Pakistan Connection
Diasporas @ BBC World Service
Audience Research Report

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A BBC World Service / Open University Research Partnership

Foreword

What does a shop owner in Bradford have in common with a graduate from Princeton USA, a construction worker in Bahrain and a banker in the City of London? All are users of the bbcurdu.com website, and all are part of the global Pakistani diaspora.

The term diaspora is used to describe the global dispersion of migrant groups of various kinds. Diasporas are of growing economic, political and cultural significance. In a world where migration, geopolitical dynamics, communication technologies and transport links are continually changing, it is clear that culture and geography no longer map neatly onto one another.

Understanding diaspora groups inside and outside its base at Bush House, London, is ever more important for the BBC World Service, too. Diaspora audiences are increasingly influencing the way the BBC conceives and delivers output. For example, over 60% of the weekly users of bbcurdu.com are accessing the site from outside the subcontinent, and this proportion is rising. The same trend has been observed for other BBC language websites. (See *BBC World Agenda*, September 2008.)

The research presented here is based on a unique partnership between BBC World Service Marketing Communication and Audiences (MC&A) and The Open University. It was funded primarily by MC&A but it was also generously supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) though the Diasporas, Migration and Identities Research Programme, which funded a project entitled 'Tuning In: Diasporic Contact Zones at BBC World Service' (Grant Award reference AH/ES58693/1). For further information about the project see http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/diasporas.

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Acknowledgements

Did you hear the joke about Ali and his radios?

There was this guy called Ali who lived in Pakistan. Ali was very interested in listening to news, so he went out and bought two radios because he did not trust any one news sources. On his way back to his village, he switched his new radio on and immediately heard a voice saying "Hello this is the BBC in London". So he threw the radio away. Then, he tuned in to the second radio and, again, he heard a voice say "Hello, this is the BBC in London". Furious, he threw the second radio away. And his friend said 'What on earth are you doing Ali?" And Ali replied "This is not London, this is Pakistan! What use are these radios to me? They've already started telling lies!"

(Faisal, 40 years old, Oldham)

Key Recommendations

1. Feasibility of a New Online Service

Creating an online platform aimed at Pakistanis in the UK is a very attractive and feasible option for the BBC World Service, given current and projected levels of Internet use, particularly among those aged 18-35. But the site is more likely to be successful, and to achieve higher numbers of users in the long term, if it targets the global Pakistani diaspora. Local content is very important and it should take immediate priority. Nor should the new services be London-centric but as the site evolves and develops it will inevitably create trans-local connections between users in different parts of the world via debate shows and interactive forums. It will be important to capitalize on these connections for the sustainability and growth of this diaspora service.

2. A Bi-lingual Site

English is the preferred online language for British Pakistanis. Urdu content will make the site accessible to first generation native speakers, and those who are literate in Urdu. Written content should therefore be provided in both languages. Opportunities should also be considered to enable the majority of UK Pakistanis who speak Punjabi and/or regional Pakistani dialects to contribute to output. Separating Urdu and English content would bifurcate the audience and diminish opportunities for communicating across language and other boundaries. Imaginative uses of translation (Urdu to English and vice versa), subtitling and dubbing should be adopted. Audio-visual material will be important.

3. Public Connection

There was a widespread dissatisfaction with the BBC and diminishing levels of trust due to perceived negative and limited portrayals of Pakistan, Pakistanis, the Middle East and the Islamic world. Yet the BBC remains part of the staple media diet of most interviewees, who see it as a means of connecting to the wider British public. Most interviewees were hopeful that new services would represent a wider range of British Pakistani experiences and provide a participatory public space without creating a media ghetto. The new site could fill a gap in current provision between BBC mainstream, BBC Urdu and local ethnic media. Others were more sceptical about the new services. They argued forcefully that the BBC must also take a more mainstream approach to countering media prejudice and racism.

4. User Generated Content (UGC)

Social networking and blogging opportunities should be prominent features of the new service and will create a natural bridge between users in Pakistan, in the UK and the wider diaspora. RSS feeds and/or notification systems can facilitate contact between users and encourage continuous engagement. A large, user-friendly interactive element is essential. A judicious balance between UGC and BBC content is needed, including assigned bloggers and citizen journalists in the community. Video and interactive forums should take precedence to attract 18-35s.

5. Content Priorities

Content needs to feature cool, stylish, cutting edge images of British Pakistanis and Pakistan, countering misconceptions about Pakistan and the Pakistani community. Documentaries about Pakistan could cross-generational boundaries and connect the UK and Pakistan. Front page priorities should be: local news Pakistan, life experiences, local news UK, documentaries about Pakistan, and something more light-hearted e.g. fashion features.

Summary of Findings

Demographics

- The UK Pakistani community is by no means homogeneous. The new services need to address distinctive media tastes and preferences among audiences segmented along lines of regional origin in Pakistan (rural/urban distinctions), place of residence in the UK (North/South divide), class, educational and occupation (strong working-class/middle-class polarisation).

- The service cannot be London-centric, as the majority of potential users live in the Midlands and North of England.

- The service needs to cater for the rapidly expanding cohort of second to fourth generation young audiences, notably families with young children. They make up the bulk of the potential UK audience. A key target will be the 18-35 age group.

- The scheduling and updating of content needs to take in to consideration that a majority of economically active British Pakistani men are mobile workers in the transport/taxi service or self-employed shop owners. Radio is an important medium to them. Unlike their middle-class peers, they are not working in an office environment with easy internet access.

- A majority of British Pakistani women work at home. They may have access to the internet, but many lack computer literacy. This is also the case with elderly first generation migrants.

Language Diversity and Media Use

- Urdu cannot be the lingua franca for a UK Pakistani diaspora site. A majority of the target audience do not speak, read or write Urdu. Most UK Pakistanis speak Punjabi or one of its dialects.

- English needs to be part of the new service offer in order to capture the key target group of UK Pakistanis of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th generations.

- A greater number of people can understand the spoken languages than can read or write them. Audio and video content in Urdu is more likely to be understood than written Urdu.

- Mixing English, Punjabi and Urdu ('code switching') creates a variety of regionally accented hybrid idioms and everyday languages which should find a place on the new site.

- Translation – subtitling and dubbing – of existing and new content can help make content available to more people from diverse backgrounds, and also help bridge generation gaps.

Audience Ethnography

- Among interviewees, a sense of connection to Pakistan depended on several factors: regularity of travel to and communication with Pakistan family, extent of economic, political or other connections, and length of stay in the UK.

- There was strong support for the idea that the new services might build on translocal connections (i.e. Karachi-Leeds). There was an eagerness to link up with and find out more about Pakistani lives in specific localities in Pakistan, UK and the wider diaspora

- First generation men and those with high levels of media and political literacy are most likely be 'news omnivores' or self-styled 'news addicts' whose daily routines are shaped by ritualistic news consumption. Family news cultures are predominantly a male domain. However, news, especially about Pakistan and Middle East and Muslim world are discussed daily with great intensity by all the family.

- News avoiders are another common type of consumer. They describe news as 'depressing'. Switching off from news is a way of managing insecurity. Their informational, educational and entertainment needs should be recognised too.

- First generation Pakistanis have a much greater reliance on 'Apna media' (or 'our media'), a term which refers to Pakistani and Urdu media. They frequently make use of satellite TV in order to access Pakistani sources.

- Pakistani diaspora audiences are highly politically and media literate. Most are deeply suspicious about the veracity and impartiality of all news sources (cf the joke on page 5).

- 'Sceptical zappers' satisfy their curiosity for news by zapping across a range of international and multilingual media and interpreting competing perspectives on the same stories. This type of critical consumer is likely to make good use of the new services.

- Emergent British/Muslim and British/Asian hybrid media among youth offer a vibrant niche market to explore. Consumers in the creative Muslim space are young, cool and have wide ranging tastes. We refer to them as 'hybrid media' users. Their flexible identities and interests can be addressed by a range of cross-over media – British, South Asian diasporic, and Islamic.

- Power relations are changing in families as women become economically more independent. The new services need to address the needs of professional, religious and non-religious Pakistani women.

- The new services will be seen by the more cynical sceptical zappers as part of the news media of the Anglosphere (i.e. UK/USA commercial and military power complex). One interviewee said: "This is the *British* not the *Pakistani* Broadcasting Corporation."

- Despite decreasing trust in the BBC, British Pakistanis continue to use all BBC services and see the BBC as a providing vital access to resources for citizenship and belonging in Britain. Pakistani news channels are increasingly available, but BBC news remains part of the staple media diet of British Pakistanis.

- There is little to no awareness of existing BBC Urdu services except among elderly first generation audiences who remember it from their youth.

Showcasing Talent

- The new site should look and feel 'young' and cutting edge, but should also have cross-over appeal to older generations.

- Social networking and a good deal of interactivity ('Have Your Say' style forums) are needed to allow British Pakistanis to connect with each other across the UK, and find out what others with similar interests are doing.

- Content must be newsworthy and appealing. Quality control must be strict and moderation effective. Contributors should be selected on merit, not just because they are British Pakistanis.

- Let new talent into the BBC. Open up training opportunities e.g. for citizen journalists, DJs, etc. Get a diverse range of skilled artists and creative, talented British Pakistanis working with the news service providers.

- The promotion of British Pakistani and wider Pakistani talent – i.e. Islamic rap and rock music – could help to make Pakistani culture relevant and cool to those living in the UK.

- Light hearted comedy features – playing on aspects of British Pakistani/Pakistani culture – could do well.

- The new service providers should familiarise themselves with popular figures, celebrities and key cultural reference points in the UK Pakistani diaspora. In addition to the artists and talented individuals interviewed, there were many Pakistani cultural figures and artists that our interviewees wanted to see more of. *All of the celebrities mentioned are listed in Appendix 8.* This kind of 'research' can be done online and help to update this preliminary, rudimentary but rather revealing database*.*

Online Cultures

- Creating an online platform is a feasible option for a new service aimed at Pakistan and Pakistanis living in diaspora.
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- The site is more likely to be successful and achieve higher numbers of users if it is targeted at the global Pakistani diaspora. Local content is important, but a global site can create translocal Pakistani connections and live up to its title (the one that we recommend is *Pakistan Connection*).

- To achieve extensive global reach, content needs to be in English as well as Urdu.

- Making video content available will attract more users. However, text and audio content is essential for Pakistanis in Pakistan, as connection speeds there are still slow.

- Social networking sites, in particular blogging sites, are the most natural bridge between users of Pakistani Urdu sites and users of UK sites. It will be important to launch the new services in that online space, providing opportunities for user generated content.

- Establishing partnerships, both formal and informal, with interlinked websites used by Pakistanis will be crucial to the success of the dissemination strategy of the new services.

A detailed account of recommendations can be found in Chapter 7.

Introduction

In June 2007, HM Treasury awarded BBC World Service (BBCWS) £1 million to develop a range of services to appeal to and provide for key diasporic groups in the UK. The first initiative focuses on the development of a service for the UK Pakistani diaspora. Our previous research (www.mediatingsecurity.com) suggested that British Pakistanis are currently not well served by existing mainstream UK media, even if the BBC remains among the most trusted of broadcasters.

The proposed new services seek to expand the BBC World Service's website content and to link diverse audiences in Pakistan, the UK and elsewhere in the diaspora. It is hoped that the new services will strengthen mutual understanding across cultural, social and political boundaries, contributing to the BBC's 'global conversation' and its public purposes. The aim is to offer content that addresses issues that relate to the everyday lives, concerns and aspirations of different constituencies. The specific aims of the service can be outlined as: (i) fostering a 'global conversation' by connecting BBCWS audiences in Pakistan and in the Pakistani diaspora (UK and worldwide); and (ii) linking Pakistani audiences within the UK.

It is envisaged that the new service will have a dedicated space online with its own portal. The content would combine conventional journalism and user generated content (UGC).

Research objectives

This research was commissioned to enable BBCWS to develop an appropriate range of services that will inform and entertain diverse audiences in the UK Pakistani diaspora. The specific objectives of the research are identified as follows:

- To provide robust empirical evidence to assist in the development of new services

- To present a culturally sensitive report on media tastes and consumption patterns

- To identify key audience segments (according to gender, generation, age, education and employment, migration history, cultural and religious orientations etc.)

- To suggest the most suitable BBC spaces and platforms, programme formats, themes and topics, promotional tools and modes of interactivity for these services

- To identify potential media partners, creative talent, and media projects that will attract target audiences and users

An innovative methodology

The major challenge for the successful completion of this project was acquiring access to members of the Pakistani community. Pakistani researchers as well as researchers with expertise in and/or strong connections to the very diverse Pakistani communities in the UK were employed in order to carry out in-depth face to face interviews. All the researchers were trained anthropologists or sociologists with many years of experience researching Pakistani diasporas.

The research team included:

Supervisor:	Professor Marie Gillespie
Key Coordinator:	Dr Sadaf Rizvi
Senior Researcher and BBC WS contact:	Matilda Andersson
Research Assistant:	Sophie West
Fieldworkers:	Dr Karen Qureshi
	Kiran Hassan
	Dr Pippa Virdee
	Dr Lucy Michael
	Dr Serena Hussein
	Dr Shamim Miah
	Wahida Shaffi
	Dr Shabbir Dastigir

Details of the researchers can be found in Appendix 1.

We employed multiple techniques of data collection and analysis, including ethnographic in-depth interviews, focus groups, and visual methods. The research was founded on participatory research methods and an ethnographic ethos which enabled our participants to play a major role in shaping the research. There were six overlapping and concurrent phases of research:

1. Review of research on Pakistani diaspora in the UK
2. Understanding audiences in the Pakistani diaspora
3. Analysing Pakistani online cultures
4. Identifying new creative talent and content.
5. Focus group recommendations about potential platforms, content and formats
6. Our research fed into BBCWS Future Media & Technology 'Think Tank' and vise versa

Each phase shaped and informed the next phase of research. Interim findings were presented regularly to key contacts at MC&A and BBC Urdu Services to ensure that they can offer feedback and have some input in shaping the progress of the research. Strict adherence was made to ethical guidelines as set out by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Every participant received a letter outlining the project aims and objectives and was required to complete a consent form. Data has been used and stored so as to maintain the confidentiality of the research participants. Pseudonyms have been used where participants' quotations are used from the interview data.

Diagram 1: Research Process

The methodology adopted in each of the above phases is explained as under:

1. Review of research on Pakistani diaspora in the UK

In reviewing the demographic profile of UK Pakistani diaspora, we identify the kind of factors (identities, political culture, language use, literacy), that shape leisure patterns and media consumption. We also examined the transnational networks of communication and affiliation that operate amongst the Pakistanis. Our previous research (including a three year ESRC funded project "Shifting Securities: News Cultures before and Beyond the Iraq War 2003" (www.mediatingsecurity.com) was particularly helpful in identifying and confirming patterns of media consumption of the Pakistani community. In addition, we have also drawn on the results of a nationwide survey of minority ethnic cultural and media consumption conducted by Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change (www.cresc.ac.uk) of which Prof. Marie Gillespie is one of the Directors. Details of sources can be found in the reference section.

Findings from this review of research were presented in a seminar with stakeholders at the BBC World Service on 3 October 2008. At the same seminar the proposed research framework for Phase 2 -5 was also presented and discussed.

2. Understanding audiences in the Pakistani diaspora

Participants

Interviewees were very carefully selected so as to ensure the representation of all key social, economic and cultural groups of Pakistanis in the UK. We were able to reach a diverse segment of the UK Pakistani diaspora in terms of age, generation, gender, religious belief and practice, ethnicity, class, language and internet use. A significant majority of Pakistanis in the UK belong to the middle or low income groups and these are well represented in our research. We also included professional and "elite" Pakistanis or those employed in top management.We were careful to select for interview those with close and weak links to Pakistan, with advanced and limited Urdu skills, and those with high, low and no internet skills. We also sought interviewees with a range of faith, religious and spiritual affiliations.

Males	Females	Under 18 years	18-30 years	30-45 years	45 years+	Frequent Internet Users	Minimal Internet Users	No internet Use
63	47	3	23	37	47	76	14	20
110								

The participants were engaged in a wide range of professions ranging from voluntary workers to accounts and management consultants, health specialists (cardiologists, dental surgeons) to taxi and bus drivers, housewives, retired and students, businessmen, government employees and community workers. The group included people residing in UK for as long as 40 years with many young participants born in the UK, and also those who are more recent migrants and students. English, Punjabi and Urdu were the three main languages with which the participants were comfortable and hence interviews were conducted in these languages. In Edinburgh however, a few participants spoke Sindhi. (See Appendix 2 for a detailed demographic profile of research participants).

Research sites

The research was multi-sited as was conducted with households and families, at community centers, cafes and other social spaces in 15 key locations where British Pakistanis reside: Manchester, Huddersfield, Bradford, Leeds, London, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Belfast, Leicester, Oldham, Rochdale, Kent, Coventry, Sunderland, Middles borough and Newcastle. The sites spanned city, small town, suburban and village type local areas.

Map 1: Research Locations

Data collection

Data was mainly gathered through semi structured, open ended interviews conducted in informal settings with a group of 3-8 participants. Some interviews were also conducted with individuals and pairs and proved to be helpful in gaining a deeper insight into the media habits and consumption patters of the participants involved. A total of 34 in depth interviews in English, Urdu and Punjabi were conducted lasting up to two hours. The interviews were carried out by local researchers who had in depth knowledge of the social life of the people they are interviewing. Where conducted in households, the researchers ensured cross generational and mixed gendered inputs. Each researcher transcribed the interviews and synthesized results in an interview report.

3. Analysing online cultures, websites, blogs and discussion forums

This phase was essential for understanding the online environment in which the new service will exist, both in terms of the Urdu as well as the English web. Answering questions like: 'what are the most popular Urdu and UK websites?' and 'how are Urdu and English websites used by Pakistanis at home and in diaspora linked to each other?. Our analyses paint a clear picture of the online universe in which the new service will exist.

This phase involved desk research and expert interviews. The main online analysis was gathered from data sources such as ComScore, webometrics and SAGE. A webometrics expert was consulted in order to be able to make specific analysis of Urdu websites.

4. Identifying new creative talent and content

The aim of this phase was three folds: i) to identify new talent to provide examples of user generated content, ii) to enable "British Pakistanis" to participate in the process of shaping the new services; and iii) to provide an opportunity to showcase their creative/media/online skills and enable them to feed into the thinking about what new services might be. This stage was intended to reach young, creative artists, writes, musicians and others actively engaged in the media, arts, and performance whilst simultaneously being deeply rooted in the cultural life of British Pakistani communities. New and upcoming artists are likely to play an active role in producing and offering up user generated content to the service who will have to reach out to young adult users in appealing ways.

We visited a number of arts organizations, performance groups, youth centers, universities and film organizations to speak to people from a range of creative backgrounds in London, Bradford and Birmingham. Visits were made to the work places of 14 people who were interviewed over several hours.

This exercise allowed us to gather a real diversity of talent, interests and icons and a wide range of representations from the "British Pakistani diaspora" appropriate to the new service.

5. Focus groups: Identifying potential platforms, content and formats

Focus groups constituted a significant source of data for identifying and recommending content, platforms and topics. A discussion guide was prepared in consultation with the researchers, BBC staff and the research supervisor (see Appendix 4). Stimuli materials were provided by the BBC WS and the Urdu service. The aim was to test concepts/projects for the new service; to translate data on patterns of media use identified in Phases 1-4 into a set of ideas for the new service and test these in focus group context.

Nine focus groups were conducted (7 face to face and 2 online) in our key locations with a mixture of mixed gender groups, women/male only groups, young people/older groups and

first, second and third generation migrants. Certain individuals were picked out from the first round of interviews to take part in the focus group so that we could follow the progression of views and ideas in a group setting and over time. Following table provides some information about the participants. Please see Appendices 6 and 7 for more details about the participants.

Focus Group Participants

Males	Females	Under 18 years	18-30 years	30-45 years	45 years+	Frequent Internet Users	Minimal Internet Users	No internet Use
18	17	2	24	6	3	33	1	1
35								

Debates and discussion confirmed and generated creative thinking about pragmatic solutions to content provision, platforms, public-audience engagement across cultural and geographic spaces – between the Pakistani diaspora and Pakistan. The focus groups also tested the feasibility of a UGC online portal and other content ideas for the new service.

Demographic Profile of the Pakistani Diaspora in Britain

While there is long history of South Asians migrating to the UK, substantial numbers have only arrived in the period following World War Two. Labour shortages and the economic boom in the post-war period prompted many single men from the subcontinent to migrate to Britain to seek opportunities. It was the migration of families, wives and children that radically altered the presence of the South Asian community in Britain.

According to the 2001 census, the total ethnic minority population of the UK was 4.5 million or 7.9% of the total population (ONS 2005). Within this Asian groups make up 4% of the population, the biggest among all ethnic groups in the UK. The following chart shows a breakdown of UK ethnic population.

Pakistanis are the second largest ethnic group in the UK following the Indian community

Among the 4% Asian groups, the British Pakistani community comprises 1.3% (747, 285 people) of the total population. The latest population estimates for UK suggest that in 2006 Pakistanis continue to be second largest ethnic group in UK with 861,000 immigrant-settlers (ONS 2006).
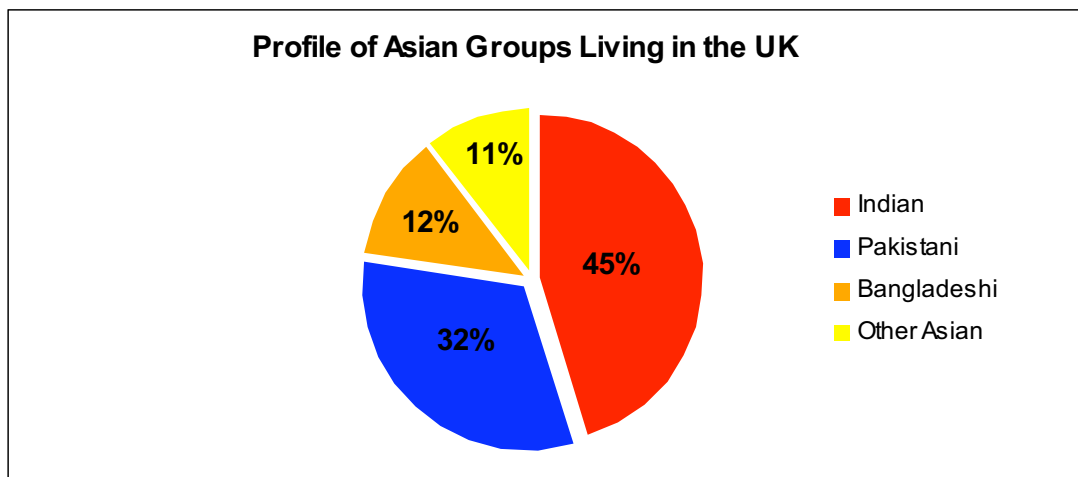
Chart 1: Breakdown of the Asian population by ethnic group (ONS 2008)

The chart indicates that about a third of Asians living in the UK are Pakistanis after Indians who comprise 45% of the Asian population. Bangladeshis make the third largest group while the rest (11%) come from different parts of Asia including Sri Lanka, Nepal.

A diverse community

The group most commonly associated with the UK Pakistani diaspora are Mirpuris from Azad Kashmir. Most of these migrants came to Britain following internal displacement. In 1966 the

best land in the district of Mirpur was flooded due to the building of the Mangla Dam.[1] This led to the displacement of approximately 100,000 people, and many used their compensation money as an opportunity to migrate to the UK.

Pakistani migration during the 1960s was mainly from areas in West Punjab such as Jhelum, Gujrat, Gujranwala, Rawalpindi, Faisalabad and Lahore; places like Jhelum were traditionally strong recruiting areas for the Indian Army and therefore had a history of travelling beyond the shores of the subcontinent.

The UK Pakistani diaspora is very regionally varied but in addition to that, social class, educational achievement, languages spoken and faith affiliations also add to the diversity. 'The Pakistani community', contrary to what that term implies, is by no means homogenous.

UK Pakistanis are more centred in the north of England

The Pakistani community is spread widely across the UK. The largest communities are in Birmingham, West Yorkshire, Greater Manchester and London. Mirpuri migrants initially settled in northern towns and worked in the mills of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Following the decline of the textile mills a significant number of Pakistani men took to working in the service sector: in the taxi business or restaurant/take-away sector. This trend was reproduced in other UK cities. See map 2 for the geographic distribution of Pakistanis in the UK.

