for such titles of the texts which are written in the favour of the opinion of the government and criticising and against the popular ideology of the Lawyers' Movement. For example the titles like, "Life in Pakistan without the General"[124] fall into this category, as in this text the writer discusses that how Pakistan direly needs the General as head of the state and without him the country would fall into chaos and in the hands of the militants, and all what General is doing is actually in favour of Pakistan not against it. Sometimes the titles are not self explanatory until the entire text is read and then the title makes its complete sense, which is the case in this example as well. Such and similar titles defending the government and its policies are categorized as defensive for this analysis.

3.1.4.4 Qualification of the Discussion

The overall discussion in the texts is qualified into different categories after the careful reading of the complete texts by the researcher. There are seven main categories for the classification of the discussion presented in the text by the writer. These

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[124] Burke, J. (2008, August 19). Life in Pakistan without the General. *Daily Dawn*.

categories are: neutral, criticism, denunciation, in favour of the government, irrelevant to the masses, over-politicization of the case, and salute to Chief Justice and Lawyers' Movement.

If a text is categorized as neutral, it means that it composed of no discussion or criticism of any kind, and that it merely stated the events happening and the facts, just like a news article. Such text is important as well, because it is mentioning the facts and in a way creating awareness by making readers read about it, but it lacks any definite point of view or opinion of the writer and merely states the facts as it is without infusing any subjectivity from the writer. The qualification of any text as neutral requires very acute analysis as most of the times the text cannot be neutral and it does have a certain view of the writer no matter how subtly infested in it, even if it is mere reporting of the facts but the angle with which writer writes it and presents the fact take it away from being neutral.

Criticism is the categorization of the texts which includes such texts where writer has criticized the actions taken by the General and the government against the judiciary and the Lawyers' Movement. Criticism is a relative term as far as its meanings are concerned. In this analysis, a text is considered as criticism, when writer has an opinion against the actions of the government and condemns the government for its wrong doing according to views of the writer. Also if a text falls into the category of criticism, it is then further categorized into sub categories explained in the next parameter of analysis.

Denunciation becomes a very vague term when considered separately in the presence of usage of the term criticism. Both these terms have almost similar meanings

and thus a very fine line is present between their understanding of the meanings and usage. For this analysis the term and category of Denunciation is used when in a text writer criticizes the actions of the government and at the same time refuses to accept what government has imposed on the society and also gives justifications for his refusal to accept this imposition by the government. Therefore, a mere criticism of the government in a text makes it fit for the category of criticism, whereas, when a justification for this criticism is also given and the actions of the government are not merely criticized but utterly rejected in the discussion, those texts fall under the category of denunciation. If a text is classified as Denunciation, it is then further classified into sub categories which are explained in another parameter of the analysis.

The next category is very clear and simplified. When a discussion in any text is tilting in the favour of the government and has an opinion against the Lawyers' Movement, it is categorized as In the favour of the government.

There also exists a viewpoint that this issue of suspension of higher judiciary and the movement of lawyers for its restoration is actually irrelevant to the masses, as though it has nothing to offer to the general public, it is not their cause, and that it is merely a tug of war between two very strong institutes of the society the military and judiciary. The people having this viewpoint consider that the genuine problems of the general public are not the upholding of constitution but rather poverty, healthcare, education, poor administrative infrastructure and corruption in government offices etc, they think that general masses should focus on such issues and not indulge in constitutional fights and movements like this, which end up providing no relief to the poor masses. If such opinions and relative to it are exhibited in any text, it is categorized as Irrelevant to the Masses.

This next categorization is quite similar to the previous one with a slight difference in it. There also exists an opinion and viewpoint that this movement has been over-politicized by the media and the political parties. As this movement progressed, almost all the political parties of the country got engaged in it after witnessing the public support. Major political parties who had been in opposition gave their full support to this movement and even signed treaties with the rival political parties that whoever comes in power in next general elections must release the house arrested judges and restore them to their previous office and stature. In light of such advancements, some people formulated an opinion that the political parties have made a political issue for their game show out of nothing, giving extra ordinary support to this movement and bringing it into the national and political agenda of political parties is not favourable both for the cause and for the general public. Such opinion exhibiting in the discussion of the text makes it fall into the category of Over-politicization of the Case.

This last categorization of the discussion of text is quite simple and self explanatory. Sometimes in the texts there is no discussion at all but just remarks and appreciation for the deposed judges and the lawyers and also all those who are supporting and taking part in the movement. It shows clear cut stand of the writer in the favour of the movement without even involving or engaging in any discussion or justification of such viewpoint. Such a text falls into the category of Salute to CJ (Chief Justice) & LM (Lawyers' Movement).

3.1.4.5 Level of Criticism

If the text is categorized as a criticism on the government and its actions against the judges and the Lawyers' Movement, then comes the next question that what kind of criticism is it? Thus, the nature of the criticism is thus further categorized

depending mainly on its intensity. The categories depending on the levels of criticism or its nature are: Soft Criticism, Hard Criticism, Sarcastic Criticism and Balanced Criticism.

The category "Hard Criticism" is the classification of such a text which presents the criticism on the actions of the General and government in very harsh words and strong arguments. This category and the next one "Soft Criticism" are both relative to one another and can only be explained with the help of extracts from the text used for this analysis.

For example this extract from an editorial of *Daily Dawn*[125]

> "The generals seek to dole out justice to others, but they themselves are not prepared to present themselves before an impartial, civilian tribunal to defend their actions. It is for this reason that, since Zia's days, the word 'accountability' has acquired a strange connotation because it is hard to dispense with the notion that the military uses the shibboleth of accountability to persecute the regime's political enemies through what can be called inquisition courts. It will have a negative impact on the world and add to the impressions abroad that Pakistan is just another Muslim country where the ruler's word is the law"

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[125]Editorial. (2007, March 11). A Big Blow to the Judiciary. *Daily Dawn*.

is analyzed, it is categorized as Hard Criticism. The reason is that the text criticizes the actions of the government as similar to those of inquisition courts in pre-renaissance era in Europe, as an attempt to get rid of political enemies of military regime. It also criticizes the action of the government as oligarchic and dictatorial where the words of the ruler are considered as law. It is very strong criticism of the government and its actions.

Now if at the same time we consider this extract from a letter written to editor in the same newspaper *Daily Dawn*

> "the chief justice is not above the law and if there is substantial evidence, then appropriate action must be taken against him. Although the government has not given a detailed explanation, it seems it is not the chief justice who has been the one to abuse his power"[126,]

it seems to be a criticism on the actions of the government but in a very soft and undertone, while avoiding the direct criticism on the government or the General. The text first suggests the lawful action against the Chief Justice if evidence is there against him and then indirectly points out that as sufficient explanation is not provided by the government so it is the government which is misusing its powers. This text is thus classified as "Soft Criticism".

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[126] Hakim, I. (2007, March 11). Letter to the Editor. *Daily Dawn*.

For further elaboration another pair of examples are studied together to differentiate and explain the concept of Hard and Soft Criticism categories for this analysis. This extract from a column in *Daily Dawn*

> "General Musharraf launched his second coup on March 9, 2007, by forcibly suspending the Chief Justice of Pakistan and virtually detaining him. When he launched his first one in 1999, Pakistan had once again joined the ranks of countries like Myanmar. With this second coup, we are now in a class of our own. Even Myanmar has not achieved this feat despite a long martial law. …Any person who perceives the military uniform and presidency entrusted to one mortal soul to be incompatible with the Constitution of Pakistan is considered a threat to national security, especially if he happens to be the Chief Justice"[127],

shows the level of criticism which is categorized as "Hard Criticism" for this analysis. The reason for this categorization is that the writer in this text is criticizing very strongly and suggesting the ousting of Chief Justice by General Mushrraf as a second coup d'état by him, it further suggests that Chief Justice was only acting according to constitution by denying General the option to run for presidency and General considered this role of Chief Justice as a threat to the national security.

On the other hand this extract from an editorial in the same newspaper

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[127]Khan, K. J. (2007, March 16). Assault on the judiciary. *Daily Dawn*.

"Innocent until proved guilty is the fundamental principle of justice. For that reason every "accused" — and it hurts that a Supreme Court Chief Justice should be in that category — must be given full opportunities to defend himself. While Justice Chaudhary standing in the dock is a blow to the judiciary, the presidential reference to the Supreme Judicial Council and all that has been happening since then have created serious misgivings in the public's mind about the military-led government's intentions, especially when a general election is due later this year".[128]

is an example of soft criticism. In this extract it is suggested that the Chief Justice should be given a fair trial and that the reference against him by the government points the un-democratic intentions of a military-led government. It is a subtle criticism against the military regime in soft words contrary to the open criticism in harsh words in the previous text.

The text is classified under the category of "Sarcastic Criticism" if it contains criticism about the government which is sarcastic in nature and it suggests some irony of the situation or mockery of the government. For example in this extract from a letter to the editor in *Daily Dawn*

"apropos of the action against the Chief Justice of Pakistan, the information minister said at a press conference: 'This

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[128] Editorial. (2007, March 13). Uncertainity and confusion. *Daily Dawn*.

action clearly shows that no one is above the law.' To me

what it clearly showed is that no one is above the Chief of the

Army Staff".129,

the writer is mocking the government that the reasons for which Chief Justice

was sacked from his office were not of going against the constitution of the country

rather of going against the General. It is criticism but in a way which hints sarcasm and

mocking of the government.

Furthermore, in another letter to the editor in same newspaper[130]

"The Prime Minister claims that the action against the Chief

Justice of Pakistan is in line with the Constitution. How nice.

Now he should also put everything else in line with the

Constitution, including all parliamentarians and others who

have submitted false wealth returns and stand disqualified".

the writer is criticizing a statement of Prime Minister on the basis that the

ousting of Chief Justice in not constitutional and if Prime Minister thinks it is so then he

should do away with all the unconstitutional acts his parliamentarians had been doing so

far. It is a criticism on the illegal and unconstitutional acts of the government like

submitting false tax returns and ousting Chief Justice from his office but in a way which

is sarcastic in nature and mocks the hypocritical and double policy of the government,

so it is classified under the category of "Sarcastic Criticism".

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[129] Ahmed, S. (2007, March 13). Letter to Editor. *Daily Dawn*.

[130] Miangul, A. (2007, March 14). Letter to Editor. *Daily Dawn*.

If the text shows criticism which is not intended for one side only, the government or Lawyers' Movement and is actually a criticism on both the parties at the same time, then it is categorized as "Balanced Criticism". For example in this extract from an editorial in *Daily Dawn*[131]

"There is no doubt that the government's treatment of the Chief Justice was a great provocation to the legal fraternity, but regrettably some lawyers' associations let the political parties use the occasion for their own purposes. …As for the government's plea that the presidential reference should not be politicized, it has itself thoroughly politicized it. The ban on ministers not to appear on television talk shows is evidently an afterthought. The true indication of the politicization of the Chief Justice case is the situation in Karachi where the rival sides are planning two rallies for Saturday. If the rule of law and the people's interests were dear to them, one or the other should have had the good sense and decency to defer or advance the date of its rally. Now matters are coming to a head and one only hopes that there will be no violence in the nation's biggest city tomorrow"

the writer has criticized both the parties, the government as well as Lawyers' Movement. The writer criticizes that the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement have allowed this movement to be used by political parties for their own purposes i.e., the

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[131] Editorial. (2007, May 11). Supreme Court guide lines. *Daily Dawn*.

opposition of the government and on the other hand the government has also politicized this issue by allowing its ministers to defend the actions of the General in political talk shows on television. The second of criticism on both parties in this text is that both parties have planned rallies in Karachi on the same day and the security of the people, peace, and rule of law is dear to none of them, as no one is calling off its rally to avoid any possible collision between the participants of the rallies. It is worthy to note here that no party called off its rally the next day and city was bathed in blood of not less than forty one people.

Another example of Balanced Criticism is observed in the extract of a column by a senior journalist in *Daily Dawn* "An independent judiciary is important to justice and the wrong done to the judges must be undone but it should not bring the business of the state to a standstill while the misery of the poor and jobless grows and life becomes insecure even for those who are more fortunately placed[132]. In this text the writer suggests that the deposition of judges by the General is wrong and it should be undone but at the same time the protests and strikes carried out by the lawyers are not good either, as they disrupt the peace and halts the business of the state which is harmful to not only the poor but the privileged class as well. The writer is criticizing both the government and the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement at the same time, thus, such a text and similar ones are classified as "Balanced Criticism" due to the same and balanced level of criticism against both parties involved.

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[132]Idris, K. (2008, June 15). Justice for the common man. *Daily Dawn*.

3.1.4.6 Justification of Criticism/Denunciation

If the text is classified under the category of 'Denunciation', then it means that the writer has given some justification for his/her criticism and denunciation of the acts of government. Therefore, these justifications are further classified into sub categories to better analyze the reason for writers denouncing the acts of the government related to the cause of Lawyers' Movement. These categories are: Illegal action, Attack on judiciary, Subjugating judiciary, Dictatorship, Puppet democracy, and No respect for constitution.

If the writer while denouncing the acts of the government of deposing the judges gives the reason that it is an illegal act and that the General must have not done this illegal action, then the text falls into this category of "Illegal Act".

If the reason given by the writer in his/her text for the denunciation is that an attack on judiciary by the General is conducted and it is an assault on the judicial system of the country, then the text is categorized as "Attack on judiciary".

If the reason and justification presented by the writer in the text for denunciating the actions if the government is that it is an attempt by the General to subjugate the senior judiciary of the country so that the judiciary must work under the influence and give decision according to the will of the General, then the text in the light of this reason falls under the category of "subjugating judiciary".

Pakistan had been under the rule of a military dictator when this issue rose which immediately led to the movement of Lawyers. If the writer gives the reason for denunciation that it is an act of a dictator for the strengthening of his dictatorship, as dictators cannot let any democratic institutes to survive and function properly and

independently according to the constitution, then the text is further sub-categorized as "Dictatorship".

Despite General Mushrraf being the military general and President of Pakistan at the same time ruling the country as a dictator, there also had been a parliament which came into existence as a result of general elections conducted by Mushrraf in 2002. This viewpoint had been very popular among intelligentsia and masses that it is merely a puppet democracy, just a showcase for the western world that in Pakistan there is a working parliament which came into being as a result of general elections, as the elections were conducted by General Mushrraf, and elections being fair and independent was an illusion of course under the dictatorship of Mushrraf. Also such a parliament which had no power with Mushrraf being the President holding most of the powers of the parliament by passing illegal and unconstitutional presidential orders and validating by the puppet parliament, gave logic to this viewpoint. If the same viewpoint is exhibited in the text as a reason for the writer to condemn and reject the actions of the General, then the text is categorized as "Puppet Democracy".

If the reason given by the writer for condemnation of General's actions of deposition of judiciary that the General shows no respect for the constitution, that this action of the General is opposed to the constitution of the country and that it is a non-constitutional act, then the text falls under the category of "No respect for constitution".

3.1.4.7 Intent of the Writer

The overall discussion after being classified leads to the next question that what is the intention of the writer from all this discussion. A writer has chosen to write on this topic and if he/she has done some discussion about it, what is his/her intention to

do so, meaning whether the writer wants to just state the facts, or is trying to form an opinion of the public in the favour or against the government by giving his/her own opinion about this matter and supporting it with justifications and reasoning. This pressing question leads to the further classification of text into three main categories: story teller, opinion leader, opinion in favour of government.

The first categorization in this regard points to the content of the text where the writer is not trying to formulate any opinion and is thus not giving any opinion of his/her own. The writer is merely narrating the events and stating the facts, while giving no opinion of his/her own what so ever in this regard. It is almost an act of a story teller or more aptly a reporter of the events. But this is very difficult for the writer to do, because while narrating such controversial events and stating the facts one cannot stay aloof to the situation and ends up giving own opinion in it no matter how subtly it is done. The reporting of the news is another thing, but even in that case, the reporter focuses on the news with a particular angle and ends up covering the story with some subjectivity, so definitely for a text which is primarily written to express the views of the writer, it becomes really difficult to write with total objectivity. Any such text which happens to be objective in its content rather than giving any opinion of the writer is classified as "story teller" in this regard.

If writer is giving an opinion in the texts analyzed, in the favour of Lawyers' Movement and against the stance of the government, then it is put into another category which is termed as "Opinion Leader" for this analysis. This category further qualifies the text, as in previous parameters of the analysis if the content of the text is suggesting a criticism and denunciation of the actions of the government, then it leads to the next phase that with all this discussion going on what is the intention of the writer from such

discussion of his/her viewpoint and opinion, most probably the writer is trying to formulate public opinion and that too necessarily in the favour of the movement and against the government.

As far as intent of the writer is considered in view of the texts analyzed, there could only be a third option which is that the writer with the help of discussion and expression of his/her point of view in the texts either in press or in the blogs, is trying to formulate a public opinion which is in favour of the government, this categorization is termed as "Opinion in favour of the government".

Both of the above described categorizations do not necessarily mean that the writer is directly trying to formulate a public opinion but it could be an indirect or a suggestive outcome. As the writer might only be trying to express his/her opinion, but when an opinion is expressed on a mass media whether it be in newspapers or in blogs, it does have a readership and the reader after reading the text might enforce his/her opinion if it coincides with his/her already perceived opinion about the matter in discussion, or he/she might express an opposite opinion resulting from the readership of that particular text. Thus, either way the expressed opinion on a mass media acts in the formulation of public opinion.

3.1.4.8 Demands of the Writer

In the light of the earlier parameter of the analysis where the intention of the writer is classified under three main categories as story teller, opinion maker in favour of the movement or opinion maker in favour of the government, the next question arises that if it is an opinion maker in the favour of the movement then does it demands its readers for any specific or general reaction or action against the government or is it just

a passive opinion maker/critic with no list of demands for inviting active reaction from its readers, and if the writer is trying to make an opinion in the favour of the government then no further demand could be expected from the writer as in view of the government it had not been a just movement rather it had not been a movement at all and lawyers were just agitating the general public against the government, and that people should not participate in it and should refrain from these protests.

The first category is for classification of the purpose of the text is that whether it is just a passive criticism with no mention of any demand from its readers while expressing just the opinion of the writer trying to formulate public opinion, or in addition the writer is also asking for some practical response and reaction from its readers on the basis of entire discussion and reasoning and viewpoints.

If the writer in the text is asking for some reaction from its readers then such demands of the writers are further classified into sub categories like: constitutional solution, peaceful solution, change, revolt, and appease.

If the writer is asking for some constitutional solution or a solution according to the law of the country to the issue on which Lawyers' Movement is based, then the demand of the writer in the text is categorized as "constitutional solution". Such a demand is supposed to be posed by those people who know very well the laws and constitution of the country and also by those may be who believe in the rule of law, the results of the analysis will only tell that how many writers have demanded this solution and in which media.

If the discussion of the analyzed text is moving towards and asking for some peaceful solution to the issue, then the text is categorized here as "peaceful solution".

The movement saw lot of blood on the streets during its course of two years, the total number of deaths during this movement amounts to forty three, out of which forty two being killed in a single day in Karachi on 12th May 2007, the day when deposed Chief Justice Chaudhary was coming to Karachi for his address to the Karachi Bar Association, in many of the protests police baton charged the protesters injuring thousands in two years, also along the movement many lawyers and other supporters of the movement were arrested as well. Keeping in view such incidents a peaceful solution demanded by the writers in their texts seems a highly needed one so that more bloodshed could be avoided.

The supporters of the Lawyers' Movement were asking mainly for a solution which should be peaceful and according to the constitution, as lawyers were at the same time fighting in the court room for the reinstatement of the judges, but some people were of the view that the government should be changed now, the dictator should go home and only a new government can resolve this issue, which would come as a result of new general elections. This was the view of the major political parties as well when they joined the movement that the dictator should go home, there should be new elections and the new government which be formed by the votes of the majority can only fix this issue. If the writer in the text is asking for such a solution to this issue then the text is qualified as "change".

The category of "change" is not very distinct from the next category which is labelled as "revolt". There had been this opinion as well among the people that masses should altogether revolt against this government as it has taken such illegal and unconstitutional actions and it is not worthy of rule anymore and that all the people should protest with one single agenda to over throw the government. The people of the

opinion of asking for a change of the government and those asking for a revolt against the current regime are separated only by a very fine line.

If the analysis results show that the idea of revolt is found among the writers then there might be a counter opinion to this one where other writers might trying to appease the revolting public and trying to mould their opinion of not taking it to violent and extreme edges. Such demands of the writers will then be categorized as "appease" for this analysis.

As the researcher had been very keenly following the entire movement in media, a thesis is developed that the leaders of the Lawyers' Movement had been asking for a peaceful and constitutional solution to this issue, now this analysis will tell that if the writers in both press and in blogs shared the same opinion and demanding the same solutions or had they been asking for more general and raw solutions like change of government, and revolt against the current regime.

3.1.4.9 Portray of the Actors Involved

The main actors/parties involved in the Lawyers' Movement aside from the general public and civil society, are the deposed judges whose prominent leader was deposed Chief Justice Chaudhary, the lawyers, General Mushrraf, and then the newly elected PPP (Pakistan Peoples' Party) government formulated halfway through the movement as a result of general elections of February 2008. The analysis further establishes how the writers in the texts have portrayed the actors involved. All the previous parameters of the analysis are trying to establish that how the writers criticize and what reasons they give evoking what reactions from the public, which are all the parameters where writers are discussing the cause only, now if writers do not constrain

themselves to the cause only and start engaging the personalities involved into the debate, then this parameter is there to quantify that among them what percentage of texts portray Chief Justice, lawyers, General, and the PPP govt as protagonist/antagonist of the story.

The first category in this regard is "CJ as Hero", all the texts where writer has fully presented the deposed judges and Chief Justice Chaudhary as protagonist of the story and has written in his favour fall into this category. There is a view point among the people that Chief Justice Chaudhary is a great man who stood against the General refusing to resign and started a struggle against him alone, this goes for personal valour and calibre and so he is a national hero who started a fundamental struggle for the rule of law by saying 'NO' to the dictator. There are also some people who think that he is the person who started all this chaos in the country, he should have resigned quietly and let the affairs of the country be run in the same way as it was run before. So the opinions of the writers in favour or against the deposed judges and Chief Justice would fall into this category presenting him as hero/villain of the story.

The lawyers' community being the main proponents of this movement are mostly held in high regard by those supporting their cause of the rule of law. The supporters of this movement consider lawyers as hero of the movement as they initiated this movement and created awareness throughout the country by their protests and processions and gained public support and ultimately achieved what they started off for. Such texts which are written in the favour of the lawyers and their entire community, glorifying them, elaborating the sacrifices they made for this movement, falls into the category of "lawyers as hero".

There might also be a counter opinion found both in the supporters and in the opponents of the movement that what lawyers did was not good for the society, they created unrest and lawlessness by their protests, they were responsible for all the injured and dead in the movement as they rose against the government and government had to assert its authority. The opponents of the movement are clearly against the lawyers but the supporters can also think that there could be some restraint observed in the protests and that some other more peaceful ways should have been adopted for this movement, so all such texts which condemn the lawyers fall into the category of "lawyers as villain", alongside two sub categories to qualify if this condemnation of the lawyers is based on the reasons of their promoting agitation in the society or furthermore anarchy in the state?

