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# Analyzing Conflict Reporting and Press Freedom in Pakistan: Examining Threats to Journalist's Safety in Fata Region

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#### Abstract

According to reporters without borders, Pakistan occupies 157th position in the World Press Freedom Index 2022 out of 180 countries. FATA is considered as the most dangerous area for the journalists in Pakistan. They face harassment, threats, threating calls, kidnaping, beating and even death. Journalists cannot report on sensitive issues in FATA region. The study strives to find out the challenges the journalists face in FATA, to know the reasons why these challenges exist and finally to find out the best possible solutions for these issues. On the pinning of the Hierarchy of Influential Model has been utilized. To address the posed research questions to examine the freedom of press, a survey was designed and reached out to the working journalists of FATA region. The results show that journalists are facing censorship and pressures from owners and different extremist groups. Majority of the journalists also receive instructions and pressures from law enforcing agencies for the favorable coverage. The study further states that journalists are not free to report the events from the war zones if it is against the law enforcing agencies.

Keywords: conflict reporting, press freedom, censorship, threats, fata region.

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### 1. Introduction

Urooj Khan (2016) says that Pakistan possesses a low rank as far as freedom of speech is concerned. She writes that according to Reporters without Borders, Pakistan occupies 157<sup>th</sup> position in the World Press Freedom Index 2022 out of 180 countries. She adds that Pakistan is among the deadliest countries for journalists to execute their work as IFJ has also listed Pakistan as the most dangerous country for journalists. Referring to history, Urooj Khan says that Maulvi Muhammad Baqir was the first journalist who was killed before the creation of Pakistan (during 1857 insurgency) and Zameer Qureshi was the first journalist who was killed after the creation of Pakistan (in January 1965). Urooj thinks that the culture of using guns and bullets against the journalists was started during the end of the government of the Ex-President and Field Marshal Ayub Khan. Following Zameer Qureshi, many journalists lost their lives during their work till 9/11. After 9/11, the journalists performed their professional responsibilities in a controlled environment where militants, political administration and tribal leaders were at constant check on their work. During the war-on-terror, they remained under pressure and threat from different circles. They suffered mental and physical torture. These issues were directed to them by different state and non-state actors. The journalists in FATA are not only under the control of Taliban, militants, tribal leaders, political administration, security forces, government, and their media owners but tribal journalists also follow the policy of self-imposed restriction. Hence, they are unable to portray the real image of FATA especially on the issue of war- on-terror. The majority of journalists suffer from continuous threats to their own as well as their families' lives. Most of the journalists suffer from physical and mental pressures. The portrayal of events and happenings in the Pakistani media is apparently dependent upon the tilt, mediation and angles directed by those sitting at the helms of affairs in FATA (whether they may be Taliban, security agencies, tribal leaders, militants, locals, political administration, and media owners (Khan, 2013). FATA is considered as the most dangerous area for the journalists. There are many issues, barriers and challenges, the journalists in FATA have been facing since long. They face harassment, threats, threating calls, kidnaping, beating and even death. Journalists cannot report on sensitive issues in FATA. Due to different forces, FATA has almost become a "No-Go Area". Resultantly, journalists are unable to report objectively, transparently, and freely. Journalists have been compelled to be involved in disinformation and propaganda by many state and non-state actors. These actors include politicians, security agencies, Taliban, locals, elders, and their own high-ups and media outlets. The study strives to find out the challenges the journalists face in FATA, to know the reasons why these challenges exist and finally to find out the best possible solutions for these issues.

### **1.1** Statement of the Problem

FATA has become a riskier and more dangerous area for the journalists especially after 9/11. Many journalists have been kidnapped, beaten and even put to death in this area. The journalists cannot execute their work objectively, transparently and freely. News stories are constantly censored and go through media gatekeepers and actors including politicians, security agencies, extremists, militants, elders, locals, and even their own bosses and media outlets.

### **1.2 ` Research Objectives**

Following are the objectives of this study.

- 1. To explore what are the professional challenges and issues faced by the journalists in FATA
- 2. To find out the challenges and issues which are faced by the journalists in FATA
- 3. To ascertain the ways how to resolve the challenges and issues faced by the journalists in FATA

### **1.3** Research Questions

Following are the research questions of this study.

To what extent, do the journalists in FATA exercise freedom of the press?

To what degree are the professional standards of journalists in FATA influenced by local dynamics?

To what extent do the parties engaged in the conflict pose threats to journalists in FATA?

To what degree do journalists in FATA experience psychological trauma while covering conflicts?

How much emphasis do media outlets place on news reports provided by journalists from FATA?

# **1.4** Significance of the Study

The study will provide a window for the government to work on the discovered issues faced by the journalists in FATA and resolve them which will help in making the lives of the journalists better. It will lead to the promotion of media there. The government will come in activism for resolving journalists' issues. The media will become the voice of the local people. The journalists will bring forth the issues of the area on the screen. The concerned authorities and departments will take action on them. Ultimately, the issues will be solved and the area will be developed. Moreover, the results of this research will also provide the researchers a base to conduct further research in this area in the future by involving more samples and many different places.

### 2. Literature Review

FATA stands for Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Covering 27500 square kilometers, it is located on the border Khyber Pukhtunkhwa in the south of Afghanistan. It is a home for more than 3.5 million tribesmen and 1.5 Afghan refugees. There are seven agencies (now districts) and six Frontier Regions (FRs). The seven agencies are Bajaur, Muhmand, Khyber, Kurram, Orakzai, North Waziristan and South Waziristan and six FRs include FR Peshawar, FR Kohat, FR Bannu, FR Lukki, FR Tank and FR Dera Ismail Khan. On the basis of territory, South Waziristan is the largest and Bajaur is the smallest district in Fata. Population wise, Bajaur is the largest and Orakzai is the smallest district. Orakzai is the only district in FATA which does not share its borders with Afghanistan while all other districts share

#### borders with Afghanistan.

FATA was considered a ruleless and lawless area until 2018 when it was brought into the mainstream by merging it into Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KP) during the tenure of ex-Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif. Before its merger into KP, it was governed under the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), a draconian law which was made and imposed by the Britishers in 1901 in order to keep full grip over the tribal belt and the people living in this area.