Map 2: Population distribution of the British Pakistani community in the UK. (ONS, 2001 census)

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[1] Brown p 42 2006

The map shows that the majority of Pakistanis live in the North of England and the Midlands and are located in the cities of Birmingham, Bradford, Kirklee, Manchester.
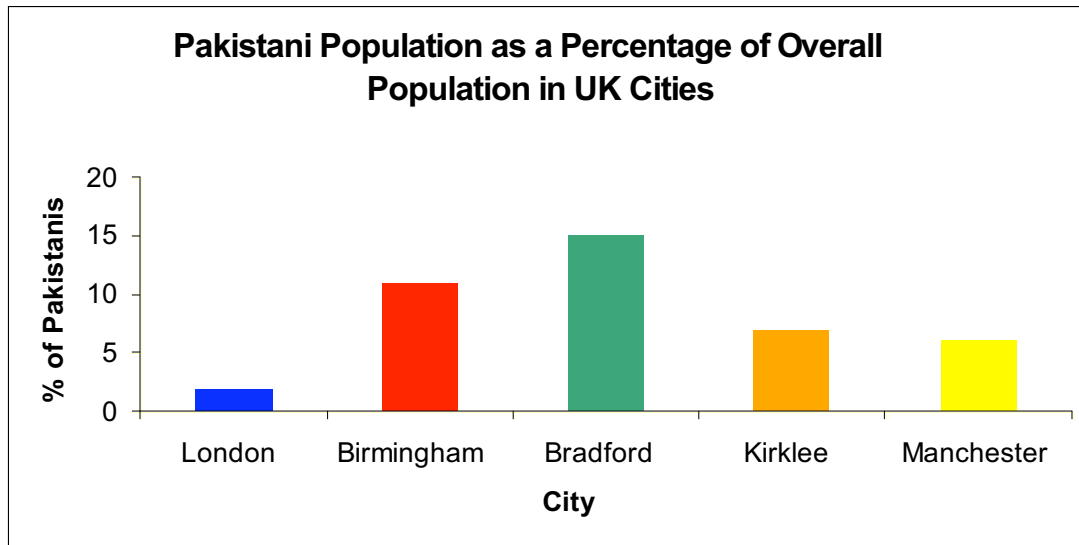
Chart 2: Percentage of Pakistani population in UK Cities. (BBC South Asian Fact Pact (2005) and ONS (2009)

As shown in the chart above, Pakistanis make 15% of the total population of Bradford, making it proportionally the largest Pakistani community in the UK. Although London has seen a large population increase, and is home to 45% of non-White groups, it does not house the largest proportion of Pakistani-born residents (ONS 2005). Pakistanis constitute less than 2% of the total population of London. Economic migration mainly to the industrial cities based in the North in the 1960s and 1970s explains this. The areas with the largest proportion of Pakistani inhabitants (54%) are thus outside the capital (BBC Born Abroad - Audiences online).
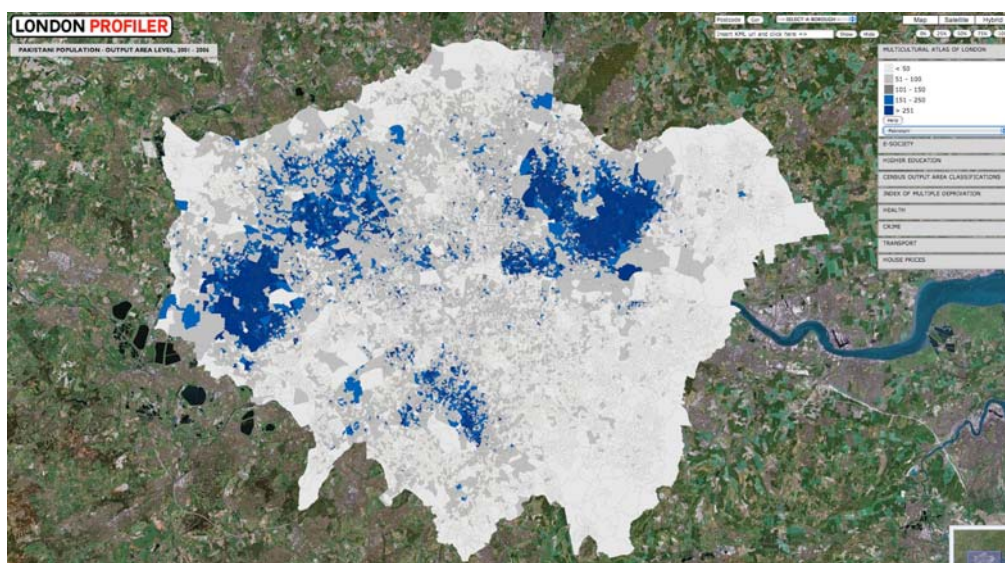
Allocation map of Pakistanis in London

A young community

The Pakistani community in Britain is relatively young; in 2003 the average age of a Pakistani living in the UK was estimated as 27 years (white British est. 40 years) (Ofcom 2007). The proportion of those under the age of 16 is almost double that of the white British group (20%), see chart 3.

Age Profile of British Pakistanis
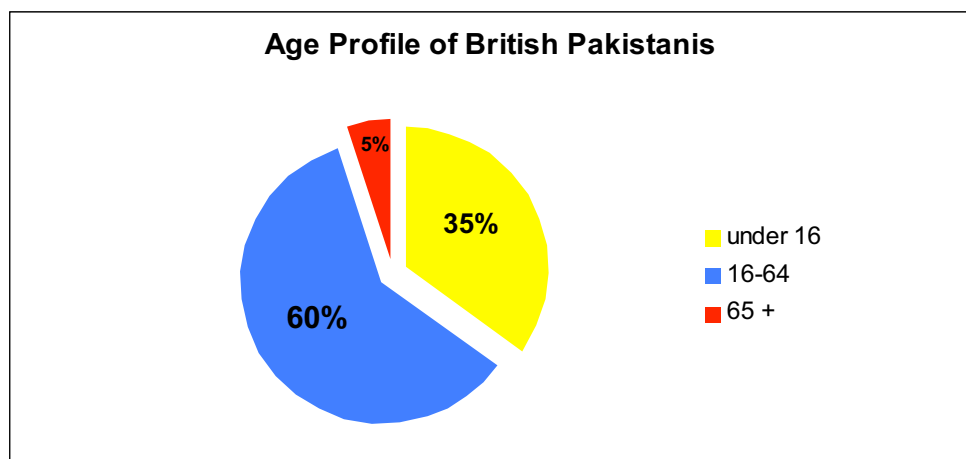
Chart 3: Age distribution of Pakistanis living in the UK, ONS (2008)

The chart indicates that over a third of the population (35%) is under 16 while only 5% of the population is over 65 years.

This suggests that the new service is going to address the needs of a relatively younger population in the UK.

Employment and social class – a polarised community?

Many British cities have been host to urban, middle-class, educated Pakistanis who arrived in Britain as students or as professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, who form a small core group of affluent Pakistanis in UK. In contrast, the majority of Pakistanis consist of largely rural migrants, mainly from places such as Mirpur. On the whole they are less educated and skilled and have suffered greatly from the decline in the manufacturing industries, rising unemployment, and high levels of poverty over the past 25 years' (QCA, Children from Pakistan). In general those living in the South-East of England tend to be more economically successful and are higher educational achievers than those living in the North of England.

The percentage of Pakistani families on low income is higher (66%) than any other ethnic group, including White British (21%) (OfCom, March 2007). As shown in chart 11, roughly 44% of both new and settled Pakistani immigrants are employed in predominantly low income jobs.

Percentage of Low and High Earners amongst New and Settled Pakistanis in the UK
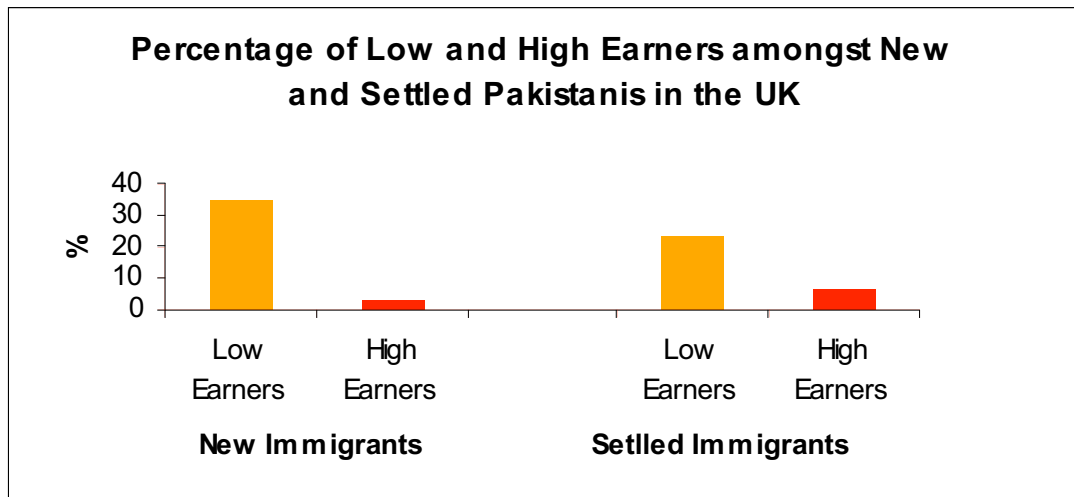
Chart 4: The economic performance of new and settled Pakistani immigrants. (BBC 2008)

Although settled immigrants have a better economic condition than new Pakistani immigrants, over 20% of the settled immigrants can still be regarded as low earners.[2]

One in five British Pakistanis are self-employed, higher than any other ethnic group

They are also the most likely group to work in the transport and communications industry (chart 5).
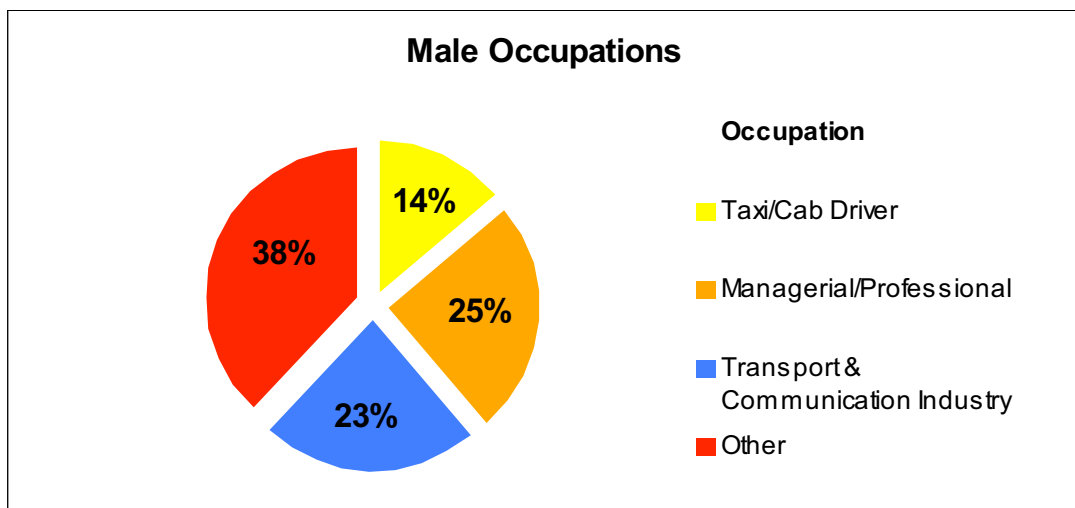
Chart 5: Employment profile of British Pakistani men, ONS (2008)

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[2] Low earners are people earning less than £149.20 per week and high earners are people earning more than £750 per week.

Pakistani women are more likely to be unemployed compared to any other ethnic group

At least 20% of Pakistani women are unemployed - a substantial difference compared to white British women (3%). Those who are working are more likely than white British women to be employed in low paid, unskilled labour jobs such as packers, bottlers, canners and fillers, or to work as sewing machinists (ONS, 2008).

Profile of Unemployment in Women by Ethnic Group
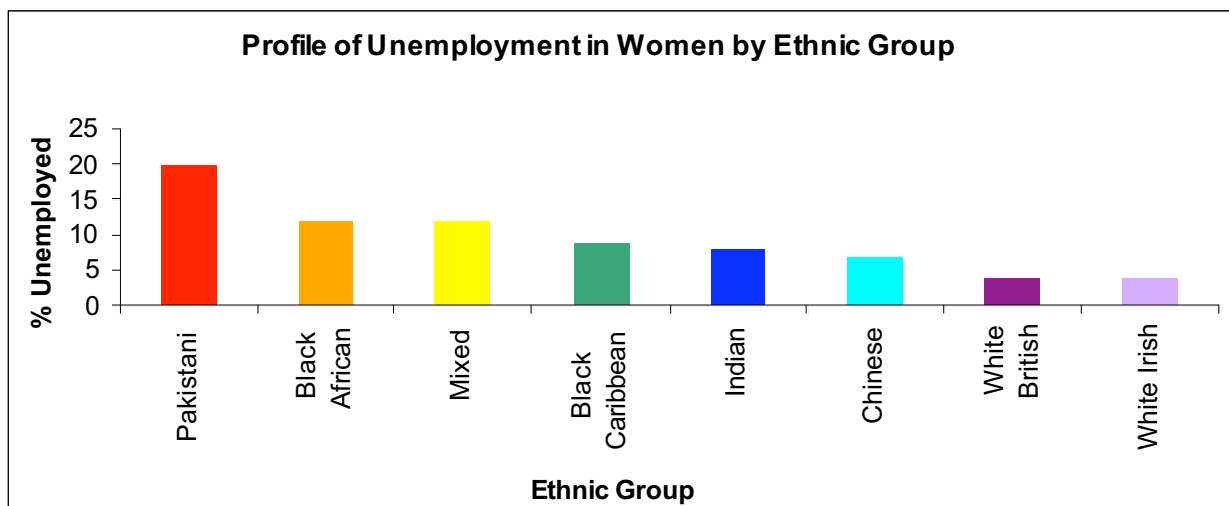
Chart 6: Unemployment rates of women by ethnic group, ONS (2008)

Larger households and more children

Pakistanis have the largest household size (4.1 people) in the UK (OfCom 2007). This is much higher than the average white British household size (2.3 people) (OfCom 2007). The birth rate among Pakistani women is also higher (2.6%) than any other ethnic group (Indian 1.6%, Bangladeshi 1.3%) (ESRC 2009). Furthermore, Pakistanis are the most likely ethnic group to have at least one dependent child (chart 7).

Likelihood to have Atleast One Dependent Child within a Household
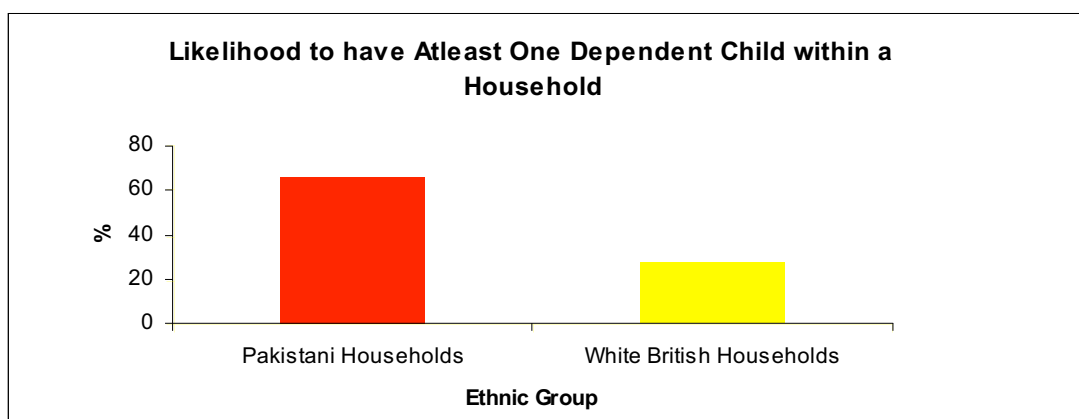
Chart 7: Households with at least one dependent child by ethnic group (ONS 2008).

Lower levels of educational attainment

Statistics do not show a very positive picture of the educational state of Pakistani community in the UK. In 2004, over 32% of Pakistanis at school leaving age (16 years) had no government recognised qualifications (chart 8). This was double than the White British population with no recognised qualifications. It should be noted, however, that in northern cities, these percentages reflect those in the white resident populations and there is, therefore, significant regional variation in qualification levels.

People of Working Age with No Qualification: by Ethnic Group, 2004
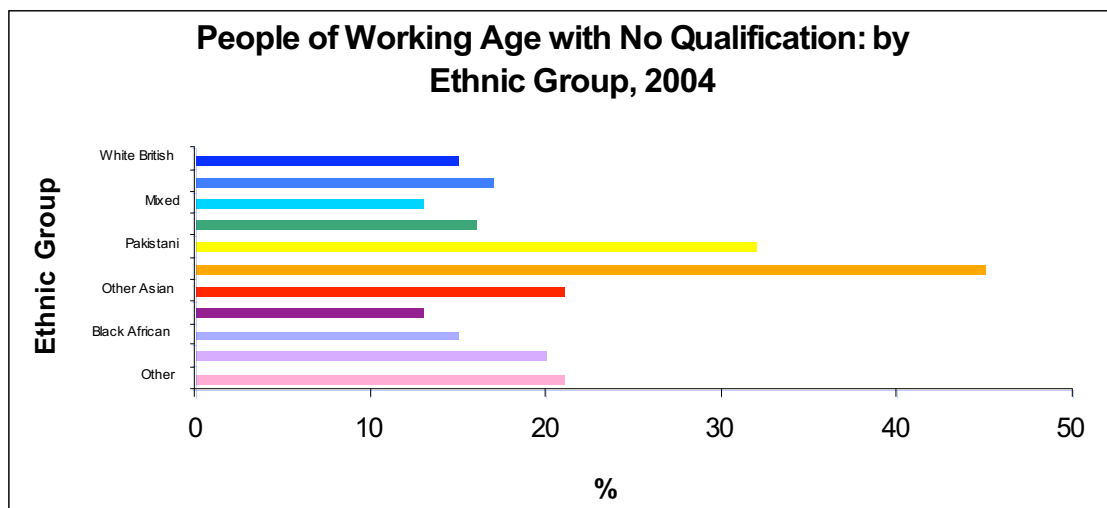
Chart 8: People of working age (16 years) with no qualifications, by ethnic group (ONS 2008).

The above chart shows the percentage of Pakistanis aged 16+ with no recognized qualifications, compared with other ethnic groups in UK. In this respect, Pakistanis are the second most disadvantaged group after Bangladeshis. Moreover, both males and females from Pakistani backgrounds are underachieving at GCSE level (see chart 11). The national average of pupils achieving 5 or more A*-C grades in 2004 was 48.4% for boys and 58.4% for girls, whereas it was 39% for Pakistani boys and 52% for Pakistani girls.

Current achievement levels are however much better than in the past few years when it used to be much lower. Recent trends show an improvement in the educational performance of Pakistani children.

Continued migration and the urban 'community'

While new births in the UK account for the majority of growth of this community, continued migration from Pakistan to the UK, and between UK cities, alters the population demographics within cities. For example, between 1991 and 2001, the Pakistani population of Manchester grew by fifty percent, two thirds of which was due to new births, with the remainder attributable to migration (either within the UK or Greater Manchester area, or from Pakistan), by graduates, workforce or marital partners.

Implications of Changing Demographics for the New Service

- The new service needs to take into consideration that the Pakistani community is by no means homogeneous and that content will need to cater for different tastes and different regional, age, class and occupational segments of the population.

- The content for the service cannot be London centric as the majority of potential users live in the Midlands and north of England.

- The service needs to cater for a rapidly expanding young audience and families with children as they make up the bulk of the audience.

- The scheduling and updating of content needs to take in to consideration that many Pakistani men are mobile workers in the transport/taxi service . In addition, many are self-employed shop owners and not working in an office environment where it is easier to log on to websites.

- If targeting women, the new service needs to cater for a large group of women who work at home.

Pakistani Diaspora - Language and Media Use

Pakistan is a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual state

The official languages are Urdu and English. In addition to Urdu and English, which function as lingua francas, regional languages are still very much prominent and a part of people's everyday lives.

Language	Percentage of People
Punjabi	44.1%
Pashto	15.4%
Sindhi	14.1%
Siraiki	10.5%
Urdu	7.6%
Balochi	3.6%
English	3-4% (estimate)
Hindko	2.4% (estimate)

Table 1: Main languages Spoken in Pakistan
Source: 1998 Census (Jaffrelot 2004)

Unlike regional languages, Urdu occupies a different status in Pakistan because it is linked to the ideological establishment of the state and is not indigenous to the people that constituted the territory before 1947.

Historically Urdu was the language spoken in northern India (See Map 2).

Map 2 – Indian Princely States and Areas under Direct British Control, 1939
Source: Maps of India, www.mapsofindia.com

Urdu was also the language spoken in the United Provinces which have long been the ideological heartland of the Muslim separatist movement. The Muslim League have used the Urdu language to mobilise support for the separatist movement and provide people with a distinctive Islamic/Urdu identity. Thus Urdu language came to symbolise the call for a separate Islamic state in 1947. It was therefore the official language of Pakistan after the British partition India, even though it was only spoken by a small minority.

Separation of East and West Pakistan

The adoption of Urdu as the national language immediately caused tensions between West and East Pakistan. In East Pakistan the people spoke Bengali and as the Bengali community were in the majority they felt that Urdu was being imposed on them unfairly. The dilemma and challenge was how to reconcile different ethnicities, and diverse regional cultural and linguistic variations and, at the same time, formulate a national identity. Islam and Urdu were considered to be the glue that would bind people together and forge a national identity but the Bengali majority became increasingly resentful of the imposition of a "foreign" language which resulted in violent language riots in 1952. In 1971 East Pakistan was separated and Bangladesh was created as a separate state.

Urdu as lingua franca among Pakistanis

At present Urdu, while the official lingua franca of Pakistan, is still the mother tongue of only 6 per cent of the population (Jaffrelot 2004:252). However, it is a language widely spoken because it provides a link between the regional variations. Moreover, it is necessary to have some grasp of Urdu in order to access the media (TV, Radio, Press) which largely makes use of Urdu as a national language. 10.2% of the population listen to BBC World Service in Urdu on a weekly basis. It is estimated that over 80% of the population can speak and understand Urdu even though Urdu is not their preferred spoken language (BBC WS

National Survey 2006). Urdu is also compulsory in schools although literacy levels especially in rural Pakistan are low.

English is not widely spoken in private life and it is estimated that around 3-4 per cent of Pakistanis speak English (Jaffrelot 2004:253). English remains part of the British colonial legacy/domination, and is associated with western liberal values, while Urdu is associated with Islam and the Pakistani nationalist movement. Vernacular languages are crucial markers of ethnicity and regional identity which for many supercede national identities.

Language is linked to social class and status

Language is a vital component of people's ethnic identity but in Pakistan language is also increasingly linked with social class and status. In contemporary Pakistan, as in the colonial period, English is still a language that is associated with the upper middle classes and the elite. While Urdu has a greater reach, it is most commonly associated with the lower middle classes, and the vernacular languages are restricted to private spaces. Sindhi and Pashto activists are engaged in a struggle to encourage the public use of their languages.

The most widely spoken language in Pakistan is Punjabi

It is worth providing an overview of the main languages spoken in Pakistan. Table 2 lists the main language groups (not minor languages and dialects) spoken in Pakistan

Region/Province	Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Balochi	Saraiki	Others
Pakistan	7.6	44.1	15.4	14.1	3.6	10.5	4.7
Islamabad	10.1	71.6	9.5	0.6	0.1	1.1	7.0
Punjab	4.5	75.2	1.2	0.1	0.7	17.4	0.9
Sindh	21.1	7.0	4.2	59.7	2.1	1.0	4.9
N.W.F.P	0.8	1.0	73.9	-	-	3.9	20.4
Balochistan	1.0	2.5	29.6	5.6	54.8	2.4	4.1
FATA	0.2	0.2	99.1	-	-	-	0.5

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Households by Language Usually Spoken, 1998 Census[3]
Source: Population Census Organisation, Pakistan Statistical Year Book (Federal Bureau of Statistics, 2008)

The table is useful in illustrating how Urdu is largely spoken in two areas, Islamabad which is the State capital and Sindh where the *Mohajir*[4] population is concentrated in Karachi. The most widely spoken language in Pakistan is Punjabi but this is to be expected as ethnically Punjabis constitute the largest proportion of the population. The table clearly illustrates that in the provinces the regional languages dominate.

