

**Emphasizing Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone:  
A Case Study of Tribal Areas of Pakistan**

**Kashmir Khan**

Senior News Producer at PTV, Peshawar

**Bakht Zaman<sup>1</sup>**

Department of Journalism & Mass Communication, University of Peshawar

**Rahman Ullah**

Lecturer, Kohat University of Science and Technology (KUST)

**Abstract**

This research paper is designed to examine the problems being faced by the journalists in two of the newly merged tribal districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Khyber District and Mohmand District). The researchers used survey method for data collection. A designed structured questionnaire from the respondents (110 journalists from both districts Khyber and Mohmand) working with different international, national and local print, electronic and online media organizations as a convenience sampling. The findings show that a majority of the tribal journalists had been feeling insecure due to possible threats to their lives mainly from the militants and the military. The study revealed relationship between security awareness and level of journalists' experience and qualification. More experienced and qualified journalists were more aware of their security concerns as compared to less educated and less experienced journalists.

**Keywords:** Journalists; Reporting; Conflict zone; Safety; Khyber; Mohmand

**Introduction**

Journalists working in crisis and conflict zones poses many challenges to the people associated with the profession of journalism, the tribal journalists also suffered heavily while dispensing their responsibilities. The profession of journalism has changed drastically and witnessed mushroom growth in recent years in Pakistan. Media persons and journalists lost their lives in line of duties. Along the increased number of killings of journalists, large number are abducted, made hostages and intimidated. (Riaz, 2015)

---

<sup>1</sup> Corresponding Author: Bakht Zaman, Assistant Professor, Department of Journalism & Mass Communication, University of Peshawar, Pakistan. E-mail: bakhtzaman@gmail.com

Pakistan is considered one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists. Pakistani media persons have been working in one of the world's most uncertain and hostile environments. According to International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) report, Pakistan is fourth on the list of the deadliest countries in the world for journalists, and comes behind Mexico, Philippines and Iraq. The number of casualties reported in Pakistan is 115 since 1990 (Dawn, 2016).

Pakistan's tribal areas come in the war zone and the country's military is engaged in a war with the militants, it is very difficult for the journalists to report objectively (Ullah, 2018). Both military and militants want journalists to cover those stories which favor their objectives (Agha & Hussain, 2017). Journalists are attacked when they report news against either side. For the last some years, journalists have been working under great pressure, uncertainty, insecurity and hostile environment (ul Haq & Ullah, 2019). The threats to Pakistani journalists are many, especially in the Fata region who are reporting from conflict zone. Journalists face propaganda, threats, coercion, and targeted killings. The safety and security of journalists in conflict zones are very difficult (Aslam, 2015).

Pakistan in general and the tribal areas in particular have proved to be the most dangerous land for journalists. According to renowned journalist Rahimullah Yusufzai, as many as 13 journalists have been killed in Fata so far since 9/11. While the Express Tribune in one of its articles published on January 28, 2016 put the number of slain tribal journalists as 14 (Mureeb, 2016). These incidents occur during conflict as well as in peacetimes while covering dangerous assignments and reporting against criminals. The deteriorating law and order situation, military operations and US drone strikes have made Fata one of the most dangerous places for working journalists. The law which governs Fata i.e. the Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1901, empowers the local administration with unlimited powers to check the free flow of information.

The advent of militancy in the tribal agencies has further made it difficult for the journalists to perform their duties impartially. Journalists have been abducted and even killed to curb free and impartial reporting. Low wages of media persons are yet another reason which forces them to expose themselves to danger (Ullah, 2019).

### **Khyber District**

Khyber is one of the seven newly merged tribal district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which ranges from the Tirah valley in the west along the Afghanistan border down to Peshawar, the provincial capital of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Baber & Ullah, 2017). It borders Nangarhar Province to the west,

## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

Orakzai Agency to the south, Kurram Agency to south west and Peshawar to the east. According to 1998 census, the agency has 546,730 population and it is stretched over 2,576 square kilometer (PBS, 2020).

### **Mohmand District**

Mohmand is one of the seven newly merged tribal district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It was created in 1951. It shares borders with Bajaur District to the north, Khyber District to the south, Malakand and Charsadda districts to the east and Peshawar district to the south east.

According to 1998 census, the agency has 334,453 population and it is stretched over 2,296 square kilometers(PBS, 2020).

