

Pakistan Communications Plan

A comprehensive strategy for countering terrorist messaging
and improving relations with the people of Pakistan

Office of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs

Mission Statement

To ***advance U.S. foreign policy goals*** and
enhance U.S. national security by
reducing support for al Qaeda, the
Taliban and other extremist groups and
expanding and strengthening our
relationship with the people of Pakistan.

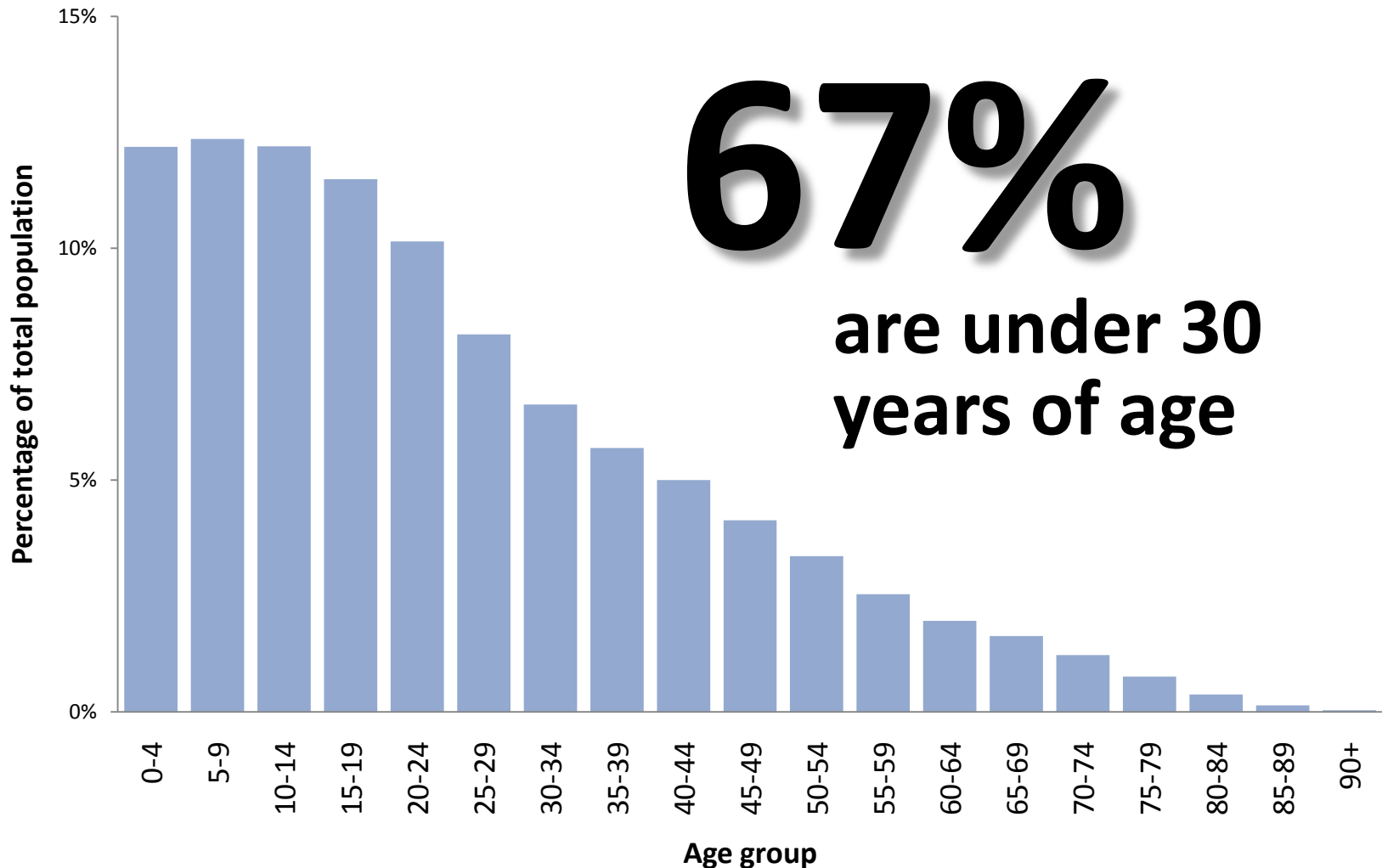
A demographic overview of Pakistan

Population	176,242,949
Ethnicity	Punjabi: 44.7% Pashtun: 15.4% Sindhi: 14.1% Sariaki: 8.4% Muhagirs: 7.6% Balochi: 3.6% Other: 6.3%
Median age	20.8 yrs
Population growth rate	1.947%
Urban population	36%