After 9/11, the situation was worsened when NATO forces entered Afghanistan and waged war against Talibans dwelling in Afghanistan and FATA region of Pakistan. When NATO forces launched operations against Taliban in Afghanistan, Pakistani forces also launched different operations against Talibans in Pakistani areas especially FATA. when General (R) Pervez Musharaf was the in power, the government decided to send the security forces into FATA against these insurgents. Operations were launched under different names against these insurgents. In these operations, the general residents of FATA also tremendously suffered. Their markets, bazaars, homes and other infrastructure were partially and wholly damaged. Becoming IDPs, the people left their homes and went to other provinces of Pakistan in order to take refuge. The fight between Pakistani forces and Talibans continued for almost fifteen years. The journalists in FATA tried to show the real picture of these happenings, however due to so many issues, they could not portray the real image of the area and the happenings. Many journalists were harassed, threatened, kidnapped, fired and even put to death by different actors like extremists, locals, Talibans, security agencies, and even their media outlets.

When the 9/11 incident was happened, the United States of America (USA) along with its NATO forces launched war against the terrorists in different countries of the world. Afghanistan was their nucleus where the NATO forces and waged war and fight against Talibans. Talibans were residing on both Pakistani and Afghanistan soil. FATA was also a safe haven for them and they carried out their activities against the NATO forces from here. They had to reach out FATA when they were being endangered by their opposing forces. During 9/11, George W. Bush was the president of the United States. In April 2008, while giving interview to the ABC News, he termed the FATA the most dangerous area in the world. He said that they were still under threats and they were still pressuring terrorists, and they had been pretty successful at bringing to justice the number three person in Al-Qaeda, with Pakistan's help.

### 2.1 Media in FATA

Due to the law and order, insurgency, militancy, conservativeness, lack of education and facilities, FATA is considered as the most dangerous area for the journalists than other parts of Pakistan. Journalists working in FATA have been numerous issues since long. After 9/11, the situation in Pakistan especially in FATA worsened. When security forces launched operations against the militants residing in FATA, the Pakistani media fully supported the forces and gave much coverage to their maneuvers against their rivals, however the journalists paid heavy price for it as it was not an easy job for them rather it was hard to execute journalistic duties in such situations when two opposing forces were fighting against each other. Many journalists were brutally gunned down at the hands of extremists and other forces. The journalists faced threats, abuses, warnings, threating calls, kidnapping, harassment, and other gruesome issues. The journalists are prepared to either quit job or flee the area. The biggest issue is that of the security they have been facing since long. These issues are directed to them from different state and non-state actors, including the extremists, terrorists, Taliban, Malaks, tribal people, law enforcement agencies and even their media outlets.

### 2.2 Challenges Faced by the Journalists inside Pakistan

Esmaeily (2015) says that the first media laws in the country were introduced by then military ruler Ayub Khan who promulgated the Press and Publication Ordinance (PPO) in 1962. Under the law, the authorities could confiscate newspapers, close down news providers, and arrest the journalists. President Ayub Khan nationalized large parts of the press and took over one of the two largest news agencies. The other agencies were pushed into severe crisis where they had to seek financial support

from the government. More draconian additions were made to the PPO during the tenure of then military ruler General Zia ul Haq in 1980s. According to these new amendments, the publisher would be liable and prosecuted if a story was not in the in interest of the administration even it was based on reality. The purpose was to promote Zia Islamist leanings. The press was highly censored during Zia era. Censorship during the Zia years was direct, concrete and dictatorial. Newspapers were scrutinized; critical or undesired sections of an article censored.

In Pakistan, until now a number of journalists have been harassed, kidnapped, threatened, attacked and even killed by different state and non-state actors. Wali Khan Barber, a Geo News reporter from Karachi was killed down in 2011. In April 2014, Hamid Mir, a senior journalist of Geo News was attacked by some attackers in Karachi when he was coming from the airport after just being arrived in Karachi. Mir survived the injury of six bullets in the assassination's attempt. According to Mir, no one other than his brother knew about his arrival in Karachi. After attack, Amir Mir, brother of Hamid Mir levelled allegations against the ISI Chief, General Zaheer ul Islam for the attack on his brother. He put allegations while talking to Geo News. Due to these allegations, later on, the government fined Geo News for Rs. 10,000,000 and closed it for 15 days.

More recently, in December 2015, Zaman Meshud, a reporter for a daily Urdu newspaper 'Umet' and SANA news agency, was killed by the terrorists. Zaman was also President of Tribal Union of Journalists' South Waziristan and district coordinator for the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan. moreover, The Wall Street Journal's reporter, Daniel Pearl was kidnapped and later assassinated in 2002 in the Southern port city of Karachi. There is a long list of killed journalists. (Dr. Shehzad Ali & Fehmida Nawaz, 2017). Umar Cheema, a well-known journalist who is working with Pakistan's biggest media group, Jang Geo Group was abducted by some unknown assailants in September 2010. He was taken to some unknown place where he was stripped, beaten up and photographed in a humiliating way. His hair and eyebrows were also shaved. Later on, he was released with harsh threats. Umar Cheema wrote in a column that published in the New York Times, "Journalists are shot like stray dogs in Pakistan–easily killed because their assassins sit at the pinnacle of power… Journalists have shown resilience, but it is hard to persevere when the state itself becomes complicit in the crime".

Maliha Begum and Naghmana Tahir conducted study on the working conditions for women in all Karachi based TV channels in 2014. Survey was conducted and 79 female journalists working in Karachi based TV channels were selected for the study. According to this study, media in Pakistan have a long history of state repression and monopolies particularly electronic media which remained under control of the government for almost first fifty years in the country's seventy years. Along male journalists, female journalists in Pakistan also face many issues. Their potentiality is always doubted and they are merely seen as sex objects by their male colleagues. Women journalists are harassed and looked upon due to the prejudice of the males. Security is a big challenge faced by them and they are not secure with their job.

Bashir Memon conducted research on Sindhi journalists in 2011. He conducted this study for his PhD studies. He discussed the role, status, salaries, hardships, freedom, and other aspects of the journalists in Sindh province. This study was carried out using two research methodologies, i.e. survey and focus groups. Bashir concluded that majority of the Sindhi journalists think that media is not completely free and fair. The challenges of identity and discrimination in Pakistani media are multidimensional. When a woman starts working, she has to face discrimination from not only her seniors but also her colleagues. The opportunities for success in the journalism career are different for men and women. Women are seldom consulted for their opinion on any issues. Male journalists get more successes of their social network for covering various issues but when women do this, they are scandalized. Males get more success in this profession (Rana, 2018). Shabir (2012) says that female journalists face a lot of discriminatory behavior by the society and top management of media organization. In Pakistan, particularly in KP, stereotypes about women, prejudice, and discrimination are common. Due to lack of education, awareness, and other issues, female journalists are less than the male journalists. Only sixteen female journalists are registered with Peshawar Press Club. Being a journalist for a woman is not acceptable for the general people due to the conservative nature in KP. It is a difficult for a female to execute her work as a journalist in the society.