### **Journalism in FATA**

The newly merged tribal district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which share a long border with Afghanistan are known for the geo-strategic importance even before the creation of the country. Journalism in Fata had never been as streamlined as it is today or it remained in rest of the country. The present-day war on terror has given a big boost to journalism in Fata as the tribal belt got its importance in the eyes of world powers and international media.

Keeping in view the miserable situation of journalism in merged tribal district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a group of local journalists decided to establish an organization to protect and safeguard the rights of journalists working inside the tribal areas and promote journalism in the most backward part of the country. In June 1987, Tribal Union of Journalists (TUI), the first ever journalist body in Fata was founded in Parachinar, the agency headquarters of Kurram Agency. Veteran journalist Sailab Mehsud was made the president of the newly-formed body.

Presently, about 250 journalists are working in the tribal areas of Pakistan risking their lives to dig information and share it with the people of the country and rest of the world (Dawn, 2012). Many are working for national media organizations such as newspapers and television channels while others are associated with international media outlets including newspapers, magazines, TV channels, radio and wire services. They are contributing news stories, photographs, videos and sound bites from the areas.

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) in 2014 declared Pakistan as the most dangerous country for journalists in the world (IANS, 2017). It is still on number four in the index of the deadliest countries in the

world for journalists. But the situation is far more volatile in Fata. Journalism in Fata is not a bed of roses. Let alone the militant organizations, warring tribes and people engaged in illegal trades of arms, narcotics and smuggled goods also sometimes become threat to reporters' life as they have little tolerance for the media. Due to the unfriendly environment in Fata, large number of journalists have left their home stations and have been living in settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for safety reasons (Rahman, Mohmand, & Wazir, 2013).

Fourteen tribal journalists have been killed in Fata Since 9/11, some died in bomb blasts while others fell victims to target killings. Allah Noor Wazir and Amir Nawab were the first to lose their lives. They were killed in Wana, the headquarters of South Waziristan, after covering an agreement between security forces and a local militant commander. Naseer Khan, a journalist in Darra Adam Khel, FR Kohat, was killed by unknown people the same year in December. Hayatullah from the North Waziristan was the third to lay his life in the line of duty. He was abducted and later killed after taking a photograph of a US hellfire missile fired from a pilotless drone which killed Nek Muhammad Wazir. In 2008, Noor Hakeem Khan from Bajaur was the fifth journalist who lost life while covering a polio campaign in the agency. Ibrahim Khan, another daring journalist from Bajuar agency, was also killed the following year when he was returning home after interviewing the then TTP spokesman Molvi Omar (Dawn, 2008).

In December 2010, two reporters from Mohmand Agency, Abdul Wahab Khan and Pervez Khan Mohmand, died in a bomb blast in Ghalanai. Nasurullah Khan Afridi was yet another vocal and investigative journalist from Khyber Agency who was killed in a bomb blast in Peshawar. Unknown people had planted an explosive device in his car. Another tribal journalist Shafiullah Khan Orakzai was murdered in Hangu (Ullah, 2019).

Mukaram Khan Atif, who had temporarily migrated from his native Mohmand Agency due to the military operation, was killed in Shabqadar tehsil of Charsadda district in January 2012. In 2013, Malik Mumtaz Khan was killed in North Waziristan agency while on the way to home. In 2015, Zaman Mehsud, a journalist from South Waziristan, was killed in Tank. Mehboob Shah Afridi, who was the president of the Tribal Union of Journalists (TUJ) of the Khyber Agency chapter, was the last to lose his life in a suicide bomb blast in January 2016 (Mureeb, 2016).

Apart from the killings of journalists, there are numerous instances where media persons are threatened, intimidated, abducted and hostages.

### **Significance of the study:**

Work in such a hostile region requires great care and pre-cautionary measures. This study is important in order to protect the basic right of the freedom of expression. Journalists play a very crucial role in educating people, so safe and secure working environment for media persons and field journalists should be ensured by state authorities. This study will help in assessing and investigating the problems and challenges of journalists in FATA. Keeping in perspective the findings of this study, we will also be in a position to provide guidelines for both journalists and policy makers for the safety of journalists and media persons in general and reporters from FATA in particular.