Infant mortality rate	65.14/1,000 live births (32 nd highest among nations)
Literacy rate	49.9%
GDP (PPP)	\$427.3 billion
Per capita GDP (PPP)	\$2,500



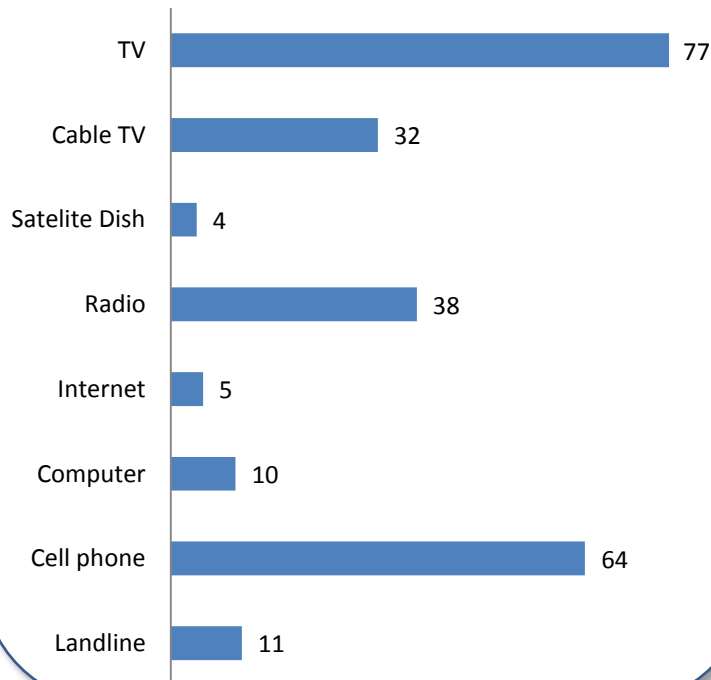
A demographic overview of Pakistan

Pakistani population overwhelmingly young



Diverse media market is led by high TV and cell phone penetration; radio is proliferating

Household ownership of media
(percent of Pakistani households)



- Pakistanis enjoy a very **diverse media market**
- **Television** is Pakistanis' **primary information source**, especially in urban areas
- **Radio is proliferating** in rural areas; **local language programming** has particular credibility
- **Cell phone ownership is high, internet access is minimal**; neither is used primarily for news gathering