### 2.3 Challenges Faced by the Journalists in FATA

Khalid (2010) conducted his study on the role of the journalists in covering war-on-terror and the issues they faced in this process. He conducted survey of the journalists from the Tribal Union of Journalists (TUJ). According to his study violence against FATA journalists and on their families is common. Making interference in their work by different forces is also a routine. Many journalists were killed and wounded and their homes were wholly or partially demolished. Covering the war-on-terror has a direct effect on the journalists and the standards of journalism. The self-imposed restrictions due to the constant threats to their life and families have severe negative psychological effects on them. They could not portray the real image of the happenings in war-on-terror. They have to deal with deviant groups. They are at times compelled to give coverage to the powerful ones, marginalizing the others by either ignoring or presenting them less advantageously. No one receives evenly distributed news of all the parties or factions involved in the war in the tribal belt. Extremists have been trying to either control the media or to influence them in their favour.

Rukhsana (2015) at least 20 journalists in FATA were murdered, kidnapped, arrested, tortured or threatened by different forces like terrorist groups, local administration, law enforcement agencies and other groups in the first six months of the war-on-terror. Most journalists in tribal areas were either forced to end up their profession or to leave their hometowns. (The Pakistan Press Freedom Report, 2007). Those who did not give up limited their work to soft coverage like covering school functions and other soft events and celebrations. FATA journalists do not have access to the original sources. They rely on the sources of law enforcing agencies and others. Therefore, the news credibility remains questionable. Urooj (2016) conducted her study on the issues faced by the journalists

especially in the conflict zones especially FATA and Balochistan. This study shows that the native journalists in FATA and KP pay heavy price for being journalists in the form of murders, kidnappings, intimidation and all of this led them to flee from these regions. Brutality against media in FATA started in 2005 after two journalists were killed in Wana. Presence of security forces, militants and tribal groups have made these areas almost 'No Go Area' for journalists. From 2008 to 2014, at least 34 journalists lost their lives while carrying out their duties in FATA. In 2005, a van carrying 11 journalists was targeted leaving 2 journalists dead in Wana, South Waziristan. Year 2006 is claimed to be the year full of brutalities against media practitioners as the number of journalists killed is 3 and figure of those assaulted and tormented rose up to 206. She says that Hayatullah Khan was also abducted and then murdered in 2006 in North Waziristan. The year 2008 took the life of Dr. Noor Hakeen from Bajaur. Ibrahim Jan, a journalist from Bajaur lost his life in 2009. Abdul Muhammad and Pervez Khan Muhammad from Muhmand and Nasarullah Khan from Khyber were gunned down in 2010. Shafi Ullah from North Waziristan was killed in 2011. Mukaram Khan (Muhmand) was assassinated in 2012. In 2013, M. Mumtaz from North Waziristan lost his life during his duty. Journalists paid heavy price for reporting on violation of human rights.

According to the study of Urooj (2016), around 28 journalists lost their lives from 1992 to 2014 in FATA a KP (Committee to Protect Journalists). At least three journalists were killed in 2013, two lost their life in 2011 and four in 2010. Similarly, five journalists were killed in 2009. Three journalists lost their life in 2008 and two in 2007, one in 2006 and two in 2005. At least one journalist was killed in 2003 and 2004. The year 1998 also witnessed killing of a journalist. Balochistan, KP and FATA are more trouble-some areas for journalists because of the presence of different state and non-state actors who create hurdles in order to keep journalists silent. Murders of a number journalist as well as other security problems not only show the vulnerability of journalists to violence but it also presents the failure of the state in protecting them. Khalid (2013) found that after 9/11, the journalists performed their responsibilities in a very controlled environment where militants, political administration and the tribal leaders had a check on their work. They worked under high pressure and threats due to which they suffered mentally and physically. The journalists working in FATA are not only under control of militants, tribal people, Malaks, the political administration, politicians, but also their own media owners. Hence, they are unable to portray the real image of FATA. Pakistani media is apparently dependent upon the tilt, mediation and angles directed by those sitting at the helms of affairs in FATA.

Jamil, (2018) conducted her study on the threats, issues and rights of the journalists in Pakistan. This study is qualitative in nature which used document review and in-depth interviews. She says that violence is a routine against the journalists in Pakistan especially in FATA, Balochistan and other backward areas.

Thus, the journalists are unable to practice their right to freedom of expression. The journalists confront physical threats and pressure due to the law and order, turbulent political environment, impunity, extremism, terrorism, sectarianism, and conservatism. Pakistan is among the top ten countries that lack proper investigation of the killings and violence done against the journalists (Committee to Protect Journalists, 2018). Journalists experience vast safety threats that results in their physical, financial, psychological, social, emotional and legal state. The killers kill journalists without any impunity. Impunity is an institutionalized pattern in Pakistan. Only in two cases, i.e. Daniel Pearl and Wali Khan Babar, the killers were convicted by the courts. The journalists working in a conflict zone like FATA and Balochistan are doing very difficult job. The biggest physical threats for them is that they are in danger of being killed between two opposing forces fighting against each other.

Riaz, (2015) conducted his study on the issues faced to the rural journalism in Pakistan. He conducted survey of 500 rural journalists working in the rural areas of the country. He has carefully pointed out the issues of the rural journalists. FATA is also a rural area which is also heavily ignored in the media like other rural areas of Pakistan. He thinks that rural journalists are not supported by the government as well as their media organizations. Adding that the mainstream media does not give

much coverage to the rural areas, hence these areas are ignored in the media. Rural journalists are lagging behind the urban journalists in the professional pursuit. Freedom of expression is the fundamental right of every human but the rural people do not give chance to the rural people to express their views. Professional competence of the rural journalists about the issues of the people should be raised. Only 1.3% rural homes are equipped with internet facility as compared to 17.4% of the urban homes (Pakistan Demographic and Health Survey, 2014). According to the Reporters without Borders (2019) that audience shares of top 40 media outlets (top 10 each in TV, radio, newspapers, and online), there are only seven media groups in Pakistan that own media entities in more than one media category (Raza et al., 2022).