### **Objectives of the study:**

The basic objective of this study was to investigate and find the problems of the journalists and field reporters inside the conflict zone. This study has also examined the hurdles of the journalists related to the freedom of expression, access to information, access to the conflict zones, security of the journalists and the objectivity which has been affecting their reports due to certain factors. More specifically, objectives of the study include

- To highlight security related problems of journalists inside conflict zone.

### **Research Questions:**

RQ. Do journalists feel safe while reporting from the conflict zone?

### **Literature Review**

War reporting is perhaps one of the most dangerous professions in the world. Yet large number of reporters and journalists dare to go to conflict zones to bring the latest information about the armed conflicts to the world. The journalists play a crucial role in keeping the world informed about facts unfolding in the battlegrounds. Because of its key importance in society, media is considered as the fourth estate in modern society (Rahman et al., 2013).

The years 2011 and 2012 were one of the deadliest years for journalists covering conflicts around the world? The numbers of attacks and arrests of journalists are on constant rise which portrays a dreadful image of the journalistic profession. In light of the increasing threats in armed conflicts, being a war reporter has become a naturally dangerous task.

Gasser (2012) says that despite the fact that journalists have important role in the society, yet the number of journalists who are missing, threatened, arrested, mistreated and/or killed is on a constant rise. Journalists' lives are always at risk during military operations. They not only become victims of collateral damage but are also being targeted individually. Since they not only work as a watchdog and witness the humanitarian crisis being brought by the war, they also disseminate news and images which make them an easy and popular target of the parties involved in the conflict. Zubascu (2013) has noted that media people working in dangerous conditions are highly exposed to several external factors and possible power. It is high time for the international community to re-evaluate journalists' safety in armed conflicts and consequently minimize casualties in future (Zubascu, 2013).

Reporting is also very profitable business in war Zone. Laswell (1927) works on armed conflict and find that reporting war events is a very profitable business but high risk is associated with working in fragile zones (Penney, 2017). Oledzki (1998) provided interesting insight and the study indicated that good journalists are responsible for delivering key information with great care if it is related with law and order situation or carry some data that is consider to be security threat. In addition, journalists must be able to find information suitable for the news and report on that high concerns readers and is useful to them. The ideas of objectivity and neutral reporting were also an important requirement for good journalism. Literature also reveals that Journalism as profession was gaining prestige and recognition and a fruitful career opportunity (Waisbord, 2013).

Zanghi (2005) that aggression against journalist is a serious issue and needs to be addressed at the earliest. Lisosky and Henrichsen (2009a) Have noted a significant relationship between the protection of journalists and the maintenance of freedom of expression is reported in various studies.

There are also incidents of imprisonment of number of journalists in different countries. The number of journalists who have been killed, imprisoned and wounded in cross fire and combat is on the constant rise. CPJ (2011) in its report titled "Attacks on the press" revealed that there is an increasing trend on the attack on the journalists in different countries and the danger and difficulties are mounting. The report further revealed that 35 percent of all journalists killed during reporting of war or other skirmishes. The media importance in armed conflicts becomes more important because other elements the civil society during chaos are often found soundless (Ashraf & Brooten, 2017).

CPJ (2012) reported that the task assigns to the journalists and reporters are increasingly become difficult in the presence of the governmental control of

## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

media. The demand for the updated and first hand news from the battle field increases the pressure on journalist to take extra risk to perform the job more efficiently and productively. There are also conflicting interests of different interests' groups involved. This is very much difficult for journalist to keep balance among this conflicting interest among different groups.

There is another dimension of the issue and that is the presence of legal protection to the journalist who performed duties in war zones. Oxford university press (2008) reported in his document that sufficient laws are present to protect the journalist in war zones but there is an issue of implementation. Geneva Convention (1949) examined the issue and reported that both at national and international level, considerable number of documents are available on this issue and governments around the globe least bothered about these documents during war. Geneva Conventions ensure that journalists are sufficiently protected and looking for some specific laws necessary to stop attacks on journalists. The presence of these conventions allows the journalists to afford more safety and freedom during reporting and war.

Considerable literature is also available that emphasis on the establishment of a special status and facilitation of identification; for journalist to protect them in war zones. Ngements Lisosky & Henrichsen (2009) examined the arrangements for journalists and the skills and training programs to have a better mitigation and education for journalist to decrease their vulnerabilities and susceptibility in conflicts. They suggest that there should be a conclusive debate to answer the provision of appropriate and legal protection to journalists in armed conflicts (Lisosky & Henrichsen, 2009b). The International Humanitarian Law (2008, 2010) investigated the war reporting and also analyses the current state of international law to judge whether the measures taken for the protection of journalists are adequate or not. The report also gave some instrumental suggestions for the protection of journalists and methods and skill enhancement programmes.