Use of TV and radio is widespread in Pakistan

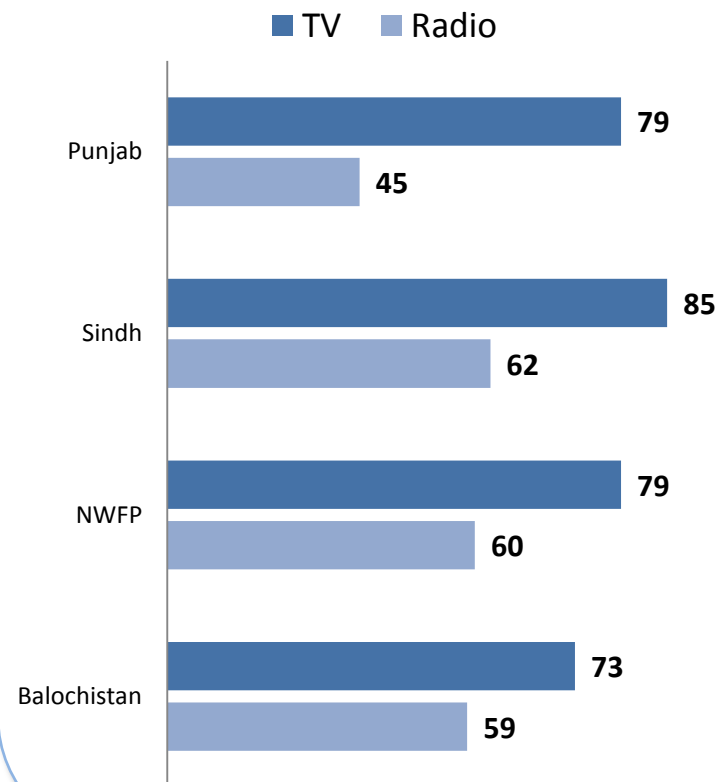
Television

- Access to **satellite channels is mostly via cable***
- **Cable television is fastest growing** electronic media sector: number of **subscribers more than doubled** from 2004-07, from 1.5 to 3.3 million**
- Average cost per subscriber: \$5-10/month

Radio

- **GoP deregulated radio in 2002**
- As of July 2008, **116 FM new licenses** granted
- **Nearly all (97%) radio listeners listen to FM***
- **BBC most popular** English source for news or current events as Pakistani FM radio is prohibited by law from broadcasting news**
- **Over 100 unlicensed stations in NWFP/FATA****

“Weekly Use” of TV/Radio (percent of Pakistanis)



* Gallup Pakistan, 2008

** BBC Monitoring

Print media are diverse and widespread but readership is low; Internet use limited to elites

Illiteracy

- Illiterate populations are unable to seek information independently, therefore making them **more susceptible to extremist propaganda**

Print Media

- **More than 1,000 publications**—including newspapers and magazines—are currently circulated in Pakistan *
- **9 national English dailies** with total **circulation of 190,000**. Top two are Dawn and The News *
- **17 national Urdu dailies** with total **circulation of 700,000**. Jang (300,000), Nawa-e-Waqt (150,000), all others at 50,000 or less *

Internet

- Internet **usage is 5% nationwide****
- **Highest in Karachi region (12%)** and northern Punjab (9%, mainly Islamabad-Rawalpindi)**

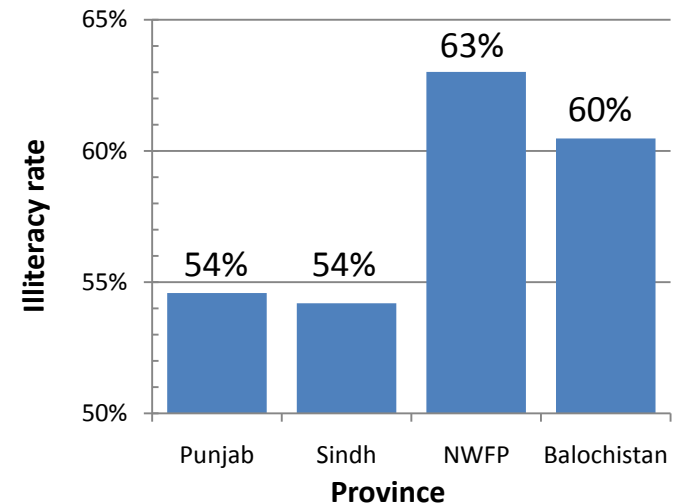
ONE HALF

of Pakistanis over 15 are illiterate

by gender...

27% of men **64%** of women

by province...



