

IMRAN KHAN's AZADI MARCH:
A Sentiment Analysis of Twitter

MS Thesis



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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of
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Thesis Supervisor:

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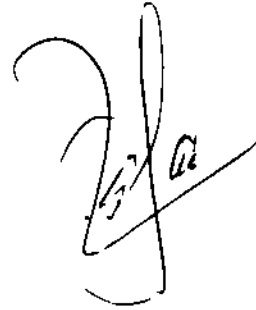
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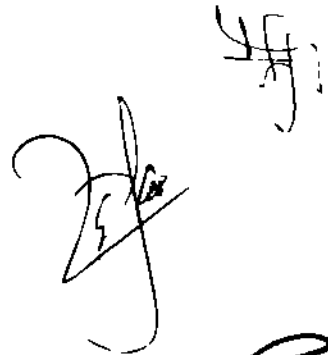
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ABSTRACT

This research is conducted to explore how Pakistani people are participating and politically engaged on Twitter. How they are taking out their sentiments and what impact of their sentiments is reflecting on society regarding "Azadi March". For this purpose, duration of August 2014 to October 2014 has been taken. Analysts reviewing public sentiments in open societies have several tools at their disposal including face-to-face surveys, on-site observation, media analysis, and telephone poll results. But in closed society implementation of such tools is difficult. However, anonymity factor of the Internet and social networking sites has given people a platform to express their views. To explore this prospect, twitter was taken as a social media tool to gauge sentiments of Pakistan's people using LIWC method to investigate the psychological nature of texts posted on Twitter regarding Azadi March.

Keywords:

Public sentiments, Azadi March, Anonymity, Freedom of expression

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work and my efforts to my family. A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, Amanat Ali and Asmat Tahira, whose words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in my ears

Thanks to my friends including Afshan, Noshawan, Rizwan, and Maheela for their endless support, affection, trust and motivation.

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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST GRACIOUS AND THE MOST MERCIFUL

I thank Allah Almighty for giving me strength and the opportunity to complete this laborious work despite my professional and personal obligations. Several times during the study, my will to complete it broke. Every time when I lost the hope, something pushed me up from within and this was nothing but the blessings of Allah.

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KALEEMULLAH
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to a psychological point of view, a human is always curious in collecting others' opinions. He always seeks to find out what's in the minds of others. As a result of that people of this age are doing every possible effort to gather the information. Present age has given innumerable facilities and platforms where people can freely give words to their feelings. It has become easier than ever before to speak out the views. How true, Marshall McLuhan once said that people of present time are living in a global village (Benjamin Symes, 1995). Along with expressing the views and experiences, one can easily get the required information too. This all has been made possible by social media services. Any topic posted by someone especially on twitter or Facebook can come under discussion and the person who posted the topic gets lots of valuable responses and feedback regarding his post.

Social Media is being widely and actively used all over the world for social movements including Pakistan. However, the use of social media in Pakistan is somewhat less than other developed countries due to low literacy rate and less technological advancement. Since Twitter now a days is a great networking medium and a vehicle of correspondence. Keeping this in mind, this research has been conducted to explore the role of twitter in Pakistan. The selected text has been classified into two aspects including people's mood representing positive and negative emotions, and purpose behind posting the tweets. The major part of this research consists of the connection of people all over the world with the current situation in Pakistan along with how these people communicate and share their

sentiments regarding the protest situations. It also talks about the ordinary people who are strongly affected by the infringement and the way they come up together online to bring the required change in the system. It also enlightens upon the consequences of the use of this medium which involves inspiring the other people to join through motivation. Discussion of all the above mentioned points leads to contribute to a great agenda in the fields of internet and democracy.

Communication about social movements whether it is internal or external, heavily based on face to face interaction mostly. However, since last two hundred years, various new media have replaced the direct interaction to reach maximum number of people both within and outside the movements. With the most recent information and communication technologies, social movements are likely to reach a new level in the ways in which they mobilize, build coalitions, inform, lobby, communicate, and campaign (Hajnal, 2002). Modern-day forms of protest appear to merge 'previous' technologies such as 'banners' with high-tech tools of communication.

The greatest achievement of social media is that it enables every citizen to communicate his views without paying anything. Hence it is the most partial and almost low cost platform where everyone has equal rights to come up with the ideas. Citizens can express their requirements and needs through participation along with affecting the distribution of resources (Barber, 1984, Habermas, 1996, Verba & Nie, 1972). Generally, when it comes to participation, it actually involves collecting donations, inspiring others and playing some role in political activities (Kenski & Stroud, 2006). Thus it is proved that via using internet, citizens get in touch in political terms with each other and with Government.

1.1. Rationale of the Study

Social media is a powerful tool through which people can bring about the desired change (Raouf et al., 2013). It was actually proved after the consequences of 2013 elections in Pakistan as it was social media that helped in generating political party PTI's stance, and facilitate action in the face of a powerful Government. A very obvious example where one cannot express freely, is our country Pakistan but social media has played a very important role giving the freedom of wording out the views to ordinary citizens. Both Pakistan and China are similar in this regards where media has given equal rights to the citizens to share their views on politics freely (Tavernise, 2010).

The elections of 2013 were not whole heartedly accepted by Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf and hence it demanded a thorough investigation in four constituencies for the remaining process. PTI also provided a proof of rigging consisting of 2100-page white paper. Unfortunately, no action was taken for that. August 14, 2014 was the day of rallies in the public thoroughfares, squares, and campuses all over Pakistan. Twitter played a very important role by relaying the times and locations of rallies hence facilitating the protesting people to gather into the streets. These rallies kept on going for a long period consisting of several months. During this, social media sites twitter and Facebook did a great job keeping the PTI movement active and in touch with the global and domestic audiences.

Azadi march (Freedom March) which was organized by PTI was a major part of all the news headlines in 2014. This march was earlier named as Tsunami march. The basic purpose of this protest was to demand the immediate resignation of the Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Nawaz Sharif. It was all the result of Government's and election tribunal's inability to solve and fix the misconducts in the election 2013 (Shah, A. & Asif B., 2015).

This protest was a very hot topic for media that's why they covered it since the beginning. Twitter has been widely used by the people for sharing their views and word out their feelings throughout this protest.

Such protests have been happening throughout the world for many years. There are several similarities that are noticeable, when the protests in Arab countries are brought in comparison with the 2014 protest done in Pakistan. First key point of these protests was the dissatisfaction of people with the electoral arrangements and an inefficient and dishonest country leadership. The main aim of Pakistan protest 2014 was the cross checking of voters in four constituencies in order to prevent any such unlawfulness in the conduction of upcoming future elections. Protesters also demanded the immediate resignation of Prime Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif for being incapable enough. Secondly, in both protests, the greatest number of participants consisted of youth who were badly disappointed and depressed with the inefficiency and inability of their governments. That disappointment gave them a strong motivation to take part enthusiastically in order to bring the desired change. The third greatest similarity between those protests was that social media was a big source for the people who wanted to take some violent action against the government.

Social media enabled the ordinary citizens to share their thoughts and views actively against the government. Even after all these similarities, it is noticed that Pakistani society is still considered to be different from the other societies which have also gone through the same situation of social media being strongly used to take violent actions against the governments. A dramatic link of people's anxiety and their responses on Twitter has been an interesting relationship in Pakistan and more promising aspect to investigate.

Moreover, the point of the effective use of twitter during the protest against the electoral violence in Pakistan still needs to be discussed. For this purpose, tweets about Azadi March protest have been extracted from the month of July to October starting from the day one including the preparations of March till it completely ended in the form of splatter of protesters. The importance of twitter became pretty evident after this protest as it was very effectively used during this March facilitating the people to come up with their views. Pakistani people found it very easy to be connected and in touch with the ongoing situation for the very first time which later helped them to transform a Pakistan's public sphere.

When a research has to be carried out, the data is collected which can be viewed in many aspects. The collection of content and its thorough study provides a very clear picture of the required aim for which the research was carried out. Many researches have been conducted on content analysis in which content of media is analysed. Here the key point which is of true importance and should not be ignored is the understanding of the emotions of people. What people think and how they feel about any particular event is very important to measure and estimate the importance of that event.

Traditional media also gathered the sentiments of public on this particular issue but it is obvious that the results provided by different sources of media are different depending upon their needs and frames closer to their agenda. However, the present age made it quite easy providing a wide spread internet which is almost feasible to everyone. Using twitter, one can easily speak out about any event, social or political. Thus the collection of data also became easy.

This study contributes to the feelings and sentiments of people hence contributing to the field of Sentiment Analysis (SA). This analysis brings out the emotions of people from the

simple text. From the social media specifically twitter in this analysis calculates the people's sentiments through their text about any event. On social media people simply speak out whatever is in their minds without any fear or hesitation while in the real world the same people hesitate to share and hide out their feelings for many reasons. It is a common nature of people to be extra careful particularly when they know that they are under observation so they do not convey their true message about the event.

Twitter helps to gather the text and read between the lines which are a clear reflection of people's thoughts. The important thing is that the emotions of people are at peak during an event and their posts at that time consist of their true enthusiasm and spirit. However, when any event that happened some time back is brought under notice, has definitely lost a bit of importance and the people's views about it must not be that enthusiastic and true. That is the reason, it's very important to get the tweets immediately during an event to get the true picture of people's feelings and emotions. The tweets posted during the Azadi March reveal the true sentiments of people regarding it.

The research done earlier on the sentiment analysis which was all about the feedback of products for instance the reviews about the products on amazon.com, expressing the different sentiments such as positive, negative or neutral. These acted as a very helpful source of labelled data. These were actually taken as the quantitative indicators of author's opinion. With the passage of time, these quantitative indicators hanged into detailed notes for instance web pages and news articles for even a clearer picture. In the present age twitter has related many tracking topics and sentiments for all the new applications. These topics include reviews of upcoming movies along with any political issues covering almost everything that is ongoing. All is being made possible by twitter.

1.2. Case Profile of Azadi March

14th August of 2014 is the historical date of beginning of Azadi March which was earlier termed as tsunami march. It was started as a march and gradually turned into a sit-in. According to a survey conducted by Aqil Shah & Bushra Asif (2015), it came into being as a demonstration against general 2013 election's result which was declared as unfair by PTI. In order to provide the evidence, PTI presented a 2100- page white paper claiming it to be a proof of their word. Even after presenting this white paper no action was taken which then forced them to go for this movement. They requested the government to conduct a verification test into four constituencies in order to find out the corruption done in the conduction of elections and rectification in election process to eliminate rigging in future. Still no interest was shown by the government, which brought an anxiety in the members of protest and finally they called for the resignation of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his brother. To boost their sit-in they took assistance of social media.

Timeline

- 14 August Azadi March Caravan started to move from Lahore and Peshawar towards Islamabad. People from different locations of those areas emerged to participate.
- 15 August PML-N workers bombarded the PTI protesters with stones when they were crossing the area of PML-N party office.
- 16 August Caravan finally arrived Islamabad at venue of Zero point during heavy rain. After arrival PTI chairman Imran Khan announced regarding the continuation of this march till the resignation of Nawaz Sharif and conduction of new elections.