## Research Methodology

This study was conducted to investigate the working conditions of journalists of Khyber and Mohmand agencies through a quantitative analysis. For this purpose, a questionnaire was developed to know about the problems of the tribal journalists working in Khyber and Mohmand agencies using a convenience sampling technique. This section explains about the Population of the study, the Sampling Technique and Sample Size, Limitations of the study, Rationale for selecting Khyber and Mohmand agencies, Tools of Data Collection and Analysis of the Data and Operational Definition of Variables.

## **Population**

The all the journalists registered with Tribal Union of Journalists (TUJ) of Khyber and Mohmand agencies were the population of the current study.

## **Sampling**

The researcher adopted convenience sampling for the study keeping in view different factors to collect data from journalist of Khyber and Mohmand agencies. There was a total of 150 journalists in both the agencies (Khyber district 90 and Mohmand district 60) and the researcher collected data from 110 of 150 journalists.

## **Rationale for selection of Khyber and Mohmand Agencies**

The US-led war against terrorism brought Pakistan's tribal areas into international limelight. The Pakistani media as well as the Western media turned its focus on the western border of Pakistan to get news about latest developments about war in Afghanistan. Slowly and gradually, the war on terror was brought to the land of Pakistan and the tribal areas became a hotbed for militants. It also increased the responsibilities as well as problems of the media persons working in the tribal areas as they could not remain silent on the developments going on. They had to report about the activities of the militants and the military offensives.

The prime responsibility of journalists is to report what they see and observe unusual. The tribal journalists while dispensing their responsibilities started covering the developments going on in the conflict zones. Since they were not trained enough how to work inside a conflict zone, the tribal journalists suffered great losses in terms of lives and properties.

The Khyber and Mohmand agencies were selected as the universe for the study on the grounds that both the tribal districts were in proximity to the provincial metropolis and also accessible in terms of travelling.

## **Data Collection Tools**

The researcher used survey technique to collect the data using convenience sampling technique of population. The researcher talked to key members of the journalist communities in both the agencies and dispatched the questionnaire to them for onward distribution among the respondents. The researcher also visited the agencies to collect data from the journalists to know



## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

about their perception regarding working conditions. For the current study some demographic questions were also included to get some basic information.

The ideas arose to this research question were to find out what are the major threats to journalists security; were they free enough to appear byline; were the journalists worried about their family member because of their own job; do their organizations take necessary measures for their security when they are threatened; do their organizations equip them with latest gadgets?

The data collected from journalists of Khyber and Mohmand agencies regarding the major security threats to them have been shown below.

**Table. 1 Categories of Security threats to journalists**

Categories of Security threats to journalists,	No Opinion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Politicians	31	18	26	60	12	4
Militant Groups	1	1	6	3	53	46
Religious Groups	45	11	16	17	31	18
Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA's)	34	2	3	13	52	19
Political Administration	14	8	20	18	42	8

The data shows that majority 60 respondents (50 percent) of the journalists were neutral that politicians pose any threat to their life. However, 44 respondents (35.45 percent) of the total respondents disagree or strongly disagree with the statement while only 14.54 percent considered politicians as threat to their security.

The interesting result obtained in the survey was that majority (90 percent) of the total respondents considered militant groups as threat to their security.

Among the total respondents, 49 Journalists (44.54 percent) also think that religious groups also pose threat to their life however; their intensity is lower than the militants. Besides, 45 respondents (40.9 percent) remain inconclusive about the threats posed to them by religious groups.

After the militants, the law enforcement agencies appeared to be the second most dangerous entity for the tribal journalists as majority 71 respondents (64.54 percent) considered them threat to their life, whereas 34 respondents (30.9 percent) preferred not to answer the question.