When it comes to the opinions about the personalities of the actors involved related to this movement, there could be negative as well as positive opinions for General Mushrraf. As far as criticising and giving opinion about the cause is concerned that is another topic, but if the writer is intended to engage the personalities of the actors involved, then it becomes a different matter. In this case the supporters of the movement might criticize the General in very harsh words but at the same time there might be some opinion among the supporters of the movement that Mushrraf is alright but he has been ill advised, that he could not predict and estimate the damages to be done by chief Justice and lawyers to what he thought he was doing right, thus, producing a soft opinion for the personality of the General and presenting him not as a villain of this story. All such text falls into this category "General as Hero" in which the General is personally portrayed by the writer as hero of this story and for the opposite opinion also

in the same category but recorded with a different code to be able to be differentiated later for the results.

Midway through the movement there were general elections in February 2008 and as a result a new coalition government of the majority political party PPP (Pakistan Peoples' Party) came into power. But against the aspirations of the supporters of the Lawyers' Movement this democratically elected government did nothing to resolve this impending issue of the deposed judges and instead played delayed tactics to let the movement die away. But when its patience is tested, the movement gained more momentum and the opposition parties played more practical role in the movement engaging more public into it and eventually the government had to comply with the wishes of the movement and reinstated the judges after one more year. During this time the supporters of the movement turned against the PPP government as well considering it as a new villain and antagonist in the story who is now standing in their way replacing Mushrraf, at the same time the supporters of the movement having political affiliations and support for the PPP as political party considered the acts of the government as not against the movement but as a measure for the resolution in a more peaceful way avoiding confrontation with the judges in lieu of the deposed ones, thus considering the PPP government as protagonist of the story. All such texts where the PPP leadership and government personals are engaged in the debate with a positive or negative angle on them falls into this category "PPP as hero", the positive and negative portrays are further separated by using different codes for them.

3.1.4.10 Writing Tools Used

Writing tools is the term given here to the different linguistic approaches used by the writers to aid their writings in better expression of their ideas and opinions. This

use of different techniques which involve a number of approaches related to linguistics, politics and society might result in engaging the readers more deeply with the opinions and ideas of the writings used by writers in newspapers and in blogs.

The first categorization in this regard is based on the use of language that what kind of language is used in the text, is it professional language or non-professional language. Professional language here means the language of the journalists and writers, a language which is used in newspapers and press, which is fully within the boundaries of code of conduct of writers and journalists. On the other hand the non-professional language means such a language which is not printable in any press, a language which contains inappropriate words and terms, an indecent language which might include abuses and foul terms.

The use of this category might be surprising as in the newspapers such use of non-professional language is not a possibility but it can be easily justified by the fact that the texts for analysis are from blogs as well, where there almost no code of conduct is followed by the individuals. As far as blogs are concerned the use of indecent language might not be very common as blogs are written by somewhat responsible individuals which might or might not be using a pseudo name to hide their identities, but the comments left on these blogs are by the anonymous users, who might not even be registered users of that blog site. This sense of anonymity on web 2.0 leaves individuals with far less responsibility of their words and they might be inclined to vomit out their aggression in the form of abuses and foul language. The text is thus categorised into "professional language" and "non-professional language".

If the use of non-professional language is detected then the next categorization is its sub-categorization that against whom such foul language is being used in the texts, is it against the government, the judges, or the lawyers?, as these three constitute the main players of the movement. This category classifies the text as "derogatory to government", "derogatory to Chief Justice", and "derogatory to lawyers".

After the categorization of the texts by the basis of professional and non-professional language used in them, the next phase is the categorization of the text on the basis of different linguistic tools and approaches used by the writers to enhance their expression of ideas and to be more convincing for their readers. These approaches involve the use of political labelling, social labelling, slogans, poetry and prose, historical references and the use of religious references.

The classification of the text as "political labelling" means that the writer has used some political labels or political terminology for the expression of his/her ideas in relation to the Lawyers' Movement. The use of words and terminology like, "dictator", "dictatorship", "fascist", "fascism", "anarchist", "anarchism" etc fall into this category. With the presence of political labelling the text is then further classified if this labelling is used in favour of the government or against it? , and also if used in favour of the Lawyers' Movement or against it?

"Social Labelling" is the classification of the texts in this analysis, where the writer has used terminology and references more commonly accepted and recognized in the society having some connection with the public. For instance every society has some heroes and villains from its history and when a writer uses some references like this and attributes it to the main actors of the game play of today, it means the writer is

attributing more importance to the current players and making them more readily acceptable or reject-able by the society by labelling them in a certain way.

The elaboration of this categorization needs the better understanding of the context and social fibre of the Pakistani society. For example if the writer expresses that what General is doing with the country was not intended by the Founding Fathers of the Nation when they were trying to create Pakistan and liberating it from the British rule, and the Lawyers are doing exactly the job, a road to the true democracy as envisaged by the Founding Fathers of the Nation and for which this country was created, here the writer is using social labelling in the favour of the lawyers and against the government by labelling the lawyers as somewhat close to the founding fathers of the nation and General as some person acting against their wishes and aspirations. It is further classified in this category if the social labelling in the text is used in the favour of the government or against it, in the favour of the Lawyers' Movement or against it?

Very expressive and passionate texts might even contain the use of the slogans, which are popular among the supporters of the Lawyers' Movement. If a writer while expressing his/her views in newspapers or in blogs becomes emotional and ends up using some slogans in the favour or against the Lawyers' Movement, it is also recorded in the analysis under the category "slogans".

Another important literary tool which could be used to emphasis on a certain point or idea is the use of references from literature, both prose and poetry. If a text is detected with references from popular literature in the favour or against the Lawyers' Movement, it is classified as "poetry" for the analysis.

If in a text in newspapers or in blogs the writer is using references from history to support his/her arguments, the text is qualified as "Historical References". This category has further sub categories to classify whether these historical references are used in the favour or against the Lawyers' Movement, whether it is used in the favour or against the role of judiciary in Pakistan, or it is used to describe earlier attacks on the judicial system of Pakistan by former dictators.

The last writing tool to be classified in this regard is rather an interesting one, it is the category of "religious references". As it is commonly believed in the light of reporting done mostly in western media that Pakistan is a very religious society where religions plays a very important role in the life of common people, it will be interesting to see if writers in Pakistan for the propagation of their ideas through newspapers and blogs use the aid of references from religious context to make it more passionate and acceptable for the readers or not? This category records the mention of any religious context in the texts whether in the favour or against the Lawyers' Movement.

3.1.4.11 Report of Censorship on Media

The final parameter of the analysis focuses on the reports of any attack or censorship on freedom of expression in mass media and all of its various forms in both traditional and unconventional media. The report of any such attack or censorship is noted distinctly in sub categories like: attack on traditional media (television, radio, and newspapers), attack on internet, attack on journalist and attack on blogger.

While studying and analyzing the texts both in newspapers and in the blogs, it is to be carefully noted that if there is any mention of any censorship or attack on any of the forms of mass media. During the Lawyers' Movement there had been two main

attacks on the mass media, one was an attack by some armed men on a television channel's media centre in Karachi on 12th May 2007 and the second was the censorship or blockage of a private television channel's broadcast (Geo TV) on 3rd and 4th November 2007 following the imposition of emergency rule n the country by General Mushrraf. These two events had been widely reported and covered by other television channels, newspapers and blogs.

Therefore, any such mention of activity of government against freedom of expression is noted in the texts whether it be an attack on any radio channel, transmission of any television channel, or the printing of any newspaper, they are all noted and categorized and sub categorized as attack on TV, attack on radio, and attack on newspaper.

Similarly any mention of censorship or blockage of any internet site, or blog site is also noted and if mentioned carefully categorized as "attack on internet".

As well as any report of threat posed or attack on any journalist belonging to any media and any blogger or website operator is also noted if mentioned in the texts in newspapers and blogs and categorized as "attack on journalist" and "attack on blogger" simultaneously.

3.1.5 Coding of the Parameters of Analysis

The parameters of the analysis described are then codified for the analysis of the data. When a text is studied and analyzed all of its parameters are noted and categorized in the form of numerical codes for every single text and are recorded in a Microsoft Office Excel File.

The codes used for the analysis are as follows:

D- yes	
D- no	

"D" is used for those categories which can be affirmative or negative. If an entry is affirmative it is coded as "0" and if negative it is coded as "1".

Type of Text	C1
Column	0
Editorial	1
Letters to Editor	2
Letters to Editor by Overseas Pakistanis	3
Blog	5
Foreign Editorial	9

Which Media	C2
Newspaper - *Daily Express*	0
Newspaper - *Daily Dawn*	1
Blog - FiveRupees	2
Blog - PkHope	3
Blog - Pakistaniat	4

About the Writer	C3
Professional Journalist in paper	0
Prof Journalist in Blog	1
Blogger	2
Commenter	3

Language	C4
English	0
Urdu	1

Qualify of Discussion	C5
Neutral	0
Criticism	1
Criticism Soft	0
Criticism Hard	1
Criticism Balanced	2
Criticism Sarcastic	3
Denunciation	2

Denounce-Illegal	D
Denounce-Attack on Judiciary	D
Denounce-Subjugating Judiciary	D
Denounce-Dictatorship	D
Denounce-Puppet Democracy	D
No Respect for Constitution	D
In Favor of Govt.	3
Irrelevant to Masses	4
Over-Politicization of Case	5
Salute LM & CJ	6

Intent of the Writer	C6
Story Teller	0
Opinion Making	1
O-Passive Reaction Asking	0
O-Active Reaction Asking	1
OA-Constitutional Solution	D
OA-Peaceful Solution	D
OA-Asking for change	D
OA-Asking for Revolt	D
OA-To Appease the public	D
Opinion Making in favor of Govt.	2

Portray of the Actors Involved	C7
CJ as hero	D
General as hero	D
Lawyers as hero	D
LV-Lawyers Agitation	D
LV-Lawyers Anarchy	D
PPP as hero	D

Title of the Text	C8
Neutral	0
Aggressive	1

Sarcastic	2
Defensive	3

Writing Tools Used	C9
Professional Language	0
Non-Professional Language	1
Derogatory	2
Derogatory to Govt.	D
Derogatory to CJ	D
Derogatory to Lawyers	D
Political Labeling	3
PL-govt. Favor	D
PL-LM favor	D
Social Labeling	4
SL-govt. Favor	D
SL- LM favor	

Writing Tools Used (b)	C10
Slogans	0
Sl-for LM	D
Poetry/Prose	1
P-for LM	D
Historical References	2
H-Judiciary favor	D
H-LM favor	D
H-Attack on judiciary	D
Religious References	3
R-LM favor	D

Report of Censorship on Media	C11
Attack on Traditional Media	0
TM-Newspaper	D
TM-Journalist	D
TM-TV	D
TM-Radio	D
Attack on Internet	1
I-Blogger	D

Once all the data is categorized and entered in the Excel file in coded form, then with the help of other specialized computer statistics softwares like SAS and SPSS the data is extracted in the form of desired tables and graphs and the results of the analysis are presented and discussed.

3.2   *Phase II - Results and Discussion*

The results of the analysis are presented here in two parts, the first part analyzes and discusses the results of the data from the press and the second part analyzes and discusses the results of the data from the blogs compared to the press.

3.2.1   Analysis of Data from Press

The result of the analysis of the 450 texts from the Pakistani daily newspapers selected from both English language daily and Urdu language daily during the entire course of Lawyers' Movement i.e., two years divided in thirteen important phases, give the following interesting results.

The analyzed texts from the newspapers is composed of five major categories i.e., Columns, Editorials, Letters to the Editor (these are the letters written to the editors of the newspaper by the people living in Pakistan), letters to the Editor by the Overseas Pakistanis, and Foreign Editorials. Following graphical figure (Type of Text) shows the share of each newspaper text item in the entire data.

Type of Text
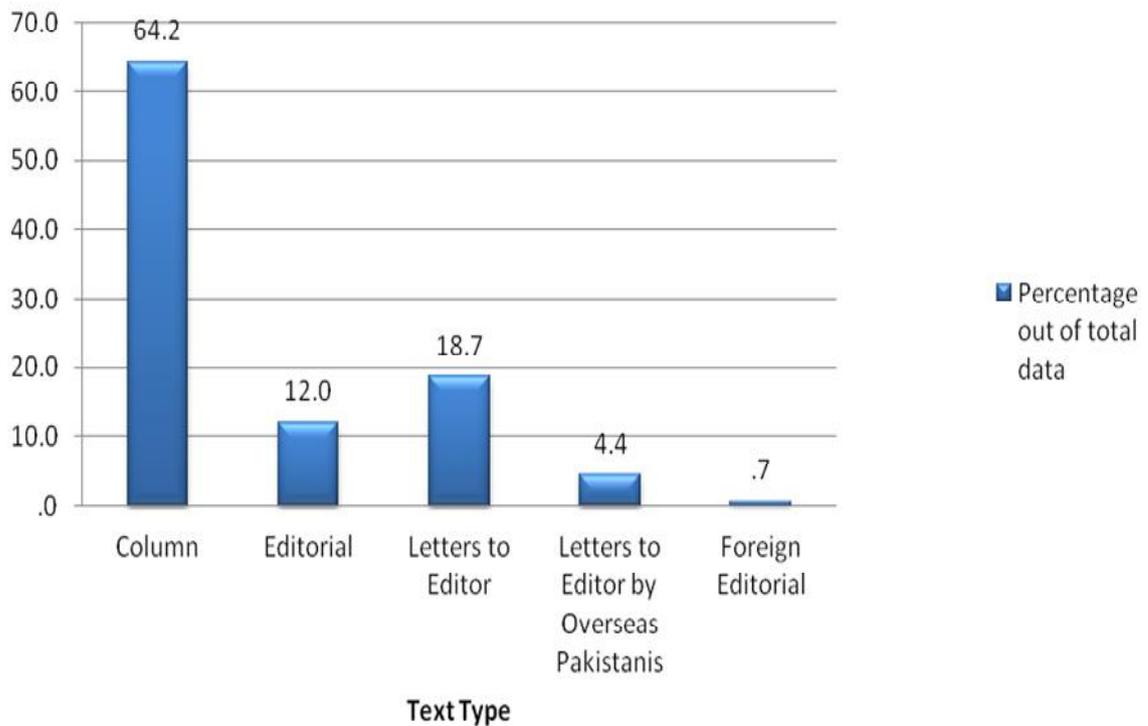
Out of a total of 450 texts analysed, 289 texts were Columns written by the professional journalists often regularly in the newspapers which makes it a 64.2% of the total text. Editorials had been 54 in number making them a 12% of the total texts analysed. 84 letters to the editors of the newspaper written by the people living in Pakistan shows their feedback related to the Lawyers' Movement making it a huge 18.7% of the total text which is even more than the Editorials. The feedback of the Pakistani Diaspora is also considerably good enough for the analysis which is composed of 20 letters to the editors making it a 4.4% of the total texts. In some Pakistani newspapers very occasionally there are some editorials published which originally belong to any foreign newspaper of high repute thus inducting foreign vision of Pakistan related problems and delivering it to the local readership, though it is quite few in number it still constitutes 0.7% of the total texts analysed.

Keeping in mind the earlier categorization of the analysed text, the next graph (Type of Text Compared in English & Urdu Press) further classifies the newspaper text items in English and Urdu language. As the newspapers used for this analysis belong to two distinct languages English & Urdu, it will help to analyse that which language newspaper has what share in the data in accordance to its text items.

Type of Text Compared in English & Urdu Press
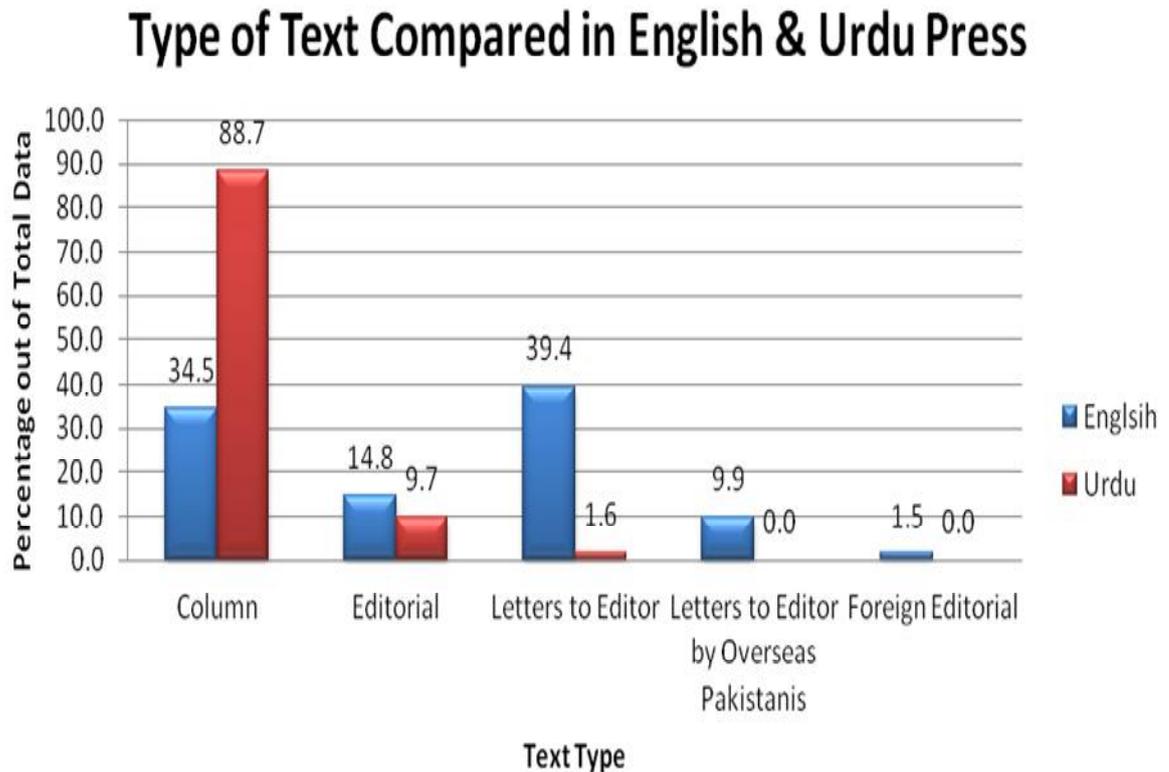
The graph shows that the share of the columns written by the professional journalists in the English newspapers is more i.e., 88.7% from that in the Urdu newspapers where it is only 34.5%, which is 54.2% less in English press, suggesting that the professional journalists used the Urdu press more for voicing of their opinions about the Lawyers' Movement. The number of editorials from the English media regarding our topic of research is more i.e., 14.8% as compared to the 9.7% from the Urdu media. It is interesting to note that the number of letters to the editor is quite high in English media i.e., 39.4% as compared to that of 1.6% from the Urdu media, thus

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enforcing the fact that a far more space is given to the public feedback in English dailies. Also noteworthy that the letters to the editor by the Pakistani Diaspora is 9.9% in English daily whereas such letters or such feedback from the Pakistani Diaspora find absolutely no space in Urdu daily. It suggests that people/readers of the newspapers use English press to voice their opinion both from inside the country and Diaspora as well. Same is the case with the foreign editorials which no matter how small in number still find space in English press may it be only 1.5% whereas, no space for such text item is found in Urdu press.

3.2.1.1 A Critical Press

The analysis of the text from the Pakistani newspapers during the course of two years of the Lawyers' Movement paints a picture of a press that is critical in nature for the most part and denounces the acts of the President General Musshraf while regarding them as dictatorial and non-democratic.

Qualification of Discussion
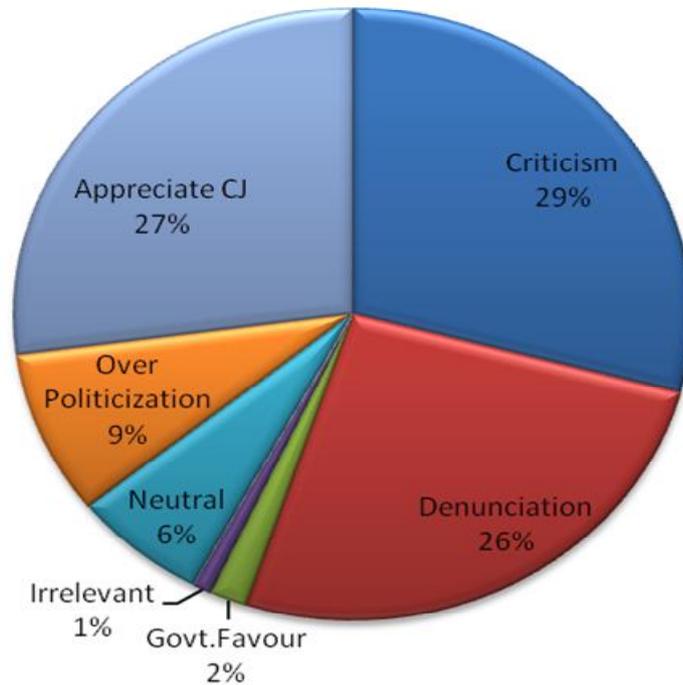
The results from the analysis represented in the graphical form in (Qualification of Discussion) suggest that the major part of the texts analysed show Criticism 29% and Denunciation 26% of the acts of the General committed against the Chief Justice and 27% of the texts showing a clear and frank favour of the judges, where as only 6% remained neutral, 9% found the issue over politicized, and only 1% were of the people that this issue is irrelevant to the masses and is only a fight against the two main powerful personalities only the General and the Chief Justice. The government favoured text was found to be only 2% among the entire data. It shows that the texts in Pakistani press for the most part are critical of the government as denunciation is also criticism but with a valid and logical reason, which makes the texts against government a total of 55% and if we add the text which appreciates the role of judges in this scenario, it becomes a total of 82% of the texts in Pakistani press is

against the role of the government in this issue, which makes this press a very critical one of the government.

