MEDIA LANDSCAPE: PUBLIC PERSPECTIVE ON MEDIA IN THE POST-MERGER FATA

Abdur Rauf[*]
PhD Scholar, Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur
abdurraufkhattak@gmail.com

Abdul Wajid Khan
Chairman, Department of Media Studies
The Islamia University of Bahawalpur
drwajidkhan.media@iub.edu.pk

Abstract
This study was conducted on the post-merger media landscape in the erstwhile FATA from public perspective. The study attempted to investigate public perspective on the existence and role of mainstream media and was also determined to explore journalists' conditions from the public perspective in the region. In the wake of ex-FATA merger with the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, through a constitutional amendment, as an mainstreaming effort by the government to bring the region into the national life of the country and while keeping before media role as a potential instrument to serve the cause of national cohesion and integration process, the current study aimed at exploring public perspective on the country mainstream media i-e, their availability, language priority, frequency of attachment, purpose, coverage and articulation of public voice on issues of the region. The study used quantitative research method of survey sampling technique by selecting 384 sampling size for the target population of North Waziristan tribal district for data collection through simple random sampling procedure. The study found strong Positive Correlation "r = 0.965" with P < 0.05, between the country mainstream media ignoring coverage of public voice on issues can be a cause of public alienation and can be a cause of use of social media as alternative source option in the region. Strong positive relationship exists between journalists' faces hindrances and corresponding shirking of reporting issues as correlation coefficient obtained at 0.970 with higher significant values 0.000 for the region. The study concluded that significant relationship exists between ignoring of coverage people voicing their issues on the country mainstream media can be a reason of public alienation and a cause social media use as an alternative option. The study also concluded existence of significant relationship between hindrances faced by journalists and the shirking of reporting issues.
Keywords: FATA Merger, North Waziristan, Mainstream Media, Social Media, Coverage, Alienation, Report Shirking, Correlation.

INTRODUCTION

The current study explore media landscape in the former tribal region of the country from the perspective of evaluating public perceptions and opinions on the country mainstream media. Known, formerly, as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and now, after merger through a constitutional amendment, making part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, the current study explores to map media accessibility, frequency of utilization, medium of language, usage purpose and public perspective on coverage and journalists conditions in the erstwhile tribal region.

The developments in the perspective of FATA merger by the government of Pakistan, as mentioned by (Noor, Hashmi, & Bukhari, 2018) through 25th amendment to the constitution of the country, is a significant step aiming at mainstreaming of the former tribal areas into the national life of the country.

Keeping in view the importance of media in national coherence and integration process, the situation necessitates to investigate and evaluate media role from the point of view of the public in the region. (Auwal & Nigeria, 2018) viewed mass media role as setting standard of public conduct, making

---

[*] Corresponding Author

citizen participation possible in governance and helping in achieving ideals of strong democracy, good governance and sustainable development. The region stretch along Afghanistan border for 600 kilometers long and inhabited by majority Pashtun ethnicity comprised of 27,220 square kilometers of areas as North Waziristan, South Waziristan, Kurrum, Orakzai, Khyber, Mohmand and Bajaur agencies (Noor et al., 2018). The merger done away with FCR and extended people with the fundamental rights enshrined in the constitution of the country, and opined that alienation of people in any socio-political or economic aspect yields ever bad results to any state. Earlier FATA was governed by special laws as a British legacy from 1901, known as Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) and under its people did not have same rights as do other citizens in other parts of the country (S. A. A. Shah, Parveen, & Khalil, 2019).

Besides reeling under FCR, another aspect that also plunged the former tribal areas into further darkness and destabilization, came in shape of ever increasing frequency of law and order, and militancy. As mentioned by several researchers including (Baloch, 2016; Chughtai, 2013; Haider & Jameel, 2017) tracing the situation back to former Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, which culminated into the spell over of militancy in Pakistan, that was further exacerbated by United States (US) led war on terror in the region, in the wake of 9/11 terror attacks. Resultantly, FATA, being on border with Afghanistan also faces the wrath of war and militancy sprawling over decades to come.

The situation aggravated not only from fundamental human rights perspective but also from the perspective of media functionality as well. In this scenario wherein the region was bereaved of fundamental human rights, functionality of media as a source of information collection and dissemination was also affected in the region. Amidst the spell of law and order, and militancy FATA areas remained marginalized viz-a-viz flow of information because of the concentration of Pakistani media in major cities of the country and the vacuum filled by foreign broadcasts including from neighboring Afghanistan or illegal FM radio stations operated by militants and journalists' constraints as they are thwarted from sharing information by various quarters(AMAD & IsLAM, 2020; Ashraf & Brooten, 2017)

As the merger of FATA was done with the aim of bring tribal areas into the mainstream of national life to address its social, political, economic and other developmental aspects, role of media in that post-merger perspective cannot be underrated. Media and democracy in the context of bearing reciprocal meaning, stating a state without vibrant standing media cannot stand and among the key indicators s to how a society is willing to make inclusive governance system, also includes as to how it media play its free role in the sense of encouraging public participation and dialogue (ATIME & IMO-TER NYAM, 2018). In the context of highlighting media importance in national cohesion and integration process, in their research studies Proactive role of media in cultural amalgamation in the country along with countering any sectarianism or terrorism narrative, media role is important for promotion of communal peace, to dispel foreign media influence and in building soft image of the country (Bitanga, 2020; S. J. Shah & Ishaque, 2017).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
Perspective on mainstream media
Mainstream media, also traditional media of communication, refers to television channels and radio channels disseminating uniform message originated to reach out at mass level. Among other, some of the functions of mainstream media, he added, includes agenda setting, cultural transmission, surveillance and entertainment (Apuke & Communication, 2016). Media as a force for national cohesion and integration. it keeps society informed and integrated regardless of ethnic, language, and racial diversity and despite use of increasing internet usage in Pakistan, television channels forms the central position and mainstay for information and entertainment provision to the masses in the country and thus a larger stakeholder in public opinion builder (Khalid, 2019).

Sans media we will not be able to take holistic view of understanding, identifying and to address issues (Nasrullah & Ahmad, 2021). Media role as important for cultural consolidation and national integration and broadcasting strong national narrative is necessary to help counter narratives of extremism, sectarianism and provincialism in the country (M. N. Khan, 2021) . Print media as a part of mainstream media bear long lasting effects on people minds and have the power to change public opinion in a direction it propounded (Batool, 2019). Television and press are of great potential of taking

onboard people into any ongoing political change due to having great outreach capacity (Michaelsen, 2011).