Hussain (2017) conducted his study on the reporting of the war-on-terror by Pakistani media. According to this study, Pakistani media apparently ignore the key issues. He adds that some people do not agree what is being presented in the media about this war. People think their concerns, their life in the IDPs camps and their destructed homes and properties are not highlighted in the media. No report is made on any innocent person killed in this fight. The tribal people lost their own homes, properties, businesses and cattle in their villages and left for other parts of the country as IDPs. They also lost their areas" is a key question which is not asked in the media. Rather media presented the tribal women and children as beggars fighting over the food.

### 2.4 Embedded Journalism and Freedom of Press

Journalists face issues especially security during a conflict. The nature of issues depends upon the conflict scenario. When journalists are embedded with a security forces in a conflict, they feel equally vulnerable to be attacked by the enemy. During operations against the terrorists, media men were also embedded with security agencies to cover the conflict. There is equal chance for journalists to be kidnapped, threatened, wounded, and even killed between these two warring parties. After being embedded with the military, the journalists took side of these agencies and fully supported them against the terrorists. They promoted the state agendas in this war. In return, the militants threatened and created issues for them for not covering their viewpoint. Security to the journalists is the main issue. Free reporting is not allowed for them. They have access to the conflict areas.

Quality of journalism is mostly comprised in a conflict area where national interests are involved. In a fight against the insurgents in FATA, Pakistani media sided with Pakistani forces fighting against the insurgents, hence media's credibility is affected due to the subjectivity of the journalists

when they are embedded with law-enforcing agencies during a war against the terrorists. Being compelled, the journalists sometimes rather showing the facts becomes involves in disinformation and propaganda because they have no access to the original sources. Hussain (2016) in his article "Media Coverage of Taliban: Is Peace Journalism the Solution?" pointed out towards this issue. His findings show that in conflict areas, where national interests are involved, media becomes nationalistic and patriotic, leaving behind the considerations of quality and good journalism.

# 2.5 Theoretical Framework The Hierarchy of Influential Model

The journalists in FATA face many issues. Their news stories and reports are constantly censored. Journalists cannot work properly and freely against any warring party. They do not have access to the original sources rather they solely rely on the sources of the law-enforcing institutions. This leads to disinformation and propaganda and most of the time realities are distorted. Freedom of expression is a big issue of FATA journalists which is mostly compromised. The journalists working in FATA face threats, harassment, kidnapping, and even death. These issues are directed to these journalists from militants, locals, law-enforcing agencies, extremists, and even their own media organizations.

This study can be well analyzed under "The Hierarchy of Influential Model". The Hierarchy of Influential Model talks about different pressures on the journalists. According to this theory, there are five level of pressures under which the journalists execute their work. The first level comprises media workers themselves. Their professionally-related roles and ethics appear to have a direct influence on content, whereas their socio-demographic backgrounds and their personal and political beliefs shape news indirectly, especially when individuals are in a position to override institutional pressures or organizational routines (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). FATA journalists are not financially strong. They are not paid well by their media organizations. Most of them do not meet the educational criteria required for a professional journalist. They are also not politically high mature. These issues shape and affect their news content likewise.

The second layer of influence consists of daily work routines within the newsroom, routines that structure journalists' output independently of their personal backgrounds and values. Converting raw materials (information) garnered from suppliers (sources) and delivering it to customers (audiences and advertisers) results in standardized and recurring patterns of content. Here in this case, FATA journalists have pressure from their colleagues and the concerned people above them in the offices and newsrooms.

The third layer of influence references the broader organizational imperatives of media institutions. Here, the profit orientation shared by private media companies, combined with their hierarchical structure, in general shape content in accordance with ownership's interests. FATA journalists have to take care of the policies and imperatives set by their media organizations.

The fourth layer comprises extra-media influences, including sources, advertisers, the political power of governments, market structures, and technology. As we see that the journalists who are working in FATA have no free access to the original sources rather, they rely on the sources of law-enforcing agencies and others. FATA journalists mostly cover soft images and they cannot touch sensitive issues due to the pressure from security forces. Local politicians always try to influence them in their own favour. Likewise, the local elders and Malaks also exploit them for their own benefits by giving them bribes or threats. FATA journalists take money when they go somewhere to cover any issue or event. Most of the FATA journalists have no understanding of using the tools and technology used in the media. These aforementioned issues also affect their work.

Last but not least, is the influence of ideology (a system of values and beliefs that governs what audiences, journalists and other players in the news system see as 'natural' or 'obvious' and that furthermore serves in part to maintain prevailing relations of power). Ideology not only shapes news, it is extended, renewed and reproduced through media content. Pakistan and Israel are only countries which came into being under specific ideologies. Pakistan has its own ideology. The journalists working in FATA also follow this ideology. They have ideological pressure over them while performing their duties. They do not make any such report which goes against this ideology even if it is based on facts and reality. Due to this, the element of subjectivity is added in their reports.

# 3. Methodology

The is a quantitative study that strives to find out the challenges which the journalists in FATA have been facing since long. Questionnaire was designed keeping in view the literature review, research objective and research questions. Total of 325 male and female FATA journalists were selected as a sample. The sample was selected as a convenient sampling. Twenty-five journalists from each agency (now district) and frontier region were considered. Non-Probability Sampling was selected to find out the survey respondents.

Pilot study was conducted before the main study to check if there is no issue with the questions, sequence, concepts and language. After the pilot study, changes were made to the questions if needed. After getting successful pilot study, the questionnaire was distributed among the respondents. Data was collected and analyzed through SPSS package. Internal reliability of the data will be checked.

Data Collection Tools, Scheming and Arrangement of the Survey

The questionnaire for this study was designed on the basis of the existing literature and research objectives. The items included in it were close-ended questions. All of the items were simple and could be easily understood. The items followed 5 Likert scale where every item had five choices. These items were distributed among 325 male and female journalists from FATA. Twenty-five journalists from each agency and frontier region were selected. Convenient sampling was followed. There were total 27 questions in the questionnaire. This study follows convenience sampling which is a type of non-probability sampling technique.