- 17 August The followers were directed to execute the civil disobedience movement by the PTI chairman according to which they were not supposed to pay the bills and taxes anymore. For the fulfillment of above mentioned demands a deadline of two days was also given to the government.
- In reaction of this act, Chaudhary Nisar, the federal interior minister announced in his press conference regarding a committee specially formed to mediate and negotiate with PTI.
- 18 August An important announcement regarding the resignation of all lawmakers of PTI from the National Assembly was done by PTI vice-president Shah Mahmood Qureshi and PTI chairman declared to take his march towards the RED ZONE and he himself will lead the march as a front man.
- 19 August The three layers of security were sent to the Red zone by the Government to avoid any misconduct by the protesters. First layer was based on police, in second layer Rangers paramilitary forces were all set, and finally, the armed forces.
- In the night of 19th August PTI workers carried on their movement towards the Red Zone accompanying cranes for the removal of containers placed by the government. When the barriers were removed by the activists with the help of cranes, government refrain security forces from indulging into clash with protesters.
- 20 August Protesters stepped in to Red Zone and started their demonstration in front of the parliament house. After reaching near the parliament house, the PTI chairman delivered in his address that he will not go back without the prime

minister's resignation, he will wait for it till the evening and if prime minister did not resign they will head towards the prime minister's house

- 24 August The demonstration by the protesters continued while the negotiation between PTI and government's committee regarding Nawaz Sharif's resignation did not get a positive conclusion
- The same day, former additional secretary of Election Commission had given an interview at ARY News channel in which he asserted that the election 2013 did not held fairly He had also taken the names of corrupt individuals who were involved in swiping the people's mandate
- 25 August The sit-in demonstration kept continued by the protesters in front of parliament house till a clear announcement circulated by the Supreme Court of Pakistan to vacate the area and a deadline of 24 hours was given
- 26 August: Police forces were instructed to get ready to launch the crackdown on the protesters standing in front of the parliament building if they try to move towards the prime minister's house but the protesters did not bother such preparations
- 30 August: As the protesters continued to move towards prime minister's house. Clashes broke out dramatically In the beginning police hesitated but later started offering the resistance in their way by throwing the tear gas, which in result caused a big loss in terms of several peoples' injuries including policemen, women and children During this breakdown, the situation got uncontrollable and the fence of parliament house was also broken and the people tried to enter in but following the

order of Army, people stayed outside. Same sort of clashes occurred in Lahore as well between protesters and the Punjab police.

- 1 September: These non-stop clashes sustained while protesters damaged a few vehicles in Pakistan secretariat. They also caused disruption at PTV headquarters by forcefully entering the building due to which PTV got off air for a short period. Even though PTI refused to be the reason behind this damage.
- 12 September: Police arrested several PTI protesters with reference to their aggressive behavior at PTV and during clashes.
- 13 September: A large number of near about 3100 PTI workers were imprisoned on 14 days legal remand.
- 21 September – 30 November: In order to further expand the protest, demonstrations took place in several other areas. This, as a result, pressurized the government.

On 31 August 2014, *The Nation* published that Red Zone became a battleground when hefty teargas shelling carried out and rubber bullets were fired by the police. That night turned into a bloody night for the protesters causing them violent. At least 240 people injured during the police and protesters' clashes in Islamabad. *Financial Times* stated that the protesters showed an unrestrained reaction by trying to damage the official residence of Nawaz Sharif with the help of baton and wire cutters. Furthermore, it was stated that at least three people were killed and several got injured due to tear gas and rubber bullets fired by police during the clashes. It was also claimed by the paper that some politicians alleged army officials to be involved in motivating the protesters and encouraging them in order to get the government under pressure and finally achieving the disposal of Nawaz

Sharif While according to *Al Jazeera English*, when the protesters were fired tear gas by the police along with rubber bullets, they in return attacked the police with firebombs and wooden batons

A few cases regarding objectionable behaviour with the female protesters were brought under notice However, they were not proved with evidence In addition, social media seriously criticized the dance during sit-in by the male and female protesters

1.3. What is Twitter and how does one use it?

Twitter is a low cost service provided by social media It was introduced in October 2006 It allows its users to openly share their sentiments regarding any matter, social or political However, it gives a word limit of about 140 characters Hence, permits short messages to be shared Messages shared on twitter are known as tweets Along with providing the facility of sharing views to its users, twitter also gives them a choice to keep their tweets hidden from those whom they don't want to share the tweets with If not restricted, these tweets can be read by anyone Since it plays a magnificent role in connecting the people all over the world, it stands on number 20 in fame when talking about the other connecting media sites Its popularity among the users can be estimated by its over 3 million user accounts

The idea that basically works behind this site is that the users can follow each other's tweets and then write their own Like Facebook, twitter also talks about making friends in a way that it's one's own choice to select whose messages are to be followed and then only those selected users will be able to see the tweets of the one who selected them Another interesting feature is that one can get highly motivated followers by following and

commenting on the messages that are interesting. When talking about twitter, it's impossible to forget the Hashtag, a very well-known feature of Twitter, denoted by #. This feature enables the users to follow any event and this unique feature when clicked, shows all the tweets regarding that event. Consisting of 200 million users (Shiels, 2011), Twitter is growing tremendously faster and has become an exemplary social media site.

How twitter is affecting every field and facilitating in its unique way is another reason of its popularity. Journalism is benefited by twitter in a way that Newspapers, magazine, and other mediums are connected to their audiences through it (Arceneaux et al., 2010), and audiences are responding. Most of the news on Twitter are the current ongoing scenarios in nature (Kwak et al., 2010). Along with playing a successful role in the advertisement of several products by the companies, Twitter is also a source of connection between politicians and ordinary citizens.

Another key symbol in Twitter language is the symbol "@" Through this symbol, anyone is able to direct his tweets to the users of his choice in order to start a proper conversation. This feature has been widely used by the Environmental organizations to absorb their followers into the organized course of action to achieve their goals (Campbell, 2010). A fantastic point of Twitter is that it allows its users to retweet or repost the message or information which was originally posted by another user. This important feature of Twitter distributes the information to a big crowd in the fastest possible way. According to statistics of retweets, a post re-posted by any user can be seen by approximately 1000 users, regardless of the number of followers for the originally posted tweet (Kwak et al., 2010).

This low cost amazing site is being widely used by politicians to stay connected to their members (Grant et al., 2010). The use of social media as a form of communication has an

influence on the process of political empowering citizens and vice versa. Twitter is easily accessible by ordinary citizens which establishes a connection between citizens and civil servants and facilitates the expatriation causing more involvement in democratic government. Hence, it is pretty obvious that a frequent use of these connecting sites will take the society towards more democracy along with developing in citizens a sense of participation in politics.

Twitter proved to be extremely beneficial in October 2007, when in Southern California, it was of high urgency to inform the citizens regarding the critical situation involving the sudden closures of roads, vacating the whole societies and providing the information about the new safe shelter, all because of wildfire, whole scenario gave the idea of a more fruitful use of twitter in future (Sutton, Palen and Shklovski, 2008). Not only this, but this site played a vital role in Mumbai terrorist attacks that happened on 26th of November, 2008. People used it to give enough knowledge about the events being there in the affected area (Stelter & Cohen, 2008).

Twitter has already proved itself to be multipurpose site. It is serving as a micro blogging site along with successfully proving itself to be a social networking site. However, there are certain limits that apply to its users including the restriction of creating groups. Its users are not allowed to use this particular application. Another very important point is that if first user is following the second, not necessarily the second will be following the first one. This is called a non-reciprocal relationship which shows that the first one is following the second one just for information rather than for a conversation. This aspect shows that Twitter is used basically for the information instead of social networking. Hence coming

to the same point, these activities indicate the interest of citizens in online participation thus creating a positive connection between citizens and political activities

Twitter has a big name in creating revolutions as it works best for the arrangements of any sort of protests. An example is Moldova, where people organized a big demonstration on 7th April 2009. This was all made possible by twitter. The agenda behind that was the dissatisfaction of people with the electoral results. The peaceful protest then hanged into a violent disturbance of peace by the crowd consisting of 10000 people in Chisinau. As a result of this violence, several reactions were shown by the European Union and many other countries. Another example is Tunisia, where people who were highly disappointed with the failed and corrupted Government behind high unemployment, arranged a big crowd via twitter, favoring the same views. This crowd got together on the streets and hence the prime minister ended up in resigning. The new elections were carried out after two months. Same sort of protests have been happening all over the world where twitter gave power and freedom of speech to ordinary citizens bringing them on the streets. Considering the example of Iran where the reason behind the protest was the dishonest selection of president on June 2009. As a result of these protests, Iranian Green Movement came into being. These studies prove that the connection between twitter and protests is strong. Moreover, the studies over the use of twitter were done either before or after the real scenario. The role that twitter could have played during any event was ignored. This study will help in proving the real importance of twitter usage during any event. It will discuss in detail regarding the moods of people, main characteristics, and themes involved in the online social movement.

1.4. Problem Statement

This research argues that social media works as exclusive driver for protestors these days and plays revolutionary role in the formation of social movements. Numerous academic and non-academic writers stated that earlier social movements used to occur through direct interaction, but now phenomenon has been changed. Today face to face interaction is replaced by social media, which has proven to be more interactive than other indigenous formats. In authoritarian countries people remain silent mostly when survey was conducted to take their sentiments regarding national issues. Social media specifically facebook and twitter have provided a platform to share sentiments, suggestions, to raise questions to appreciate or to criticize either policies or renown personalities.

Earlier facebook was the main focus of researchers but later twitter emerged as a more sophisticated tool because it is considered to be more authentic as well as convenient for researchers to gather any data. This tool has been used by many scholars while analysing impact of social media in social movements organized in Egypt, Tunisia, Arab and other countries. This online political participation wave has spread all over the world. Even in Pakistan, people are actively taking part through it understanding its revolutionary power. That's why there is need to get a clear picture of online political participation and the scope of twitter usage in Pakistan.

Many studies have been done over the use of twitter either before or after the real scenarios. But the role that twitter could have played during any event was ignored. This study will help in proving the real importance of twitter usage during any event. This study explores the frequency of the posted tweets during political protest to determine online political

activism in Pakistan. Moreover, the study on the themes of tweets identifies the purposes for which people used twitter which could be helpful in predicting the scope of twitter in Pakistan. This study would be helpful to evaluate the contribution of twitter in escalating sentiments of people during that particular event. The sentiment analysis in this study may contribute to our understanding of emotions of people concerning that protest.

1.5. Objectives of Study

This study is aimed

- To assess sentiment of social media users particularly in Pakistan where freedom of expression is limited
- To forecast significant political trends and themes regarding use of Twitter during Azadi March protest and sit-in
- To identify shifts in political participation of people
- To determine how actively public expresses on a social media platform
- To determine the role played by twitter in bringing protestors in the streets
- To gauge sentiments shared during the specified tenure

1.6. Significance of Study

Analysts studying public sentiments in open societies have multiple tools at their disposal face-to-face surveys, on-site observation, media analysis and telephone poll results. But the inherent nature of a closed society makes it difficult for analysts to derive accurate results from these methods. This study will be of significance for the people interested in knowing audience's responses at large about Azadi March. It is also of significance for upcoming researchers because this type of study is not common in Pakistan and paves the way for further studies.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Relevant literature and information has been gathered in following main ways I looked for literature on the social media, twitter and protests, social media usage in Pakistan, and uses of sentiment analysis

2.1. Social Media: A New Era of Mobilization`

Social media has been mentioned as a networking tool by an early scholar Clay Shirky (2011) According to him, with the passage of time, the system of communication throughout the world has become more and more user friendly and accessible by the people There are now more ways and techniques to gather any information and getting involved in any speech, sharing the ideas, and thus, a much better step to take any action towards the same goal (Shirky, 2011)

Media has been doing a tremendous job in progressing and facilitating the movements for about a long time in the form of brochures, newsletters and leaflets Furthermore, such movements have been covered by the newspapers and other sources such as television and radio Upgrading with time, moving towards even better technologies of Information and communication known as ICTs and their links through worldwide web are surely moving forward towards the techniques which have made even easier to communicate, collaborate, and provide information and campaign (Hajnal, 2002)

The immediate user involvement introduced by social media has made it quite appreciable while this facility is unavailable in traditional media making it just a background source

A strong and quick delivery of the things happening all around the world to almost every citizen is made possible by Facebook and twitter. Along with being an interactive source, social media is also the fastest source of information of the events going on everywhere. This quick delivery of information nationally and internationally plays a terrific role in establishing the soundness, assembling and organizing the resources to support the motive and enlargement of scope. Undoubtedly the most attractive feature of this new method is enabling the ordinary citizens to voice their views freely along with its ability to sidestep the biasness and prejudices of official sources and the mass media (Clark, 2012)

The most important elements that are drastically altering the ways of creation and dissemination of news are internet and mobile technologies (Serafeim, 2012, Lim, 2012). Nowadays news has become portable, personalized and interactive. As users can take them anywhere through mobile phones, users make profiles on particular topics of their choices through internet, and users can also participate through face book and twitter (Serafeim, 2012). Along with all these above mentioned benefits, these tools modify or accelerate the movements throughout the world (Ozalp, 2013). Social media gives innumerable benefits in terms of getting the people ready to move for a certain motive. The benefits of social media, irrespective of its grievances, actually behave as an accelerator in getting the social movements appeared.