However, the country mainstream media do not give due representation to Christian minority workers and they faces struggle to earn media attention to highlight their issues (Ittefaq, Ejaz, Jamil, Iqbal, & Arif, 2021). **T**he country media is not playing active role in mass education. There is a need of national media policy (S. A. A. Shah et al., 2019). Media played a key role in national integration process of Malaysia by disseminating government policies as a part of work on nation building and integration process of country (Kee & Nie, 2017). **M**edia experts are of the point of view that foreign broadcasts in shape of British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) presents information not corresponding to ground realities and are misleading and directed at serving strategic interests of United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) through propaganda means. The country television channels mostly focused on political debates, give less attention to issues related to social problems, marginalized groups, human rights and women related issues ("International Media Support," 2009). Media can play its role for coherence among the inner ranks of society for positive change and a comprehensive media plan with the help of all stakeholders is needed to enable media to act as a shield against foreign media propaganda (Awan, 2019).

Perspective on social media

However, as with the mainstream media including television, radio and newspapers, use of internet is on the ever increase in the country. On one hand social media affords easy accessibility and rapid spreading of information by feeding people news but on the other hand it is a reason of spread of wide range of fake news and false information which entails severe negative implications for people and society. People are, intentionally, furnished with false information on social media, which is a challenging task to detect and it trigger distrust and confusion (Shu, Sliva, Wang, Tang, & Liu, 2017). Credibility and authenticity of information are of concern as mobile journalism is causative of spread of fake news (Jamil, 2019). Political disinformation on social media resulted in a situation wherein objective facts are eclipsed by emotional and ideological appeals and causing more influence in formation of public opinion (Barfar, 2019).

Social media platforms are used for extremists campaigns and in order to get into its fold new adherents, extremist resort to use of social media very effectively which is a concerned aspect of social media use in the country (Hassan, 2018). Social media in Pakistan carries the risk factor of yielding a platform for ideological division in society and even as a forum for extremists online communication (Kugelman, 2012). Social media transmit information without gatekeeping exercise as carried out in mainstream media and this situation gives way to contribution of disinformation, rumors and conspiracy theories (Baptista & Gradim, 2022).

Perspective on working journalists

Media vibrant role in social cohesion and mainstreaming can be realized by professional role of its practitioners involved. Journalistic autonomy in Pakistan is faced with different kinds of hindrances including due to law enforcers, constraints due to editorial policy, thwarts due to advertisement benefits, media ownership, and laws on media operation (Khalid, 2019; Siraj & Hussain, 2017). Journalists working in tribal areas of the country are not only facing security threats but they are also professionally marginalized and not professionally well-trained (A. Khan, 2014) . Journalists facing threats from local administration, prone to extreme pressure from religious parties and militants (Nisar, Muhammad, & Khan, 2019). Journalists have to pay heavy toll in shape of detention, banned to enter or expulsion from a territory, life threats, property damages, if they would give news and information from tribal areas because administration would take every step to curb flow of information (N. H. Khan, Zubair, & Hussan, 2016).

Discussion on Review of Literature

After reviewing various research studies pertaining to mainstream media, journalists, and on social media forums, the following depiction can be made out as a result of these studies, that: Attributed as a fourth pillar of a state worldwide, mainstream media including television, radio and newspapers can be potential forums as agenda setter, surveillance of different section of society, entertainment and helpful in national cohesion and integration process as a larger stakeholder in public opinion formation and can helps us understanding nature of a society or a region. The literature also depicts role of mainstream media as helpful instrument in taking onboard large number of people into any ongoing political change,

helpful in evaluation of public opinion, cultural tolerance and propel a society or a region to social integration process through free flow of information. The literature review on social media depicted an increasing use of internet based social media forums for information sharing and dissemination. But it also depicts risks factors of unethical production of contents, hate speech, cybercrimes, and spread of misleading and fake information and use of social media platforms by extremist elements. Literature review on journalists highlighted its importance but posed a gory picture mentioning various kinds of issues faced by them. Some of the common issues faced by journalists, including those working in FATA, were revealed from the review of the literature of various scholars shows intimidation and hindrances at hands of administration, pressure groups, militants, pressure on tilted dissemination of news and information or to curb its dissemination.

Statement of problem

Media can bring about change by fostering national unity and cohesion by socially anchoring isolated areas into the mainstream life of a country. However, like the case of transitional societies wherein media landscape very often goes through various kinds of often hardly known changes, which necessitates authentic and verifiable knowledge about these transformations as the case with former FATA as well. It also indicates that different media stakeholders and government in such kind of situation steer through unknown domains patched by unconfirmed claims and rumors. Merger of FATA has been affected with a purpose of mainstreaming the region into the national life of the country. But, keeping in view media importance as substantiated by literature review of various studies and the unknown existence of media landscape in the erstwhile tribal region, several aspects of media needs to be scholarly evaluated and needs proper attention to explore. Seeking of information by public, their perceptions on media coverage in the region and articulation of public voices on issues and their perspective on working journalists in the region are some of the questions of vital importance that needs to be investigated in the post-merger perspective of media landscape. The study aims to explore and understand mainstream media landscape from public perspective in the region, which has not been addressed, so far.

Rationale and Significance of the study

The rationale of the study lies in the fact that understanding of media in a transitional society from a public perspective can help build up reliable knowledge that in turn enable for taking dexterous and information based decision making process by all stakeholders and government. As the current study explores media landscape in the former tribal region from various aspects of public perspective, the results will be helpful in presenting us a picture that can be treaded to add to the declared aim of mainstreaming the region with a contribution of media involvement. The study will afford us leverage to point out any short coming and required parameters needed for harnessing national cohesion with addition of media as an important factor in this regard. The current study selected a specific region of erstwhile FATA that comprise of the tribal district of North Waziristan. Because the area also remained under the FCR governance and under a spell of law and order for decades in shape of militancy and war on terror in the region which affected every profession and field of life including media.

Overview of North Waziristan Geography

North Waziristan as a part of former FATA, is located in the northwest of Pakistan, with Wazir and Dawar tribes as a majority of composition of population and of Pashtun ethnicity (Spychała-Kij & Stability, 2020). North Waziristan is geographically featured a remote isolated tribal district with 4707 square kilometers of land, mostly rugged, and remained a tumultuous region, even never at peace during colonial times as well, and the last four decades also saw him braving long spells of violence (Makki M., 2022). Administratively the area comprised of three sub-divisions of Mirali, Miran Shah and Razmak, on its western side, North Waziristan share border with the Khost province of Afghanistant, to its south is located the region of South Waziristan and Bannu district to the East, and its North is bordered by Kurrum tribal district (Shakirullah, Nawab, Nyborg, & Elahi, 2020).