Now in order to analyze the same characteristics in the data but with one-step further declassification of data in English and Urdu press the following graph is observed.
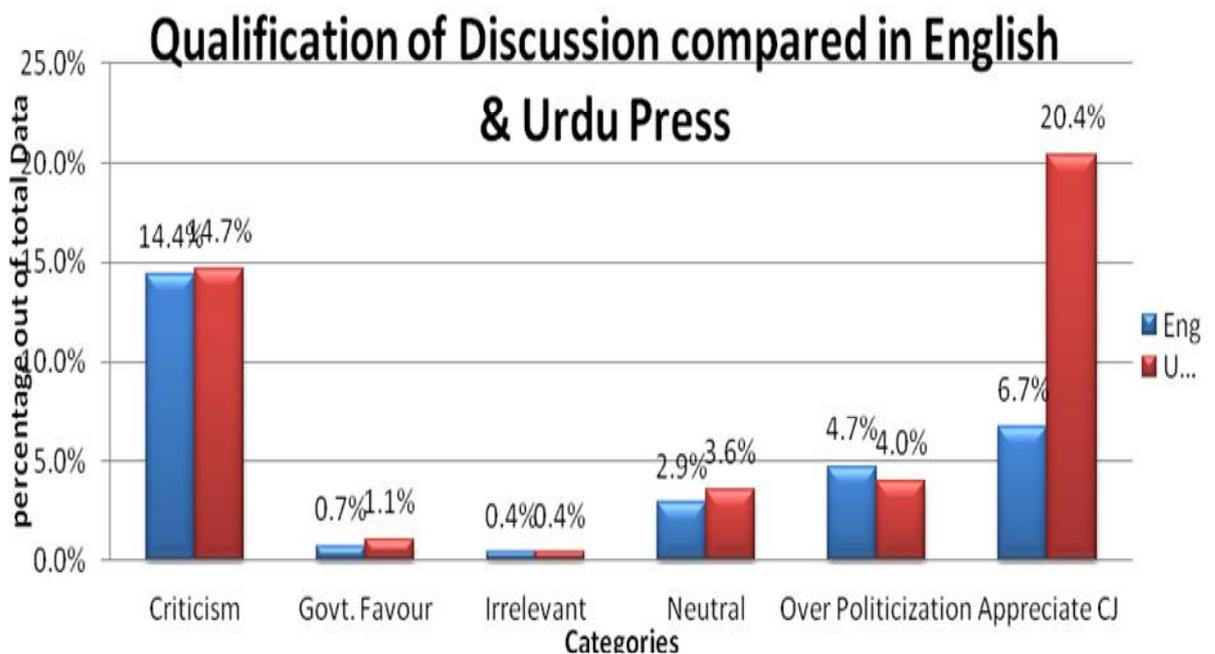
s

The declassification of data in its two basic variables that is the English press and Urdu press does not show much difference among them. The level of criticism is almost same in both the press. The writings in the favour of government are very few overall but still the number remains almost the same in both press. The neutrality in the press regarding both the parties, government and lawyers though few in magnitude but is almost same in both the press. The opinion that this matter is over politicized and irrelevant to the masses though finds very little value in the press but still its magnitude remains almost same in both the press. Interestingly there is no such study which could

classify and describe the readership of English and Urdu press separately, but it is hypothesized in the Pakistani society that the Urdu press is more popular among the general public as compared to the English press which is normally hypothesized as the press of the elite. But here the analysis results show that both the English and Urdu press in Pakistan are almost on the same page and voicing the same issue in almost similar way. The only difference is observed when there is frank and open favor of the lawyers and judges is observed in the press, at this delicate point the Urdu press takes a leap of 20.4% compared to a stable 6.7% representation in the English press.

3.2.1.1.1 *Intensity of Criticism*

The intensity of the criticism is further judged by evaluating if the criticism is very hard, if it is sarcastic, if it is balanced, or if it is soft in nature and level. A hard criticism is recognized by the ardent use of arguments and reasoning against the action of the General. A sarcastic criticism is the one that uses sarcasm as a tool to express the criticism. A balanced criticism is where the writer has criticized both the parties equally and justly. A soft criticism is the one where writer has criticized the government but in a very soft tone.

Level of Criticism
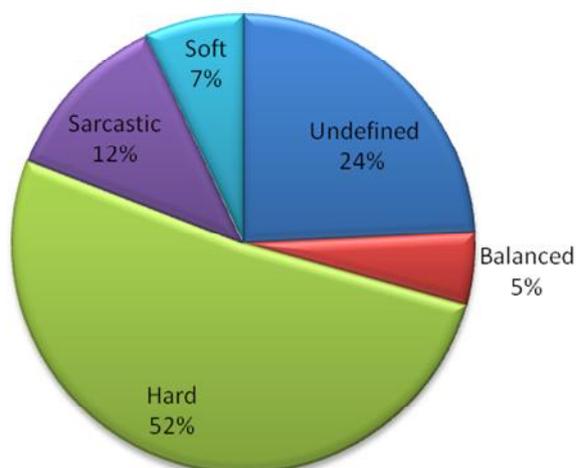
The analysis shows that a major part i.e. more than half of the criticism done is hard criticism that is 52% , the next higher value is that of sarcastic criticism which is 12% of the total. Balanced criticism only constitutes about 5% whereas soft criticism is only up to 7% of the total data collected. This shows that the most of the criticism done in the press is hard which further proves the critical nature of the press.

The same intensity of criticism is further studied in the text by disintegrating it into two basic variables i.e., the Urdu and English press, to see if there is a contradiction or harmony in the intensity of criticism done in English and Urdu press.

Level of Criticism compared in English & Urdu Press
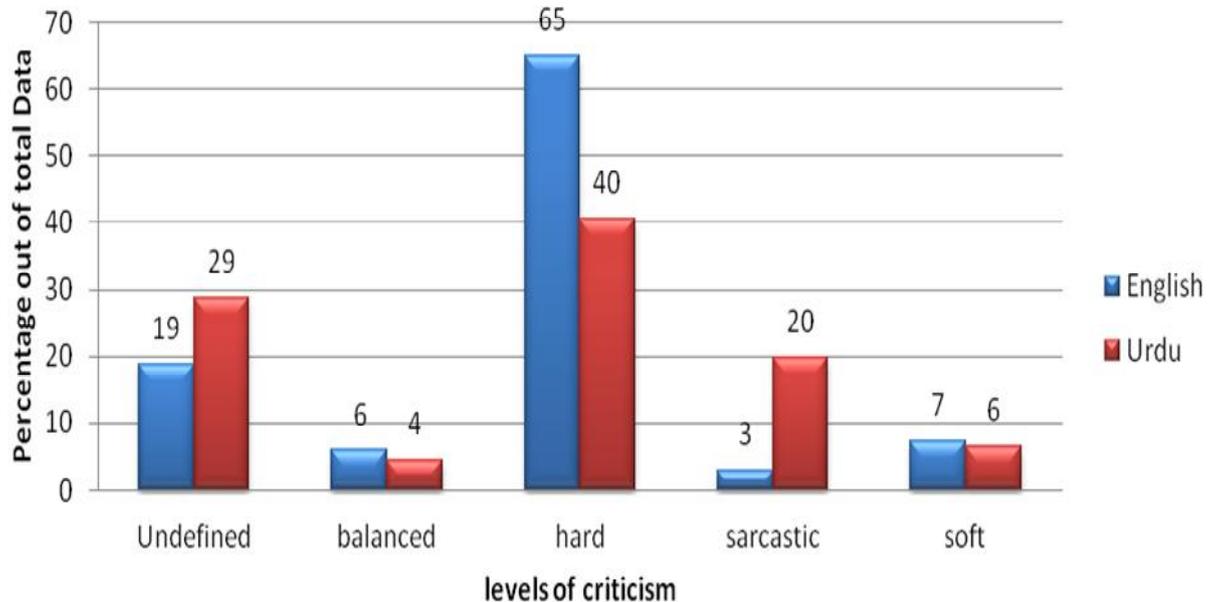
The further narrowed down analysis of the data in English and Urdu press shows that both the press exhibit hard criticism and some level of sarcastic criticism, so the pattern is almost similar in both the press but the interesting thing to note is that the English press shows more hard criticism i.e. 65% of it as compared to the 40% of the urdu press showing hard criticism, making English press more critical. Whereas, sarcasm is more observed in the Urdu press, where it is 20% compared to only 3% in the English press. This refutes again the common perception about Urdu press in Pakistani society that it is the press of the people and thus more critical to the government compared to the English press which is perceived as the press of the elite. An interesting thing to note here is that the Urdu press is using sarcasm for its criticism indicating a unique trend in this press. Although there is some difference in the level of hard criticism and sarcasm used in both the press but the tendency is quite similar in both the press. These two kinds of press who has supposedly different readerships due

to the difference of language of course, still exhibit the same tendency and same patterns. So all the readership is almost on the same page as far as the main approach and pattern of the newspapers is concerned.

The text is divided further into the different types of text inputs like Editorials, columns, letters to editor, letters to editor by overseas Pakistanis, and foreign editorials to study the intensity of the criticism in each type to better understand and evaluate the intensity of criticism.
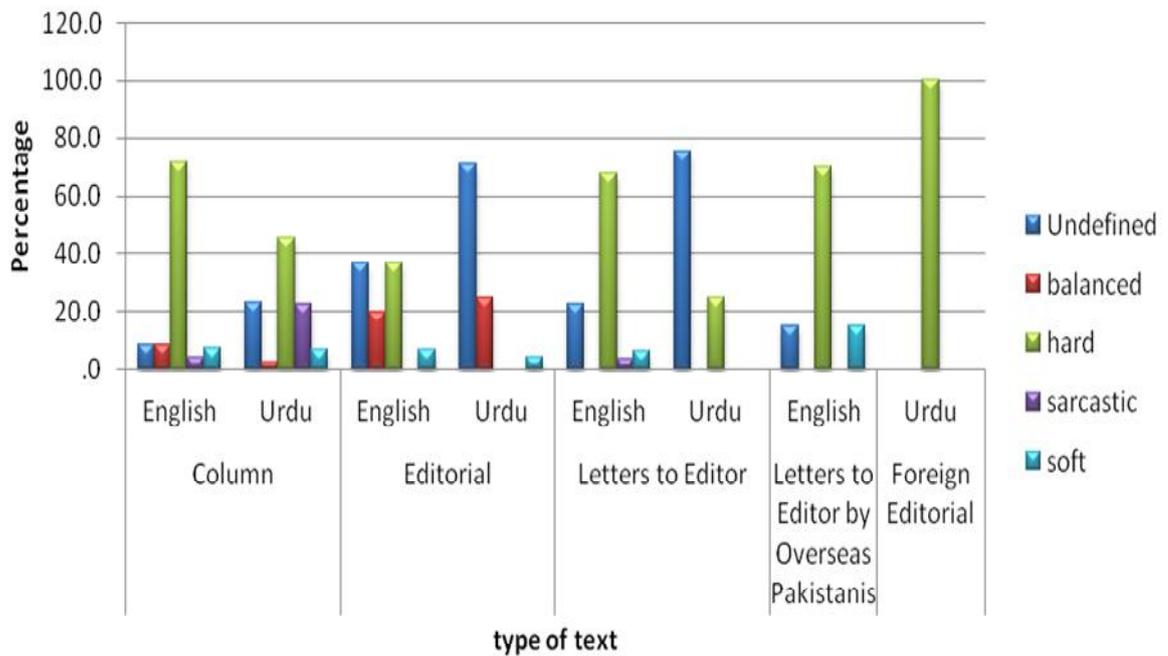
The results show that the hard criticism is exhibited in almost all kinds of texts analysed. There is no significant difference in English and Urdu press except in the editorials where Urdu press fails to show any hard criticism at all, thus again the English press exhibiting a role which is more critical towards the government. Also the

foreign editorials published in Pakistani press are all exhibiting hard criticism against the actions of the General.

3.2.1.1.2   *A Denunciating Press*

The ouster of Chief Justice from his office by General Mushrraf is denounced by the press on the basis of different arguments as an illegal act, as an attack on the judiciary and judicial system, as the General trying to subjugate the judiciary, as an act which is a blatant act of dictatorship, as a result of a puppet democratic regime under the leadership of a dictator, and as a regard for no respect for the constitution of the country. The percentage composition of these arguments is analysed with the help of following graph.

Justification of Denunciation
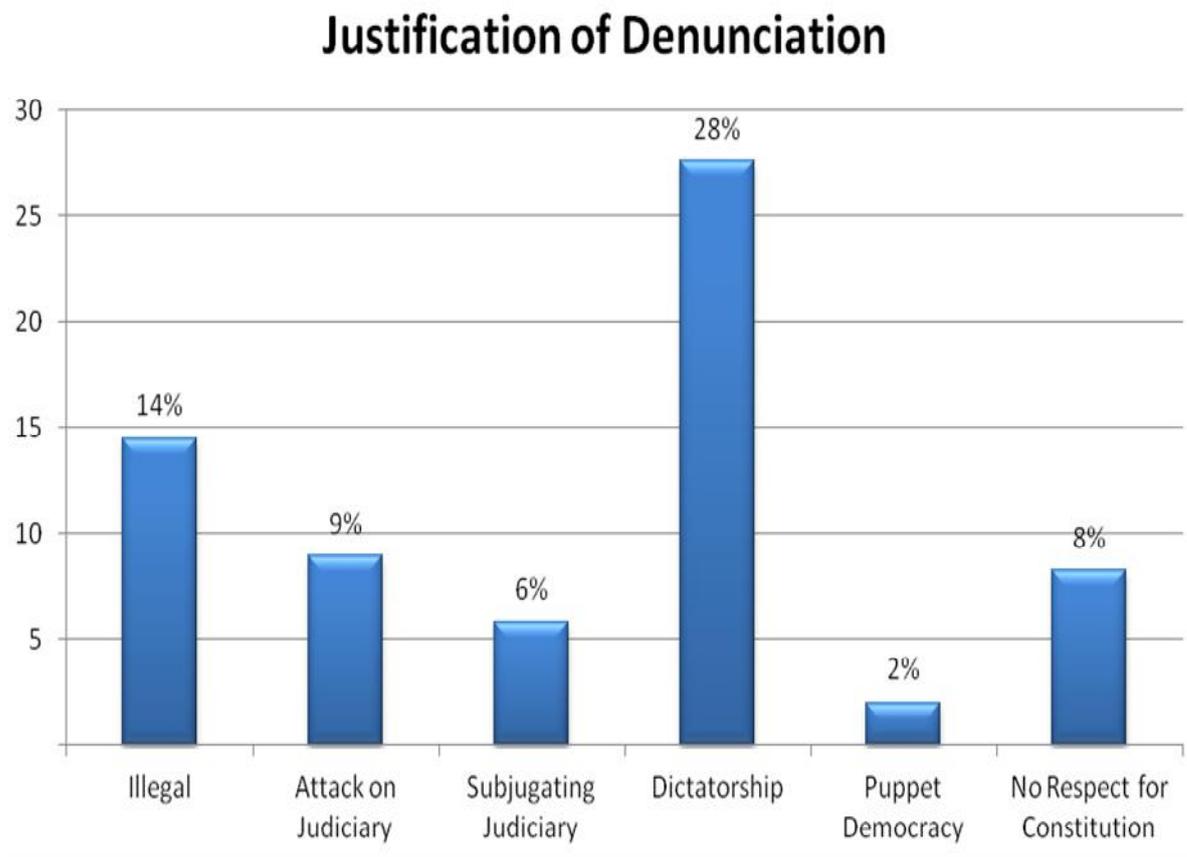
The results of the analysis show that majority of the press denounces the act of the General by regarding it as an act of dictatorship i.e. 28% and as an illegal act 14%. Also a 9% of the press says that it's an attack on the judiciary and 8% says that it shows that the govt. does not respect the constitution of the country. It clearly shows that press is openly denouncing the act of the General and calling it dictatorship and illegal.

In order to study the denunciation by the press in more detail, the data is further classified into English and Urdu press and then studied the denunciation trends in it.

Justification of Denunciation compared in English & Urdu Press
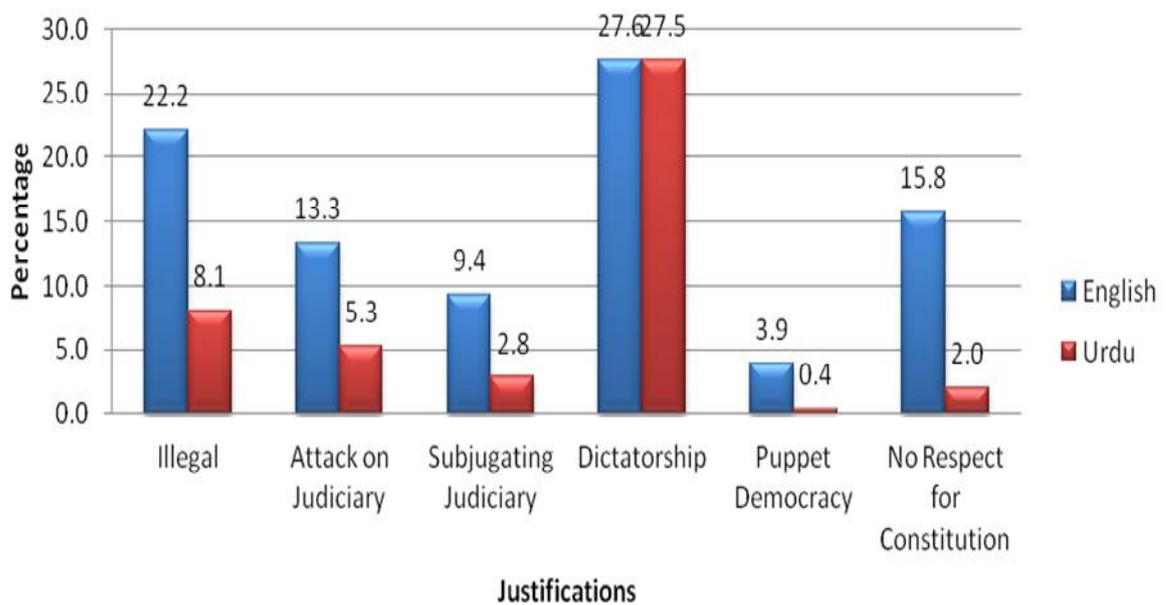
The analysis shows that the denunciation on the basis of argument that it is an act of dictatorship is manifested almost equally in both the press. Whereas the other arguments like denouncing it because it is an illegal act, an attack on judiciary, a puppet democracy, and no respect for the constitution finds more voice in English press. This

result leads to the conclusion that English press tends to be more articulate or argumentative in its writing and expression as compared to the Urdu press.

3.2.1.2 A Free Press

The image of a critical and denunciating press which emerges from this analysis immediately leads to another major question that is such a criticising and denunciating press free? Especially in a country like Pakistan who has seen no less than five military 'coup d'état' in a brief history of the country of just over six decades. Also more importantly the Lawyers' Movement started in March 2007 when a General in uniform was the President of the country wielding most of the power of state.

For this question to be answered the data is analyzed to see if press is talking about any sanctions on it or any censorship, that is if the press is fighting for its own freedom or not?

Is it criticizing and denouncing the actions of the government because it is itself under siege and fighting a battle for its own freedom and have found a fighting partner against the government in the form of this movement? The following graph helps to answer these impending questions.

Report of Censorship on Media
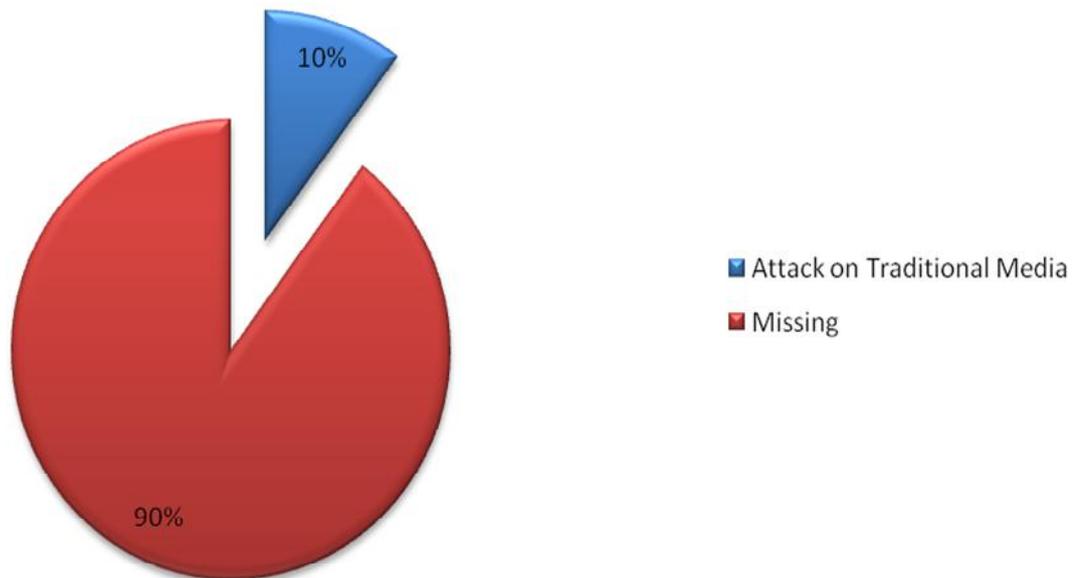
The analysis showed that only 10% of the data is concerned with the media being under siege, or any attack on the freedom of expression of the media is observed. One tenth is quite a small number when we are talking about such a media which is thriving in the presence of a military rule and is engaged indirectly in a struggle for the rule of law and the withholding of the constitution of the country. Even this 10% data is concerned with two events of attack on media, the first attack was on a television channel headquarters in Karachi by armed unknown men during the black day of 12 May 2007 in Karachi when a total of 41 people were killed avoiding Chief Justice to address the Karachi Bar Association, and the second attack was when General Mushrraf did a second coup d'état on 3rd November 2007 and blocked the transmission of several television channels for the time being but later he sought an apology for this act in an interview to the same television channel which was aired off among others. Besides these two events there had been no other reports of any attack or censorship on any media. This surprising but interesting result reveals that media is almost free of any

clutches, and its criticism and denunciation is not for its own cause but for that of the movement.

The above result needs to be further verified if it holds true when data is disintegrated into the English and Urdu press?

Resport of Censorship on Media compared in English & Urdu Press
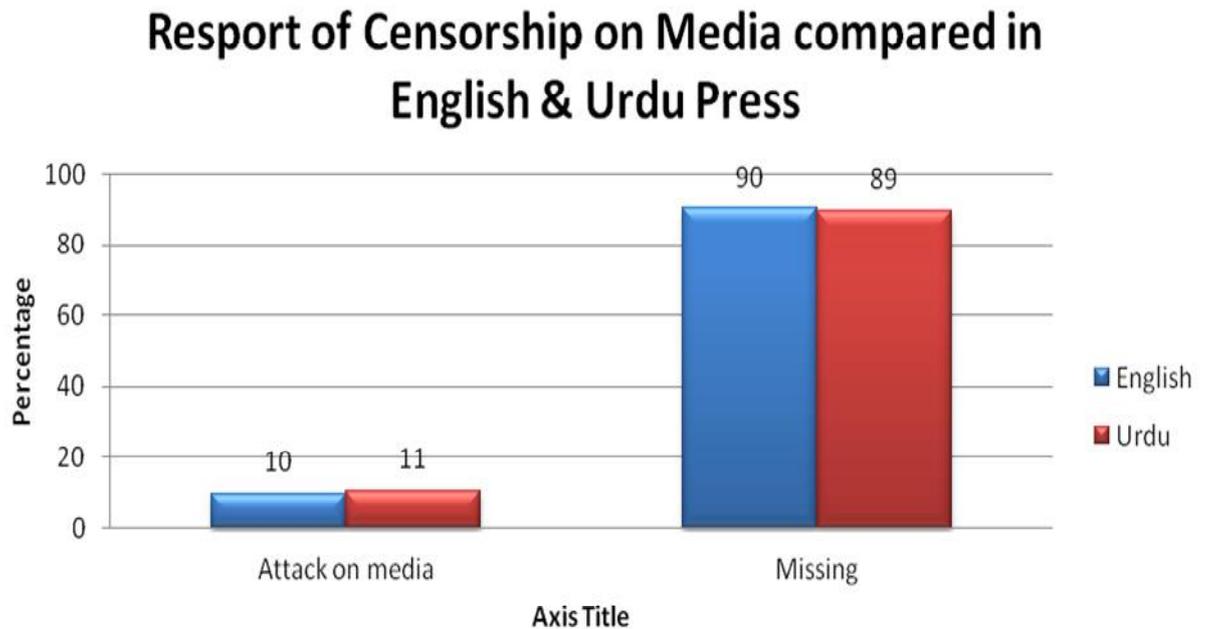
The analysis results show that even when the data is divided into the English and Urdu press, same tendency and pattern is observed. Almost same mention of attack on the media or freedom of expression is found in English and Urdu press which further strengths the idea that Urdu and English press are on the same page and have similar results to offer.