Source: CIA World Factbook, Pakistan Ministry of Statistics 2007-2008

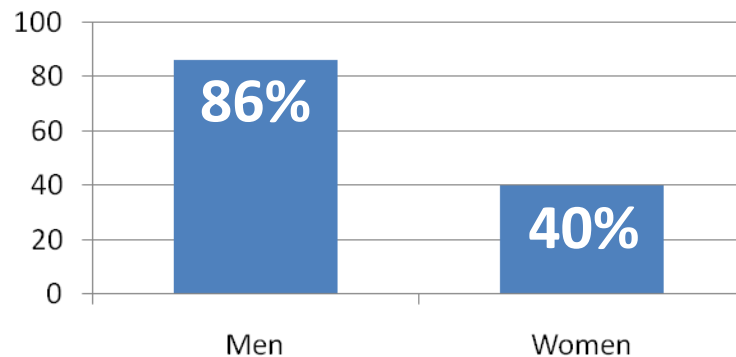
* PA Section, Embassy Islamabad

** Intermedia 2009

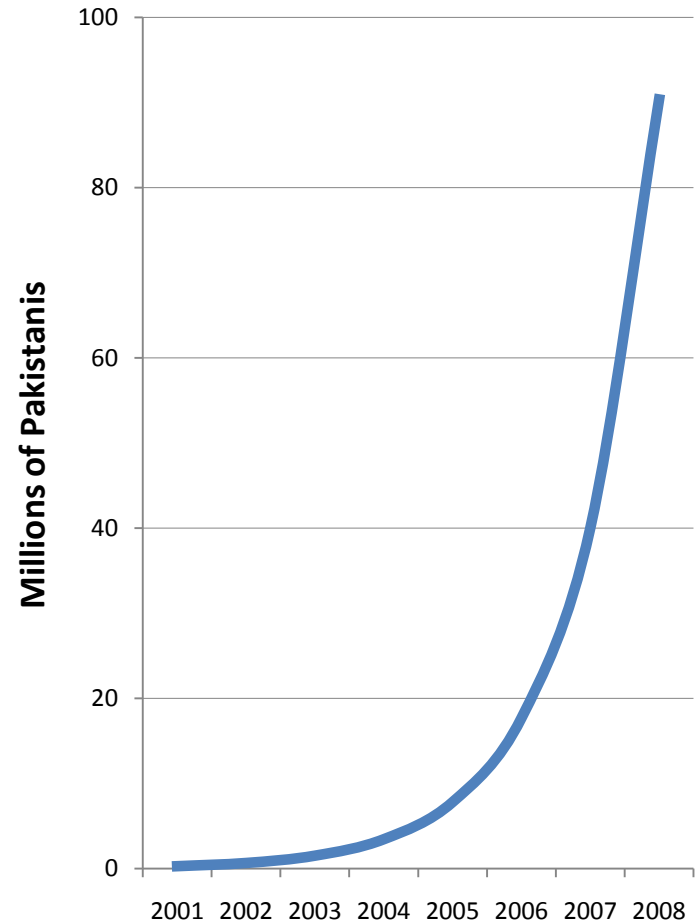
Cell phone penetration is high and continues to rise

- **More than half of Pakistanis have access to a cell phone**; two thirds in urban areas have access*
- Approximately **90 percent of Pakistanis live within areas that have cell phone coverage****
- **Balochistan is least served area of Pakistan**; still one third of population there have cell phones. Usage is **35.4% in Sindh**; approx **44% in NWFP, Azad Jammu, and Kashmir**; and highest in **Punjab at 51.5%***
- **Basic data services** such as SMS, are used by 40.2% cell phone users with **higher usage in urban areas** (45%) than in rural (36.7%)*

Cell phone ownership by gender*
(% of population)