Objectives of the study

1. To explore mainstream media accessibility and the purpose of accessing it.
2. To evaluate mainstream media role from public point of view regarding coverage of issues in former FATA and raising people voice on it.
3. To locate public opinion on working journalists in the region.

Hypothesis of the study

H1: Ignoring to cover public voice on their issues on the country mainstream

media creates public alienation and results in social media usage as an
alternative option.

H2: Due to hindrances at the hands of government functionaries and pressure
groups, journalists in erstwhile FATA, shirk to report issues.

METHODOLOGY
The current research work used quantitative research approach for exploring public perceptions on existing media landscape in the former tribal areas of the country and survey research technique was used as a data collection method. Researcher, with the help of survey research technique, can develop a comprehensive and standardized tools and get responses to the posed queries to collect information on concerning behavior or an attitude of a population (Beam, 2017).

Population of the Study
Out of the reason of given the comparable prevailing conditions, and need of a lot time, finances and requirement of availability of other necessary resources, the study could not be possible to be undertaken for the entire population. The residents of tribal district of North Waziristan comprising of Mirali, Miran Shah and Razmak sub-division, was the population of the study, wherein from the researcher collected data from adult citizens. In the light of the prevailing comparable conditions in the former FATA, the population of the study has been selected. Erstwhile tribal region is a composition of similar social, cultural norms rendering it a homogeneous society (Ali, Ansari, & Firdous, 2020). According to the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) 2017 census report, the population of North Waziristan comprised of (543,254) people (I. Khan, 2017).

Sampling Technique
The researcher used simple random sampling technique in the current study. After applying of Cochran's sample size formula, which is appropriate for drawing sample from large population. the current sample size of the study is 384 adults citizen from North Waziristan (Rahi, 2019). Cochran's Sample Size formula:

$$n_{0 =} (z^2 \times P (1-p))/e^2$$
$$n_0 = \{(1.96)^2 \times 0.5(1-0.5)/(0.05)^2$$
$$n_0 \approx 384$$

n_0 = 384 for unknown population

Z= is the two tailed area under the normal curve where a= 0.05 and the z value is 1.96

e= margin of error (0.05)

p= is the population of a proportion (assumed to be 0.5)

As the size of targeted population are known, thus the above sample will be adjusted as follows as mentioned by (Cochran 1977).

$$Adjusted\ Sample\ size = \frac{n_0}{[1 + \left\{\frac{n_0 - 1}{population}\right\}]}$$

$$Adjusted\ Sample\ size = \frac{384}{[1 + \left\{\frac{384 - 1}{543254}\right\}]}$$

$$Adjusted\ Sample\ size\ for\ North\ Waziristan = 383.52 \approx 384$$

Data Collection Tool
A logical, comprehensive, and well-coordinated questionnaire was developed in a clear language and deployed for data collection of the current study in the concerned areas. The questionnaire comprised of close ended questions and based on multiple choice questions on Likert scale. Before deploying into the field a pilot study was conducted of 50 sample size and in the light of the responses the questionnaire was further refined and finalized.

Data Analysis Technique
To ensure accuracy, balance and objectivity in the results of the study, the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version-21 was used for quantitative data analysis. Microsoft word was used for

compiling the research script and formulation of tables.

Unit of Analysis

Unit of analysis may comprise of a single word, a story, a theme or an entire article that is put to analysis through standardized method (Wimmir & Dominick, 1987). The current study subjected mainstream media, accessibility, purpose, frequency of using media, the country media coverage of issues, articulation, alienation and resorting to social media as alternative source and journalists shirking of report as a unit of analysis.

Mainstream media

The term collectively means Pakistani traditional media outlets both in public and private sector, including newspapers, radio and television channels.

Accessibility

Under the umbrella term accessibility, the researcher wants to investigate people use of mainstream media of the country including newspapers, radio, and television.

Purpose

It defines the public priorities of purpose for which they resort to use of mainstream media of the country.

Frequency of using media

It is the situation wherein public is evaluated against their interaction with mainstream media.

Coverage of issues

The term refers to various mainstream media outlets in the country, both in public and private sectors, pattern of coverage of issues related to the former tribal areas of the country.

Articulation

The researcher explores public opinion about role of mainstream media of the country in raising public voice on issues related to the former tribal areas of the country

Alienation

The researcher wants to investigate sense of ensuing estrangement created among people viz-a-viz ignoring coverage of their voice on issues and the feeling of being ignored by mainstream media of the country and the use of social media as alternative for it.

Journalists shirk to report

The researcher wants to explore public perception on working Journalists in the former tribal areas regarding hindrances they face and as a result evasion of reporting issues in the region.

Theoretical Framework

The current study is anchored in Development Media Theory and Democratic Participant Theory as these approaches brings description to media landscape by dwelling on media consumption, involvement, participation, raising of socio-cultural, political and economic aspects of a society and depicting a society under a transitional process of development. McQuail furnished the development media theory and democratic participant theory furnished in 1987 and explained that it visualize a certain social role of media in a society. The development media theory held media role as a supporter to government efforts in its efforts for national development and instead of being critical, it consider media should support government policies and programs (Baran, Davis, & Striby, 2012).

Democratic participant theory proposes media role as a supporter to propagate and promote people voice and their views and opinions related to various aspects of governance. The theory lay emphasis on full circular of communication activities with interaction of media and audiences (Bajracharya, 2018; Johnson, 2013).

The theory is applicable to all media forms and visualize and encourage self-regulation of media though but in case of disregarding, government control of some aspects of media through guidelines in shape of monitoring, registration, licensing and censorship. Many research studies have been carried out under the umbrella of both development media theory and democratic participant theory including (ATIME & IMO-TER NYAM, 2018; N. J. Brown, 2016; Okoro & Abodunrin, 2019) used development media theory and democratic participant theory in their research studies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

For the purpose of results findings and discussion about the data of the study, the researcher resorted to use of two techniques including;
1. Frequency Distribution

2. Hypotheses Testing

For better and easy understanding the frequency distribution was further divided into the following parts;

1. Demographic characteristics of the respondents
2. Section on questions related to newspapers
3. Section on questions related to radio
4. Section on questions related to television
5. Combine section on questions related to mainstream media
6. Journalists condition

1. Demographic characteristics of the respondents
Table No. 1. Gender Wise Distribution

Domicile	Male	Female	Response Rate	Total
North Waziristan	305	42	347	384
	87.90%	12.10%	91 %	100.00%

Among the frequency distribution as demonstrates by Table 1 out of 384 sample size, 347 respondents recorded their responses, which consist of 87% male and 12.10% female. Demographic characteristics gives better insight about the population composition of a locality along with expanding our knowledge of a study under consideration. In the current study results shows response rate was male dominated 87% as against female response rate at 12.10%. It revealed as substantiated by several research studies, including (Akbar, 2010) that owing to certain social customs, Pakhtoons live in a patriarchal society and male dominated and women stay in backdrop. Female are hard to access for information gathering.