Although only 10% of the mention of attack on media, this needs to be further verified that whether this attack was on the newspapers, on the television, on journalists, on radio, or on the internet? The following graphical presentation gives answer to this question.

Report of Censorship viewed in different forms of Media
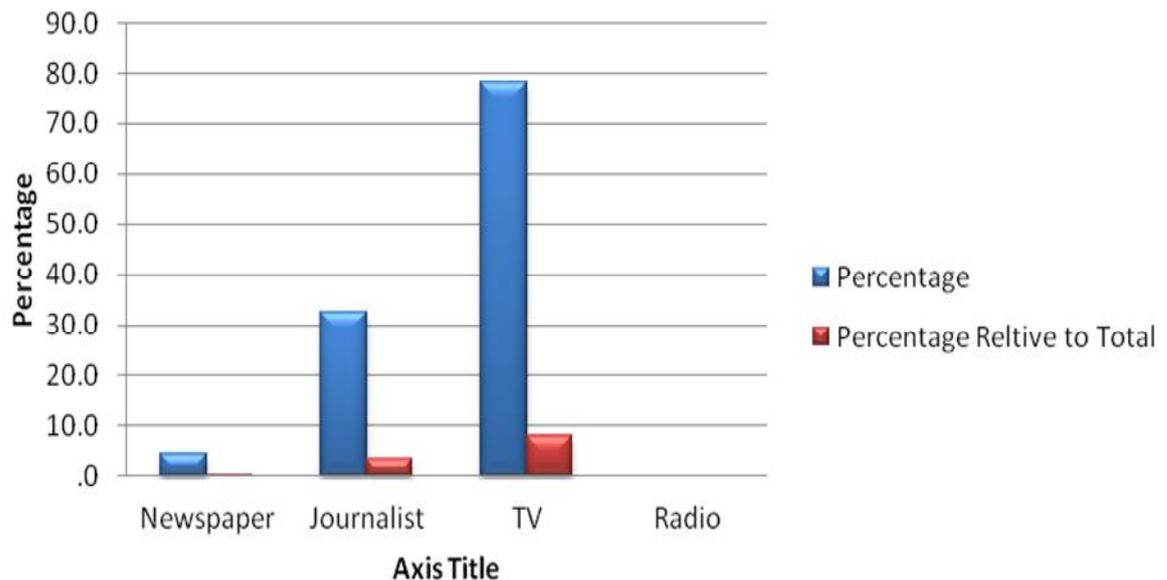
The results of the analysis show that out of the total data collected from the press only 8% speak about any attack or censorship on the television and 3% on the journalists. It leads to the conclusion that the press in Pakistan is almost free with no censorship on its freedom of expression. Out of 10% which reported any censorship on media 78% talk about censorship or attack on the television channel and 32% about the attack on the journalist. In fact there had been only two such incidents throughout the course of entire movement when censorship was posed on television channels but not on any other medium like newspapers, radio or internet. The first incident of censorship was on 12th May 2007 when a television channel in Karachi was attacked by armed persons termed as 'non state actors', this incident involved firing and attack on television journalists who were present inside the television headquarters and the second incident is when General did a second coup d'état on November 3rd 2007, that the

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television channels were banned from airing their transmission for a short period of time.

But with the exception of these two incidents for most of the part media in general including internet and press in particular remained free and had no censorship or siege on them. This validates the previous and forthcoming results of this analysis, as press and media is not fighting any war of its own but just that of the movement.

3.2.1.3 A Press Dedicated to the Cause

After viewing the critical and denunciating behaviour of the press, the next question arises is whether it is a partisan press which criticizes the personalities involved and gets personal with them or is it a press which criticizes the actions of the persons involved and sticks to the cause. The next parameter of the analysis is to determine this very acute role of the press that whether it criticizes the issue or the persons involved are targeted personally for their actions.

The following graphical figure helps understand this question related to the sophisticated role of the press that how the personalities involved in this issue are portrayed by the writers.

Portray of Actors Involved
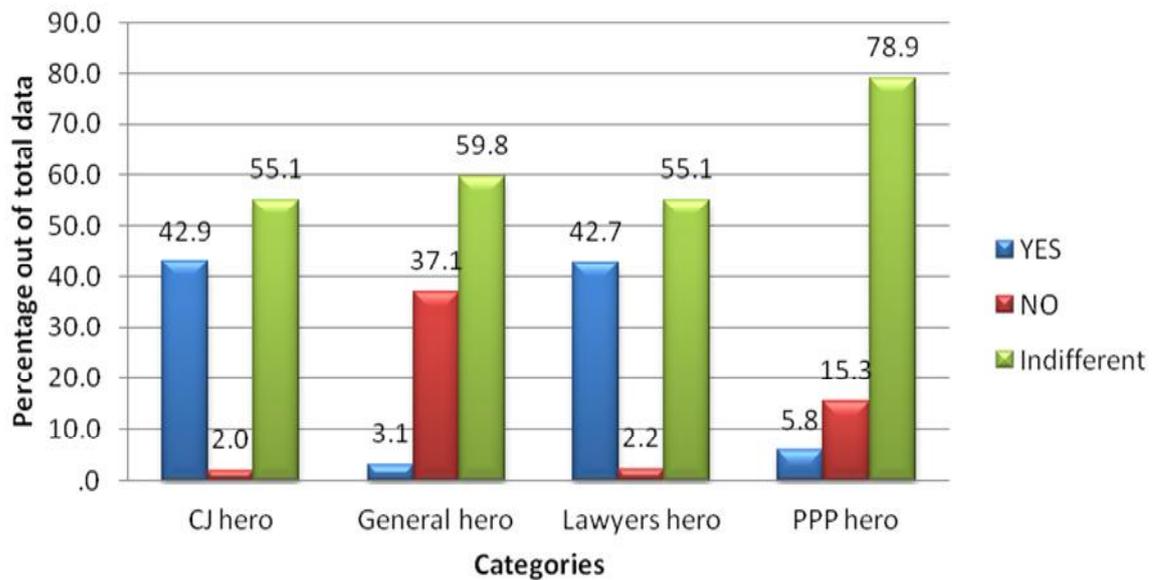
The results show that for most of the part it remains indifferent to the personalities involved. Besides of being so critical and denunciating of the acts of the General it only criticizes him personally 37% of the times while talking about him directly and for the majority of the almost 60% of the time it remains indifferent to the personality of the General. Also this press while talking about the Chief Justice and lawyers remain indifferent to their personalities for the staggering 55% of the time, and 42% of the time it supports them by portraying their personalities in a good way. Also the newly elected democratic government which comes into existence when the Lawyers' Movement is already about one year in inside its timeline receives a staggering 78.9% of the indifference from the press out of the total data which talks about it. So overall it is a press which is more committed to the cause, it criticizes the issue very strongly, it denounces the acts of the General but for the most part does not criticizes the personalities involved, so it gives a very positive and formidable image of the press which is more seriously committed to the cause rather than superficial, baseless, and personal partisan attitude.

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To further view this aspect of the press being non-personal and committed to the cause, the data is analysed at the level of English and Urdu press, the following results are observed.

Portray of Actors Involved compared in English & Urdu Press
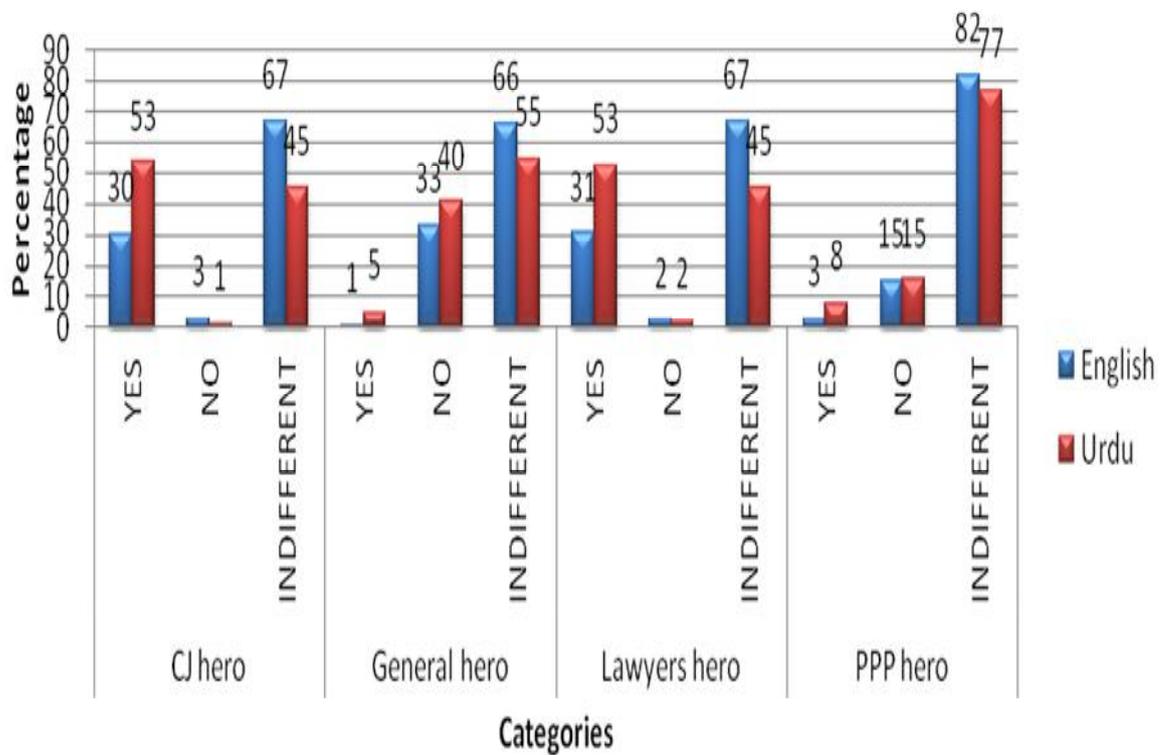
The English and Urdu press when analysed in comparison to see if a variant behaviour is there in the press when it comes to this level, no variance is observed. Both English and Urdu press seems to exhibit almost same levels of indifference to the personalities involved. This is interesting to note that both English and Urdu press remain aloof to the persons, so the readership though different has been reading almost the same material in different language press, where both of them are behaving in a very sophisticated and professional way.

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3.2.1.4 A Mobilizing Press

As already discussed, the analysis results show that there is altogether a very critical press, now the focus is on another important and interesting aspect of the press which came out as a result of the analysis, this aspect is the mobilizing nature of the press. This press is not only criticising the policies and acts of its government but rather urging its readership to act in a certain way which is further declassified and analysed as a part of the analysis. As a result of the analysis the press shows that it does not remain neutral while discussing this important matter but rather forms an opinion and try to convey this opinion to its readership as well, and not only this but the press is also urging its readers to act in a certain way or demanding from the government a solution to the issue discussed, which emphasizes on the fact that it is a very active, engaging and mobilizing press, which not only criticizes, denounces any act, or remains dedicated to the cause but also mobilizes its readers by giving a clear cut opinion and then asking for a solution or urging its readers to act in a certain way, thus a very mobilizing nature of the press comes in view after the detailed analysis of the data. This mobilizing nature of the press which is an interesting outcome of the analysis is further classified into its opinionated behaviour, its action urging behaviour and then also to examine what kind of action or solution does it urge.

3.2.1.5 An Opinionated Press

The first step toward the formulation of the nature of a mobilizing press is exhibited in the form of an opinionated press. This press is not neutral for most of its

part and exhibits tendency towards particular opinions. The analysis was done to find out if the press while writing about the Lawyers' Movement and related incident remains neutral by just being a narrator of the incidents and doing reporting which is the basic function of a newspaper or whether it formulates a certain opinion in its writing of the events. Whether it forms an opinion in the favour the government, or it forms an opinion against the government and in the favour of the Lawyers' Movement. The following graph helps to answer these questions.
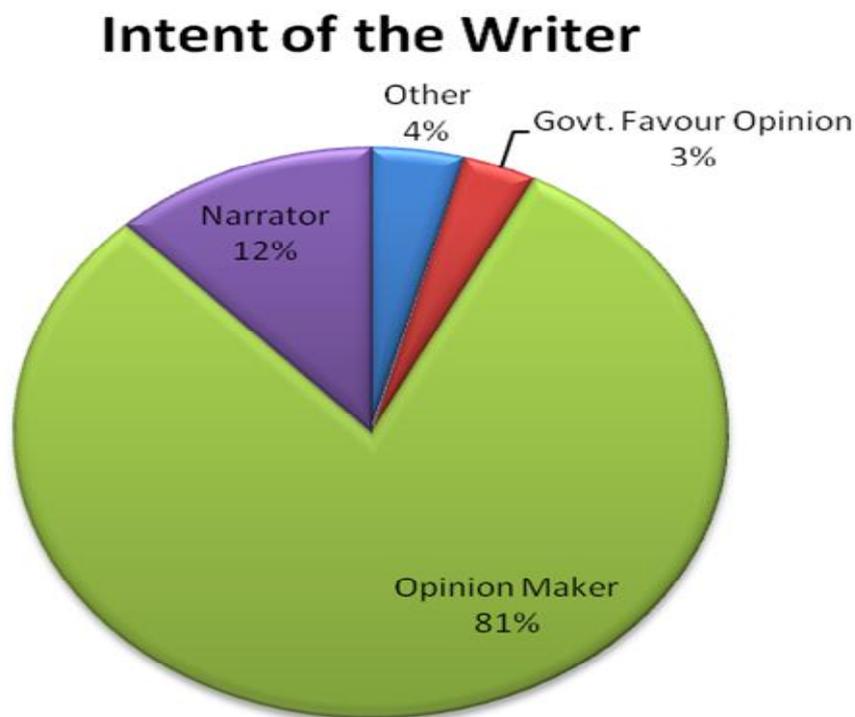
The highly opinionated nature of the press comes out as a result of this analysis where 81% of all the text written in the press during the course of two years of the Lawyers' Movement is actually having an opinion rather than just reporting the events and facts, and only 12% is neutral or reporting the events. Whereas, the opinion in the favour of the government is found to be merely 3% of the total writings found on this subject through the course of two years.

To further analyze the opinionated nature of the press, the data is declassified into English and Urdu press. It is to observe and find out if there is a difference in the opinion oriented tendency of the English and Urdu press.

Intent of the writer compared in English & Urdu Press
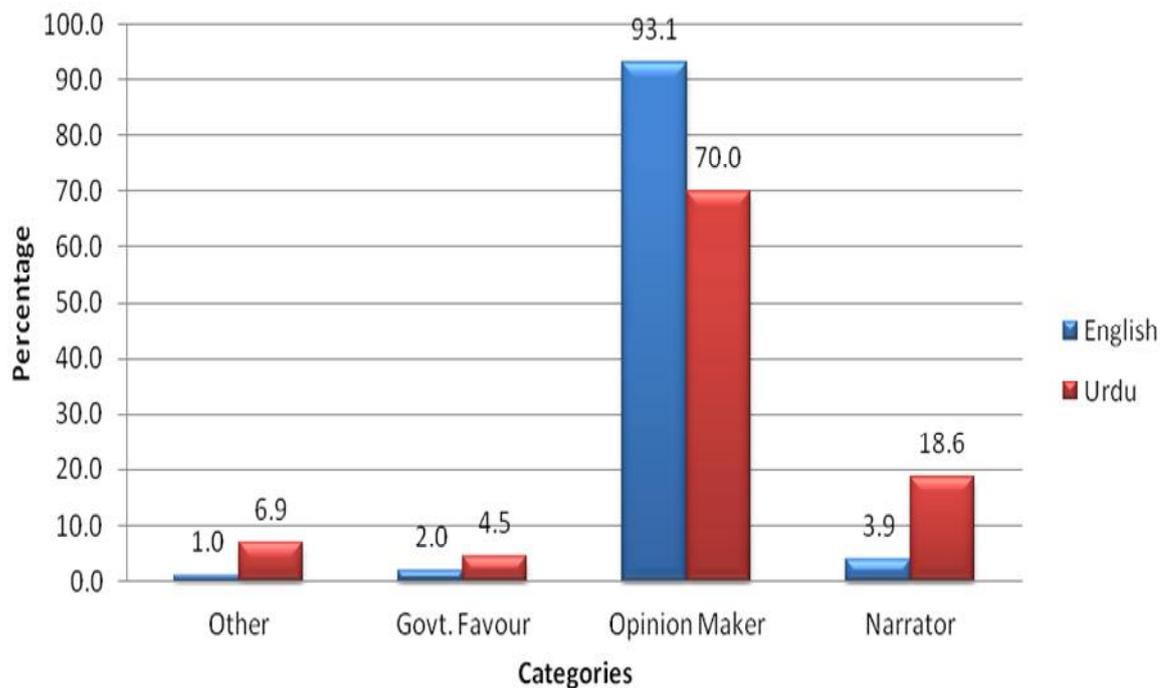
The further analysis of the data on the basis of English and Urdu press shows that the basic tendency of the opinion oriented approach is almost similar in both the press as both follow almost the same pattern. But it exhibits some differences as well, the English press is more bent on opinion making a staggering 93% of it as compared to the 70% of urdu press. Also the reporting aspect of the events is more visible in the Urdu press by an 18% compared to the mere 3.9% in English press. As discussed previously by the analysis results that English press is more engaged and more argumentative, so its aspect of having opinion rather than only a narrator of the events is a continuation of its tendency along the similar lines.

A further analysis of the data is done by dividing it into different kinds of texts like Columns, editorials, letters to the editor, letters to the editor by overseas Pakistanis, and foreign editorials published in local newspapers.

## Intent of writer compared in types of text in English & Urdu Press
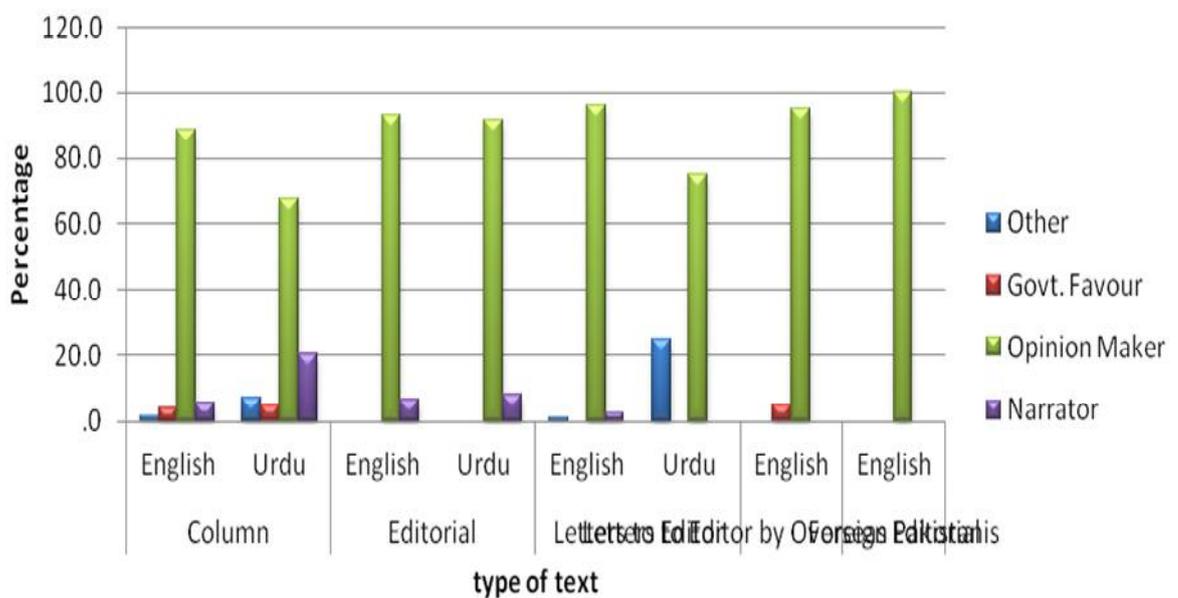
This further in-depth analysis of the text reveals the similar tendency and pattern in the behaviour of data even when analysed at micro level. It reveals that the columns written by the journalists and the editorials written by the editorial board of a newspaper, also the letters to the editor written by the readers both local and overseas and also the foreign editorials published in the local newspapers are all on the same page and have same preferences that is to make public opinion against the act of the General.

3.2.1.6 An Active Press

The analysis of the data from the press during the entire course of Lawyers' Movement of two years from March 2007 to March 2009 shows that the Pakistani press is a very engaging and very active press. With the high number of articles written on this matter already makes this press a very engaging and active one, but the more interesting outcome to note is that its articles (columns, editorials, letters to the editors etc.) are not merely just criticism on the actions of the government, but rather they do have a very strong opinion against the actions of the government as discussed in last graphs, and more importantly this press asks its readers to act in a certain way, it's not a passive press one which gives opinion about any particular matter and that's done, rather it urges its readers to act or to move to a solution of the problem discussed.

The further narrowed down analysis of the data when analysed at the level of the question that what kind of opinion is given by the press, rather it is just an opinion which does not seek any solution or reaction termed as passive opinion here or is it an opinion with an urge to act or to find a solution to the matter discussed, the following results are observed.