Total Pakistani cell phone users



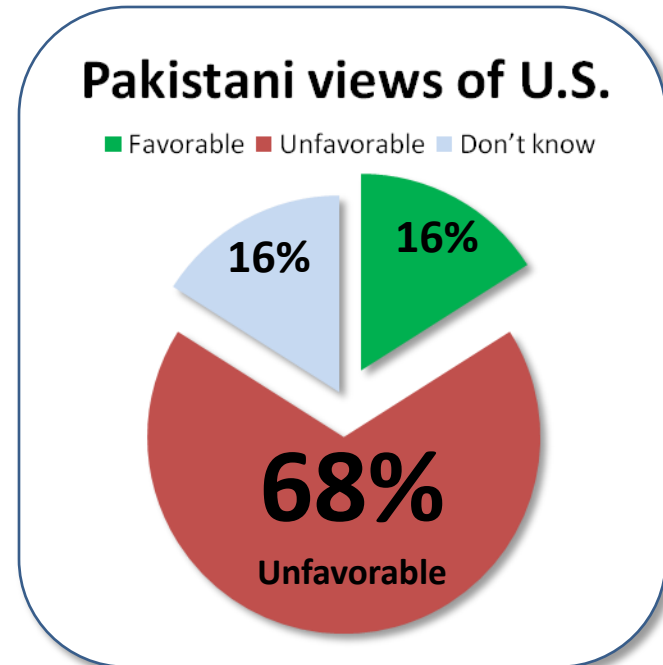
Source: Tech Lahore

* The Nation, May 27, 2009

** The World Bank, "Bringing Finance to Pakistan's Poor," January, 2009

America's image in Pakistan is overwhelmingly negative, but most Pakistanis want improved relations

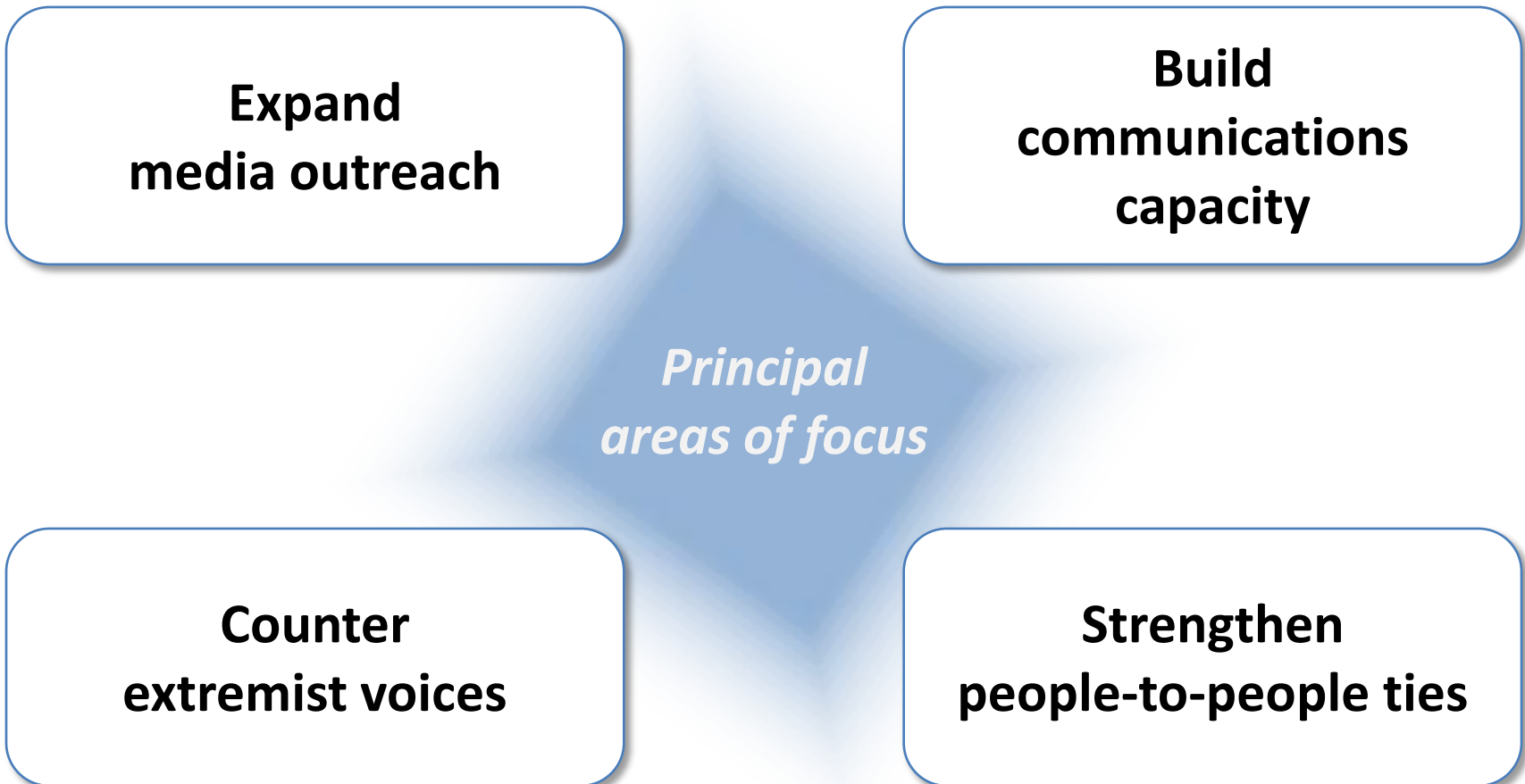
- **16% of Pakistanis have a favorable view of the U.S.; 68% have an unfavorable view.**
 - Short-lived **reprieve in early 2006** in response to U.S. disaster relief
 - **Views of bilateral relations**, once positive, **deteriorated** in 2007-8
- However, **53% of Pakistanis want improved relations** with the U.S.
- **Challenges to improvement include:**
 - **Rejection of U.S. terminology** and premises about terrorism
 - **Misinformation and conspiracy theories**
 - **Mistrust** of U.S. intentions and **doubt** about U.S. commitment
 - Perception of the United States as a **military, cultural and religious threat**