Table No.2 Qualification of the Respondents

Education Level	Primary	Middle	Matric	Intermediate	Graduate	Post Graduate	M.S	M. Phil	P.h D	Total
North Waziristan	59	73	81	54	34	24	11	7	4	347
	17.00%	21.00%	23.30%	15.60%	9.80%	6.90%	3.20%	2.00%	1.20%	100.00%

Among the respondents as shown by Table 2, primary level of education was 17% , Middle 21.00%, Matric 23.30%, Intermediate 15.60%, Graduation 9.80%, Post- graduation 6.90%, M.S 3.20%, M.Phil. 2.00% and 1.20% from Ph.D. The figures on education level shows that majority of the respondents are matriculated 23.30%, followed by 21% as middle pass, and 17% having primary level of education. The figures indicates a lot of potential and space exists for improvement in literacy level in the region.

Table No. 3 Age Wise Frequency Distribution

Age	18-23	24-29	30-35	36-41	42-47	48-53	54-59	60-Above	Total
North Waziristan	97	67	61	41	30	23	15	13	347
	28.00%	19.30%	17.60%	11.80%	8.60%	6.60%	4.30%	3.70%	100%

The Table 3 demonstrates that 28.00% of respondents were from age group of 18-23, 19.30% from 24-29, 17.60% from 30-35, 11.80% from 36-41, 8.60% of age 42-47, 6.60% of age 48-53, 4.30% of age 54-59 and 3.70% of age 60 and above. The age group indicators shows that majority of respondents 28% lay between age group of 18-23, followed by 19.30% and 17.60% between the age racket of 24-29 and 30-35 respectively. Indicating thereby existence of young lot by majority in the region.

Section on questions related to newspapers
Table No. 4 Newspaper Readers

Domicile	Yes	No (Not Accessible)	No (No Interested)	No (Stated No Reason)	Total
North Waziristan	313	21	6	7	347
	90.20%	6.10%	1.70%	2.00%	100 %

As shown by Table 4 out of the total 347 respondents, 90.20% as newspaper readers and 9.80% replied with 'No'. Among those replied with 'No', 6.10% stated the reason of no accessibility, and 1.70% replied with no interest in reading newspapers. 2% did not stated any reason. Newspapers is seek after by 90.20% readers in the region, though with a varying degree of readership. Newspaper accessibility issues also exists in the region as respondents also mentioned that reason as well. This shows that the trend of newspaper reading is finding good footings in the region.

Table No. 5 Language of Readership

Domicile	1.Urdu	2.English	3.Pashto	1, 2 & 3	1& 2	1 & 3	2 & 3	Total
North Waziristan	204	41	32	6	19	8	3	313
	65.20%	13.10%	10.20%	1.90%	6.10%	2.60%	1.00%	100%

Table 5 indicates that 65.20% of the respondents read Urdu language newspaper, 13.10% English, 10.20% Pashto, 1.90% replied to all meaning Urdu, English and Pashto languages, 6.10% marked Urdu and English, 2.60% mentioned Urdu and Pashto and 1% for English and Pashto languages. Results turning out Urdu language stand prime as majority of 65.20% of readership of newspaper in it in the region, followed by Pashto language and a chunk of English language readers, though very tiny.

Table No. 6 Purpose of Newspaper Reading

Domicile	1.News& Information	2.Education	3.Enter-Tainment	1, 2 & 3	1 & 2	1 & 3	2 & 3	Total
North Waziristan	153	92	23	14	21	4	6	313
	48.90%	29.40%	7.30%	4.50%	6.70%	1.30%	1.90%	100.00%

The Table 6 revealed that 48.90% of respondents read newspaper to get news and information on issues like social, political, business and security, 29.40% for education purpose on topics like academics, science, health, religion and agriculture etc., and 7.30% for entertainment purposes like sports, showbiz, film industry etc., 4.50% marked all 1,2 and 3 options, 6.70% marked 1 and 2 options, 1.30% marked 1 and 3 options and 1.90% of the respondents marked 2 and 3 options as a purpose for newspaper reading. Majority turned out to be the newspaper readership, 48.90%, with a purpose of getting news and information on social, political, business and security issues etc.

Table No. 7 Readership of Newspapers Published in Pakistan by Frequency

Domicile	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Regularly	Total
North Waziristan	36	147	93	37	313
	11.50%	47.00%	29.70%	11.80%	100%

Table 7 indicates that 11.50% of the respondents replied to rarely read newspapers published in Pakistan, 47.00% replied to sometimes, 29.70% mentioned it often and 11.80% replied to read Pakistani newspapers regularly. Results demonstrates that the frequency of newspaper readership in the region is not falling into the categories of those regular reader or often, but the majority is led by 47% who only sometimes resort to reading newspaper.

Table No. 8 Coverage of Issues by Pakistan based Newspapers

Domicile	Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Un-Decided	Sometimes	Often	Most often	Total
North Waziristan	15	67	56	28	83	42	22	313
	4.80%	21.40%	17.90%	8.90%	26.50%	13.40%	7.00%	100%

Table 8 shows that 4.80% replied to never category, 21.40% to very rarely, 17.90% rarely, 8.90% undecided, 26.50% replied to sometimes, and 13.40% mentioned it often. 7.0% replied to the most often category. Respondents by majority 26.50%, bears the impression from the country newspaper they reads that it only gives 'sometimes' coverage to the issues pertaining to former tribal areas in the sphere of social, political, business, cultural, security and educational etc. Sill further a close majority by 21.40% viewed it as a very rare phenomena. That indicates that respondents considered coverage is insufficient.