What Kind of Opinion
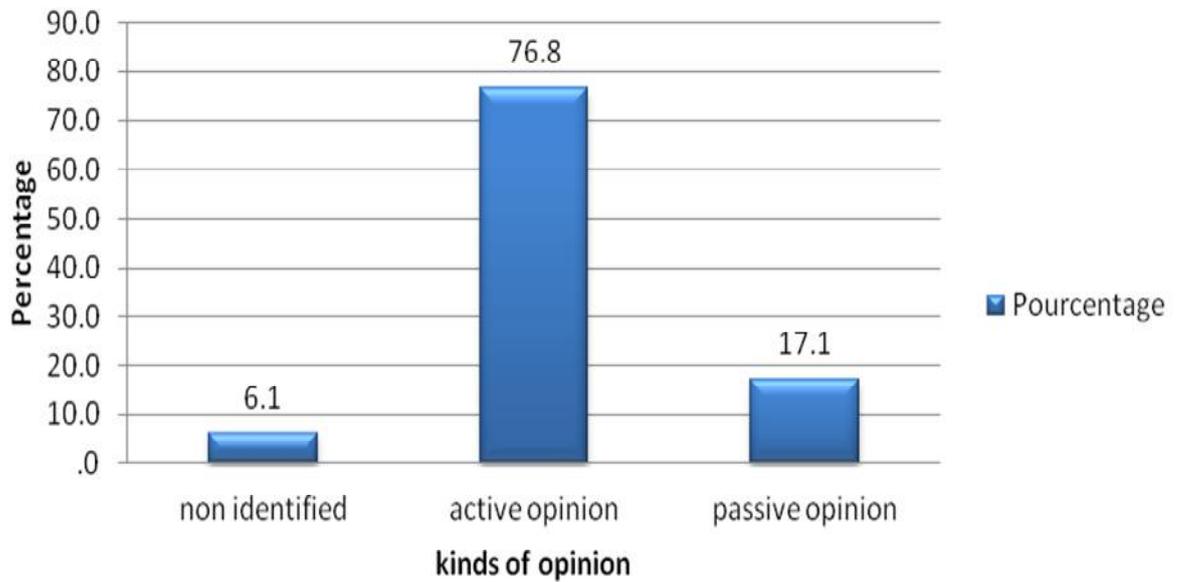
The results show that a staggering 76.8% of the text written in press about the particular incident is demanding for some action and solution, whereas only 17.1% is passive pinion i.e., one which does not specifically asks for a solution or reaction from its readers or the government or the protesting parties. So it's a very active press which is urging its readers most of the time to act or to move towards a solution to this matter.

To analyse further to pin point that whether this active opinion has any different tendencies when to be analysed at disintegrated level of English and Urdu press, the following results were observed.

What kind of Opinion compared in English & Urdu Press
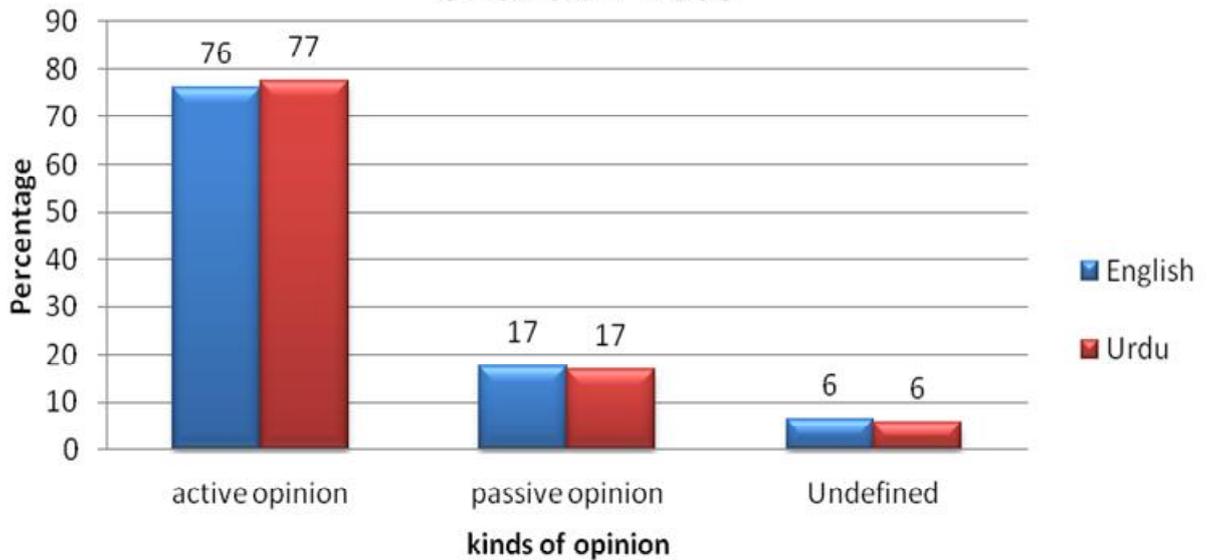
The further analysis shows the almost exact same tendencies in both the English and Urdu press. The level of active opinion is almost exactly same so is the level of passive opinion. This further strengthens the idea that both English and Urdu press are on the same page as far as their trends are concerned.

To study the same trends at micro level the data is further divided in the nature of text and analysed yielding following results.

## What kind of Opinion compared in types of texts in English & Urdu Press
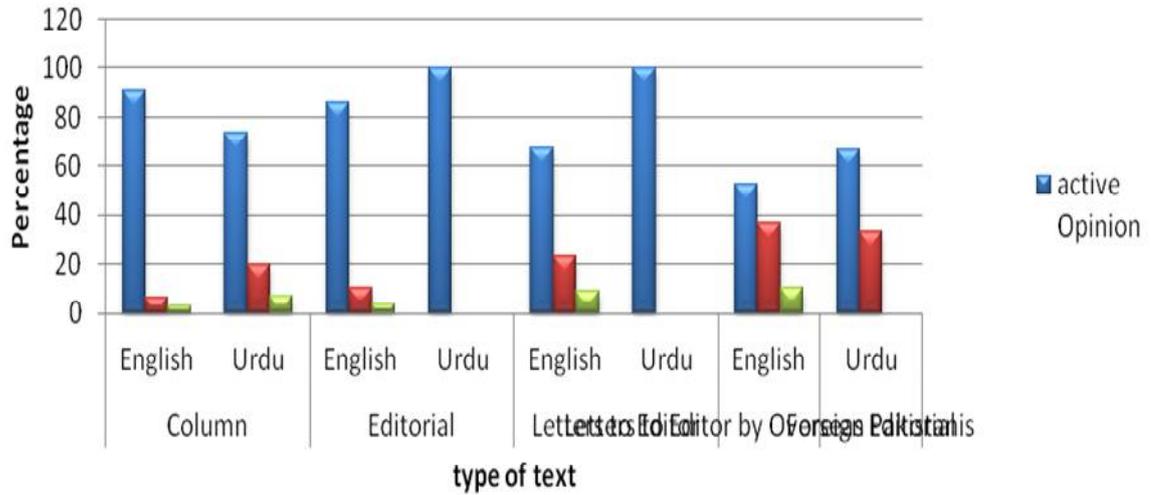
The data at micro level when analysed in the form of columns, editorials, letters to the editor, letters to the editor by the overseas Pakistanis, and foreign editorials published in local press again shows the same tendencies with no much difference among its different forms. It's always urging the reader for a solution or reaction to the matter discussed and the one seeking no reaction specifically is quite small in all the different forms of the data.

3.2.1.6.1   *What kind of action?*

The analysis so far showed that it is a very opinionated press and a very active press which is urging its readers to act, so now comes the next question that what kind of action and solution does it seek from its readers? Does it seek a constitutional solution, a peaceful solution, or does it asks for a change, a change in the government as a result of new elections? Or is it asking its readers to revolt against the government or if it is aiming at pacifying the protesting public? The following results are observed.

Demands of the Writer
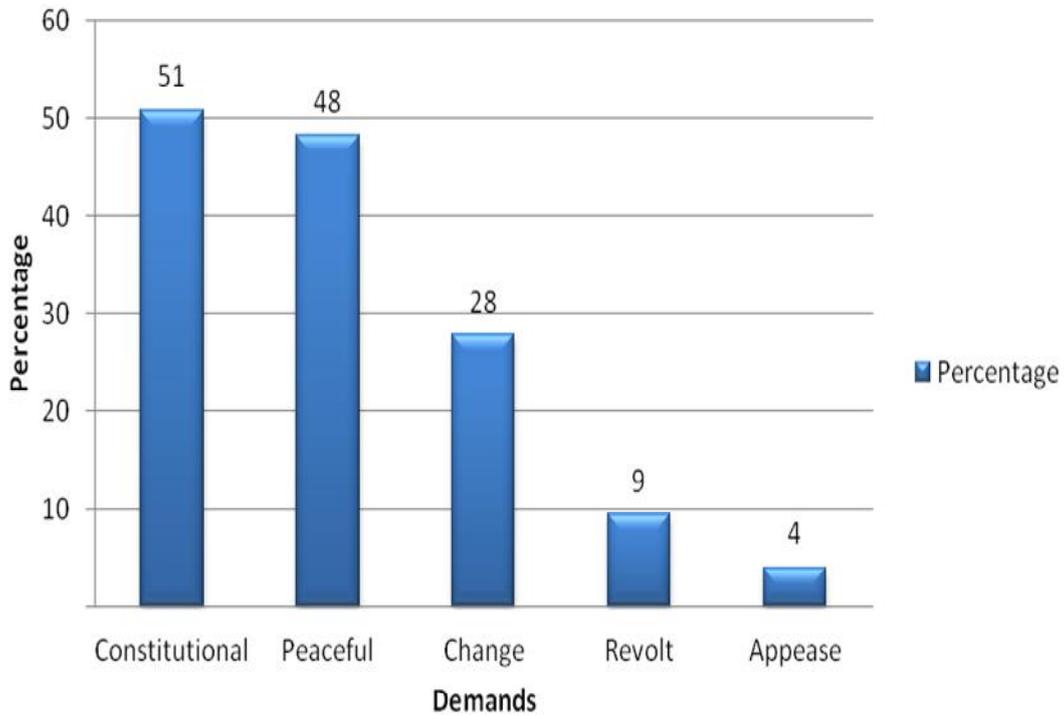
The results show that for most of the part the press is asking for a constitutional and peaceful way out of the matter discussed. It is not asking its readers to revolt or for a change of the government for most of the part, rather it is a very determined press which believes in a peaceful and a constitutional solution to the matter, i.e., according to the law of the country. So this shows a very positive and constructive aspect of the press and the level of its determination.

This level of determination of the press is further analysed by breaking the data into English and Urdu press, the following results are observed.

Demands of writer compared in English & Urdu Press
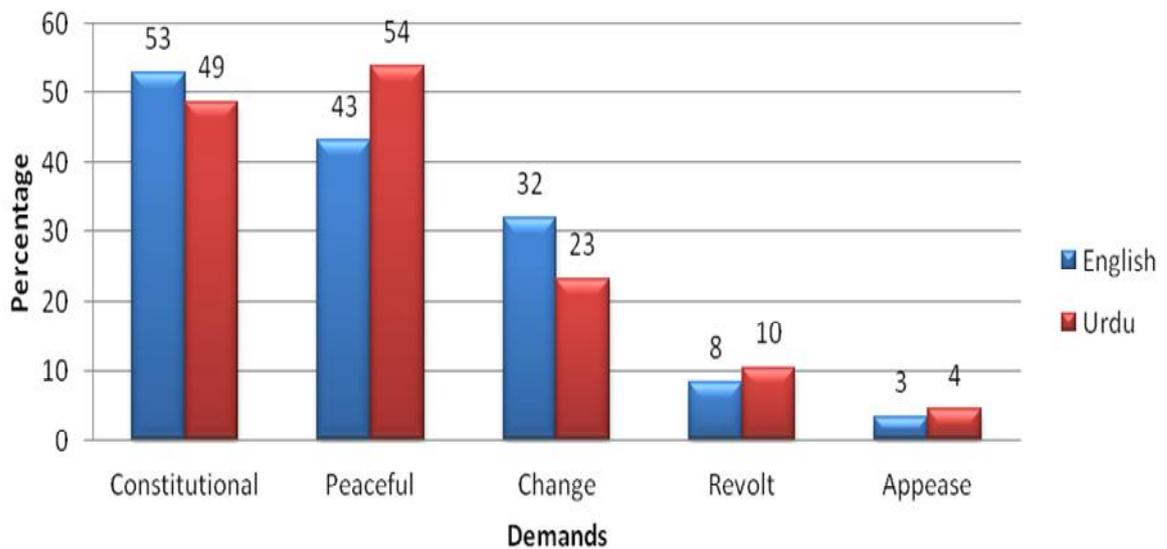
The breaking of data into English and Urdu press shows almost same tendencies in both English and Urdu press. The demand for a constitutional solution is bit higher in English press i.e., 53% compared to 49% in Urdu press, but at the same time the demand for a peaceful solution is bit higher in Urdu press i.e. 54% compared to 43% of the English press, similarly the demand for a change of the government either by new elections is a bit higher 32% in English press compared to 23% in Urdu press. So the overall tendencies and pattern remains the same in both the English and Urdu press without any significant difference, thus enforcing the idea that both the press are on the same page.

The data is further divided into different types of text inputs, like columns, editorials, letters to the editor, letters to the editor by overseas Pakistanis, and foreign editorials, to find out if a certain type of data has any significant variation compared to the other types of data, the following results are observed.

Demands of writer compared in types of texts in English & Urdu Press
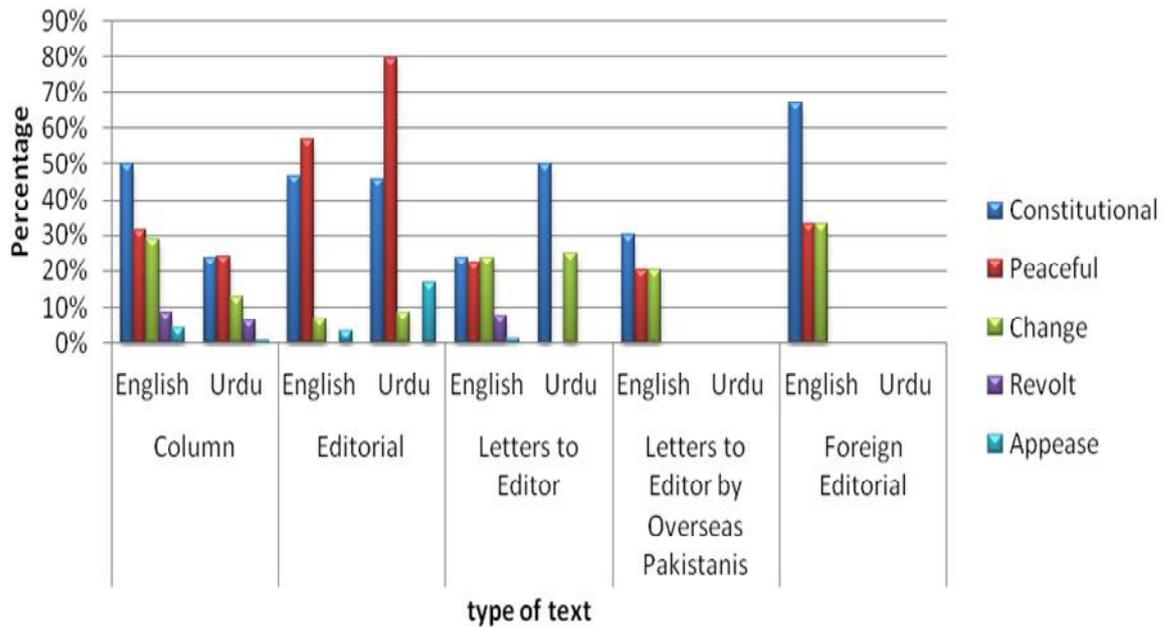
The analysis shows that the editorials which is the most important part of a newspaper, as it is written by the editorial board of the newspaper and it directly reflects the policy of the newspaper, is mostly emphasising on the peaceful solution and a constitutional solution, which enforces the idea that it is a very determined press which is seriously looking for a positive outcome of the matter rather than stirring the people up in a revolt against the government. The columns written by the professional journalists in the newspapers also show almost same tendencies but they are also asking for a change, as if they consider that a newly elected government might find a solution to the matter in hand in a relatively better way. Letters to the editors by local and overseas Pakistanis both have almost same tendencies that is to find a peaceful solution

and a constitutional one along with a change in the government as a result of new elections is also proposed.

3.2.1.6.2   With What Writing Tools?

This part focuses on the means and writing tools used by the writers in the texts analyzed to convey their messages to the readers. It is composed of the title the writer uses for its text whether it is a column in the newspaper by a journalist, the editorial of the newspaper, or letter to the editor. Along with the titles it is composed of identification and analysis of other notions like the use of political labelling and social labelling, the use of slogans, the use of references from prose and poetry, as well as historical and religious references used to relate the writer's argument to lay more stress on it thus making it more palatable and interesting for the reader.

The first writing tool is the title of the text. Most of the times a reader selects a particular text for reading by just glancing on its title so title becomes of utmost importance and very first preference in relation to the writing and also the reading pattern.

The titles of the texts are analyzed if they were aggressive, sarcastic, neutral or defensive in nature. The following results were observed in the analysis.

Titles of the Texts
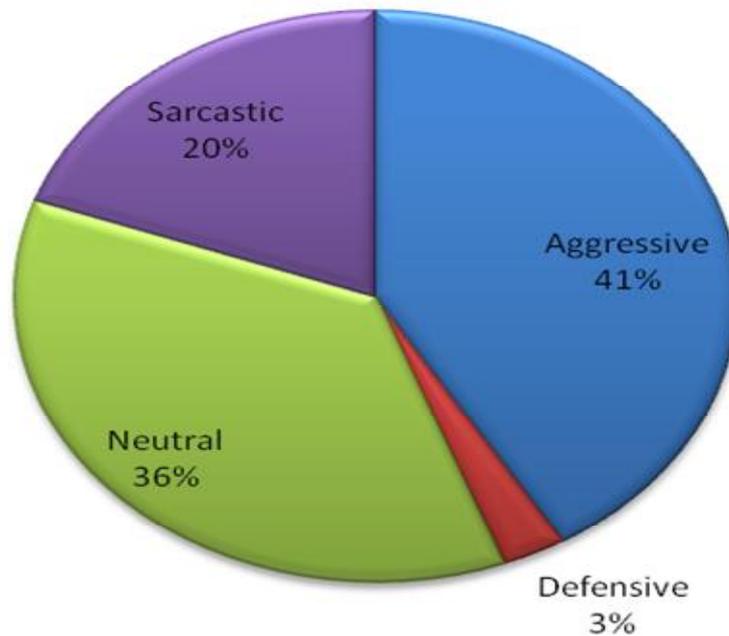
The analysis shows that most of the texts had aggressive titles which constitute about 41% of the texts analyzed from the newspapers, while 20% were sarcastic, which is also very critical but has a different tone as compared to harsh tone of aggressive titles. Also a huge number 36% still constitutes the neutral titles. This shows that the press is aggressive and sarcastic for the most part but also neutral as far as titles of the texts are concerned.

The same parameter is further analyzed when the data is divided again into the English and Urdu press, to find out whether we see any variant in the trends of the press from two different languages? The analysis shows the following results.

Titles of texts compared in English & Urdu Press
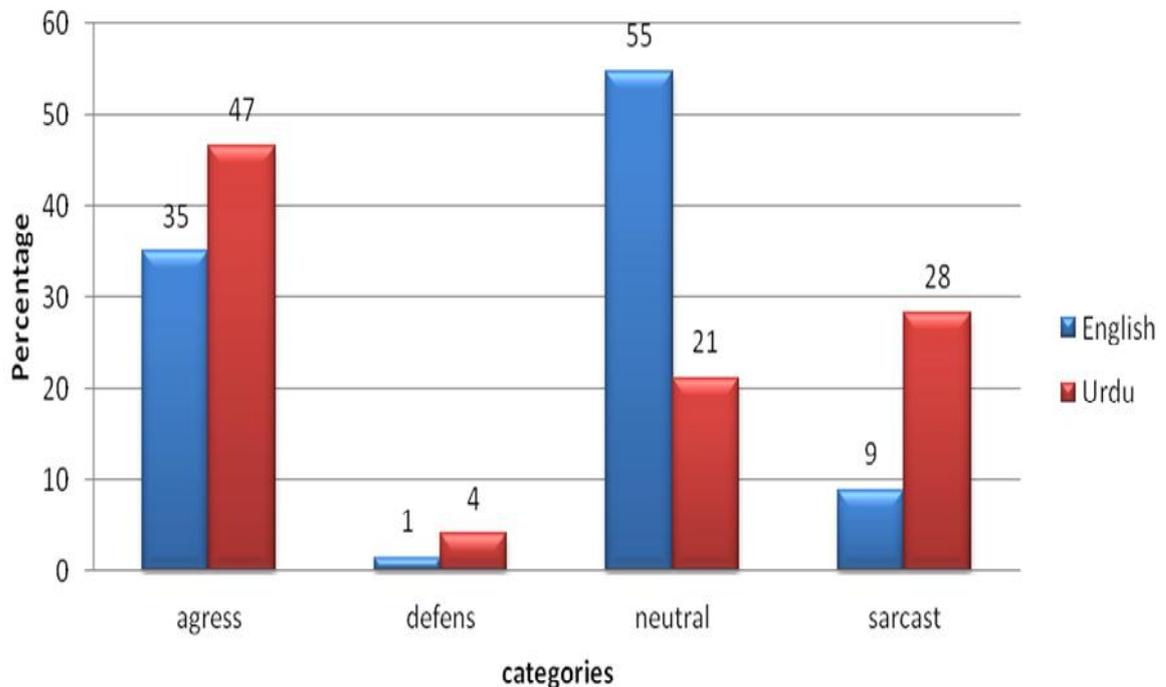
The results of this analysis show that the urdu press when compared to the English press is found to be a little more aggressive, more sarcastic and less neutral as far as the titles of the texts are concerned. Urdu press found to be 12% more aggressive than English press, 19% more sarcastic than English press, and 34% less neutral than the English press as far as titles of the texts studied are concerned. Therefore, it is the first time that in the analysis we see a difference in the pattern between English and the Urdu press. But this difference is only limited to the title of the texts.