Social movement, loosely organized but sustained campaign in support of a *social* goal, typically either the implementation or the prevention of a change in society's structure or values. Although social movements differ in size, they are all essentially collective. Social movements are basically groups working to achieve any particular goal. These movements are meant to work in order to benefit the whole group instead of serving the members on

an individual basis. Hence, the ultimate goal is to bring alterations in any context either social or political on a large scale, working in groups with proper coordination. Social movements are probably found to be healthy enough in the societies that believe in democracy and possess tendency to wholeheartedly accept the social changes.

Shirky states that the traditional media cannot be overlooked, internet and social media developments did not replace the traditional media rather updated the platform allowing individuals to play roles in different ways. Social movements can also be triggered by the interplay between social media and different societal aspects of life (Leenders & Heydemann, 2012). On these grounds it can be said that social media plays more intervening role as compare to the causal one regarding social movements.

2.2. Twitter and Protests

A large number of questions have been introduced by the previous studies regarding twitter. For instance, how information breaks on Twitter (e.g. Kwak et al., 2010) and is taken to mainstream media (e.g. van der Zee, 2009), role of twitter during sudden happenings (e.g. Berger, 2009, Hughes & Palen, 2009) or educational activities (e.g. Grosseck & Holotescu, 2008) or by politicians (e.g. Grant et al., 2010) and journalists (e.g. Ahmad, 2010). Studies have also analysed role of twitter during elections (e.g. Tumasjan et al., 2010, Skoric et al., 2012) and public diplomacy (Burns & Eltham, 2009) amongst other topics. On the other hand studies regarding protests and use of twitter are very few (Burns & Eltham, 2009, Ems, 2010, Harlow & Johnson, 2011, Bajpai & Jaiswal, 2011, Tufekci & Wilson, 2012, Earl et al., 2013). Another important point is that the studies which endorsed twitter usage for the social movements are limited and didn't focus on use of twitter during the protests.

The important part played by twitter during the election crisis in Iran 2009 was thoroughly studied by Burns and Eltham (2009) However, the protests were not given the enough attention that's why the data cannot be considered complete Another investigation was done by Ems (2010) He focused on the G-20 March in Pittsburgh but instead of analyzing tweets, he restricted himself on the coverage of use of twitter by the media Another study about the pattern of March discussed regarding mainstream media v/s social media, i.e., twitter, was studied by Harlow and Johnson (2011) However, they also limited their study to the tweets shared by one user only which definitely cannot be considered as the final word of the other users Bajpai and Jaiswal (2011) studied and analysed the subject matter of tweets in result of a march in Thailand Their outcomes were however not based or calculated through theory and hence they were also unable to present a generalized picture of the twitter usage structure

A Crystal Clear picture of the deep understanding of link between the social media and protests was presented by Tufekci and Wilson (2012) by focusing and analyzing the freedom of speech shown by the Egyptian citizens in Tahrir square protests The citizens took their decisions freely, independently and individually They gathered data from Facebook and Twitter to figure out the organization of protests Even though they thought that twitter played a valuable part in these marches, they didn't acknowledge those tweets which were quite related to the protests On these grounds in my point of view, a thorough study of the tweets during the Tahrir Square (in Egypt) protests could lead to a crystal clear picture showing the connection between twitter and protests

The latest researches emphasize upon the importance of twitter calling it an "electronic word of mouth", a speedy source of sharing information and views during critical situations

(Phelan et al, 2011, Lerman & Ghosh, 2010) and also plays an active role in disseminating the news during crisis and disputes (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2012, Kwak et al , 2010, Lerman & Ghosh, 2010) Twitter has altered the traditional and social media's typical warfare and revolutionized them. People who termed as "Consumers" earlier, have become "Producers" now by actively using the media. They share pictures, videos and information from the spot. Twitter, being a rapid point of information supply, provided space to citizen journalism and enabled every citizen to voice his views freely.

If the twitter usage is studied carefully, one can easily get a spontaneous picture of the themes behind the tweets. According to Papic and Noonan (2011) twitter members often declare their location or the location of their protest, which is a foreseen finding. Because by doing so they actually offer the resistance to the government as the government tries its best to restrict the protesters to reach those areas which are of primary importance for them. An example is the protest of April 6 during the Arab revolution in Egypt, when police was at the desired location even before the protesters (Ottaway & Hamzawy, 2011). Such studies brought into existence a bilateral relationship between police and protesters (Kritzer, 1977, McAdam, 1983, Tilly, 2015). Controlling the protests using police was quite convenient in the early times as the sharing of information between the users was accessible and under control of police (Porta, 1998).

The role that tweets play during a protest is a great point of importance as proved by the studies done upon twitter and protests. Garrett (2006) talks about the modern and latest information system saying that the news can now be shared and delivered during the protests. It is made possible by twitter as the protesters can even voice their views and disseminate information from the spot during the protests as events unfurl. It is a most

convenient platform of expressing the perspectives (Skemp, 2009) and a powerful tool of sharing the viewpoints as authorized by the academic research (Pak & Paroubek, 2010, O'Connor et al , 2010) Twitter is used by the protesters and activists to motivate, assemble and organize their followers, and to circulate the information in the fastest and extensive possible manner. By this course of action, they resist the limited and fabricated image of reality presented by traditional news media (McLeod & Hertog, 1992)

Bajpai & Jaiswal (2011) introduced a coding scheme which is used to classify the subject of tweets while observing online protests in Thailand. They got the idea by Smith's (2001) who made it easy to interpret the protest movements by setting some codes. In this research, this framework is designed in accordance with twitter. Therefore, according to us the tweets which belong to any movement are basically applied to

- Assemble and motivate the people to actively participate in the event
- Place arguments about the disputes between the activists and the government
- Discuss the strategies applied by PTI, resistance imposed by the government and counter strategies
- Deliver the real-time and on the spot information during protests
- Share the ideas and voice personal views
- Request for event updates
- Give reviews about the activities of government and protest leadership

Above mentioned coding scheme describe the purpose of twitter usage during protests. This coding scheme has been adapted to classify the tweets for analysis. The most important feature, according to our prediction, is that twitter certainly plays a vital role in delivering on the spot information right from the location of the event. Tweets present a

clear picture of the disputes between the activists and police and the steps taken by both which could be kept hidden by traditional media earlier. Police tries to scatter the protesters by applying its force and certainly the activists plan tactics to face this resistance by being well prepared and well planned (McPhail, Schweingruber & McCarthy, 1998)

A Protest movement can only be successful when its members are enthusiastic, fully motivated and strongly convinced to come out of their homes and face the challenges and mess on the roads to oppose the government. Twitter plays a crucial role by enabling the people to share anything they want the others to see, they can also change or add the matter posted by others. Twitter can play an important role and influence the protest movements in various manner. The first thing, twitter can do is the formation of protest movement in a pretty speedy manner. Once a movement came into existence, twitter can gather human resources towards it by boosting them to participate and voice their views freely. The last and most important step taken by twitter is to let everyone know about the protest and protestors by spreading information and updates about them.

It doesn't come to us simply that there is a protest going on, but it is conveyed in the form of discussion done by the people around us in a way that they are sharing a prevailing perception of moral offense. Hence, a strong platform is given to the people by twitter which puts a great impact on the protests development. People who are disappointed with the current government for any reason, first make it a part of their discussion and then realize that they are not only one who are displeased. When this general discussion enters in the second stage of organizing and assembling the protest and protesters, the twitter can affect an individual's determination to join the protest. This step can be done through several means which includes giving the people awareness regarding the venue and time

of protests psychologically provoking people to take active part, and updating the people about the actions that are expected by the individuals in their social networks. Lastly, live updates can be shared on twitter from the protest venue. Twitter can also be used to estimate the interest and number of protesters and the reaction of the government regarding protest.

2.3. Uses of Social Media Sentiment

According to Smeaton & Birmingham (2010), it is more convenient to categorize the sentiment in micro text than the larger documents. It was presented by them after a brief observation when they checked with micro text from the movie reviews etc. Later it was applied by few researchers with twitter posts. Since the users of twitter are allowed to share their views freely without any limits. That is the reason, messages on twitter are full of expressions and true feelings of its users.

The part being played by social media now a day on political activities in US, Middle East and other areas has created a big scope of research on excavating the online political speech. The exclusive importance of social media has been identified by a report in the Arab world on the "role of micro-blogging [Twitter] site" and "the part which is relatively being played by twitter in Tunisia, Egypt, and the rest of the Arab world" (Je□rey, 2011). Hence it has been proven undoubtedly that persuasive discussions of political debates (Nicholas and David, 2010) to the prediction of election results (Andranik et al , 2010), social media has a very crucial importance in political sentiment research.