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[3] Table 2 is based on figures relating to 1998 Census, even though publication year is 2008.
[4] Mohajirs are Urdu speaking refugees from the United Provinces who migrated from India in 1947 when Pakistan was created.

After the creation of Bangladesh in 1971, language-based tensions have continued in Pakistan. The state view has always been to deny any separatist movements and to promote the idea that everyone belongs to one nation – a uniform, Urdu speaking society. However, there remain many other language-based movements in Pakistan: Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto, Saraiki, Pahari, and Punjabi (Rahman 2001:248-254).

Comprehension across related languages

Although some languages and dialects are preferred over others, and Urdu is promoted as the lingua franca, there is a good deal of comprehension across languages which are closely related. People who speak Punjabi are more familiar with Urdu/Hindu than vice versa. But within Punjabi speaking areas, Urdu speakers will understand Punjabi. In Pakistan, approx 44% of the population speak Punjabi as their first language and approx 55% of the population live in the Punjab province.
Punjabi is the lingua franca that crosses religious boundaries in the UK diaspora.

Language and the Pakistani Diaspora in Britain

Mirpuri Community and the Pahari Language5 Movement

Some of the language tensions that exist in Pakistan have also worked their way into the Pakistani diaspora in the UK. This is certainly evident in relation to British Kashmiris. The British Kashmiri community, often referred to as Mirpuris as this is the main region from where they migrated, have been particularly vocal in the past twenty years in their struggle for separate recognition. Azad Jummu and Kashmir have separate elections and regional governments. "Recent research studies clearly indicate that Kashmiris in England do not

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[5] Language of the people of the mountains i.e. Kashmir

want to be identified as Pakistanis and their language is not Urdu or Punjabi." (Ali 2007:26) Rather it is argued by Ali that they clearly demand recognition for Kashmiri ethnicity and the Pahari language. They are actively pursuing a campaign to have their language recognised and its use within the community is actively encouraged. Activists, such as Daalat Ali[6], have been trying to pioneer Pahari literature in the UK, promoting its understanding and use within the community. Pahari is considered to be a sub set of the Pothwari language and is a dialect of Punjabi by some scholars. *It is further promoted through indigenous media outlets, such as digital channels like KBC and DM Digital*. The popularity of these channels was highlighted in the one of the interviews conducted in Coventry. The interview was conducted with three Mirpuri men who talked about the popularity of channels in the Pothwari language because it filled a gap currently in the media.

Kashmiri and Pothwari are regional dialects, closer to Punjabi than Urdu. Both dialects have words that have evolved from Urdu words, but have more in common with Punjabi. Again there is no Kashmiri or Pothwari script and the people can understand Urdu. Since Urdu is the national language, those Kashmiri and Pothwari speakers who went to school in Pakistan can easily read and write Urdu.

The Mirpuri community and access to media

The significance of this issue for the Pakistani diaspora is that the Mirpuri, who constitute the biggest group, are not catered for in the mainstream media. This has led to community being unable to access governmental/council/educational literature because they are unable to read it in their own language. The Mirpuri community are largely unable to read Urdu and some struggle with English; while they can understand Punjabi, most of the Punjabi literature in the UK is in the East Punjab dialect and is written in the Gurmukhi script. Further research is necessary to ascertain the scale of this problem.

Current trends – English / Urdu/ Punjabi

The population census taken in 2001 did not include a question on languages spoken in the UK, and therefore it is difficult to give reliable details about the languages spoken among the Pakistani communities in the UK. It has been proposed that the 2011 census will include a question on language. However, in 2005 CILT, The National Centre for Languages conducted a survey into language learning in local authorities and schools. As part of this survey Ethnologue[7] has produced a full list of the languages spoken by children from British Pakistani backgrounds in the local authorities in England, Scotland and Wales, as shown in chart 12.

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[6] Daalat Ali works for Leeds City Council and is a Pahari writer, author of two books in Pahari, Punch-na-Sarmad, Taharan-ni-Agh. He is also the UK coordinator or Kashmir National Identity Campaign.
[7] Ethnologue is an encyclopaedic reference that catalogues the worlds known living languages, www.ethnologue.com
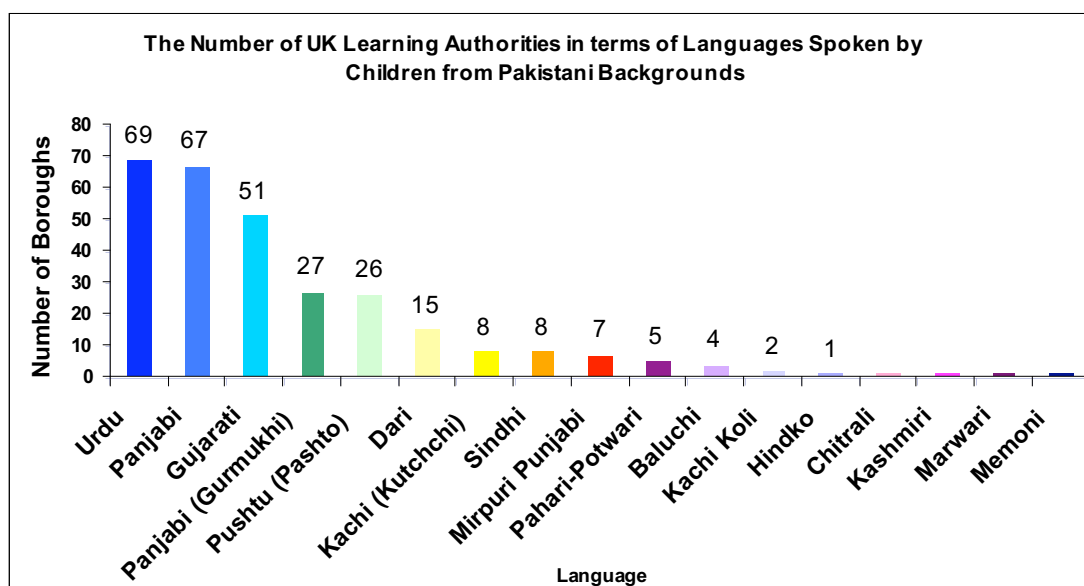
Chart 9: The number of UK boroughs in which languages are spoken by school children from Pakistani backgrounds (CILT 2008)

Recent GCSE level results reflect improvements in the teaching and learning of Urdu at this level, but examiners note that students have a tendency to use phonetic Urdu, being very capable of translating Urdu to English and English to Urdu, but being "unable to write it properly". (Edexcel, 2008)

There is also some evidence of growing popularity of the Arabic language (above Urdu) amongst young religiously minded Pakistanis in Manchester and Oldham because of the widespread availability of contemporary and relevant media (compared to Urdu) and the growth of new religious organisations emphasising *Ijtihad,* in which young people gain status and recognition for their mastery and understanding of religious texts.

English is the preferred language of UK Pakistanis

As shown in the chart, a wide variety of dialects is spoken by the Pakistani community in the UK. It is note worthy that a sizeable population of Pakistanis born and brought up in UK are more comfortable speaking English rather than Urdu or the regional languages spoken by their parents. Interviews conducted for this project provides some anecdotal evidence about languages used by the Pakistani diaspora. Table 3 lists all the different combinations cited by the respondents.

English	46
English/Urdu	12
English/Urdu/Punjabi	12
Urdu	12
Punjabi	11
Urdu/Punjabi	4
English/Punjabi	6
English/Sindhi/Urdu	2
Urdu/Sindhi	2
English/Sindhi	1
Pothwari	1
Sindhi	1
Total sample	**110**

Table 3: Languages Respondents Are Most Comfortable With

Most interviews were conducted in English; however, Urdu and regional languages were also used by people, as detailed in Table 3. Some participants made use of mixed languages during the interviews. The majority of the people used English as their primary, if not secondary language. --- people out of a sample of -- used said they were most comfortable with English. Urdu and Punjabi were next most popular languages. It is interesting to note that Urdu and Punjabi was mostly spoken at home and by mostly housewives, because they are not working and by low-skilled workers. Of course they were exceptions to this, like students who had just recently come to the UK.

Implications of Linguistic Diversity for the New Service

- The findings from this chapter suggest that we cannot take Urdu as Lingua Franca for a diaspora site.

- English needs to be part of the new service offer in order to capture UK Pakistanis of 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation.

- It is more likely that audio and video content in Urdu will be understood. A greater number of people can understand the spoken languages than can read and write.

- Code switching between English, Punjabi and Urdu creates a variety of regionally accented hybrid idioms and everyday languages which should find a place on the new site.

- Subtitling, dubbing and voice over of content will be very advantageous given the current language preferences of Pakistani population.

Chapter 4

Pakistani Diaspora Audiences –

A Collaborative Ethnography

People

Identities

Multilayered and shifting identities:

Participants identified themselves in several ways that encompassed faith, nationality, local and regional identity, language, ethnicity, occupation. A majority of our participants saw themselves as British, Muslim and Pakistani, and appeared to shift and switch between, these identities with ease according to context:

Ali, a 44 year old business consultant from Oldham, when asked how he would describe his identity replied:

"You know something, if I'm with you, I wouldn't have to say I'm a Muslim, if I am with a Muslim I would say I am Shah or Basit, I would not have to reveal my religious identity because you already know that. But with anyone else, such as an English person, I would say that I'm a Muslim and my name is Basit Shah. I would not have to say that I am a Pataan and I am from the North West Frontier. But if I'm in Saddleworth, I would say I'm from Coppice. If I'm in Scotland, I would say that I'm from Oldham. I it would differ depending upon the situation".

This quote illustrates how axes of identification are quite complex and shift according to social situation.

> Zoya is 36 and she lives in London with her husband and two children and enjoys her job very much. She works as a counsellor and psychologist. She was born in the UK but went back to Pakistan at the age of 11. Her parents wanted to raise their children in an Islamic environment in Pakistan. When she was 20, she returned to the UK to pursue higher education, after which she got married and settled in London. She identifies as British, Pakistani and Muslim and does not seem to bother too much about how people see her:
>
> *"I vacillate between these three identities and I don't care because for me it's not important to be one and not the other….I find it comfortable to be either… I am very happy identifying myself as a Pakistani, I am happy identifying myself as a British Muslim and I am happy to say that I am a British Pakistani…"* (Female, 36, London)

Educated, middle class participants, like Zoya appeared to be more adept at challenging stereotypes of Pakistanis. Sensitivities about negative perceptions tended to be more common among those who found it difficult to articulate defensive strategies. There was a conscious effort among all interviewees to distance themselves from common stereotypes of Pakistanis as 'terrorists', 'backward' and 'patriarchal'. Direct and indirect attacks linking Islam with terrorism were seen to be causing some Pakistanis to retreat into a defensive and insular Muslim identity. Interviewees were dismayed at the confusion in public and media discourse between Islam, seen as a 'religion of peace', and Islamist political organizations that promoted violence, and felt that the new services had an important role to play in dispelling prejudices and creating a better informed multi-ethnic public sphere.

Disengagement with Islamist ideologies was clearly evident across the interviews. Many participants stress that their religious identity does not take precedence or overwhelm other aspects of identity, contrary to common assumptions. However, participants in the North of England (Yorkshire, Lancashire, Rochdale) tended to identify themselves as Muslims first and then as British or Pakistanis. For some participants local and regional identities take precedence over national or religious identity. Second and third generation Punjabi speakers are more likely to embrace a South Asian diasporic identity. This pan Asian identity was seen as marking generational distinctions and distance from parents' culture and attitudes. It also represented as a way of attempting to transcend the kind of religious antagonisms between Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and Christian Pakistanis that were seen to permeate parental cultures.

A sense of connection to Pakistan depended on key factors: regularity of travel to and communication with Pakistan family, extent of economic, political or other connections, and length of stay in the UK. Most maintain varying degrees of loyalty to Pakistan. Many participants stressed that their identity is a highly complex phenomenon:

"Nationally I am a middle aged British man, culturally I am Pakistani Muslim. You see identity is a very complicated thing, people want us to fit in to nice defined boxes, but in reality, identity is very complex, I have a different identity in different settings, such as father, brother etc."(Male, 40's Oldham)

There was a strong feeling that the British public and media did not appreciate the complexities, contradictions and richness of identifications and attachments experienced by British Pakistanis, and that the new services could go some way to redress this.

I would love my children to play (cricket) for Scotland...

While loyalty to Pakistan and a sense of belonging to the Muslim diaspora or *Umma*[8] was very common in majority of the participants, this did not prevent a strong sense of belonging to Britain. For example, participants in Scotland identified themselves as more Scottish than Pakistani – and indeed, in some cases, as more Scottish than British - and expressed the desire to raise their children as 'Scottish Muslims'.

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[8] The global Muslim community

Nilo is in her mid 40s and is a primary school teacher in Edinburgh, though currently unemployed. She was born and brought up in Britain. Her family has links to Kamalia in the Punjab. She speaks English and Punjabi and understands some Urdu but cannot speak it. Her family has a number of prosperous business involvements in Edinburgh. Nilo used the term 'British Asians' to refer to her family but when asked how she would identify herself she replied 'as a British Muslim'. She intimated that this was because she identified more with Britain than Pakistan and that in her view it was important to contribute to and support the country you live in and said:

"I would love my kids to … play (cricket) for Scotland – represent Scotland as a Scottish Muslim". (Female, 40, Edinburgh)

Similarly all young participants in Bradford very much considered the city to be their main "home place" For such participants, local identities were much stronger than for Pakistanis elsewhere. All of the young interviewees expressed the opinion that, although they are of Pakistani heritage, they do not hold the same heartfelt connection to Pakistan as their parents. In fact, for some, this became less relevant as the years progressed. They acknowledged that having close relatives "back home" gave a stronger sense of connection to Pakistan but stated that their identity was shaped more by their experiences of living in Britain. This is in line with the findings from the UK 2001 census that a large percentage of Pakistanis who were not born in the UK, still consider themselves to be British. According to the survey, 55% of the Pakistani population had been born in the UK, and 83% of the total population claimed to be British (ONS 2008).

No matter how much you want to be British you will never be true British

Despite a strong sense of British identity, participants did not believe that they were considered to be 'true British'. Most felt that, as Pakistanis, they were misunderstood, misrepresented and even demonised by the media. Deep concerns were expressed about the effects of negative media portrayals of Pakistanis, and of Pakistan as the seedbed of terrorism or unruly tribes and antiquated traditions. The predominance of such portrayals was seen to exacerbate prejudice and racism among the wider British public.

Sarah, 42, works as a biomedical scientist for the NHS. She is divorced and lives in London with her son. She is concerned that the British and 'western' media portrays only of one particular segment of Pakistan, namely the poor, underdeveloped, rural areas. She believes that more modernised cities like Karachi, Islamabad and Lahore are woefully under-represented and that this highly selective representation of Pakistan has a deeply negative and direct influence on her everyday life in Britain. She feels proud to have lived 'progressive' Pakistani cities, where people are more educated, and women exercise decision-making powers and have the freedom to live their lives according to their choice. Sarah talked at length about on a recent BBC2 'This World' documentary (1st December 2008) by Saira Khan called 'Forced to Marry'. It presented the stories of several British Pakistani women who, upon a family visit to Pakistan, had been kidnapped, forced to marry a first cousin, and then held captive by the in-laws. The documentary exposed the marriage trading of women. It showed a series of highly dramatic escaped by these young captive women who were brought back home to the UK by the Home Office Forced Marriage Unit. Sarah lamented this kind of documentary not because it was untruthful but because it was one of the very few topics related to British Pakistanis that ever got commissioned by the BBC:

 "And the next day when I went to work everybody was saying, 'oh! is that your Pakistan?' and I told them that it was not the Pakistan that I came from. I come from a very modern Pakistan …. Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. People wear the hijab, people don't wear the hijab, people wear whatever they like. I come from that Pakistan. You have freedom for everything but the way it is portrayed here is not correct." (Female 42, London,)

For Sarah, this documentary reproduced tired stereotypes of Pakistan. She expressed a heartfelt wish for alternative representations of Pakistan on the new BBC services where she hoped a more nuanced and differentiated range of images and narratives that included the lives of Pakistanis living in modern cities and the achievements of educated women.

Media stereotypes of Pakistan were widely seen to have very real and significant consequences for the everyday lives of Pakistanis in Britain. Our respondents felt that it was a constant and daily battle to repudiate and counter these images. They felt it was their responsibility to project a more balanced image of Pakistan at work and at leisure and in other social contexts where they interact with non Pakistanis, and they hoped that the new services could assist them in this battle.

The so called 'war on terror' was seen to have caused deep insecurities and rifts both within and between communities. An urgent need for a greater sense of social security was strongly expressed. Insecurity, it was argued, lead some to turn towards their Pakistani heritage as a way of securing and validating a positive identity. Others sought to avoid the excessive scrutiny and surveillance of Muslims by UK state authorities by retreating into private and safe spaces of communication and Muslim only social networks. It is hoped that the new services might help build bridges of understanding within and between different communities in the UK and Pakistan and foster shared public spaces of communication across British – Pakistani –Muslim boundaries.

Who Cares About Us? What about a BBC for us?

Given the general dissatisfaction with the way mainstream British media represented Muslims in general, and Pakistanis in particular, many of our participants pointed out that the BBC in particular had a responsibility to all sections of the British community and all taxpayers due to the licence fee:

*"who cares about us? – we pay our licence fee but we don't see ourselves reflected on the screen?[…] Muslim and Asian issues are brought up all the time, unfortunately they are biased and negative agendas, terrorism and things we don't want to hear[…] there are no pluses there […] the only place we've seen terrorism is on the box" (*Male 30's Bradford)

It is difficult to convey the emotion and distress that negative media representations elicit. While it was recognised that the new BBC Pakistan diaspora services could not right all these perceived wrongs, it was hoped that they might go some way to alleviating the alienation felt when daily confronted by a barrage of hurtful images and stories about Pakistan and Muslims.

There was a strong argument from Jadil and Majaz, two Belfast businessmen, that while they experienced very little racism or even feelings of exclusion, in their daily working lives,, they were keenly aware that prejudices created by the media, however subtle, impacted very strongly on their childrens' lives at a time when their identities were being formed. They also link Eurocentrism with an exclusionary trend in BBC programming:

Interviewer: How important to you is content about Pakistan, whether it's cookery, or news from your region, or wildlife in Pakistan, or sport in Pakistan?

Jadil: If there was things like that, we would feel there was a BBC for us as well, but they don't venture from Europe, [the BBC] it's only for English viewers, and people in the region [Europe] really. Nothing for Asian people you know.

Interviewer: Does that make you feel excluded, that the BBC doesn't have those?

Jadil: Sometimes, I think it does.

Majaz: Sometimes, yes.

Jadil: We are taxpayers as well. We pay a hundred and something for the BBC too.

Majaz: That's the kind of a strong feeling that I think we have when we gather together, that we really have this feeling. If something good is happening there it doesn't get mentioned but [JN: Yes.] if something bad happens –[…]

Jadil: I can give you an example. Amir Khan. Boxer. Every time he is on the TV, he is British. But if some people do some damage, do a bombing or

something, even they are born here, they are Pakistani, they are a Pakistani suicide bomber. But Amir Khan is British!

Such selective appropriation of British Pakistanis into British mainstream diminishes trust in the BBC.

Muslim identities and media consumption

Just as the Muslim population demonstrates a marked regional diversity in terms of origin, they follow a variety of faith traditions within Islam. As Peach (2006b) suggests, 'There is not a single Muslim community but a community of communities' (p.368). The majority of Muslims follow either the Sunni or the Shia traditions of Islam. There are also Ismailis[9] and a myriad of other sects. Within the Sunni tradition, there are Sufis,[10] Deobandis and Barelwis.[11] Within the Deobandi movement is *Tablighi Jamat* which is involved in the missionary spread of Islam, encouraging Muslims to practice ritual aspects of Islam while focusing on personal renewal (Peach 2006a, p. 640-41, Lewis 1994b). *Ahl-e-hadith* is another sect that firmly believes in the *ahadith (*or the rules of everyday Islamic life as laid down in the sayings of Muhammed .

Identification with diverse traditions and sects tends to diminish when it comes to embracing the Muslim *Umma* or global community A global all-encompassing Muslim identity is also reinforced by mediated global events, particularly the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts. The 'War on Terror' has certainly fuelled mistrust not only of 'the West' but also of 'Western Anglophone media'. The interviewees cited numerous examples of how Islam is constantly criticised and misrepresented by political leaders and in political news. For example, they frequently referred to George Bush's inarticulate and "cartoonish" speeches as contributing to the hardening of Muslim identities. It is clear that Pakistani identities in Britain are constructed against a background of highly negative attitudes towards Muslims. The new services could perhaps help to begin restore trust and confidence in the BBC if it is sensitive to the often hostile circumstances in which Pakistanis have to make their lives in the UK. But it should also be noted that respondents talked warmly about the many cross-cultural friendships and good working relations that they experiences which were all the more valued in the current insecure environment.

Women expressed their objection to a constant focus in news programmes on the demands made by a minority of Muslims – such as being allowed to wear the niqab while teaching children or the desire for Sharia law in the UK. A group of mums in Edinburgh reported their view that programmes on these topics focussed on extremes and took aspects of Koranic teachings out of context. Participants expressed their objection to portrayals of Muslims and Islam in mainstream media:

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[9] The Ismailis are the second largest Shia community. There are several sub-groupings within the Ismailis. The term generally refers to the followers of Aga Khan, the hereditary title of the Imam of the Ismaili community.
[10] Sufism involves the relationship between a Sufi (saint) and Murid (devotee). The Sufi is considered to be closer to God and a physician of the soul, a mediator between men and God. Their tombs often become sites of pilgrimage (Lewis 1994a).
[11] Deobandism is a school of strict textual interpretation of Islam founded in 1867 in Deoband, India. The school fosters a style of Islam that prefer universal practices and beliefs to local cults and customs and emphasize the diffusion of scripture based practices and the cultivation of an inner spiritual life (Metcalf 1978). The Barelwi tradition takes its name from its founder Ahmad Raza Khan of Bareilly, India. Barelwism defends the legitimacy of Shaiks and shrines and looks at pirs as intercessors between themselves and God (Lewis 1994a).

The total west media is orientated to Islamophobia. They're not representing the true situation. It's like, you know, Abu Hamza, you know, when he comes and does something wrong, it's highlighted all over the place, but he – it's like [..] if you've got a Rolls Royce and, eh, you put a driver that is a learner behind it and you say 'test this car out', and he's going to go and crash it. But you can't say that the Rolls Royce is a bad car! It's the driver that is bad! (Azhar, 50 Edinburgh).

Azhar draws an analogy between Islam and Rolls Royce and argues that it's not the vehicle but the driver of the vehicle who must be held responsible if damage occurs. This kind of point was made time and again. Participants argued that the predominant images of Muslims in the media as terrorists, suicide bombers, and religious extremists did not represent the true meanings of Islam for the majority of the British Pakistani population. This was also the explanation given for a declining interest in mainstream news media:

" I lost interest because the only thing that goes on in the news is this has happened to Pakistan - Pakistan is doing this - and I sit there and think, you know, forget it there's no point because this is the only thing I'm going to hear". (Male 18, Edinburgh)

Another participant reported:

"Sometimes I get so depressed when it's all this stuff about terrorism and suicide bombers and sometimes I just switch off with that and [..] I'm sort of a bit mixed up whether I want to hear that" (Female 40, Edinburgh)

Managing insecurities sometimes means switching off from news – as a conscious decision. **News avoiders** are a common type of consumer who regularly avoid news. As T.S Elliot wrote "Man (sic) cannot bear too much reality", and so it is with news. In reality, most of us modulate our engagement with news and at times of major events consume news avidly and then return to more routine news habits.