Table No.9 Articulation of Public Voice by Pakistan based Newspapers

Domicile	Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Un-decided	Sometimes	Often	Most often	Total
North	21	36	59	31	115	33	18	313

Waziristan	6.70%	11.50%	18.80%	9.90%	36.70%	10.50%	5.80%	100%

The Table 9, revealed that 6.70% replied to never category, 11.50% marked very rarely, 18.80% rarely, 9.90% were undecided, 36.70% replied to sometimes option, 10.50% stated it often, 5.80% marked the most often option. Data on articulation of public voice on issues relate to former FATA indicates that majority 36.70%, followed by 18.80% considered it sometimes and rarely respectively that voices on public are taken onboard on issues like social, political, business, cultural, security and educational etc.

Section on questions related to radio

Table No.10 Radio Listening

Domicile	Yes	No (Use other means)	No (Stated no reason)	Total
North Waziristan	321	19	7	347
	92.50%	5.50%	2.00%	100%

According to the Table 10, 92.50% replied to listen to radio programs. 7.50% marked 'No'. Among the No category, 5.50% stated to prefer television watching and use of online media, and 2% put no reason. Radio listening by varying degree of frequency of listenership is 92.50% and those who do not listen to either use other mediums as indicated by data or did not mentioned the reason.

Table No.11 Preferred Language

Domicile	Urdu	English	Pashto	1, 2 & 3	1 & 2	1 & 3	2 & 3	Total
North Waziristan	131	13	112	16	9	33	7	321
	40.80%	4.00%	34.90%	5.00%	2.80%	10.30%	2.20%	100%

The Table 11 yielded the results wherein among the 321 respondents 40.80% listen to Urdu language programs, 4.00% English language, 34.90% Pashto language, 5.00% replied to all 1,2 and 3 options, 2.80% mentioned 1 and 2 options, 10.30% marked 1 and 3, and 2.20% marked 2 and 3 options. The data shows that majority 40.80% of the respondents listen to Urdu language programs, followed by closely with 34.90% as Pashto language programs on radio. So Urdu and followed by Pashto stand out to be dominant languages of listenership in the region.

Table No.12 Purpose of Listening to Radio

Domicile	1.News & Information	2.Education	3.Enter-tainment.	1, 2 &3	1 & 2	1 & 3	2 & 3	Total
North Waziristan	127	84	37	29	22	4	18	321
	39.60%	26.20%	11.50%	9.00%	6.90%	1.20%	5.60%	100%

The Table 12 revealed that 39.60% of the respondents listen radio to get news and information on issues like Social, Political, business and security, 26.20% for education purpose on topics like academics, science, health, religion and agriculture etc., 11.50% for entertainment purposes like sports, music, drama etc., while 9.00% stated all the 1,2 and 3 options, 6.90% mentioned options 1 and 2, 1.20% stated 1 and 3 and 5.60% stated 2 and 3 options. The purpose of listening to radio programs indicated that majority 39.60% tuned to radio for getting news and information purpose on issues like Social, Political, business and security. This shows the trend wherein, though, listeners regarding educational programs and entertainment programs also exists but it is news and information that stand at apex as a purpose of listening to radio channels in the region.

Table No. 13 Listening to Pakistani Radio Stations by Frequency

Domicile	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Regularly	Total
North Waziristan	22	142	116	41	321
	6.90%	44.20%	36.10%	12.80%	100%

The Table 13 indicates that 6.90% answered to rarely, 44.20% to sometimes, 36.10% stated it as often option and 12.80% mentioned it as regularly. However radio listenership is well established in the region but the data indicates that majority 44.20 are those listeners who tuned to radio sometimes only.

Table No. 14 Coverage of Pakistan based Radio Stations

Domicile	Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Un-decided	Some-times	Often	Most often	Total

North Waziristan	11	54	66	15	112	49	14	321
	3.40%	16.80%	20.60%	4.70%	34.90%	15.30%	4.40%	100%

The Table 14 shows that 3.40% replied with 'never' observed so, 16.80% marked very rarely, 20.60% rarely, 4.70% undecided, 34.90% to sometimes, 15.30% marked as often, and 4.40% marked the most often option. The data yielded the results showing that majority 34.90% and followed by 20.60% , corresponding to sometimes and rarely categories, considered that the country based radio stations not sufficiently highlighting issues related to the former tribal areas of the country.

Table No.15 Articulation of Public Voice by Pakistani based Radio Stations.

Domicile	Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Un-decided	Some-Times	Often	Most-often	Total
North Waziristan	13	45	61	14	129	36	23	321
	4.00%	14.00%	19.00%	4.40%	40.20%	11.20%	7.20%	100%

The Table 15 revealed that 4.00% of the respondents replied to never observe so option, 14.00% to very rarely, 19.00% marked rarely, 4.40% remained undecided, 40.20% marked it sometimes, 11.20% marked it as often option and 7.20% marked it as most often option. Respondents' perceptions are led by majority of 40.20% of those who considered that articulation of public voice is only sometimes given chance by the country radio channels. It stood against the category of often and most often coverage of public voice on issues by the country radio channels.

Section on questions related to television

Table No. 16 Television Viewership

Domicile	Yes	No (Stated no reason)	No(Show no interested)	Not good (culturally)	Total
North Waziristan	328	11	5	3	347
	94.50%	3.20%	1.40%	0.90%	100

The table 16, revealed that 94.50% respondents replied in affirmative of watching television programs, 5.50% were replied with 'No', and among the No category, 3.20% stated no reason for that, 1.40% stated that were not interested, while 0.90% replied that it is not culturally justified to watch it. The data shows television viewership as 94.50% in the region as replied by the respondents of the study and the trend is well established about that medium of broadcast media in the region.

Table No.17 Preferred Language

Domicile	1.Urdu	2.English	3.Pashto	1, 2 & 3	1 & 2	1 & 3	2 & 3	Total
North Waziristan	217	14	58	12	8	16	3	328
	66.20%	4.30%	17.70%	3.70%	2.40%	4.90%	0.90%	100%

The Table 17 revealed that 66.20% of the respondents preferred to watch Urdu language programs, 4.30% English, and 17.70% Pashto language programs, while 3.70% replied to all option of 1, 2 and 3, 2.40% marked option 1 and 2, 4.90% replied with 1 and 3 options, and 0.90% marked 2 and 3 options. Majority 66.20% of respondents stick to Urdu language programs, which indicates Urdu language programs viewership is by overwhelming majority in the region, only to be followed by programs broadcasted in Pashto language that comprised of 17.70 % of the respondents.