Previously manual approach was common used for social media researches. Later automated content analysis programs were introduced to avoid biasness factor. One of

those programs is LIWC called "Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count 2007" (Penne baker, Booth, & Francis, 2007, Penne baker et al , 2007) In the past, LIWC has been used in various ways by researchers For instance how the language patterns experience changes after any stressful situation (Gortner & Penne baker, 2003, Stone & Penne baker, 2002) Also to study the differences between the communication of men and women (Newman et al , 2008), and to find out the trickery (Hancock et al , 2007, Newman et al , 2003)

So far, the relation between the usage of words and the mental process has been studied basically in the context of health But later on, the researchers started using the LIWC technique for the applications related to the politics, like terrorism Chung and penne baker have revised the study on psychological and social responses against terrorism And thus they found that "terrorism can have the unintended effects of encouraging affiliation, strengthening values, and reaffirming identities " Hence the study of Chung and penne baker on al Qaeda's text concludes the growing change in the language style of ayman al-Zawahiri and Osama bin laden Especially, al Zawahiri started using first person singular pronoun very frequently in his scripts and this, Chung and penne baker, believe enhanced the feelings of anxiety, danger and lack of trust LIWC has also been used to understand the swing in emotions soon after the great incident of fall of twin towers on 9/11 (Back, Kufner, 2010, Egloff, 2011) LIWC has been widely used to understand western political affairs but no other than west Hence, this tool based on computer is more effective to understand the public sentiments in closed societies

2.4. Social Media usage in Pakistan

With the passage of time, the availability of information has drastically improved and increased. Undoubtedly a vital role has been played by the internet. According to Moss Berger (2008, p 1), "Growing technology and times enabled the citizens to take part in society online." Generally, participation involves the citizens taking an active part in all the aspects that influence the society including donations, engaging in politics and striving to convince others (Kenski & Stroud, 2006)

The political and social environments have highly and appreciably affected the nature of internet usage. Undoubtedly, because of the growing pace, internet has become a major part of human life. People living in semi-democratic and non-democratic countries have been greatly benefited by the internet in terms of accessing information. A few examples of such countries are Georgia, Armenia and Ukraine who have been facing a great deal of problems in terms of discussion forum's absence, even then going ahead and trying to overcome such problems through internet (Freedom House, 2013b)

By definition, "Political participation refers to those activities by those private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing that selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take" (Verba, 1987 p 2). Political participation involves the interest of citizens towards the political activities such as voting, serving the community and organizing as well as attending a protest (Verba et al., 1995). While if we talk about public sphere, it involves the participation of anyone in any discussion or field of ideas. According to several theorists, simple discussion or conversations done in public sphere puts a great impact on political actions and finally head towards a valuable harmony or agreement.

between state and citizens (Habermas, 1989, Dahlgren, 2005) which has now taken the form of social media

The usage of social networking sites is drastically increasing in Pakistan. Social media in Pakistan encourages the conversation and discussions about politics as well. Within six months duration from late 2010 to early 2011, surprisingly the number of Facebook users became twice. The number of Facebook accounts increased by one million between August 2011 and January 2012. Twitter is also becoming one of the most commonly used platform. According to survey, the micro-blogging platform proved to be at tenth rank due to its usage in June 2010 which was at rank 14th in 2009. Hundred most worth following Twitter accounts list was issued by foreign policy in June 2012, which also included names of Pakistan's renown individuals such as former ambassador to the U.S. Husain Haqqani, author Mohammed Hanif, journalist Omar Waraich and government adviser Musharraf Zaidi. Furthermore, the number of people who can approach the social media in Pakistan is increasing constantly as huge increase witnessed in the number of internet users since 2009.

The usage of internet in Pakistan has not been analysed properly and that's why there is very minimum number of research found on it. We can have a glance view of internet users within Pakistan through an online survey conducted by the renowned Pakistan's media namely *the Express Tribune* and *Express Urdu* websites. In consideration of acquiring a vast and heterogeneous audience both websites used their social media accounts as well to get the more generalized facts. The data for the survey was collected over the period of July 28-29, 2013. 1100 respondents have given the feedback in which half number of respondents comprised of 18-25 years old individuals, followed along with 25-35 year olds.

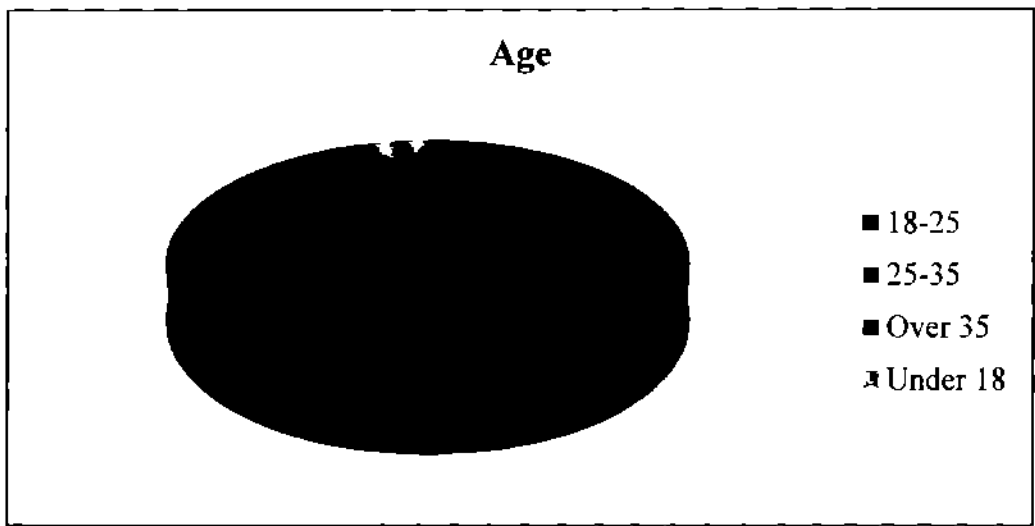


Figure 1: Representing internet users' age of Pakistan's people including men and women

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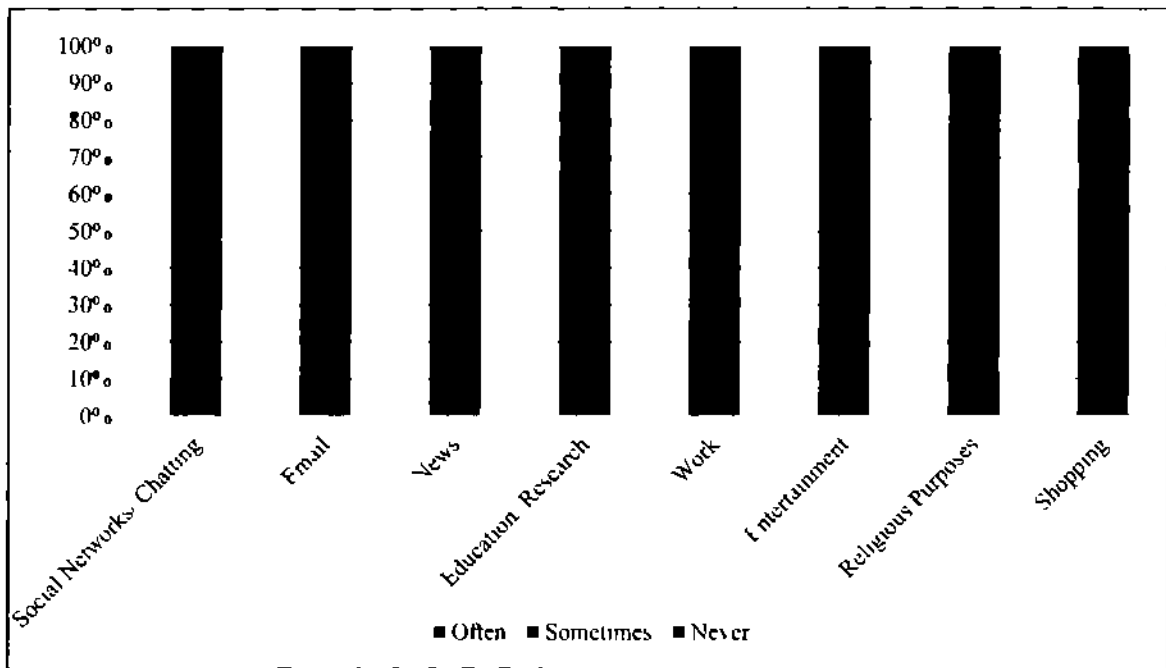


Figure 2: Representing Purposes of internet Usage in Pakistan.

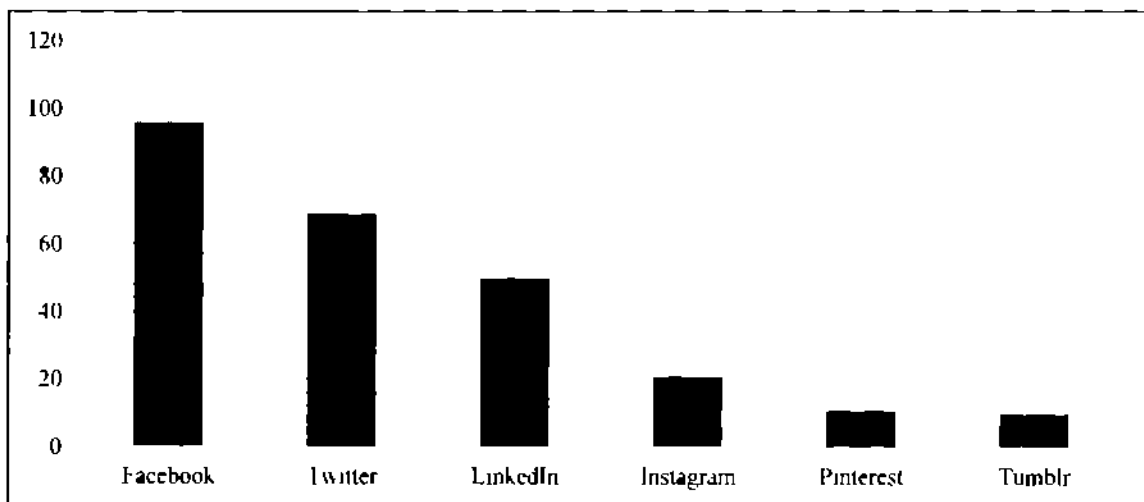


Figure 3: Representing use of social networks in Pakistan.

According to Masood (2013), the rise and emergence of social media can also be witnessed by observing the elections 2013 when social media specifically twitter used as a campaigning and mobilization tool Mc Kenzie (2013) used the word 'social media election' for the elections 2013 in Pakistan According to him it was the first time when the renowned, ruling and opposition political parties including PMLN, PPP, MQM and PTI used Facebook and Twitter for political purposes They used social media to promote election campaign and to remain in contact with their supporters and other citizens before, during and after the elections In this way social media put down a political revival in Pakistan during this election by playing an active role through internet campaigning

The surprising fact is that the well-known politicians of Pakistan are still connected to twitter despite of election campaign and the number of their followers is increasing An example is the leader of PTI, Imran Khan who was earlier a very well-known cricketer is now actively using twitter and has around 300,000 followers Similarly, Mr Shahbaz Sharif, an active member of PML-N boasts nearly 35,000 followers, although Mr Rahman Malik, the interior Minister, also enjoys almost the same number of followers on twitter as

Mr Shahbaz Sharif Moving towards another example is again a well-known personality. Syed Munawar Hassan, who is the leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, has newly joined twitter got around 3,000 followers. It refers to the significance of Social media which is certainly helping these people to stay connected to their supporters and followers (Taha Siddiqui, 2012)

According to the point of view of the PTI's general secretary, Social media is a low-cost source enabling the cheap and convenient campaigning. This low-cost source has become a vital part of today's politics and the politicians are seeking a great help of this source for different purposes. For instance in June 2012, an important discussion was done between PTI officials and Google chief executive Eric Schmidt regarding social media use with subject to political stance in Pakistan (Ahmed Farooq, 2012). A renowned parliamentarian belonging PPP says that twitter is the source of providing her the feedback from the voters about projected charter or legislation. Moreover, social media is also used for measuring and estimating the public views by his party, says one opposition Parliament member, for example one can analyse the public sentiment about violence by developing a trend of the Twitter hash tag "Lyari" (an area of Karachi affected by violent incidents)

In a NOREF (Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre) report Michael Kugelman (2012) conducted survey of social media in Pakistan. He presented in this report that Pakistan's social media tools are being used for five main purposes. Pakistan's citizens use social media to break such stories which were not given proper attention by traditional media, to assemble and motivate the people regarding protests by providing information, to boost human rights and charitable efforts by social interaction and publicizing it, to argue

publicly in order to support social causes, and to encourage communication between politicians and their supporters

2.5. Theoretical Framework

Several scholars have provided overviews on what they perceive to be the most influential or distinct social movement theories Dalton (1994) has typified five approaches the classic (collective behavior) perspective, the resource mobilization perspective, the perspective of the political opportunity structure, the ideologically structured perspective, and the discourse or social constructionist perspective The theory suits best with our thesis topic is resource mobilization theory