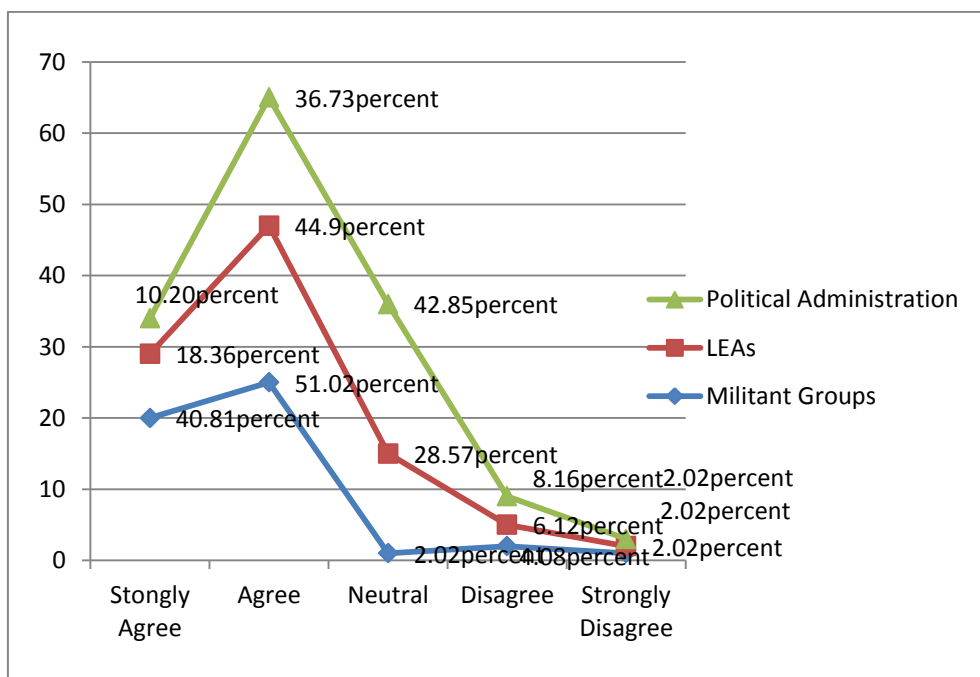
Besides, 49 of journalists (45.45 percent) mentioned that political administration also posed threats to their security, however, the intensity of the

political administration was not as severe as of militants and the law enforcement agencies.

The researcher during cross-tabulation observed that journalists having highest degree of qualification (in this case Master's degree) were more concerned about their security. As many as 91.84 percent of them considered militant groups as threat to their security. Comparatively, journalist having a lesser degree of education (Bachelor) formed 88.23 percent of the total population.

Likewise, 63.26 percent of the Master degree holder journalists and 55.88 percent respondents of the Bachelor degree holders said that LEAs were threat to their life.

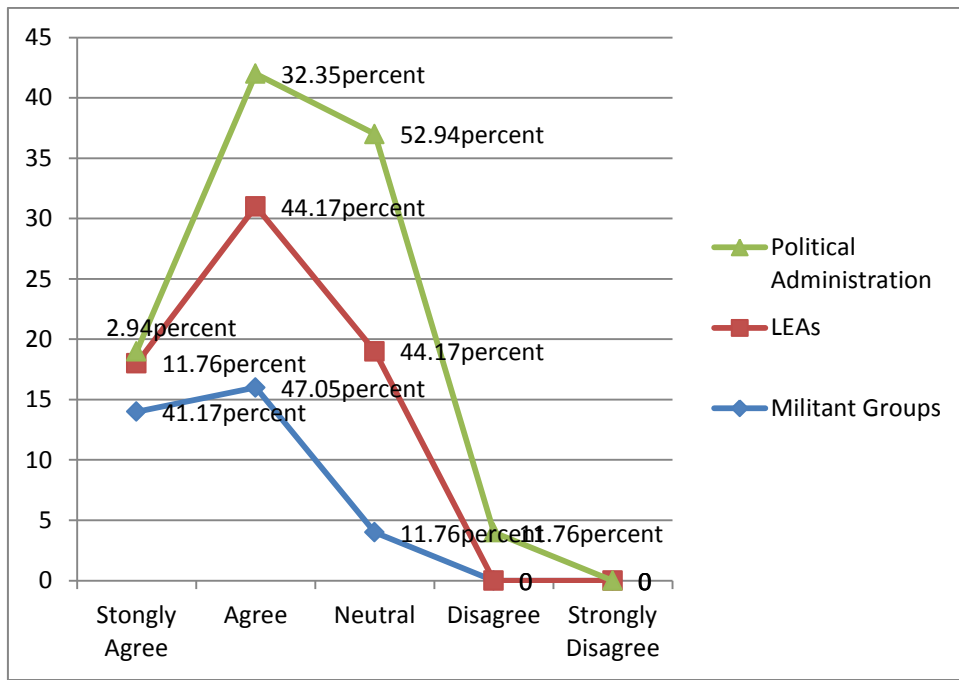
Figure .1 The illustration shows the concerns of journalists with highest qualification (Master's degree) about their security to life.