This leads to the next question as the analysis so far shows that the press is very critical, denunciating, dedicated to the cause rather than just opposition of the personalities, and hence the titles of texts for the most part are aggressive and sarcastic, so what about the vocabulary and the rest of the text? What kind of language is used in the texts? Is it professional language following all the codes of ethics of the journalistic

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profession? Is there a use of any political labelling in the text which could demonstrate the disgust or support of the writer towards a certain party? Political labelling for example the use of words like Dictator, Fascist Regime, etc. Also if some social labels are used which perform the same function as that of political labelling but are more akin to the social culture rather than the political scenario. Social labelling examples include liar, deceit, cunning, authoritative, or association to known public figures for both good and bad references. Also if any derogatory terms are used in the texts for either of the parties involved? The analysis gives the following results.
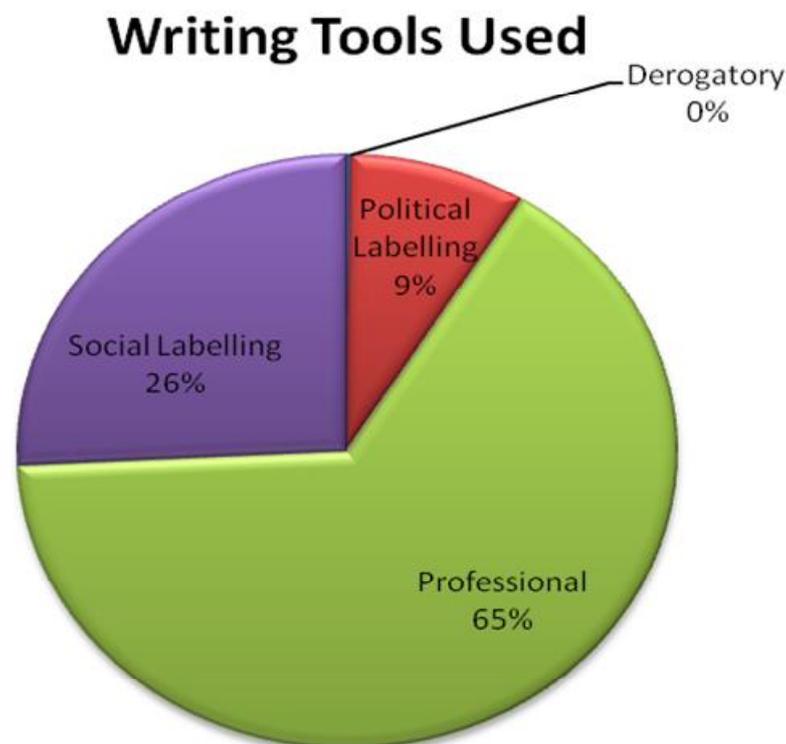
The analysis of the language of the texts reveals that most of the time professional language is used in the text that is more than 65% of the time. Political labelling is used only about 8.7% of the times and social labelling is used about 25.8% of the times. These results show that most of the text analyzed from the newspapers is written using the professional language. Whereas the use of political and social labelling

does not mean that it is the use of non professional language but it simply means that it is more expressive and uses references to better elaborate its point of view and opinion. All the criticism, denunciation, determination to the cause, opinion making, seeking solution and urging the readers to act, all these aspects of the press are expressed in a very professional language, which indicates to the fact that it is a very engaging, active and yet serious and professional press.

This aspect of the press is further verified by dividing the text into the English and Urdu press. The following results are observed.

## Writing Tools Used compared in English & Urdu Press
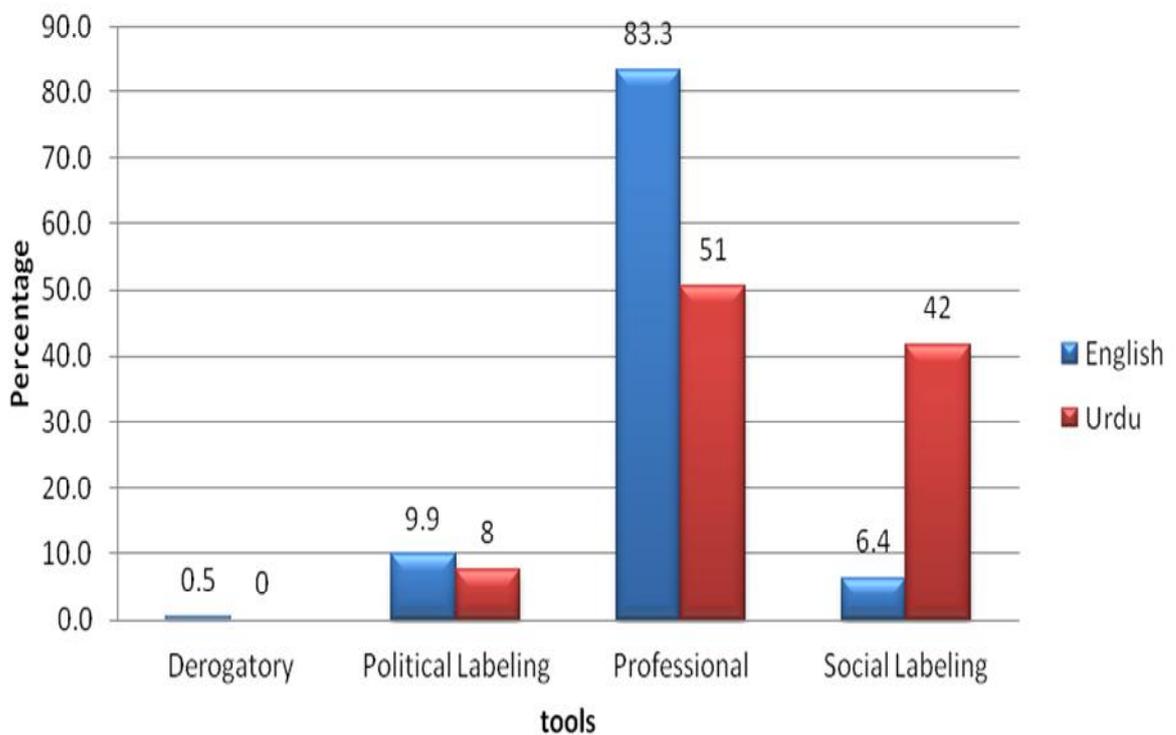
The analysis shows a difference in the trends of the language use in English and Urdu press. The English press is found to be using more professional language a

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staggering 32% more times than the Urdu press. Also the use of social labelling is 36% less in English press compared to the Urdu press. The use of the political labelling is found almost similar in both the press. The use of social labelling and political labelling does not mean a deviation from the professional language, it merely means that Urdu press is more expressive and use more tools and means when it wants to express its opinion and point of view. With urdu being the language of the common people in Pakistan, most of the literature in the country is found in urdu, therefore, while writing in English it becomes very difficult to use the known notions and still connect it to the masses, this is the point where urdu media takes an advantage due to its rich use of the language and other writing tools.

The next question arises that if references both political and social are used in the texts how are they used? As they are meant to be used in the favour or against a particular party, which party they are supporting with the use of these linguistic tools? The result of the analysis shows following details.

Political & Social Labelling
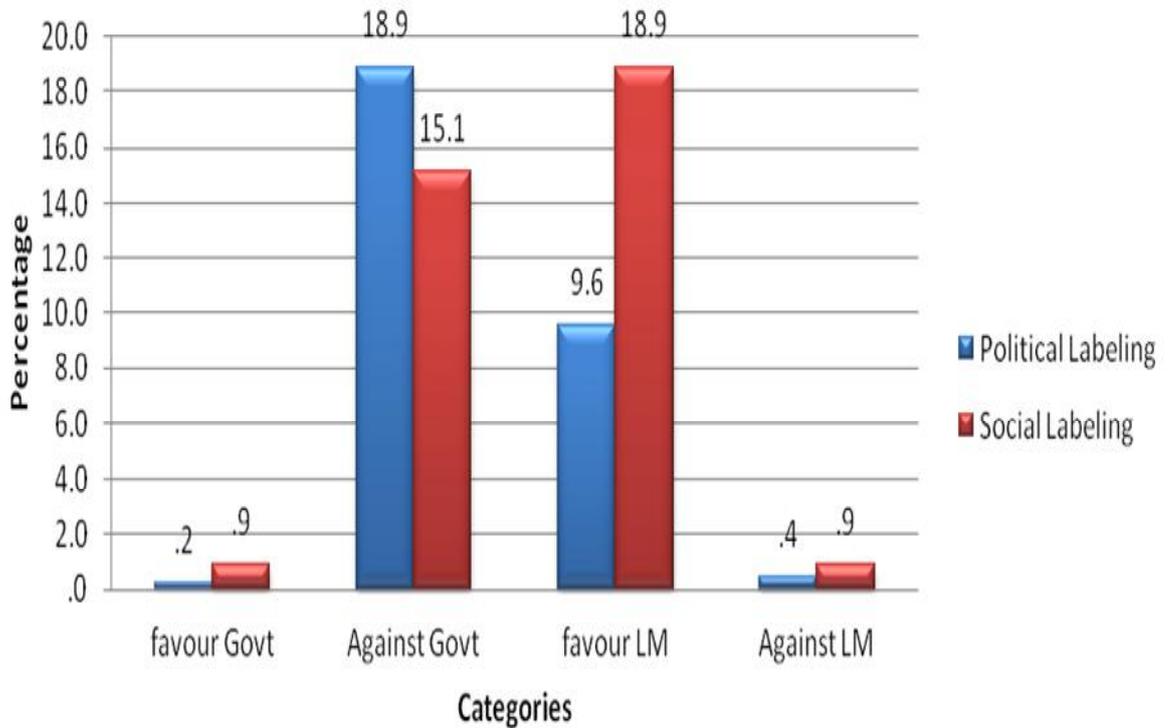
The analysis results show that the political and social references or labelling is used mostly in the favour of the Lawyers Movement and against the government. Political labelling is used more against the government while social labelling is used more in the favour of the Lawyers' Movement. It suggests that the government is politically labelled for the criticism of its actions and the movement is being socially labelled to create an opinion in its favour, both these tools very are effective, political labelling for criticism and social labelling for support.

This aspect is further analyzed at the level of English and Urdu press.

Political & Social Labelling compared in English & Urdu Press
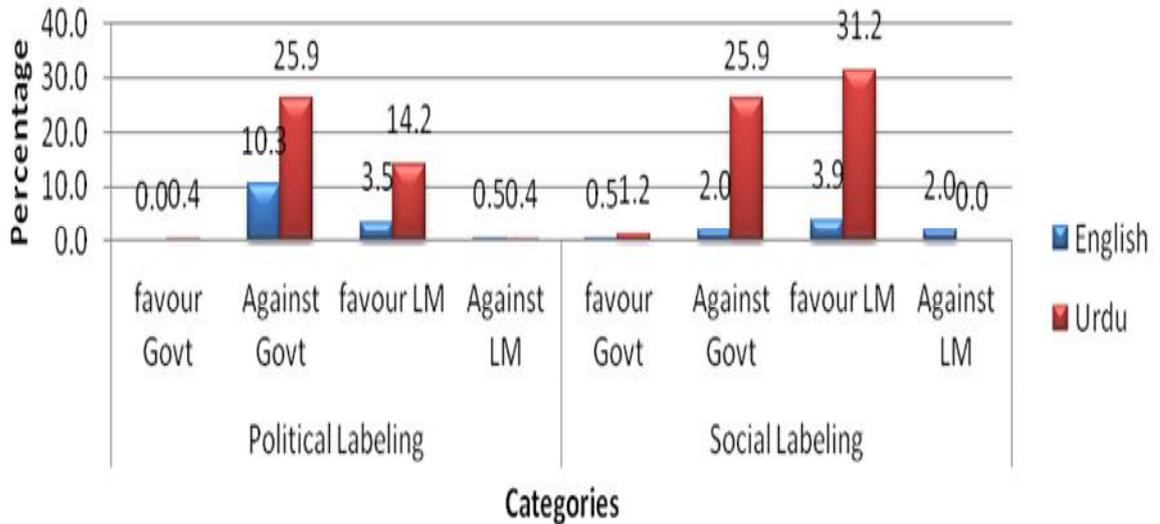
The analysis shows a more engaging and expressive aspect of the Urdu press as compared to the English press in the use of political and social labelling and references, which again enforces the previous idea that Urdu being the lingua franca of the country is used in more effective ways as it can be better adopted to the political and social inclinations of the masses, and Urdu press uses this fact for its better expression.

3.2.2 *Analysis of Data from Blogs*

The analysis of 279 blogs from three different blog sites during the entire course of Lawyers' Movement i.e. two years, from Mach 2007 to March 2009 gives very interesting results which are viewed and analyzed in relation and comparison to that of the press. The reason for this comparison and relation is that internet being a new medium of communication is trying to make its place in the public sphere and according to one of the hypothesis of this research it may be even trying to replace the traditional press, so its analysis to be viewed and studied in the light of that of the press is deemed

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very important and pertinent in probing this hypothesis and other research questions of the study as well.

Out of a total of 279 blogs only 28 blogs were found in Urdu language and that too in only one of the three blog sites selected for the analysis. The reasons for this lack in the presence of blogs in Urdu language on the internet have already been discussed in 'Data Sources'. Only 10% data in Urdu language does not show any concrete and visible results thus, making it not significant for the analysis and study. Therefore, no such declassification of the blogs in Urdu and English language is done for the analysis as it was done in the analysis of the data from press. Furthermore, in blogs there are not different types of texts as were available in press like columns, editorials, and letters to the editor, hence, the classified study of blogs at micro level of text type is also not possible. The blogs are thus analyzed without these two main narrowed down classifications as were done in press, and are thus studied without any such variables.

This analysis of the texts from blogs is simply divided into two parts, the 1st part consists of those parameters which are found similar in the analysis of press and blogs, i.e. the tendencies and patterns which are on the same lines or are found in coherence to each other are summed up and discussed together whereas the patterns and tendencies which are on the contrary to each other and show some variance in their behaviour and appearance are summed up in the 2nd part and are discussed and analyzed in that part altogether.

3.2.2.1 Part 1- Similarities

The first part of the analysis of the texts from the blogs consists of the similarities or similar trends and tendencies found in the analysis of both kinds of media, the press and the blogs. The similarities are important as they might show some reasons for the success of Lawyers' Movement which might be a result of both kinds of media having similar sentiments and reaction to this cause and behaving in almost similar fashion, thus strengthening the support for the cause and enforcing the same public opinion to the audience of both the media. The similar trends found in both analyses are further classified as follows.

3.2.2.1.1   Intensity of Criticism

The intensity of criticism found in the analysis of the press lead to a hypothesis that the internet media- the blogs would be more critical perhaps owing to less responsibility and anonymity offered by the internet. For this purpose the parameter used to measure the intensity of the criticism is applied in the analysis to find and compare the results. The following graph shows the results in this regard.

Level of Criticism
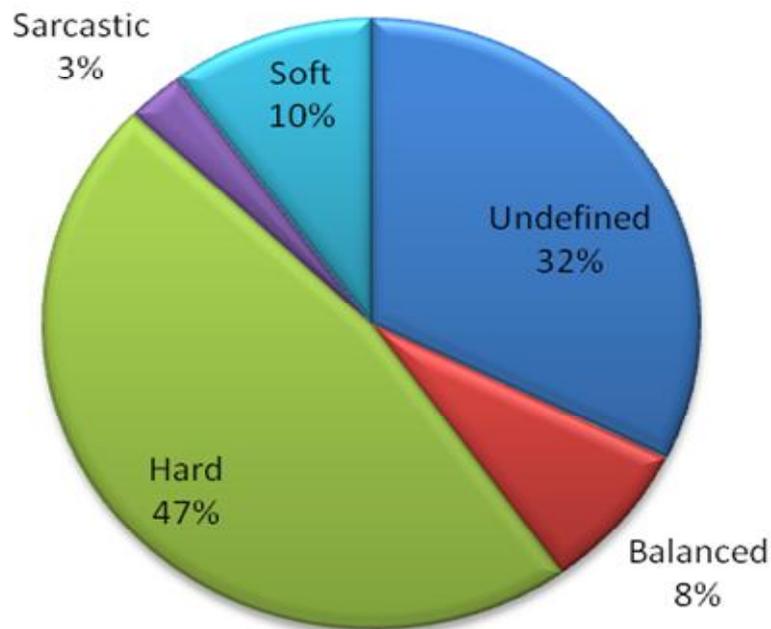
The analysis shows that the criticism done against the actions of the General is hard criticism for the most part. It is further explained that 47% of the criticism done in the blogs is actually very hard criticism like that of 52% of the hard criticism in the press. Contrary to the common belief that on the internet and in the blogs the criticism is very harsh against the government, here it is found that it is almost equal even a little bit less than that done in the main stream press having the popular readership. The level of sarcasm found in the criticism of the blogs is quite less that is only 2.9% when compared to the 12% of that in the press. The soft criticism is almost same with 10% in blogs and almost 7% in press, also balanced criticism is almost 8% in the blogs and 5% in the press. These analysis results show almost same trends and tendencies in the nature and intensity of the criticism in both press and blogs, thus rejecting the common belief that blogs are more critical when it comes to the nature of criticism than the main stream press.

3.2.2.1.2   *Opinionated Media*

The analysis shows that both the press and blogs are highly opinionated rather than being aloof or neutral to the ongoing discussion and matter of the Lawyers' Movement. In order to verify it, the parameter studied in the analysis is that out of all the texts analyzed in the blogs what is the ratio of the texts having an opinion against the government, in the favour of the government, and neutral or just narrator of the facts? Narrator of the facts attributes to the reporting like phenomenon where the writer merely describes or reports the facts rather than investing his/her own opinion in the text. The following results were observed.

Intent of Bloggers
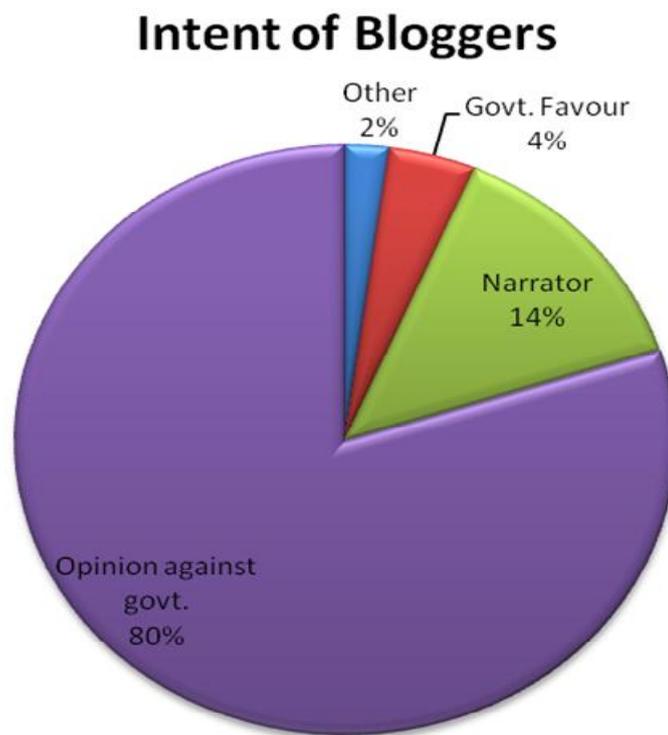
In the analysis of the press, the results showed almost 80% of the texts from the press were those having an opinion against the government, the analysis of the blogs also show almost exactly similar results. About 80% blogs are written with an opinion against government, only 13.6% are reporting the facts without giving any opinion

which is almost similar to 12% of that in the press, and government favour opinion in the blogs is also very low only 4.3% like that of the press. This is very interesting and important result which shows that both the media, the press and the blogs on the internet are on the same page, they both are opinionated and both have opinion against the government and of course in the favour of the movement.

3.2.2.1.3   Media True to the Cause

The next question which arises is that if the internet blogs are also opinionated in almost exactly the same manner as that of the press, then is it engaged in personal criticism of the personalities involved or just the criticism of their public actions which lead to the creation of this national issue? Earlier in the analysis of the press, it showed that the press remained mostly aloof and indifferent to the personalities of the actors involved in this matter while remaining determined to the cause and not attacking the personalities. The following graph shows the result of the analysis of this parameter that if the blogs remain indifferent while discussing the matter and if not then which side they take for the personal criticism?

Portray of the Actors Involved
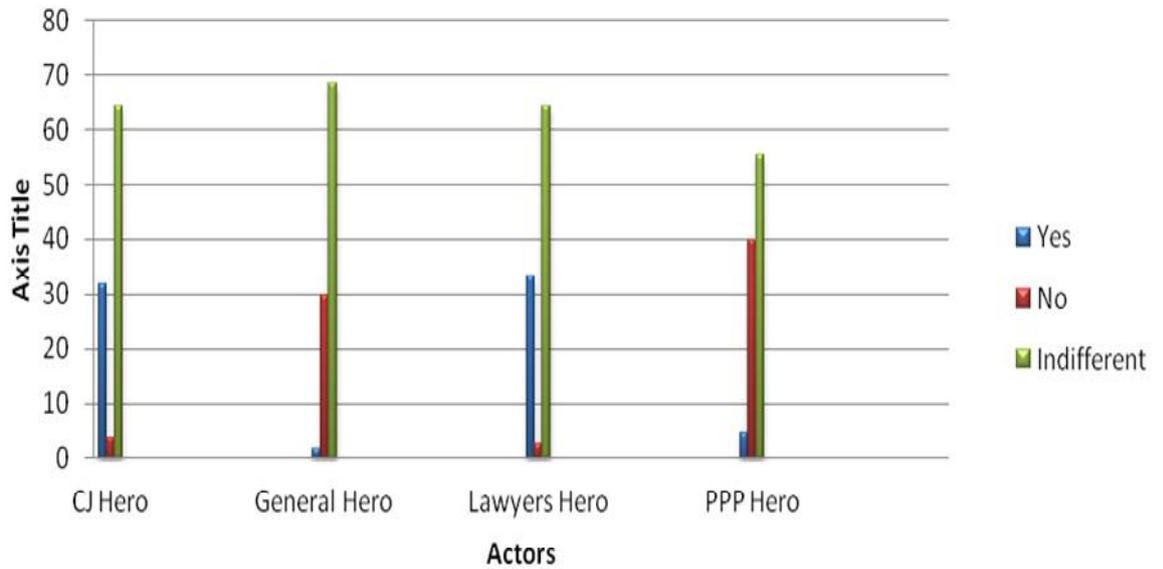
The result of the analysis of blogs show that for the most part the blogs also remain indifferent to the personalities of the people involved and thus criticize the issue and remain true and dedicated to the cause. This is very interesting to note that contrary to the common belief that internet is a place where the writers and bloggers without any fear of responsibility and with the help of anonymity easily do personal criticism and astray from the main cause, the blogs also exhibit the same trends as those of the press, thus remaining true to the cause.

Also when deeply analysed besides the major portion of the texts remaining indifferent to this measure, when personal criticism is done, it is mostly against the government personalities and in the favour of the personalities and leaders of the lawyers' movement again in line with the results of the analysis of press. So it is also note worthy that both the press and blogs although remaining true and dedicated to the cause when rarely do personal criticism its always the same sides they take, that is against the government and in the favour of the movement which might be an important factor for the success of the movement as all the media seems to be on the same page,

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both the professional and the amateur media which is blogs, and there seems to be no conflict or difference of opinion in both.

The same aspect of the media being true to its cause and not being involved and engaged in the movement due to any kind of censorship imposed on it must be verified here to as was done in the case of the press. This aspect is really important to verify as if the media is under siege than it might join any movement in the country against the regime for its own battle and benefits. The parameter when tested in the analysis gives the following results.

Report of Censorship on Media
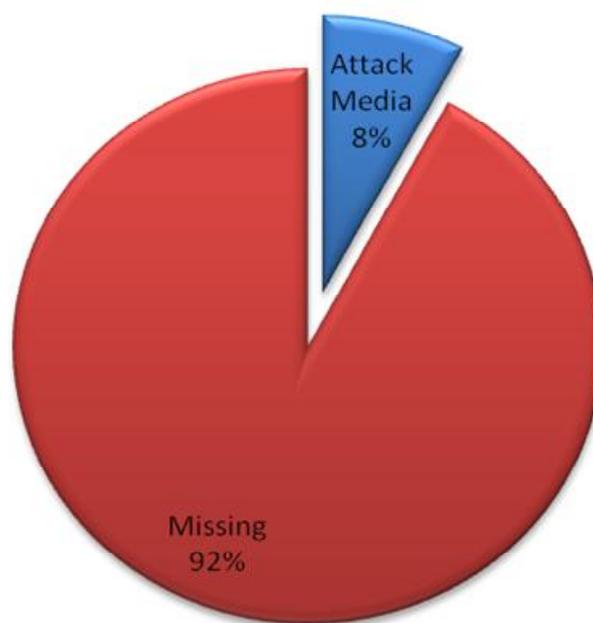
The result of the analysis shows that like press where it was 10%, here too in the blogs only about 8% voice is present about any attack on media and freedom of expression. This is again in coherence with the analysis result of the press and it shows that both the media are again on the same page with the same tendencies and trends being exhibited.