Table No.18 Purpose of Watching Television

Domicile	1.News& Information	2. Education	3. Enter-tainment	1, 2 & 3	1 & 2	1 & 3	2 & 3	Total
North Waziristan	111	70	46	61	31	4	5	328
	33.80%	21.30%	14.00%	18.60%	9.50%	1.20%	1.50%	100%

The Table 18 indicated that 33.80% of the respondents watch television broadcasts to get news and information on issues like Social, Political, business and security, 21.30% for education purpose on topics like academics, science, health, religion and agriculture etc., 14.00% for entertainment purposes like sports, showbiz, film industry etc., 18.60% marked all 1,2 and 3 options, 9.50% marked option 1 and 2, 1.20% replied with option 1 and 3, and 1.50% marked 2 and 3 options. The data indicates that majority 33.80% of television viewership furnished the purpose of watching the medium is to get news

and information like social, political, business and security etc. Though there also exists viewership regarding educational programs and entertainment but majority seeks news and information.

Table No.19 Watching Pakistan based Television Programs by Frequency

Domicile	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Regularly	Total
North Waziristan	37	135	112	44	328
	11.30%	41.20%	34.10%	13.40%	100%

The Table 19 revealed that 11.30% respondents watch Pakistani television channels programs 'rarely', 41.20% sometimes, 34.10% marked as often, and 13.40% regularly. Though data revealed that television as a well-established medium in the region but its viewership by majority as data shows 41.20% are those who only sometimes resort to watching television programs and it is followed by those 34.10% who often resort to watching it. This indicates that as against regular viewership pattern, majority sometimes watch television programs.

Table No.20 Coverage of Issues by Pakistan based Television Channels

Domicile	Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Undecided	Sometimes	Often	Most often	Total
North Waziristan	17	61	65	32	102	45	6	328
	5.20%	18.60%	19.80%	9.80%	31.10%	13.70%	1.80%	100%

The Table 20 indicates that 5.20% replied with never observed so, 18.60% with very rarely, 19.80% stated it rarely, 9.80% remained undecided, 31.10% mentioned sometimes, 13.70% stated as often, and 1.80% marked the most often option. As far as the coverage of issues related to former FATA is concerned, majority 31.10% of the respondents who watched the country television channels termed it a converge that do exists but sometimes as against the respondent who may considered it to be most often.

Table No.21 Articulation of Public Voice by Pakistani Television Channels

Domicile	Never	Very Rarely	Rarely	Undecided	Sometimes	Often	Most often	Total
North Waziristan	25	44	51	39	118	33	18	328
	7.60%	13.40%	15.50%	11.90%	36.00%	10.10%	5.50%	100%

The Table 21 revealed that 7.60% replied with never observed so, 13.40% to very rarely option, 15.50% stated it rarely, 11.90% remained undecided, 36.00% marked it sometimes, 10.10% replied with often, and 5.50% marked the option of most often. The articulation of public voice on issues on the country mainstream media indicates that majority 36% of the respondents were of the opinion that the representation was done but only sometimes. It indicates that the perception exists that often or most often coverage of public voice on issues related to former tribal areas is a rare phenomenon on the country mainstream media.

Combine section on questions related to mainstream media

Table No.22 The Country Mainstream Media Ignoring Coverage and Public Alienation

Domicile	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Un-Decided	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
North Waziristan	113	64	79	18	24	29	20	347
	32.60%	18.40%	22.80%	5.20%	6.90%	8.40%	5.80%	100%

The Table 22 demonstrates that 32.60% of the respondents were strongly agree, that in case the country mainstream media ignore coverage than it creates alienation among public, 18.40% agreed, 22.80% somewhat agreed, 5.20% stay undecided, 6.90% somewhat disagreed, 8.40% disagreed, and 5.80% marked the strongly disagree option. The public perception as revealed by data of the study that majority 32.60 % is led by those having the opinion that that they strongly agree on the condition that ignoring of public voice on issues of an area on the country mainstream media creates a sense of alienation and deprivation among masses.

Table No.23 Social Media as an Alternative Option

Domicile	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Un-decided	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
North Waziristan	74	96	71	42	31	21	12	347
	21.30%	27.70%	20.50%	12.10%	8.90%	6.10%	3.50%	100%

The Table 23 demonstrates that 21.30% of the respondents were strongly agree that in case of non-coverage of public voice on issues by the country mainstream media than people use social media as an alternative option for it, as 27.20% mentioned agreed option, 20.50% somewhat agree, 12.10% stay undecided, 8.90% somewhat disagree, 6.10% disagreed and 3.50% marked the strongly disagree option. It is established through the data that majority 27.20%, followed by 21.30% were both agree and strong agree respectively that people finds a space on social media as an alternative option to use, if the mainstream media of the country ignore to highlight issues of an area.

Journalists condition

Table No.24 Media Organizations Ignore Reports of Journalists for Coverage

Domicile	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Un-decided	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
North Waziristan	69	71	77	44	29	49	8	347
	19.90%	20.50%	22.20%	12.70%	8.40%	14.10%	2.30%	100%

The Table 24 revealed the public perception about the country media organizations ignore to give coverage to reports of journalists from tribal areas as 19.90% marked strongly agree, 20.50% agreed, 22.20% somewhat agreed, 12.70% stay undecided, 8.40% somewhat disagree, 14.10% disagree, and 2.30% mentioned the strongly disagree option. The respondents perception led by majority of 22.20 % as somewhat agree and followed by 20.50% are agree that they held the view that media reports of journalists from the former tribal areas are often ignored to be given space by various media organizations in the country. That also indicates that public consider media organizations ignore their issues raised and reported either by journalists in the region.

Table No.25 Journalists Shirk to Report Issues

Domicile	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Un-decided	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
North Waziristan	93	66	55	36	38	39	20	347
	26.80%	19.00%	15.90%	10.40%	11.00%	11.20%	5.80%	100%

The Table 25 revealed public perception on journalists shirking to report issues due to hindrances at the hands of government functionaries and pressure groups as 26.80% marked strongly agree option, 19.00% agree, 15.90% somewhat agree, 10.40% stay undecided, 11.00% somewhat disagree, 11.20% disagree, and 5.80% marked the strongly disagree option. The results of the study shows that public have a perception by majority of 26.80% as strongly agree and 19% as agree, regarding working journalists in the region that they try to evade and shirk to report issues from the former tribal areas due to hindrances faced by them at the hands of government functionaries and pressure groups.

Hypotheses Testing

H1: Ignoring to cover public voice on their issues on the country mainstream media creates public alienation and results in social media usage as an alternative option.