Transnational and Translocal Ties

Our data suggest that local social contexts in which people live are of primary interest and importance for Pakistanis but they would like to access more local news that is more relevant to their lives. Strong translocal connections also exist, for example, between Islamabad-Sunderland (see map). Family visits and communication is reported to be quite frequent especially among participants based in the North of England. Those who could not make very regular visits made use of social networking sites on the internet as well as phone to stay in touch. There was quite strong support for the idea that the new services might build on translocal connections. There was an eagerness to link up with and find out more about Pakistani lives in specific localities in Pakistan, UK and wider diaspora:

> Kareem has been living in Edinburgh for 35 years and is educated to postgraduate level, has a good job and is financially secure. He originally came from the Sindh province in Pakistan. Kareem noted that while he was interested in what was happening in Pakistan, he was most interested in what was happening in the particular area where his relatives lived. (Male,60, Edinburgh).

A sizeable number of respondents expressed a desire to have programmes that interlinked the places to which they belong and have connections – Karachi-London-Toronto-Dubai. This is especially true at times of crisis, as was apparent during the Pakistani earthquakes or the assassination of Benazir Bhutto or other major events that concern Pakistanis and their relatives. Many respondents maintain transnational or translocal ties with family and friends in Canada, the USA and the Middle East. The potential for the new BBC services to exploit transnational family ties in serial dramas, documentaries and comic narratives is immense.

Many 2nd 4th generation respondents claimed never to have been to Pakistan and therefore had no bond with a specific place in Pakistan. Their interest in Pakistan was more general – part of their cultural heritage that they felt they knew little about and, indeed, did not feel encouraged to find out about, given current media portrayals. Instead, they saw the value of the new services as fostering ties with other Pakistani communities in Britain and in the global Pakistani Diaspora.

Generational differences

First generation Pakistanis tend to be news omnivores – they long for news about 'home' to maintain a Pakistani Connection

There is a significant generation gap in media consumption among Pakistanis in the UK. First generation Pakistanis have a much greater reliance on Pakistani/Urdu media (depending on education/literacy) and frequently make use of satellite TV in order to access Pakistani sources. Their perceptions of the BBC are linked to BBC Urdu and to the historical significance of the BBC World Service in Pakistan. Elderly Pakistanis referred to the 'beautiful Urdu' spoken by BBC broadcasters, and recalled times when the BBC was the only trusted media source:

Faisal is 40 years old and lives in Oldham. He came to the UK when he was 14 and runs a taxi rank. Here's how he started his interview:

'Before you start I want to share with you a story that might have some relevance to your research. There was this guy in Pakistan called Ali. Ali was very interested in listening to news, so he went out and brought two radios because he did not trust the news sources. On his way back to his village, he switched his radio on and heard a voice say "Hello this is the BBC in London". So he threw the radio away. Then he tuned in to the second radio and, again, he heard a voice say "Hello, this is the BBC in London). In fury, he threw the second radio away. And his friend said "What are you doing?" And Ali replied "This is not London, this is Pakistan! What use are these radios? They've already started to tell lies" (Faisal, 40, Oldham) .

The first generation see the new BBC service as means of staying in contact with Pakistan, helping their children understand Pakistani heritage and culture, and getting news in Urdu from a broadly British perspective. Many first generation audiences are deeply suspicious about the veracity and impartiality of all news sources (as one informant said, "balance comes from inside us"), they see the news services as a welcome addition that will complement but not supplant existing services.

Many first generation Pakistani men are avid news consumers and fall into the broad category of **"news omnivores"** – those who claim to be "news addicts" whose daily routines are shaped by ritualistic news consumption. News omnivores come in many forms but first generation Pakistani news omnivores watch several Pakistani and UK news channels, and read the Daily Jang. They believe that high quality news from the BBC in Urdu will raise the game of other channels and have long term consequences for the provision of quality news by, for and about Pakistani and Pakistanis wherever they live. But there are plenty of female Pakistanis who are also news omnivores.

Yasmin, 45, is a housewife and lives in Belfast. She has lived in the UK for 11 years and is a UK national. She too is a first generation migrant. She, like her male elders, describes herself as a 'news addict'. She regularly reads *The Belfast Telegraph*, and occasionally *The Guardian*. She watches television every day, mostly news channels, but also documentaries, current affairs programmes and dramas on both British and Pakistani channels. She watches news on Channel 4, BBC News, Sky News, CNN, Al-Jazeera, and Pakistani news channels, especially GEO TV. Yasmin usually watches television during the day, whilst doing chores or cooking. There are three televisions in the house; in the living room, kitchen and her bedroom. She watches the Channel 4 news at 7pm daily in her bedroom:

"To tell you, I love Channel 4, that is my favourite channel, Channel 4 at seven o'clock. I say, 'Don't disturb me, anybody'. (Laughs)"

Yasmin's consumption of Pakistani media is primarily for political news and commentary:

"Number one is the politics. And the second is that there is so much lawlessness in my country so basically the current affairs of Pakistan and that sort of stuff."

As well as political news, Yasmin also likes documentaries and current affairs programmes:

"Some programmes which are like based on the true facts, any soap that uses the true story, something like that. But I'm not the person to watch like any songs or music or, eh, fashion programmes, because I really don't have time."

In this she is unlike some of her friends, whom she describes as *"watching soaps, listening to music, that sort of thing"*. Her husband has no interest in watching Pakistani channels, she says.

When looking for political commentary in general, Yasmin chooses BBC current affairs programmes, but for news on Pakistan, she opts for GEO, or ARY One World, both of which she thinks are good for political commentary. She finds that while Pakistani channels give her the kind of news that she wants to see, she has reservations about their political bias. She trusts GEO the most because she finds that Sky and the BBC news often seem to follow GEO in covering Pakistani related stories and, therefore she believes, GEO must be quite reliable.

Yasmin has internet access at home, and regularly looks at the *Daily Jang* website, but generally, if she is looking for something relating to news or current affairs, she will use the Google search engine to find the latest stories.

Youth have more in common with British peers than parents

British born Pakistanis tend to consume media in ways similar to their British peers. Programmes like *EastEnders and Coronation Street, Jonathan Ross, Desperate Housewives, Micheal Palin's Tour of India* are commonly viewed, discussed and enjoyed. They do show an interest in what is going on in Pakistan and find out about that mainly from parents and elders. They are also very interested in news about Middle East and Arabic world and use Al Jazeera English as an alternative news source for this purpose.

One notable difference from their British peers is that they also consume South Asian diaspora media, including Bollywood, which has a mixed reception among youth and is generally preferred by females. Many respondents like using the BBC Asian network. An interesting point, however, was that few people listened to or knew about 'Silver Street' (the UK's first daily **Asian** radio drama on the **BBC Asian** Network which follows the lives of young Asians living in a Midlands city), although previous research has shown this to be popular, and it was popular with the Pakistani students that we interviewed. BBC Asian Network is seen to have an Indian bias and there is little representation of Pakistani or Islamic pop culture, according to participants.

They expressed a desire to reflect a wider range of South Asian diaspora creative talent that is so often ignored by the mainstream. There is an emergent British/Muslim and British/Asian hybrid media. For example, EMEL Magazine (http://www.emelmagazine.com/)and BBC Asian Network's DesiDNA (http://www.bbc.co.uk/asiannetwork/features/desi_dna.shtml)

The Islamic music genre is a growing industry- with artists like Sami Yusuf (http://www.samiyusuf.com/home/index.htm) and Native Deen (http://www.nativedeen.com/) who are seen to be pushing and re-defining artistic creative space (see Appendix 8 for cultural reference points). There is a vibrant niche market to explore in the idea of creative Muslim space. These consumers can be referred to as "**hybrid media users"** whose flexible South Asian diasporic identities and interests can be summoned by a range of cross-over media that combines elements of – British, South Asian, Islamic, black American, Black British, and South American musical traditions and genres.

Despite this emergent, distinctive hybrid media and cultural youth space, there was also an expressed need for shared, cross-generational spaces and 'common media territory', for programmes that all the family could enjoy and that would generate debate about mattes of importance. Participants in Belfast, for example, felt a nostalgia for shared viewing and content which they felt that they got in the 1970s and 80s when the BBC would occasionally show Indian films or programmes on the main channels that all the family could watch together.

Ahmed has been born and brought up in London. He is in his early thirties. After graduating from university, he is running his own business. He is a frequent user of internet. He compares his media habits with those of his father; his media consumption pattern can be seen as typical of young generation of Pakistanis in UK:

*My father watches **GEO** and **ARY** and when I go home that's all he watches, I mean he's 75 now[…] Bus it's really hard for me to understand (these channels) ….The media I watch is news of films, I will watch an interesting documentary erm and that's about it. I think my categories would have to be news, films and documentaries…my favourite is **BBC news** (because of its easy access) [..].ITN is (also) good. ..I do like consuming some of the Asian (stuff) ….Sometimes I listen to **Kismet Radio**, I think it's Kismet, isn't it – 1045, that's quite a good one. I think there's other ones that have come out and there's **TalkAsia FM**. (Male, early 30s, London)*

Ahmed's account reveals an interest in Asian and Pakistani media. He is interested in news, films and documentaries, combined by regular surfing on the internet. In contrast, his father is mainly interested in Pakistani and Urdu channels which Ahmed finds difficult to understand.

Family viewing is seen as very important by most of our participants who provided examples of how their media habits are influenced by the interests of their family members or friends. In many cases, parents mentioned their efforts in persuading their children to watch Islamic and Urdu channels in order to keep them in touch with Pakistani culture, foster Islamic values, and improve their Urdu. In many families, however, an increasingly diverse range of genres and programmes are being watched owing to the varying interests of family members and the availability of multiple televisions and media platforms in most households.

Jadil has lived in Belfast for 24 years, having married a woman born in Belfast of Pakistani parents. He is in his 40s, and is a central member of the Pakistani Community Association in the city. He is a businessman in retail. He speaks Urdu and English, and understands Hindi. He is not university educated but is deeply versed in current affairs. He has one young daughter. Jadil describes his household as 'mostly' watching Asian channels but he he also watches an array of international news channels regularly. He also watches British programmes with his wife watches, and his daughter tends to watch more mainstream UK and Irish channels. He emphasises that his family likes to choose from a wide variety of channels. He also watches 'Peace TV' and avidly consumes any programmes about British Islam that he hears about from friends. In addition he lists CNN, BBC, Sky, a Russian news channel RE, a Chinese news channel and Al-Jazeera as being the main channels that they would look at for news, as well as internet-based CCTV. He watches these despite his wife not being interested at all in news, and so watches alone after she goes to bed. He says he often watches what his daughter is watching, and uses shared viewing as an opportunity to discuss important values and events. He has tried to influence her viewing, such as suggesting that she watches children's programmes on Peace TV but she doesn't always want to. (Male, 40s, Belfast)

Jalil is prime example of a type of media consumer, the **'sceptical zapper',** who satisfies his or her curiosity by zapping across a range of international news media to interpret competing

national or political perspectives on the same news stories. Sceptical zappers may be multi-lingual and cosmopolitan in orientation or they may use either English or Urdu. What unites them are high levels of media and political literacy. Cosmopolitans are 'armchair anthropologists' with high levels of cultural literacy. **Sceptical zappers are very likely to make good use of the new services.**

Translation - a key feature of cross generational viewing

Young people are often engaged in translating for their parents and grandparent, especially news and current affairs of mutual interest which they cannot absorb thoroughly on account of limited comprehension of English language news discourse which uses a middle class register and assumes a good deal of knowledge. Interviewees gave numerous accounts of children translating English programmes for elders and, conversely, of parents translating Urdu back to their children Youth competent in translating news acquire adult-like status in family as they are able to engage in news discourse and discussions. The following quotation is indicative:

*My mum loves to watch documentaries and she loves to watch any programmes about other countries. We watched one with reference to Mongolia recently but when I speak to my mum about all the different countries I've visited recently my mum is absolutely fascinated by this, she absolutely loves it. When we watch documentaries they're in English and I have to sit and explain it to my mum so there's one fantastic angle. **More programmes about history in Urdu**, more documentaries generally in Urdu. Another thing is after 9/11 there was a documentary made by Michael Moore, it was released in the cinemas a lot – watched it, really enjoyed it but **there's like an Urdu translation of it** – my grandfather he's 76 years old – one night I got home from work and he told me he'd watched this documentary and he'd Sky-Plussed (sic) and I couldn't believe it was that same one and he was absolutely loving it. **I sat and had a fantastic conversation with my grandad that night,** which I would not normally ever have. It was because we could relate to it because it was in Urdu he understood it. And now – you know what it gave his mind – things that he believed in before, he's now seen it – that information brought to him and it was a really good boost for him. So if we could do more of that, if the BBC could do more of that that would be amazing. (Male 30 Edinburgh) (our emphasis)*

Translation and subtitles can help make content available to more people from diverse backgrounds but also help close generational gaps. The need for translation works both ways, sometimes elders need to translate from Urdu to English and in other cases younger generations need to translate in to English.

Gender

Differences in the types of content that men, women and children consumed were fairly typical. For example, women tend to prefer soaps, fashion, lifestyle programmes, Bollywood movies on B4U channel, and Asian dramas. Men tended to prefer news documentaries and sport. The younger children watched mainstream children's programmes and cartoon channels. Some parents complained that there was very little for them in UK media that could develop an interest in Pakistan, and they feared that their children would loose a connection to their Pakistan heritage which they wanted them to feel proud of.

Women use media to educate children about culture, language, religion, heritage

Most mothers who participated in interviews report to be using Urdu channels and Hindi films, and occasionally Urdu newspapers for acquainting their children with their mother tongue, culture and religion. Pakistan held a great deal of significance particularly for participants in the North. Most of the channels that were viewed which informed their understanding included, Geo, PTV, ARY, DM digital.

According to two males in Belfast, their wives were primarily interested in Pakistani channels because of language and the emotional connection to 'home':

"The housewives that come from Pakistan – they speak Urdu, they come from Pakistan villages. It's easier for them to understand their channels and also they feel close to their own country and watch news about what's happening in Pakistan. All the time, you know." (Jadil, male, 50s, Belfast)

Urdu media provides an opportunity to relax for some women. Majaz, from Belfast, observes:

"[T]he wife wants to watch drama, the music. And she prefers Urdu. So - […] That's her natural language, yeah. She works in the morning, and she speaks English all day but after she sits down and relaxes, she wants to watch in Urdu." (Majaz, male, 40s, Belfast)

Yasmin, the self described news addict or **news omnivore** from Belfast referred to earlier speaks Urdu as her first language. Her husband is more fluent in Punjabi (both are from the Punjab region). English is a second language for both of them, but she is highly educated and extremely articulate in English. She is a full-time housewife in order to spend time with her three children, the eldest of whom is 15. Most of the media she consumes is in English, but she admits that she very much enjoyed listening to the radio in Urdu when visiting Manchester [where it is available] as it was more relaxing to listen to while driving.

She takes care to speak Urdu at home with her children, however, as she is keen that they are fluent in Urdu. She distinguishes herself from other parents who "*don't push their children in Urd*u [..] *usually the people here they don't, they never think or they never bother that they should speak or at least learn their own language*". In contrast, she is encouraging her children to take Urdu as a GCSE subject. She suggested that programmes or content that helped children to learn and use the Urdu language would be helpful, particularly as support for parents' own teaching of the language to their children. She like many other mothers would like to see and hear short programmes which could connect children to the Urdu

language, show them its beauty and its poetry, and enable them to access and appreciate their rich cultural heritage.

Recognition of gender inequalities

We observed a deep acknowledgement and recognition of gender inequalities within the community from the participants, even if less so among professional women. There was an ongoing thread throughout the interview centring on women and Pakistan "we are a male chauvinistic society." In Pakistan, programmes that used to come on such as '*Chador and Char Diwaari*' ('*The Veil and the Four Walls'*) presented a limited role for women within the household: "*the whole emphasis was that you should put women back….in the home*". In terms of UK media, they believed that the portrayal of women on was generally disrespectful and women were like "commodities."

There was also a rejection of passive, oppressed stereotypical images of Pakistani female. Women expressed a desire to be recognized as stylish, cool, Muslim and British woman. Anam, a 37 year old female from Leeds, raised an interesting point about how Muslim women in *hijab* were perceived by mainstream media:

Anam, a 37 year old woman from Leeds, works as a consultant researcher. She felt that she was often perceived as a "poor thing" that needed "support because she wears the *hijab*."

"*…They think that we have no power [that we are] powerless women, you know, they think […] that we can't make any decisions on our own and that we are really controlled by our man, so that's the sort of impression…*" *(Female, 37, Leeds)*

She argued that people compared her to women who did not wear the hijab and felt that people preferred to talk to women who came across as less "spiritually or religiously inclined." Anam said:

"*someone [from the BBC] said… 'you're so articulate! You could have had such a good opportunity working in radio!' And I said, 'why am I not good looking enough for TV?' and he said* **'take your scarf off and you won't have a problem, because at the BBC we will not have anybody that actually wears the hijab!'** *[..] And for me that is not a true reflection of society….*" *(Female, 37, Leeds)*

Working women who wear hijab, like Anam, are very self-reflexive, assertive and highly articulate. Across the interviews many women felt that power relations are changing in families as women become economically more independent. The new services, it was argued, need to address the needs of **professional Pakistani women**

Others struggle with prejudices in the working place. Women wearing hijab reported feeling depressed about constant Islamophobic attacks, verbal and physical, on their person due to their high visibility. If the new services are to address women then they will need to cater for the distinctive interests and needs of non-religious and **religious Pakistani women.**

Women are not a commodity...

The position of Pakistani women at home, at work and in the media raises highly sensitive issues for men and women alike. Concerns were raised that women are portrayed in an overly and overtly sexualised way in 'western media' . Some male respondents, for example, said that wouldn't want their daughters to become, say, actresses because they would be likely to be portrayed as sexual objects. But they felt that it would be ok if they worked as a political news reporter. Fathers and husbands do circumscribe the social roles and behaviour of girls and women and see it as their duty to protect their 'respect' or 'izzat'. They work hard to reinforce strict codes and norms of femininity in Pakistani culture, but so do women. Many feel the pressures of living in a highly sexualised culture:

"To be honest I think ... a woman is not a.... commodity, and I think they have made women into a commodity. Everything starts from sex. I mean, ok, it [sex] is important, but why do you want to make it public? " (Female, 47, Bradford, W/4)

There was a clear message that there was a need for the participation of "respectable women" to "express their views" on discussions programmes or dramas regardless of whether or not they wore the headscarf. David, a priest, a 54 year old Pakistani living in the UK for the last 7 years believes:

"..women's dignity is more important and talent should promoted and leadership and all the creativity that she has should be promoted to the wider community..."

Male, 50's Bradford

The above views identify the need for the projection of a wide variety of role models that can open up a wider range of identifications for young Pakistani women, and inspire not only the young Pakistani generation but also the wider British community.

Desire for wider range of male and female voices in media

There was also a concern that the broadcasters involved in making or presenting Pakistani programmes are not always deeply knowledgeable about the diversity in   Pakistani culture, language and heritage, and often they come from a secular, middle-class social strata, deride their religious beliefs as superstitious, and fail to connect with working class, religious Pakistanis of rural background. One participant in Bradford said,

"I think that they should be mature people, they should be involved and they can be mixed gender, male or female, so whatever people are active in making the programme they should have good deep background knowledge of Pakistan and what is going on there and here...." (Male,40's Bradford)

The new services should employ 'capable' and 'knowledgeable' experienced Pakistani broadcasters who can represent Pakistan in its full diversity and richness, and who can become cultural reference points and even celebrities for the community. Irrespective of gender, education, class or regional differences, all participants believed that real societal

change would come from women. Therefore, women should be encouraged to participate in all forms of new service development, not just behind the scenes but at the forefront too.

Class – work, education and cultural capital

People … portrayed are the ones running fried chicken shops

Participants belonging to middle-class and professional socio-economic groups claimed to be woefully under represented in the media. The professional groups interviewed were critical of a 'homogenous' image of working-class, predominantly religious Pakistanis of rural backround being presented by the UK media:

Doctors, lawyers and other professional groups argued that, although they had been living in the UK for long time and making a substantial contribution to the UK economy, they were rarely represented and neither were their contributions to UK society. It was hoped that the new services could open up public spaces of representation and then disseminate them on mainstream channels. The new BBC Urdu/Pakistani services should be 'umbilically connected' to BBC Home services and function in a complementary manner so that new talent and fresh representations of Pakistanis circulate widely.

A North-South Divide?

There was a sense of a North-South divide among English Pakistanis. This is just as likely to be due to the strong social class polarisation among diasporic Pakistanis in the UK as it is due to regional background. Social deprivation, social exclusion and 'parallel lives' (that is, segregated from their white neighbours), were perceived by Muslims across the UK (in Belfast and Edinburgh too) to be more intense in northern cities. This is the dominant impression left after the disturbances in northern cities in summer 2001 and the subsequent Cantle Report that made over 70 recommendations about social cohesion in Pakistani communities.[12]

Middle-class participants felt that they had very little in common with their fellow working class Pakistanis. The latter claimed to have struggled and endured considerable hardship in order to stabilize themselves after their migration to the UK. In contrast professional participants, working as general practitioners, dentists and accountants, were at pains to acknowledge the opportunities that they have enjoyed since their arrival and express a strong satisfaction with the UK and with being British. They felt duty bound to abide by the age old Islamic custom of 'public service' - do something in return to those gains:

Masood, a 41 years old dermatologist in Kent said:

I am giving back to the society what the society is giving to me… and so far Britain has given me good things so I have to return in kind as well. That's what I am doing. Britain has given me a starting point, a good life, education, opportunities to plan ahead as well and to freely express my views and to freely express my religious rights as well (Male, 40's, Kent)

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[12] http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Guardian/documents/2001/12/11/communitycohesionreport.pdf

While the desire to contribute to Britain has not been less strong in the North of England, the claims for having gained a lot from the society have been less frequent. Similarly the need for a diasporic service focusing on integration of Pakistani community was felt more strongly among participants from the northern part of the country.

Platforms

Media Typology

British Pakistani perspectives on their current sources of media help us identify the following 5 types of media sources:

- *Apna'* (our own)

- Western or Anglo sphere media

- Transnational (esp. Middle Eastern/Arabic)

- Islamic

- Diasporic

'Apna' media

Apna media is largely seen as Urdu, Pakistani or South Asian media with specific news or programmes about or from Pakistan. Satellite Channels such as Pak TV, Geo, ARY, Prime Time are the main sources which are clearly regarded as 'apna'. News about Pakistan, Islamic and Middle Eastern politics is consumed with great emotional intensity especially by first generation migrants. Such **news omnivores** have a deep and enduring connection with the politics of "back home", and discussion of news is a key topic of male conversation across class and education. Males in the family tend to be socialised into this combined news and political culture - seen primarily as a male domain. However, news talk is diffused across the family and women, children and youth also participate in discussions, more or less, depending on interest, media and political literacy.

First generation Pakistanis often experience feelings of guilt for having left 'home' and fir not being able to help the homeland at times of crisis. Programmes or news watched on apna media become part of cross-gender and cross-generational conversations regardless of whether one consumes or understands the channels. The vital importance of Pakistani satellite TV news channels is further confirmed by Ofcom's report on media literacy among UK adults from ethnic minority groups (2007). It reported that UK Pakistanis are more likely than any other ethnic group to own a satellite dish.

Even if actively consuming 'apna' media is not as important for 2nd, 3rd generation **hybrid media users**, there is still a more or less strong interest in knowing more about Pakistan based on the interest aroused as a result of listening to discussions of news stories from the elders. Younger generations occasionally watch with elders but not understanding the language enough is the most quoted as a barrier. The news services could play an important role on facilitating a better understanding of news about Pakistan.

The Pakistan channels are often seen as low quality and biased, however, it is more trusted when it comes to the news about Muslims and about Pakistan. As media competition in Pakistan grows and technological innovation proceeds, production values improve.

The following quote highlights perceived differences between Pakistani channels and mainstream/BBC channels in reporting events in Pakistan. An increase in trust in Pakistani channels among Edinburgh Pakistanis seemed to stem from their perception that they are now several channels.

(My) "mum she's got the Asian news channels on and they'll be reporting a story [ ], you've seen it reported on the BBC and you've seen it reported from a Pakistani channel's point of view, there is actually usually a difference you know [..]For example the British might factually say "the Americans are on the borders and they are doing this and they are doing that" whereas in the Pakistani news they'll be saying "everyone's really hacked off now that the Americans are in the Pakistani territory". So they'll be more vocal where they feel America has over stepped the mark where you wouldn't get that on the BBC" (Female, 20s, Edinburgh)

But it is common to compare an international range of news sources. Azhar, a 50 year old businessman from Edinburgh is a typical **skeptical zapper** of the cosmopolitan variety. He reported that the availability of numerous Pakistani news channels meant that it was possible to 'collate' and compare versions of news and to assess the trustworthiness of accounts of events in Pakistan. He noted that previously when there was only *PTV* he would have been suspicious of its accounts of events because it was censored by the Pakistani government. But he also compares a range of English language news.