Resource mobilization theory largely developed from studies of collective action during the 1960s, gaining prominence throughout the 1970s and 1980s Resource mobilization theory explains the ways used by the social movements to organize the resources within and outside of their movement, to meet the objectives (Jenkins, 1983) The Resource mobilization approach concentrates on micro level aspects of social movements, i.e., organizational structures and tactics of protest groups It examines how Social movements are systematized and take place their actions practically (Fuchs, 2006)

Resource mobilization theory enlightens the importance of appropriate utilization of resources along with expansion of political opportunities for the participants in order to get the social movements succeeded When talking about resources, it involves both material and non-material resources Material resources include money, organizations, manpower, technology, means of communication, and mass media, while non-material resources

include legitimacy, loyalty, social relationships, networks, personal connections, public attention, authority, moral commitment, and solidarity (Fuchs 2006)

According to Resource mobilization theory, the social movement organizations that have no power or possess poor legatee certainly need help from outside in the form of funding. Members of social movement organizations can be classified into two types: conscience constituents and beneficiary constituents. Conscience constituents are the ones that provide resources to Social movements. Conscience constituents allude to the objective of an individual or movement. The responsibility of mounting the message of social movement is over the shoulder of social movement and media. According to the logicians of Resource mobilization, when the social movement or media mounts the legatees in order to enlighten the similarities with conscience constituents, the contribution of conscience constituents is even more (Paulsen & Glumm, 1995)

Generally, two social movement theories are known namely personal change movements (such as sect and communes) and institutional change movements (such as the labor movement). However, the resource mobilization theory restricts social movements to transforming the social structure and distributing the resources in society. It concentrates upon the links between social movements, conventional actions, the coherent approach of actors in social movements, and the possibility of introducing the social change by social movements. The value and power of the dynamic leadership that is pretty important for motivating the participants to utilize the resources, is also identified by the Resource mobilization theory (Fuchs, 2006)

The movement may require its members to address in special ways, boycott certain products, pay dues, attend marches or rallies, recruit new members, and use new language. Although types of resources vary among social movements, the availability of applicable resources, and of actors' abilities to use them effectively, are critical. In contrast to psychological variables considered by other social movement theories, resource mobilization theory was the first to recognize the importance of influences *outside* the social movement under study (Johnson, 2000)

2.6. Research Questions

The aim of this research is to analyse the platform of social media as a tool used to share sentiments regarding Azadi March protest. For this purpose, below mentioned research questions have been developed

R₁: Whether and to what extent twitter plays role in bringing protestors in the streets?

R_{1a}: What were the significant themes of tweets during Azadi March?

R_{1b}: What were the trends regarding use of Twitter during Azadi March protest and sit-in?

R₂: What type of sentiments shared during the specified tenure?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In order to take the public sentiment, a great number of methodologies have been utilized by the investigators earlier including face to face conversation or telephonic conversation, focus groups etc. Among those methods, since a long period of time, Survey has been noticeable method to find out what's in people's minds. Survey is a method in which a particular group of people is selected and the data based on their views is collected through an appropriate questionnaire. Based on the types of data, several revival techniques have been brought under notice, sentiment analysis is one of them. Sentiment analysis refers to "Sentiment analysis is the field of study that analyses people's sentiments, evaluations, appraisals, attitudes, and emotions towards entities such as products, services, organizations, individuals, issues, events, topics, and their attributes" (Bing, 2012)

In this research, sentiment analysis has been conducted in order to get the sentiments regarding Azadi March. Besides, sentiment analysis also provides opportunity to find the themes and trends regarding use of twitter during the protest. For this purpose, an automated content analysis program LIWC (Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count) was used to analyse the sentiments of twitter users through gathered data. This tool helps in analysing huge number of social media posts within few seconds.

A great feature of LIWC is that it focuses more on the implicit meanings of the posts. The purpose behind the use of this tool is to interpret the patterns of the context, enabling the analyst to read between the lines and understand the psychological state of people through their words. All word categories can be informative in this regard, how people

communicate and express themselves largely depends on the function words they use pronouns, prepositions, social words, conjunctions, and auxiliary verbs (Chung & Pennebaker, 2007)

3.1. Variables

The use of social media specifically Facebook and Twitter has transformed the outdated way of organizing social movements by dissemination of more unbiased knowledge, less social networking costs, and rapidity in information exchange keeping anonymity factor The term “social movements” can be defined as “group actions” which are organized by individuals or groups to attain a mutual goal (Jenkins 1983, Tarrow & Tollefson 1994) Moreover, the term “social media” can be defined as communication among humans by means of internet In this communication humans may be involved as the active creators of online content, users, and disseminators (Burgess and Green 2013, Green and Jenkins 2011) To analyse the interrelation between social media and social movement we have examined three variables including themes of tweets, sentiments shared through tweets and trends of tweets

3.1.1. Themes of tweets

Themes of tweets helped in categorizing the tweets posted on twitter during the protest For the themes of tweets, Jackie Smith’s set of codes has been taken which developed in 2001 Her analysis was based on mobilization of movement actors and how these members acted in World Trade Organization protest The first three categories of tweets’ themes mobilization, tactics and leadership, are fairly straightforward in that they are dominant aspects of most social movements The clashes and disruption categories overlap to a

degree, however, the clashes category (referred to by users as a “crackdown”) concerns itself primarily with the engagement of protestors with government actors such as the police and alike forces, whereas the disruption category reflects on the effect of protest activities on civic life

The Information Seeking, and Reportage categories are particular to the new media format. The Information Seeking category encompasses the variety of activities users engaged in to seek information regarding the protests, as well as, to clarify and translate emerging information. The Reportage category describes tweets which contain generative localized content in terms of eye-witness accounts in form of text. Lastly, the Media category covers reflections on mainstream media coverage, such as the tweet posted by celebrity appealing for peace, and also emotion based messages

3.1.2. Sentiments shared through tweets

The categories of sentiments shared through tweets are defined by chosen automated program for sentiment analysis namely LIWC. LIWC has its own default dictionary according to which it categorize the words. Basically LIWC default dictionary consists of near about 80 categories in which we have selected six categories to analyse. Each category of LIWC is comprised of a list of relevant words that fall in that category. Like we have taken first-person singular pronouns category which contains 12 words, second-person and plural pronouns category contains 42 words, positive emotions category contains 406 words, negative emotions category contains 499 words, anger category contains 184 words, and social category contains 455 words. Few examples of words contained in each category are given below. These categories predict the sentiments of people while posting the tweets

For instance, higher the use of words fall in category of positive emotion predicts positive emotions towards the protest and if use of words fall in category of negative emotions presents negative emotions of twitter users towards the protest. Similarly, using more first person singular pronoun expresses the feelings of anxiety and depression whereas words fall in plural pronoun and social words category indicates connection between the twitter users regarding protest. These emotions shared through tweets lit up their intentions to raise voice and form social movement.

3.1.3. Trends of tweets

Finally, the trends of tweets explore the interest taken by protesters regarding event which also boosts their political participation. Their interest can be measured by determining the number of tweets that users posted during the event. The higher frequency of tweets posted indicates the higher rate of interest and twitter users' level of engagement. When the level of twitter users' involvement decreases the frequency of tweets would be decreased as well. The operational definitions of variables are presented in Table 1.

3.2. Data Collection

The primary data collection task involved assembling relevant tweets, i.e. messages regarding the Azadi March Protests, and archiving these tweets in a format that is conducive for analysis

3.2.1. Sample Construction

Data based on keywords specific to the Azadi March protest was collected over four-month period from July 2014 to October 2014. Population taken for the research was the twitter users only. The data has been collected using the keywords “joinazadimarch” and “#azadimarch”. The choice of keywords is simplified by the tendency of social movement to adopt or be associated with a particular #hashtag on the Twitter medium. Moreover, structural coding scheme was adapted for data collection purpose which resulted in 4941 tweets as a final sample to analyse. The categories of structural coding scheme adapted from the classification scheme developed by Earl (2006) for the purpose of establishing the criteria for selection of protest tweets, which is as under

- Is the tweet relevant?
- Is the tweet providing information about the protest?
- Is the tweet appealing for action?
- Is the tweet expressing an opinion?
- Is the tweet asking a question?
- What is the subject of the tweet?

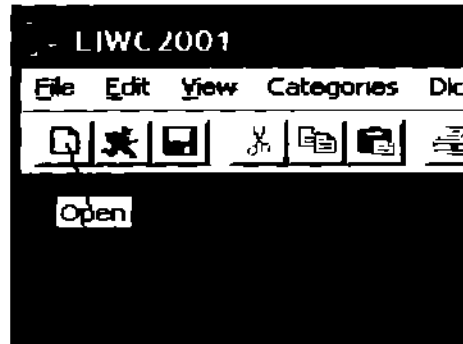
3.2.2. Sampling Technique

The sampling technique used to gather sample tweets was the topic based random sampling. Twitter supplies randomly sampled tweets publicly from its firehose for free, these randomly sampled tweets are originally known as Spritzer. Sticking to this method first of all we decided keywords related to our topic Azadi March to avoid unnecessary tweets and adapted structural coding scheme to avoid irrelevant conversational tweets. To obtain sample of tweets, we used the randomly sampled tweets publicly available on topsy site and hashtag strategy for the months of July 2014 to October 2014.

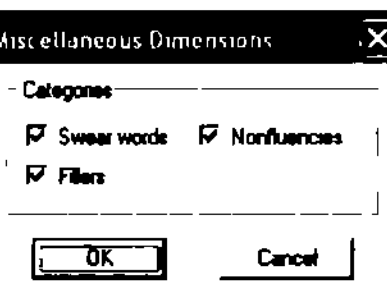
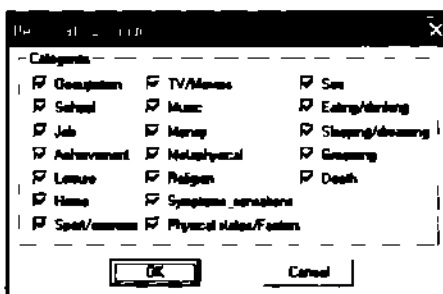
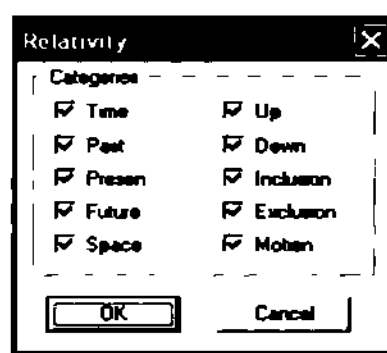
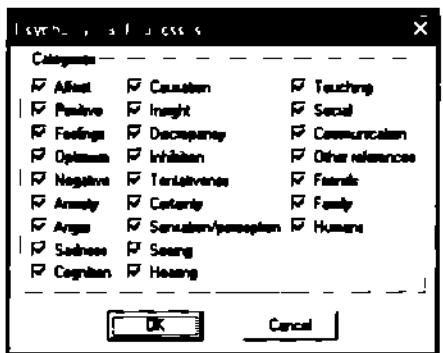
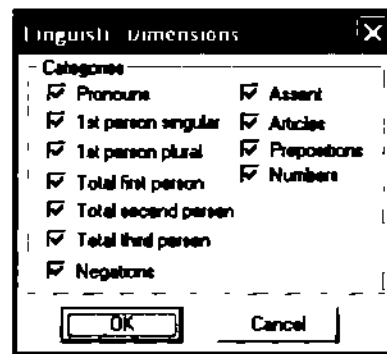
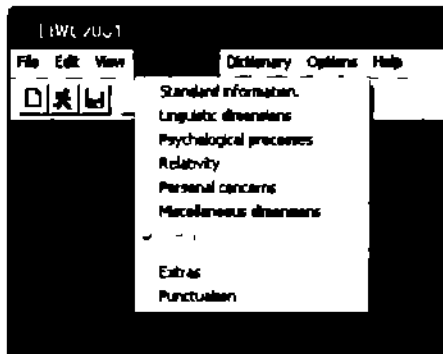
3.3. Data Analysis

The collected tweets specifically archived in a word document. After this data is necessarily amended and prepared for auto analysis by LIWC software. LIWC uses .txt or ASCII files for analysis. Files must be checked before analysis which means correct U.S. spelling that's why corrections of spelling were made, abbreviations were given the form of meaningful spell-out i.e. IK for Imran Khan, ISB for Islamabad, NS for Nawaz Sharif, & for and, plz for please, u for you, r for are and some "Non-Fluency" words used in roman English were replaced by their alternatives i.e. dharna with sit-in, jalsa with procession, karkun with workers/ activists, inqilab with revolution. After spell check data is ready for sentiment analysis. For this purpose, LIWC has already been installed. Following steps were taken for automatic analysis of tweets and finally we had the required results which were later shifted to the excel file.