Table No.26 Pearson Correlation Statistic

		Non-Coverage	Use of Social media
Non-Coverage by Mainstream Media	Pearson Correlation	1	.965**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000
	N	347	347
Social media used as alternative option	Pearson Correlation	.965**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	
	N	347	347

Correlation statistic were applied to test the hypothesis H_1, wherein the researcher has assumed a relationship between the country mainstream media ignoring to give coverage to public voice on issues creates alienation and results in resorting to use of social media as an alternative option. The table 26 yielded the correlation statistic results with the coefficient of correlation as r = 0.965** and the corresponding higher significant value 0.00. Thus, it is proved that there exists strong positive correlation between mainstream media ignoring public voice on issues and creation of alienation and resort to use of social media as alternative option.

H2: Due to hindrances at the hands of government functionaries and pressure groups, journalists in erstwhile FATA, shirk to report issues.

Table No.27 Correlation Between Shirk Reporting and Hindrances

		Hindrances	Shirk to Report
Hindrances faced by Journalists	Pearson Correlation	1	.970**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000
	N	347	347
Shirking to report issues	Pearson Correlation	.970**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	
	N	347	347

The researcher through hypothesis H_2 assumed relationship between journalists faces hindrances at the hands of government functionaries and pressure groups and they shirk to report issues in the former tribal areas. The application of correlation statistic as demonstrated by Table 27 shows the correlation coefficient obtained 0.970** with corresponding higher significant value i-e 0.000. Thus, it is proved that existence of strong positive relationship between the hindrances faced by journalists and the corresponding shirking of reporting issues in the region.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study explored various aspects of media landscape from public perspective through the responses recorded from respondent of North Waziristan tribal district and come to various conclusion as per results of the study are concerned.

It is concluded from the demographic characteristics of the study that the region is male dominated one, with majority falling in young age group of people, and that the literacy level of the region was comprising of those having basic level of education i-e primary, middle pass and matriculation. Regarding the country mainstream media including newspaper, radio and television, it is concluded from the results of the study that all the three mediums, though, have solid presence and considerable attachment viz-a-viz readership, listenership and viewership respectively in the region, but the frequency of attachment to all the mediums do not fall into those who regularly reads, listen or view these mediums but it is concluded that majority resort to only sometimes attached to it. Urdu turned out to be the leading language in which all mainstream media outlets including newspaper, radio and television channels are tuned to by respondents from the region. It is concluded from the results of the study that the majority of respondents mentioned seeking of news and information on the mainstream media of the country and it is also inferred that it is due to the peculiar circumstances in shape of socio-political unrest in the region that led the people of the region to stick to news and information by majority of cases. It is concluded from the results of the study that public perception on the country mainstream regarding highlighting of their issues related to former tribal areas and raising of public

voice on it is not considered sufficiently presented on it. It is inferred from the results of the study that public perceptions exists that the mainstream media of the country ignore to highlight their issues and also ignore to give space to the public voice raised on issues of the region that creates a sense of alienation among them and they seeks alternative forums in shape of social media to highlight the same. However various research studies has mentioned that social media forums are also flooded with fake news and disinformation that can mislead or misguide.

Regarding conditions of working journalists in the former FATA, it is concluded public do consider that the country media organizations often ignore to give proper space to the reports of journalists from the region and on the other hand public perceptions also exists that journalists also faces hindrances due to government functionaries and pressure groups to perform their professional duties and as a result they shirk to report issues from the region.

Limitations of the study

Like any other research work can face some problems that can be considered its limitations, the current research study has also some limitations. Primarily it was relegated to North Waziristan region and the small sample size cannot be counted for generalization at a larger level i-e, the country or at world at large. However being of the same ethnic composition and embedded in the same socio-political and cultural values, it can be taken as a representative population for the region the North Waziristan tribal district.

In future, in case of conduction of some other studies in multiple regions, results can be different due to different environmental setups. Among others issue, the questionnaire distributed of the study was on self-reported response and also responded, so it may cause accuracy in data. (The researcher do not have alternative option due to hardships in accessibility problems, along with time and budgetary constraints). Given availability of resources and sufficient funding facility, the research study can be conducted in other parts of the country, particularly in other parts of the erstwhile FATA.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Keeping in view the prevailing landscape of mainstream media in the post-merger perspective of public perceptions and opinion recorded by the current study, the research arrives at certain recommendations including; That the government may form a committee to focus on evaluating and reporting media engagements in the erstwhile FATA in the context of streamlining efforts of the region as visualized in the wake of 25th amendment to the constitution of the country. Government may ensure and to remove any hurdle in the way of right to reply by individuals from former tribal areas. It is recommended that public voice on issues needs proper articulation by the country mainstream media so that concerned quarters may be well appraised of public issues of the region and thus helps build up trust relationship in the larger perspective of mainstreaming efforts of the region enunciated by the country. Government may take steps with the help of mainstream media organizations of the country to provide full public service to the people of former FATA on information sharing, cultural, education and debates forums on various issues with some institutionalized measures of control as to what is to broadcast and published. Due to transitory stage of the mainstreaming efforts of former tribal areas, government may form an information policy that may be focused on the erstwhile FATA for information sharing and dissemination about these regions with the help of mainstream media outlets of the country. Government and relevant stake holders are needed to take time to time appraisal of use of any unconventional means of communication or foreign media carrying negative propaganda and to address it on time by counter narrative on the country mainstream media while taking onboard prominent figures from various sections of the population from erstwhile FATA in this regard.

Government may implement appropriate steps with utmost transparency regarding use of social media in the region to ensure protection against harmful content and anyone who produces or resorted to illegal content or services on social media may be held responsible, in the presence of an independent authority, through law by the government.

Regarding working journalists in the former FATA, owners of media organizations along with the liaison of press unions and government may take initiative to address hindrances faced by journalists in the region and to create conducive environment for journalists to work professionally.

Journalists in the region may be afforded with professional training programs along with legal and safety aspects to work professionally sound. They should avoid sensational and exaggerated words in their reporting.

They may avoid information sharing with anonymous sources. Government may direct all public sector institutions in former tribal areas not to treat information as something a discretion of the department concerned only and may ensure practical steps in openness of information flow.

REFERENCES

Akbar, N. (2010). *Women rights in FATA Pakistan: a critical review of NGOs' communication strategies for projects' implementation.* Universitetet i Tromsø,

Ali, G., Ansari, M. I., & Firdous, M. J. G. P. R. (2020). FATA Merger to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Problems and prospects for federalism in Pakistan. *5*(1), 224-233.

AMAD, A., & IsLAM, J. (2020). " Department of Media Studies, University of Passau, Germany.

Apuke, O. D. J. J. o. N. M., & Communication, M. (2016). Social and traditional mainstream media of communication: Synergy and variance perspective. *53*(4), 83-86.