S.No.	Variable	Value	Frequency
1	Age	18-28	10.8%
		28-38	40.3%
		38-48	6.6%
		48 and above	12.3%
2	Gender	Male	96.9%
		Female	3.1%
3	Education	Matric	43.4%
		Intermediate	28.9%
		Bachelors	19.2%
		Masters	8.5%
ŀ	District	Bajaur	7.7%
		Muhmand	7.7%
		Khyber	7.7%
		Kurram	7.7%
		Orakzai	7.7%
		North Waziristan	7.7%
		South Waziristan	7.7%
		FR Kohat	7.7%
		FR Lukki	7.7%
		FR Bannu	7.7%
		FR Tank	7.7%
		FR Peshawar	7.7%
		FR Dera Ismail Khan	7.7%
5	Type of media	Electronic	61.5%
	Type of media		

#### 4. Findings

	Print	30.8%
	Online	7.7%
Job description	Owner	2.2%
	Reporter	65.9%
	Producer	3.4%
	Director	3.1%
	Editor	6.2%
	Newscaster	3.1%
	Anchorperson	1.5%
	Job description	Job descriptionOnlineJob descriptionOwnerReporterProducerDirectorDirectorEditorNewscaster

Columnist	3.1%	
Cameraman	10.1%	
Other	1.4%	

The frequency distribution of demography variables shows that journalists with ages from 38 to 48 outnumber (40.3%) the journalists who are working in FATA. The researcher found that male journalists (96.9%) were more in number than the female journalists. Female journalists were only 3.1%. It was also found that most of the journalists in FATA (4.34%) had matric qualification. It was found that the number of journalists (61.5%) belonging to electronic media outnumber those who are related to print and online media. The study also found that reporters (65.9%) outnumber other journalists.

## Table 2. Type of media

#### Which media are you associated with?

		_	_	Valid	Cumulative	Mean	Std.	t	Sig.
Valid	Floatronia	Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent	1 4615	Deviation .63530	41.474	.000
valiu	Electronic media	200	60.1	61.5	61.5	1.4015	.05550	41.474	.000
	Print media	100	30.0	30.8	92.3				
	Online media	25	7.5	7.7	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	System	8	2.4						
Total		333	100.0						

As the time changes, trends in media and the inclination of the audiences change. Before the advent of electronic media in Pakistan, people in Pakistan had to rely print media. In FATA, radio is the most used media tool used by the local people even now. Those who were associated with electronic media were highest in number (61.5%) while those who belong to online media were least in number (7.7%). The journalists who were associated with print media make 30.8%.

# Table No. 3 Job descriptionWhat is your job description?

	Valid	Cumulative Mean	Std.	t	Sig.
Frequency Percent	Percent	Percent	Deviation		

Valid	Reporter	198	59.5	60.9	60.9	4.0892	3.03600	24.282 .000
	Producer	11	3.3	3.4	64.3			
	Director	10	3.0	3.1	67.4			
	Editor	20	6.0	6.2	73.5			
	Newscaster	10	3.0	3.1	76.6			
	Anchorperson	5	1.5	1.5	78.2			
	Columnist	10	3.0	3.1	81.2			
	Cameraman	25	7.5	7.7	88.9			
	Other	36	10.8	11.1	100.0			
	Total	325	97.6	100.0				
Missing	System	8	2.4					
Total	-	333	100.0					

As far as the job description of the journalists selected for this study is concerned, the reporters were highest in number (60.9%) while the number of anchorpersons were the least among all the journalists (1.5%). Cameramen make 11.1%, editors make 6.2%, producers make 3.4%, directors make 3.1%, newscasters make 3.1% and columnists make 3.1%. Other journalists make 11.1% total of 100%.

<u>1 able 4.</u>	Location										
Where	Where are you located?										
Valid		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig.		
Valid	Bajaur	25	7.5	7.7	7.7	7.0000	3.74743	33.675	.000		
	Muhmand	25	7.5	7.7	15.4						
	Khyber	25	7.5	7.7	23.1						
	Kurram	25	7.5	7.7	30.8						
	Orakzai	25	7.5	7.7	38.5						
	North										

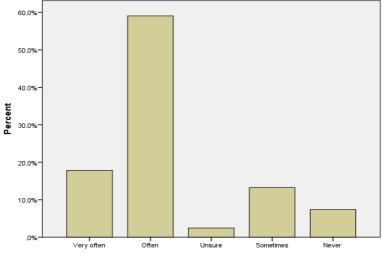
# Table 4. Location

Waziristan	25	7.5	7.7	46.2
South Waziristan	25	7.5	7.7	53.8
FR Kohat	25	7.5	7.7	61.5
FR Lukki	25	7.5	7.7	69.2
FR Bannu	25	7.5	7.7	76.9
FR Tank	25	7.5	7.7	84.6
FR Peshawar	25	7.5	7.7	92.3
FR Dera				
Ismail Khan	25	7.5	7.7	100.0
	325	97.6	100.0	
Missing System	8	2.4		
Total	333	100.0		

There are 7 districts and 6 frontier Regions (FRs) in FATA. Equal number of journalists were selected from every district and FR. Twenty-five journalists from each district and FR were selected for this study. Total 325 journalists were selected. Journalists from every district make 7.7%.

### 4.3 Questions of the Questionnaire

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Q.1. How often the reports made by the journalists working in FATA go through censorship?
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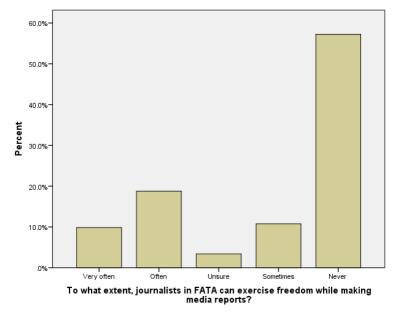


How far the reports made by the journalists in FATA go through censorship?

### Graph No.1

Figure No.1 shows that most of the journalists agree that the reports made by the journalists working in FATA go through censorship. About 77% journalists agree that the reports of FATA journalists undergo censorship while about 7% do not agree to it. 13% journalists think that censorship is sometimes applied on FATA journalists reports. Least number of journalists (only 2%) are unsure whether censorship is applied.

# Q.2. To what extent, journalists in FATA can exercise freedom while making media reports?



### Graph No.2

Table No.5

Having no or less freedom in the work of journalists working in FATA is one of the biggests issues and challenges they have been facing since long. Figure No.2 shows that most of the FATA journalists agree that they cannot exercise freedom in their work. 58% journalists think that they cannot exercise freedom in their work while 29% journalists say that they enjoy freedom in their reports. 12%

journalists are of the view that they sometimes they enjoy freedom in their work and finally, 3% journalists are not sure whether the journalists working in FATA enjoy freedom in their reports.

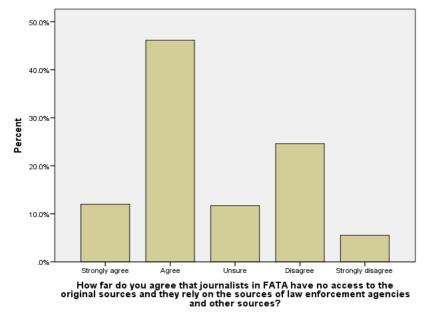
# **Q.4.** How far journalists in FATA are compelled by different forces to be indulged in disinformation and propaganda?