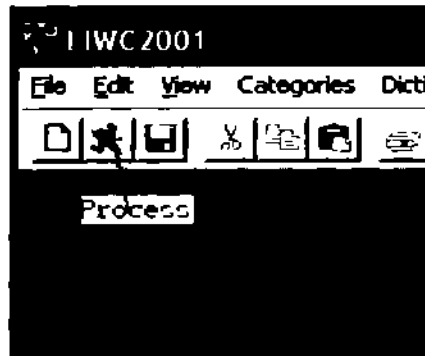
Step 1: Then file was opened in LIWC which allows to read/edit the text within LIWC



Step 2: Each of the categories can be turned on/off with a checkbox



Step 3: Then the process button was pressed which runs the text analysis



Step 4: After analysis LIWC presented the results in quantitative plain text form which were placed in xls file (Spreadsheet) The file was "Tab-Delimited" meaning that importing it into an SPSS data file is quite simple

The screenshot shows the results window of the LIWC 2001 software. The window title is 'LIWC 2001'. The results are displayed in a tab-delimited text format. The data is as follows:

Filename	Segment	N	Wp	Words	Diagn	Dis	Stacy	Diectp	Inhib
msynsey Fall Test Lec	1.00	117643	37.43	0.18	5.74	75.81	12.28	1.88	0.27
Amcid Fall Test cxc	1.00	101279	32.74	0.31	0.54	44.03	14.38	0.84	0.42
Reexam1.txt	1.00	23726	25.19	0.03	15.74	42.97	13.84	1.18	0.48

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS & FINDINGS

The software namely LIWC used for analysis in this research focused on scrutinizing the tweets about the Azadi March posted by people. Certain categories of words were used in these tweets which conveyed the attitude or emotion of those who posted the tweets. LIWC has its established dictionary according to which it observed the tweets. In this research the theme and trends of tweets posted during the four months period and sentiments behind those tweets following the Azadi March 2014 were examined to gain insight into how people may have felt during the event. The collected data processed with LIWC, gave quantitative output which then interpreted in qualitative form to explain it in a better way. Table 2 enlists the word categories that have been studied to gain insight into the Azadi March and describes how we interpreted the attitude or mood expressed.

Table 2: Word Categories indicating Sentiments, Moods and their Interpretation

Word Categories	Attitude or Mood Expressed
First-person singular pronouns	Feelings of depression within the population
Second-person and Plural pronouns	An intent and desire to interact with others and a sense of collective identity and coping with shared trauma
Positive emotions	Feeling generally good or happy
Negative emotions	The degree to which people have been affected
Anger words	Frustration, abusive or curse
Social Words	That make reference to other people and feeling of socially connected

Computer-based LIWC software enabled to extract a number of conclusions about the attitude and mood of Twitter users during Azadi March period. Here the writing patterns

adopted by people while posting tweets on the Azadi March have been presented, to judge what these patterns proposed about public mood. In this chapter, public mood is explored mainly by two ways, first through general indicators used by public in their tweets posted across the four months during the Azadi March. These indicators display the extent to which people used emotion-laden words, such as anger, social words, pronouns, etc. Secondly, through the context of tweets – the purpose for what people posted their tweets – according to the content coding scheme.

4.1. Public Mood throughout the Four Months during the Azadi March

Based on indicators of emotional states from the Azadi March Twitter archive, one can gain an overall picture of how Twitter users' mood changed across the duration of the four months following the protest.

Table 3: Shows grand means of public mood during Azadi March protest

Word Categories (representing moods)	Grand Means
Social	7 946644
Anger	0 81438
Pronoun (first person singular)	1 439103
Pronoun (Second-person and Plural)	0 934924
Positive Emotions	8 325371
Negative Emotions	2 207337

From the above table, we can state that positive emotions regarding Azadi March remain higher during the four months. Twitter users posted their doubts, anger, and criticizing tweets as well, but their number was very low as compared to the social and positive word categories.

4.1.1. Use of Social Words on Twitter during Azadi March

Social words (e.g., us, talk, friends etc.) constitute a set of indicators that tracked with events during Azadi March protest. Across social category we examined over time, people increased their usage of social words (signalling feeling of socially connected) from last ten days of July (21st July-31st July) to the first ten days of August (1st August-10th August). In these days preparation of protest was in full swing which may have caused people to increase their usage of social words, such as motivating others to take stand and join them in the protest. For example,

"Dear Friends join us against Corruption and Save Pakistan at Imran Khan's Freedom March"

'PTI sit-in at Sea View Tomorrow Tuesday, Join Us with Families and Friends'

As protest began the use of social words decreased to some extent because people started sharing their personal emotions. Later during the last ten days of August (21st August-31st August) use of social words increased once again during the clashes phase to show unity. Even they used elevated level of social words to be connected throughout this period of mass protest because after clashes the protestors have been arrested and put into the jail. Then demonstrations from different areas have been organized to get favor by large number of people and pressurize the government.

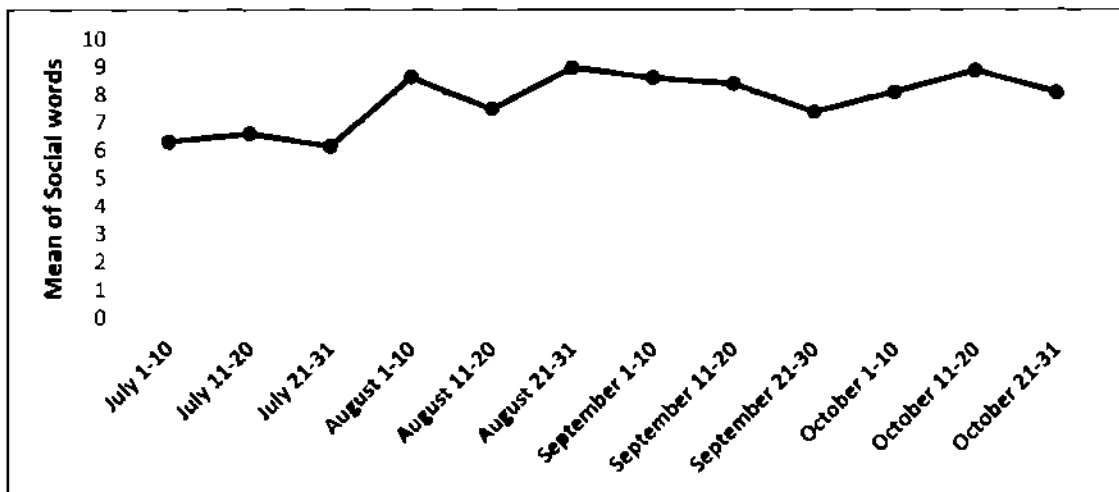


Figure 4: Use of Social Words during Azadi March

4.1.2. Use of Pronouns on Twitter during Azadi March

An extensive amount of research on how people react after traumatic events has focused on the way they write and, specifically, their use of first-person, second-person, and third-person pronouns. Use of first-person singular pronouns (e.g., "I," "me," "mine") has been shown to signify a focus on one's self, which is interpreted in this context as generally negative or depressive states (Pennebaker and Chung, 2005), while use of first-person plural (e.g., "we," "us"), second-person singular or plural (e.g., "you," "your"), and third-person singular or plural (e.g., "he," "she," "they") signifies a focus on interactions with others. Linguistically, people signal their increased concern with social dynamics after event by making more frequent references to other people, such as by using more second-person, third-person, and first-person plural pronouns.

Across each of the pronoun categories we examined over time, there were up and down states of depression among the twitter users while intent to stay connected with others remain almost same throughout the whole protest. As Figure shows, people increased their

usage of first-person singular pronouns (signalling feelings of depression) when the month of August started. At this time people were in doubt about the success of Azadi March protest. For example,

'I trust that Pakistan Army won't stand against Pakistan Nation Freedom March for the traitors and fiends in Pakistan''

But it reduced when people joined it above the expectation level and removed the hurdles. Later this depression level increased again after the clashes of 31st August night and in the month of October. Majority of twitter users felt depressed due to government's performance, their intensive crackdown on protesters and protesters' irresponsible attitude.

"I hope all the news of tonight's crackdown would be proven wrong. I pray that nothing such would happen! God help freedom march protestors'

'I think all of the protesters want Martial Law, not democracy''

At the same time, the usage of plural pronouns suggests that people focused on their interactions with others in the social environment even during these tense days.

"I pray objectives of people gathered at Freedom Square gets fulfilled. After a long time our country has awoken.'

Although usage of first-person singular pronoun dropped after the first week of August and September when sit-in demonstrations were going peacefully. However usage of first-person singular pronouns again dropped in October but it did not appear large enough to be significant. Among twitter users, combination of these patterns during Azadi March protest suggests that they felt dissatisfied with their circumstances and could potentially have been conformable to protesting at a later time.