Surprisingly, a good number of the highly educated journalists (46.93 percent) thought that political administration was also a security threat for them. However, majority of the Bachelor degree holder media persons (52.94 percent) remained neutral in their responses about the political administration being a threat to their lives.

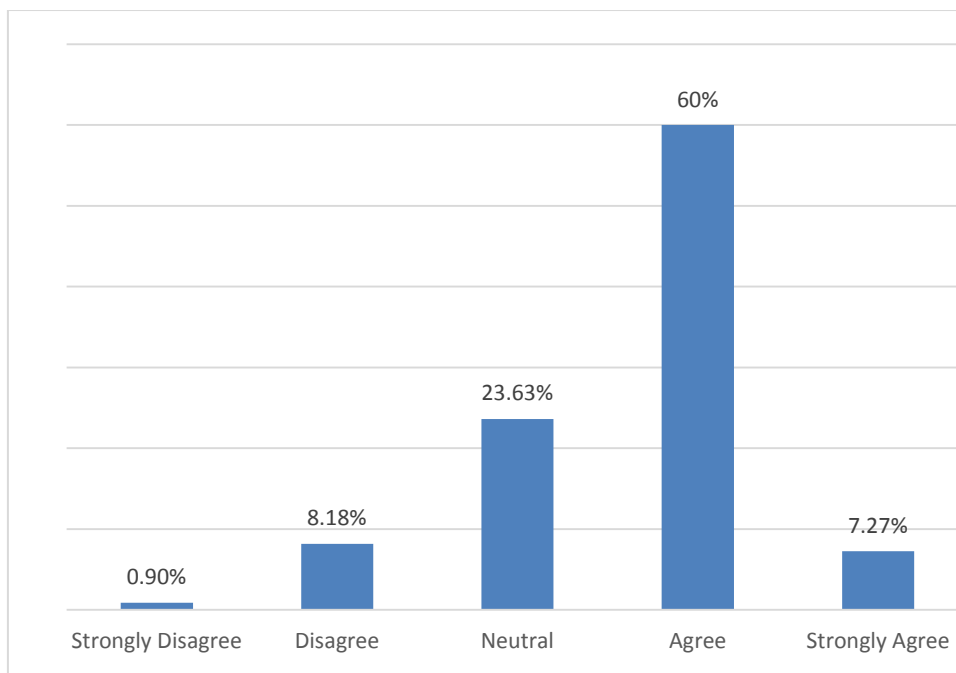
## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

Figure 2. The illustration shows the concerns of journalists with lesser qualification (Bachelor degree) about their security to life



The second portion of this research question was whether tribal journalists felt insecure while appearing byline on sensitive issues. The results of the study showed that majority of the respondents (67.27percent) preferred to stay anonymous while reporting sensitive issues in their respective areas. Among them, 23.63 percent respondents did not express their view about the statement.

Figure 3. Majority of the tribal journalists feel insecure to appear byline while reporting on sensitive issues.



During cross tabulation it was known that the journalist of higher age groups was more concerned about threats to their lives. In the age group of 41 to 50, 82.14percent of the respondents agreed with the statement while the percentage in the age groups of 31 to 40 and 21 to 30 were 68.96 and 45.83 respectively.

To the statement about security threats to their family members due to nature of their job, majority of the respondents (42percent) expressed that they were feeling worried about the safety of their family members. However, 40.9 percent respondents preferred to stay silent on this statement.

Majority of the respondents (40.9 percent) said their organizations took necessary measures for their safety in case some threats are posed to their security whereas a big chunk of the respondents (34.54percent) however did not express their opinion.

In response to the statement whether their organizations equip them with safety gadgets and tool while reporting from conflict zone, only 27.27 percent agreed while 24.54 percent disagree whereas majority (48.18) did not give their opinion.