Western Media and Anglosphere media (UK/USA)

News

BBC, CNN, ITV, UK newspapers and radio are regarded by most as English language 'western' media with a 'western bias'. 'Anglosphere' news media are seen to create a liberal USA/UK view of the world. **Anglosphere news consumers** tend to be middle-class professionals who prefer English language news media, see it as less biased than Pakistani news and more technologically advanced than Pakistani channels or internet sources. They see themselves as critical enough to decipher bias and use the internet to surf for news in English. This is in contrast to the '**apna' and 'hybrid media' consumers** who have a greater tendency to perceive all western media as biased when it comes to representing Pakistan and Islam, especially since 9/11. BBC news is seen as better than most but still "from a British perspective". In reality of course none of these categories of consumers is clear cut or mutually exclusive. Rather they represent types and tendencies.

There has been a high dependence on English language and western sources for international news among all groups, and particularly younger Pakistanis but more recently there has been a notable shift towards AlJazeera in English. Middle Eastern channels are perceived to give a fairer view of Pakistanis and Muslims than Anglosphere news media.

The new services will address a wide range of news consumers. Given that Urdu skills are in decline among the fast expanding second, third, and fourth generation Pakistanis,

Anglosphere news consumers are likely to grow in significant numbers. However, competition from Middle Eastern and Islamic international news channels in English poses real challenges as well as opportunities. It is likely that the new BBC Urdu/Pakistani services will be seen as part of the Anglosphere news media despite the Urdu content as one participant summed it up "This is the **British** not the **Pakistani** Broadcasting Corporation"

Perceptions of BBC – changing

Although BBC has been trusted as the most credible of the all services in terms of providing authentic news coverage, this perception is gradually changing. Even though, it is still much more trusted than CNN and some of the Pakistani news Channels in terms of reporting balanced news, people were highly suspicious about the 'real intentions' behind the new services and many asked 'why these services now?' They wondered whether and how the new services would challenge portrayals that link Pakistanis to terrorism and illegal immigration.

"I think the thing with the BBC, [for me is] coming from a Muslim point, I know it's a very controversial, kind of biased ,BBC. There is all that kind of thing that it's involved with the secret service and they have got their own kind of government agendas…. Their own kind of Government issues in every country …. But I don't know …" (Male, 40s, Bradford)

"I always used to think they (BBC) are unbiased reporters but since, again, 9/11, things have gone somewhere wrong somewhere. Fighting in Afghanistan [..] now when politically it suits them to tell the truth [they do but] – I'm a bit – you know it's muddy, grey area. (Male, 65, Edinburgh)

Many see the BBC as the Biased Broadcasting Corporation and it was not only BBC news that came up for criticism.

Entertainment genres

BBC entertainment genres such as dramas, soaps, comedy were also seen not to offer fair or diverse representations of Pakistanis and it was strongly felt that Pakistanis audiences did not see themselves reflected in mainstream BBC programmes. When Asian faces were seen on TV respondents claimed that "they are seen during the night shift" There was a strong feeling amongst younger Pakistanis they rarely see their lives, or characters who are like them, represented. Media producers generally don't seem to recognize that there is diversity within communities and that when represented they are presented in a very stereotypical way.

"I actually think that it represents diversity in a very wishy washy way and it has no respect for the differences that make us .. so I am not the same as a 32 year old Pakistani woman that may have very different needs, however I would never expect BBC programmes to ever reflect that difference, apart from the' Goodness Gracious Me's' and the erm... apart from that I would say that it just does not relate... I cannot relate to the BBC, and I do not think any of its programmes relate to me.." (Female, late 20's, Bradford)

Disappointment with BBC was strong but it did not cause a marked decline in the use of BBC news services amongst the respondents. Despite the widespread availability and increase in Pakistani news media the BBC was still a vital part of the media diet of most of our participants. Participants reported using the BBC for all genres.

Ofcom reports that the BBC is losing viewers and listeners amongst ethnic minorities in the UK, Pakistanis included (2007). The younger age demographic of Pakistanis compared to the overall population may contribute to this trend. BBC has lower viewing and listening figures in younger age brackets across the whole population. Nevertheless, our findings are a damning indictment of the way mainstream BBC programming represents and fails to represent Pakistanis in the UK and in Pakistan.

Middle Eastern/Arabic Media

As noted, recently, there has been a big increase in viewing Al-Jazeera in English, especially for news about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (particularly in December 2008-January 2009). The service is seen as more credible than either the 'anglosphere' or the 'apna' media in terms of projecting a more balanced and less biased image of Middle Eastern and global Islamic politics.

" Yeh [I watched]...CNN and at the same time I switched to Al-Jazeera [and saw the] same news of bombings, somewhere in Iraq [...] the English media or western media was very similar but when I watched Al Jazeera it had a different concept of understanding which I could relate to which I would say that makes more sense, more middle of the road. " (Male, 30, Middlesborough)

Continuing conflicts in the Middle East are likely to increase the attraction of the TV and online services of Al Jazeera in English and this may prove to be one of the main competitors of the news services.

Islamic media: Peace TV

Islamic media are seen as the most trusted and reliable amongst religiously devout and practising Pakistanis. In the current climate of mistrust with the western media, even more secularly inclined Pakistanis in the UK are turning towards Islamic media for a variety of purposes – not just religion but politics and lifestyle issues. However, participants had concerns about the validity and authenticity of Islamic broadcasters. Jamil, 40 would like to have religious channels that are both entertaining and authentic in Islamic terms, but finds certain Islamic media services 'debatable'.

"There is hardly any religious entertainment, you do have Chanel Islam doing it but the quality of this stuff is debatable. (Male,40's Rochdale)

The Islam Channel, though especially popular among older Urdu speaking women, is perceived to politically suspect by some. Various allegations have been made about the anti-Semitism voiced on some programmes, and the Channel's alleged links with the Saudi government, have been the subject of some controversy. Participants highlight the need for a service that tackles relevant religious issues in an entertaining way without exacerbating disputes along religious, sect specific or political lines. There was also a desire to turn away from 'Islamist' media. People were looking for a media service that could enable them to relate to a more moderate view of Islam. As a participant reported:

"I only trust one person that's Dr Zakir Naik – he's quite popular all over the world (Jala: yes). I believe what he says and he's always going on about (Alia: women's rights) women's rights in Islam (Jala: yes, yes) and obviously get you know put in a different way from other scholars. They will not emphasis women's rights in Islam"

Zakir Naik is opposed to 'Islamist' doctrine. He is an Indian religious scholar of comparative religions, holds Islamic question and answer TV sessions on a regular basis, and provides day to day guidelines about Islamic practice. This is found to be helpful for some in how to be a Muslim in the West, and programmes that explore such issues would be most welcome. Secular Pakistanis consider him to be 'idiosyncratic' and 'cranky'.

Varying degrees of religiosity were found which had important implications for media consumption and how they saw the role of the new services. For example, some families saw the role of new BBC service in imparting Islamic values to children and raising their own awareness about Islam. This desire was expressed by those who were practicing Muslims as well as those who were less practicing. The strongest finding is that Pakistani Muslims in the UK are looking for more entertainment and innovation in religious programmes that deal with Islam:

"I'm interested … Islamic music. The whole new areas…. The new groups that are emerging from Denmark for example, there's Outlandish, there's also Sami Yusuf, and there's also some emerging groups in finding out about this whole Islamic and ethical pop culture so you know…" Female, late 20's Bradford

Nevertheless the use of Islamic media or Islamic content was more common among those who are practising or have more interest in Islam, young or old.

There seems to be an increasing concern among older generations for their children to watch Islamic media. Women of the house report to switch channels when children and husbands watch too much of the non-Islamic media.

Diasporic Media – by, for and about

Since most participants felt that that they are not fairly represented by the western media, the need to include more programmes by, for and about Pakistanis living in the west was highlighted. It was argued that such programmes could be instrumental in bridging gaps

between a wider audience and Pakistani audience in Britain and around the world. The aim for a diasporic media should be to present realistic cultural diversity in a funny and light hearted manner (for instance as presented in programmes like *Goodness Gracious Me* and *Little Mosque on the Prairie*), as one participant expressed:

"(Little Mosque on the Prairie) It's made in Canada and it's very much – they're taking it from Little House on the Prairie – and it's a church and this man from the Middle East who's a Muslim he says there should be a place for Muslims to pray. [ ] it's very comical it's comedy. And it's different aspects of how everybody is viewed through that." (Female, 30s, Bradford)

Such programmes were particularly admired for their focus on themes of mutuality and social cohesion specifically in culturally cosmopolitan cities.

Keep news local for us! Make it real!

Local media, radio especially, are hugely important for our participants and there is a great diversity of local media outlets across the UK that carry South Asian content that could provide suitable partners for the news services. For example, BBC Stoke & Staffordshire has a very good weekly programme called '*The Asian Connection'* which has been running for over 20 years. It is a real focal point for the whole community and continues to be the place for debate of all local issues. Most presenters are local and amateur, although promotions often arise from these local stints as DJ or presenter. The Asian Connection also acts as a link between the Pakistani community in Stoke and the local BBC radio station more generally.

Wasim is 30 years old, and works for a local charity in Bradford and Saeed is also 30 but was born in Pakistan and came to Bradford as a child. They both stress the importance of local news. Radio stations such as Sunrise, *The Pulse* were mentioned and local ethnic print media included *Suburb* – a lifestyle magazine and *Asian Express. BBC Look North* and *Calendar News* were deemed to be of importance where stories related to Bradford were concerned.

*Wahid: They cover the elections and political campaigns very well but **we don't really see much about what our lives are about**. Our lives are about Ramadan Eid, what else do we have in our lives? You know many other things that are a bit more… to do with our community, we see very less of. And I think this is where you are probably more likely to tune into regional news. I mean the few times that I have made the point of listening it's been Calendar or BBC Look North, ITV Calendar news – regional. **Regional stories about someone 10 miles up the road or 2 miles down somewhere..** that's very – that's something that's very interesting..**Make it real! The regional stuff is very cool**…. We need to have more regional stuff…*

Saeed: I mean covering elections or covering all around the world is good but it's not really relevant to me and you is it? Here regional, a lot more

regional, would be a lot more beneficial to a lot more people. You can relate to it a lot more.. I mean it's ok listening to the campaign in America whether Obama's going to win or whether the other guys gonna win but it's not relevant to us....to us would be what's happening in our local community.. **keep news local for us***.....cos normal Joe public cant relate to that...*

There was strong wish for coverage more local stories that relate to Pakistani lives:
Ali, a 20 year old male from Sunderland and Mo his brother in law in his early 50s chat about local news:

Ali: Well they've got a responsibility to report the news in the north east but do they ever show any news that concerns Pakistanis? Thinking about it, I can't recall any. [...] The Newcastle mela too is the largest in the region and its on every year and it was on last month I think it was, and there was no mention in the local media [...] Even local radio stations, BBC Radio Newcastle or BBC Radio Cleveland, I mean you haven't got BBC Radio Sunderland, but even so, we have access to the other two, even they don't give anything like that coverage

Mo: But there's a new one now isn't there

Ali: yes

M: **Radio Spice***, Parveen someone*

Ali: Oh does she do it?

Mo: yes [...it's been backed by all the communities in Newcastle

The implications of our findings for the new services are to ensure sufficient attention is given to local news, and establishing partnerships with local news stations is a good way forward but this needs to be balanced by the equally strong wish for translocal connections – that is connecting and linking local communities in UK and Pakistan.

Shared Spaces of Communication

2nd, 3rd generation don't want to be 'pigeon holed' or ghettoized

Many young respondents were alarmed at the prospect that a service aimed at the Pakistani community would further marginalise them. They do not want to have to *"go to a particular place"* to consume what others could perceive as *"our media"* leading to an us versus them polarization. Several respondents were highly sceptical about the idea of the new service, and saw it as another means of marginalization. They feel the need to integrate with the wider society and be a part of it rather than being isolated.

Youth yearn for more cool, stylish, cutting edge images of British Pakistanis and Pakistan that would help clarify misconceptions about Pakistan and the Pakistani community. Hijab,

Jehad and mosques were seen too narrow topics to represent the rich heritage, culture and values of Pakistani Society.

It should be noted that in almost all of the cities in which Pakistanis reside there are significant Afro-Caribbean populations and urban music movements linked to black popular culture. These clearly provide a reference point for new South Asian music and arts movements in the UK and their audiences. (See, for example, the BBC documentary 'Raggastani', broadcast on Asian Network Report, 4 December 2006. URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/asiannetwork/documentaries/raggastani.shtml

Not a media ghetto….

Since many participants shared concerns about the risk of further isolating Pakistanis through the new service, they had lots of ideas to share in order to prevent the risk. Participants from Edinburgh for example, thought that the new services should be aimed principally at providing new spaces mostly for British Pakistanis. They asked for an arena where they can access news and information relevant to their lives and experiences in different parts of the UK as well as in the wider diaspora, and where there are at least as many positive as negative representations and a diverse group of people come into view. They sought a space where they could go to debate and discuss various topics, particularly younger people and women who may benefit from the anonymity the Internet can provide.

The respondents who were concerned about ghettoisation and expressed a wish that the new service should be a meeting place for different groups to debate issues of life in Britain, culture, religion and politics. For the new BBC service to feel relevant to them, it was considered important that it becomes available to more people and not just Pakistanis and that the content and stories shared on the site filters through to mainstream media. The respondents expressed a wish that the service should be promoted on BBC mainstream channels in order for the service not to feel like a box created just for Pakistanis.

However, in the implementation of above, the participants highlighted a number of challenges. For example the negative image of BBC established particularly after 9/11 is seen as hurdle in people embracing a new BBC service, no matter how well intended it could be:

"news and information relating to Pakistan is now easy to obtain and Pakistani sources are more trusted than to the BBC after 9/11 it is unlikely that a further contributionfrom the BBC in this area would be viewed differently"

Most participants argued in favour of a very careful plan of implementation for the service in order to make it mutually beneficial for all groups.

Internet usage

63 of the 110 people interviewed described their usage of the internet as 'frequent', 13 used it a 'fair amount', compared to 14 who had 'minimal' use, and 20 who did not use the internet at all. Frequent users tended to be between 16 and 50, with just one over 70, but those frequent users over 40 tended to be professionals or small business owners. The majority of people who described themselves as not using the internet were first generation, housewives or retired men.

Interviewees use the internet for a range of purposes. Women who use the internet tend to do so for work or shopping or surfing purposes, and to just look at the main news headlines that appear interesting, unless there is a specific event which prompts them to search for news on that. Professional women interviewees indicate a preference for specific local news and general British current affairs. Students tend to use the internet for the widest range of purposes, from news to entertainment and social networking. Internet usage for news searches spiked when there were topics or news events which dominated social discussions between friends and colleagues, and which prompted communications through text or email about upcoming programmes or new websites. Young people between 16 and 30 who use social networking sites regularly update their online 'status' with links to news stories or websites reflecting these wider discussions.

Majaz is a businessman in his 40s who has lived in the UK for 8 years – he and his wife channel surf between British and South Asian satellite channels each evening. He uses the internet frequently, at work, and hears about new websites from friends at the Pakistani Community Centre, such as CCTV International, an internet-based news channel in Urdu and English.

Hakeem is a Pakistani PhD student. He has no time to watch TV, so uses the internet in the university for news, including BBC News and Jang.com. Before moving to the UK, he listened to the Asian Network radio station via the BBC website.

Masood, 41, is a doctor in Kent. He regularly uses the internet to look at news, but uses sites which give coverage to news from the AAJ, ARY and GEO channels, and which make shows available to watch after their TV broadcast. He doesn't rely on Al Jazeera because he feels it is corrupted, and although he likes the BBC, particularly Hard Talk and Panorama, he doesn't trust its coverage of issues in Pakistan to be correct. His colleague Naeem also uses Pkpolitics.com. He believes that a new portal would be a good way to channel Pakistani views in the UK into mainstream media and news programmes.

Mahfoz is in his 50s and recently retired from the drapery business. He doesn't use the internet because he is not computer literate, but watches news on a range of satellite and terrestrial channels. He believes that his children would not be very interested in Pakistani media because they are only interested in English language media, but they have internet access at home.

Waheed, 59, is a doctor whose children were born in the UK. He doesn't imagine that his children will ever want to learn Urdu, but thinks that a website that could help them to appreciate it would be a good way of connecting them back to their own communities, in the UK and Pakistan. He believes that there would be better incorporation into the new service, however.

Ruby is a management consultant in her 40s. She uses the internet every day for work, and is highly computer literate, but doesn't access South Asian channels or websites. She doesn't trust Pakistani media, partly because of its religious perspective.

Raza, 51, is a doctor. Asked about potential expansion of the BBC Urdu website, he was very clear about what he saw as a problem. *"it would be useful for the expatriates who are more comfortable with Urdu. But i think what they must include which they have not done so far and not connected with the people who are born here is fully engage with the English culture, British culture I would say. Connecting*

with them they have failed miserably. If ever they represent us or if ever they come up with some news or programme or detail programme, then it's mostly about the lunatic fringe ... When they show us a programme or interviews of people who say that we will have Britain as our stronghold, it will be a Muslim country, and we will have sharia here... how do you think the average Brit who is not a Muslim and a Pakistani, how would he think about it? After this will he ever connect with us?"

Findings from phase two interviews indicate that there is a great deal of choice available to Pakistani audiences in the UK and abroad via satellite TV and the internet. Interviewees were, however, keen to stress that their channel surfing was influenced by their varying interest in and trust of the content from each media source. There is an evident link between TV stations trusted for news, and websites looked at regularly. A number of interviewees mention, for example, that they would use Jang.com for news, which is the web portal for the Daily Jang newspaper, widely known and trusted amongst British Pakistanis.

Among those who used the internet professionally for work, however, they were unlikely to use the internet in the evening for entertainment because of the high levels of computer use which their jobs required. A large proportion would however use the internet at work to access British and world news or to access specific information.

Programmes

This section presents some of the ideas our participants in the first round of interviews said they would like to see incorporated in the programmes of the new service (the main section of recommendations can be found at the end of the report):

About Pakistan: Beyond Bombs and Bullets

There was a strong recognition that Pakistan has a rich cultural heritage and that the Pakistanis in Britain are loosing this heritage. It was also realized that the wider public is largely unaware of the historical, natural, regional and cultural richness of Pakistani society. Therefore, a strong suggestion is to improve the image of Pakistan by giving more coverage to programmes focusing on the history, art and culture of Pakistan. Travelogues are specially recommended. The purpose of these travelogues would be to make aware the British Pakistanis and a wider audience that Pakistan is in many ways like any other developing country and has a lot of tourist attractions like the Himalayas and cities like Lahore and Karachi. There was a desire to go beyond bombs and bullets or from exclusive focus on poor village image or from traditional/modern; rural/urban dichotomies.

About the UK and wider diaspora

Regarding the coverage of Pakistani diaspora in the UK, participants highlighted a number of events, celebrations and customs, for example, melas around the UK, Eid and Ramadan celebrations, and musharia (Urdu poetry) gatherings in different parts of the country. A common concern was to present positive news about the community:

"We don't need more about Asians with problems –we need something we can all relate to as ordinary people leading normal lives"

It was considered important to fill a gap of news about Britain in Urdu for older generations with limited English language skills (note that many respondents have never heard of bbcurdu.com). Another expectation from the new service was to provide platform for debates and opportunities for networking; and links with transnational families.

"We don't need more about Asians with problems –we need something we can all relate to as ordinary people leading normal lives"

Urdu Content

The following ideas were shared when asked about what content would be preferred:

- News in Urdu about UK and Pakistan national/international politics and local stories

- Urdu translations of documentaries

- Religious entertainment and lifestyle content including for mothers and children

- Regional dialects and hybrid language mixes need some space – especially in UGC to reflect realities…

Our participants were not homogeneous in terms of taste in programmes. They have individual tastes like everybody else, however there are some programmes and issues that is felt is lacking in mainstream media. The following topics are of interest and fun formats could be used to present:

- Cooking Halal by celebrity chefs

- Fashion – Pakistani and Muslim fashion

- Asian sports

- Religious and spiritual topics

- Music – e.g. Bhangra remix, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, old songs

- Film - Asian

- Personal finance

- Life experiences and debate – in Britain and Pakistanis from all over the world

- Migration histories/oral and life histories

- Interactive soap opera about a local UK Pakistani community ('Bradistan')

Missing role models

A number Pakistani personalities were identified as role models whose experiences could be covered in programmes like 'A day in the life of...' Such personalities were seen as equivalent to many popular figures in the UK.

" it would be good to have the Parkinson equivalent, the Terry Wogan equivalent, the Jonathan Ross equivalent because they are characters that are synonymous to us and presenting and you know Trevor Mac Donald equivalent."

Programmes projecting such role models were seen as one among many platforms which can give Pakistani women a voice.

Partnerships

Mainstreaming

Since there is a great fear that a new service for Pakistanis will further marginalise the community, our data indicates the need of mainstreaming the new services. 2nd-4th generations particularly feels alienated by BBC and suggests that the community needs to be reflected on main BBC for more impact.

Local radio partnerships are crucial

Although a number of Asian services such as Sunrise Radio are seen as biased to some, it is likely that partnership with such services would be fruitful. However, the need of outreach and community based ambassadors for the new service is seen as crucial. In addition, links with national, regional and local arts and media organizations is also seen necessary to ensure new talent comes through.

Promotion

One of the key concerns of respondents in the interviews was publicity of the new website and or BBC Urdu. The reason was that most of the respondents were not aware of bbcurdu.com and they did not think there was any point in extending its offer unless the site was promoted more heavily in the UK. They wished the new diaspora service to be promoted across wider BBC and in mainstream media. Not only in order to find out about the new service but also in order for non-Pakistanis to hear about and visit the site.

Marketing tools for promoting the new Urdu service:

1. Physical spaces: mosques, halal butchers, Pakistani hair dressers
2. Online spaces: Facebook, Youtube, MySpace
3. Local radio and BBC WS itself: *"the bbc cross promotes its outputs so why not give this high profile in bbc mainstream – tell people about bbc.urdu after 10 pm news – why not?"*
4. Word of mouth: Participants felt that information about the service could also float through the word of mouth as sharing information through this mean is a part and parcel of Pakistani culture. Ambassadors and opinion leaders were seen as potential individuals in this respect.
5. TV announcement and advertisements.

The new service needs a very strong identity, and good marketing locally – perhaps using local BBC radio programmes to bolster. Some participants liked the suggestion of 'Connection Pakistan' as a name for the news services, Stereotypical tag names are not popular at all with young people as they found them patronising (e.g. rickshaw / shabbab, etc.)

Implications of Audience Ethnography for the New Service

- A sense of connection to Pakistan depended on key factors: regularity of travel to and communication with Pakistan family, extent of economic, political or other connections, and length of stay in the UK

- There was quite strong support for the idea that the new services might build on translocal connections (i.e. Karachi-Leeds). There was an eagerness to link up with and find out more about Pakistani lives in specific localities in Pakistan, UK and wider diaspora

- Managing insecurity sometimes meant switching off from news as a conscious decision. News avoiders are a common type of consumer. Their informational, educational and entertainment needs should also be recognised too.

- First generation Pakistanis have a much greater reliance on 'Apna media'(or 'our media') which refers to Pakistani and Urdu media and frequently make use of satellite TV in order to access Pakistani sources.

- Many first generation audiences are deeply suspicious about the veracity and impartiality of all news sources. This is especially the case of the "news omnivores" – those who claim to be "news addicts" whose daily routines are shaped by ritualistic news consumption.

- There is an emergent British/Muslim and British/Asian hybrid media among youth and a vibrant niche market to explore in the idea of creative Muslim space. These consumers can be referred to as "hybrid media users " whose flexible identities and interests can be summoned by a range of crossover media – British, South Asian diasporic and Islamic

- The "sceptical zapper" satisfies his or her curiosity for news by zapping across a range of international and multilingual array of news media to interpret competing perspectives on the same news stories. This type of critical news consumer is very likely to make good use of the new services.