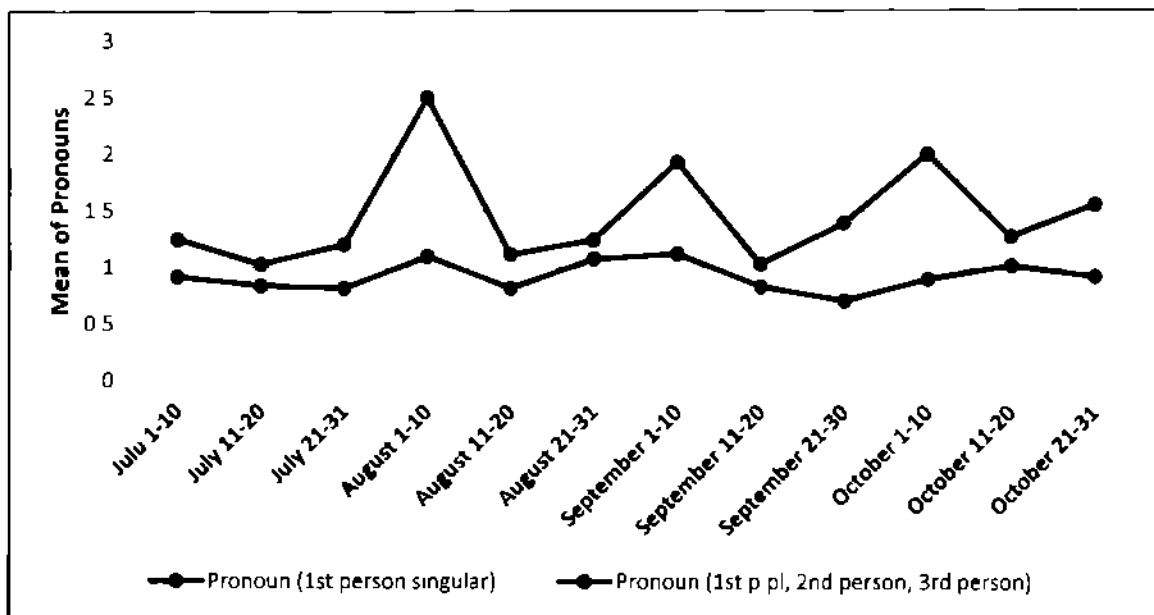


Figure 5: Use of Pronouns on Twitter during Azadi March

4.1.3. Patterns in anger expressed on Twitter

Expressing anger (e.g., hate, kill annoyed etc.) in tweets constitute another set of indicators that tracked during Azadi March protest. In the beginning of protest anger level in people's tweets was found to some extent when hurdles were being made for PTI activists passing through the areas where PML-N party office was located but this rate of anger was low, because at that time they were enthusiastically motivating others to take stand against corrupt system by joining the protest. Anger among the twitter users during the protest can be noted at the mid of the figure. For example, in the days of clashes people have shown their anger in significantly higher rates (i.e., 21st August – 21st September)

' Brutality at its peak I mean they are actually dragging people out of cars and beating them '

' I hate Imran Khan, he is spoiling Pakistan and politics ''

As protest rocked the country throughout the months of August and September, people expressed their anger at the highest levels suggesting that they felt angry during this tenure over the disturbance in civil life due to protest, government's response regarding the protest by tightening the security at red zone with the help of police, rangers and armed forces, and to make realize that they are free to do protest peacefully in a democratic country

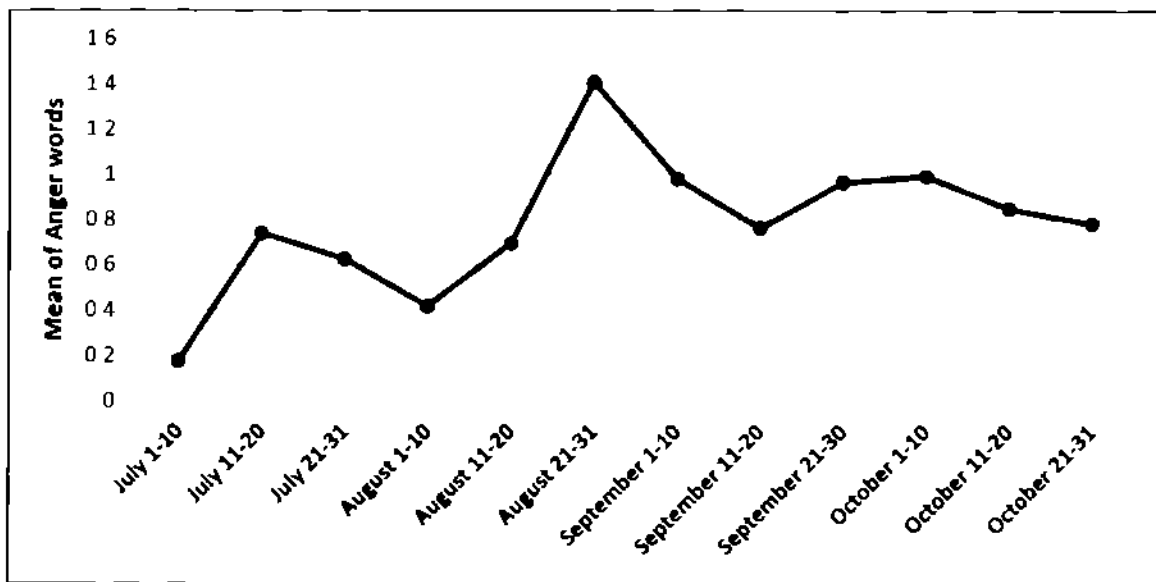


Figure 6: Patterns in anger expressed on Twitter

4.1.4. Expression of Positive Emotions

Twitter users wrote the most positive expressions about the Azadi March in the initial weeks. During July to starting ten days of August (July 1st – August 10th), specifically, the most common positive-emotion words that Twitter users used regarding the March were “join” and “support.” Examples of tweets with these words appear below

“If you want to see new Pakistan then come to join the freedom march with Imran Khan on 14 August in Islamabad”

' Imran khan is real hero Please try your best to support him and join freedom march with Great Spirit '

After this initial outpouring of support for the Azadi March, the trend in positive emotion words levelled off in the last ten days of August. It was due to traumatic circumstances when people posted more pessimistic tweets regarding government's tactics to stop the protestors. People also criticized the unexpected announcement of civil disobedience movement. Later positive expressions raised once again remaining relatively consistent and high throughout the rest of the period examined. From the perspective of Azadi March, people wrote with relatively optimistic approach and positive expressions. They shared real time tweets in favor of protest motivating others to join with them and if they were unable to join physically, they boost up the protestors' morale and showed their support by their tweets. For example,

"Want to Stay Beggar? Who want to become a Donor join Freedom March" Choice is yours"

"I wish I could go Pakistan to join Freedom March but I can pray for them"

Many of the twitter users wrote in support of Imran Khan (leader of Azadi March protest)

They appeared to be intensely interested in joining Azadi March

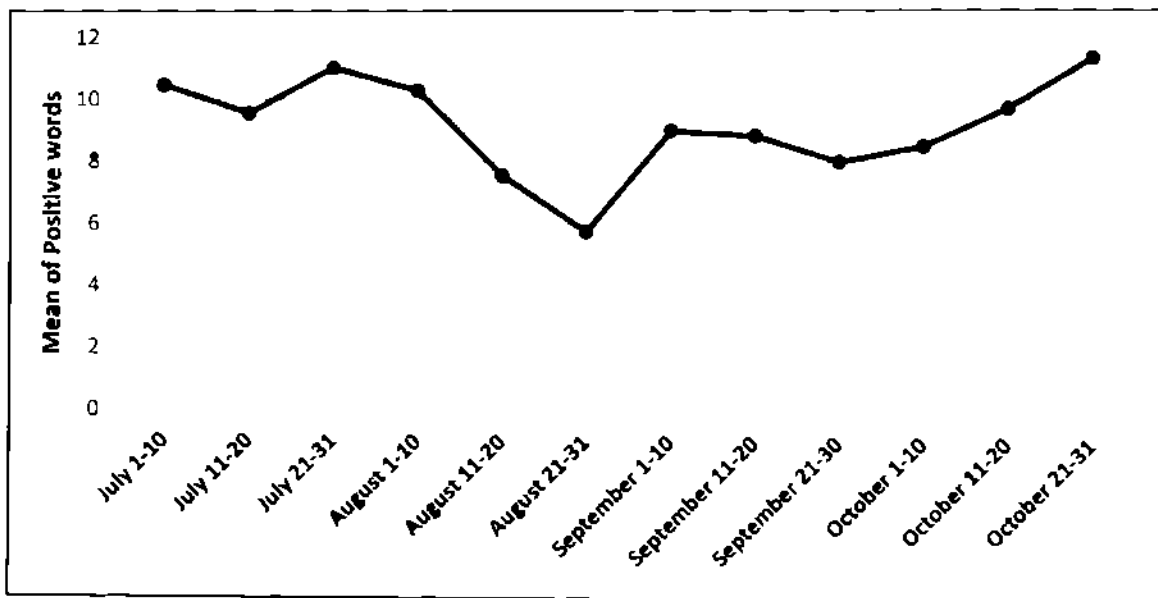


Figure 7: Expression of Positive Emotions

The pattern of results suggests that as of the end of the period examined (i.e., from September 20th and onwards), Twitter users posted tweets expressing positive emotions once again because Azadi March protest extended to different areas of Pakistan

4.1.5. Expression of Negative Emotions

In the beginning of protest, twitter users also raised negative emotions against Azadi March but it was at low level. They considered Azadi March as time wasting activity which will bring no change in the system. For example,

‘We don’t need any Freedom March. No need of PTI March’

There were other twitter users as well who posted negative statements against the government at the same time

‘I voted for change, but my vote changed by corrupt government!’

According to the findings twitter users showed less negative sentiment towards Azadi March protest but considerable anger towards the government that strictly tried to stop the protestors We analysed it on the basis of the results which suggest that expressions of negative emotion spiked at the end of August when government took brutal actions against protestors

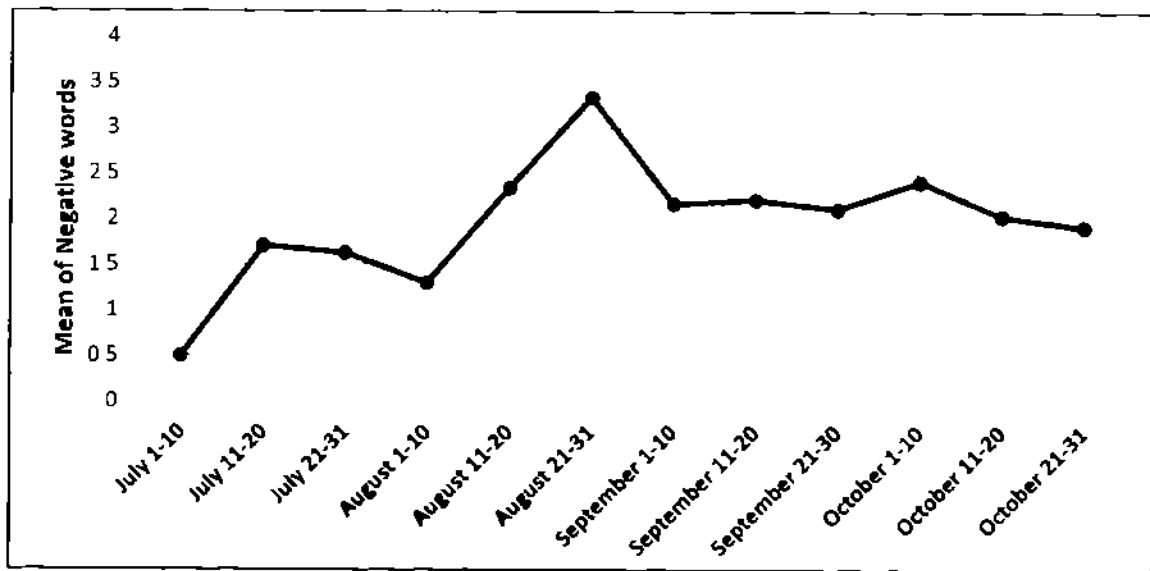


Figure 8: Expression of Negative Emotions

4.2. Context of Tweets

Table 4: Showing no. of tweets placed for different purposes

	No. of Tweets				Grand Total
	July	August	September	October	
Mobilization	463	1170	441	38	2112
Tactics	26	103	23	9	161
Leadership	93	297	143	48	581
Disruption	6	124	56	8	194
Clashes	14	325	128	7	474
Information Seeking	20	115	74	14	223
Reportage	18	866	103	28	1015
Media	29	101	37	14	181
Grand Total	669	3,101	1,005	166	4941

July to October 2014 were marked by protests marches and sit-in on the public streets and squares in different cities of Pakistan. All the way through internet specifically twitter played an important role. It supported primarily in carrying out the protestors and activists into the thoroughfares by conveying whereabouts of demonstrations i.e. time and locations for convenience.

Join Imran Khan in Multan Freedom March at Qasim Bagh Stadium on Friday 10 October 2014 at 3pm

Tweets were posted for the purpose of **mobilization** throughout the Azadi March to engage more and more people in order to bring a revolutionary change in Pakistan and to indicate the massive support with Azadi March.