Ashraf, S. I., & Brooten, L. J. T. A. o. J. (2017). Tribal journalists under fire. 147.

ATIME, S. M. Y., & IMO-TER NYAM, I. J. E. (2018). THE CONVENTIONAL MEDIA IN NIGERIA AND DEMOCRATIC TENETS. *2581*, 3439.

Auwal, A. M. J. M. R. o. G., & Nigeria, D. i. (2018). Mass media, democracy and the imperatives of good governance in Nigeria: An Appraisal. 62-88.

Awan, M. Y. (2019). Role of media in strengthening of pakistani society.

Bajracharya, S. (2018). Democratic-participant Theory of Mass Communication.

Baloch, Z. J. C. A. J. (2016). Pakistan's Post 9/11 Afghan policy: Impact on FATA. *78*(1), 38-54.

Baptista, J. P., & Gradim, A. J. J. o. c. E. s. (2022). Online disinformation on Facebook: the spread of fake news during the Portuguese 2019 election. *30*(2), 297-312.

Baran, S. J., Davis, D. K., & Striby, K. (2012). Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future.

Barfar, A. (2019). Cognitive and affective responses to political disinformation in Facebook. *J Computers in Human Behavior, 101*, 173-179.

Batool, S. J. P. S. S. R. (2019). Media representations and refugees crises: Framing of Afghan refugees in mainstream print media of Pakistan. *3*(I), 461-473.

Beam, G. (2017). *The problem with survey research*: Routledge.

Bitanga, M. (2020). Media use and subjective social cohesion. Examining the reciprocal relationship between use and subjective social cohesion.

Chughtai, M. W. (2013). The Impact of Rising Terrorism and Military Operations on Socio Economic Culture of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. *J A Journal of Peace Development, 3*(1), 18-32.

Haider, B., & Jameel, S. (2017). Geneses, causes, and ramification of militancy in FATA in the post 9/11 scenario. In.

Hassan, K. J. T. R. T. (2018). Social media, media freedom and Pakistan's war on terror. *107*(2), 189-202.

International Media Support. (2009).

Ittefaq, M., Ejaz, W., Jamil, S., Iqbal, A., & Arif, R. J. J. P. (2021). Discriminated in Society and Marginalized in Media: Social Representation of Christian Sanitary Workers in Pakistan. 1-19.

Jamil, S., Appiah-Adjei, Gifty (2019). Journalism in the era of mobile technology: the changing pattern of news production and the thriving culture of fake news in Pakistan and Ghana. *World of Media. Journal of Russian Media and Journalism Studies*(3), 42-64.

Johnson, J. J., William Adesoji. (2013). EXPLICATION OF THEORECTICAL FOUNDATION OF COMMUNICATION POLICY. *J Arabian Journal of Business Management Review, 3*(4), 99.

Kee, C. P., & Nie, K. S. J. M. J. o. C. (2017). A reflection of national integration process and the role of media in Malaysia. *33*, 395-405.

Khalid, A. U. (2019). A Case Study of Pakistani News Channels: Media Education and Journalists' Training. In *Smart Technologies and Innovation for a Sustainable Future* (pp. 1-9): Springer.

Khan, A. (2014). Journalists at work in FATA: an overview of consequences. *J Tiagh: A Journal of Peace Development, 5*, 45-61.

Khan, I. (2017). Relevance of Radio in Social Construction in FATA: A Case of Bajaur Agency. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences, 11*.

Khan, M. N. (2021). National Integration: Challenges and Options for Pakistan. *Journal of Security*

Strategic Analyses, 7(1), 34-69.

Khan, N. H., Zubair, M., & Hussan, S. J. G. S. S. R. (2016). Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), Status of Fundamental Human Rights in Fata. *1*(2), 74-97.

Kugelman, M. J. R. f. N. P. R. C. w. h. w. p. n. v. e. s. s. o. a. d. a. b. a. d. p. (2012). Social media in Pakistan: Catalyst for communication not change. NOREF Report.

Makki M., I. W. (2022). Transformation in Political Economy of Post-conflict North Waziristan, Pakistan. *J Journal of Asian African Studies, 57*(3), 497-513.

Michaelsen, M. (2011). New media vs. old politics."The Internet, social media,

Democratisation in Pakistan. ". *J Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*.

N. J. Brown, S. A. O., E. N. Inyang , & J. Bassey (2016). Community Journalism and Sustenance of Democratic Ideals in Nigeria.

Nasrullah, M., & Ahmad, M. (2021). *Implications of Reforms for Erstwhile FATA: A Critical Analysis*.

Nisar, H., Muhammad, A. F., & Khan, W. J. G. (2019). Post 9/11-Freedom of Press & Situation of Journalists In Pakistan. *52*(2).

Noor, S., Hashmi, A. S., & Bukhari, S. T. J. I. P. (2018). FATA merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Prospects and opportunities. *10*(II).

Okoro, N., & Abodunrin, K. J. C. J. o. C. (2019). Democratic Participant Media Theory in the Nigerian Context.

Rahi, S. A., Feras MI, Abd Ghani, Mazuri. (2019). Designing survey research: recommendation for questionnaire development, calculating sample size and selecting research paradigms. *J Economic Social Development: Book of Proceedings*, 1157-1169.

Shah, S. A. A., Parveen, S., & Khalil, J. J. F. J. o. S. S. (2019). Governance Challenges in Mainstreaming of Federally Administered Tribal Areas into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *13*(1).

Shah, S. J., & Ishaque, W. J. I. P. (2017). Challenges of national integration in Pakistan and strategic response. *9*(2), 35-48.

Shakirullah, Nawab, B., Nyborg, I., & Elahi, N. J. C. w. (2020). The underlying causes of violent conflict in the North Waziristan tribal areas of Pakistan. *22*(1), 114-136.

Shu, K., Sliva, A., Wang, S., Tang, J., & Liu, H. J. A. S. e. n. (2017). Fake news detection on social media: A data mining perspective. *19*(1), 22-36.

Siraj, S. A., & Hussain, S. J. F. J. o. S. S. (2017). Critical analysis of journalistic autonomy in Pakistan. *11*(1), 106.

Spychała-Kij, M. J. N. J. o. I. P., & Stability. (2020). Civil military cooperation in post conflict development: A case of north waziristan.

ur Rahman, S. I. (2020). *Journal of Peace, Development and Communication*.

Wimmir & Dominick. (1987). "Mass Media Research: An Introduction". *Australia WadsWorth, CenGage Learning Publisher*, 177.