In order to obtain further information about the problems being faced by the media persons due to not being trained properly by their respective media

## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

organizations, the researcher asked some additional questions about their training.

The data showed that 67.27 percent of the respondents stated that they faced psychological problem while reporting from conflict zone because they were not trained on professional grounds.

About 81 percent of the respondents said that they did not have any knowledge how to keep themselves safe while reporting in a hostile environment. Besides, 72.72 percent stated that they needed to be provided psychological counseling before and after covering a terrorism incident.

About 74 percent of the respondents stated that they did not have the experience how to cope with any emergency like situation. Also, 77.27 percent of the respondents said they had no training on first-aid medical facilities.

### **Conclusion**

This study was conducted in the theoretical framework of the Shoemaker and Reese (2016) Hierarchical Influences Model. The study was done to investigate and find the problems of journalists working in the conflict zones of Khyber and Mohmand agencies. Before undertaking the project, the researcher designed a questionnaire to get information about specific fields related to journalists' freedom and factors threatening their security. The researcher also tried to find out what are the problems and hurdles a journalist faces while covering conflicts in the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan.

The findings revealed that majority of the journalists admitted that militant groups were the main hurdles in the free dissemination of news. The militant groups were followed by the law enforcement agencies which according to the journalists, they appeared to be the second major obstacle that hindered the freedom of information.

The study revealed that journalists having more experience were comparatively more informed about the real factors which obstructed free flow of information. For instance, this category of media men declared that religious groups in the tribal region also posed threat to free dissemination of news about different issues of sensitive nature.

The study also revealed that journalists are barely allowed to the sites of occurrences in tribal areas. They were mainly denied access by the militants and the law enforcement agencies. Half of the respondents also agreed that religious groups and the political administration were responsible for keeping them away

from the sites of violence. Interestingly, very little number of journalists considered politicians as an obstacle in their easy access to the sites of occurrences. Almost half of the journalists agreed that unavailability of transportation and road access was also a problem for them in collection of information from the ground sources.

Similarly, the data showed that majority of the journalists were worried about their own security and safety of family members from different factors. The results revealed that militant groups topped the index of the threats which the journalists feared. It is followed by the law enforcement agencies and the political administration.

The study further explored that the more a journalist is educated, the more he is concerned about his security. The researcher had included a demographic question about the education of the respondents in the questionnaire. The results showed that the percentage of journalists having Master's degree was high than the ratio of journalists having a Bachelor degree in terms of declaring militants as a threat to their lives.

The majority of the respondents revealed that they feel insecure to appear byline while writing on a sensitive issue and they did not want to risk their lives. Among the respondents, the journalists of the higher age group were comparatively more concerned about the security.

Interestingly, majority of the respondents were satisfied regarding the steps taken by their respective organizations in case some threats were posed to their security. However, very little number of the respondents said they were properly equipped by their media houses before sending them to the conflict zone for reporting. Also, large number of the respondents expressed that they did not have proper training about reporting from the conflict zone.

The study further revealed that majority of the journalists working in the conflict zones were traumatized and passing through psychological disorders due to killings of innocent people in bomb blasts and military operations and the displacement of the thousands of families. The main reason of their psychological problems was the non-provision of counseling and proper training before and after their assignments.

## **Recommendations**

A strong access to information system is vital for the establishment of a democratic and justice-based society. The public at large has the right to obtain information it needs to participate meaningfully in the building and the

## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

development of the social system. People's this need is largely satisfied by journalists who are risking their lives only to bring hidden information to the front. Majority of the news consumed by the print and the electronic media are provided by the field reporters.

Journalists are the eyes and ears of the society. They report what they see and observe in the society on day to day basis. The society in general and the government in particular should be thankful to the journalists for highlighting problems of the oppressed segments and other loopholes in the society.

The environment in the tribal areas is totally non-conducive for them to work in. Pakistan in general and the tribal areas in particular, are the most dangerous parts of the world for the journalists' community. The government and the state apparatuses particularly the military should provide every possible protection to the journalists and should take them on board as they could only win the minds and hearts of the people of the tribal areas through media.