				Valid	<b>Cumulative Mean</b>		Std.	t	Sig.
		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent		Deviation		
Valid	Very often	44	13.2	13.5	13.5	2.8308	1.31901	38.690	.000
	Often	139	41.7	42.8	56.3				
	Unsure	13	3.9	4.0	60.3				
	Sometimes	86	25.8	26.5	86.8				
	Never	43	12.9	13.2	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					

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Missing System	8	2.4	
Total	333	100.0	

When FATA journalists were asked that how far they are compelled by different forces to be indulged in disinformation and propaganda, 55% journalists replied that they feel they are being involved in disinformation and propagandas due to some forces while 13% journalists do not agree to it.

# **Q.5.** How far do you agree that journalists in FATA have no access to the original sources and they rely on the sources of security agencies and other sources?



### Graph No.3

When FATA journalists were asked whether they had access to the original sources, 58% journalists told that they had no access to the original sources and they relied on the sources of law enforcement agencies and other sources. 31% journalists disagree to it. They say that have access to the original sources while 12% journalists are not sure whether the journalists working in FATA have access to the original source.

# **Q.6.** To what extent, the local people in FATA allow the journalists to make photos and videos for their news reports?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	e Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig.
Very often	18	5.4	5.5	5.5	3.8923	1.30907	53.602	.000
Often	60	18.0	18.5	24.0				
Unsure	9	2.7	2.8	26.8				
Sometimes	90	27.0	27.7	54.5				
Never	148	44.4	45.5	100.0				
Total	325	97.6	100.0					
System	8	2.4						
	333	100.0						

Table No.6

As FATA is a backward area, so the populace is somewhat conservative. Generally, the local people do not allow the journalists to make photos and videos for their news stories. When FATA journalists were asked whether they are allowed by the local people to make photos and videos for their news reports, 19% journalists told that they are allowed for it while 44% journalists said they are not given permission to make photos or videos for their reports. 28% journalists think they are sometimes allowed for it while 3% are unsure whether the journalists working in FATA are allowed by the local people to make photos and videos for their reports.

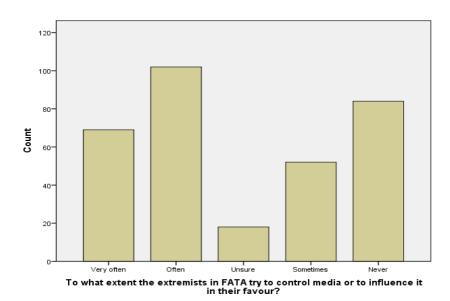
# **Q.7.** How far local norms and rigid customs of the region allow the females to join the media profession?

		Frequency	] Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	e Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig.
Valid	Very often	5	1.5	1.5	1.5	4.6277	.80114	104.135	.000
	Often	8	2.4	2.5	4.0				
	Unsure	12	3.6	3.7	7.7				
	Sometimes	53	15.9	16.3	24.0				
	Never	247	74.2	76.0	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	System	8	2.4						
Total		333	100.0						

Table No.7

Due to the conservative nature of the people and the lack of education and other facilities in FATA, the tribals normally do not allow their females to join the media profession, hence female journalists are very hard to find in FATA. When FATA journalists were asked whether the local norms and rigid customs allow the females in FATA to join the media profession, 4% journalists replied that the females in FATA are allowed to join the media profession while 72% journalists said that females are not allowed to join media profession due to the local norms and rigid customs. 4% journalists are not sure whether the females in FATA are allowed to join the media profession.

Q.8. To what extent, extremists try to control media or influence it in their favour?



# Graph No.4

The journalists working in FATA feel mostly threatened by the extremists and their groups. When FATA journalists were asked that to what extent, the extremists try to control the media or influence it in their favour, 53% journalists replied that the extremists try to control the media or influence it in their favour while 27% do not agree to it. 16% journalists feel that sometimes the extremists try to control the media or influence it in their favour while 27% do not agree to it. 16% journalists feel that sometimes the extremists try to control the media or influence it in their favour while 4% are not sure whether the extremists try to control the media or influence it in their favour.

# Q.9. How frequently, the journalists working in FATA receive warnings and threats from different state and non-state actors?

### Table No.8

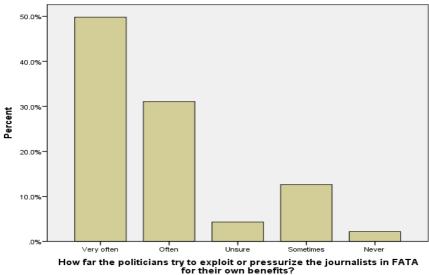
	Valid	Cumulative Mean	Std.	t	Sig.
Frequency Percent	Percent	Percent	Deviation		

Journalism, Politics and Society

Valid	Very often	32	9.6	9.8	9.8	3.2862	1.39265	42.539 .000
	Often	97	29.1	29.8	39.7			
	Unsure	30	9.0	9.2	48.9			
	Sometimes	78	23.4	24.0	72.9			
	Never	88	26.4	27.1	100.0			
	Total	325	97.6	100.0				
Missing	System	8	2.4					
Total		333	100.0					

The journalists working normally receive threats and threating calls every day. Due to which they physically and psychologically suffer. When FATA journalists were asked how frequently, the journalists working in FATA receive warnings and threats from different state and non-state actors, 39% of the journalists replied that they receive warnings and threats from different state and non-state actors while 26% journalists said that they do not receive threats. 23% journalists said that they sometimes receive threats and 9% journalists are not sure whether the journalists working in FATA receive threats and threats from different state and non-state actors while 26% journalists said that they do not receive threats. 23% journalists working in FATA receive threats and 9% journalists are not sure whether the journalists working in FATA receive threats and threating calls.

Q.10. How far the politicians try to exploit or pressurize the journalists in FATA for their own benefits?



### Graph No.5

When FATA journalists were asked how far the politicians try to exploit or pressurize the journalists in FATA for their own benefits, 81% journalists replied that the politicians in FATA try to exploit or pressurize the journalists for their own benefits. 2% journalists do not agree to it. 13% journalists think that they the politicians sometimes try to exploit or pressurize them for their own favour. 4% journalists are not sure whether the politicians try to exploit the journalists who are working in FATA.