53%

of Pakistanis want *improved relations* with the U.S.

Comprehensive plan for achieving strategic objectives



Comprehensive plan for achieving strategic objectives

We need a **comprehensive and coordinated government-wide** communications and engagement effort to achieve our mission.

To be successful, we must:

1. **Expand media engagement** with regular outreach from U.S. representatives
2. **Counter extremist voices** that recruit, mislead, and exploit
3. **Build communications capacity** to meet the needs of the Pakistani people
4. **Strengthen people-to-people ties** and build mutual understanding

Comprehensive plan for achieving strategic objectives

Given **the crucial importance of improving relations with the Pakistani people, several different agencies and bureaus** are focused on public diplomacy activities. The Department of State's **Office of the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs will lead** interagency cooperation in order to ensure success.

Director for Communications and Public Diplomacy

U.S. Embassy Islamabad

will lead communications and engagement efforts of **all USG agencies**:

- Department of State
- USAID
- Department of Defense
- others

Refocusing the narrative

We need a messaging strategy built on...

consistency (*repetition*)

strength (*commitment*)

facts (*counter terrorist lies*)

respect (*we invite dialogue*)

and

commonality (*Pakistanis benefit from American partnership*)

- We cannot achieve our objectives if the debate takes place only between the extremists and the United States.
- We must work with **credible Pakistani partners** to consistently combine words, deeds, and engagement to positively influence popular attitudes, perceptions and behaviors.
- We have to **broaden our dialogue and partnership** to include economic opportunity, the environment, etc. – problems that concern Pakistanis as much as or more than terrorism.
- We must also effectively **denigrate extremist ideology, propaganda, and actions**.
- The result must be a **refocused narrative**: violent extremists obstruct—and U.S. partnership promotes—Pakistani aspirations.

Existing challenges: Taliban and al Qaeda propaganda

Over 60% of adults illiterate in the NWFP and Balochistan

- **Unable to read Koran** for themselves or seek out own information
- **Susceptible** to influence of extremist "authorities"
- Extremists target audiences with **audio and video propaganda**

Violent extremists exploit this ignorance and use modern communications technology to...

Distort religion

- Haji Namdar uses illegal FM radio in Khyber Agency to brand opponents "un-Islamic"
- Mangal Bath uses illegal FM radio in Peshawar to suppress/threaten women

Foment violence

- Maulana Fazullah uses illegal FM radio in SWAT to threaten by name people to be beheaded
- Ummat Studios and Jundullah CD center in Waziristan churn out dozens of jihadi CDs each month

In response, the United States and the Government of Pakistan must

- Fill the information space and crowd out extremist messages with positive ones
- Reveal/counter/denigrate extremist lies, distortions, and interpretations

Existing challenges: communications environment

Pakistani journalism lacks professional training, unaccountability, and tends to sensationalism

- Journalists are poorly trained and poorly paid
- Inaccurate, unfavorable portrayal of the United States is the norm
- Nationalist rhetoric promoting misinformation and conspiracies creates buzz