- Translation - subtitles and dubbing – of existing and new content can help make content available to more people from diverse backgrounds but also help close generational gaps.

- Power relations are changing in families as women become economically more independent. The new services need to address the needs of professional, religious and non-religious Pakistani women.

- It is likely that the new BBC Urdu/Pakistani services will be seen as part of the Anglosphere news media despite the Urdu content. As one participant summed it up: "This is the British not the Pakistani Broadcasting Corporation"

Chapter 5

Showcasing Talent – Case Studies

"I think the issue here is that if you wanted an inspirational, interesting, cutting edge story about minority-ethnic communities the BBC is definitely not where I would be going. It would be where the old stories were, the out-of-date issues, the issues which are in some way very patronising. That … it's about arranged marriages, it's about this, I mean, come on, this debate or these issues have been going around for over forty years….We need to move away from outdated patronising images, towards a more inspirational, interesting and cutting edge approach! In doing so we need talent." (Female, 20s, Bradford)

The new service needs to move towards a more progressive approach, more positive aspects! More young Talent!

In compiling a list of over one hundred individuals from arts organizations, performance groups, youth centres, universities and film organisations in London, Bradford and Birmingham, the research team was able to establish that there was a coherent body of talent which could be approached for their input into this consultation exercise.

Interviewees were selected from this list and approached to participate in in-depth interviews. Fourteen interviews were conducted with people identified as having Pakistani heritage. They were selected on the basis of their prior engagement with mainstream media, arts, and performance whilst simultaneously being deeply rooted in the cultural life of British Pakistani communities. Interviews addressed their interest in a new service and how they might see provision reflecting their own area of talent or expertise.

Case study 1: Videographer - Faisal Hussain

Faisal Hussain is a 31 year old artist and producer from Birmingham. He studied at Falmouth Art College and graduated as an artist and videographer with a focus on workshop and illustration based projects.

Faisal is juggling his time between working for the BBC on Desi DNA and *Rewind Strand*, and his own independent projects that are more community based. Recent projects include the documentary *Preschool* produced for a Birmingham arts festival, which documented the history of hip-hop in the city, and the photographic exhibition *From Soho Road to the Punjab* which traced the history of Birmingham's Bhangra music and culture. He also recently produced a short film *Slippin'* which is to be used as part of a new anti-gun crime initiative. Other recent work includes video-jockeying on a hip-hop tour in the UK.
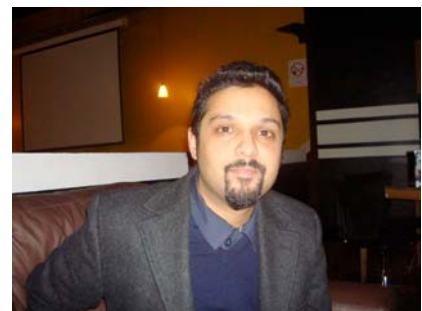
Thoughts on a new BBC service

Faisal was really engaged and excited by the idea of the new online service for British Pakistanis. Of particular interest to him was the possibility of using the website for the purpose of social networking with other creative artist

"...you know, who's my opposite number in Manchester, or in London... it would be great to be able to talk to other artists or creators".
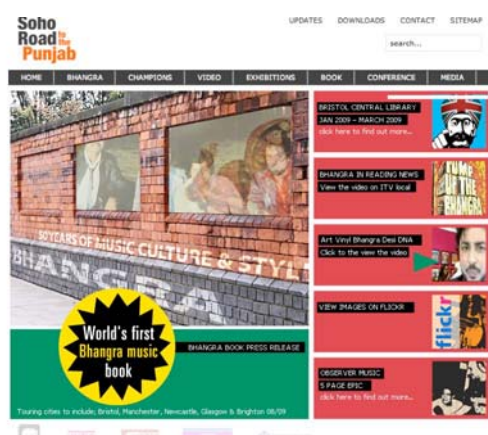
A service like this would also offer the potential to showcase creative work by artists and performers with a similar cultural background. This is something that Faisal emphasises is currently missing within existing media provision. Because of this, he was keen that he could both showcase his own work and view that of others of a British Pakistani background working in similar fields.

"It would be nice to see what other peoples journeys have been up to this point... 'cos I think that will give good ground swell to other British Pakistani people to engage with the media..."

He felt that music could really be explored in terms of accessing and promoting British Pakistani talent, and mentioned people like Rizz Ahmed (MC Rizz) and Nomadic P. Rock music coming from Pakistan itself was also something he believed to be bringing Pakistani culture forward and in to the main frame:

"...[Pakistani Rock] is now being played for Bollywood films, whereas before Bollywood would never, ever think of entertaining the fact of having Pakistani singers... Now they can't help because it's just amazing!"

Faisal also emphasised that he saw a race within the media at present to get the Muslim comedy slot. Comedy was a high priority in terms of what he'd like to see on a site like this, as the site could promote Asian or Pakistani comics. He mentioned the example of Azhar Usman, an American Pakistani who he saw doing his comedy tour *Allah Made Me Funny* in Birmingham, describing it as *"full on Muslim stand up… it was hilarious, absolutely hilarious."*

Azhar Usman, 'Allah made me Funny'

Case Study 2: Stand-up Comedian - Isma Almas

Isma Almas is a stand up comedian from Bradford whose comedy is predominantly influenced by her experience as a second-generation immigrant growing up in the north of England on a council estate during the 1970s. Both of her parents migrated to Britain from Pakistan, and she focuses her performances on the culture clashes, obstacles, and racism that she experienced during her early years.

In 2006, Isma was the winner of Sheffield's *First Laugh comedy festival*, and semi-finalist in the *So You Think You're Funny* competition. The Edinburgh Festival reviewer described her as the "crazy Pakistani lady".

'I would like to see funny happy Asians'

Thoughts on a new BBC service

Isma's main interest for a new service like this is the possibility of providing a space for comedy entertainment. She mentions in particular that the type of content which would attract her to such a service would be particular snippets of comedy that evolved over time and had a serial feel, with specific themes or storylines that would engage the viewer and make you want to come back to find out what happens next.

Isma proposed a range of content ideas for the new service which would particularly interest her and, she felt, capture the feeling of contemporary British Asian comedy.

- 'Aunty Jamila', or agony aunt, would give inappropriate advice, and thus play around with cultural stereotypes. Viewers would be keenly aware of the ironic aspect of the format, and could put regular problems or questions to the 'Aunty' for her answers. (A similar British format is *Mrs. Mills* column in the Sunday Times)

- Isma also liked the idea of a cultural swap (Wife Swap type idea) of perhaps a mother and daughter from Britain and Pakistan swapping lives, or sharing their experiences by blogging.

- A 'video box' featuring everyday people would interest her.

In relation to the potential for the new service to provide news content, this was not something that particularly appealed to Isma. This was due largely to its existing availability elsewhere, but she did think that she might use the site to access news about more local community or events based news in the UK, such as content about *melas*.

Case Study 3: Performing Artist – Naz Koser

Naz Koser runs *Ulfah Arts Centre* in Birmingham, which works to develop audiences and artists for a diverse range of cultural forms including theatres, museums, and arts projects. *Ulfah* develops projects designed to engage different faith groups as artists and audience members.

Recent projects with which Ulfah Arts has been involved include the *Muslim Women Music Makers* choir, which is part of the *missing voices consortium.* The consortium aims to implement strategies to encourage the 'missing voices' from the world's music scene to come forward. *Too Punk to Pray* was an installation piece performed by Naz, inspired by the notion of prayer, and *Danger Gulaam Fatima* was a production featuring a heroic superwoman in a *hijab* and used story telling by Muslim women using spoken word, poetry and song.

Thoughts on a new BBC Service

Naz feels that faith is an important aspect of the new site, not just in relation to religious content, but because faith for many people is a main identity reference point, commonly more so than culture, especially amongst young people who feel disillusioned by the negativity associated with Pakistan. It was important that the new site recognised this, she emphasised, and believes that the content of the site should be managed in a way so that it does not alienate religious people. Such a consideration does not require that faith is a major component of the site, but rather it should be incorporated into the overall character of the service, taking account of the position of its audiences in relation to developments in faith identities.

"Our faith identity as British Pakistani Muslims is now more important than our cultural identity and I wonder how you are going to find the balance between that in your programmes?"

A women's section was something she was really interested in seeing on the site, it could act as a showcase for poetry, music and art. This should be a place where women could debate and share their ideas, about things they can't always talk about in other spaces, such as gender or health issues. It would also be interesting, Naz felt, to be able to compare artistic experiences from UK and Pakistani perspectives.

Case Study 4: Journalist – Secunder Kermani

Secunder Kermani is 22 years old from London. He is currently studying for an MA in Television Journalism at Goldsmiths University.

The practical work he does as part of his MA tends to be quite serious and he mentions as an example an interview that he filmed with an anti-Zionist Holocaust survivor at an art gallery displaying Palestinian artwork. He is also active in developing comedy-based projects in his personal time. He presents a radio show once a week on Goldsmiths station, which is a mixture of light hearted banter and music.

Thoughts on a new BBC service

Secunder said he would only be interested in using the online service if it was targeting young people, the 16-35 years age bracket. He said if it was aimed at older generations then it would not be in his reality, and would not serve his interests.

The potential for the new service lies in the way that it targets the South Asian diaspora in light of other existing provision. He mentions in particular the websites Desi Hits and Club Asia Online, which both provide a mixture of music, celebrity gossip and music and film news and reviews.
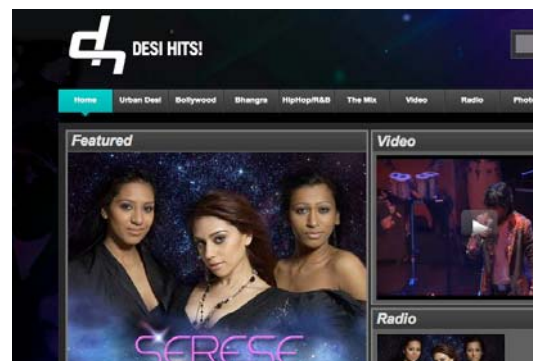
www.desihits.com

Secunder described his main interests for a site like this as primarily music, comedy, videos (which should ideally be bilingual), current affairs and film reviews. He has already written for online magazines, so he envisioned the site as a good platform for citizen journalism if it could provide opportunities for user generated content.

In order to get more British Pakistanis in to the media, Secunder argued that there needed to be more grassroots organisations, training talented individuals or mentoring them. If the new site could support developments like this or provide information about such schemes, that would be a very useful aspect to it.

Secunder liked the idea of linking Pakistani diaspora communities, however he thought a transnational approach might be better as it would be more varied and interesting, rather than just exploring the differences between the UK Pakistani communities.

Secunder's Hidden Camera comedy project

Implications of Case Studies for the New Service

Relevance – a site for creative talent

- A much younger look and feel of the site

- Networking and interactivity needed – allowing the Pakistani Diaspora in the UK to connect and find out what others with similar interests are doing.

- Let the audience run the show in form of for example DJ opportunities/training schemes. Actually getting British Pakistanis working on the website.

- Things that are news worthy and stories about people/their talent on their own merit not just for the sake of them being Pakistani.

Content they want to see more of

- The promotion of British Pakistani and wider Pakistani talent – i.e. modern music and comedy could be ways to make Pakistani culture relevant and cool to those living in the UK.

- Light hearted comedy features – playing on aspects of British Pakistani/Pakistani culture could do well.

- Showcasing Pakistani music and link up with the music industry in Pakistan – people are not aware of it/are not accessing it.

These findings are mirrored in interviews carried out with members of the Pakistani community all over the UK. For more profiles, please contact sophie.west@bbc.co.uk

Celebrities

In addition to the talent interviewed, there were many Pakistani cultural figures and artists that our interviewees wanted to see more of. All of these celebrities mentioned are listed in the Appendix 8.

Chapter 6

Pakistani Online Cultures

Internet use in Pakistan and in the Pakistani Diaspora

UK Pakistan Diaspora

It is clear from a recent Ofcom report (2007) that Ethnic Minority groups (EMG), Pakistanis included, are more likely to own a mobile phone and to have a broadband connection at home than the fellow British citizens. The enthusiasm for new media technology can be explained by the fact that EMG are younger in age than the overall population, in particular Pakistanis as mentioned in Chapter 2.

Ofcom reports (2007) that 54% out of all Pakistanis in the UK have access to and personally use Internet at home. According to the latest population estimates there were around 861,000 Pakistanis living in the UK (ONS 2006). These figures suggest that there are at least 400,000 Internet users of Pakistani origin in the UK. The population figure is estimated from 2001 census data and Internet figures are likely to have increased since Ofcom carried out their survey in 2006.

Pakistan

Although Internet penetration in Pakistan remains low as a proportion of the overall population, there were 12 million Internet users in 2006 according to International Telecommunication Union (ITU 2006). Broadband connections have risen to 5.5m according to Point Topic's latest figures[13] in 2008. These figures don't include active use. BBC administered surveys in Pakistan (2006) have shown that access at home and active usage (at least once a week) was below 2% of the population in 2006. However, Internet access is likely to have grown further in Pakistan in 2007 and 2008.

Global Pakistani Diaspora

Besides Pakistani Internet users in Pakistan and the UK the Pakistani diaspora globally is connected by old and new media technologies, including the Internet. There are an approximately 3 million Pakistanis living outside Pakistan excluding the UK (Census data) many of those live in the US and Europe where Internet penetration is high. Although there are no figures available estimating the global Pakistani online universe, there are over 200,000 users of bbcurdu.com using the site weekly from all over the world in for example, Canada, USA, Western Europe and the Middle East. This constitutes over 60% of all bbc.urdu.com users, meaning that this is already a diaspora service.

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[13] http://point-topic.com/content/operatorSource/profiles2/pakistan-broadband-overview.htm

Online interests

Pakistanis by and large have similar Internet habits compared to the overall population.

"Pakistanis use Internet like everybody else most of the time" according to Dr. Akil Awan, an expert on new media, radicalisation, and political violence in diaspora Muslim communities. Akil has carried out research on uses of Jihadist websites in Europe. Internet use amongst young Pakistanis in the UK, again, is similar to the overall populations. However, UK Pakistanis also use:

1. Islamic websites
2. Pakistani news websites in English and Urdu
3. Ethnic/diasporic websites on hybrid culture, music, film and other Pakistani or Asian content.
4. Websites relating to identity politics could be a subcategory out of 2 and 3.

Rich media content online

UK Pakistanis are, on average, more enthusiastic about information technology than the overall population but claim not to be as confident in searching for information online (Ofcom 2007). Despite this EMG (Pakistanis included) consume more rich media online and are more likely to have downloaded music, video clips and longer content such as films and television programmes than the UK population as a whole. For example, between 65 and 79 per cent of ethnic minority groups say that they use the Internet to listen to or download music online compared to 57 per cent of the UK population (Ofcom 2007).

According to a recent survey carried out by Universal McCann (2008) only 2.6% out of active Internet users in Pakistan have watched video clips online but 47% have downloaded an audio file in form of a podcast. A search on the portal www.youtube.com reveals over 20,900 videos with Urdu as a tag that could have been accessed from any location in the world (accessed 8 May 08).

Social networking

Definition: "Online applications, platforms and media, which aim to facilitate interaction, collaboration and the sharing of content" (Universal McCann 2008)

80% out of the UK online universe used some type of conversational media or social networking site like Facebook, Bebo, Myspace etc. in December 2008 according to ComScore[14]. Although it is not possible to separate Pakistanis out from the overall population in this data, other indicators suggest that social networking is widespread within this group.

Evidence of Pakistani networking online is shown from the membership of sites like myspace and facebook. There are for example, over 26,000 members of the *Pakistan* network on facebook and further 14,229 in the *Pakistani* network and 5,405 in *'Being a Pakistani doesn't mean that we are terrorists and promote violence'* network. Please note that the members of these three networks may overlap.

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[14] ComScore is a website measurement system based on Online panel data. ComScore runs Online panels representing the Internet population in a selection of countries and regions all over the world. For the purporse of this report only UK data was used. The panel members website usage is monitored and analysed on a monthly basis.

Here are some quotes from the networks that show fairly typical preoccupations with issues such as Pakistan's image and patriotic sentiments, racism and hate speech:

21 Jan 09, one member of the Pakistan network wrote, *"We should say I LOVE PAKISTAN and mean it and not be afraid of saying it. I see lots of our Pakistani friends who kind of are "ashamed" or saying this in the western countries."*

On the 21st Jan 09 on member of the Pakistani wrote in response to that a Dutch court has ordered prosecutors to put a right-wing politician on trial for making anti-Islamic statement. *"Hate speech is beyond criticizing any religion. Dutch people are free to criticize Islam or any other religion, but this serves no purpose but to spread hatred of an entire group of people. Free speech has a purpose, but hate speech is only a destructive force."*

There are large numbers of members of the network Myspace of Pakistani origin. One indicator is that there are over 19,000 profiles on Myspace with the profile name of Khan. Although this is not only a Pakistani surname, it is the most common surname in Pakistan and of Pakistanis living abroad.

Research carried out in Pakistan (Universal McCann 2008) shows that 72% of active Internet users between 16-54 years old[15] in Pakistan have created a profile on a social networking site, suggesting that social media is an important part of internet usage in Pakistan as well.

The analyses show that social networking is an important feature of online usage of Pakistanis from all over the world supporting the idea that interactive forums, and social networking opportunities are very likely to be hugely important features of the new diaspora service.

Little or no awareness of BBC Urdu

From interviews carried out in the UK it was found that there was little or no awareness of BBC Urdu, particularly among the youth. Those who were familiar were aware of the service via their elders. The elders used the service most commonly for news and shared updates with the young. In many cases, young people used BBC Urdu and English synonymously:

There has been a history of dependency among elders on the *BBC World Service radio* for information and news among elders but low awareness of current online opportunities. Part of the reason is limited internet skills. Some elders reported a reliance on the young for the use of service. Youth can help bridge the generational and digital divide by helping elders access new online services and in turn, elders can enjoy communicating their past experiences and cultural heritage.

The Urdu/Pakistani web - Market Conditions

Urdu on the Internet is being widely used for websites carrying news, magazines, poetry, literature, shopping, tourism, Haj and other pilgrimages, photo, video and audio files. According to Global Vibration Inc, about 10.8 million native Urdu speakers use the Internet on a regular basis. Besides Urdu, English is the main Internet language used in Pakistan. Our research shows that Urdu is not the preferred language for media consumption amongst 2nd, 3rd and 4th generation diasporic Pakistanis. Therefore, the following analysis which looks

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[15] Use the internet every day or most days

at usage of Urdu websites will apply mostly to Pakistanis living in Pakistan and 1st generation Pakistanis in the diaspora.

Slow market development

Commercial websites have been observed not to carry sections in the Urdu language. Although the availability of a Unicode font for the Urdu language has made it easier for users to read online Urdu content, but the difficulty of writing in Urdu using an English-language keyboard has restricted the spread of Urdu language websites, according to BBC Monitoring reports. Our interviews showed that, apart from 1st generation Pakistanis, the respondents found it very difficult to read the Urdu font on websites. The *Jang* and *Dawn* were mentioned as popular Urdu websites visited by the respondents.

Jihadist websites

Although there is a rapidly increasing number of Jihadist websites, their users are only a very tiny fraction of overall Internet activity. According to Givner-Forbes 2008, the bulk of the visits, some 78.1 per cent, to the top ten most significant Arabic jihadist websites came from the Middle East and North Africa, 5.9 per cent from North and South America, 4.8 per cent from Europe,1.4 per cent from East Asia, 1.5 per cent from South Asia, 1.0 per cent from Australia, and 7.3 per cent data was unavailable. These figures represent only a rough approximation. This report has not focused on radical Jihadist websites as they were rarely mentioned among our participants.

Web Impact and Online Networks

Introducing webometrics

There is no current system in place for monitoring the number of users of Urdu and Pakistani websites. ComScore and Nielsen have no panels in Pakistan and there is no other reliable system available that monitors Urdu websites on a regular basis.

The following analyses were carried out using a *webometric* (we measuring) technique called *link analysis* created and implemented by Mike Thelwall, a professor at Wolverhampton University who also carried out the following analysis. Webometrics techniques can be used to measure web sites, web pages, parts of web pages, words in web pages, hyperlinks, web search engines (counted via the meta data in AltaVista, Google and Yahoo). Webometrics techniques are really useful when finding out how much impact a website has, how many times it has been cited by other websites, how websites are linked to and from a site, and what topics are being discussed online.

For the purpose of this report the following webometrics analysis have been carried out:

- A comparative analysis of bbcurdu.com and other Urdu websites in order to understand the impact of the bbc website in the Urdu web universe.

- Content analysis of the Urdu/Pakistani web in order to understand the most popular genres.

- A network analysis of how top English websites link to Urdu/Pakistani websites

Comparative analysis of bbcurdu.com

In order to understand bbcurdu.com impact in comparison to other Urdu/Pakistani websites a 'web impact analysis' was carried out. The starting point was a list of websites monitored by BBC Monitoring[16]. The websites monitored by BBC Monitoring are mostly Pakistani and Urdu news and information sites, but religious sites are also included. All sites included in the BBC Monitoring list are considered to be of importance for Pakistani Internet users all over the world who use the web in Urdu.

The 'web impact analysis' was done by counting how many times the websites on the list are being linked to other websites. For example, if you have a website like www.udu.com, and you want to know how many other websites have referred to and linked to your URL from their website, you can use webometric techniques. The idea is that, other factors being equal, websites that have the most impact are likely to be linked to a higher number of other websites

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[16] Included on the list are also emel.com, desihits.com and loveurdu.com, which were not originally on the list constructed by BBC Monitoring.

Web impact analysis

Table 1 shows a web impact analysis of the websites on BBC Monitoring's list that have been mentioned on other websites over 100 times. (For the full list please see Appendices 9 and 10) The left hand column tells you what category the website belongs to. The middle column shows what URL was analyzed, and the right hand column tells how many times the URL has been linked to or mentioned by other websites.

Type	Domain/URL	Site name	URL LINKS
Islamic	www.leader.ir	AYATOLLAH KHAMENEI	4808
News Websites Pakistani	www.jang.com.pk	DAILY JANG	3893
Islamic	www.alislam.org	AI ISLAM	3840
News Websites Pakistani	www.geo.tv	GEO TV	3734
Islamic	www.sistani.org	AYATOLLAH SEESTANI	3448
British	www.bbc.co.uk/urdu	BBC - URDU	1725
Political Parties	www.jamaat.org	JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI -	1673
Indian	www.siasat.com	SIASAT	1519
British	www.desihits.com	DESI HITS	1467
Political Parties	www.ppp.org.pk	PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY -	1404
News Websites Pakistani	www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk	DAILY NAWA-I-WAQT -	1148
News Websites Pakistani	www.khabrain.com	DAILY KHABRAIN	1105
Islamic	www.millat.com	MILLAT	1038
Islamic	www.jasarat.com	DAILY JASARAT	1009
Other	www.urduword.com	URDU WORD	869
Some other Pakistani news websites	www.express.com.pk	EXPRESS	780
Language site	www.loveurdu.com	LOVE URDU	665
Indian	www.munsifdaily.com	DAILY MUNSIF	652
News Websites Pakistani	www.dailyausaf.com	DAILY AUSAF	594
Indian	www.inquilab.com	DAILY INQUILAB	549
Other	www.akhbar-e-jehan.com	AKHBAR E JAHAN	546
Islamic	www.kr-hcy.com	HAQ CHAR YAR -	481
News Websites Pakistani	www.ummat.com.pk	DAILY UMMAT	462
Islamic	www.darululoom-deoband.com	DARUL ULOOM DEOBAND -	397
Google -	www.google.com/intl/ur	GOOGLE URDU	331
Some other Pakistani news websites	www.awamiawaz.com	AWAMIAWAZ	296
Islamic	www.jamatuddawa.org	JAMAAT-UD-DAWA -	235
Some other Pakistani news websites	www.dailypak.com	DAILY PAK	216
United States of America	www.voanews.com/urdu	VOICE of AMERICA	216
Islamic	www.binoria.org	JAMIA BINORIA	214
Other	www.urdudost.com	URDU DOST	194
Some other Pakistani news websites	www.pehchaan.com	PEHCHAAN	191
Other	www.pakrishta.com	PAK RISHTA	172
News Websites Pakistani	www.alqamar.info	AL-QAMAR ONLINE -	168
Other	www.minhaj.info	FACT	160
Other	www.jadeedadab.com	JADEED ADAB	143
Islamic	www.nawa-e-islam.com	NAWA-I-ISLAM -	122
Some other Pakistani news websites	www.alakhbar.com.pk	ALAKHBAR	118
Islamic	www.farooqia.com	JAMIA FAROOQIA -	116
Islamic	www.dailyislam.com.pk	DAILY ISLAM	113
Town/Region based Pakistani news websites	www.gujranwalatimes.com	Gujranwala	106
Town/Region based Pakistani news websites	www.jhelumnews.com	Jhelum	104
British Muslim lifestyle	www.emel.com	Emel	101
Islamic	www.walayat.net	WALAYAT	101

Table 1.