We have to be fearless. We have to take chances. We can't live life just being afraid of kingdom. That's not what living is about.

Such tweets were posted to motivate the public to take stand for their rights and to raise voice against the government. In the month of July and August tweets ratio of mobilizing and assembling protesters was high to gather huge public at Islamabad sit-in. Later in September, amassing expanded from Islamabad to different cities and call for protests within the cities. Finally in the end of October mobilization took the form of donation accumulation. During the protest activists also used to share the **tactics** suggesting others that how they can make the march successful. These posts contained awareness, warnings, and recommendations to get over the problems and remove the hurdles.

Please convey message to all those who will join Freedom March start stocking Gas and Petrol/ Diesel Pumps will be definitely closed for'

Tactics used by the government were also conveyed to the coming protesters to avoid difficulties in joining Azadi march. Mostly tactics based tweets were posted in August when the police was allocated and containers were fixed to keep the protesters under control or to stop them joining Azadi march. Due to these tactics protesters also criticized the opponent **leadership** for such undemocratic acts. Moreover, protesters also boosted up their leader and showed their support with him but posting pertinent tweets.

Imran Khan has taught us never to give up dreams. So never we will. Keep hopes with Freedom March

People constantly posted tweets to criticize and favour their leader during the four months of protest. Protesters found sensitive to their leader in giving remarks when faced the criticism of others on the subject of Azadi march. While talking about demonstration and sit-in many people criticized it as it caused **disruption** in their daily routine life. The vacations of school extended, stock market crashed down, and people faced difficulty in purchasing food items as the barriers and containers were fixed those days. Some people asked to call off this Azadi march due to the social and economic disturbance in Pakistan.

Residents of Islamabad and Rawalpindi are feeling the impact of Freedom March – it is getting more difficult to get some food items

In addition, people also posted tweets about the **clashes** occurred during the protests. When police as well as PTI activists and protesters of Azadi march were in direct confrontation, it left many people concerned. They posted tweets to sympathize with the injured and survivors despite of party affiliation. Protesters reported clashes in real time as well and asked for the prayers. At that time feeling of do or die was evincible in protesters' tweets.

Police open fire indiscriminately on men/ women/ babies Hospitals declare emergency in Islamabad. This is democracy in Pakistan

These clashes had been reported mostly in the end of August and start of September when protesters decided to move ahead in Red zone towards Prime Minister's house. Due to security it is not allowed to enter in that premises that's why armed forces were assigned there to stop protesters. When protesters did not abide by their orders, they threw tear gas and rubber bullets to stop them forcefully. This act made protesters violent and dispersed. Furthermore, clashes between PTI and PML-N had also been witnessed through their tweets when protesters were crossing the area where office of PML-N is located.

During the whole protest **information seeking** tweets had also been observed. People were curious to know about the updates of Azadi March. They also wanted to know the assembling point, time and others' point of view to take decision. Such posts were found more when the protest was on its peak. The purpose behind these posts was to get updates from the protesters because people were confused where to get true and unbiased picture of Freedom March as all Media channels were running their personal agenda.

How's the crowd looking in Islamabad? Have you got a big group to join you towards Freedom March?

Next is the **reportage** feature through which protesters were posting tweets from the location of demonstration and sit-in. They were updating others as well who were not able to participate in Azadi march due to some reasons. They were showing the true picture of Azadi march as they were the eye witnesses and ordinary people who were reporting as it is about the protesters, their excitement, activities on the spot and clashes.

Huge crowd Much excitement Take that Sharif brothers!

Last category of tweets is **media**, by which people discussed popular public opinion about leaders specifically and about the media coverage of whole protest

R1: Whether and to what extent twitter plays role in bringing protestors into the streets?

The overall themes of tweets represent that protestors motivated each other during the whole protest. The number of tweets posted for the purpose of mobilization was higher among all the other purposes and trends of tweets signified that they went side by side with the protest. After analysing themes and trends of tweets it cannot be said that people came on streets due to twitter but one cannot deny this fact as well that twitter played vital role in assembling the protesters and prolonged the Azadi March to this duration.

R1a: What were the significant themes of tweets during Azadi March?

Twitter played very important role during Azadi March. People described very personal and emotional reactions about the Azadi March. Since its beginning supporters of Azadi March were mobilizing through social platforms to make maximum number of participants in the march. Later on the subject of tweets mirrored the occurrences during March. People also posted real time tweets. The tweets were focused on advance towards red zone, supporting protestors, supporting or rejecting civil disobedience movement, asking for resignation of Prime Minister and effects of the Azadi march. People shared their sorrows, patronage, information as it was unfolding, and helped each other. Seekers of information were helped by large numbers of tweets. For example, a request to others to get updates of March and sit-in.

R1b: What was the trend regarding use of Twitter during Azadi March protest and sit-in?

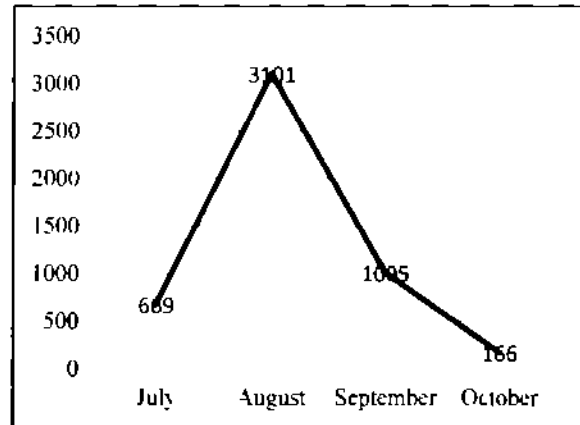
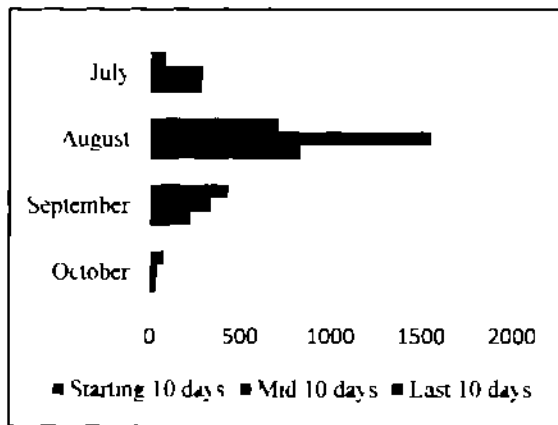


Figure 9: Number of Tweets per Month

Figure 10: Number of Tweets during Freedom March

I found low level of tweets in the early days of July (n=669), when protestors were demanding verification of four constituencies which was ignored then by the government and hence brought protestors on the roads. There was a high level of tweets in the month of August (n=3101) as the march started, taken form of sit-in and thus touched its peak. By the end of the study period, tweets declined to the lowest level again in the months of September (n=1005) and October (n=166), influencing that people were no longer interested in having a conversation on the topic.

R2: What type of sentiments shared during the specified time duration?

The dominant interest to this study is the types of words people used in their discussions during the months following the protest. Based on the tweets about Azadi March, the word categories of four months from July to October, 2014, were collected. Although LIWC provides analysis of data for more than 70 categories, I focus in the analyses of the

following comparisons. Firstly, I examined differences in use of the words "I" and "we" by the people who posted the tweets. These words were selected to give insight of the degree to which participants were using inclusive language and to examine shifts in the use. Secondly, I examined differences in the use of positive and negative emotion words. Finally, I examined anger and social words to explore differences in the cognitive processes reflected by the use of these words.

Table 2 represents method of interpretation of word categories used in the tweets. The result of grand mean is interpreted according to the table. It has been evaluated that grand mean of use of words i.e., first person singular pronoun found greater than the second person and plural pronouns, which indicate that there was feeling of depression within the population during Azadi March protest. People got depressed due to clashes in that tenure. Similarly, in the case of positive and negative emotion words, grand mean of positive words used in tweets found far greater than the negative words. This indicates that people felt optimistic regarding Azadi March and fulfilment of the demands. Finally, grand mean of anger and social words indicate that some amount of frustration was also found in the tweets analysed, but the rate of feelings of social connection was very high.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Media is said to be the fourth pillar of a state. This very important pillar of the society is usually owned by some elites of the society. Therefore, a fair, unbiased and free of any affiliation expression is normally not possible naturally. The nature of affiliation might be political or social. In Pakistan contemporary media has been given a free space to serve the society in respect of educating and informing the members of society of what they don't know. Since this is not happening purely. It looks like media is more interested in generating new discourses of their own interest or what it thinks is the most valuable to it.

In Pakistan there is no other platform than the social media for the people response on issues discussed on media. If we say that the social media has given a chance to the masses to share their sentiments with the social members of the society would not be wrong. In other words, social media has become their mouth piece. A bourgeois society in electronic format has come into shape virtually. Social media though, is an open forum for every member of the society to express since it is also used by some elites. Twitter is an engine of discovery for finding out what is happening right now.

Majority of the social media formats, particularly, twitter is used by literate and professional people. As, I have taken tweets posted during Azadi March protest to analyze that's why the results are generalized over twitter users only instead of whole Pakistan. Earlier it was considered by researches that the primary sources of information on twitter were the journalists and the mainstream media. While during azadi march we have seen that the users have become the news providers by themselves. Twitter has played an

instrumental role during the protest. The number of users increased during the protest and most of the tweets were based on information seeking, real time reporting and the mobilization purposes. Also the users of twitter have a worthy judgement on politics, religion and other social events. Moreover, there are many other users who keep following them to nourish their curiosity.

Previously a study was conducted by Gallup Pakistan in collaboration with Gilani Research Foundation to examine public opinion and sentiments polling on political crisis and sit-in in Islamabad. The findings of that study revealed that 63% respondents disagreed about civil disobedience, whereas 30% agreed with it. When respondents were asked about resignation of Prime Minister, 64% respondents said that he should resign while 36% said that he should not resign. These findings differ from the findings of this study. This is because population of that study was based on 33% urban and 67% rural respondents while the population of this study was the twitter users who belonged to urban areas of Pakistan.

This study was conducted with the sample size of 4941 tweets using hashtag random sampling technique. The use of LIWC program in this study for sentiment analysis was exploratory because it has not been used in context of Pakistan. The tweets shared during the protest reflected the preferences of twitter users and revealed result faraway to traditional survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan. Overall it revealed optimistic behavior of twitter users regarding Azadi March requirements with low level of frustration due to clashes and disruption but the social connectivity rate was found higher.

Recommendations

Twitter is the most effective platform to express any kind of sentiments in the country like Pakistan, where people are generally deprived of sharing views and emotions on various political issues. There is a grave need of analyzing sentiments on several political as well as social issues in Pakistan because general masses are the better advisers of the policy makers in the country therefore their opinions and sentiments truly matter in policy making.

Social media analysis is the sentiments' x-ray of public. This x-ray reveals the inside of mass opinion. Therefore, empirical study must be done with the sentiments by using social media platform and tool to collect and analyse data to avoid biasness factor. This method is better to get sentiments of heterogeneous users at a single place. In this study, sentiment analysis has done upon text only while in future the pictorial material might also be taken as content for studies.

Real time collection of data really helps to establish a better analysis of the sentiments because sentiments vary with the passage of time. Sentiment analysis can also be done for various fields. It has been generally used to gauge the consumers' opinion in the market. As culture is also a commodity so this technique could be applied on culture. Similarly, health, education, social values and multi nature of issues can be gauged on the scale of Sentiment Analysis technique. This is going to be very helpful in generating new discourses in future.

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