Too few credible local voices counter extremist ideology and messages

- Extremists engage local communities virtually unchallenged
- Extremists distort mistakes by the Pakistani government and the United States

Pakistani government must assert its authority in areas under militant control

- Inability to deliver basic services such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure
- Inability to communicate effectively with the populace
- Extremists exploit popular disaffection to fill vacuum

People-to-people ties between Pakistanis and Americans **must be strengthened**

- Pakistanis misunderstand U.S. society, values, and policies
- Lack of public awareness of U.S. development assistance efforts
- United States is seen as a military, cultural, and religious threat
- Grounds for optimism: **majority of Pakistanis want better ties**

Making and measuring progress

Target objectives

A more **professional and capable media culture**

- More journalists have training and first-hand experience of U.S.
- Legitimate broadcasters crowd out unlicensed ones
- More accurate and favorable portrayal of U.S.; extremist propaganda and conspiracy theories marginalized

More credible local voices countering extremist ideology and messages

- Favorable messages disseminated and reinforced
- Extremist lies and distortions recognized as such
- Population rejects violence and pursues moderation

Pakistani government **improves communications capacity**

- More Pakistanis support legitimate and stable government and reject extremism
- Non-government actors actively endorse the efforts of the Pakistani government to counter extremism

Exchanges increase and deepen **people-to-people ties** between Pakistanis and Americans

- More Pakistani current and future opinion leaders have positive experience of U.S.
- More institutional ties and continuing non-governmental exchanges
- Favorable and accurate popular perceptions of the U.S. increase

Programs and tactics for achieving strategic objectives

Expand media engagement



January 20, 2009 – Pakistani television covers President Obama's inauguration.

1. Nationwide media engagement plan
2. Rapid response team
3. Multi-lingual 24/7 hotline
4. Media monitoring service
5. Snap polling
6. U.S. visits for journalists
7. Proactive media engagement by U.S. representatives
8. Urdu digital outreach

Expand media engagement

1

Nationwide media engagement plan

Create detailed nationwide media engagement plan for FY2010; include specific plans for “pushing” U.S. story on a broad range of issues beyond security

2

Rapid response team

Monitor Pakistani and regional media and respond *immediately* to attacks and propaganda from al Qaeda, Taliban and others

3

Multi-lingual 24/7 hotline

Launch and market multi-lingual 24/7 hotline to respond immediately to inquiries from major Urdu and Pashto media

4

Media monitoring service

Provide real-time or same day reports on key issues and critical articles appearing in Pakistani national and regional media

Expand media engagement

5

Snap polling

Fund snap nationwide polling on timely issues to provide independent assessment of popular perceptions on critical issues

6

U.S. visits for journalists

Increase visits by Pakistani journalists to the United States to enhance the professionalism, objectivity, and accuracy of reporting on the United States and its policies

7

Proactive media engagement

Develop program of proactive engagement with Pakistani media by visiting U.S. officials and other representatives

8

Urdu digital outreach

Expand digital outreach in Urdu-language blogosphere

Programs and tactics for achieving strategic objectives

Counter extremist voices



1. Credible broadcast content
2. Mobile phone outreach
3. Teledevelopment and telemedicine

The inventive deployment of cell phone technology and text messaging services are key to countering insurgent messaging and providing Pakistanis a sense of connection with supportive communities and their government.

Counter extremist voices

1

Credible broadcast content

Develop and disseminate content for broadcast to prevent a vacuum providing space for extremist messaging

2

Mobile phone outreach

Expand mobile phone outreach, mobile banking, and microfinance

3

Teledevelopment and telemedicine

Connect stakeholders to drive teledevelopment and telemedicine initiatives

Programs and tactics for achieving strategic objectives

Build communications capacity



The *Majlis-e-Shoora*, the Pakistani parliament, meets in the Parliament House.