# Q.11. How far the local Malaks and elders in FATA try to exploit the journalists for their own purposes by giving threats or bribes to them?

Table No.9					
	Valid	Cumulative Mean	Std.	t	Sig.
	178	3			

Journalism, Politics and Society

		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent		Deviation		
Valid	Very often	58	17.4	17.8	17.8	2.2000	.98758	40.160	.000
	Often	207	62.2	63.7	81.5				
	Unsure	8	2.4	2.5	84.0				
	Sometimes	41	12.3	12.6	96.6				
	Never	11	3.3	3.4	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	System	8	2.4						
Total		333	100.0						

When FATA journalists were asked how far the local Malaks and elders try to exploit or pressurize the journalists in FATA for their own benefits, 79% journalists replied that the local Malaks and elders in FATA try to exploit the journalists for their own purposes by giving threats or bribes to them while 3% journalists do not agree to it. 12% journalists think that they the local Malaks and elders sometimes try to exploit or pressurize them for their own favour. 2% journalists are not sure whether the Malaks and elders try to exploit the journalists for their benefits.

### Q.13. How far journalists working in FATA are guaranteed proper security by the government?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	e Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig.
Valid	Very often	34	10.2	10.5	10.5	3.8831	1.40497	49.825	.000
	Often	42	12.6	12.9	23.4				
	Unsure	11	3.3	3.4	26.8				
	Sometimes	79	23.7	24.3	51.1				
	Never	159	47.7	48.9	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	System	8	2.4						
Total		333	100.0						

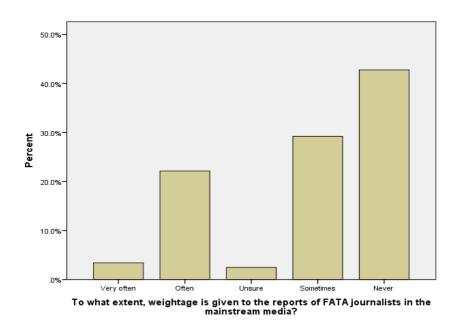
# Table No.10

Less or no security is one of the biggest issues journalists have been facing since long. When FATA journalists were asked how far the government provides security to FATA journalists, 23% journalists replied they are guaranteed proper security by the government while 48% do not agree

to it. 24% journalists said that they are sometimes given security by the government while 3% journalists are not sure whether the government provides proper security to the journalists who are working in FATA.

### Q.15. To what extent, weightage is given to the reports of FATA journalists in the mainstream

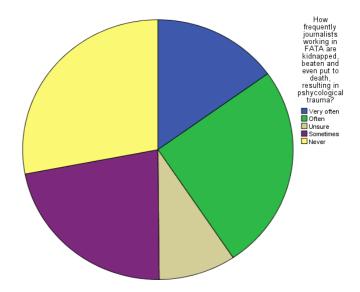




### **Graph No.6**

When asked FATA journalists that to what extent, weightage is given to them, 25% journalists replied that weightage is given to their reports in the mainstream media while 43% think that they are not given weightage in the mainstream media. 30% journalists feel that they are sometimes given weightage while 2% journalists are not sure whether weightage is given to the reports of FATA journalists in the mainstream media.

Q.19. How frequently journalists working in FATA a journalist working in FATA are kidnapped, beaten and even put to death resulting in psychological trauma?



### Graph No.7

When FATA journalists were asked how frequently they are kidnapped, beaten and even put to death, 40% journalists said that they are kidnapped, beaten and even put to death which results in psychological trauma while 28% do not agree to it. 22% journalists think that this happen sometimes while 10% journalists are not sure whether this happen.

Q.21. How far media's credibility is affected due to the subjectivity of the journalists when they are embedded with law-enforcing agencies during a war against terrorists in FATA? Table No.11

				Valid	Cumulative	Mean	Std.	t	Sig.
		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent		Deviation	l	
Valid	Very often	39	11.7	12.0	12.0	2.8554	1.46797	35.066	.000
	Often	169	50.8	52.0	64.0				
	Unsure	7	2.1	2.2	66.2				
	Sometimes	20	6.0	6.2	72.3				
	Never	90	27.0	27.7	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	System	8	2.4						
Total		333	100.0						

Generally, journalists become subjective when they are embedded with the military during a war. The journalists joined the law enforcement agencies in a war against the terrorists, thus they become subjective which affected their credibility as well. When asked FATA journalists how far media's credibility is affected due to the subjectivity of the journalists when they are embedded with law-enforcing agencies during a war against terrorists in FATA, 64% journalists do agree that media's credibility is affected due to the subjectivity of the journalists when they are embedded with law-

enforcing agencies during a war against terrorists while 28% journalists do not agree to it. 6% journalists think that media's credibility is sometimes affected when the journalists are embedded with the military.

# Q.25. How frequently FATA journalists are provided professional cameras, vehicles, and other facilities by their media outlets?

#### Table No.12

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig.
Valid	Very often	23	6.9	7.1	7.1	3.9662	1.27249	56.190	.000
	Often	38	11.4	11.7	18.8				
	Unsure	16	4.8	4.9	23.7				
	Sometimes	98	29.4	30.2	53.8				
	Never	150	45.0	46.2	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	System	8	2.4						
Total	-	333	100.0						

The journalists who are working in FATA are not generally provided professional cameras, vehicles, and other facilities by their media outlets. When asked FATA journalists how frequently they are provided professional cameras, vehicles, and other facilities by their media outlets, 18% journalists said that they are provided professional cameras, vehicles, and other facilities by their media organization however, 46% journalists disagree to it. They say that they are not provided these things by their media organization. 30% journalists think that they are sometimes provided the aforementioned facilities while 5% journalists are not sure whether the journalists working in FATA are provided these facilities by their media outlets.

Q.27. To what extent, the government provides a package to the family of the journalist who is killed in a terror or other incident?

Table No.13

Valid

Cumulative Mean Std. t Sig.

_		Frequency	Percent	Percent	Percent		Deviation		
Valid	Very often	18	5.4	5.5	5.5	4.1569	1.24350	60.265	.000
	Often	39	11.7	12.0	17.5				
	Unsure	4	1.2	1.2	18.8				
	Sometimes	77	23.1	23.7	42.5				
	Never	187	56.2	57.5	100.0				
	Total	325	97.6	100.0					
Missing	g System	8	2.4						
Total		333	100.0						

When asked FATA journalists whether the family of a journalist is given any package when he is killed in a terror-incident, 17% journalists replied in yes while 57% journalists did not agree to it. They said that they are not given any package by the government when they are killed in some terror-incident. 23% journalists think that they are sometimes provided such packages while 1% journalists are not sure whether the family of a journalist is provided any package when he is killed in some terror- incident.