This very same parameter of any attack on media or on the freedom of expression is further verified in more depth that whether small and insignificant this 8% report of attack on media is composed of what kind of attack and on what kind of media? Is it an attack on the press, or on the television, or on the radio, or on the journalist, or on the internet, or on the blogger?

Report of Censorship on different form of Media
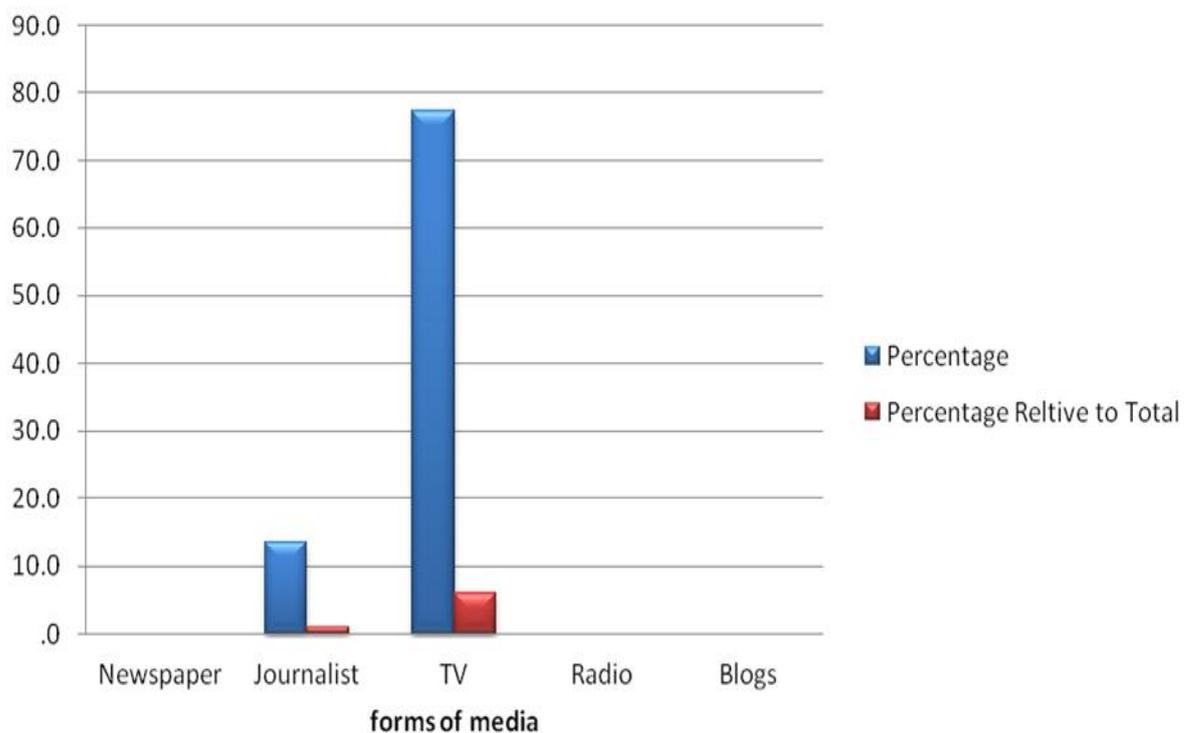
The result of the analysis does not show a different picture than that shown in the same analysis of the press, there also a 78% of voice among the total of 10% was about the attack on television like here in blogs a similar 77%, as well as 32% about attack on any professional journalist mentioned in the press, which is 13.6% a little less reported in the blogs. The newspapers, the radio, the internet, and bloggers are not attacked or put under censorship by the government throughout the course of the

Lawyers' Movement, as is evident from the analysis of the press and now again re-verified from the analysis of the blogs. This shows that the press and the blogs were not fighting any battle of their own for their personal or professional benefits or survival and their engagement and activism in the movement is a result of their dedication for the rule of law and democracy in the society.

3.2.2.1.4   *Writing Tools Used*

The aspects of the internet media which appeared so far in the results of the analysis of the blogs present it as a very opinionated media which has a very high intensity of the criticism and at the same time does not deviate in the form of mere opposition of the personalities involved but remain true and dedicated to the cause. This further leads to the question that these objectives are achieved in what way? As it is only the text in the blogs we are talking about, so what kinds of writing tools are used to achieve these aspects? And in what way these tools are used?

The first writing tool analyzed in this regard is the topic or title of the blogs. The topic or title is the first thing that catches the eyes of the reader and thus is of primary importance, it sets the mood of the blog and prepares the reader for a certain kind of text, in which reader can expect that what kind of text he is about to read and thus makes his/her mind to either read or reject the blog without reading. In the blogs this title becomes even more important because most of the time the entire text is not shown on the webpage, but only the title is given and if the reader wants to read the entire blog after just reading the title, he/she may click on the title link and then he/she is given full access to the blog. The analysis of the titles of the blogs studied gives the following results.

Titles of Blogs
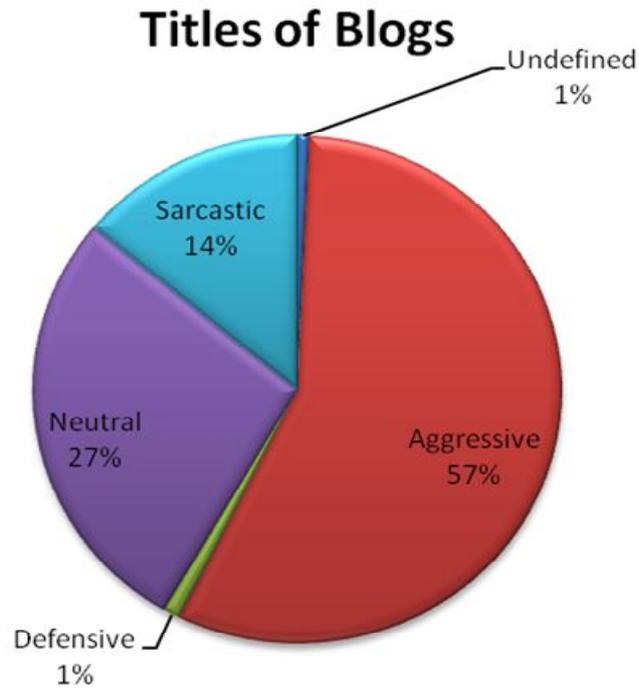
The analysis shows that for the most part the blogs are composed of aggressive titles like that in the press, here its value is 56.6% which was 41% in the press. In press it was a little bit less aggressive compared to the blogs but the basic trend is same as it is the major portion in both the results. The neutral titles were 36% in the press and are 27.6% in the blogs, similarly the sarcastic titles comprised 20% in the press and 14% in the blogs. The aggressive titles are a bit less in the press, neutral are a bit more and sarcastic are also a bit more in the press analysis, but the trends are almost similar in both the media. In blogs the majority of the titles of the texts are also aggressive in nature, then comes neutral ones and then sarcastic, with hardly very few in the favour of the government like that in the press. This result again enforces the idea that both the press are exhibiting almost similar tendencies and trends and thus behaving on almost the same lines altogether.

The next writing tools to be analysed are related to the use of language inside the blogs. What kind of language is being used in the blogs? Is it professional

journalistic language? Is it derogatory language? Is it derogatory to the government or the protesting parties of the movement? Are political and social references be used in the favour or against any particular party?

The following results are observed related to these linguistic parameters.

Writing Tools Used
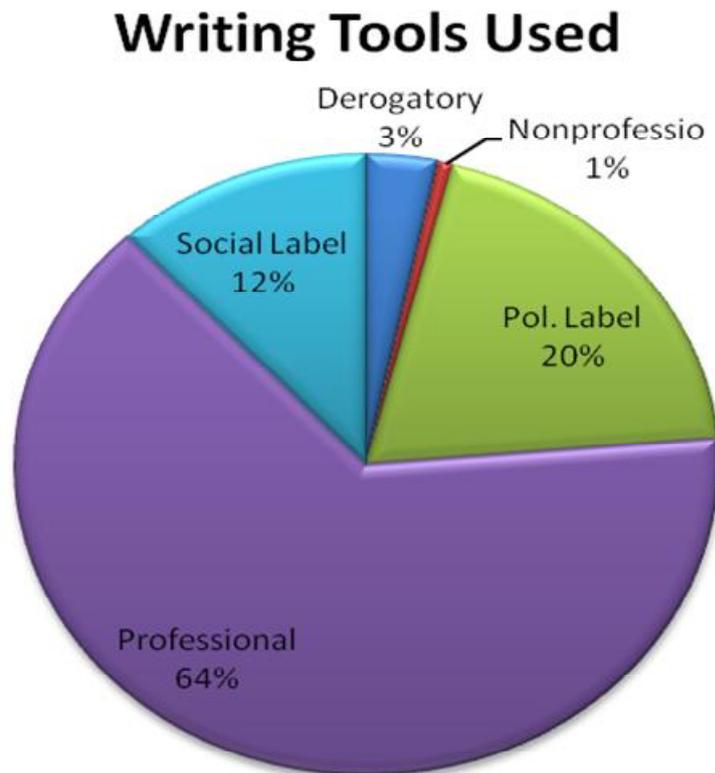
The analysis of the linguistic tools used in the blogs paints a picture of this non-traditional media almost along the same lines as that of the main stream press. Once again this analysis gives results to the contrary belief about the internet, the use of professional language is almost identical as that used in the press, both exhibiting almost 65% of it in the texts. This 65% does not mean that the rest 35% is not using the professional language, rather it means that 65% have avoided the use of any other expressions like political and social references and have restricted their texts from the use of such expressions.

Political labelling is a little higher in the blogs 19.7% compared to only 8.7% in the press, whereas the use of social references and labels is lower in the blogs only 11.8% compared to the 25.8% than that in the press. A simple and raw assumption can be made with this result that blogs might be familiar with the political terms usage to make their arguments more politically appealing to their readers but at the same time bloggers are not very prone to the usage of social labelling which could enable the readers to familiarize themselves more socially to the opinions and views of the blogger.

Again in the blogs contrary to the common belief there had been very few usage of derogatory terminology merely 3.2% which is very less and negligible use of derogatory language against any party involved, this shows the responsibility and seriousness in this new born, anonymous, and more participative media.

3.2.2.2 Part II - Differences

This part of the analysis is about the differences observed in the analysis of the blogs in comparison with that of the press. This part of the analysis is important because it is this place where the internet is seen trying to make its own mark, trying to create its own sphere in the presence of an already existing very popular and active traditional media. It is these differences which make a shape of this new media and give it its own new definition. But again this definition and shape of internet media is seen in comparison with the main stream media which happens to act as a precedent of media in this case and internet trying to squeeze in making its own public sphere of course in a limited space depending upon its readership and the access to this highly technological media again in comparison to the easily accessible popular press media.

3.2.2.2.1   Criticism But Rather Superficial?

The analysis of the press paints its picture as a very critical and actively engaging media now the same parameters need to be observed and analyzed in the blogs. The first parameter in this regard is to see whether blogs are also critical, denouncing the act of the General with sound reasoning, and if openly favouring and criticising any particular party involved? The analysis shows the following results.
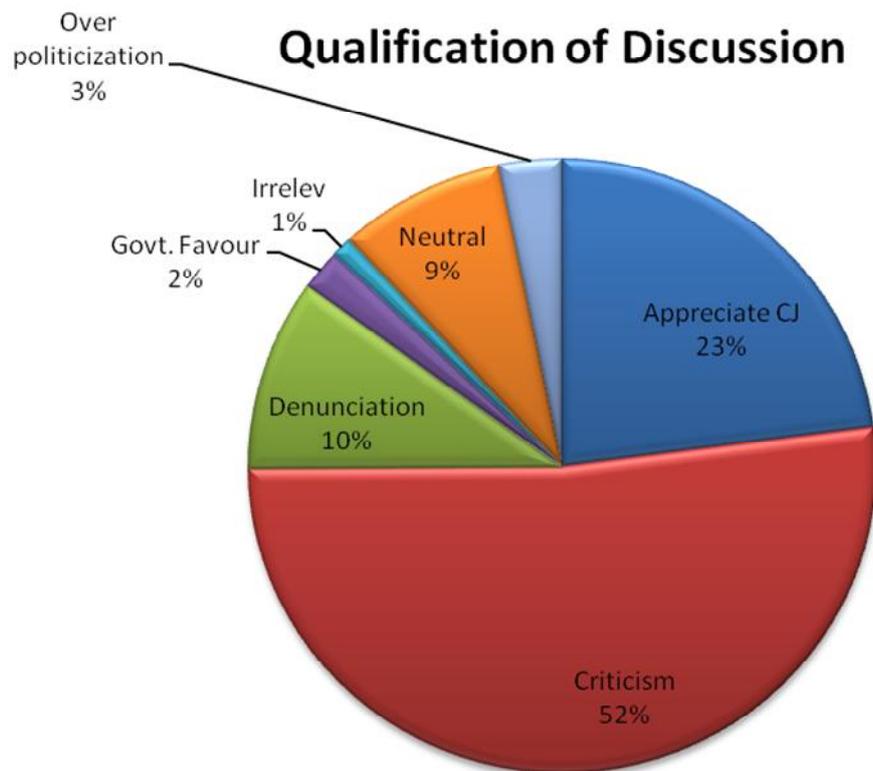
The analysis results show that the blogs are more critical with a total of about 52% of texts doing criticism on the actions of the General compared to only 29% that of the press. This is interesting and the first look on these results might point that the blogs are more critical than that of the press, but this needs to be further analysed with other parameters as well. Likewise the denunciation in the press was found to be staggering 26% compared to only 10% in the blogs. The term 'denunciation' is used here in

separation to the term 'criticism', these two terms exhibiting almost same meanings most of the time, but here the denunciation is not mere criticism but the actual rejection of the act backed up by solid reasoning and argumentation from the writer. So in a way the blogs lack solid reasoning and the plain rejection of the act of the General from the writers, one thing which is quite clear and highly manifested in the analysis of the press. The appreciation of the act of Chief Justice is done at almost the same level as that in press, 23% in the blogs and 27% in the press. Again going contrary to the common belief the blogs are exhibiting a little bit of restraint in the open favour of a party involved in the issue.

The significant aspect of the blogs that they lack in denunciation compared to the press is further analysed into as what kind of denunciation is done, or simply what reasoning is given to condemn or to reject or to criticize the acts of the General. The results from the press are already very clear, now it needs to be tested on the blogs, which gives the following results.
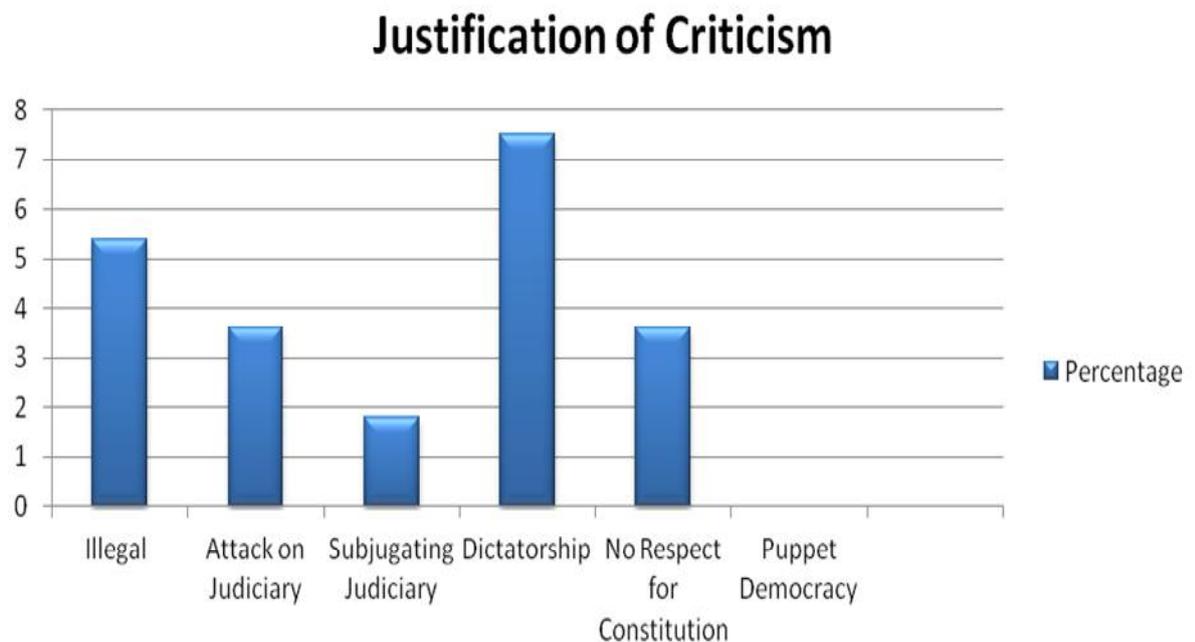
The result of the analysis shows that the trend in the form of denunciation is almost similar but the magnitude is quite different owing to the less amount of denunciation found in the blogs already. The major part still comprises of the condemnation on the basis of dictatorship and the next major part is illegal act, then as an act of attack on judiciary and subjugating judiciary by the General and finally that there is no respect for the constitution or rule of law shown by the government. It points to the almost similar trend as that observed in this results of this parameter in press but the magnitude is alarmingly less in the case of blogs, which leads to the conclusion that the internet media is doing more criticism but with less solid reasoning and argumentation, so the criticism done in blogs is rather superficial.

3.2.2.2.2   *Internet More Passive?*

As commonly believed internet is supposed to be a more active media, even more active than the traditional media asking the readers to act in more practical way. It is one of the major reasons for internet to find its space in the public sphere that practical action is right in its very basis. When a non professional person starts a blog or comments on a post on the internet it is active participation in the first place so internet has active participation in its very essence. This being the reason of this common belief and hypothesis that this media must urge its readers to act more in a practical way, is tested by one of the parameters of this analysis. As it is already presented above in the results of the analysis that both the media are almost equally same as both are opinionated almost in the 80% of their texts, so now it is to be observed that what kind of opinion they formulate, is it active opinion or passive opinion? Meaning that is this opinion urging its readers to act in a practical way or just giving its opinion and not asking anything from its readers?

Opinion in Blogs
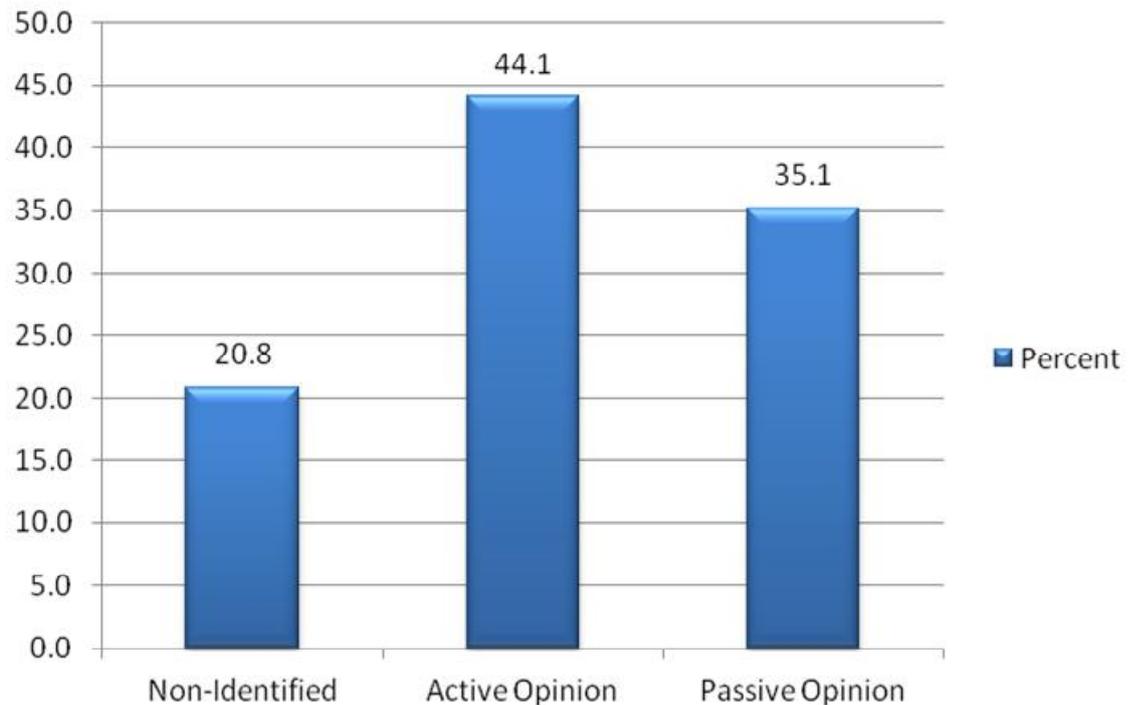
The analysis of the result shows that the texts from the blogs on the internet give an active opinion for most part but without much difference it gives passive opinion as well which is on the contrary to the level of difference between active and passive opinion in the press. In the press this difference between the active and passive opinion was 60%, as active opinion being 77% and passive opinion being 17%, whereas in the blogs the active opinion is 44% and the passive opinion is 35%, giving a total difference between active and passive opinion merely 9% compared to a staggering 60% difference in the press, thus making blogs relatively more passive than the press. It is not only the difference in the two levels but also the level of passive opinion given in the blogs that is way much more than that in the press, in blogs it is 35% whereas in the press it is merely 17%, this shows that the writers in the press besides giving their opinion and by doing so formulating the public opinion are also urging more and more to its readers to act in a certain way whereas, in the blogs the writers are merely giving

their opinion without any significant emphasis on any solution or reaction from their readers.

3.2.2.2.3 *Internet Asking for Change?*

As discussed in the above results of the analysis that the texts from blogs are certainly opinionated like the press and also demand for a solution or reaction from their readers though in lesser magnitude when compared to the press but still the magnitude is significant, so now the analysis moves further within the parameter of the active opinion. That if the opinion is active and urging its readers for a reaction or a solution then what kind of solution the writer is seeking? Is the writer seeking for a constitutional solution as in the case of the press? The constitutional solution means a solution which is in accordance with the law and nothing more or else. Is the writer seeking for a peaceful solution to this matter of the movement? Is the writer seeking for a change? The change here means that this government is incapable of solving this issue so there must be a new government either by new elections in the country so it would be more democratic and might find a solution in a peaceful and democratic way. When all these parameters put to test the following results are observed in the data.