Islamic and Pakistani based news sites are top of the list

The data shows that the website with the greatest number of links is an Iranian site focussed on Ayatollah Khomeini, with its own Urdu section. Overall Islamic sites are have a high number of links, as do Pakistani news sites, with jang.com coming second, and the GEO news site being the fourth most mentioned site. These two news sites were also among the most popular used among our interviewees in the UK.

bbcurdu.com shows high impact

The comparative analysis shows that bbcurdu.com is referred to and linked to more than most other Pakistan based websites. As previously mentioned, and surprisingly, only a

handful of respondents from the UK have heard of or used bbcurdu.com. The impact instead is mainly in Pakistan. BBC administered surveys in the past have shown that bbcurdu.com is one of the most visited news websites in Pakistan (BBC National Survey Pakistan 2006).

Below is a list of the top 10 websites with the highest impact including descriptions of their content.

Top websites in terms of linking

Descriptions of websites source BBC Monitoring

AYATOLLAH KHAMENEI - www.leader.ir
Urdu section of the official website of Iran's "Supreme Leader Sayyid Ali Khamanei" carries the cleric's sermons, speeches and related news.

DAILY JANG - www.jang.com.pk
Billed as Pakistan's largest selling Urdu newspaper, Daily Jang's website carries news, editorials and columns. Its multimedia section carries audio and video files for important news.

AL-ISLAM - www.alislam.org
Rabwa based Ahmaddiyah website carries articles, news and magazines.

GEO TV - www.geo.tv
Owned by the Jang Group of Newspapers, Pakistan's GEO TV website carries textual, audio and video news bulletins in Urdu.

AYATOLLAH SEESTANI - www.sistani.org
Urdu section of the official website of Iraq's "Grand Ayatollah al-Uzma Seyyid Ali al-Sistani" carries religious articles and a questions and answers section.

BBC - www.bbc.co.uk/urdu
The Urdu section of the BBC website carries textual, audio and video news. It also provides a link to BBC Radio's Urdu service.

JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI - www.jamaat.org
Pakistan's Deobandi/Wahabist Islamist political party's website carries news, articles, audio and video files, a women's magazine and a children's magazine.

SIASAT - www.siasat.com
Hyderabad based daily's website carries news, articles, editorials, columns and sections religion, literature, kids and women in Urdu and English languages.

DESI HITS – www.desihits.com
London based multilingual music site Desi Radio, Videos and MP3s, Bollywood Hindi Songs, Bhangra Music and Podcasts.

PAKISTAN PEOPLE'S PARTY - www.ppp.org.pk
The website does not have an Urdu section.

Islamic websites have high impact

Further analysis in *Chart 1* below shows the websites in the full BBC monitoring site aggregated into eight genres Islamic, Pakistan News, Political Parties, Indian, British, Regional towns in Pakistan, USA and Other. The chart illustrates the amount of linking per pre-defined genre.

It is clear from this chart that Islamic sites are the most linked to websites from the pre-defined list illustrating that religious sites play an important role in the online Urdu universe. Islamic media was frequently mentioned as preferred media in interviews carried out in the UK, this confirms those findings. The second genre in terms of linking are Pakistan news sites.
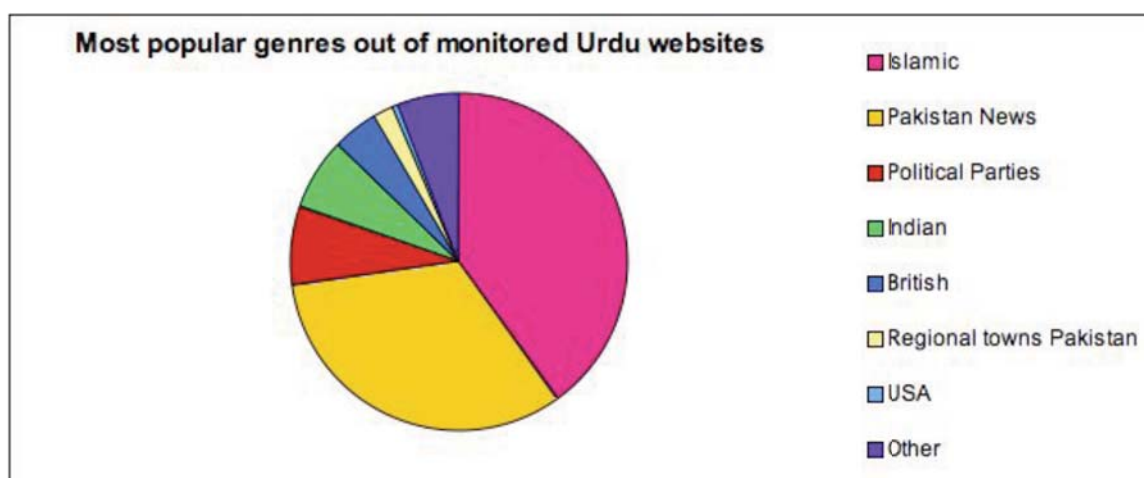
Chart 1. Based on data from list shown in Appendix 9

Interlink-ages Urdu/Pakistani and UK web

The previous analyses of the Urdu/Pakistani web painted a picture of the hierarchy of impact among top Urdu websites. However, we know from interviews among Pakistanis in the UK that they use and interlink Pakistani, Islamic, Asian, British Asian and UK, US and other websites. The following analysis is aimed at establishing how all of these different kinds of websites are interlinked in order for the BBC WS to know what environment and portfolio of sites the new diaspora service will be launched in to.

Network analysis

The network analysis shown below illustrates how BBC Monitoring's list of Urdu/Pakistani websites (the same one as used above) interlink to a list of top English language websites popular in the UK. The list of English websites was collected using monthly ComScore data from December 2008. The top 25 most used websites in the UK were chosen from four relevant genres in total, forming a list of 100 websites, for full list please see Appendix 10. The websites are therefore English sites used by UK Internet users.

The four UK website genres chosen for analysis were:

- The 25 top news websites

- The 25 top conversational media or social networking sites

- The 25 top entertainment sites

- The 25 top religious sites

Please note that the list of Urdu sites compiled by BBC Monitoring and the list of sites put together from ComScore data are not strictly comparable. However, both list popular websites that are potentially complementary, conflicting alternatives to the planned new BBC service for Pakistani diasporas, and are therefore relevant to analyse.

The main connection between Urdu and UK used websites are Social Networking sites

Overall, the link data shows that there is a low but significant rate of hyperlinking between the top UK and Urdu sites. The main vehicle for the connections is social networking or Web 2.0 sites (Flickr, YouTube, Digg [also a news site]), news sites (BBC, CNN, UK newspapers) and blogging sites (wordpress in particular, blogger).

Please see **Link Network Diagram** below**.** The small circles (or nodes) represent websites and the arrows between the circles represent links between them. The diagram shows all interlinked pairs of Urdu and top UK sites. The Urdu sites are in red. The top UK sites are in yellow, and the top UK Islamic sites are in green. Sites that are not linked at all have been removed from the diagram. Arrow widths are proportional to the log of the total link counts so the thicker the arrow the stronger the links. Sites that are closer to the middle of the diagram are more frequently linked to.

Link Network Diagram, source: webometric analysis carried out by prof. Mike Thelwall

Half of the sites on the original list of 100 English sites had some connection to the Urdu web

The UK sites connected to Urdu sites are mostly social networking sites like *digg, wordpress* (blogs) *technorati, facebook, spaces.live* but also to news sites *bbc.co.uk*, *telegraph.co.uk, guardian, nytimes* and *CNN*. In addition there were also links to English Islamic and other non-Islamic sites like *Christianity Today* and *beliefnet*, further confirming the interest in religious/spiritual content found in UK interviews.

The type of Urdu websites that are most commonly inter-linking with UK sites are, for example, Urdu language and Iranian (due to the Shia connection perhaps) Islamic sites such as *alislam, sistani* and *leader.ir*. Urdu news sites like *Jang* and *GEO*. Urdu blogging sites such as *urdupoin*t and diaspora sites like *sadaewatansydney* and Norway based *khabrain.*

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Please note that bbc.co.uk in the diagram includes all sites hosted under the bbc.co.uk domain including bbcurdu.com.

bbc.co.uk mostly links to ppp.org.uk or the Pakistan People's Party site, and the site most frequently mentioning bbc.co.uk is *alqamar* a Faisalabad based news website.

These network analyses are useful to understand the market environment in order to get the look and feel and content right on the new site. It is also useful in order to know on what sites to promote a new service and manage to get the most web impact.

Implications of Online Culture Research for the New Service

- Creating and online platform is a feasible option for a new service aimed at Pakistan and Pakistanis living in diaspora considering Internet use in Pakistan and Pakistanis living in the UK.

- The site is more likely to achieve higher numbers of users if it is also targeted at the wider diaspora around the world.

- If the site is to achieve extensive reach, content needs to be in English as well as Urdu. English is the preferred online language for many Pakistanis in Pakistan and in the diaspora.

- Making video content available to Pakistanis in the UK will attract more users. However, there needs to text and audio content available for Pakistanis in Pakistan, as connection speeds there are still slow.

- Social networking is a hugely important feature of both UK and Pakistani online cultures. Providing opportunities for user generated content (UGC) and social networking will be vital for the success of the new services.

- Social networking sites, in particular blogging sites, are the most natural bridge between users of Pakistani Urdu sites and users of UK sites. It will be important to launch the new services in that online space.

- Establishing partnerships, both formal and informal, with interlinked websites used by Pakistanis will be crucial to the success of the dissemination strategy of the new services.

Imagining the New Services

This chapter provides recommendations for the new service based on our data collected from focus groups. Eight focus groups (7 face to face and 1 online) were conducted with 35 participants in London, Newcastle, Bradford, Manchester and Leeds. Participants consisted of men and women from 1st, 2nd and 3rd generation migrant groups. Please see the table below.[17]

Focus groups	Location	Group
Focus group 1	London	First generation Pakistani men
Focus group 2	London	First generation Pakistani women
Focus group 3	London	Professionals – men and women, age range 20 -50s
Focus group 4	New Castle	Religious group – men and women, age range 20-40s
Focus group 5	Bradford	3rd generation men and women
Focus group 6	Bradford	3rd generation women
Focus group 7	Manchester[18]	3rd generation men
Focus group 8	Leeds	2nd /3rd generation men and women

Probing demand for a new online service

Drawing on the first round of interviews, we conducted eight focus groups which were oriented towards creating proposals for the new BBC Pakistan website. We probed audience responses and asked them to imagine what they would ideally like to see, hear and read on the service. Participants were invited to discuss aspects of the website which would make them more likely to use such a service, including languages and content. After an initial probe of media currently used, desired content and language formats, participants were presented with a range of stimuli material to help them visualise the new service. A range of cards detailing topics were given to participants to arrange in order of priority and to prompt further discussions on popular and required content. The topics were selected from suggestions in the previous interviews, and focus group participants were invited to add further topics at this stage. Content types were discussed in depth to explore specific suggestions for news and entertainment features that might be created for the new service.

Participants were then invited to discuss the formats in which content would be best presented and viewed, including audio, text and video formats. One focus group which was conducted online (using a popular social networking site) presented a series of links to existing websites which participants could browse in order to explore the variety of formats available.

Findings from these focus groups are presented here in detail to illustrate the full recommendations produced by these discussions. The recommendations have been organized around the following themes/questions:

1. Language preferences of the audience
2. The bilingual shared space
3. Content priorities and new suggestions

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[17] For more details about the focus groups (participants, process and methodology) see appendix , page)

[18] This focus group was conducted online.

4. Layout and format preferences
5. User generated Content (UGC)
6. Promotion of the new service and its usage
7. Branding of the site

Language/s - what language or composition of languages should the site/sites have?

- Urdu cannot be the lingua franca of the new service. A bilingual site with a great deal of video and audio could offer a shared space to both Urdu and English speakers.

  It would not be appropriate to have a portal entirely in Urdu as Urdu is not the first language of a significant number of Pakistanis, or to have it all in English. Overall, a degree of balance should be preferred.

  Participants felt that some content should have both English and Urdu options while other can be in one language (Urdu). For example, news and documentaries should be available in both languages as they interest a large number of participants. On the other hand, some items might be exclusively available in Urdu such as *mushaira*, or news about specific locations in Pakistan, as these topics are likely to be of most interest to those who have lived in Pakistan and can understand Urdu very well. However mushaira could be revamped and extended to include hybrid versions of Urdu/English rap poetry competitions

- Since internet use is more common among 2nd -4th generation Pakistanis who are more comfortable in reading English than Urdu, it would be appropriate to have English as a preferred language for text features. Urdu and Punjabi features can be made more available in video and audio form than in text. The videos and audios can be subtitled, dubbed or voiced over in different languages.

  A young generation Pakistani in Newcastle states:

  I can watch the news on some of these channels and just about understand them in Urdu because they speak quite fast and they use quite technical language but I'd never pick up one of our dads newspapers because I know there would be no chance of me figuring it out. (Female 21, Newcastle)

The quote suggests there is a greater possibility that the website will be used if audiences have the opportunity to watch and listen to Urdu rather than only to read it.

- Pakistani diaspora content in other languages (those cited were French, German, Swedish, African languages such a Swaheli and Spanish) could be translated/subtitled in both Urdu and English.

- The site should cater for the different dialects including Mirpuri and Punjabi dialects, and these niches will avoid a "one size fits all" approach which is likely to be a turn off– the abundant vernacular languages and dialects may be represented through UGC (film and audio diaries, letters, photo galleries)

- The myriad of languages and mixes of languages should be acknowledged and given space within online debates in order to be more inclusive (mixing in Urdu words, mixing in Punjabi words when speaking English etc) a strong feature of Pakistani communities.

A bilingual shared space

- It is important to have a shared space aimed principally at providing a participatory public sphere for *British* Pakistanis, offering them an arena where they can access news and information relevant to their lives and experiences in different parts of the UK. This space should allow them to view, read, listen to and contribute to, at least as many positive as negative, productive and heterogeneous representations of themselves and providing forums for debate and discussion of various topics, particularly to younger people and women who may benefit particularly from the anonymity the Internet can provide.

"For me one thing is missing, you either get the Asian Media or you get the English Media – you don't get the in between. Somebody who will do a bit of both but in a relevant way… WE are the Asian and English brand" (Bradford, over 30 male)

- With subtitling and dubbing old content and creating new UGC, the shared space should offer choice and convenience to the audience by offering contextualized information both in English and Urdu available on the same website. Many features could cross over and be dubbed in Punjabi, rather than subtitled due to the Punjabi that Pakistanis use not having a written text.   The space can be an efficient source of information for the Pakistanis and non Pakistanis both within and outside UK

Sohail, a 22 year old student in Manchester felt he would use a portal if it was a place "where users could integrate, discuss, present views and do something productive if possible by getting key Pakistanis to participate, or maybe act on, the discussions in the portal." His comments suggest that the site could become integrated into the life of Pakistani communities in the UK by virtue of providing a platform for a diasporic public sphere. Sohail suggested that "if the portal had something similar to "have your say" or a discussion forum, then everyone would contribute, as they are always interested in discussing their local areas and sharing stories or ideas."

The interactive element of BBC is well appreciated by most participants who would be enthusiastic to participate in questions and debates:

"…i always liked the bbc where they had "next week we will have so and so - please email your questions". This works with both normal people from the community and also with famous people - such as politicians and stars and sportspeople - if the BBC could easily get hold of them- and people could ask questions which would then be answered in text, audio or video." (Male 22, Online fg, Manchester)

- Urdu in roman letter may not be very successful as people who know Urdu will refer to the Urdu portal and people who know English would go the English portal.

- The shared space can bridge generational gaps within the Pakistanis living abroad and Pakistanis living in Pakistan e.g Grandparents and grandchildren. Video documentaries both in English and Urdu can make parents encourage the children to visit the website and consequently the younger generation would get information about their origin and culture. As one man said:

"If I bring books on Pakistan and ask my sons to read it, they don't… whereas when I tell them that there is an interesting website on Pakistan, they usually visit it and we discuss it later on."

- The shared space can be a promotion tool itself.

"Although there is a lot about the Pakistani culture that is already available on various websites yet it would be better to refer it to our Western friends or anybody who is interested in Pakistan that BBC Urdu/English portal covers the Pakistani culture substantially." (male, London)

- However, it is important to mention that some of our participants thought the new service would not work because of language and generational differences – as illustrated:

"our nani's (maternal grandmother) from over there (Pakistan)… but I know she wouldn't be able to watch something on a small computer screen and read the subtitles" (Male 20s, New Castle)

Content – what topics/subjects are to be covered?

The research participants prioritized their interests differently. However, documentaries, sports, current affairs, local news about Pakistan and UK, life experiences, film/fashion and music were rated in top priority. Informants indicated a combination of above to be included in order to make the website attractive and usable for most. Therefore the new website should aim to have a broad focus on British-Pakistani issues i.e. identity, culture, religion, gender, sport, roots, along with politics and news. Recommendations on each of these specific areas are as follows:

- **News**: Most participants were interested in news about Pakistani politics and sports, and the Muslim world in general:

"Nationalism and regionalism are the key things that British Pakistanis focus on and thus all things focusing on Pakistan, especially sport are important. Politicians are like celebrities and so are well known and thus that is important." (Male, 20s, Online FG Manchester)

- **Local news about Pakistan and UK:** Local news about both countries along with debates and discussions on international/current affairs should cover substantial space. What do young people/Muslims think about global events e.g.) what's happening in Gaza at the moment, Barack Obama, economic crises etc can be some recent examples.

    The need to have local news about Pakistan was felt more strongly by older Pakistanis compared to the young who are more interested in local UK news.

- **Documentaries**: The enthusiasm for the documentaries is related to the positive role documentaries can play for people living in the UK and Pakistani. Documentaries about: *Muslim Women Campaigners for Peace and Justice* in the UK/US/Pakistan/Africa/MiddleEast; features on *Mothers and Daughters* and bios of inspirational women in Britain and around the world. Historical documentaries taking a look at art/ music/ culture in places like Lahore, Baluchistan, Quetta etc Such documentaries can be enormously interesting, entertaining and informative and can play a role in clarifying misconceptions about Pakistan.

"I think documentaries are a really good idea, I think everyone would be interested in this because its one of those things, like even for us in Pakistan we don't get to see all of the country, I wouldn't necessarily go to Kashmir for a holiday because I'd probably go to visit my family in other parts of the country and also we don't know how much there is in Pakistan and what it has historically to offer." (Female 30s, London)

Documentaries could have a wide appeal for Pakistanis not only because they would dispel many of the negative stereotypes and prejudice about Pakistan and promote better community relations but also for connecting people to Pakistan, and providing them with access to its historical and geographical richness. All participants, regardless of age, country of birth and religiosity, felt that they did not know enough about their country of origin. Older people felt that classy documentaries could help dispel myths and give their children a sense of pride in their identity and heritage. Younger generations felt it was simply something they would not have access to in any other way. Short of spending several months researching and travelling around Pakistan, there were no other means of learning about the country. This is a gap that even Pakistani channels haven't catered for. This would assist with knowledge production, empowerment and building bridges across communities.

- **Sports:** Sports should be a regular/permanent feature of the website. Many participants reported that they miss watching Pakistani sports i.e. cricket and hockey and intended to make a greater use of the website if matches or news about Pakistani sports is made available on a regular basis.

"If there's a section on sport [..] you could have the Pakistani sport with the Pakistani news?" (Male 20s, London)

- **Life experiences**: Life experiences and lifestyle choices in the form of video diaries and letters would appeal. Life stories of successful people in the UK and Pakistan, and topics like the expectations and challenges faced by the diaspora community as they settle in the UK were considered attractive, as were inspiring stories of young carers, people with disabilities, talented but also 'ordinary' lives were seen to be of interest. The public service and charitable work and contributions of Pakistanis in the UK i.e. what they have given back in terms of their civic involvement, labour, community affairs can also be covered.

- **Programme content for women:** This area is important and should be mainstreamed in all aspects of the website. Women's section can focus on showing the profiles of the successful Pakistani women which can reveal that the Pakistani women back home are

modern and emancipated. The *Women's Hour* can be one programme that could potentially encourage women's participation via discussion, debates and interviews.

Women participants were interested in having features/sections on career, fashion, education and religion. Discussion relating to religion from women's point of view was referred to by the group of mums who expressed the view that everything about religion is from men's point of view and noted that they want religious content that 'empowers women'. Alia (40) and Hanan (35) explain here:

Alia: A lot of religious stuff you know when you see it on TV you know it's all like men's point of view and it's not the reality of what it says in Islam (Hanan: yeah). You know so stuff that actually empowers women (Hanan: yeah) 'cause there's stuff that actually empowers women but nobody believes that now do they

Hanan: No they don't especially Islamic men).

Alia: You know Islam came along and empowered women

(Alia (40), Hanan (35)/mums Edinburgh)

While realizing that the purpose of the service is not to preach Islam, it would be useful to include a few articles that can reveal a 'progressive' rather than 'traditional' image of Islam to people, particularly in relation to women's rights.

- **Music/film/fashion:** Music, fashion and film are necessary for the entertainment section of the website. Owing to the diverse music tastes, music ranging from *Ghazals* and *Qwalis* to the latest pop music can be made available.

"For the Pakistani brand of music there is no website, there are for bollywood but when the new brand of Pakistani music comes out there is no where you can go to find it here in the UK. There are lots of good rock and pop bands so I think if it's a Pakistani website or for Pakistani community then it should make the music from there the priority or main music." (Male 20s, London)

- **Participatory Film** was an empowering way of raising issues, exploring concerns and having an online discussion forum around film contents that brings film makers/directors/ and NGO's, governments together to respond – a step onwards from You tube.

- **Pakistani films** are not too popular as they are not rated as high quality but some are seen as particularly interesting such as '*Khuda Ke Liya'*. Film section can include information about the latest Hollywood and Bollywood movies. Some demand for the Punjabi stage dramas exists.

- **Pakistani Fashion** could be presented in the form of latest fashion shows taking place in Pakistan, faces and contacts of new designers. Text might better accompany photos for fashion rather than videos

- **Comedy:** People around the world can contribute jokes – this section would be extremely popular culminating in discussions around political correctness and cultural understandings of laughter and sense of humor. The idea of imported Pakistani comedy was not seen as something which would interest British Pakistanis:

"I wouldn't watch Pakistani comedy I'd watch say British Pakistani comedians with a perspective from a British Pakistani viewpoint" (Female 20s, London)

One of the programme ideas and figures who appealed the most to the participants was *'Halal Bilal'*, a Muslim comedian who discusses Muslim issues and current affairs:

"He does in a funny way but it's still really serious and he always gets you thinking about things" (Female 20s, London)

- **Melas:** This section would not only inform people about *Melas* but would include a "What's Happening" in each area but would also celebrate events in various parts of the world. *Basant Kite Festival*, Nottinghill Carnival, New Year in Time Square, Chinese New Year, Christmas in Pakistan can be some examples.

- **Religion**: A section on religion should be included. This should encourage interfaith dialogues and promote positive information about Islam. Islamic calendar, prayers timings and festivals can also be included for people's reference. Stories of *Haj*, prophets' and Koran stories for children also make interesting topics in demand.

- **Poetry and Writing**: Although the demand of poetry and writing is not very high, its value is highly acknowledged. *Mushaira* in particular was seen as an important way of developing the diaspora's understanding of the richness of the Urdu language. *Mushairas* popular among older (fewer young) Pakistanis are organized on a regular basis in different parts of UK. These men identify a need of listening to Pakistani poets. Often this need is met by inviting poets from Pakistan. This feature can therefore promote the use of site among those interested in poetry and writing.