#### 5. Discussion

Journalism is not a piece of cake. Journalists have been facing many issues throughout the world since long. Pakistan is also a country where most of the journalists do not feel safe while performing their duties. In Pakistan, the FATA region is considered more dangerous and more vulnerable for the journalists where journalists are kidnapped, harassed, threatened and even put to death. The biggest issue faced by the journalists working in FATA is that of security. Journalists are threatened, kidnapped, harassed and even killed and the convicts escape the laws and punishments. Hundreds of the journalists have been gunned down but the killers of only two journalists have been convicted by the court which is so pathetic. The culprits should be given exemplary punishments.

It was observed that most of the journalists working in FATA are either less educated or uneducated. They are not properly trained. They also lac experience in their work. Moreover, they have no expertise in using the modern tools and technology used in the media. FATA has become a No-Go area for journalists. The first and important thing is to change this status by lifting all the illegal restrictions and bans on the journalists and they free access should be given to the area for conducting coverage.FATA journalists are lagging behind the journalists in other parts of the country, so therefore it is high time to minimize this gap. Facilities given to the journalists in other parts of the country should also be provided to the journalists working in FATA. More and more development projects should be executed in FATA. FATA should become a media hub. Foreign journalists should be invited here to show the reality to the world.

It is the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the world has progressed much. The world focuses much on freedom of expression which is the basic human right. Pakistan is a democratic country. The constitution of Pakistan also says that media should be free. The United Nations (UN) works for the rights of the journalists. Therefore, restrictions should be lifted on the media and journalists. There should not be illegal or illegitimate censorship on the media. The media outlets normally do not provide professional cameras, DSNGs and other facilities to the journalists working in FATA. On the other hand, they provide every facility to the journalists who are working in other parts of the country. Most of the parts of the country has 3G and 4G internet facilities but FATA does not have such facilities until now. Now the country is striving to achieve the 5G milestone and hopefully the government will be successful in achieving that too very soon. However, the people of FATA have no access even to 2G internet facility. There is no or very little facilities of internet in FATA. People have to travel long distances for using email, social media, downloading or making call via internet. Dye to this, different issues surface to the journalists while making and sending reports. Internet is like a soul for a journalist. Without internet, a journalist cannot work properly. Therefore, 3G and 4G internet facilities should be provided to all parts of FATA.

The rigid norms, culture and customs do not allow the females to join the media. This is because

of lack of education and lack of awareness among the people of the area. The government should focus on the education in the area. More and more educational institutions need to be established there. FATA students should be given scholarships, incentives and attractive packages to them so they could be motivated towards education. Through this, their mentality will change and more females will join the media profession; thus, the area will be developed. Language has a great role in the media. How to write and how to speak matters a lot for a journalist. A journalist needs to be highly professional and he must follow the official language to adopt in his news stories. Unfortunately, FATA journalists also have lingual problems. Mostly, they cannot speak Pushto like Peshawari, Yousafzai Pushto or Qandahari which are considered the best dialects of Pushto and which could be understood to all Pukhtoons. Pushto is the main language in FATA and it is the mother tongue of the populace. Every district in FATA has its own dialect of Pushto. The dialect of Mohmand is totally different than the dialect of South Wiziristan. Sometimes, people from Muhmand do not understand the language of the people of South Waziristani though the language is same, i.e. Pushto. This also creates problems for the journalists as well as the audience. Similarly, most of the journalists cannot speak Urdu like that of native speakers. Likewise, most of them cannot speak English like other journalists of the country. Very few of them can speak English. Special trainings through the help of expert linguists should be arranged for these journalists. The journalists in FATA are underpaid by their media organizations. Therefore, they are financially weak. Due to this, sometimes they are indulged in misusing the media. Roads are dilapidated. The journalists do not reach the spot of incident on time. Metallic roads need to be constructed. The government should work on the issues of FATA journalists and try to resolve them. When the issues of the journalists are resolved, they would work properly and will highlight the issues of the area. When the issues of the area are highlighted in the media, the concerned authorities will take action on them and will try to solve them. Therefore, the area will be developed.

#### 5.1 Conclusion

When the issues are identified and their solutions are known, the government and the media outlets can work on it to make the lives of FATA journalists better. When journalists are allowed to work transparently, objectively and freely, the media will be promoted in the area. The issues of the area will be highlighted in the media. The government will come in activism. The government will take action on them and resolve them. It will lead to the development of the area. Moreover, the issues faced by the journalists will also be resolved.

FATA is a dangerous area for the journalists. The journalists working there are in danger. They face numerous issues. They exercise less freedom while executing their freedom. Censorship is one of the biggest issues faced by the journalists. The reports made by the journalists go through censorship and Gatekeeping. They are not given attractive salaries. They are compelled by different forces in disinformation and propaganda. Thirty-six percent journalists agree that they are not allowed to cover the destructions done due to the war-on-war. They have no access to the original sources rather they rely on the law-enforcement agencies and other sources.

Local people make resistance to the journalists and do not freely allow them to make photos and videos for news stories. Due to their rigid culture, norms and values, FATA people do not allow their females to join media. The journalists are not given proper security by the government. Many journalists have been kidnapped, beaten, harassed and even gunned down. Many journalists working in FATA are not aware of the media ethics. Even many of them do not meet educational criteria required for a professional journalist. They are not normally given any opportunities or chance to become anchorperson, producer, director, newscaster or any other high rank in the media outlet. The media organizations who hire these journalists for them do not give any training to them. The journalists' credibility is highly affected due to the subjectivity when they are embedded with the law- enforcement agencies during a war against the terrorists. Media outlets do not provide professional cameras, transport, and other facilities. The roads are non-metallic and dilapidated. No 3G or 4G internet services have been granted to most of the areas in FATA. Local elders or Malaks either threaten or give bribes to the journalists in order to get their favour. The politicians also try their best to exploit these journalists working in FATA receive threats, threatening calls

and warning messages. These threats, threatening calls, and messages are directed to them from different state and non-state actors. These actors include extremists, politicians, terrorists, local people, militants, Malaks, law- enforcement agencies, and even the media outlets and media organizations. Due to all of these issues, they focus on soft issues and leave the hard stories. It is high time to work on these issues and find out some possible solutions for them.

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