1. Public outreach and awareness
2. Improve communications infrastructure
3. Local media in border areas
4. Pashto-language radio
5. Pashto-language TV

Build communications capacity

1

Public outreach and awareness

Use technical programs to build public understanding of USG assistance and the benefits of Pakistan-USG cooperation

2

Improve communications capacity

Assist the FATA Secretariat and NWFP Government to improve communications capacity through infrastructure, technical assistance, training, and grants

3

Local media in border areas

Support the emergence of independent local media in border areas

4

Pashto-language radio

Build capacity in independent Pashto-language radio programming in NWFP and FATA

5

Pashto-language television

Expand Pashto-language TV to the NWFP and FATA

Programs and tactics for achieving strategic objectives

Strengthen people-to-people ties



Jalozai, July 09, 2009 – U.S. Ambassador Anne W. Patterson hands out the first of 5,000 school kits provided by the United States to schoolchildren during a visit to Jalozai IDP Camp Complex in Nowshera District.

1. Develop engagement plan
2. Educational opportunities
3. Exchange programs
4. English language learning
5. “Take back the streets”
6. Professional exchanges
7. U.S. assistance awareness
8. American exchanges in Pakistan
9. Science and Technology

Strengthen people-to-people ties

1**Engagement plan**

Develop comprehensive plan for expanding engagement with individuals and entities in all parts of civil society

2**Educational opportunities**

Enhance educational opportunities in Pakistan including teacher training, internet exchanges, and curriculum development

3**Exchange program opportunities**

Expand exchange programs for Pakistanis (Fulbright etc.) and maintain connections

4**English language learning**

Improve availability of English language learning opportunities

5**“Take back the streets”**

Develop plan for increasing U.S. presence throughout Pakistan to underscore positive aspects of U.S. partnership

Strengthen people-to-people ties

6

Professional exchanges

Increase support for professional exchanges in all sectors

7

U.S. assistance awareness

Build public understanding of USG assistance and the benefits of Pakistan/USG cooperation

8

American exchanges in Pakistan

Expand exchange program opportunities in Pakistan for Americans

9

Science and technology

Increase joint U.S.-Pakistan Science and Technology Research and Exchange

Sample program: Counter extremist voices

Develop and disseminate content for radio. Locally developed content is essential, yet locals lack capacity and resources; absence of counter-narratives provides space for religious terrorism, and increases vulnerability of women and children.

- Establish **Pashtun Media Cell**: \$450,000
- Support **FC Media Cell**: \$450,000
- Content for stations from NGO's such as those dealing with **health, farming, irrigation, universities**: \$1 million
- **Content from women producers**: \$1 million
- Purchase **religious audio sermons from moderate clerics** worldwide: \$1 million
- Purchase **religious audio sermons** from Deobandi moderate clerics in Pakistan: \$1 million

Lead	PAS
Partner(s)	R, SRAP, USAID, MIST, FATA Secretariat
Start/End Dates	September 2009/continuing
Personnel Implications	None
Budget Implications	\$4.9 m (program costs)
Performance Indicator(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Listenership of legal FM radio vs. that of illegal militant radio 2. Broadcast hours of and listenership to this content 3. Audience-reported credibility level of content 4. Change of target audience opinion to align with national goals

Sample program: Strengthen people-to-people ties

Expand **exchange program opportunities in Pakistan for Americans.**

Will necessitate increased secure motor transport and RSO-secure housing:

- **Cultural Presentations:** \$500,000
- **U.S. Scholars to research (8) :** \$320,000
- **Short term specialists (20):** \$300,000
- **Speakers (20):** \$300,000

Lead	PAS
Partner(s)	ECA, IIP, R
Start/End Dates	October 2009/continuing
Target Audience(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pakistani opinion leaders • Universities
Personnel Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 FSO (ACAO) • 2 LES
Budget Implications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • \$1.42 m (program costs) • \$567 k (FSO) • \$80 k (LES) • \$440 k (increased security)*
Performance Indicator(s)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Number of Americans participating in exchange programs in Pakistan (by program type—e.g. speaker, specialist etc.) 2. Number of secure housing units available to Americans in exchange programs

*2 armored transport vehicles for Islamabad and one for each other location, at approximately ~\$220,000 x 2; RSO-secure housing will not require additional resources, but will be required for these programs to be carried out.