Demands of Bloggers
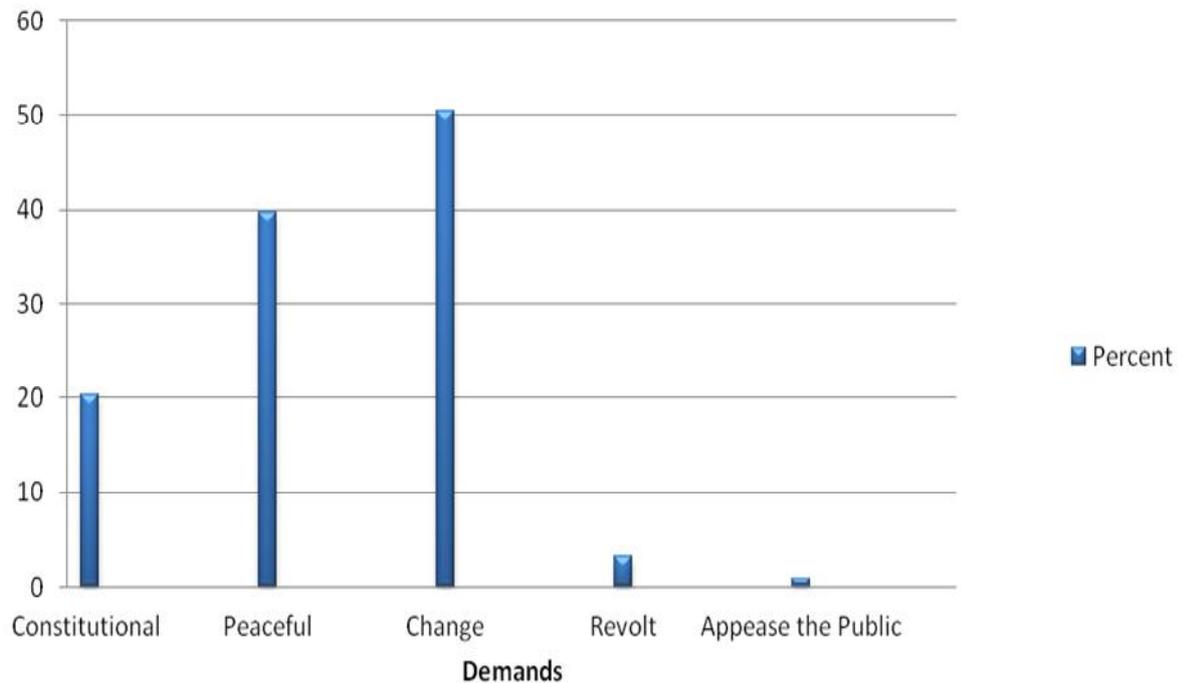
The result of the analysis shows that the blogs are seeking more for a change, a staggering 50.4% of them as compared to the 28% voice for the change in the press. In the press the major voice was for a constitutional solution which was 51%, whereas in the blogs it is merely 20.3%. The voice for a peaceful solution remains almost same in both the media 48% in the press, and 40% in the blogs. It is also important to note that voice for the revolt is still insignificant in the blogs as it was in the press and the voice for a peaceful solution still finds its place among the top priorities both in the blogs and in the press. But the major difference is observed in the demand for a change of the government which is very clear and loud in the blogs, so the blogs are more for a change of the government though by a democratic and political process.

PART – 4

CONCLUSION & PROSPECTS OF

THE STUDY

4.1 Conclusion

This concluding part of the thesis is also further divided into two parts. In first part it is analyzed if the results produced are able to answer the research questions raised in this research study and if yes then to what extent. In the second part it is analyzed what future prospects of research studies this thesis might lead to.

4.1.1   Question of Freedom of Expression on the Internet

In view of the results of the analysis conducted, it is possible to answer to a very important research question of this study regarding the freedom of media in this case especially the internet in Pakistan. The results show that there had been almost no ban on the internet and no censorship in this regard on any form of communication on the internet in liaison to the ongoing discussion throughout the period of the lawyers' movement.

As the data shows there had been zero account of any censorship on internet both in the blogs and in the newspapers. During this period when there had been censorship on a television channel as its broadcasting had been banned by the government which ignited a wave of protests in all the major newspapers and on other television channels as well which lead to a formal apology by the President General Mushrraf later after lifting the ban in few days.

Also another incident when a television centre was attacked in Karachi on 12th May 2007 by armed men when CJ was supposed to come to Karachi and address the Karachi Bar Association. There had been protests about that incident to which government did not claim any responsibility. This incident had also been widely reported both in the newspapers and on the internet. In the data of this research study

the mention of these attacks on Pakistani television channels is mentioned 10% of the times in the press and 8% of the times in blogs, which shows the resilience and protest of the media against any kind of attack on freedom of expression. Whether this attack is on the television only, but its reporting in the press and in the blogs as well shows that all the forms of mass media stay united when any of them is under attack.

Therefore, any such censorship or attack on the personnel or the media centre or any website would have gained high popularity and be widely reported in any form of mass communication as these two incidents had, which make up the only incidents of any sort of censorship or attack on the freedom of expression both by the government and the 'unknown actors involved'. As discussed by Max-Jeans Zins in his book "La quête de l'identité" that the press in Pakistan and the media in general have always been free even under the rule of military regimes[133], this concept is validated and can be even further expanded to the Internet in Pakistan and can be proposed in the view of the data related to this research study that in Pakistan the internet has no threat and is almost free of any censorship from the government.

4.1.2   *Question of link in the ongoing discussion in the Press and on the Internet*

The analysis of this research study answers to the question that if there is a link on the on-going discussion on the press and the internet. The lawyers' movement had a total span of two years i.e., from March 2007 the sacking of the Chief Justice to March 2009 the restoration of the Chief Justice along with all the other deposed judges. This span of the movement over a period of two years had its high and low phases regarding

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[133] Zins, M. J. (2002). *"Pakistan: la quête de l'identité"*. La Documentation Française.

its ability of news making. During especially the high phases the discussion in the mass media had been mostly about the movement.

The data shows that a total number of four hundred and fifty texts were found in only two daily newspapers during the high times of this movement. These texts include columns, editorials, and letters to the editors by the Pakistani citizens as well as by the overseas Pakistanis. This is the majority of the space which is pre dominantly occupied by this discussion.

On the other hand if we move to the blogs we see almost same trend over there as well, a total of two hundred and seventy nine texts found on only three blogs during the high times of the movement. These texts include only the blogs and not the comments on this blogs left by the readers of the blogs. Fraser describes public sphere as "a theater in modern societies in which political participation is enacted through the medium of talk"[134]. The huge number of blogs on the Lawyers' Movement show the participation of people by writing and reading each other's viewpoints and ideas related to the political debate of the country using internet as a platform, which makes internet the theatre for political participation as described by Fraser.

The presence of huge number of texts both in the press and on the internet shows that most of the discussion during the peak times of the movement is dominated by it and blogs are not far behind from the press in this regard, which shows that both

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[134] Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy. *Social Text* , 56-80.

the press and the blogs share the same political discussion during the given period and that internet is also doing the same job as press, that is to allow the participation in political debate, only here on internet the realm of participation is extended beyond professionals even to the common people.

4.1.3   Question of Internet in concurrence or against the Traditional Media

It has been noted in the results of the analysis of this study that there is a link between the discussion in both the press and on the internet now the question arises that what is the nature of this link? If the same discussion is going on in both the media then the question arises if this discussion is in the same direction on both media or not? In other words the discussion on the internet is it in a direction which is opposite to the direction of discussion on the internet or both are pursuing the same trends in their discussions?

The results of the analysis show that both the press and the internet are in concurrence as far as direction and trends of their discussion are concerned. The opinion against the actions of the dictator is almost similar in both media, a staggering 80% of the total texts in context to the Lawyers' Movement on both the media share an opinion against the actions of the government. Similarly the opinion in the favour of the government shares a very low percentage only 4.3% in blogs and 3% in the press. The fact based reporting or simply the narration of the events is also similar in press and blogs, 13.6% in the blogs and 12% in the press.

These surprisingly similar results show that the discussion is moving almost in the same direction in the press and on the blogs which again reinforces the hypothesis that in the presence of a very strong, vibrant and free press, internet is not providing

anything new or more encouraging than what already exists there in mass media, but rather providing a platform for more people to voice their opinions and thus expanding the public sphere which in turn ensures the better understanding and inculcation of democratic norms in the society.

According to Gerard, public sphere is "a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment[135]" Keeping in view this concept of public sphere presented by Gerard, it is evident from the data that internet is providing a more broad platform for the individuals to discuss the matters of their common interest, in this case the political debate related to the Lawyers' Movement – a harbinger of political and social change and awareness in Pakistan. Asen has defined public sphere as "A realm of social life in which public opinion can be formed[136]". So a staggering 80% of the opinion both in press and on the internet decisivly against the actions of the government, shows that a common public opinion and judgement is in the making which reinforces and validates the concepts presented by Gerard and Asen.

4.1.4   Question of Internet being complementary to Traditional Media

The careful and overall study of the texts during different phases of the lawyers' movement over a course of two years both in the press and in the blogs lead to the conclusion that the discussion in the blogs is mostly inspired by the content in the traditional media i.e., both the press and television.

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[135] Gerard, H. (1998). Vernacular Dialogue and the Rhetoricality of Public Opinion. *Communication Monographs* , 83-107

[136] Asen, R. (1999). Toward a Normative Conception of Difference in Public Deliberation. *Argumentation and Advocacy* , 11-129

The traditional media remains the initiator of the discussion and inspiring the internet to further carry out the discussion in this more interactive form of media. According to Miege, on the internet people can react to the traditional media, can control its information and can deny it if necessary and also can produce and give some new information[137].

This concept seems fit with the internet in Paskiatn also as far as reacting to the traditional media and accepting or denying its information is concerned, as the study of the texts in the blogs show that most of the times it is some news item from the traditional media which is the topic of discussion, or some clipping from any of the popular television political talk show, or some column written by a professional journalist in any main stream newspaper, which triggers the discussion in the blogs. But the second part of Miége's concept that internet gives some new information as well by denying the information given in traditional media, does not concur with the results of this study. People writing and commenting on blogs do have their opinions sometimes in favor and sometimes against to what traditional media is saying but the production of some new and counter information is not observed in the data.

The bloggers most of the times start their blog with any such piece from traditional media and give their own view point and inviting comments from the fellow bloggers and readers of their blogs. Of course it is not the case hundred percent of the times and neither can it be fully quantified as no such research parameter had been used while devising the analysis, but this has been the case for most of the times. Even when

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[137] Miége, B. (2007). *La Sociéte Conquise Par La Communication, t3, les TIC entre innovation technique et encrage social.* PUG

there is no such attachment in the beginning of the blog from traditional media like a text clipping from some newspaper, or a video clipping from some television program, the bloggers would then further argue that such state of affair was reported recently in the newspaper or in some television program which inspired them to voice their opinion in their blogs.

This is the observation of the researcher from the analysis of all these text in the blogs that the major source of news for the bloggers is not their own first hand sources or fellow bloggers or internet in some way but the traditional media and also that the point of discussion is inspired or carried on from the sources on the traditional media, which leads to the conclusion that internet in the form of blogs studied in this research study behave in a bit more complementary way to the traditional media rather than making its own space.

The traditional media in Pakistan is already a very strong and a very vivid media with lots of daily newspapers in English language, national language urdu and in regional languages as well, the weeklys and monthlys and also the television which is more vividly popular than any other media in the country, making internet a relatively new media very hard to forge its own space and for the time being relying mostly on the traditional media for its new sources and inspiration for the discussions thus acting as complementary to the hyper active traditional media in the country.

4.1.5 Question of Internet being a threat to the Traditional Media by winning over its space in Mass Media

As discussed above the internet is behaving as a complementary media to the traditional media, but the train does not stop here, it actually leads to the answer of the next very interesting question of this study, that whether the internet poses any threat to

the traditional media or not by winning over its space in among the civil society of Pakistan.

As criticized by Mattelart Armand & Michele that on the internet the individuals no longer remain citizens but become consumers because of the commercialization of the society.[138] So internet might be seen as commercial entity selling information and ideas as a commodity to its users who in turn become consumers. Keeping aside the economic impact and factors, internet might have acted as a rival and competitive entity to the traditional mass media by attracting more 'consumers of information' towards it. But this has not been the case in Pakistani society of course due to a number of reasons.

The internet already has a very low penetration in the Pakistani society with only 10% of the general public having access to the internet owing to the low literacy rate i.e., 45% and very poor infrastructure of the internet accessibility in the country as far as the rural areas and underdeveloped cities are concerned which again constitute a staggering 70% of the total population living in them.

So the first test for the internet to be a major share holder of the media space in Pakistani society is failed with such low numbers in its favor, but it sure does have lot of hope for the future as the internet penetration is increasing with every coming day in the country and especially with the use of web 2.0 over mobile phones using internet provided by the mobile phone service operators. The second thing to note in this regard is that as internet is already behaving in a complementary way towards the traditional

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[138] Mattelart, A. M. (1997). *'Histoire des théories de la communication'*. La Découverte. (page 44)

media without forging any remarkable space of its own in the mass media it has very low chances of making its own huge space in mass media leave aside posing any threat to or engulfing the space of the traditional media in this regard.

Breton who is a staunch critic of the cult of the internet, disagrees with their idea that the traditional mediators between the civil society and state, for example media & professional journalism are an obstacle to the circulation of the information[139]. So according to him the traditional media is still the main source of circulation of information and a very powerful mediator between the civil society and the state. This concept of Breton seems to be holding true as a result of this research study, as internet is acting as complementary to the traditional sources of information to the society and thus internet cannot be seen here as a replacant to them.

The analysis shows that instead of only acting as a complementary media to the traditional media, the internet is actually acting in the support of the traditional media as whenever the discussion on the internet is triggered or inspired by any text or video from the traditional media it entices the reader to go and look for the original news item and then read the proposed blog and finally comment on it or to make his/her opinion about it.

Rather than posing any threat of space to the traditional media it is helping and supporting the traditional media and might actually be raising its readership or viewership though not economically, as the reader might not buy the newspaper from which the clipping was taken for his/her favourite blog but he/she might search it on the

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[139] Breton, P. (2000). *Le Culte de L'internet: Une menace pour le lien social?* La Découverte.

internet to read the original article, thus once again enhancing the use of internet and not benefiting the traditional media economically but supporting the traditional media in its own way.

4.1.6   Question of Internet helping in the emergence of Public Sphere

The analysis shows that the press in Pakistan is very pertinent to its criticism. It acts as a guardian to the democracy and democratic culture in the country by condemning and criticizing and by taking a stand against the unconstitutional acts of the Dictator and voicing its opinion against his regime and actions. But the point of fact is that this press and television all this traditional media is composed of professionals, and the journalists which are the intelligentsia of the society.

On one hand is this intelligentsia which thinks and reacts to the acts against the democracy in the society and forms the opinion of the common people and on the other are the common people who have no access to the traditional media as far as voicing their opinion is concerned because they belong to other walks of life and might not even be literate or financially able to use the media to voice their opinion but are highly active on the streets.

This leaves the middle class out of focus, the ones who are literate but cannot voice their opinion in the traditional media as they belong to other occupations rather than journalism or intelligentsia, but this class has the resources to use the internet in the comfort of their homes.

Habermas explains the function of public sphere as to engage private people (coming together as a public) in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social

labour.[140] So the middle class who might not be very enthusiastic to come to the streets to voice their opinion in this fashion, therefore and for many other reasons which require longer discussions and different research studies, can voice their opinions now finally thanks to the internet.

The internet might has a very low penetration in the overall population of Pakistan, but it has huge penetration among the educated middle class living in the major cities in the country, this class is mostly comprised of students, teachers, and people doing white collared jobs. The culture and norms of democracy to be imbibed by any society does not necessarily mean only the intelligentsia taking part in it and the very common people coming to roads when necessary but it also needs a thinking middle class who could bridge the gap between the intelligentsia and the common people.

As Cardon rightfully describes that internet has expanded the public sphere beyond its traditional limits. Before internet it was the professionals who decided what to publish on the media and what to not[141]. But now internet has given access to the people else than the professional journalists to voice their opinions and thus expanding the public sphere by increasing the participants of political debate in the society.

Thanks to internet this middle class has found a way to voice its opinion thus the public sphere is expanding to the middle class as well which will eventually lead to the more democracy in the society, as a result of more participation from another

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[140] Habermas, J. (1991). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought).* The MIT Press.

[141] Cardon, D. (2010). *La Démocratie Internet: Promesses et Limites* (Page 35, 36)

important segment of the society and freedom of expression and voicing of the opinion rendered to much more larger public.

4.1.7 Role of Internet in democratization of the Pakistani civil society

The results of the analysis show that there is a strong discussion on the internet about the lawyers' movement, a total of two hundred and seventy nine blogs (excluding the comments and remarks of the readers which are usually in hundreds for almost every single blog) from only three blog sites is a staggering number especially keeping in view that these are taken from the general political blog sites which were not created to discuss the movement all along but focus on all the things happening in the Pakistani political and social life.

The results show that these texts from the blogs are severely critical of the actions of the dictator and asking for a change in the regime and general elections. This is mostly the educated middle class using the internet to voice their opinion while sitting in their home, thus expanding the public sphere to such a class which had not been actively taking part in the country's democratic process in almost any way ever. Thanks to internet the thinking and reaction from the public which was only limited to the intelligentsia by voicing their opinion through the internet and common people by being mobilized to coming to streets, now has expanded to the middle class as well.

Oberdorff criticizes that the western model of democracy is Representative Democracy and this kind of democracy the common people cannot participate in the political life more than just voting for the election of their representative in the government. So the western democracy needs to be more participative with the common people being more in command of the political decision making rather than just voting

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for their representative and then letting that representative decide on their behalf for the pre-decided term of his/her tenure.[142]

Pakistan shares the same model of western Democracy and the participation of the general public in political decision making is an important issue which Oberdorff has pointed out. The Lawyers' Movement involved and engaged almost all the segments of the civil society to take part in the political decision making by launching a movement against th eundemocratic and unconstitutional actions of a military dictator. Internet also played a major role in it by providing a platform for people to discuss this isse and voice their opinions about the on-going political situation in the country, thus ensuring the more participation of public in the political public debate which is the essence of democracy in a society.

This is a huge step forward to the democratization of the society, as more and more segments of the society taking part in this process due to the availability and access to the internet. The missing link so far in the Pakistani society that is the middle class is now also taking part in the democratic process by carrying on the discussion, criticism and voicing their opinion in a way that is available to them and easy to access for them. The bridge between the intelligentsia and the common people is being filled by the middle class which is both educated and having access to the internet can voice their opinion through it and take part actively in the democratization of the society.

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[142] Oberdorff, H. (2010). *La Démocratie à l'ère Numérique.* PUG.

4.2 Prospects of the Study

Keeping in view the famous definition of Harold Lasswell of 'Action of Communication'[143] this research study has tried to answer its research questions by conducting the Content Analysis and also by parts doing the Media analysis in between. The other three parts of the 'Action of Communication' − the Control Analysis, Audience Analysis, and Effect Analysis, if conducted in extension to this research study, might provide with further interesting results.

4.2.1 Sociological Study of Pakistani Civil Society

This research study has concluded the point that an alternate media i.e., internet is available in Pakistani society enabling mostly the middle class to participate in national debate and thus enhancing the public sphere to those who have not been a part of it due to the traditional means of mutual exchange of communication and thus ultimately playing a key role in the democratization of the Pakistani civil society.

The Control Analysis in this regard will help to shed more light that who is disseminating information through internet and exactly which class in particular (if all the internet users can be identified as belonging to one particular class) is taking part in the national debate via the internet. Such an analysis might even lead to a conclusion that it is not one particular class that is being active in national debate and discussion on

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[143] Miège, B. (2005), *La pensée communicationnelle*, édition augmentée, Grenoble, Presses universitaires de Grenoble. Mattelart, A. M. (1997). *'Histoire des théories de la communication'*. La Découverte.

the internet, rather a new class is emerging thanks to the internet as a common platform is being provided to people belonging to different classes in the society and they end up forming a new class on this unique platform which otherwise might not have been possible keeping in view the restraints of traditional means of mutual exchange of ideas and opinions and acting together, as pointed out by Francois B. and Neveu E. (dir.), in their book, "Espcace Public mosaïques" that the notion of Public Sphere cannot be used in singular in today's society, and they evoke the idea of fragmented public sphere "mosaique", justified by the diversity of the participants of the public sphere[144].

The Control Analysis and Audience Analysis of the internet users can give even more interesting results if it is studied in view of the political and social fibre of the Pakistani civil society. As mentioned earlier in this study that Pakistani society shares a unique and different political and social model which is yet to be explored in detail by the researchers, and with the internet providing an open and free platform for all to express their views and opinions, this Control and Audience Analysis of the internet public might give an exclusive insight to the political and social thinking and ultimately the political and social make and fibre of the Pakistani society.

A major limitation of this study had been the absence of Effect Analysis. This research study has not analyzed or studied the effect of this new exchange of communication between the people over the internet. For future research, a study that centers on the effect of all the debate on these blogs during the Lawyers' Movement could provide interesting and concrete results. This study has revealed that internet does play an overall role in the emergence of public sphere by providing a platform to more

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[144] Francois B. and Neveu E. (dir.), "Espcace Public mosaïques Rennes, PUR, 1999

people to take part in national debate and voice their opinion. But with what effect this debate has materialized would be an important subject for the future study regarding the same case study.

This study analyses the first stages that a communication is being carried on an alternative media which is more participative in nature and allows a wider range of participants to exchange and voice their opinions and political ideas thus taking part in the process of democratization of the society. The next level of study would be to analyze what are the effects of this enhanced participative communication and how this debate not necessarily by the intelligentsia unlike on the traditional media but by the middle class and common people be materialized and be viewed and analyzed to provide further concrete evidence that could support or nullify the thesis that a strong and unhindered process of democratization is going on in the Pakistani civil society.

4.2.2 *Role of Diaspora in Pakistani Civil Society*

The Control Analysis conducted with the same data of this research study might focus on the role of Pakistani Diaspora in the political debate and democratization of the Pakistani society. Among the bloggers and general internet users there might be members of the Pakistani Diaspora who are engaged in the debate about the political situation in the country while sitting outside the country. This can lead to the study of how the outside influences the inside and becomes a part of it and thus the merging and creation of more enhanced public sphere, as internet is an excellent media providing opportunity to the Diaspora also to participate in the national debate.

As internet is unique in its essence being a medium where we do not have a clear cut difference between the senders and receivers of information, views, opinions

and ideas, it is rather a medium where a sender is also a receiver as he/she receives directly the views and responses of the readers and viewers on his message/view point and a receiver is also a sender at the same time as a receiver sends back his/her reaction/review of whatever information/message he/she is receiving from the sender. Therefore, the Control Analysis and the Audience Analysis need to be addressed and conducted at the same time, since the internet has made the distinction between sender and receiver made almost disappeared in the age of web 2.0. This amalgamation of sender and receiver may also lead to dissolution of borders between the citizens and the Diaspora as far as participation in the national debate is concerned with the help of internet.

PART – 5

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