- **Soaps: theme based soaps**
  Having a British made soap was a programme/ feature idea which was raised. Provided it is 'well researched' and presented by actors/presenters well educated about Pakistan, it was seen as an effective way to deal with some serious community issues such as forced marriages in a digestible way and therefore was seen as something which would not only be entertaining but also educational.

"I have seen programmes on the BBC… they were in English… English dramas, but they were some Asians in it, British Asians but it will come on and all the family will sit down and watch it… just take notice of this part … because you know there is a demand for it, and the presenters should be mature, understanding, well-educated and have good knowledge all around…" (Male, 40s, Bradford)

Asian Soap Opera the equivalent of Coronation Street set in Bradford that could focus on "agendas" and "closet stories" relevant to Asian/Muslim communities.

Bradistan (a combination of Bradford and Pakistan) can be an interesting title presenting the stories of Pakistanis in Bradford.

Information: Travel, visa and business information, education and health care would also be the topics of interest.

Layout - what should the site/sites look like?

Each focus group used the topic cards (topics illustrated in chart below) to indicate their preferences for material and also how it might appear on a website. Each participant listed their own preference and then cooperated with others in the group to produce the final layout. The graph below indicates content priorities from this exercise based on a compilation of the results of all focus groups.
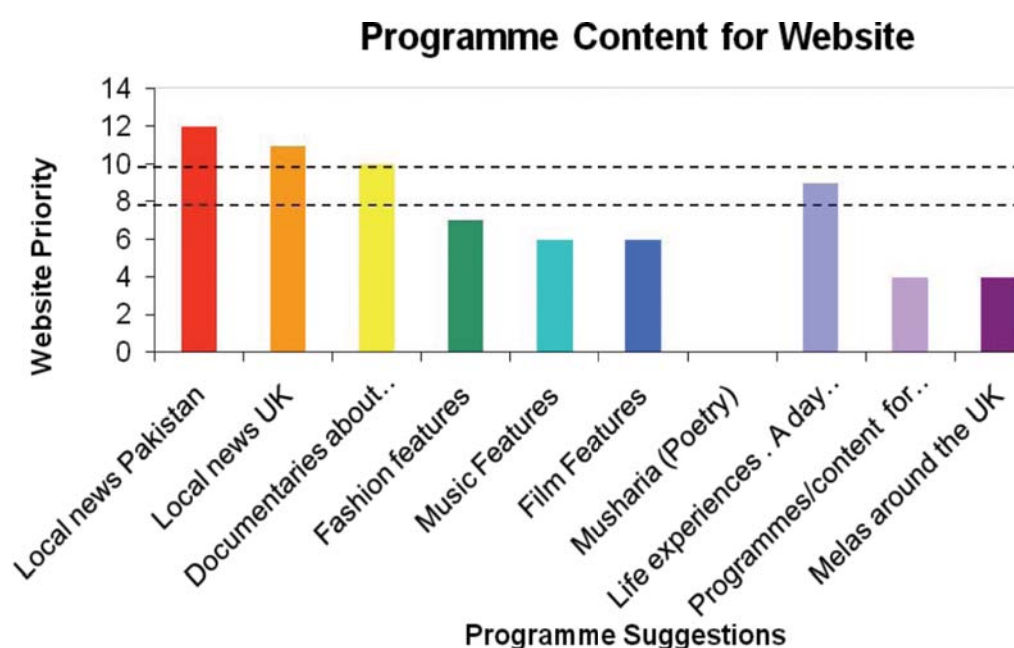

Chart programme content ratings for website

Using the cards to construct an imagined web homepage for the new site, participants selected the topics and arranged them together. They were asked to make a distinction between high and low priority content at this stage. There were considerations of ease of use and topicality in this exercise, as well as further more subtle prioritisation of content types.
It is possible therefore to present the information in two ways. The first employs a crude distinction between high and low priority, as below:

High Priority Content

Local News Pakistan

Local News UK

Documentaries about Pakistan

Life Experiences: A day in the life of…

Fashion Features

Low Priority Content

Music Features

Film Features

Mushaira (poetry)

Programmes & content for women

Melas around the UK
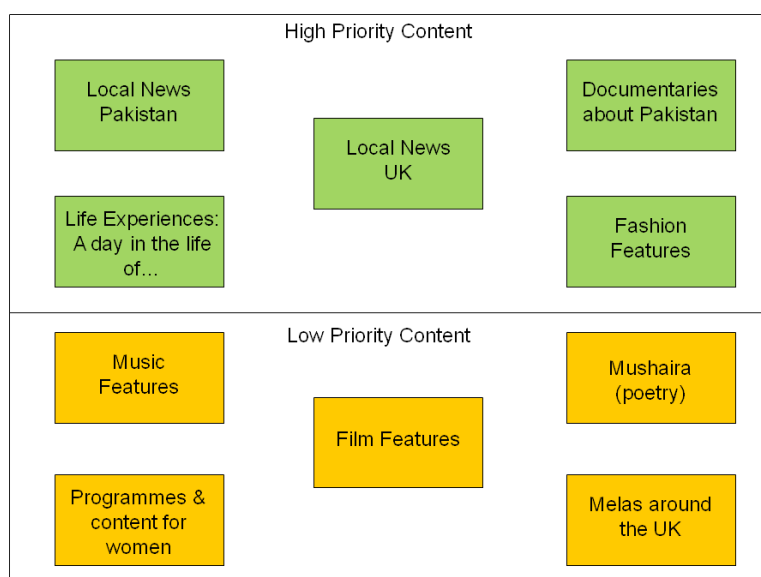
Picture: Ranking of content

However, it may be desirable to take account of the more subtle qualifications made about these topics within focus group discussions. A number of participants, for example, pointed out in both in phase two interviews and the later focus groups that content for women was a topic group that could be ambiguous, because it could share generational and linguistic shared character with content aimed at male users. In addition, discussions about role models in phase two interviews suggested that this portal might provide a means by which British Pakistani women were able to participate to a greater extent in discussions and online activities. It might be suggested that this would be undermined by the segregation of women's content.

It is also possible to construct a model webpage which employs categories of content which make sense both of the priorities suggested by participants, and of these further qualifications. The graphic below suggests such a model webpage based on the same results from focus groups, but also includes additional topics suggested by participants.

What's going on?		Your life		Culture vulture
local news Pakistan		life experiences: a day in the life of…		music features
local news UK		fashion features		Film features
documentaries about Pakistan		programmes / content for women		melas around the UK
political features		sports features		historical features
				musharia (poetry

Picture: Layout and labels

- Layout similar to the main BBC website would be attractive and easy to use. It should be split into news, sport, entertainment, business, education, weather, and so on. The participants felt it should have both professional and fun look. For this, fashion features can also be one of the main features visible. The site could make use of already existing material such as video footage of Pakistani stand up comedians or other fun events. Younger users would be engaged if it also offers something trendy and fashionable in terms of its presentation.

- A colourful site was desired by all participants. It was suggested that the main colours could be green and white like the Pakistani flag. Colour coded sections (poetry, sports, music) with clear fonts can make a user friendly site. The existing font of BBC Urdu website was not seen as reader friendly.

Format preferences

There were two focus groups with participants between 18 and 30 years old. Key findings coming from these groups indicate that online content from the BBC would help to connect users in the UK with users in Pakistan and other Pakistani groups all over the world in a "very credible and respectful way", because the BBC is considered to have a reputation for "credibility and integrity." That reputation is seen by this age group to be enhanced considerably by provision of the new service. Being available online via the BBC website was considered "moving with the times" since much content is based on the Internet, but the service would have to draw in significant audiences and formats were an important aspect of this. Older groups commented less on potential formats, but were keen on the possibilities of participating in online discussion groups. Computer literacy would clearly be an issue in this case.

The 18-30 groups concluded that if the portal was to be presented in a "very, simple, straightforward way, not complicated visually and in terms of ease of use", this is what would attract participants to the service. This age group has a lot of experience in watching video and slideshow formats online, and this unsurprisingly is one of their preferences, but they also felt that video formats were easy to view for all users. Sohail, in Manchester, felt that particularly for documentaries, video format would be best because it shows more about a place than audio or text. Amir agreed, saying that he personally watches videos and slideshows more often than listening to audio.

The participants in both the Leeds and Manchester 18-30 groups said they would be interested in actually trying to contribute and provide a lot of the content in terms of discussions and other interactive features on the site. Sohail thought that it should be easy to contribute to the site, for example, with forums, and similar to Facebook or You Tube. Amir agreed that the YouTube format was a good one, and like the idea of messageboards. The Leeds group felt that if participants were to add content to the discussion, then these should be related to their everyday experiences, and mention YouTube as a means of communicating life stories. One of the participants mentioned a program called the "Listening Post" on Al-Jazeera as an example of how individuals could participate in real time online forums through the use of webcams and microphones.

- Contents/programmes should be archived to enable easy access to users. The site should have clearly visible links and clips to attract people's attention. (Website like face book, you tube and WAYN were seen as easy to use).

- Video components can be preferred over audio components or text in order to draw in audiences with language limitations. Participants felt it was much easier and enjoyable for them to watch and understand rather than listen or read the content.

- Subtitling, voice over on video, audio on new content can be useful to meet language preferences of users and to make it interesting for audiences of all generations.

- UGC - this interactive element can be an important tool in promoting exchange among diaspora. For most young generation Pakistanis, internet is the main source of connection with the people of Pakistan and learning about their lives. This would be a good resource for exchanging information on important events and issues in the UK such as lobbying for Gaza.

User-generated content

The 18-30 cohort across the focus groups was very knowledgeable about the issues surrounding user-generated content, and saw both benefits and difficulties in this area. Both groups favoured the possibility of greater originality and first-hand information in website content, but expressed concern that it may prove difficult to keep a check on the reliability of some of the information.

The Leeds group felt that contributions should come from users both in Pakistan and from the UK to provide a variety of perspectives, and the Manchester group felt that there was a huge advantage in that many important issues would be addressed with the possibility of something productive coming from those discussions, by virtue of who was participating in, or acting on the outcome of, discussions. For Amir, in Manchester, however the disadvantage was more connected with the balance of power in these discussions; "only

wealthy Pakistanis from Pakistan have internet so there won't be a balance in people's contribution. In the UK only the young tend to be computer-literate."

How should the service be promoted?

- The service should create a 'safe' communication space but not a media ghetto. If the new service aims to serve both groups it needs to both foster the link between Pakistan but also foster the link with mainstream UK society. As a participant suggested:

"You know like Goodness Gracious Me, it got attention from British Asians and it got the attention of the British people as well. That is a bonus, that's the ice breaker. If we were talking about Pakistan in a better light it's the icebreaker...." (Karen 4, 855-859)

- BBCWS can create contact zones: cross generational contact zones, diasporic contact zones, transcultural contact zones and these can have a positive ripple effect across BBC output.

- Marketing both at community level and via cross BBC promotion could raise awareness about bbcurdu.com and the new service.

- Ease of use can a determining factor in success

- The site would be used and recommended if new service provided content that was cutting edge and provided insights into the lives of people/women in particular who are often overlooked in the media and society in general. The discussion platforms would have to be well organised and include the participation of high calibre people not just grassroots activists.

- TV – advertising about the website before or after the BBC News main new service will be an effective way of promotion.

What should the site/sites be called?

The following names have been suggested for the new site:

- Pakistan Connection

- Apna Ghar (Our House)

- Salam Pakistan

- 21centuryPakistan

- Lookpakistan

- Realpakistan
- 'Jeevay Pakistan'[19]

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[19] 'Long live Pakistan' a popular phrase from an Urdu national song

- 'BBC Pakistan'

- hamara Pakistan[20]

- Des ba des[21]

- pyara Pakistan[22]

- sohni dharti[23]

- yeh watan hamara hai [24]

For summary and key recommendations please see page 6.

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[20] 'Our Pakistan'

[21] 'from country to country' – word 'des' is used for countries which are owned and loved

[22] Beautiful Pakistan

[23] 'beautiful homeland', 'sohni' is used in Urdu as well as Punjabi

[24] 'this country is ours' – can apply to both UK and Pakistan

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Appendix 1 – Details of Researchers

Matilda Andersson is working as a Research Associate/ Senior Research Analyst on the Tuning in: Diasporas at the BBC World Service project together with Marie Gillespie at the Open University Milton Keynes in a joint partnership with MC&A BBC World Service. Prior to that she worked as a Senior Insights Analyst – Digital Platforms at the BBC World Service and earlier as a Research Executive at BBC Future Media UK. She also runs a media consultancy, Lodestar Communication, based in Stockholm http://www.lodestarcommunication.com. Matilda has four years of professional research experience mainly within the area of Online and Digital Media. Above that she has a broad experience in commissioning multi linguistic, cultural and international research at the BBC WS and the BBC WST. She also has experience of conducting both qualitative and quantitative research in Britain. Academic credentials: Msc New Media Information & Society, London School of Economics and BA (Hons) International Marketing, University of Greenwich.

Shabir Dastgir is an Associate Lecturer on AD252 Islam in the West. This role has offered excellent insights into the challenges facing Muslims in Europe and North America. An economist by education, I have a good training in social science research methods and techniques. I have worked with the British Pakistani community at the grassroots level for many years on a variety of issues. Most recently this has been with the BBC in Manchester. I was a founding member of BBC North West Islamic Media Forum. The Forum acts as a broad platform for the discussion of Islam and Muslims in the media, bringing together the BBC and members of the local Muslim community. I am a research consultant on the *Made in West Yorkshire* Project (Aug 2008 to Dec 2008) at the University of Bradford. This is a field-based enquiry into the UK Communities agenda using interviews to support a forthcoming policy report on issues of cohesion, citizenship, place and identity.

Marie Gillespie is Professor of Sociology at the Open University. She is Director of media research ESRC Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change (www.cresc.ac.uk/research/theme2/index.html). Her research interests focus on the political, socio-cultural and economic implications of migrant transnationalism, especially in relation to the South Asian diaspora. Recent Open University teaching texts include an edited volume *Media Audiences* (2005) and *Analysing Media Texts* (2006). Recent research projects include: an audience ethnography of media coverage of the attacks of 9/11/2001 (http://afterseptember11.tv); a study on transnational news cultures and the politics of security (www.mediatingsecurity.com). Her most recent research is an AHRC funded project "Tuning In: Diasporic Contact Zones at BBC World Service" (http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/diasporas/). Her publications include a monograph entitled *Television, Ethnicity and Cultural Change* (Routledge, 1995). Contact address: m.gillespie@open.ac.uk

Serena Hussain completed her undergraduate degree at the University of Manchester in Sociology and Comparative Religion and her PhD in Sociology and Policy Studies at the University of Bristol. Serena's doctorate was the first ERSC collaboration with the Muslim Council of Britain. Her monograph based on this work 'Muslims on the Map: A National Survey of Social Trends' (IB Tauris) is now available. She went on to work as a Research Fellow at the University of Teesside, and recently completely a post doctoral fellowship at the University of Leeds. Her principle expertise is Muslim groups in Britain; however, other key areas of interest are: Minority/ Post immigrant communities/ Diasporas in the UK in relation to social disadvantage, identities and political mobilisation, population trends such as migration, household composition, educational attainment and economic activity.

Shamim Miah is a senior lecturer in Religion and Education at Huddersfield University. He has over 10 years of public sector policy work with particular focus on community development, race and religion. Shamim's research interest include public policy and minority groups, race religion and education and Muslim youth idenity and politics.

Lucy Michael received her PhD in the Research Institute for Law, Politics and Justice at Keele University. The title of her thesis is *Leadership in transition: intergenerational tensions in two Pakistani communities in Britain*. She graduated in Law from University College Dublin and then went on to complete a postgraduate degree in Criminology at Keele University. Her doctoral project is based on research in the Pakistani communities of Stoke-on-Trent and Manchester. It explores the nature and performance of leadership within ethnic minority communities facing problems of conflict and cohesion, with particular emphasis on the role of ethnic leadership in equality claims, integration and counter-radicalisation. The project was supported by the Economic and Social Research Council UK, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister and Keele University. Her doctoral research has involved additional local collaborations with Stoke-on-Trent College, Surestart, and BBC Radio Stoke, as well as sharing research findings with the Home Office Communities Group and Manchester City Council Lord Mayor's Office. Lucy is a member of the British Society of Criminology, British Sociological Association, and Association of Muslim Social Scientists (UK).

Karen Qureshi completed her PhD in 2003 on 'Performing Selves and Belonging(s): The Reflexive Negotiation of Identities among "Edinburgh Pakistanis"' (Open University/ Queen Margaret University). She is an Associate Lecturer at the Open University and teaches on Masters course 'Ethnography' (D844). She has also taught on 'Understanding Media' (D8204). She was a consultant researcher on ESRC funded project 'Shifting Securities'. She has numerous publications on the subject of Pakistani diaspora, media and identity including: "Shifting proximities: news and 'belonging-security'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies.* Vol 10 (3) 294-310; *Respected* and *respectable*: the centrality of 'performance' and 'audiences' in the (re)production and potential revision of gendered ethnicities. http://www.participations.org/volume%201/issue%202/1_02_contents.htm' **"**Limited Talk. Pp. 182-8 in C. Mitchell (ed). *Women & Radio airing differences*. London: Routledge; & with Moores, S. Identity, Tradition and Translation. Pp. 117-134 in S. Moores. *Media and Everyday Life in Modern Society*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; and with Moores, S. Identity Remix: tradition and translation in the lives of young Pakistani Scots. *European Journal Journal of Cultural Studies*. Vol 2 (3): 311-30

Sadaf Rizvi is a Research Officer at University of London – Institute of Education. She has a PhD in Social Anthropology from University of Oxford. Sadaf conducted her doctoral research on 'Muslim Schools in Britain' and explored the issues of Islam, ethnicity and diasporic identities. She has been involved in the ESRC funded 'Shifting securities: News cultures before and beyond Iraq War 2003' and the AHRC funded 'Tuning In: Diasporic Contact Zones at BBC World Service' projects. In these research studies, Sadaf has largely collected and translated data from Pakistani migrants (Urdu, Punjabi and English speakers) and has published her research in international journals. Her recent publications are 'News cultures, security and transnational belonging: cross generational perspectives among British Pakistani women', *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, (2007) and 'Ethnographic research in a Muslim school: reflections on fieldwork experience' in Sridhar, D. *Anthropologists Inside Organizations: South Asian Case Studies,* (Sage, 2008). Sadaf is an Urdu speaking Pakistani who has lived and worked in Pakistan most of her life. She has been based in the UK for the last 5 years to undertake her studies and postdoctoral research.

Wahida Shaffi is currently project co-ordinator of "Our Lives" - a digital media project bases in Bradford area focussing on the lives of Muslim women, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. She has worked on a number of community based projects ranging from interfaith initiatives, domestic violence , to cionflict resolution. All her projects have fed into

policy developments. She has an MA in International politics and Security Studies, a Diploma in Social Work and and BA (Hons) in health and Community Studies.

Pippa Virdee is a Senior Research Fellow in South Asian History at De Montfort University, Leicester. She has a PhD from Coventry University. It examined comparative dimensions of violence, migration and resettlement in East and West Punjab. Her academic interests are in British colonial history, the history of the Punjab, and the South Asian Disapora in the UK. Pippa is currently working a British Academy funded project which will examine and document Muslim women's experiences of Partition. She has recently been collaborating with the University of Leeds on the AHRC funded *Writing British Asian Cities* networks project. She has also just finished doing consultancy work for the Royal Geographical Society. The exhibition at the RGS, *The Punjab: Moving Journey,* has bought together some rare photographs from travellers and society members from the Nineteenth and Twentieth century. She is currently the convenor for the Punjab Research Group, which is an international research group that meets bi-annually. Her recent publications include: 'Partition in Transition: Comparative Analysis of Migration in Ludhiana and Lyallpur', in A. Gera and N. Bhatia (eds) *Partitioned Lives: Narratives of Home, Displacement and Resettlement* (Pearson, 2007), 'Partition and the Absence of Communal Violence in Malerkotla', in I. Talbot (ed.) *The Deadly Embrace: Religion, Politics and Violence in the Indian Subcontinent 1947-2002* (OUP, 2007) and *Coming to Coventry: Stories from the South Asian Pioneers* (The Herbert, 2006).

Sophie West graduated in July 2008 from the University of Sheffield with an Undergraduate History degree (2:1). She has been working as a Research Assistant on Tuning in: Diasporas at the BBC World Service based in MC&A in Bush House, and has been working closely with Senior Research Assistant Matilda Andersson since July 2008. She has undertaken a number of different roles within the project including conducting initial research, compiling and writing reports, analysing SAGE data, archival work, minute taking, and aiding general project coordination. She previously worked in MC&A as a Research Assistant on the Tuning In project from July-September 2007, collating materials for the researchers on the project, conducting archival work at Caversham, taking minutes at conferences, arranging meetings and acting as a general liaison in Bush House. Prior to this work she was employed by the Open University on the ESRC project; Shifting Securities: News Cultures Before and Beyond the Iraq War 2004 in 2006 transcribing audio-visual material, researching war and conflict blogs and gathering other online media data related to the July 2005 London Bombings, Hurricane Katrina, and the Iraq War.

Appendix 2: Social Profile of Interview and Focus Group Participants

Interviews conducted

Number of Phase Two Interview Participants	110
Number of Phase Two Interviews conducted	35
Number of Focus Group participants	37
Number of focus groups conducted	9
Number of creative talent interviewees	14
Number of creative talent interviews conducted	14
Total number of people interviewed	161

Please note that social profile is given for 157 participants only, due to some personal details not being made available by participants.

Place of Residence

Participants can be broadly split into regional categories:

North-east of England	55
North-west of England	16
Midlands	3
London	26
South of England	12
Scotland	28
Northern Ireland	9
Pakistan	3

Location	No.	Location	No.
London	26	Huddersfield	4
Edinburgh	27	Birmingham	3
Bradford	25	Leicester	3
Belfast	9	Oldham	3
Leeds	9	Lahore	3
Manchester	8	Kent	2
Coventry	8	Rochdale	1
Newcastle	8	Glasgow	1
Middlesbrough	5	Surrey	1
Sunderland	5	Swindon	1
		Total	152*

* 2 participants appeared in both Phase 2 interviews and later focus groups
* 1 participant's residence not known

Place of Birth

Born in UK	67
Born in Pakistan	88
Total	153

Occupations of participants

Stated occupations were categorised using Goldthorpe *et al.'s* (1987) schema.

Manual working:	6
Intermediate:	31 (of which 9 in creative industries)
Professional:	30
Students:	32
Schoolchildren:	2
Retired:	5
Housewife:	24
TOTAL	153*

Details for 4 of the participants were not available

Stated occupation	Cat	No
Catering	3	1
Manufacturing	3	1
British Gas	3	1
Taxi Driver	3	1
Bus driver	3	1
Security Guard	3	1

Librarian	2	1
Self employed	2	1
Film assistant	2	1
Author	2	1
Comedian	2	1
Youth Worker	2	1
DJ/Presenter	2	1
Health Worker	2	1
Admin	2	1
Publishing	2	1
Research	2	1
Local Government	2	1
Education Support	2	1
Probation Officer	2	1
Interfaith worker	2	1
Photographer	2	1
Artist	2	2
Airline	2	2
IT	2	3
Charity Work	2	3
Retail	2	4
Stated occupation	Cat	No

Senior Auditor	1	1
Academic	1	1
Journalism	1	1
Consultant	1	1
Social Worker	1	1
Dermatology	1	1
Doctor	1	1
Surgeon	1	1
Biomedical Scientist	1	1
Shipping Business	1	1
Priest	1	1
Psychologist	1	1
Dentist	1	1
Lecturer	1	2
Teacher	1	4
Management	1	5
Accountancy	1	8
Business	1	15

At school	-	2
Unemployed	-	3
Retired	-	5
Housewife	-	24
Student	-	32

Education levels of participants

No Formal Education	7
Up to GCSEs (16 years)	36
Up to A Levels (18 years)	16
BTech	2
Higher Degree	20
First Degree	63
Teaching Qual	1
Still at school	1
Educated in Pakistan	1
MBA	1
Other qualification	1
Total	150*

* Details for 4 participants unavailable

Where participants are currently students and their education levels otherwise not given, a prior education levels is assumed e.g. for those studying at degree level, they have been included in the A-level category.