On the basis of above analysis, some recommendations are given below:

- 1) The journalists working in tribal areas, before undertaking any assignment, must know about the local culture prevailing in that particular area.
- 2) The government and media organizations must ensure the safety and security of journalists and their families.
- 3) Journalists should also be aware of the security situation, possible dangers and threats.
- 4) Government's Public Relations departments should be opened in each tribal agency for the convenience of journalists so that they can access a particular office or person in case they need required information duly verified and cross-checked.
- 5) The reporters should also keep themselves updated about nature of the conflict and the parties involved as a small error can put his life in danger. and then they can try to understand the conflict and which stakeholders are doing what. That is very important advice for a journalist here.
- 6) Media organizations particularly the print media outlets must denounce the practice of asking reporters to bring advertisements for the paper to generate revenue. Instead, the organizations should provide finances for the offices and travelling of the reporters to ensure objectivity.

### **Limitations of the study**

The lack of time, access to tribal areas and resources were the main issues that appeared as major limitations in this study for researcher. Keeping in view the problems, the researcher collected data only from the journalists of Khyber and Mohmand agencies.

### **References**

- Agha, S., & Hussain, S. (2017). Reporting Taliban conflict: analysis of Pakistani journalists' attitude towards national security. *Journal of National Defense University*, 31(1), 66-73.
- Ashraf, S. I., & Brooten, L. (2017). Tribal Journalists under Fire. In C. Ulla & P. Reeta (Eds.), *The Assault on Journalism: Building knowledge to protect freedom of expressio* (pp. 147). Sweden: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.
- Aslam, R. (2015). PAKISTAN: Media, politics and the threats to journalists in Pakistan. *Pacific Journalism Review: Te Koakoa*, 21(1), 177-194.
- Baber, D., & Ullah, R. (2017). *People Dependency on Foreign Media in FATA*. Paper presented at the National Conference on "Media in Post-Modern Times: Challenges & Prospects", Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad.
- Dawn. (2008). Journalist shot dead. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/304050>
- Dawn. (2012). Promoting journalism in the tribal areas. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/767225/promoting-journalism-in-the-tribal-areas-2>
- Dawn. (2016). 115 killings make Pakistan fourth deadliest country for journalists. Retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1237386>



## Journalistic Safety while Reporting in a Conflict Zone

- IANS. (2017). Pakistan rated among most dangerous countries for journalists. Retrieved from <https://www.khaleejtimes.com/international/pakistan/pakistan-rated-among-most-dangerous-countries-for-journalists>
- Lisosky, J. M., & Henrichsen, J. (2009a). Don't shoot the messenger: prospects for protecting journalists in conflict situations. *Media, War & Conflict*, 2(2), 129-148.
- Lisosky, J. M., & Henrichsen, J. (2009b). Don't shoot the messenger: prospects for protecting journalists in conflict situations. *Media, War & Conflict*, 2(2), 129-148.
- Mureeb, M. (2016). Mehboob Afridi becomes 14th tribal journalist to be slain. Retrieved from <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1035244/on-the-frontier-mehboob-afridi-becomes-14th-tribal-journalist-to-be-slain/>
- PBS. (2020). Population Census Report. Retrieved from [http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/other/pocket\\_book2006/2.pdf](http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/other/pocket_book2006/2.pdf)
- Penney, J. (2017). *The citizen marketer: Promoting political opinion in the social media age*: Oxford University Press.
- Rahman, K., Mohmand, S. N., & Wazir, A. (2013). Conflict in FATA and Governance. *Policy Perspectives*, 10(2), 49-70.
- Riaz, S. (2015). Challenges to rural journalism in Pakistan. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences*, 9(2), 72.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (2016). A media sociology for the networked public sphere: The hierarchy of influences model. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(4), 389-410.
- Ul Haq, M. Z., & Ullah, R. (2019). Tourism Demand Function for Pakistan. *Journal Of Social Sciences Humanities*, 3(1 & 2), 1-17.
- Ullah, R. (2018). Role of FM Radios in News and Information: A Study Of Fm Radios In Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *International Journal of Communication Research*, 8(2), 144-152.
- Ullah, R. (2019). "News" during conflict Reporting. Paper presented at the International Conference on Media and Conflict (ICMC 2019), Bahria University, Islamabad, Peshawar.

Khan, K., Zaman, B. & Ullah, R. (2019). JHSS. XXVII (1)

Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*: John Wiley & Sons.

Zubascu, F. (2013). *Media independence and democracy: influential relations between journalists, politicians, ownership and advertisers in Romania*. (MA dissertation), Central European University,